

“The study of far-right environmental politics presents unusual challenges. In this much-needed volume, a range of international scholars offer contemporary insights on the topic. In an era when the far right is once again on the rise, the critical perspectives gathered here could not be more timely.”

Peter Staudenmaier

Department of History, Marquette University, USA

“Different far-right actors are in the political ascendancy; man-made environmental disasters are worsening. Understanding the links between the far-right and environmental themes could not be more topical or urgent.”

James Painter

*Department of Politics and International Relations,
University of Oxford, UK*

“This book makes an important contribution by bridging two of today’s key concerns: the emergence and continuous growth of far right parties and movements, and the increasing awareness of climate change and environmental crises. Anyone who wants to understand the role of far-right parties in environmental politics, should read this informative and timely book.”

Jens Rydgren

Professor of Sociology, Stockholm University, Sweden

“The Far Right is not conventionally considered an ecological movement – despite the (national) environment being one of their central ideological concerns. In this fascinating and timely book, Bernhard Forchtner has assembled an impressive range of contributors who amply dispel the myth that environmentalism is a new, or a fringe, feature of far-right discourse. Theoretically and analytically wide-ranging, and transnational in focus, this volume is highly recommended for scholars of discourse analysis, political science and environmental communications.”

John E. Richardson

Language & Linguistics, University of the Sunshine Coast, Australia

“This welcome volume fills an important intellectual niche by examining the diverse ways in which far-right political parties and movements, especially those in Europe, deal with environmental and ecological issues. In some cases they promote meaningful environmental protection, but in many others environmental skepticism and anti-environmental policies. Tracking their impact will be vital, and this volume provides a baseline for future scholarship.”

Riley E. Dunlap

*Regents Professor of Sociology and Dresser Professor Emeritus,
Oklahoma State University, USA*

THE FAR RIGHT AND THE ENVIRONMENT

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, both the crisis of liberal democracy, as visible in, for example, the rise of far-right actors in Europe and the United States, and environmental crises, from declining biodiversity to climate change, are increasingly in the public spotlight. Whilst both areas have been analysed extensively on their own, *The Far Right and the Environment: Politics, Discourse and Communication* provides much-needed insights into their intersection by illuminating the environmental communication of far-right party and non-party actors in Europe and the United States. Although commonly perceived as a 'left-wing' issue today, concerns over the natural environment by the far right have a long, ideology-driven history. Thus, it is not surprising that some members of the far right offer distinctive ecological visions of communal life, though, for example, climate-change scepticism is voiced too. Investigating this range of stances within their discourse about the natural environment provides a window into the wider politics of the far right and points to a close connection between the politics of identity and the imagination of nature. Connecting the fields of environmental communication and study of the far right, contributions to this edited volume therefore offer timely assessments of this often-overlooked dimension of far-right politics.

Bernhard Forchtner is associate professor at the School of Media, Communication and Sociology, University of Leicester, UK.

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Politics, Discourse and
Communication

Edited by Bernhard Forchtner

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The far right, ranging from anti-liberal, (nominally) democratic radical-right actors to the anti-democratic extreme right, do think and talk about the natural environment. Given that both the far right and environmental issues are key concerns of our time, it might seem surprising that research on this thinking and talking is still rather limited in its extent. It is against this background that I would like to thank all the authors who have contributed to this edited volume and thus shed light on this area. Moreover, I want to thank the editors of the book series *Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right* for their trust in this project, the (anonymous) reviewers who provided important input and the editorial team at Routledge for their guidance throughout the process. Additionally, I want to acknowledge, once again, the support I received from the People Programme (Marie Curie Action, FP7/2007–2013) [327595]), without which I would have been unable to dive into the far right's natural environment. I am also grateful for the financial support I received from the School of Media, Communication and Sociology at the University of Leicester, which covered both the creation of this volume's index and allowed the contributors in this volume to introduce and discuss their different cases at a workshop in July 2017 in Leicester.



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FAR-RIGHT ARTICULATIONS OF THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

An introduction

Bernhard Forchtner

Any national movement that is to be taken seriously can be seen as a national-ecological movement according to its own self-conception.

Michael Howanietz (2005: 25)

Introducing *The Far Right and the Environment: Politics, Discourse and Communication*

The far right, ranging from the radical right which opposes some elements of *liberal* democracy to the anti-democratic extreme right, is commonly investigated for their stance on immigrants and refugees, as well as, for example, their memory politics and their views on gender. However, what is not usually looked at are their politics concerned with the natural environment, their environmental communication.¹ Indeed, given the common association of environmental issues with the (liberal) left today, environmental communication by the far right might come as a surprise. However, it should be anything but surprising – and it is this often overlooked dimension of far-right politics which this edited volume illuminates. After all, although it is true that both anti-liberal, but increasingly mainstream and (nominally) democratic, far-right parties, such as the Freedom Party of Austria and the French National Rally (formerly: National Front), as well as anti-democratic actors, including the National Democratic Party of Germany and various ‘autonomous’ extreme-right groupuscules, are not well-known for their environmental politics, the natural environment (and concerns over it) has – to varying extent – its place in these actors’ ideology.

Indeed, meanings attributed to the natural environment are not inherent in nature itself, but, as Staudenmaier (2011[1995]: 41f) reminds us, are linked to ideology.² In fact, the natural environment has long played a role in nationalist and

far-right political thinking. This has ranged from a full-blown ecological worldview which stresses the interconnectedness of flora, fauna, the nation and its homeland, including the naturalisation of social relations and the significance of 'the land' for the reproduction of 'the people', to the aesthetic idealisation of certain elements of the community's landscape. The significance of environmental, and sometimes even ecological, considerations is starkly visible in the 'epigraph by Michael Howanietz, a member of the Freedom Party of Austria, who has consistently thematised issues related to the natural environment.'³

It is against this background that contributions to this volume shed light on environmental communication by a diverse range of party and non-party actors populating the far-right spectrum. In so doing, the contributors to this book provide a reference volume concerning an area hardly investigated; an area, however, through which these actors have long reproduced their ideology. Indeed, it is because the 'politics of nature is at the same time a politics of identity' (Olsen 1999: 29) that far-right environmental communication has to be scrutinised too.

