

# **A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF EXTREMIST WEBSITES BASED ON INTERNET USER ACTIVITIES**

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**MAUREEN DU PLESSIS  
(25437390)**

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Supervisor: Prof Hannes Britz  
Co-supervisor: Prof Martin Olivier

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Since the inception of the Internet, extremist groups have established an online presence. It was in 1984 that extremist groups started using online services such as bulletin boards to transmit text. Throughout the years, extremist websites have evolved with the changes of the Internet, and early 1995 saw the creation of the first major website of a national race extremist group called “Stormfront”.

There have been only a few attempts to analyze extremist websites systematically. Previous studies such as Haque *et al* (1999), Schafer (2002) and Gerstenfeld *et al* (2003) examined extremist web sites on content and use.

This study conducts a content analysis of extremist websites uniquely from the “viewpoint” of today’s Internet user. A sample list of 114 extremist websites (See Appendix A) is sourced from Ray Franklin’s “The Hate Directory”. A content analysis is performed on the sample list, using a list of ten Internet user activities. The sample list represents a multiplicity of extremist groups and includes both primary and secondary players in the extremist world.

The ten Internet user activities are established by conducting a secondary analysis of existing data sets. The main theme extracted from the existing data sets is the ten most preferred online activities of Internet users. The aim is to find whether the ten Internet user activities are present on extremist websites, together with their degree of integration.

It is not the scope of this study to determine whether the sample list is in actual fact a list of extreme or hate groups. The term “hate group” is usually not used by these groups themselves, but rather by their opponents for purposes of discrediting them, or sometimes by historians or sociologists who study them. Many groups that are labelled as a “hate group” disagree with this term because it misinterprets their cause or goal. The scope of this study is to determine how extremists groups are using the Internet and not whether they are extreme or not.

Findings show that, for the most part, the Internet user activities are present on extremist websites. Some extremist websites integrate several of these Internet user activities onto their websites and others only a few. Chapter 5 contains a full analysis of these findings.

## 1.1. Introduction

Since the beginning of the Internet, extremist groups have established themselves as an online presence. In 1984 extremist groups started using online services such as bulletin boards (BBS) to transmit text (Berlet, 2001). This was the time before “Internet” as we know it today. Bulletin boards were a major form of public online communications, and several extremist groups used private bulletin boards to facilitate communication between members (Berlet, 2001; Schafer, 2002; Stern, 2004). In early March 1984, Georg P. Dietz published into cyberspace his racist and anti-Semitic literature (Berlet, 2001; Levin, 2002). In late 1984 or early 1985 there appeared the White Aryan Resistance BBS by their leader Tom Metzger (Berlet, 2001; Gerstenfeld *et al*, 2003). In the early 1990s, a system of message-based conferences by topic, called USENET news groups, was often used for the purpose of posting hate messages (Berlet, 2001; Stern, 2004). With the appearance of a graphical interface or the World Wide Web, there emerged a few sporadic web pages containing racist, anti-Semitic or some other forms of bigoted material (Berlet, 2001; Schafer, 2002; Levin, 2002; Stern, 2004). In early 1995, the first major website of a national race extremist group called “Stormfront” ([www.stormfront.org](http://www.stormfront.org)) appeared. As online services have evolved throughout the years so have extremist websites adapted from bulletin boards to today’s version of the Internet, with its graphical user interface of the World Wide Web.

Even with extremist groups utilizing the Internet on a regular basis, there have been only a few attempts to analyze extremist websites on content and use systematically.

Haque *et al* (1999) conducted a study on “the most active internet hate groups” and they were: Stormfront, various divisions of the Ku Klux Klan, the National Alliance and the World Church of the Creator. Findings were that Stormfront and the National Alliance specifically targeted the international audience by appealing to European nationalism and presenting their website in different languages. On an individual level these sites promoted communication via Internet Relay Chat (IRC) channels and public discussion groups.

Schafer (2002) conducted an exploratory study of extremist websites to determine the use of the Internet to facilitate communication and broadcast ideologies. Results from his study showed resources on hand to users were magazines, newsletters and libraries. These resources included both text (essays, articles, online books) and multimedia collections (cartoons, photo's, audio files, video files). The different methods of communicating within the group were chat rooms and discussion boards. The most common information made available consisted of links to other extremist websites.

A study by Gerstenfeld *et al* (2003) conducted a content analysis of 157 extremist websites. Results showed that most websites contained external links to other extremist websites. More than half the sites sold some kind of merchandise, such as books, clothing, flags, jewellery, videos and CDs. A little fewer than half the sites included multimedia such as music, videos, games, audio sermons and speeches.

Just as extremist groups have adapted to the Internet evolution, so have users of the Internet. Haythornthwaite and Wellman (2002) refer to the two “ages” of the Internet. The first age brought the technological marvel. During this age, the Internet was still separate from everyday life. The second age came into existence during early 1995 when the technological marvel lost some of its brightness (Hauben and Hauben, 1997; Haythornthwaite and Wellman, 2002; Schafer, 2002). The Internet became embedded in everyday life. The average user used the Internet for such online activities as: general browsing, communication, finding information about products and services, online education, travel arrangements, online government, leisure activities and online banking.

