



Hate speech and Domestic terrorism

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Abstract

With the increase and popularity of the use of internet, hate speech has reached wider dimensions in societies. This thesis will provide empirical examples to show the relation between speech and actions. This paper will use speech-act theory and social movement theory to portray the relation between hate speech on social media and domestic terrorism inspired by far right extremist. Even though, there has been a lot of work for counter terrorism, domestic terrorism is still overlooked. Empirical sources say that domestic terrorism poses a threat as much as international terrorism. This thesis will bring light over the connections of hate speech and domestic terrorism inspired by far right extremists. It will conclude that there is an evident relation that hate speech on social media is contributing to domestic terrorism actions encouraged by far right extremism.

Key words: Hate speech, social media, speech act theory, social movements, far-right extremism, domestic terrorism

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1. Introduction

Social media has become a platform where people express their opinions freely, yet the dark side of the web is that it is also manifesting hate speech and radicalism. With the recent domestic terror attacks in different countries, it is evident that hate speech has consequences. Hate speech is not something new to societies, it has existed throughout history long before the existence of internet. However, with the use of internet becoming more common, hate speech is taking a new spin in societies, consequently, hate and radicalism is reaching a wider audience. This thesis aims to explain the relation between speech and action specifically between hate speech and domestic terrorism inspired by far right extremism. Kopytowska claims that “Hate speech can become violence of action as it polarizes and excludes liberty and equality” (Kopytowska, 2017, p.5). In other words, these incidents and many others have shown that hate speech on social media has the possibility to turn to physical violent actions. Those hate actions on the internet are then possibly carried out in the real world, and this thesis will elaborate on these phenomena.

The underlying hypothesis of this paper is that far-right extremists and white supremacist groups have used hate speech in a conducive manner to encourage domestic terrorism. This paper will use recent major incidents, such as Pittsburgh mass-shooting and Christchurch domestic terrorist attacks, to portray the relation between speech and action and the consequences of hate speech. In recent years, many countries have witnessed a wave of domestic terrorism attacks, and the continued rise of far-right parties. Far-right movements are gaining support across many countries due to the hate speech they spread to induce fear and incite violence. Far-right extremists use nationalism as an excuse to support these groups. Additionally, hate speech targets race, ethnicity, gender, religion and sexual orientation.

This thesis will use social movement theory to understand the reasons how social mobilization occurs and what it manifests, as well as the potential social, cultural, and political consequences. From the many social movement theories, the concept political opportunity will help analyze how far-right movements are using social media platforms to distribute and spread hate speech and consequently manifesting fear in societies. Moreover, resource mobilization and grievance will help explain how hate speech is conducive to the actions of far right extremists. New social movement’s theory will also be used in combination with the prior mentioned theories to create a

better understanding how the correlation between collective action and the internet affects the spread of hate speech and how hate can result into domestic terrorist attacks. Furthermore, speech act theory suggests societies are constructed by language, and this will help to analyze the connection between speech and actions. In addition, as displayed in Arendt's political theory, speech is a precondition for the public sphere in human life (Binbuža, 2016, p.707). This establishes the importance and the role of speech in daily life in societies. Thus, hate speech plays a huge role in disrupting society by turning people against each other, fueling hate and dividing them and resulting in hate crimes and domestic terrorism. For instance, most attacks like the 2011 Norwegian bombing were considered isolated events. However, now, after many terrorist attacks in many countries (see image p.23) it can be noticed that there is a pattern emerging: the increase in far right extremism, the increase of hate and attacks against fellow civilians (Kaur, 2011, p.26). This paper will specifically examine the recent incidents in Pittsburgh, USA and Christchurch terror attack in New Zealand in relation to hate speech and domestic terrorism inspired by far-right extremism.

1.1 Purpose and aim

This thesis aims to discover the role hate speech plays in encouraging domestic terrorist acts. Doing so requires looking into how radical far-right wing movements have used hate speech to spread their ideologies. With the increase of the right-wing extremism in the contemporary world, this thesis aims to look on how hate speech is used to promote their ideologies, create fear in societies, and inspire domestic terrorist attacks. Social movement theory will help to understand far-right extremism and the connection between hate speech and terrorist attacks.

The empirical focus in the thesis is on several incidents that are considered as domestic terrorism. More specific attention will be paid to Pittsburgh mass shooting and Christchurch domestic terrorist attack as well as other mass-shooting and terrorist attacks that will be used to portray a network connection between these groups. The purpose of this study is to understand how hate speech is systematically used to encourage and inspire crimes such as domestic terrorist attacks. By using articles and researches from different disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, philosophy, human rights, political science, criminology and communications, it will illustrate

the following correlation between hate speech and domestic terrorism related to far right extremist.

1.2 Research question

- How has hate-speech discourse on social media paved a way for domestic terrorism inspired by far right extremists?

1.3 Previous Researches

Researches on hate speech, domestic terrorism and far-right extremism are found in several kinds of literature. Hate speech has been studied in relation with extreme right, racist discourse, populism, fascist discourse, sexism, pornography, genocide discourse and homophobic discourses. Caspri (2013) explores the effects of hate speech through gender, sexual orientation, race, ethnicity and religion. Some say that the concept of hate speech is often used in a manipulative way especially by politicians to manifest fear in society by stigmatizing and dehumanizing other individuals and groups (Drożdż, 2016, p.21). Others also discuss the role of media platforms as a tool for propaganda of hate. Other researches have showed the increase of cyberhate in relation to refugee crisis and the aftermath of 9/11 terrorist attacks. With media proximation approach, these researchers discuss what role the media plays in othering or portraying refugees and immigrants as enemies, as a result increasing hate towards these groups (Kopytowska, 2017, p.58). Perry and Olsson (2009) have studied the globalization of hate with the spread of internet. They examine how internet allows the hate movement to retrench and reinvent itself as a viable collective affecting the whole society. Many scholars have examined the presence and the use of the net by white supremacist, and these studies are usually focused on content analyses. These researches usually focus on white supremacist and far-right extremists' usage of internet not the damage they produce.

In addition, there are many studies and debates about the criminalization of hate speech and the consequences that follows, which has also been explored by Binbuğa (2016) using Arendt's political theory. Moreover, there are other scholars that research about hate speech in relation to its role on genocide and ethnic clashes. The most common examples are the Rwandan 1994 genocide and the Anti-Roma sentiment in contemporary Europe. Cortese (2006) and Frans

(2005) explore the Rwandan genocide in terms of hate speech and how the international community ignored the role hate speech from media had played in manifesting hate and encouraging violence. There are few articles about far-right extremism and domestic terrorism, however there are not many articles in connection with hate speech. It is common to find discussion of these topics separately. Many scholars have focused on the relationship between individual behavior and terrorist acts and very few look at social network influence on these actions. Social network analysis has shown that individual behavior and collective influence has a huge role in one's actions (Caspi, 2013, p.35).

Furthermore, many studies focus on international terrorism, and very few have studied domestic terrorism in relation to far-right movement and hate speech. Some researchers have written about how terrorist groups such as ISIS use social media to promote their ideologies and as a tool to appeal to younger generation (Harris, 2019). Most of the domestic terrorism researches focus on US far-right extremists and white supremacists. Similar literatures have focused on white supremacist groups in US, and most common examples are Ku Klux Klan (KKK), neo-Nazi and skinheads. Few scholars such as Rinehart (2013) have also researched about social movement and the origins of terrorism and how peaceful social movements turned into violent terrorist attacks. She also explores the radicalizations of this movement and focus on Islamic terrorist groups. There is less developed research on the social movement side of the extreme right wings. While political party studies provide more and increasingly sophisticated analyses of radical right parties, social movement studies have traditionally focused on the progressive left-libertarian movements such as the civil and political movements, labor movements and human rights movements. However, it has not fully addressed the harmful side of social movement (Porta and Wagemann, 2012, p.4). Therefore, this thesis will focus on the relation between hate speech, far-right extremism and domestic terrorism.

1.4 Relevance to human rights

Hate speech rejects individuals the right to participate as a member in the public sphere as equal worth in the social life of the community of the state. The victims of hate speech are viewed as being inferior and as a result unworthy of being part of the community and they are rejected and excluded from part of the community's social life. They are exposed to discrimination and

humiliation, which violates their human dignity. Human dignity is an important value that has been recognized in the Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is why it is relevant to human rights. Hate speech strips the individual from its humanity and dignity as a human being and prohibits them equal worth and rights within the community of state. Freedom of speech and freedom of expression are one of the most acknowledged and important human right in the world. According to Hannah Arendt, it is important to understand speech as a precondition on to what makes us human beings. “The danger of hate speech lies in the fact that, by dehumanizing and denigrating the victim group, it begins a ‘continuum of destruction’ which is done by separating and excluding the victims from the community of humankind or the human commonwealth” (Timmermann, 2008, p.354).