Inquiring into the far right and the environment is a timely endeavour as we are faced today with the intersection of (communication about) two crises: on the one hand, large sections of 'the West' are experiencing a crisis of liberal democracy. The rise of far-right parties (but also non-party actors) in Europe, parts of the Brexit debate in the United Kingdom, and the successful presidential campaigns of Donald Trump in the United States (US) and Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil illustrate this. On the other hand, anthropogenic environmental crises, although not just with us since industrialisation and urbanisation, are now a global phenomenon, with climate change, a paradigmatic unintended consequence of previous modernisation (Beck 2009), at the heart of public debates. Yet, this intersection of crises and the ways in which they are communicated has hardly been analysed, and it is here that this volume intervenes by providing a comprehensive account of far-right environmental communication in contemporary Europe and beyond. Importantly, however, we do not expect the far right to communicate in a uniform way. Thus, the goal is not to illuminate this intersection in general terms, but to highlight, first, differences and similarities within the far-right spectrum. That is, to illuminate differences and similarities between the anti-liberal radical right and the anti-democratic extreme right (Mudde 2007) in how these actors engage with the natural environment (if at all) due to ideology (more or less 'extreme'/organic ethnonationalist), diverging historical backgrounds, and diverse discursive and political contexts. Second, contributions to this volume furthermore point to equally relevant tensions within individual actors due to competing ideological elements.

This introduction constitutes a first step in this attempt and starts by offering a brief clarification of what is meant when speaking of the far right in the following. I will subsequently provide an overview of aspects related to the natural environment in the literature on nationalism and the far right before offering an overview of contributions to this volume.

The far right...

It has become common to mourn the lack of coherence concerning the name of the referent of those studying actors to the right of conservative parties. Besides, for example, 'right wing', 'radical right', 'extreme right' and 'right-wing extremist', and 'far right', we sometimes find the designator 'ultra-nationalist' and even '(neo-)fascist' and '(neo-)Nazi'. At times, this variety is simply due to linguistic and political preferences, but it is also rooted in actual differences. Anti-liberal, but (nominally) democratic parties such as the Danish People's Party and the aforementioned National Rally are increasingly 'mainstream' (a 'mainstream' which co-evolves with these parties, a 'mainstream' they co-shape). Other actors, however, are anti-democratic, for example Golden Dawn in Greece and so-called Autonomous Nationalists across Europe. Against this background, this volume, in line with the name of the series in which it is published, employs 'far right' as the overarching name of this continuum of actors.

At the core of far-right actors, we find ethnonationalism – linking membership in the nation to biological/racial and/or cultural traits – and authoritarianism (Bonikowski 2017; Rydgren 2018a). Besides these core ideological features, elements more or less dominantly present include, for example, ethnopluralism, anti-socialism, proclivity for scapegoating 'others', and an uncritical view on the community's historical past. The latter results in, for example, the denial of war guilt or, in Austria and Germany in particular, the Holocaust (see Holzer 1994; Salzborn 2014). In some cases, the far right is also 'populist'. Here, populism signifies a 'thin-centred ideology' which considers society to be divided in two camps, 'pure people' versus 'corrupt elite', and stresses the need to defend the general will of 'the people' (Mudde 2007: 23), though others conceptualise it as a political logic (Laclau 2005) or primarily a style (Moffitt 2016). Depending on how dominantly these core (and additional) criteria are present, far-right actors will populate different positions on a continuum. Accordingly, contributions to this volume deal with an array of actors, ranging from rather anti-liberal, today often mainstream radical right ones to anti-democratic, extreme-right actors.

As these contributions will indicate, a variety of elements appear to affect environmental communication by the far right, including the position the respective actor takes on the far-right continuum as well as the origins of these actors and their links to, for example, historical fascism and National Socialism; the respective party system, political opportunity structure and the media landscape; the intellectual abilities of these actors to engage with eco-theoretical questions (being able to go beyond 'green is left' knee-jerk reactions); the historical salience that environmental issues carry in particular contexts; and the configuration of discourses about the environment in these contexts. Dryzek (2012: 15–17), for example, identifies four basic environmental discourses (subsequently providing more specific types), understood by him as shared ways of apprehending the world, of providing legitimate knowledge and constructing meaning as well as relationships. These basic discourses are *problem-solving* (status quo needs

adjustment, but no radical change is needed to cope with environmental problems), *limits and survival* (the limits of the Earth demand radical steps – though options to tackle these are set by industrialism), *sustainability* (economic growth and environmental protection can go hand in hand) and *green radicalism* (industrial society is rejected by Green romantics, deep ecologists and so forth).⁴ While I cannot elaborate on this typology here, such discourses need to be acknowledged as the far right, even though it comes with its own background convictions, does operate in a wider, societal context. Each of the following chapters will illustrate this complexity – but it is a more general look at the relation between the ideology of ethnonationalist forces and the natural environment to which I turn next.

...on its natural environment

Communication concerned with the protection of the natural environment is often considered to be a relatively new phenomenon, a relatively new site through which society actively reproduces its symbolic boundaries. What Radkau (2014) has termed the *Age of Ecology* is furthermore primarily associated with political forces on the (liberal) left of the political spectrum. As such, the contemporary concern for the natural environment is commonly informed by a universalist perspective in the tradition of the Enlightenment, stressing one humanity and its responsibility for Earth. However, the history of environmental protection and campaigning does not begin in the 1960s and '70s. Instead, it can, at least, be traced back to the nineteenth century when the price of industrialisation and urbanisation was becoming apparent. Radkau (*ibid.*: 11–24), in fact, points to the period between Rousseau and the Romantic, arguing that it was in the 1790s that Europe saw a debate familiar to present-day controversies, back then concerning the shortage of wood and the potential risk of facing the destruction of forests. Indeed, it is since this period that universalist thought is criticised by various conservative and far-right actors, also in relation to nature and people. The Romantic response emphasised the particularity of both nature and peoples, spontaneity, originality and authenticity. According to this tradition, it is uniqueness and diversity which need to be celebrated, not 'cold' and 'abstract' universal reason.