This study conducts a content analysis of extremist websites, uniquely from the “viewpoint” of today’s Internet user. It reports on a content analysis of 114 extremist websites by using a list of ten Internet user activities. The sample list of 114 extremist websites is sourced from Ray Franklin’s “The Hate Directory” (See Appendix A). The sample list represents a multiplicity of extremist groups and includes both primary and secondary players in the extremist world. The reader should not necessarily be convinced that each of the 114 extremist websites presented are extreme, although predominantly they are. The scope of this study is to determine



how extremist groups are using the Internet and not whether they are extreme or not. The term “hate group” is usually not used by these groups themselves, but rather by their opponents for purposes of discrediting them or sometimes by historians or sociologists who study them (Harwell, 1998; Kurtz and Turpin, 1999). Many groups that are labelled a “hate group” disagree with this term because it misinterprets (or misrepresents) their cause or goal. This study does not determine whether the sample list is in actual fact a list of extreme or hate groups.

By conducting a secondary analysis of existing data sets, the ten Internet user activities are established. The ten most preferred online activities of Internet users extracted from the existing data sets are e-mail, leisure activity, general browsing, news, online shopping, online banking, social networking, travel, online education and online government. The ten Internet user activities provide insight into which online activities are generally used by Internet users. Chapter 4 contains a breakdown and full analysis of these online activities.

The aim of this study is to find out whether the above ten Internet user activities are present on extremist websites, together with their degree of integration. Findings show that most of the Internet user activities are present on extremist websites. Some extremist websites integrate several Internet user activities onto their websites and others only a few. Chapter 5 contains a full analysis of these findings.

## **1.2. Research question**

The question, which this study poses, is: Is a list of ten Internet user activities present on extremist websites and to what degree are they integrated?

This study reports on the research question via a content analysis of 114 extremist websites. Ray Franklin’s “The Hate Directory” is used as source to determine the sample list of 114 extremist websites. The sample list is representative of diverse extremist groups and includes both primary and secondary groups. These websites are analyzed for content, uniquely from the “viewpoint” of today’s Internet user. The “viewpoint” is determined by a secondary analysis of existing datasets, which results in a list of the ten most preferred online activities of Internet users.

The first sub-objective is to investigate the concept of extremism. The study determines a definition of extremism and then looks at some examples of the different forms of extremism. The aim is to explain and further broaden the concept of extremism in the context of this study. This concept is not an easy subject to define because what one person perceives as extreme is, to another, their just cause.

The next sub-objective is to determine why extremist groups utilize the Internet. Which aspects of the Internet make it desirable to extremist groups? A short history of the evolution of the Internet, an analysis of the online emergence of extremist groups on the Internet, and an examination of the different aspects of the Internet, answer these questions.

The third sub-objective determines the ten most preferred Internet user activities. To be able to determine them the study presents a global view on the diffusion of the Internet into the population. Then a secondary analysis of existing data sets establishes the ten most preferred Internet user activities. This is the “viewpoint” of what Internet users are doing online and it is used for the content analysis of the 114 extremist websites.

The last sub-objective is to present the results of the content analysis of extremist websites. It defines the search criteria for each Internet user activity for the purpose of explaining exactly what was searched for on the extremist websites. Then it presents the results of the content analysis of extremist websites.

The outcome of the research study is a better understanding of whether a list of ten Internet user activities is present on a sample list of 114 extremist websites. It is not in the scope of this study to determine if extremist groups are extreme or hate groups. The scope is to determine how extremist groups are using the Internet and not whether they are extreme or not. The scope also excludes the development of a strategy for extremist groups to improve the content of their website. There is one other issue the research findings of this study cannot resolve and that is the relationship between having some of the Internet user activities on extremist websites and increased membership. It is very likely that the Internet improves the efficiency of extremist

websites. It provides members and the general browser better ways to communicate, browse the extremist website, and find information more easily (Schafer, 2002). But whether the Internet actually is an especially effective means of enrolling new members is uncertain.

### **1.3. Project approach**

In an attempt to answer the research question, stated in section 1.2, a sample list of 114 extremist websites is sourced from Ray Franklin's "The Hate Directory". A content analysis is performed using a list of ten Internet user activities. Firstly, the ten Internet user activities are established by conducting a secondary analysis of existing data sets. Secondly, the sourced extremist websites are examined, and the aim is to find whether the ten Internet user activities are present on extremist websites, together with their degree of integration.

### **1.4. Method**

This study presents results from a content analysis of extremist websites by using qualitative and quantitative methods: a secondary analysis of existing datasets followed by the content analysis. The primary goal of this study is to present the results from the content analysis of extremist websites. This goal is supported by literature reviews and a secondary analysis.

A problem in conducting Internet-based research is determining a true representative sample of the population (Schafer, 2002; Gerstenfeld *et al*, 2003). By its very nature, the Internet changes constantly in size, proportion and format. New web sites appear, old ones get deleted, changed or their location moved. There exist some directories of web pages, such as [www.dmoz.org](http://www.dmoz.org), an open directory of the Web maintained by a global community of volunteer editors. [www.dmoz.org](http://www.dmoz.org) also confirms that the Internet continues to grow at an incredible rate, and editorial staff is unable to keep up with submissions. Therefore, directories suffer from poor quality and comprehensiveness. Schafer (2002) and Gerstenfeld *et al* (2003) thus suggest using purposive sampling techniques to compile a sample list of websites.