Hate speech is prohibited under different human rights law. For instance, the Universal Declaration of human rights (UDHR) article 7 guarantees the right not to be discriminated and Article 20(2) of the International convention of Civil and political rights (ICCPR) states that any advocacy against national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence are prohibited. Through these discussions’ sexism, misogyny and homophobia are also considered as hate speech. Noting that, ICCPR is one of the most ratified convention among states. Even though, freedom of expression is a very valuable and basic right, there are some restrictions to it when it comes to hate speech. As it states in Article 26 of the ICCPR: *All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.* In addition, Article 2 of the ICCPR specifically targets states protections without any distinction between race, color, sex, languages, political opinion, social origin etc. Also article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination (CERD) prohibits hate speech on racial grounds and claims that states’ must criminalize or take action against all dissemination of ideas based on racial, superiority or hatred, incitement to racial discrimination, in addition to all acts of violence or incitement to such acts against any race or group of persons belonging to another color or ethnic origin.

The main rights that are infringed and violated by hate speech are equality rights such as the right not to be discriminated and the right to respect human dignity (Timmermann, 2008, p.356). Those above mentioned articles from different international conventions illustrate a specific restriction in connections to hate speech. This shows that there is a tension between freedom of speech and hate speech. There is no specific drawn line where speech becomes hate speech legally. Hate speech is a kind of violence. This tension complicates how hate speech can be regulated; however, as mentioned in the articles, when speech reaches to the point on targeting race, religion, gender, social origin, political opinions there are restrictions.

1.5 Delimitations

This thesis will not focus on Islamic terrorist groups such as ISIS or other terrorist groups, because, as seen on previous researches there are many researches that have examined this topic compared to domestic terrorism. In addition, the articles analyzed for the Christchurch and Pittsburgh attack will be from newspapers, as there are no scholarly articles about these events, which is why only facts from reliable Newspapers will be extracted and used with in this thesis due to the fear that Newspapers might be biased in the information they will provide.

Notwithstanding, there are many reasons why domestic terrorism may occur; however, this thesis will focus merely on the involvement of hate speech and far-right extremism to this phenomenon. Even though hate speech, domestic terrorism and far right extremism are huge topics on their own, due to the lack of research and discussion, this thesis has chosen to combine these topics to contribute to the study of domestic terrorism and to show the relation and impact of hate speech on this phenomenon. While discussing domestic terrorism and far-right extremism, white supremacist and hate crimes will be part of the discussion however it will only be mentioned briefly. There are many other kinds of hate speech targeted towards gender and sexual orientation, but this thesis will focus on hate speech towards race and religion in connection to domestic terrorism acts.

1.6 Chapter Outline

The following chapter will describe the different theories that is advantageous to analyze for this thesis. It will briefly provide definitions for certain concepts that may be deemed controversial

and then it will examine both social movement theory and speech act theory. Afterwards Chapter three will give a brief explanation of the materials that will be used. In this analysis, the methods used to evaluate and understand the materials, will also be justified within this section. The fourth chapter will first apply the social movement theory on a far-right extremism case. It will expand and discuss on how far-right extremism has used hate speech in a systematic manner in social movements.

Additionally, in order to indicate empirical and verifiable insight, an analysis will be carried out to evaluate two different real life situations in relation to hate speech and right wing extremism. In chapter four, the connection between far-right extremism, domestic terrorism and hate speech will be explicitly portrayed. As a result, it will provide a discussion of the impact that hate speech has on society and its correlation with domestic terrorism. Thereafter the following fifth chapter will indicate the results and judgment reached post the evaluation of information and the conclusion. Chapter 6 will provide insight to possible further researches. Finally, in bibliography the documents used will listed.

2. Theoretical Framework

This section will explore both social movement theory and speech act theory. It will first give brief definitions of concepts that will be widely used for the upcoming discussions and then it will provide explanations for both theories in order to create an underlying base of understanding for the analyzing process.

2.1 Definitions of Concepts

There is no agreed upon legal definitions of hate speech. However, hate speech as defined by Cambridge dictionary is “public speech that expresses hate or encouraging violence towards a person or a group based on something such as race, religion, sex, or sexual orientation” (Dictionary.cambridge.org, 2019).

Domestic Terrorism: Even though, there is no agreed upon definition of what domestic terrorism is and what kind of attacks it consists of, there are many debates surrounding it. Some scholars and experts have had a hard time labeling white nationalist or supremacist criminals as terrorist

because it is not what the common stereotype of a terrorist would be like. There seems to be a double standard to who is identified as a terrorist (Aaronson, 2019). This brings up the recent debates whether Pittsburgh mass shooting should be considered as domestic terrorism or as a hate crime. Many have been doubtful on labeling it as an act of domestic terrorism. However, this thesis will use the below definition of domestic terrorism and consider Pittsburgh mass shooting as a domestic terrorist attack. The term domestic terrorism means activities that (Caspi, 2013 p.14)

- A. *Involve acts of dangerous to human life that are a violation of the state's law*
- B. *Appears to be intended to –*
 - I. *To intimidate or coerce a civilian population;*
 - II. *To influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion;*
 - III. *To affect the conduct of a government*
 - IV. *By mass destruction, assignation or Kidnapping*
- C. *Occurs primary within the territorial jurisdiction of a state.*

White supremacist: An individual, group or organization that adheres to an ideology that asserts white people are superior compared to other races, ethnicities and non-Christian religions. Such groups are frequently anti-governmental and justify the use of violence to further their ideologies such as separation from, expulsion of and dominance over non-white and non-Christians (Dictionary.cambridge.org, 2019).

Far-right extremism - are politics further on the right compared to the standard political right ideology, particularly includes extreme nationalism and authoritarian tendencies. It is often described as Nazism, neo-Nazism, fascism, neo-fascism, and white-supremacism and consists of ideologies that are chauvinist, xenophobic, racist, and homophobic (Porta and Wagemann, 2012, p. 2).

Populism: a political approach that strives to appeal to ordinary people who feel that their concerns are disregarded by established elite groups and providing them with what they wanted (Dictionary.cambridge.org, 2019)

2.2 Social movement theory

For this thesis, there are four different social movements theories that are relevant. These are deprivation theories, resource mobilization theory, political opportunity and new social movement theories and will be explained here below. Social movement theory is relevant because far right is a kind of social movement and through different outlets the hate movement is spreading. Social movement theory is deemed necessary because it can help explain relation of speech and action through far right extremist actions.

2.2.1 Deprivation theory (commonly known as grievances)

The deprivation of rights of political opportunities or economic deprivation can lead to a social movement. Depriving something from individuals arises grievances of that loss. The role of grievances in influencing the participation in social movements is a debatable issue. So far there are three different hypothesis that have been suggested. In the classical model, it is assumed that the direct effect of grievance can lead to more political participation. Secondly, this was criticized by resource mobilization theorists, who argued that grievance cannot explain social movement participation or are at the very least of secondary importance. This theory assumes that there is a conditional effect of grievance, depending on multiplicative relationship between the preference for public goods and collective action. And lastly, the recent contribution viewing grievance in relation to resource mobilization perspective, claims that grievance is an important factor for social movement participation only when it provides opportunities that leads to participations (Opp, 1988, p.853). Economic and cultural grievances can be seen with in far right extremist movement as opportunities to participate in social movements (Castelli Gattinara and Pirro, 2018, p.7). For instance, one might participate in a social movement if they believe it is related to their own personal grievance, such as loss of jobs or belief their identity is threatened because of another group. If grievances increase social movement participation, and individuals get involved, grievances may arise further. In other words, grievances reinforce each other, so that when there is an opportunity for action this may lead to more of grievances and this in turn stimulates action. Thus, intense grievances may raise social movement participation, involvement and possibly influence its outcome and vice versa, it may also increase further grievances (ibid, p.854).

2.2.2 Resource mobilization

Resource mobilization theory is when some individuals have certain grievances, they will be able to mobilize necessary resources to do something to alleviate grievances. In this context resources refers to money, labor, social status, knowledge, support of media and political elite (political motivations and political parties). Mobilization is the process when a group secures collective control over resources need for collective actions. Early theorists of resource mobilization viewed movements that were social and political movements as goal-oriented extension of every day political activities that are in many ways trying to accomplish a social change (Sen and Avci, 2016, p.126).