Researchers of nationalism have long observed that such views of nature and the natural environment play a role in the nationalist imaginary.⁵ It is in the sense of something not being corrupted by civilisation or, as far-right actors might say today, not being distorted by the *zeitgeist*, that nationalism's nature is one 'which rejects any suggestion of the contrived, of the consciously arranged' (Kedourie 1966: 57). This nature is, furthermore, territorially specific, it is the homeland, that is, the land where 'terrain and people have exerted mutual, and beneficial, influence over several generations' (Smith 1991: 9). These are 'poetic spaces' (*ibid.*: 78) or 'ethno-scape[s]' in which a people and its homeland become increasingly symbiotic' (Smith 2009: 50). As such, the nation's landscape is more than sheer matter, it is symbolically

charged, creating a link between past, present and future (Palmer 1998: 191; Cosgrove 2004: 61). Memories are thus attached to sites, including natural ones (from forests to mountains and so on); and as communal being is projected onto sites, the latter are imputed with meaning and, as such, become a matter of identity. Schama, (1995: 10) too, emphasises the link between (national) identities and landscape, pointing out that the latter entered the English language via the Dutch *landschap* (the Netherlandish flood fields being a manifest site of human engineering with clear relevance for the identity of this particular community). In the Dutch and other cases of national identity, the latter would indeed ‘lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated, and enriched as a homeland’ (ibid.: 15).

The significance of the local and particular is furthermore stressed by Barcena et al. (1997: 302), who argue that nationalism and ecologism share a fundamental philosophical stance in their ‘rejection of the leveling perversion of the universal and defense of the particular’. Particular ecosystems appear as seemingly stable and orderly, with different species in different habitats, and the resulting proximity between the discourse about the nation and the discourse about the environment, between the protection of the homeland and the protection of the environment, easily leads to a rejection of so-called ‘invasive species’, both animals and plants. While also visible in wider public debates, a concern over such ‘intruders’ is arguably particularly prevalent in far-right discourses in which ‘the supposed threat of foreign species, on the one hand, and, on the other, the perceived threat of foreign races and cultures to the native populations of their countries’ (Olwig 2003: 61; for concerns over biodiversity and ‘invasive species’ in the far right’s imaginary in particular, see Forchtner 2019a).

Today, such thinking draws regularly on, and is reinvigorated by, the *Nouvelle Droite* (Bar-On 2013). Like the ‘old’ far right, here too the social is naturalised and essentialised. Indeed, the *Nouvelle Droite* celebrates the ‘right to difference’ which leads to ethnopluralism, a concept forged by Henning Eichberg (Camus and Lebourg 2017: 130), that is, the protection of cultures and ethnicities by avoiding mixture. Thus, the *Nouvelle Droite* suggests concern for the preservation of cultures in general, but also in relation to the natural environment in particular. This derives from the *Nouvelle Droite*’s view, as represented by its main intellectual Alain de Benoist, of liberalism as the main carrier of modernity, as the ‘main enemy’ (de Benoist and Champetier 1999). Modernity, it is said, denies human nature, while the *Nouvelle Droite* postulates the necessarily biological nature of our species – a nature which unites us (this is not the ‘race’ of Social Darwinist racism) – before stressing that ‘[m]an is rooted by nature in his culture’. Humans thus construct themselves ‘historically and culturally’ within the species’ limitations; and diversity of cultures is consequently part of humanity’s essence. In this neo- or cultural racism (Taguieff 1990; Balibar 1991), nature, landscape and soil are significant – though no longer simply in the sense of a biological connection between land and people (‘blood and soil’), but in a symbolic way. Furthermore, de Benoist and

Champetier (1999) argue, that we must leave anthropocentrism behind and understand ‘nature as a partner and not as an adversary or object’.

Here, one might be reminded of deep ecology (e.g. Naess 1973); and indeed, the social ecologist Murray Bookchin (1987) has forcefully addressed its mystifying tendencies, criticising the lack of focus on the genuinely social causes of environmental crises. In line with this argument, Peter Zegers (2002) subsequently focused on deep ecologist understandings of diversity, identifying a close resemblance between deep ecology thinking and the ethnopluralism advocated by the *Nouvelle Droite*.

As environmental as well as ecological thinking continue to exist on the far right, it would be a mistake to downplay these. Indeed, the far right does neither approach the natural environment purely strategically to attract a wider audience (though this, of course, happens too) nor as a simple object for exploitation (though some far-right actors certainly do so), but perceives land and landscape as being significant for and deeply linked to the nation. This results in a connection which can be, as Hurd and Werther (2016: 164) argue, ‘perhaps more deeply ecocritical than the liberal tropes of “sustainable development”’. However, far-right concerns over the natural environment are not uniform. Indeed, there are several ways in which far-right thinking has drawn on and articulated the natural environment; and depending on, for example, national traditions and predecessors of the respective actor, attitudes will differ.

Looking back at such historical trajectories, the nineteenth and twentieth century saw organic ethno-nationalist, fascist and National Socialist concerns for the environment, which drew on particularistic interpretations of the relation between land and people already present in parts of the Romantic and nationalist thinking more generally. In Britain, for example, Jorian Jenks was not only an enthusiastic farmer, but also a stout fascist who became an important player in Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists during the 1930s. Even more significant, Jenks would become a pioneer of today’s organic movement and a key player in the newly founded Soil Association after World War Two (Coupland 2017). This significance of the land is still present as recent studies on the British far right have illustrated (Forchtner 2016; Richardson 2017: 163–173).

Moving from fascists who failed to take power to those who succeeded in doing so, a special issue of *Modern Italy* (Armiero 2014) contains fascinating articles on environmental issues in fascist Italy. While illustrating that the policies of the time were not always of much environmental benefit, it also argues that Mussolini did view the land as key, an opportunity to regenerate the people. Similarly, Portuguese fascism did not simply propagate a romantic ‘back to the land’ agenda, but managed and recreated the nation’s environment through increased wheat production, irrigation and afforestation (Saraiva 2016).

Yet, it was in Germany that the link between the far right and the natural environment became perhaps most clearly articulated – and certainly most intensively studied due to a long history of environmental concerns and ecology thinking being fused with ethnonationalist, Social Darwinist and racist ideas

(Geden 1996; Olsen 1999; see Riordan 1997 for a general overview of green thought in Germany). Following Romantic ideas by, for example, Ernst Moritz Arndt in the early nineteenth century, the late nineteenth century *Heimatschutz* movement (homeland protection) – resulting in the foundation of the *Bund Heimatschutz* (League for the Protection of the Homeland) in 1904 – appears to have, though in no way exclusively, been significant for the reproduction of *völkisch* ideas (Wolschke-Bulmahn 1996: 533 and Linse 2009: 158, but see Rollins 1997 on the *Heimatschutz*'s aesthetic concerns as a possibly motivating force for progressive politics). The natural environment, being viewed as the fundament of the nation, must thus not be destroyed as this would, consequently, lead to the destruction of the *Volk*.⁶ Many *Heimatschutz* activists continued under National Socialism, united in their dislike of 'cold materialism' while favouring the 'organic' and 'traditional'. Indeed, National Socialism integrally linked 'Volk, racism and conservation' (Brüggemeier et al. 2005: 8; see also Uekötter 2006). Early nature-protection initiatives resulted in the *Reichsnaturschutzgesetz* (Reich Nature Protection Law) of 1935, the 'most stringent and comprehensive environmental protection law in the world' (Lekan 2004: 168). Yet, the goals of autarky, economic revival and war preparations ultimately collided with environmental concerns and led to continuous subordination of the environment (Dominick 1992: 81–118; Lekan 2004: 204–251; Blackbourn 2006: 266–280; Uekötter 2006: 30–43).