For this study, Ray Franklin's "The Hate directory" [dated 15 July 2007] is used as source to create a sample list of 114 extremist websites. Ray Franklin's "The Hate directory" is a reference document of current and historical extremist websites. It includes websites of individuals and groups that are still active as well as those websites no longer in operation. Ray Franklin is the Executive Assistant Director of the Maryland Police and Correctional Training Commissions, USA (Franklin, 2007). He provides services as an Internet consultant to law enforcement organisations throughout the world and is the compiler of "The Hate Directory," which serves as a guide to parents, teachers and the police.

The sample list of 114 extremist websites is analyzed for content by using a list of ten Internet user activities. The Internet user activities are established by a secondary analysis of existing data sets. Results from the secondary analysis show the ten most preferred Internet user activities as: e-mail, leisure activity, general browsing, news, online shopping, online banking, social networking, travel, online education and online government (as fully discussed in Chapter 4).

The sample list of 114 extremist websites is accessed, and the author then searches each website for all of the ten Internet user activities. The Internet user activities each have a specific set of criteria that the author searches for on the websites. If an activity is found to be present, it is noted, together with its degree of integration. Chapter 5 discusses in detail the search criteria for each of the Internet user activities as well as the findings of the content analysis.

The research process develops as follows:

Chapter 2 is a literature review of books, articles and news relating to extremism. The purpose is to investigate the concept of extremism, by:

- Providing a definition of extremism in the context of this study;
- Looking at some examples of the different forms of extremism;

- Examining the “Seven stage hate model” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003), which is a general model listing the seven successive stages that some extremist groups go through if they are left unhindered to pass from one stage to another.

Chapter 3 is a literature review of books, articles and news relating to Internet history, emergence of extremist groups online and their utilization of the Internet. The purpose is to discuss:

- The history of the Internet and how it evolved;
- When extremist groups started using online services and then, later, the Internet and how they grew with the evolution of the Internet;
- The aspects of the Internet, which make it desirable to extremist groups.

Chapter 4 is a secondary analysis of existing data sets on Internet usage and population statistics. The purpose is to:

- Present an overview of world Internet usage and population statistics;
- Determine the ten most preferred online activities of Internet users.

Chapter 5 presents the results from the content analysis of extremist websites based on the ten most preferred Internet user activities as determined by the secondary analysis of existing data sets in Chapter 4.

Chapter 6 is the discussion and conclusion to the research question, as well as suggestions for further research.

This chapter defines the concept of extremism within the context of this study. Extremism is not an easy subject to define because what one person perceives as extreme is to another his just cause. The focus of this study falls on how extremists are using the Internet and not whether they are in actual fact an extremist group or hate group. For a better understanding of the term extremism as it is used in this study, chapter 2 provides the reader with a definition as to what is perceived as extremism.

In addition, the chapter presents some examples of the different forms of extremism for the purpose of further explaining and broadening the concept of extremism.

The chapter ends with a discussion of the “Seven stage hate model” from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2003). It shows a common course in the development of extremist groups. This general model explains the seven successive stages that some extremist groups will go through if they are left unhindered to pass from one stage to another. This model can also be used to determine at what stage a group finds itself and whether it will make the transition from a dramatic performance group to a hard-core extremist group.

### **2.1 Extremism defined**

To understand clearly the meaning of extremism, the concept will be discussed within the definition supplied by Franklin (2007) himself in his “The Hate directory”. He is the Executive Assistant Director of the Maryland Police and Correctional Training Commissions and provides services as an Internet consultant to law enforcement organisations throughout the world (Franklin, 2007). His directory is used as source to create the sample list of 114 extremist websites for this research study. His directory is a reference document of current and historical extremist websites. It includes websites of individuals and groups that are still active as well as those websites that are no longer in operation.

Franklin (2007) provides the following definition of extremism: “Included are Internet sites of individuals and groups that, in the opinion of the author, advocate violence against, separation from, defamation of, deception about, or hostility toward others based upon race, religion, ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation.”

Let us start with the most basic definition of hate. Hate, as defined by The American Heritage dictionary of the English Language (2000), is “to feel hostility or animosity towards”. As defined by Compact Oxford English Dictionary (2005), hate is to “feel intense dislike for or a strong aversion towards”.

Hate is divided into two categories by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2003), namely rational and irrational hate. Rational hate is based on reason, and irrational hate is based on belief in feeling, instinct or other non-rational forces rather than reason (The American Heritage dictionary of the English Language, 2000). Rational hate is inspired by acts, which are perceived as unjust (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003). Irrational hate is based on hatred of a social group or a member of such a group as a result of their perceived group membership, for example, their race, sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion or national origin.

Hate groups in turn are organized groups or movements with a radical and overt social or political agenda (Harwell, 1998; Kurtz and Turpin, 1999). They advocate hostility, hate or violence towards selected populations based on such issues as race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender or other designated sector of society. The term “hate group” is usually not used by these groups themselves, but rather by their opponents for purposes of discrediting them, or sometimes by historians or sociologists who study them. Many groups that are labelled a “hate group” disagree with this term because it misinterprets their cause or goal.

The term “extremist” is defined by The American Heritage dictionary of the English Language (2000) as “one who advocates or resorts to measures beyond the norm, especially in politics”. An extremist, as defined by the Compact Oxford English Dictionary (2005), is “a person who holds extreme or fanatical political or religious views and especially someone who resorts to or advocates extreme action”.