Currently, resource mobilization plays a marginal role in the literature of social movements. Recent scholars have paid less attention to resource mobilization theory compared to other existing theories within social movement. Many researches briefly mention mobilizing certain resources such as money, people and organization etc (Edwards and Kane, 2014, p.207). These resources affect the development, strategies and outcomes of social movements. For instance, the funding raised for a social movement are empirically linked to the tactic and goals utilized by movements' organization. The media coverage as well has a huge impact on the movement achieving the desired outcomes. Furthermore, the preexisting network and mobilization of participants has a huge influence on the process of the movements. The human capital (e.g. knowledge, skills, experience, and networking) has a huge impact on distribution and concentration on the movement's organization (Edwards and Kane, 2014, p.209). For instance, In USA during the rise of civil right movements, where Martin Luther King was able to successfully elicit the support of thousands of people (including many sympathetic whites) in launching and propagating the movement. They were able to do that in spite of the fact that a majority of the white population at that time were strongly opposed to some of the fundamental objectives of the movement (ex. the ending of separate public facilities for whites and non-whites and the awarding of voting rights to black people etc).

According to Jenkins (1983), social movements are traditionally seen as extensions of more elementary forms of collective behavior and encompassing both movements of personal change. However, resource mobilization theorists view social movements as extensions of

institutionalized actions¹ that attempt to change the elements of social structure and reward distribution of society, organized groups against institutional elites or represent the interests of groups excluded from the polity (Jenkins, 1983, p.529).

2.2.3 Political process/opportunity theory

Political opportunity theory is an explanation for the emergence of political movement in that the origins of a social movement are traced to the availability of political opportunities (Sen and Avci, 2016, p.127). Political opportunity looks at social movements in question of the state. If the power of governments is strong there is a less possibility for the success of social movement because government will likely adhere to repressive behavior. However, if the government is weak or tolerant, it is more likely that the social movement will flourish. This theory takes into the account political conditions and political opportunities in determining chances of the success of social movement. For instance, the Green movement in the Western Europe has flourished due to the government tolerance and cooperation, yet the Pro-democracy movement in Chile was confronted with repressive power backed by the government (Sen and Avci, 2016, p.128). This shows that political opportunity is an important external factor for social movements because it influences the conditions of collective goods. The intervention and significance of organizational members contributes to the success or failure of the movement, which is a critical factor that mediates the link between external political opportunity and the internal movement dynamics.

Thus, political opportunity affects emergence, strength of the social movement, strategy, behavior, form and outcome (Suh, 2001, p.439). However, political opportunity is also deemed as a dependent variable altered by social movements. This means that there is an interactive relationship between social movement and political opportunity and a social movement analysis that excludes political opportunity is incomplete.

¹ Refers to the process of embedding some conception (for example a belief, norm, social role, value or mode of behavior) within an organization, social system, or society.

2.2.4 New social movements theories

New social movement theories have arisen as a reaction to the deficiencies of classical Marxist theories for analyzing collective action. In other words, they emerged as a reaction against, “deepening, broadening, and increased irreversibility of the forms of domination and deprivation in late capitalistic societies”. (Tridico, 2019, p.58) This theory looks at other motivators of collective action that are rooted in politics, ideology, and culture. In addition, new social movement theories focus on new definers of collective identity, like ethnicity, gender, and sexuality to understand the causal factors for collective action (Sen and Avci, 2016, p.128).

Due to the impact social movements have on adult learning such as the direct learning that occurs when people participate in a social movement and the learning that takes place in people who are outside the social movement but who, nonetheless are affected by witnessing the continued operation of the social movement. Social movements are thus, at the very least, influential in molding the way people (both participants and non-participants) interpret the world and which then might impel them to take action that may result in societal change (Sen and Avci, 2016, p.129)

Moreover, unlike the old social movement theorists, the new social movement’s theories have particularly emphasized the importance the role of the web plays for progressive activism. Internet plays a central role for establishing relationships between individuals. Virtual communities have been built and together people in various ways have been influencing one another. One of the most popular examples is forums. Forums is an online community that brings individuals with similar goals and ideologies uniting them for various reasons. As stated earlier, the web has brought great things but is shadowed by its darker aspects, through the anger and persistent hatred creating ignorance, where views different from one's self get ignored as a result other people’s views are blurred. One such action had the ability to pursue a more hostile online community, in this specific instance being referred to is the white supremacist hate movement. They have been using the internet as a marketing tool to mobilize resources and for political opportunity (Perry and Olsson, 2009, p.187).

Even though parts of social movement theory is slightly outdated and maybe hard to relate with the more globalized and digitalized era, yet it is still advantageous to understand far-right extremism and white supremacy in relation to how it is spreading among societies and the consequences it holds. Also, it is useful to explore the characteristics of far right as a movement in order to understand how social movement characters can be applied on far right extremism and the relation between hate speech and domestic terrorism. The characteristics of far right movement could be seen as a grievance, feeling threaten by another group, collective action, the use of social media, hate speech, propaganda and political opportunity. Understanding far right social movement will help to understand the resources mobilization on social media and how hate speech is used with in the movement resulting to domestic terrorism. However, it should be noted that social movement theory may not provide all reasons and details about far-right extremism movement.

2.3 Speech Act Theory

Speech Act theory aids to understand the realm of languages as a social practice (Pratt, 1986 p.60). Austin stresses the connection between forms of social life and forms of meanings. In speech act theory, he claims that to utter a word is not just to say. According to Austin's speech-act theory, language can be understood referential or informative but also performative. Austin suggests three different types within any speech-acts; locutionary, illocutionary, perlocutionary speech acts. Locutionary dimension is the referential aspect of actual utterances, which is a statement that is communicatively meaningful in a language such as grammar, vocabulary and sentences. In other words, the mere utterance of words is locutions speech act, but rather is to perform a kind of actions, to act with speech. However, saying something could be seen as doing something as well which is illocutionary act, an act performed "in saying something". In other words when we say something, we speak, we promise, we order, threaten, persuade, those are in saying something we are performing an act, so in saying do what they say and do it in the moment of saying. Butler suggests that illocutionary speech acts, at the moment of utterance, one is performing a certain kind of action. Austin states both locutionary and illocutionary acts involve conventions. In addition, perlocutionary acts, produce certain effect as their consequences; by saying something, a certain effect must follow (Butler, 1997, p.2). Hence, the difference between both illocutionary and perlocutionary speech acts are about the result and the

effects they produce with in the dimension of communications. Despite intentional or unintentional, perlocutionary speech acts have a consequence, while illocutionary speech act is simultaneous effect (Özarslan 2014, p.67). Thus, Austin portrays that language is what creates shared environment among mankind, which helps establish situations and role in human civilization. This illustrates how powerful speech is for societies.

Moreover, Hannah Arendt contributes to this particular study through her exploration of the connection between speech and action in her book *The Human Condition* (1958). Arendt describes that it is through speech and action humans are inventing the world we live in. Speech is a central component for action. Without speech, action cannot take place. Only through the integration of the two is that individuals reveal themselves to each other. Unlike many other human performances, speech requires to some extent action. In other performances speech usually plays a subordinate role for a means of communications or something that accompanies something else that could have been accomplished in silence. She outlines that with words and deeds, individuals insert themselves in the social world (Arendt, 1958, p.176). Action is located between the interaction among human beings and it is what creates plurality among individuals. Action is what makes human life continue into the realm of socio-political life. Thus, action and speech are very closely related, because the affinity between speech and revelation is much closer compared to the relation between action and revelation, just as the affinity between action and beginning is much closer in comparison to speech and beginning, although many, and even most acts, are performed in the manner of speech. If actions are not accompanied by speech it would lose not only its revelatory characters but also its subject (Arendt, 1958, p.178). Hence, Arendt's discussion portrays the relation between speech and action.

Many philosophers are skeptical about speech act theory's potential for characterizing language as a social practice and may be dependent on undeveloped assumptions of social interaction (Pratt, 1986, p.60). Despite these, speech act theory in combination with Arendt's examination of speech and action are helpful to understand the underlying correlation of hate speech in regards of action and intention behind a mere utterance.

3. Methodology

3.1 Method

This thesis aims to discover the relation between hate speech and domestic terrorism that has increased with the populism of far-right activism. This paper will gather researches that have been conducted and the articles from different disciplines in order to have a better understanding on the impact hate speech has had on societies.