In line with my argument concerning a diversity of attitudes vis-à-vis the natural environment, it is important to acknowledge Olsen's (1999: 78) point, that National Socialism's view of nature is only one, radical, nature-nationalism tradition, and that the echo of this particular tradition is only one among many ways in which the far right understands the natural environment today. Therefore, strands within the far right not, or to a lesser degree, influenced by organic ethnonationalism will not necessarily take the same stance as those which are committed to such ideas.⁷

Today, the non-uniformity of the far right's concerns over the natural environment is, for example, visible in what is the perhaps main environmental issue of our time: climate change. Although possibly the most severe threat to the homeland, many, though not all, of these actors appear to be, in one way or another, climate-change sceptics (for an overview, see Forchtner forthcoming).⁸ For instance, Gemenis et al. (2012) analysis of environmental themes in far-right environmental communication includes 'Global warming is man-made'. The authors claim that findings concerning the National Democratic Party of Germany and the Sweden Democrats are inconclusive; while the Greek Popular Orthodox Rally agrees, the British National Party, the Danish Peoples Party, the Italian Northern League and the Belgian Flemish Interest disagree with the theory of anthropogenic climate change. Forchtner and Kølvråa (2015) confirm this regarding the British National Party and the Danish Peoples Party while Voss (2014: 163, 165) views, amongst others, the Danish Peoples Party, Northern League, Sweden Democrats (at the time), the Freedom Party of Austria and the National Democratic Party of Germany as agreeing with the thesis of

anthropogenic climate change. Moreover, Forchtner et al. (2018) and Forchtner (2019b) report strong scepticism towards, but also some acceptance of, mainstream knowledge about climate change by far-right actors in Germany and Austria, respectively. Against this background, subsequent chapters will provide further insights into this complexity.

Having addressed the link between a range of far-right actors and environmental themes, I want to take a step back and close by briefly indicating ways of conceptualising the relation between the natural environment and the far right. First, and offering a broad way of conceptualising far-right concerns over the natural environment, Olsen (1999) identifies eco-naturalism (the natural world as a blueprint for the social order), eco-organicism (the *Volk*/people as an ecosystem) and eco-authoritarianism (the need for a strong state to deal with the environmental crises of our time) as key features of right-wing ecology. For example, far-right actors accepting mainstream views of anthropogenic climate change could call for harsh environmental laws and, at some point in the future, an eco-dictatorship so as to be able to deal with and respond to an accelerating climate-change crisis. It is, however, similarly interesting to consider why these features, which strongly affect far-right views on, for example, population growth, have not led to a uniform acceptance of the anthropogenic nature of climate change.

Concerning climate change in particular, Lockwood (2018) explores the relationship between far-right actors and climate-change scepticism by proposing two explanations. First, he considers a 'structuralist' approach to understanding the link between 'right-wing populism' and climate-change scepticism. This explanation addresses the appeal of right-wing populist parties to those 'left behind' by globalisation and technological modernisation. That is, it accounts for the 'marginalisation of specific groups in post-industrial societies through structural change in the global economy' (ibid.: 718). The second explanation is based on the ideological agenda of such actors, 'especially its antagonism between "the people" and a cosmopolitan elite, with climate change and policy occupying a symbolic place in this contrast' (ibid.: 712). Evaluating these two explanations, Lockwood ultimately argues that focusing on ideology is more compelling.

Third, and addressing both climate change and concerns for 'the land' and the countryside, Forchtner and Kølvråa (2015) speak of three dimensions through which the far right, like other ideological camps, make sense of the natural environment: the aesthetic, the symbolic and the material dimensions. Within nationalist ideology, these dimensions host specific contents; the *aesthetic dimension* foregrounds an idea of nature as being appreciable and enjoyable. Historically, the German *Heimatschutz* was concerned about (natural) monuments, ruins and billboards in the countryside while National Socialists, for example, claimed to 'sensitively' embed the *Autobahn* in the wider landscape. Today, this dimension is visible in, for example, protests against wind turbines ('a blight on the landscape'). The *symbolic dimension* is concerned with a community's claim to primacy and sovereignty in relation to a particular section of the Earth's surface, and thus the construction of its cultural difference from other communities. As such, in the symbolic dimension

the historical primacy of the (pure) national community in this territory is asserted. For example, overpopulation has long been viewed in (neo-)Malthusian terms, in terms of being a major threat to the national ecosystem – in line with wider societal debates (see, e.g. Ehrlich 1968) – but appears to be less central at the moment (but see Forchtner and Kølvrå 2015 for the British context as well as Glättli and Niklaus 2014 for the Swiss one. Concerning the United States, this topic appears to be more central, see Bhatia 2004; Mix 2009; SPLC 2010; Hultgren 2015). This might, of course, change, if ‘climate refugees’ becomes a salient public issue. Indeed, it is in the discourse about climate change that sovereignty has played a central role, being often viewed as, for example, a hoax to install a ‘one world government’ or to increase the European Union’s powers. Finally, the *material dimension* considers the land in terms of the resources it provides for its population and economy. As *we* are not supposed to be dependent on others, due to the ideal of self-sufficiency (both in relation to food and energy supplies), the nature–nation nexus is prominent. Indeed, the contemporary far right mobilises this dimension in various ways, for example when insisting on the significance of coal (or nuclear energy) for the national economy or when pointing to renewables to ensure autarky.