For this study the concept of extremism thus:

- Has some kind of “action”, such as violence, separation, defamation, hatred, deception or hostility (Harwell, 1998; Kurtz and Turpin, 1999; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003; Franklin, 2007), against a person or social group based upon selected criteria;
- Such “action” also includes measures considered “beyond the norm” (The American Heritage dictionary of the English Language, 2000) or “extreme action (Compact Oxford English Dictionary, 2005) or “irrational” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003);
- The selected criteria are in the form of a person’s or group’s perceived membership based upon criteria such as race, religion, ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation (Harwell, 1998; Kurtz and Trupin, 1999; Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003).

Therefore, the definition as supplied by Franklin (2007) in his “The Hate directory” suits the purposes of this study.

It is now advantageous to look at some examples of the different forms of extremism because they further explain and broaden the concept of extremism.

## **2.2 Examples of the different forms of extremism**

There are many listings of the different forms of extremism presented by individuals such as Harwell (1998) and Franklin (2007). More listings as presented by hate watch groups such as Anti-Defamation League (2001), Southern Poverty Law Center (2007) and Metareligion (2007).

Harwell (1998) and Franklin (2007) present reference documents of extremist websites (current and historical), which serve as a guide to teachers, parents and the police.

Organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League (2001), Southern Poverty Law Center (2007) and Metareligion (2007) claim to deal with intolerance and hate groups on the Internet.



A few examples of the most prominent forms of extremism, as presented on the lists of the above individuals and groups, are discussed below. There are many other examples presented on the above-mentioned lists, and they are not less important than the ones listed below. However, for the purpose of this study it is sufficient to present only some examples to further explain and broaden the concept of extremism.

### ***2.2.1 White supremacist groups***

The first example of a form of extremism is white supremacist groups. Often focussing on the supposed inferiority of non-whites, the “enemy” includes Jews, communists and feminists (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007). White supremacist groups support white supremacist or white separatist ideologies. Ideologies are based on their belief that the Aryan race has a natural supremacy. Several of these groups use Christian scriptures and their symbolism to declare their racist agenda (Harwell, 1998). The most infamous group is the Ku Klux Klan with its long history of violence (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007).

Further examples of white supremacist groups are as follows (Harwell, 1998; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007; Metareligion. 2007): Stormfront (many individual groups), National Alliance, European-American Unity and Rights Organization, Council of Conservative Citizens, Elohim City, Greater Ministries International, Women for Aryan Unity and Aryan Republican Army and Aryan Nations.

### ***2.2.2 Black supremacist groups***

A second example of a form of extremism is black supremacist groups. Black separatists are strongly anti-white and anti-Semitic (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007). They, typically, are opposed to integration and racial intermarriage, and they even want a separate society or nation for blacks. A few of these groups, based on religious interpretations, declare blacks to be the Biblical chosen people of God and not Jews.

Examples of black supremacist groups are as follows (Anti-Defamation League, 2001; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007; Metareligion. 2007): New Black Panther Party, Black Hebrew Israelites, United Nuwaubian Nation of Moors, Nation of Islam and Nation of Gods and Earths.

### ***2.2.3 Anti-gay groups***

Another example is anti-gay groups. Anti-gay groups go beyond just disagreeing with homosexuality because they also run campaigns with the purpose of personal denigration of gays and lesbians (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007).

Examples of anti-gay groups are as follows (Anti-Defamation League, 2001; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007): Westboro Baptist Church, Family Research Institute, Chalcedon Foundation, Young Americans for Freedom, American Vision, Traditional Values Coalition, American Christian Nationalists, Cyber Ministries, Sodomy Information Center, Antipas's, Creators Rights Party and S.T.R.A.I.G.H.T.

### ***2.2.4 Racist Skinheads***

The fourth example is racist skinhead groups. The Skinheads movement originated as a working-class movement in the industrial cities of Britain in the 1960s (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007). They have a strong contempt for hippies and the middle-class youth. They are well organized (Brearley, 2001). They have a racist, neo-Nazi and violent ideology. Racist skinheads form part of the white supremacist movement, and they are a particularly violent element of this group (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007). Their typical look is having shaved heads, wearing jeans with braces, black Doc Martens boots and a number of racist tattoos.

Some examples of racist skinhead groups are (Anti-Defamation League, 2001; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007): The Hammerskin Nation, Plunder & Pillage, Volksfront, Canyon State Skinheads, Natural State Skinheads, Blood and Honour, California Skinheads, Golden State Skinheads and American Front.

### ***2.2.5 Holocaust denial individuals and groups***

A fifth example of a form of extremism is holocaust denial groups. The purpose of Holocaust denial groups or Holocaust revisionist organizations is to deny that there was a systematic programme by Nazi Germany to commit genocide against European Jews during World War II, when 6 million Jews, as well as people from other groups, were killed (Harwell, 1998; Levin, 2001). Their point of view is radically anti-Semitic. Their expressions of hate and discrimination are against Jews, and sometimes there are organized, violent attacks by groups. Their political agenda wants only to create the illusion of “debate” (Harwell, 1998; Stern, 2004).

Examples of holocaust denial individuals and groups are as follows (Anti-Defamation League, 2001; Harwell, 1998; Stern, 2004): Institute of Historical Review, Ernst Zündel, Bradley Smith’s Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust, David Irving, The Nizkor Project and Arthur R. Butz.