It will use news articles to gather facts about the domestic terrorist attack events that will be mentioned in this paper. The newspapers will be used to discuss the empirical evidence that has been gathered about the different events of domestic terrorism. This thesis has chosen to use secondary resources' method because it was seen beneficial to contribute to this study through research of previous scholars from other different disciplines. Many previous studies have used social network analysis to gather data about the networks and connections between far right extremism and the possibility of this groups committing crimes. Other studies have done case studies only based on a specific country. Researches based on social network analysis will be widely used with in this thesis to show the connection between hate speech and far right extremism and how they conductively use hate speech to spread hate and incite violence. Therefore, this thesis is a very theory-based study. This study has been conducted by using second resources and two case studies to reach its end result.

This thesis is based on different literatures and researches from many disciplines such as communications, philosophy, sociology, human rights, criminology and political science. Many of the secondary resources use qualitative method to gather information and others use social network analysis. Social network analysis is usually used to analyze different networks. The aim of social network analysis is to understand a community by mapping the relationships that connect them as a network and then trying to draw out key individuals, groups within the networks or the components and/or association between the individuals. Though the range of use of social network analysis is broad, it is generally agreed that there are two dimensions that are central in most studies. First, the link between behaviors of an individual and the environment he is located in and secondly to understand the structure of members in a group, in order to understand collective behavior (Martino and Spoto, 2016 p.58). Those two mentioned above are

useful to understand far right extremism and domestic terrorism. Within this thesis, the map of different domestic terrorism (p.37) can help align the different networks that has inspired similar violence and attitudes, especially in the case of Christchurch domestic terror attack. Social network analysis helps to analyze the significance of relations among social actors to their behavior, opinions, and attitude. Social network analysis is deemed to be appropriate for analyzing social cohesion, social groups and other relations. Caspi (2013, p.34) claims the socio-centered perspective analyses overall network structure looks at the pattern of ties. Thus, it can help to understand how different network analysis influence one another and how actors influence one another through hate speech and encourage each other to violence. Additionally, it can also show how actors encourage though hate speech for lone actors to commit domestic terrorism. Central to social network analysis show that people are interdependent, and thus it shows that one person is highly influenced by the company and the environment around them (Caspi, 2013, p.36). The how to guide of social analysis show the process as the following. Social network analysis usually has three different process; data collection, data analysis, data visualization (Social network analysis, 2016, p.13). For instance, those following questions can be possible analytical points understood through social network analysis.

1. which individuals are linked together in the network? and how are this linked?
2. Are there any clear opportunities to fragments of the network?
3. who are vulnerable in joining this network?
4. what role do individuals play in the networks?

Caspi (2013), uses social network analysis to study domestic terrorism. It is instrumental in understanding hidden networks of extremists committed to engaging in violence. Using secondary resources who have used social network analysis, the author will gather information in order to portray that hate speech is related to domestic terrorism and has impacted the possibility of one committing terror attacks. In other words, this thesis has reached its results through analyzing many documents from different disciplines, researches based on social network analysis, creating arguments based on theories, and providing empirical evidence to reach a specific conclusion and to emphasize relations between hate speech and domestic terrorism inspired by far right extremist. The material for this thesis has been chosen through the topic relevance and the author's relevance to the subject. This thesis will use two different cases to

portray the relation between hate speech and domestic terrorism act based on social movement theory and speech-act theory. The different incidents that will be analyzed are both Christchurch, New Zealand terrorist attack as well as the Pittsburgh, USA mass-shooting. Those events will be described from the information gathered from reliable Newspapers as there are no scholarly articles available that describe and discuss the events yet. These two cases have been chosen because they are very recent and both attackers have shown hate speech on social media before the attacks. Both have been identified as lone-wolf terrorist attacks and have been related to far right extremist. Due to the above mentioned reasons those cases have been deemed advantageous for this thesis.

3.2 Material

For the theoretical underlying and understanding of the far-right movement, the author will look into scholarly articles. In order to portray the importance of hate speech, showing its relevance and relationship in terms of human rights, different universally accepted international conventions will be used. Furthermore, both incidents in ChristChurch, New Zealand and Pittsburgh, USA will be used as the analyzing point to portray real life outcomes of hate speech through the far-right populism movements. The attackers of these two incidents were expressing hate speech on their private media accounts before the incidents took place. As a result, in relation to these incidents, a deeper look into multiple reports of these two will be undertaken to gather facts. Thus, the material gathered from these events will highly depend on news articles as there are no scholarly articles due to the recentness of these events. The materials used to describe Christchurch terrorist attack and Pittsburgh mass shooting within the thesis are selected from reliable and publicly acceptable new sources and multiple of the news have been analyzed and selected by choosing facts. The newspapers are used to describe the events. The newspapers are selected by the relevance of the article and the presenting of the facts. Within this thesis, they will be used to describe the two cases studies as that is the only information about the incidents available. Those events have been chosen, as the specific two domestic terrorist attacks are one of the most modern examples and incidents that have taken place, the attackers had no direct relations with the victims they have targeted, and the crimes were committed within places of worship targeting specific religions. Both attackers have had previously shown immense hate on social media. In both cases they have to some extent streamed the attacks through social media.

In the case of the ChristChurch attacker, he posted a manifesto on Twitter, prior to carrying out the attacks on two mosques, during which he live streamed the process. In the case of the Pittsburgh attacker, two hours prior to his actions, he posted on the social media platform named "Gab" concerning the attack. Despite the fact that, New Zealand and US are geographically apart and have different political systems, they both are common in terms of the form of government being democratic and valuing freedom of speech highly. In spite of that, both have faced a similar attack on religious grounds during service hours. The following two examples are being used to highlight that boundaries do not differentiate when it comes to hate speech, as a result the problem is a global issue. Hate speech's consequences are spread around the world, through the internet and through social media in various forms creating virtual communities.

4. Analysis

In this section, social movement theory and speech act theory will be applied in correlation to far-right extremism and hate speech. Furthermore, this section will provide empirical evidence in relation to the above-mentioned phenomenon, as well as to analyze how speech can manifest into a violent act by using domestic terrorism as a prime example.

4.1 Hate speech through social movement

Social movement theories can help to fill some of the voids in research on far right groups. Although social movement theory has rarely been applied on right wing extremism, there remains many similar characteristics of social movements and far right movement. This section will focus on discussing how far-right extremism has used hate speech in a conductive manner to encourage violence. Furthermore, it will clarify by giving a brief historical explanation of how far-right extremism developed. Right wing extremism have the characteristics that mirror social movement such as the likes of political opportunity, resource mobilizations and grievances. The following section will also explain hate speech in terms of a speech act function, in conjunction with social movement's theories. It will describe how far-right extremists have used hate speech systematically to expand and gain traction on their movement. It will explore hate speech in relation to political opportunity, grievance, as well as resource mobilization and collective identity.

Background of right-wing movement

According to Porta and Wagemann (2012), there are three right wing extremism waves through history. The first wave is related to the historical development of Fascism and Nazism. The second wave was the rise of extreme right organizations in the radicalized politics of the 1970s, and the third wave was linked to racial violence from 1990s onwards. (Porta and Wagemann, 2012, p. 2). In the past two decades, there has been an increase of far-right extremism that can be observed throughout the world. Some scholars claim that the populism of far-right is due to the increase of globalization and immigration mobilization which has caused to aggravate far-right extremist parties, as well as creating a toxic political environment. This might be related to institutionalized politics, for instance the electoral success and emergence of right-wing political parties that can be seen in different countries and their success in the recruitment of new members as well as to both violent and non-violent protests. In addition, the success of the far-right political parties has resulted in movements that are populist and xenophobic. Consequently, this has created an underground subculture of racist and frequently violent young extremists that have emerged with their own symbols, myths, and language (Porta and Hagemann, 2012, p.3).