As such, the far right creates and relates in diverse ways to the natural environment, ways this volume will explore. Indeed, and against the aforementioned background, it is not surprising that contemporary far-right actors often, but not necessarily, show a concern for environmental protection. On the one hand, and as the particularities of the community need to be preserved, its natural environment needs to be protected. This results in a critique of what is viewed as being responsible for environmental degradation, of threats to the flora and fauna of ecosystems: ‘materialism’ and ‘globalisation’ (from the circulation of ideas to that of people and goods). As such, far-right criticism is based on the local, regional and/or national – and not the global, thus also reflecting the centrality of landscape to these identities. On the other hand, ideological, historical and contextual reasons mentioned above sometimes prevent actors from defending the natural environment. For example, worries about a loss of sovereignty (a key element linked to these actors’ ideology) due to the alleged rise of a world government might trump environmental concerns. This environmental scepticism is not usually driven by neoliberal, free-market considerations, such as in contemporary conservative climate-change scepticism (see, e.g. Dunlap and McCright 2015; Krange et al. 2019), but by far-right ideological elements other than the environment. For example, the British National Party displays scepticism towards anthropogenic climate change, largely rooted in the above-mentioned fear that climate-change policies would undermine national sovereignty. In consequence, what could be perceived as endangering ecosystems around the world is instead viewed as a sinister plot to weaken the nation.

Different stances vis-à-vis the environment point to complexity characterising every ideology, and to tensions which arise as soon as ideologies are lived in a particular context. Illuminating these complexities, and tensions potentially resulting from them, requires detailed analyses.

Overview of contributions to the volume

Following this introduction, contributions to this volume focus primarily on environmental communication by far-right actors in Europe – as this is the place of origin of far-right ideology which has also experienced the forceful resurgence of such actors since the 1980s – but also include analyses of situations in the United States.⁹

Part I, *Two Fields, Many Topics*, provides two overview chapters on the two fields of research this volume connects: first, Ruth Wodak offers insights into how the far right has developed, more specifically, how its communication and contributions to discourses have evolved over the years. While acknowledging context-dependent, socio-political and historical differences, Wodak stresses four dimensions: nationalism/nativism/anti-pluralism, anti-elitism, authoritarianism and a charismatic leader, and conservatism/historical revisionism. More specifically, Wodak elaborates on mediatization and communication strategies which have evolved over the past 30 years, pointing to, for example, discursive strategies of provocation, calculated ambivalence and scandalisation. This is followed by an introduction to environmental communication by Anders Hansen who traces the evolution of this subfield in communication studies. Emerging in the 1960s, the field has shed light on how, for example, communication strategies and public concerns have impacted on the construction and representation of the environment. While this is still relevant today, technological and other media developments, and this is of particular relevance in the case of media-savvy far-right activists, offer significant opportunities and challenges for communication about the environment.

After these two chapters, the volume presents four Parts which address a variety of far-right actors and their environmental communication. Each chapter deals with one state or site, but does not necessarily focus on only one actor within the respective context. These actors are not necessarily parties, though most chapters have the dominant far-right party of the respective country at their core. These chapters cover a variety of far-right actors with various stances towards different environmental issues, depending on what the authors consider to be most relevant. Parts are organised along geographical lines, starting with Part II, *Western Europe*.

Emily Turner-Graham looks at the United Kingdom, analysing material published by the British National Party, the United Kingdom Independence Party as well as more mainstream sources. She thus illustrates the workings and relevance of the former two's ideas – even though the parties themselves have become politically less relevant. Along the lines established above, she argues that the far right is not anti-environmental per se, but operates outside of the mainstream understanding of the environment, imagining a world of ordered (white) towns and a countryside which might, if at all, have existed in a distant past. This is followed by Salomi Boukala and Eirini Tountasaki's chapter on France, which focuses on what was back then the National Front, taking the party's adoption of environmental politics during the 2017 presidential elections as a case study.

Their analysis emphasises how the party's environmental vision is instrumental in the discursive revival of the French nation-state and national identity. The subsequent chapter by Giorgia Bulli analyses the Italian case, asserting that Italian parties do not much consider the natural environment, while non-party political movements have done so. She points to the influence of the *Nouvelle Droite* at the end of the 1970s, before turning to present-day *CasaPound Italia*, explaining how the promotion of ecological values, respect for the environment and actions to advertise their engagement play a role in the group's communication.

Part III is entitled Nordic Countries. Christoffer Kølvrå starts with a chapter on Denmark and the Danish People's Party in which he examines the party's environmental imaginary. He starts by exploring the party's idea of nature and its relation to human society by touching on environmental matters more generally, including their climate-change communication, before turning in much detail to the debate over the re-immigration of wild wolves to Denmark. Next, Martin Hultman, Anna Björk and Tanya Viinikka turn to Sweden, where they investigate the climate-change communication of the Sweden Democrats. The authors argue that the party's climate-change scepticism is based on anti-establishment rhetoric and the marketing of doubt, industrial/breadwinner masculinities and ethnonationalism. The final chapter in this Part is provided by Niko Hatakka and Matti Välimäki, who analyse the Finns Party's environmental performance and how, through populist representations, the party creates 'the people' it claims to represent. The authors do so by focusing on the party's campaign against wind power in 2016, which focuses on the alleged health and environmental hazards of wind turbines.

Part IV, Central Europe, brings together chapters on Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Germany and Poland. Kristian Voss looks at the Freedom Party of Austria, analysing party documents and legislative motions in the Austrian parliament. He argues that the party is characterised by a comprehensive and fundamental ecological component and, furthermore, stresses the significance of ideology (the Freedom Party of Austria being ideologically more 'extreme' than its breakaway party, the Alliance for the Future of Austria). The chapter by Anna Kyriazi investigates the Hungarian party Jobbik, the Movement for a Better Hungary. Kyriazi argues, that through its profound environmental agenda the party confers its organic nationalism and criticises its political opponents. She furthermore points to Jobbik's long-standing aspiration to establish an 'eco-social economy', an economy dominated by ecological and societal considerations while also stressing strategic motivations. This chapter is followed by Zbyněk Tarant's analysis of the situation in the Czech Republic. Tarant introduces the reader to both far-right political parties and non-party actors, arguing that while environmental concerns exist, there is no established environmental agenda. Overall, nativist thinking prevents these actors from formulating proper responses to global environmental challenges. Bernhard Forchtner and Özgür Özvatan then look at Germany by analysing a range of far-right publications as well as the environmental communication of the newly formed radical-right Alternative for Germany and the older, extreme-right National Democratic Party of Germany. They discuss the historical dimension of environmental protection and offer a wide-ranging overview of

the distribution of environmental topics and their evaluation in the present. The final chapter in this Part by Samuel Bennett and Cezary Kwiatkowski covers Poland and analyses manifestos as well as Facebook posts from relevant actors. Arguing that the environment is a relative new site of political and discursive contestation, they claim that there is little consistent green politics at the party level. Though little elite-level discourse about the environment thus exists, Bennett and Kwiatkowski claim that this has helped far-right actors to diffuse their discursive frames and strategies into mainstream Polish political discourse.