### ***2.2.6 Neo-Nazi groups***

Another example is neo-Nazi groups. Neo-Nazi groups are linked with one another through their hatred of Jews and their admiration for Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007). Their main focus group, towards whom their hate is directed, are Jews but they also hate, at lower intensity, homosexuals, other minorities and sometimes even Christians. They believe that, because of Jewish conspiracy and Jewish controls over financial institutions, governments and the media, that Jews are responsible for virtually all social problems.

Examples of neo-Nazi groups are as follows (Anti-Defamation League, 2001; Stern, 2004; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007): White wolves, White Revolution founded by Billy Roper, American Nazi Party, Combat 18, National Socialist Movement, Nazi Low Riders, Creativity Movement, National Alliance, Silent Brotherhood and White Aryan resistance.

### ***2.2.7 Militia groups***

The seventh example is militia groups. Militia groups usually identify themselves as “militias” and claim that they are “sanctioned by law but uncontrolled by government” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1997; Pitcavage, 2001). They claim that they are representative of the ideological legacy of the founding fathers. Their core beliefs are based on speeches and writings predating the Revolutionary War. Militia groups have challenged both federal and state laws through their interpretation of constitutional rights. Their activities include public and private meetings, marches or rallies, publications and paramilitary training.

Examples of militia groups are as follows (Anti-Defamation League, 2001; Pitcavage, 2001): Michigan Militia, Sovereign Citizen Movement, Militia of Montana, Kentucky State Militia, South-eastern States Alliance and PAGAD.

### ***2.2.8 Radical Religious groups***

The eighth example is radical religious groups, such as Islamic groups and Christian Identity groups. Islam is a widely known and established religion with hundreds of millions of believers (Darlington, 2007). Some of these believers have an extremist agenda of anti-Semitism and terrorism. Believers and churches with a theology influenced by racist thinking are labelled “Christian Identity” (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007). Their key commonality lies in 19<sup>th</sup> century British Israelite thinking, which declared European whites as descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel and thus related to Jews. But in the 20<sup>th</sup> century some United States racist preachers adopted and transformed the British Israelite philosophy into an anti-Semitic faith and were thus no longer friendly to Jews. Most forms of “identity theology”, portray Jews as descendants of Satan and non-whites as soulless “mud people”, who were created together with the other Biblical beasts of the field (Berlet, 1999; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007). They declare whites to be the true Israelites favoured by God and that the battle of Armageddon as prophesied in the Bible is a war of race.

Examples of radical Islamic groups are as follows (Darlington, 2007; Metareligion, 2007): Al-Qaeda, Hamas, Hizballah, Islamic fighters in Chechnya and Jemaah Islamiya.

Examples of Christian identity groups are as follows (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2007): Remnant Outreach Ministries, Church of Jesus Christ, Christian Research, Kingdom Identity Ministries, American Reformation Ministries, Scriptures for America, Christian Guard, Proud White Brotherhood, Covenant People's Ministry, Gospel Ministries, America's Promise Ministries, Ecclesiastical Council for the Restoration of Covenant Israel and Church of the Sons of Yhvh.

### ***2.2.9 Radical political groups***

The last example is radical political groups. These groups publicize fascist views. Their views are expressed on a range of topics from abortion, banks and oil companies, homosexuality, UK anti-racists and the abolition of the House of Commons (Darlington, 2007).

Examples of radical political groups are as follows (Darlington, 2007): The British National Party, The British Movement, The National Revolutionary Faction, Nation of Islam, Sendero Luminoso, FARC Colombia, Blood and Honour, November 9<sup>th</sup> Society and Redwatch.

Having considered some examples of the different forms of extremism, one may wonder whether extremist groups have a common course in the development of a group. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported on such a general model, which they have developed. This model presents the development of a group from showing only dramatic performance to moving on to being a hard-core extremist group. Not all groups, though, make the transition from dramatic performance to becoming a hard-core extremist group.

## **2.3 The seven-stage hate model**

In 2003 a report was published in the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Law Enforcement bulletin about a successive seven-stage model that an extremist group will pass through if they are left unhindered to pass from one stage to another (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003). This proposed model consists of seven stages. The first four stages present the group as vocalizing only where the last three stages present the group as acting on their beliefs. Between the four vocalizing and the three acting out stages is a transition period, which separates hard-core extremist groups from dramatic performance groups.

The following seven stages were defined (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003):

### **Stage 1: The haters draw together**

Haters rarely hate alone, and they feel compelled to get others also to hate as they do. They acquire a sense of self-worth through peer validation and this also prevents them from introspection, which in turn reveals personal insecurities. By joining a group, otherwise ineffective individuals become empowered, and within this group they can express unaccountable hatred.

### **Stage 2: Defining themselves**

By making use of symbols, rituals and mythologies, hate groups define themselves. These firstly enhance the member's status and secondly degrade the object of their hate. Hate groups will, for example, have symbols or clothing specific to their group. They will have group rituals such as a secret greeting or hand signals.

### **Stage 3: Denigrating the target**

To enhance their self-image and their group status, haters verbally attack the object of their hate. In the case of skinheads, haters enhance their state of hate and their environment with racist song lyrics and hate literature. Research found that there is a greater chance for aggression to occur when a person thinks about aggression very often. After constant verbal denigration of the target, haters move onto the next stage.

Between the above four “vocalizing” and the following three “acting-out” stages is a transition period, which separates the hard-core extremist groups from the dramatic performance groups.