4.1.1 Grievances of far-right extremists

One of the main characteristics of social movement theory is the element of grievance. According to some scholars, the births of grievance for the far-right extremist groups is believed to have originated from the fall of nationalism and by the rise of immigration as well as emergence of globalization. The fall of nationalism in the western world is mainly presumed to be the fall of Nazi and the dissolution of the Nazi party in 1945 (this is assumed because many nationalists adhere to Nazi based ideologies). Nationalists understand grievance predominantly as stemming from immigration and as a result feel a threat for their national identity. In other words, nationalism entails the articulation of grievance as immigration. Far-right groups use grievance as one of their base arguments and reasoning to further gain attraction and supports for their ideologies. The supporters are assured that the parties are working on their behalf, with and for them. Consequently, they create an ideology that portrays the illusion of “us vs them” which is an ideology based on populism (Muis and Immerzeel, 2017, p. 910). The “us” representing the nationalists and the “them” representing other groups of people that are different from them like immigrants. In other words, Muis and Immerzeel (2017) say that “populism is a communication

style or ‘thin’ ideology that adds a second division between ‘us’ and ‘them’: it pits the ‘pure people’ against the untrustworthy ‘corrupt elite’” (ibid, 910). The idea of us being the supporters of nationalists and the nationalist who believe that their national identity has been threatened and therefore want to unite as a group against those who are being perceived as a threat – “them” – one example of them is the immigrants that have been mentioned above. Far-right extremists claim to be motivated by the grievances, such as loss of culture and economic deprivations. These can be seen and interpreted during far-right extremists’ political speeches and posts on social media where the blame lays on immigrants for various issues such as crimes, lack of jobs, etc. By using such examples as ammunition, it instills anger and brings out people’s frustration. A great example is the common remark that the immigrants are stealing jobs or other propaganda’s similar as to take their country back from “them” to restore their lost self-identity and reclaim it as an end result (Appel, 2012, p. 484). Those kinds of propagandas where the loss of something or declaring that the issue is blamed on another group aggravate the situation. Those propagandas are not uncommon to hear from the far-right extremists and white supremacist groups in their rallies.

4.1.2 Manifestation of hate as political opportunity

The manifestation of hate is part of the movement where it encourages others to join in and act. This act of manifesting hate is part of the speech act description, where speech over time produces certain consequences, as described by perlocutionary speech acts. The manifestation of hate can be used as a political opportunity to bring in more supporters, especially when using people’s own frustrations to fuel the recruitment process, such is the case with loss of jobs and lack of jobs. The loss of jobs and lack of it may be caused due to different reasons such as technologies, yet the blame falls up on others.

The recent attacks have shown numerous examples of hateful and radical discourse, as witnessed on the Christchurch terrorist attack and Pittsburgh mass shooting. It can also be observed how verbal and physical violence is aggravated. Kopytowska refers to Waltman and Haas (2011) the communication of hate, to portray that “hatred is a problem that results in isolated acts of murder and more systematic and coordinated genocide a problem that knows no geographical boundaries” (Kopytowska, 2017, p.2). This is how hate speech is related with domestic terrorism

and far-right movements. Irrespectively of historical or geographical context, hate and radicalism have been spread consciously or unconsciously by creating stereotypes or labels for people that are presumed to be different. This creates a moral perspective on things intentionally or unintentionally. Thus, provides an underlying social and cultural value system. For instance, stereotypes where metaphor emerges as a central strategy to create “us vs them” kind of dichotomies (Kopytowska, 2017, p.3). This kind of stereotypes could pass through generations without necessary being seen as dehumanizing or demeaning. Thus, by using dehumanizing metaphors and racist discourse, it triggers the illusion “others”, that they are not in association with us. This can also act as a form of inspiration factor for lone wolf actors to eliminate the “others” because they view them as a threat and enemy to their society. This creates, sparks and ignites motivation for extremists to attack civilians. By emphasizing “us vs them” far-right extremists plant the seed of hate within societies.

Another helpful understanding of hate speech in relation to actions is presented by Cortese, which can also be understood through speech act theory. To have a better comprehension and understanding of the outcomes and the result of hate speech, Cortese has developed and explained four different stages. He used these stages to distinguish hate speech that may not have any hidden intention and hate speech that encourages violence and could be seen as propaganda. This can help distinguish where hate speech crosses the line of freedom of speech. Cortese (2006) claims that not all discriminatory terms are equally dangerous. For instance, an offensive remark vs an incitement to commit murders do not have the same level of severity (Cortese, 2006, p.7). The level of severity dictates which level of the four different stages they fall under. Beginning from the least harmful that is unintentional discrimination which is offending minorities but not on purpose. Secondly, conscious discrimination which is intentionally denigrating to minorities. Thirdly, inciting discrimination hatred which generates feeling of hatred for minorities. This stage is more severe than the first two stages. Lastly, the most severe state inciting discrimination which encourages violence against minorities (Cortese, 2006, pp.8-9). In these processes, bystanders are more likely to join in due to encouragement to do the same or the possibility to anonymously spread hate online. These stages can be seen as a process of manifestation by hate.

According to Porta and Wagemann (2012), using frame analysis, there is a three-process stage for these motivational factors to occur. The first stage diagnostic which is corresponding to the recognition of certain occurrences as a social problem such as unemployment. Secondly, prognostic which identifies the possible strategies to resolve these. Lastly the motivational dimension of framing which is the development of motivations for action up on this knowledge or belief (Porta and Wagemann, 2012, p.15). These motivational factors provide the need for resource mobilization and political motivations. For individuals to act up on these ideologies, there must be a general idea of a certain problem, for instance, lack of job opportunities which is considered as a grievance. In addition, by demonstrating the relevance of a given problem to individual life experiences, individuals are more likely to act upon these ideas. Using these they create foundations for collective solidarity and transform the identity of individuals, which is how the dichotomy “us vs them” is created (Porta and Wagemann, 2012, p.16). Far-right use these motivational factors to encourage others to commit a crime or distribute hate speech, thus this can be seen as a political opportunity. In addition, by dehumanizing and insulting others it is further ignited by internet users creating explicit manifestation of hate and verbal violence within the online communities that reflect on the general public and society as a whole.

4.1.3 Social media as a tool for resource mobilization

According to Kopytowska (2012, p.6), researchers suggest that blogs are effective for xenophobic messages and Twitter is preferred by far-right extremists to distribute hate speech. Hence, social media offer hate speech perpetrator and radical discourses a platform worldwide. Due to internet access, visibility is increased simply by the exposure achieved by using social media as a medium, that consequently increases their impact on society. Far-right extremists mobilizes resources primary human resources by appealing to other extremists through social media.

Moreover, Muis and Immerzeel (2017) claim that far-right extremist groups lack proper organizations and funding, so they heavily rely on media platforms to expand their influence. Far-right extremists prefer online media platforms to spread their ideologies compared to other methods. Since, there are limited regulations in relation to hate speech online. Unlike national legislations about hate speech and propaganda, the internet has far less restrictions in terms of

regulations and are harder to penalize, which is why freedom of expression online has become a constant debate. Because far-right extremists rely on the media environment, social media platforms such as Twitter and Gab have become their mainstream space to spread ideologies and mobilize resources by gaining people who share similar ideologies. Social media networks play a huge role in resource mobilizations and political opportunity (Caspi, 2013, p.2). Resources that are mobilized through social media are mostly focused on human capital or manpower, knowledge, support of media and political elite. For instance, having influential and popular people on social network can to some extent impact the audience acquired by social movement organization (Ortiz and Arvind, 2017, p.3050). Through hate speech from extremists on social media, an advantage is being leveraged and being used for political opportunity. Political opportunity helps explain far-right movements in relation to political systems. They use the fear within society by aggravating it with hate speech, in turn they gain supporters. This can be seen in the far-right movements because they are spreading political policies and ideologies that are anti-immigration and anti-globalization. In this situation, collective identity, as described by new social movements, also plays a huge role in far-right extremist and white supremacist.

Increasingly, far-right extremists are using the internet as a tool for facilitating recruitment, linking with other extremist groups, reaching global audiences, and spreading hate that encourage violence and terrorist acts. To facilitate collective identity, far-right extremists use social media platforms to spread their ideologies. They exploit technologies for resource mobilization and political opportunity. In other words, making use of resource mobilization theory, it can here be seen how far-right extremists use social media platforms to spread their ideologies and facilitate collective identity. In general, from the above description, it can be claimed that the internet acts as a marketing tool for far-right extremist movements. Internet allows the hate movement to retreat and reinvent itself as a viable collective. There are many options that are available for Far-right extremist to use to their advantage (Perry and Olsson, 2009, p.185).

Furthermore, the existence of virtual public sphere, has made discourse of hate visible to the mass public. Cyberspace has provided them opportunity exploiting the potentiality of interdiscursivity and by creating congenial environments. This has resulted in an important role

in the radicalizations of lone wolves, who take it up on themselves to commit hate motivated crimes (Kopytowska, 2017, p.2). Social network analysis focuses on how people and groups are interlinked in patterns of interaction and view individuals as interdependent beings that are influenced by those with whom they are connected with. (Caspi, 2013, p.34). This is how far-right extremists connect with other individuals online and motivate them to commit crimes. Even if they do not directly motivate them, through hate speech on social media they are entrenched to commit harm against other by deepening the hatred and seeing them as "enemies. The role of hate speech on social media can be described by social network analyses as they show that people are interdependent, so they are influenced by the company they keep (Caspi, 2013, p.36).