The final Part, Part V Beyond Europe, deals with environmental communication beyond the borders of individual European (nation-)states. First, Jonas Kaiser takes a fascinating look at how German climate-sceptic websites and blogs are linked to international sites, especially from the United States. Kaiser sheds light on the role the international right plays for German climate-change sceptics, contextualises the activities and positions of the latter, and stresses the internet's importance for transnational connections as well as the relevance for the connection of online counter-publics. Second, Blair Taylor examines the so called 'alt right' in the United States, pointing out how a variety of anti-egalitarian views, for example: anti-semitism, racism, gender traditionalism and homophobia have been harnessed to and justified by an ecological framework. Taylor argues that ecology represents one important political vector for the rejection of traditional pro-business conservative positions by the alt right. The final chapter in this Part by Kyle Boggs also looks at the situation in the United States, this time, however, specifically in terms of white settler colonialism. The author argues that the communicative practices of the United States far right can be traced back to the trope of 'white men and the frontier'; and Boggs carves out how the related issue of natural environment is present in these imaginaries.

In the final conclusion, Bernhard Forchtner reflects on the multifaceted phenomenon of far-right environmental communication and identifies areas of future research. As the contributions to this volume cover various (types of) actors and issues, *The Far Right and the Environment: Politics, Discourse and Communication* illustrates the varying importance attached to the natural environment. In so doing, the volume argues for more research on far-right environmental communication and invites readers to consider links between the far right and the natural environment, two areas of crucial importance for how people are going to live in the twenty-first century.

Notes

- 1 For seminal texts on the far right, see, for example, Rydgren (2018b), Mudde (2016) and (2007), Wodak (2015). However, these contributions do not consider environmental communication and environmental protection. Interestingly, Mudde (2000) lists possibly relevant ideological features, (environmentalism/ecologism), though they are only touched upon briefly in the context of the Dutch *Centrumpartij*'86. For examples of how nature protection has featured in some works on the far right, see Voss (2014: 7–10).
- 2 Ideology is here understood as 'a set of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify ends and means of organized social action', a belief system through which such action 'preserve[s], amend[s], uproot[s] or rebuild[s] a given social order' (Seliger 1976: 14).
- 3 For pragmatic reasons and due to public usage, I largely speak of 'environment'/'environmental', subsuming other notions such as 'nature' and 'ecology'/'ecological' under this umbrella. Thus, I speak of, for example, 'environmental communication' and 'environmental concerns' without implying a specific connotation. Whenever I use the term 'ecological', this, however, stresses an explicitly holistic perspective. Indeed, some foreground differences between these concepts. For example, 'environment' has only emerged in everyday language use since 1970 while 'nature' is older and signifies an understanding of flora and fauna as having intrinsic value (Radkau 2014). 'Ecology' goes back to Ernst Haeckel, a nineteenth century German scientist who referred to a holistic perspective according to which organisms should be studied in terms of their embeddedness in an interdependent system, an ecosystem. Here, (wo)man are *in* 'nature', not simply surrounded by it. Consequently, Dobson (1999: 235f) refers to 'ecologism' as addressing fundamental causes of environmental damage – while 'environmentalism' deals with symptoms and might thus take a managerial view.
- 4 For related concerns and typologies, see, for example, Anshelm and Hultman (2016) as well as Hajer (1995). Arguably, discourses are about representing the world, about being positioned as subjects (identities) and about being set in specific relations to other subjects (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). It should, however, be noted that 'discourse' is understood in many ways; for example, as natural spoken or written (or other modes) language in context or as more or less incommensurable sets of perspectives (with their particular knowledge and rules), while Reisigl and Wodak (2016) identify macro-topic-relatedness, pluri-perspective and argumentativity as constitutive elements of a discourse.
- 5 However, there are also other voices: for example, Fowler and Jones (2006: 315) analyse the relationship between nationalism and environmentalism in Wales during the early 1990s, claiming that this type of relationship will remain 'a situationally contingent phenomenon'. Focusing on Welsh (and Scottish) nationalism, Hamilton (2002) argues that nationalist movements mine environmental discourse to legitimise their claims. Still, he hopes for a green and civic nationalism to enhance nature protection while nevertheless claiming that (ibid.: 38) classic nationalism (authoritarian, militaristic and self-worshipping) is 'necessarily anthropocentric and utilitarian as regards the natural world'. De-Shalit and Talia (1994: 290), in their analysis of environmental controversies in Israel, argue that the latter are characterised by anthropocentric modes of reasoning due to the Zionist 'ethos of development'.
- 6 The fact that such an understanding of 'the people' and their natural environment still persists is visible in the manifesto apparently produced by the suspect of a terrorist attack on Christchurch mosques in March 2019 who killed 51 people. The manifesto rages against what the author calls 'white genocide', but also speaks of 'Green

nationalism' and states on page 38: '...there is no nationalism without environmentalism, the natural environment of our lands shaped us just as we shaped it. We were born from our lands and our own culture was molded by these same lands. The protection and preservation of these lands is of the same importance as the protection and preservation of our own ideals and beliefs. (...)Each nation and each ethnicity was melded by their own environment and if they are to be protected so must their own environments.'. Indeed, the author referred to himself as 'eco-fascist' (see Staudenmaier 2011[1995]). However, the latter concept lies not at the heart of this volume as it is only one amongst many positions, far-right actors might take towards the natural environment.