#### **Stage 4: Goading the target**

Hatred fires are dimmed by the passing of time, and this “dimming”, forces haters to look inwards. So, they avoid unwanted introspection by maintaining high levels of agitation and increasing their use of rhetoric and violence. Offensive gestures and taunts serve this purpose. Skinheads, for example, typically shout racial comments from a distance, make Nazi salutes and, often, their racist graffiti makes an appearance.

#### **Stage 5: Attacking without weapons**

This is the stage where the hate group turns from vocalizing alone to acting on their beliefs, thus becoming physical. The group actively prowls their turf and seeks for vulnerable targets. This violence unites the group and serves further to isolate them from mainstream society. The adrenaline rush with this kind of thrill seeking is intoxicating, and it keeps the body in a state of heightened alert. Each successive action is more violent than the previous one, because hate combined with an adrenaline high makes for a deadly combination.

#### **Stage 6: Attacking with weapons**

Two types of attacks emerge: those from afar, committed with firearms, and those at close range, committed with weapons such as blunt objects, broken bottles, baseball bats, belt buckles and screwdrivers. Skinheads, for example, prefer the close range weapons because this close contact affords the skinhead a very personal and eye-to-eye experience. It fulfils their need to have dominance over their object of hate.

#### **Stage 7: Destroying the target**

Ultimately the goal is to destroy the object of their hate. This gives the hater a great sense of self-worth and value because having control over life and death infuses the hater with godlike power. Ultimately, though, physical and psychological hate destroy the hater as well as the hated.

## 2.4 Summary

In explaining the concept of extremism, this chapter examined three things: a better understanding of the term *extremism* as it is used in the context of this study, some examples of the different forms of extremism, and the “Seven stage hate model” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2003). This has been for the purpose of explaining and broadening the concept of extremism as it fits into the study context. This was the first step in the process of concluding the research question (as set out in Chapter 1).

Just like other organizations, extremist groups have evolved with changing times and they have adapted easily to the Internet. Chapter 3 provides a short history of the Internet itself and then discusses the evolution of extremist websites on the Internet and later the World Wide Web.



# Extremist groups' emergence on and use of the Internet **3**

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The purpose of chapter 3 is to give insight into the reasons why extremist groups utilize the Internet. It begins with a short history of the Internet and how it has evolved.

The chapter then examines the online emergence of extremist groups themselves and how they grew together with the advancement of the Internet. During this examination it also looks at the different aspects of the Internet, aspects, which makes it desirable to extremist groups.

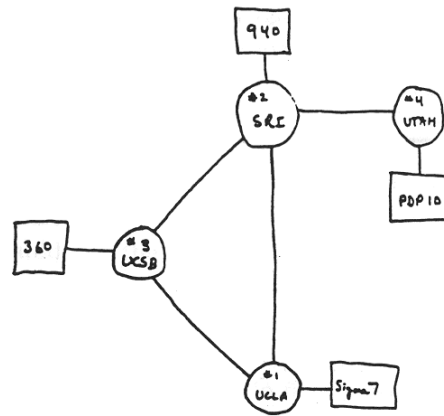
Chapter 3 concludes with how the Internet became embedded into our everyday lives and how users of the Internet became “Netizens” (Hauben and Hauben, 1997).

## **3.1 Internet history**

During the 1960s, researchers used funds from the US Defence Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency network (ARPANet) to experiment with linking computers and people via telephone hook-ups (Hardy, 1993; Kirstein, 1998; Cerf, 2006). The aim was to see whether a new technology, called packet switching, could be used to link computers at different locations to be used by a number of users sharing one communication line. Packet switching, developed by Leonard Kleinrock at MIT in July 1961, is the method of taking a message and breaking it up into smaller parts, called packets (Hardy, 1993; Cerf *et al*, 2003; Howe, 2007). These packets are distributed through the network to their destination and reassembled to represent the original message. The US military was in need of such a network to be able to continue operations even if missiles from the Soviet military damaged parts of their network.

Interface Message Processors or IMP's were packet-switching computers that formed the backbone of the ARPANET node (Kirstein, 1998). In 1965, Lawrence G. Roberts connected an ARPANET computer (TX-2) to a computer (Q-32) from the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA) via a low speed dial-up telephone line (Howe, 2007; Cerf *et al*, 2003). This connection was the first ever wide-area computer

network, and it confirmed two things: Kleinrock's packet switching theory, and the inadequacy of telephone line circuit switching. The next computer to connect was from Stanford Research Institute, followed, respectively, by computers from the University of California in Santa Barbara (UCSB) and the University of Utah. December 1969 brought forth ARPANET with four host computers (See Figure 1). In December 1971 ARPANET connected 23 host computers (See Figure 2).