Cyber hate has become a common thing due to the globalization of technology; some preachers of hate choose to spread their rhetoric of intolerance in virtual communities or cyberspace. Hate groups have taken the opportunity to reach out to a wider audience with their destructive messages and this phenomenon reflects and affects society not only specific to virtual communities. Such websites and groups are hard to keep track of because they frequently shut down and reappear as different websites (Perry and Olsson, 2009, p.188). Due to the fact that the net is not regulated, it gives them much more freedom to exploit the web.

4.1.4 Virtual community and collective identity

Collective identity plays a huge role in far-right extremist and white supremacist. According to different studies, white extremist groups and far-right organizations are unstructured online, yet the influence they have cannot be ignored (Caspi, 2013, p.162). Internet has created social media platforms for individuals to have absolute freedom of speech and to express their opinion be it hate or extremism speech. Extremist groups are granted a space to show and promote their ideologies and to recruit people from around the world. Social media has enabled extremists to move their messages from margins to mainstreams in an incredible velocity that did not exist before the creation of internet. So as collective actors influence individual behaviors, extreme right groups motivate individuals to take action, which results in providing more followers that will participate and supports their organizations (Porta and Wagemann, 2012, p.14). This is where hate speech and social media platforms plays a role.

Using online network and a common inventory of linguistic rhetorical tools, they portray the image of collective identity and portray the dichotomies “us vs them”. This starts from a simple prejudice that gets developed to a stereotype and through time becomes hate speech that turns into hate crimes and physical violence. Prejudicing is an effective way of othering groups of people from the social life. Using a distinct feature or a negative quality of the group, they make them salient in representation and in its extreme forms becoming verbal and physical abuse or racist slurs, which ends up silencing its victims. Through time stereotypes and prejudice become a powerful instrument to nurture both fear and aggression towards a targeted group, thus also creating sympathy and aggravating violence towards minorities. The dichotomy us vs them polarization strategies involves dehumanizing, demonizing, discriminating minorities and promoting ethnic violence (Kopytowska and Baider, 2018, p.2). This has been seen throughout history evidently on ethnic clashes and genocide for instance Rwanda genocide and Anti-Roma sentiments. This dichotomy is best explained through the concepts of out-group and in-group. According to Kopytowska and Baider (2018) inciting hatred against a so called enemy has been used to systematically consolidate ingroup cohesion/allegiance and promote or motivate outgroup disgust and create distance among various groups and individuals. This also explains the collective hostility targeted to a specific group (ibid). From resource mobilization and political opportunity, one can understand that, far-right extremists are using hate speech on social media to be conducive of their goals.

According to Habermas, cyber space is considered an unlimited public sphere. This unlimited public sphere has created new opportunities for interactions and creating communities (Baider and Kopytowska, 2017, p. 135). For instance, post 9/11 the illusion of “us vs them” got worse. The hatred towards Muslims increased and Islamophobia became more common. It created a hostile environment on cyber space. In addition, it has created “clashes of civilizations and militant Islam” (Baider and Kopytowska, 2017, p. 135). Additionally, the increase of immigration and economic crisis caused fertile grounds for domestic terrorism in the growing radical and extremism among nationalistic far-right groups and white supremacists. Since the internet communication knows no national boundaries, it allows the hate movement to extend internationally, thus facilitating collective identity and a global racist subculture. These extremist websites offer a kind of justification for racial love and excuse for racial superiority (ibid).

There are two different ways to understand the immense globalization of virtual community. First, there is extensive international connections and secondly something resembling a community which creates impressive global connection. From social network analysis, it is plausible to see that the hate movement is beginning to knot a global web. For instance, more than two thirds of hate websites within supremacist networks were also linked to sites in different countries. Hence, this shows that white supremacists are increasingly reaching out for each other across the globe. This helps them to interact with one another and support each other. They find that their views are reinforced and reflecting their actions instead of getting challenged by anti-racist sentiments. So, this encourages them to freely communicate any sorts of views be it racist or sexist. Through this, one can understand that internet is a crucial element that far-right extremist adheres because it provides information, a sense of belonging, and social identity for them. Even though, this movement is very unstructured and fractured, it still holds together due to its ideological core and mostly the vision of common and virtual collective identity.

Today, cyber communications play a huge role in identity construction and transformation, yet cyber space can also create a fragmentation of identity. The cyber space also opens the opportunity for the development of community, a virtual community, usually connected by mutual interests. The Internet culture, according to Castells, is a collective construction that transcends individual preferences while influencing the practices of people in the culture (Perry and Olsson, 2009, p. 191). The 4 layers being the techno-meritocratic culture, the hacker culture, the virtual communitarian culture and the entrepreneurial culture. Those communities that are created virtually contribute to the social dimensions. This can be portrayed by the white supremacist online community. According to Castell, the communitarian culture is to be both a source and creation of values and social organization. Rather than just the emphasizing of the technological elements of internet, the communitarian cultures shapes both the social and cultural milieu of the internet that also affects reality. According to this, the internet can be seen as laying a basic foundation for self-directed networking as a tool for organization, collective action, and the construction of meaning (Perry and Olsson, 2009, p.187). Thus, far-right movement are similar to other movements in several respects, even though the result is the opposite of many other social movements. So according to the description of social movement theories and the above explanations, it is safe to consider far-right extremism as a type of social

movements. For this reason, social movement theory can explain the increase of far-right extremism and white-supremacist and how hate speech is being used.

4.2 From speech to violence: domestic terrorism

Violence by far-right extremists has been increasing in the recent years. Here below, an analysis will be carried out of the two incidents that took place in connection to hate speech and right-wing populism as a harmful social movement. These two attacks were committed by extremist in places of worship. It will explore the following two attacks mentioned below as domestic terrorism per the definition provided above. Therefore, the Pittsburgh mass shooting and Christchurch attack will be considered as a domestic terrorist attack within this analysis. This section will explain the role of hate speech in detail in accordance to far-right extremism movement. It will first explore the importance of speech in social life and then continue to provide empirical evidence of domestic terrorism.

4.2.1 Hate speech

Hate speech is much more than just a form of speech, it is an act performed by users of social media (Özarslan 2014, p.57). In being called injurious name, an individual is derogated and demeaned. However, the name also holds another possibility; by being called a name, one is also, paradoxically, giving it a certain possibility for social existence (Butler, 1997, p.2). This shows that by calling others' names and using offensive words results in excluding them from political life. Moreover, as Austin suggests about speech act theory, he distinguishes perlocutionary speech acts as acts that produce certain effect as their consequences; by saying something, a certain effect follows (ibid.). So, by dehumanizing minorities through time, their existence in social communities is denied causing them to be viewed as "enemies" or "others". This dichotomy effectively portrays the role or impact that language plays in society. Therefore, hate speech plays a huge role in far-right extremism and domestic terrorism. Hate is manifested among civilians through hate speech by utilizing social media platforms and political speeches. Hate speech is a type of violence. However, one must note that, not all uttered speech has an intention of dehumanizing or discriminating other. All hate speech might not have the intention to encourage violent acts. Nevertheless, the effect might be that hate speech serves to empower and reaffirm, as a result encouraging or even legitimizing violent acts.

Another way to understand hate speech is through Arendt's political theory. Even though, Arendt does not explicitly discuss how she views hate speech, her political theory still contributes to the discussion by identifying the role speech plays in society. She portrays the importance of speech as a precondition of human life and an important element to participate as part of communities and political life. The public sphere is established as the political space by equal individuals through speech and action (Binbuža, 2016, p.708). However, hate speech disturbs the public space by disturbing and discouraging a targeted group or individuals. With the contribution from Arendt political theory, it can be understood that hate speech destroys the pluralistic and egalitarian nature of the public sphere, because it silences and marginalizes its victims. In other words, hate speech destroys the publicness and the notion of equality amongst individuals within the public sphere. Consequently, some individuals are deprived from participating in the *bios politikos* by making their contribution to public debate undesirable. This brings up an argument that is still very heated in modern politics which is the issue of diversity and inclusion. Arendt agree that the important elements of publicness is to be seen and heard. Even though, this theory can also be reversed and be understood that the principle of publicness assumes that all kinds of opinions are welcome in the public sphere. Yet, the impact hate speech has on silencing individuals shall not be ignored (Binbuža, 2016, p.713). Thus, speech that includes hate silences the targeted victims resulting in excluding them from public life and destructing plurality of the society.