- 7 See, for example, Schaller and Carius' (2019: 39f) claim concerning 'green patriotism' of some far-right parties.
- 8 Research on climate-change scepticism more generally has largely focused on conservative actors (see, for example, the review in Krange et al. 2019).
- 9 This limitation is primarily due to pragmatic reasons and I do not suggest that environmental communication by the far right does not also happen in other countries/regions of the world than those addressed in this volume (or is less relevant there). For example, Galbreath and Auers (2009), Schwartz (2005) and Malloy (2009) discuss the Latvian case where the struggle for independence had an environmental dimension. Concerning Russia, Davidov (2015) has recently pointed to the eco-nationalist 'Anastasia' or 'Ringing Cedars' movement. Russia is also one of those cases analysed by Dawson (1996), furthermore including Lithuania and Ukraine, who discusses the convergence of environmentalism and nationalism in anti-nuclear activism under the label of 'eco-nationalism'. Similarly, Cederlöf and Sivaramakrishnan (2014) investigate how struggles over nature and conservation are linked to citizenship subjectivity and nationalism, how identity is linked to territory and the assertion of territory in South Asia. Sharma (2012) and Mawdsley (2006) trace the connection between Hindu nationalism and environmentalism in India.
- 1 See, for example, Rydgren (2017), Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2017), Wodak and Pelinka (2002), Rheindorf (2019), Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017), Salzborn (2014), Kriesi and Pappas (2015). Moffitt (2016), Muller (2016), Wodak (2015a).
- 2 See Zakaria (1997) for a definition of 'illiberal democracy'.
- 3 For more information on the election results of all far-right European parties since 1989 and the fall of the Iron Curtain, see Davis and Deole (2017) (www.cesifo-group.de/DocDL/dice-report-2017-4-davis-deole-december.pdf).
- 4 As per the National Socialism Prohibition Act 1947 www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=Bundesnormen&Gesetzesnummer=10000207 (accessed 4 March 2017).
- 5 www.dw.com/en/hungarys-viktor-orban-targets-critics-with-soros-mercenaries-blacklist/a-43381963 (accessed 20 June 2018).
- 1 On 1 June 2018, Marine Le Pen announced that the FN changed its name to National Rally (*Rassemblement National*). As we investigate a period in which the party was still called FN, we keep using its old name.
- 2 www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRe74tIsviQ&t=2s.
- 3 <https://rassemblementnational.fr/communiqués/communiqué-de-presse-du-collectif-nouvelle-ecologie/>
- 4 www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRe74tIsviQ [14 August 2018].
- 5 See Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1987), Van Eemeren et al. (2009) for a detailed presentation of the ten rules.
- 6 All the extracts that we analyse here are included in Marine Le Pen's speech on the party's environmental agenda that took place in Paris, 26 January 2017 and opened her presidential campaign. See: www.youtube.com/watch?v=cRe74tIsviQ&t=2s.
- 7 See <https://rassemblementnational.fr/videos/pour-une-europe-des-nations-et-des-peuples-allocation-de-marine-le-pen/>.

- 1 The Northern League abandoned the reference to the 'North' since the 2018 general elections, where the party was present in the official lists under the name 'Lega'.
 - 2 The MSI was created immediately after the end of World War Two with a clear reference to the *Fascismo Movimento* (Ignazi 1994: 11) and obtained an uninterrupted parliamentary representation during the First Republic.
 - 3 *Polo Escluso* (The excluded Pole), is the title of one Piero Ignazi's (1989) books devoted to the organization and political culture of MSI. The expression refers to the *cordon sanitaire* adopted by 'constitutional parties' towards the post-fascist MSI.
 - 4 On the complex relationship between the Italian post-fascist right and Evolian reception, see Germinario (2005: 47–63).
 - 5 In 1988, 10 years after the founding of the organization, the *Gruppi di ricerca ecologica* counted more than 15.000 members (Diani 1988: 61).
 - 6 The second camp is considered the less successful due to the attempt by the *Fronte della Gioventù*, loyal to the MSI secretary, to control over organization and political content. It was also held in the southern region of Abruzzo.
 - 7 The first squatting in 2002 gave birth to the experience of 'Casa Montag'. An insider description is available in Di Tullio (2006).
 - 8 0.14% in 2013 and 0.9% in 2018.
 - 9 The importance devoted by the Fascist regime to the spiritual, sportive and pre-military education of the youth is underlined by, e.g. Gentile (1995: 192).
 - 10 www.facebook.com/pg/laforestacheavanza/about/?ref=page_internal [20 March 2018].
 - 11 www.laforestacheavanza.org/search/label/Puglia [13 March 2018].
 - 12 www.casapounditalia.org/2013/03/vivisezione-harlan-deve-chiudere-500.html [16 April 2018].
 - 13 The association was particularly active following the earthquakes that happened in 2016 in central Italy.
 - 14 www.laforestacheavanza.org/2017/11/il-monte-giano-riavra-la-sua-scritta.html [13 March 2018].
 - 15 Gabriele Adinolfi for instance has been the funder of the organization *Terza Posizione*, an extra-parliamentarian, extreme-right organization created in 1978.
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- 1 Part of the corpus overlaps with that utilized in earlier work with Bernhard Forchtner (Forchtner and Kolvræa 2015). The corpus includes ca. 70 texts/media products. About a third of them – as well as the two one-hour long TV debates included – are associated with the 2018 wolf debate.
 - 2 All quotes from the DPP and DPP members have been translated from Danish by the author.
 - 1 The party changed its English translation to 'the Finns Party' in 2012. Some researchers still use the old unofficial translation 'the True Finns'.
 - 2 One of the first party platforms from the still extant Finnish parties to address environmental issues came from the Agrarian league. The programme addressed the problem of deforestation from the overexploitation of forests by sawmills.
 - 1 All translations from Hungarian are my own. All electronic sources were last consulted on 8 August 2018.
 - 2 www.jobbik.hu/videoink/jobbik-bemutatja-kornyezetvedelmi-es-energetikai-programjat
 - 3 Coded recording of the political position of the parties.
 - 4 www.jobbik.hu/videoink/miert-jobb-nemet-szen-magyarnal-harc-banyakert
 - 5 www.jobbik.hu/videoink/onkentes-munkat-vegzett-jobbik-asotthalmon
 - 6 www.jobbik.hu/programunk/kornyezetvedelem
 - 7 www.jobbik.hu/kepviseloink/kepli-lajos
 - 8 Note that the overall media attention devoted to environmental issues has also grown slightly in the past few years (WWF 2016).