THE ARPA NETWORK

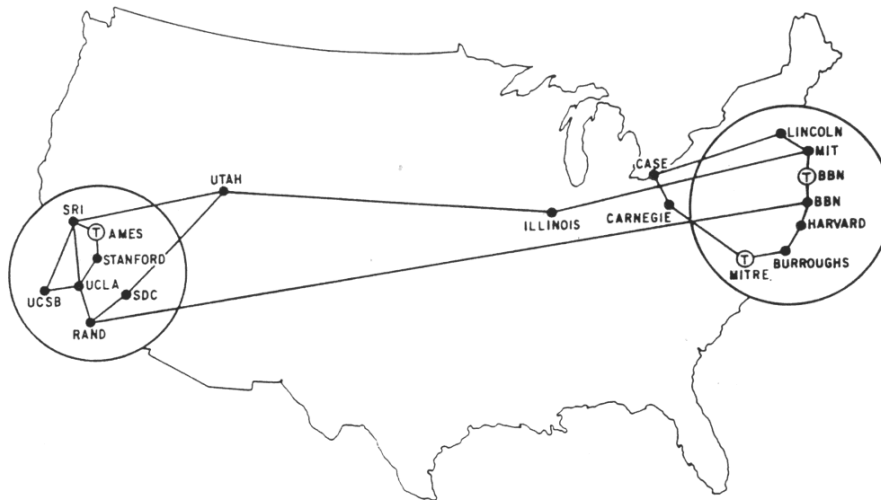
DEC 1969

4 NODES

FIGURE 6.2 Drawing of 4 Node Network  
(Courtesy of Alex McKenzie)

Figure 1: ARPANET in 1969 with courtesy from Alex McKenzie

<http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/m.dodge/cybergeography//atlas/arpamet2.gif>



MAP 4 September 1971

**Figure 2: ARPANET in 1971 with courtesy from BBN Technologies**  
<http://personalpages.manchester.ac.uk/staff/m.dodge/cybergeography//atlas/arpamet3.gif>

During the 1970s, ARPANet evolved to include the American academic community which were mostly institutes and laboratories supported by the Department of Defence (Kirstein, 1998; Howe, 2007). It was used as science-oriented discussions but soon spread into every other field, because people recognized the potential to communicate with hundreds and even thousands of people around the world.

Also, during the 1970s, ARPANet developed protocols or rules (Hardy, 1993; Cerf *et al.*, 2003; Cerf, 2006; Howe, 2007). The two protocols were Transmission Control Protocol or TCP and Internet Protocol or IP. They became known as the TCP/IP Protocol Suite. These protocols were used to transfer data between the different types of computer networks. These computer networks created the Internet of today, because they allowed for different computers to link to one another across national boundaries and, expanded, to link to counterpart networks in other countries.

During the 1980s, the US Department of Defence adopted IP as its official standard. In 1983, ARPANET also adopted IP, which replaced the earlier Network Control Protocol (NCP) (Howe, 2007). In 1983 TCP/IP was then universally adopted (Hardy, 1993; Kirstein, 1998). During this time the Defence Department formed its own network called MILNET and thus split from ARPANET. The NSFNET network came into being in 1986, initiated by the US National Science Foundation (NSF) and ran

parallel to ARPANET (Cerf, 2006). Other networks also appeared on the scene and added to the backbone facilities, such as NSINET from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and ESNET from the US Department of Energy. International backbone networks, such as NORDUNET in Europe, and some commercial network providers in the US and Europe also started to provide access to the network.

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, the Internet, as it was known, included newsgroups, chat rooms and World Wide Web features (Howe, 2007). Newsgroups and chat rooms preceded the World Wide Web and stood independently of it as well. Tim Berners-Lee proposed a new protocol for information distribution in 1989, and in 1991, it became the World Wide Web. The World Wide Web is based on hypertext, which is a system that allows for links to be embedded in text, and this allows the user to be able to link to other text.

During the 1990s, the original ARPANET was taken out of service, and the newer and faster NSFNET network was used (Hardy, 1993; Kirstein, 1998). In its time ARPANET was instrumental in the development of the Net. In 1993 the growth of the World Wide Web was phenomenal, because of the development of the graphical browser (Howe, 2007). Marc Andreessen's team developed Mosaic and, later, Marc Andreessen was the inspiration behind Netscape. Microsoft then developed its browser called Microsoft Internet Explorer.

During the 1990s, there were, in addition, already thousands of companies, schools, universities, colleges, research companies and government agencies connected to the Internet. Commercial use was still limited to those users who served the goals of research and education (Kirstein, 1998; Howe, 2007). This limitation was there because the Internet was originally government funded, and thus a limitation was placed on its use for the purposes of research, education and government. With the growth of commercial networks it was possible to bypass the government funded NSFNet. It was during this time that the Internet entered public debate and media awareness.

The Internet's history is not a simple one, and today there are many written sources to be found regarding its technological, organizational and community aspects. The Internet of today is a global information infrastructure whose influence reaches far and wide. Just as the Internet appeared and evolved through the years, extremist groups emerged online and grew together with the advancement of the Internet.

### **3.2 Online emergence of extremist groups**

In 1984 extremist groups started using online services. An article appeared on a small computer bulletin board system denouncing Jews and Blacks (Berlet, 2001). This was the time before "Internet" as we know it today, and only a small number of people knew about online computer systems and the workings thereof. "Internet" then was almost exclusively a text base system (with USENET news groups on the side) of linked mainframe computers and was mainly available to academics and government defence contractors. A few commercial online systems such as Genie, Delphi and The Source were available.

In 1984 bulletin boards were a major form of public online communications (Berlet, 2001). Several extremist groups used private bulletin boards to facilitate communication and information was shared among members and other like-minded people (Stern, 2004; Schafer, 2002). Bulletin boards usually involved home-based individual computer bulletin board systems, and examples included: Liberty Net, Patriot Net and Paul Revere Net. Adding to the option of bulletin boards, were features such as the posting of public messages, reading text and exchanging groups of files. Bulletin boards were popular because some of them, but not all, provided a degree of security, which allowed for control of access and the encryption of messages.