The speech act theory portrays how speech affects societies everyday life. In other words, "language use may help in performatively bringing about what it appears to be describing" (Kopytowska, 2017, p.5). These dehumanizing and demonizing metaphors are a precursor to the danger of violence. Kopytowska also underlines social reality is constructed by language and the role of language as a social agent (ibid, p.2). She pinpoints that hate speech is directly linked to ideologies embedded in extreme Christian identity, white supremacy, xenophobia, sexism/heterosexism, and anti-Semitism. These reflect and impact the various dimensions of social life.

4.2.2 Hate speech and domestic terrorism

Hate speech and terrorism are very similar in some respects. There is an overlapping situation between hate speech and domestic terrorism. According to this analysis, the line between hate speech and domestic terrorism could be the relation between speech and action. Both are acts of violence motivated by race or a political ideology. Hate speech depending on content, location and circumstance trigger different events. Hate speech immediately after it happens will directly or indirectly affect the intended victim or group. Indirectly hate speech within the public space, through social media or real life, will motivate others to initiate harassment, intimidation and violence (Chetty and Alathur, 2018, p.108).

The far-right parties are partially a result of the political consequences of a broken system and a toxic political environment. For instance, right-wing extremism in Australia is steadily increasing. The neo-Nazi movements in some Europe countries and the various permutations of white supremacy and toxic nationalism that bedevil American politics are increasing as well. In America, it is conservatively estimated that there were 50 deaths due to terrorist attacks in 2018, almost all linked to right-wing extremism. Politicians and mainstream media have aggravated the situation and through this, societies have now come to normalize the toxic politics of fear (Barton, 2019). Likewise, with the intense velocity of hate speech overtime through social media platforms, individuals take it upon themselves to commit crimes against a targeted group, which is how hate speech escalates into terrorist attacks.

A. 2018 Pittsburgh mass shooting (Case 1)

The shooting occurred during a Sabbath service (a Jewish Ceremony) in October 2018. The Attacker² of this incident was motivated by far-right extremism to preserve their people and saw the Jewish community as “them” or “enemies”. The attacker had previously showed aggression to minority groups and it was suspected that he had posted a long rant on social media platform know as Gab. This incident drew public attention to hate speech on social media. Some believe hate speech is what caused this harmful crime against humanity because hate speech to some extent promotes violence as well.

² The author refuses to use the names of the attackers of domestic terrorism due to its irrelevance to this study, so it was not deemed necessary to use their names.

In USA, historically the hate movement has converged across the various KKK groups, identity churches, and skin head organizations. Internet and social media have made domestic presence of these groups stronger. Since the internet knows no national boundaries, the hate movement is more entrenched than it has ever been. The emergence of globalization has had a huge impact on the expanding of far-right extremism (Perry and Olsson, 2009, p.185). It is reported that global terrorism is decreasing by Global terrorism database, however there has been a rise in domestic terrorism in USA. The US newspaper The Times has brought up the troubling question, if whether social media makes those kinds of attack by extremists more likely to happen (Henningan, 2018). FBI has reported, the increase of domestic terrorism, as well as hate crimes have reaches one of the highest marks (ibid). According to Peter Singer, author of a book called Like War, about the weaponization of social media said that, *“social media has connected those who would otherwise be unable to connect, been used to inspire those who would otherwise not be reached, driven viral ideas that would previously have been limited to the margins, and mainstreamed political leaders who have given legitimacy to the conspiracy theories and hate that extremist groups and individuals thrive on”* (Hennigan, 2018, para.12)

The Pittsburgh mass shooting is one of the many incidents that have occurred in the US. With the increase of far-right extremists and hate speech, crime against minorities motivated by ideologies are continuing to grow till this day. Hate crimes like vandalism and intimidation against minorities are quite common. However, these attacks have escalated dangerously within the 21st century. For instance, by attacking places of worship, where there is an increased amount of people collectively coming together from a specific group. According to the USA extremist crime data base, far-right extremists are responsible for the increase of ideology motivated homicide. The database revealed that white-supremacist were accountable for 74% of the ideological motivated murder between 1990 and 2008 (Caspri, 2013, p.161).

B. 2019 Christchurch terrorist attack (Case 2)

The Christchurch attack happened at two Mosques when the attacker opened fire during their religious ceremony on the 15th of March 2019. One of the attacks was live streamed on social media. Before the Christchurch attack, New Zealand has previously failed to record hate crimes or hate speech. Yet, one in ten New Zealand adults have experienced hate speech online

according to a 2018 study by internet safety organization *Netsafe*. The most affected people being of Asian descent or who identified as "other" ethnicity (The strait times, 2019). The attacker was considered a classic "lone wolf" and had not claimed to have any ties with any organizations. The 28-year-old Australian, claimed to have developed his violent beliefs by browsing the internet and visiting Europe. He bought his weapons himself and honed his skills at a suburban shooting-range. He was not part of the organizations. No one had suspected that he was preparing a massacre. Yet, he was part of something much bigger, the virtual connection between white supremacist online. The names and slogans scrawled on his weapons were familiar to extreme white nationalists all around the world, but hardly anyone saw this as a warning signs (The Economist, 2019).

Those attacks are not new, nor are they unpreventable. The Pittsburgh attack and Christchurch attack, as well as in 2011 an attack in Norway was carried out where a "lone wolf" attacked civilians killing 77 people. He was proclaimed as a far-right domestic terrorist. Those attacks are not seen as terrorist attacks. This makes the preventable mechanisms less effective as they are not viewed as an imminent threat to national security in comparison to international terrorism.

According to different news outlets, over the past few decades after every domestic terrorist attack and hate crime the stories have played out pretty much in a similar manner. All the warning and alarming signs were to some extent on display on social media. Nonetheless, there remains an overlap between hate crime and domestic terrorism. Both are acts of violence coupled with a mental state that is motivated by race or political ideology. For instance, the Pittsburgh attacker had aired hate propaganda on the social media Gab, which is the favored social media platform by far-right extremist and white supremacist. The Christchurch attacker had also posted a long manifesto on Twitter as well as live streaming the attack. There is a pattern of using social media for hate propaganda. From social network analysts, we understand all different extremist groups are connected to one another through social media platforms where they infest hate and motivate others directly or indirectly to take it up on themselves to act. These two attackers have been identified as white supremacist and far-right extremists though they have not been identified with one group specifically.

Many media outlets have described both the Christchurch attacker and Pittsburgh attacker as lone-actors and that they have not been acting up on a group or on behalf of an organization. Social network analysts show that these attackers might not have a physical group forming a connection or link, but they have a huge online community where they are motivated by and participate in (Caspri, 2013, p.161). In other words, it is important to understand that these actors may be physically acting alone, however, they have a virtual community where their reassurance and affirmation lies on. That's why it is important to consider far-right extremism as a harmful social movement. The mistaken identity of these attackers as lone wolf is a misleading idea. Because of the concepts of online communities or virtual communities, these attackers from Christchurch attack and Pittsburgh attack cannot be perceived as lone wolf attackers.

In the past decade, white supremacist and extremists' attacks have been increasing. Even though the attackers of many of the hate crimes or domestic terrorist are not from the same group, they are all based on the same ideology and finding common grounds by sharing the same beliefs, and as a result the same global racist propaganda (Becket, 2019). As shown in the image below, there is a subtle connection between these groups. Increasingly, extremist groups in different countries are drawing inspiration from each other and uniting in common cause through social media. This image below will portray attacks against minorities from 2011 to 2019 and the connection between all these incidents. It shows that some attacks were motivated from previous attacks. It also shows that the connection from far-right extremism is expanding. Many reports show that the attackers have been connected to other attackers through social media platforms (Cai & Landon, 2019). For instance, the Christchurch attacker has claimed to have drawn inspiration from the 2011 Norway attack (The Local, 2019). The following figure is a chronological time series of attacks considered as domestic terrorist attacks inspired by far right extremism. The multiple lines show what attack has motivated another attack and the network between those attacks.