- 9 'The kolontár Committee did not learn much', *Index*, 4 October 2011. Online at: https://index.hu/belfold/2011/10/04/vorosiszap_vizsgalobizottsag/
- 10 See, e.g. 'The circle of Mészáros and Tiborcz take the best plots of Lake Balaton', *Index*, 3 August 2017. Online at: https://index.hu/gazdasag/2017/08/03/meszaros_tiborcz_balaton_kemping/
- 1 The connection between the hiking culture and nationalism has only recently received scholarly attention, thanks to the works of Shay Rabineau, who noted the significance of the hiking trail system, imported from Central Europe, for the Zionist hiking culture in Israel. See: Rabineau (2014).
- 2 'zin' or 'zine' was a 1980s and 1990s term used for samizdat magazines ("magazine" → 'zin').
- 3 The main website of the movement, Nacionaliste.com, is currently defunct, but available via internet archive: *Nacionaliste.com*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20090430084320/www.nacionaliste.com:80/> [4 April 2018].
- 4 Formerly available at: www.nacionaliste.com/storage/1238340075_sb_ekologie.jpg. Currently accessible at: *Autonomní nacionalisté Kutná Hora*. <https://ankutnahora.wordpress.com/page/2/> [4 April 2018].
- 5 www.delnickastrana.cz, www.delnicka-strana.cz, www.dsss.cz, www.delnickelisty.cz, www.delnickamladez.cz etc. The archive of the oldest versions (2003–2008) can be visited via the Wayback machine: <https://web.archive.org/web/20090301051139/www.delnickastrana.cz/>.
- 6 A partial archive, containing issues 26–49, is still available at: www.delnickelisty.cz/archiv-tisku [4 April 2018].
- 7 The archive of *Youth Voice (Hlas mládeže)* is available at: <http://hlas.delnickamladez.cz/archiv-tistenych-vydani> [4 April 2018].
- 1 This work was supported by FP7 People: Marie-Curie Actions [grant number 327595]. All quotes from German sources have been translated into English by the authors.
- 2 As mentioned in the Introduction to this volume (Forchtner 2019b), we use 'environmental' for pragmatic reasons, thus not connoting only superficial concern for the environment. However, at times we will use 'ecological' to stress a particularly holistic perspective.
- 3 On Seifert's relation to the cultivation of herbs in the concentration camp Dachau, see Kopke (2012).
- 4 We exclude animal welfare to do with pets and ritual slaughter for pragmatic reasons; though articles dealing with animals are part of our corpus, for example concerning 'Biodiversity' and in discussions of bird populations and wind turbines.
- 5 For another view on the AfD, see Schaller and Carius (2019: 84).
- 1 Pro-environmental postulates were present during the Round Table Talks in 1989, but they did not leave any significant mark on the political life of the newly-neo-liberal Poland, in which the effectiveness of the economy became a top priority (Charkiewicz 2008: 42).
- 2 Krzyżanowski (2018) notices this 'discursive shift' in immigration and provides examples of the far-right language strategically enacted by PiS.
- 3 <http://nczas.com/2017/08/27/najwyzszy-czas-numer-podwojny-36-372017-odponiedzialku-w-kioskach-oraz-online/> [5 June 2018].
- 1 This work has been funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG; KA 4618/1–2).
- 2 www.science-skeptical.de/blog/kernpunkte-zur-klima-und-energiepolitik-ausder-afd/0013952/ [30 April 2018].
- 3 www.eike-klima-energie.eu/2014/03/23/europawahlpogramm-der-afd-fordert-komplette-abschaffung-des-eeg-wissenschaft-vom-klimawandel-wird-als-sehr-unsicherheitsbehaftet-bezeichnet/ [30 April 2018].
- 4 <https://volksbetrugpunkt.net.wordpress.com/2018/04/16/soros-ungarn-victor-orban-macht-ernst-mit-seinem-kampf-gegen-die-globalisten/> [30 April 2018].

- 5 <https://lupocattivoblog.com/2010/03/17/holocaustleugnung-und-die-abwesenheit-von-logik/> [30 April 2018].
- 6 For example, <https://de.sputniknews.com/panorama/20170801316841497-klimaforscher-trockene-regionen-austrocknen-feuchte-feuchter-werden-klimawandel/> (Accessed 30 April 2018); <https://deutsch.rt.com/newsticker/66972-weltbank-bericht-millionen-droht-umsiedeln-wegen-klimawandels/> [30 April 2018].
- 7 For example, <https://de.sputniknews.com/wissen/20161107313252515-klimawandel-hauptschuldigen/>; <https://deutsch.rt.com/programme/der-fehlende-part/52127-michael-limburg-klimaschutz-ist-absurde-idee/> [30 April 2018].
- 8 For this analysis, I set the locations for the two prominent blogging platforms Wordpress and Blogspot as NA, as all sites would show up as U.S. sites. Given that there are 165 sites within the network which are hosted by either one of those platforms, this would have skewed the analysis heavily.
- 9 <https://lupocattivoblog.com/impressum/> [30 April 2018].
- 10 <http://conservativetransparency.org/recipient/heartland-institute/page/3/> [30 April 2018].
- 11 www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/08/16/daily-caller-has-white-nationalist-problem [30 April 2018].
- 12 www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2014/12/04/american-thinker-sinks-bottom-racist-barrel [30 April 2018].
- 1 Anti-racist and left-wing bioregionalists, like Cascadia flag designer Alexander Baretich, actively counter right-wing attempts to co-opt the term Cascadia.
- 1 I deliberately place ‘Alt Right’ in quotes upon first reference in this way to draw attention to it as a re-branding deployed as a rhetorical gesture by white nationalists. I do not wish to validate white nationalist’s effort toward mainstreaming their ideologies by accommodating them based on their preferred terminology. However, the term is used throughout this chapter because of the confluence of discursive formations the term currently signals, which is a necessary component of this analysis. See Hartzell (2018) for a full discussion on the use of or rejection of this term.
- 2 www.npr.org/2017/08/23/545509627/armed-militias-face-off-with-the-antifa-in-the-new-landscape-of-political-protes [8 July 2018].
- 3 This definition of rhetoric was scaffolded by Sid Dobrin’s (2002: 18) definition of rhetoric from his chapter, ‘Writing Takes Place’, in *Natural Discourse: Toward Ecocomposition* (18). It was modified to more directly accommodate the material as an active agent in the production of discourse.
- 4 Gottfried (2018), a Jewish-American scholar and self-identified ‘paleoconservative’, has claimed that he is a ‘major source’ of the alt right’s ‘ideas and attitudes’, and has worked with Spencer before, but notes ‘strategic differences’ with the prominent white nationalist.
- 5 For a more in-depth discussion on the affective relationship between discourse and materiality, see Barad 2008. Of tertiary interest is Haraway’s concept of the ‘material-semiotic’ (2008), and Soja’s articulation of ‘realandimagined’ space (1996).
- 6 In this chapter, I deploy the term ‘Native’ to denote people of a variety of tribes and nations who may identify as such, or Indigenous, Native American, or American Indian. Some reject all these terms and simply prefer to go by their recognized or unrecognized tribal affiliation.

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