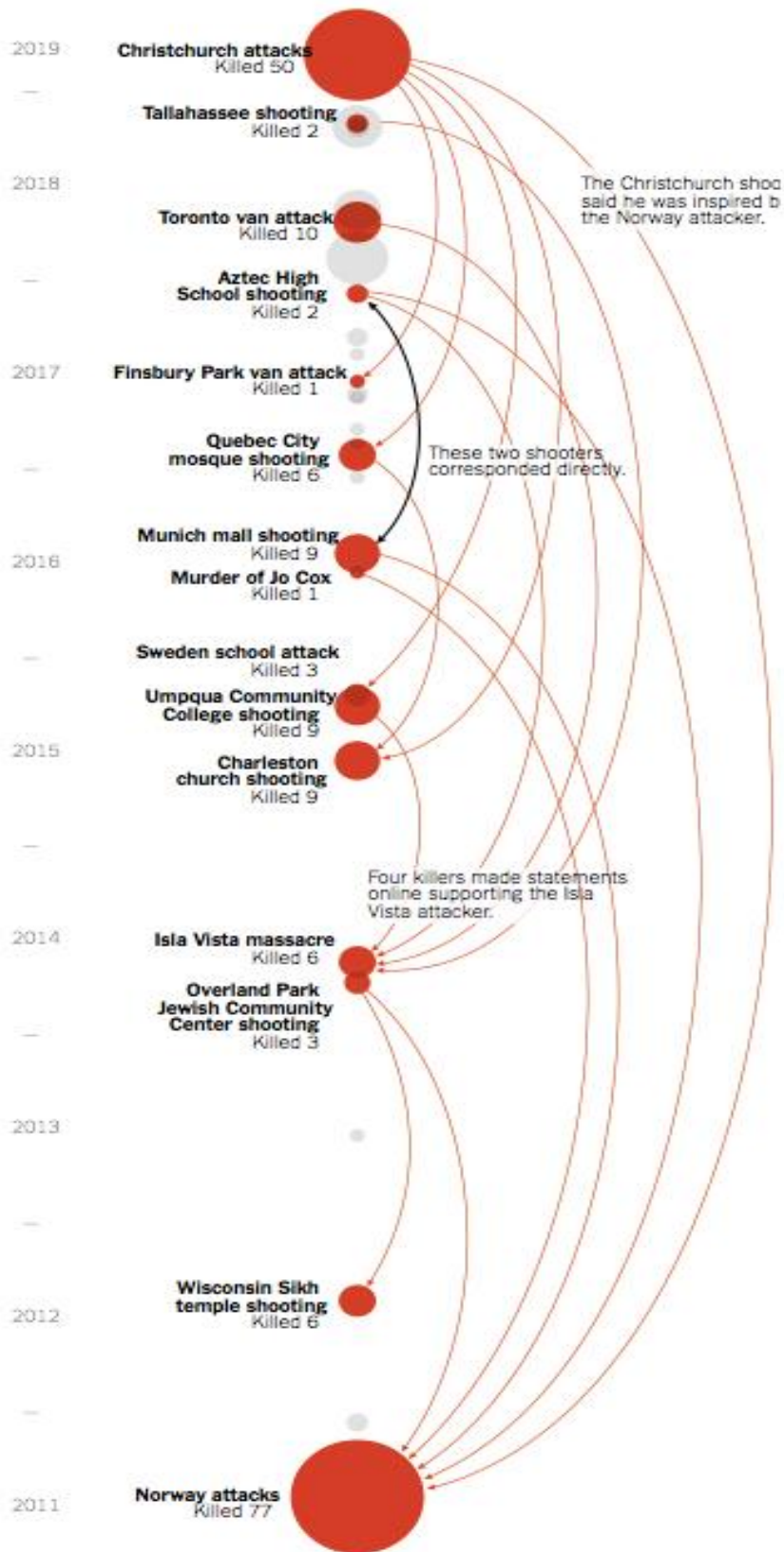


Fig.1 This image shows the inspiration between far right extremist attacks (Cai & Landon, 2019).

Moreover, the trauma after these attacks have a lasting effect on its victims, their families and society. It can inspire further new and dangerous attacks and create a bigger divide between people. Also, some news reports have reported that hate was further fueled escalating tensions after these attacks were carried out. A report from the guardian suggested that after the Pittsburgh attack there has been an increase in anti-Semitism by 57% compared to 2017 (Sherwood, 2018). It has been perceived that in the instance of anti-Semitism on university campuses has further intensified as well. Through social movement theory, this can be seen as a political opportunity. Using the fear of civilians, far-right extremists gain more supporters and can impact national policies. As seen from the image above many of the attacks are motivated by other earlier attacks.

5. Conclusion and discussion

To conclude, the above incidents and other attacks have brought up the question why are extremists attacking civilians? With these analyses carried out above, it has clearly become apparent that the encouragement from far-right extremists through hate speech on social media platforms is causing people to perceive that they need to take it upon themselves to commit these crimes. The effects of hate speech on social media has been evident globally. Even though, the link between hate speech and the act of violence itself has been widely debated, history and current incidents continue to present us numerous examples of their relationships. As time passes by, it has become easier and more plausible to see an emerging pattern and a correlation that can no longer be ignored. The Christchurch attack and Pittsburgh attack are to some extent the result of the toxic political environment in the 21st century.

From the analysis, we can understand far-right extremism as a movement. Far-right extremists have been using hate speech as a means to mobilize their resources on social media, and as a political opportunity to gain more supporters. For instance, social media is used to recruit and gain more supporters. Social media plays a pivotal role in increasing the base of supporters of a social movement. The presence of influential and popular people can influence the process of movement by increasing the followers. Far-right extremists spreading hate speech through social media is possibly filled with hidden intentions motivated by political means, to create and intensify the illusion of the otherness and hatred against another group of people consequently

increasing the divide. Some speeches might encourage people to distribute hate speech and others might take it further and get motivated to commit violent crimes. Thus, spreading hate speech on social media and making false claims can be seen as a political opportunity for far right parties to bring stricter rules about immigration and fuel hate against certain groups. In addition, having an environment that encourages freedom of speech brings more fertile ground for this harmful social movement, which can be seen as political opportunity. Likewise, gaining supporters who are likeminded is also a form of resource mobilization.

As seen from the above two incidents, social media is continuing to fuel hatred. It has both directly and indirectly encouraged mass shootings and terrorist acts to be carried out as a form of protest in regards of their personal beliefs being furthered and heard. Therefore, becoming martyrs of their cause. According to multiple reports, in both Pittsburgh and Christchurch attacks, there were warning signs on social media that the attacks were going to happen. They show that hate speech online is conducive to real life violence and that the consequences can and should no longer be ignored. The need to protect human dignity and equality rights calls for the need to take action against hate speech.

Although, hate speech destroys plurality, restricting speech is also problematic because of freedom of expression. As previously mentioned, article 2, 19, 20 and 26 of ICCPR are about respecting and protecting freedom of speech. Thus, clearly stating that although it is a basic human right to freely express ones' self, a limitation and restriction remains for as long as an individual does not infringe on other individuals' basic human rights. In addition, freedom of speech is no longer a basic right to express a person's opinion when it is used to hurt, and target specific groups within society be it for color, race, nationality, language, religious, political, social origin, sex, or even for having a different opinion. The restriction applies as it is now manifested from a freedom to express to becoming a weapon to bully, hurt and segregate causing a divide in society. As a result, it has become a form of discrimination. In addition, to protect those individuals from discrimination, freedom of speech becomes null and void for the greater good of society.

For that reason, the right not to be discriminated and the preservation of the human dignity is a basic human right and so is freedom of speech, which makes it controversial. Nonetheless, the role that hate speech plays in domestic terrorism motivated by far-right extremism can no longer be ignored. Even in the present, on August 4, 2019, with in less than 24 hours, there has been two domestic terrorism attacks in the US in Texas and Ohio. The hope remains for this discussion to open further research to be carried out on hate speech and its correlation to domestic terrorism and far-right extremism movements. In this modern world, there have been numerous examples of similar incidents to Pittsburg and Christchurch attack. Despite multiple empirical studies, the role of hate speech continues to be overlooked. With the multi-disciplinary articles and human rights perspectives, this paper has hoped for a closer look to be undertaken to further elaborate on the relation between hate speech and domestic terrorism. The thesis has provided significant insight into the motivations of domestic terrorism in connection to hate speech.

6. Future research

Even though, there are many studies separately on hate speech, domestic terrorism and far right extremism, there is still a lack of research in connection to all of these topics. Future research shall see the relation between those and bring a solution to domestic terrorism and lone wolf terrorism inspired by far right extremists. This kind of study might also be able to solve the increase of hate crimes inspired by hate speech from social media. Social media has a huge impact in day to day life. It might be able to criminalize hate speeches online that result into violence and might be able to show warning signs for future possible attacks. Additionally, it would be interesting to do a research on the relation between the impact of political speeches (offline as well as online) on domestic terrorism. Furthermore, tackling the issue of domestic terrorism can be achieved to some extent by controlling and possible criminalizing hate speech. Social media can also be used as a warning tool before those kinds of attacks occurred. Analyzing the relation between hate speech and domestic terrorism attack might help in contributing to counter-domestic terrorism researches.

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