Sometime in early March 1984, the first apparent right-wing White supremacist to publish into cyberspace his racist and anti-Semitic literature was Georg P. Dietz (Berlet, 2001; Levin, 2002). He used a public BBS called by different names such as Info. International Network or Liberty Bell Net.

In late 1984 or early 1985 there appeared the White Aryan Resistance BBS produced by their leader Tom Metzger (Berlet, 2001). He announced the newspaper of his White Aryan Resistance called “W.A.R. Computer Terminal” in *War '85* bulletin. Another BBS also appeared produced by Louis Beam from the Aryan Nations for the purpose of recruiting members and to increase the efficiency of communications between like-minded extremists (Gerstenfeld *et al*, 2003).

In the early 1990s, a system of message-based conferences by topic, called USENET news groups, was often used for the purpose of posting hate messages (Berlet, 2001; Stern, 2004). Internet newsgroups were less secure than bulletin boards but also popular because they allowed information to be instantaneously distributed to individuals and groups who were logged on. This was before the emergence of a graphical interface, and, thus, the World Wide Web.

With the appearance of a graphical interface, or the World Wide Web, there emerged a few sporadic web pages containing racist, anti-Semitic or other bigoted material (Berlet, 2001). In early 1995, the first major website of a national race extremist group called “Stormfront” ([www.stormfront.org](http://www.stormfront.org)) appeared (Stern, 2004; Schafer, 2002; Levin, 2002). A computer consultant from Florida called Don Black, a neo-Nazi and ex-Klansman, launched “Stormfront”, and his web site is generally regarded as the first World Wide Web hate site. Today “Stormfront” provides features such as discussion boards, subscription to mailing lists, chat rooms and an extensive library of speeches and essays by the most prominent individuals in extreme right-wing and racial separatist groups.

It is not enough simply to determine when extremist groups started using online services such as the Internet, but it should also be determined why they are using the Internet. What aspects of the Internet make it desirable to extremist groups?

### 3.3 Why use the Internet?

There are many aspects of the Internet that make it desirable to extremist groups as a communications medium.

The first characteristic, as discussed by Stern (2004), is enhanced communication. Extremist groups still have their “old” modes of communication: a flyer under your windshield wiper, newsletters in brown manila envelopes in the mail, message “hot lines”, fax alerts, printed books, videos and radio programs (Stern, 2004). But they have also realized that, for a small financial contribution, they can reach tens of millions of people. With the Internet seen as a far superior mode of communication, extremist groups rely increasingly on the Internet to put their message “out there”. It is not that the “old” modes of communication have been abandoned. On the contrary, “old” modes are still used, but the Internet offers enhanced communication. Compared to the “old” modes of communication, the Internet has the added advantage of not having the checks and balances of these older forms. For example, the “old” flyer under your windscreen would have been evaluated on content at the printing press before it was printed.

The second characteristic is that the Internet is seen as a low-cost medium, which enables extremist groups to reach a worldwide audience (Harwell, 1998; Gerstenfeld *et al*, 2003). Gerstenfeld *et al* (2003) also report the Internet as a tool that links diverse extremist groups, allows for maximum image control, can be used for communication purposes with current members or for recruiting new members, is valuable as a forum for placing publications on the groups’ views and as an educational tool to “instruct” the general public.

Characteristics such as its being fast, cheap and flexible allow extremist groups, particularly via websites, to communicate, co-ordinate and raise funds (Anti-Defamation League Law Enforcement Agency Resource Network, 2005). Extremist groups with a worldwide membership can quickly and efficiently send and receive messages to and from adherents. Privacy and cryptography tools allow extremist groups to send these messages covertly, and the ease with which web sites become

known and shared compounds the complexity of deciphering and tracking covert operations.

Craven (1998) has listed a number of characteristics as to why extremist groups moved towards Internet usage: the low cost of the Internet, potentially high quality presentations with easy distribution, reaching a variety of audiences, the ability to tailor messages and the ability to bypass national laws. Other factors are that the Internet reaches the audience that extremist groups most want to influence such as the young and impressionable. In addition, the variety of communication mediums such as e-mail, World Wide Web and newsgroups supersede the previously used Bulletin Boards, which were seen as very innovative in their time.

Jugendschutz.net Project (2004) reports on extremist groups using the content management systems feature of the Internet, which aids extremist groups to create very professional websites. The content management systems help with the structuring of content, and extremist groups are able to keep their websites up to date. Websites include such features as integrated multimedia items and news that is in real time.

Another characteristic is that the Internet provides extremist groups with the ability to protect and enhance the accessibility of their propaganda by having multiple web addresses where their content is available and using features such as redirecting services (Jugendschutz.net Project, 2004; Stern, 2004). Hyperlinks are easy to use because simply by clicking on a link, instead of having to type in new web address or a Uniform Resource Locator (URL), allows you to move easily from one web site to another.

Cerf *et al* (2003) says, “The Internet is at once a world-wide broadcasting capability, a mechanism for information dissemination, and a medium for collaboration and interaction between individuals and their computers without regard for geographic location.”



The Internet characteristic of anonymity, as discussed by Levin (2002), is an Internet quality that lends itself to its extensive use by extremist groups for the purpose of recruiting members. The Internet is economical, and extremist groups are able to reach potential members from all over the world.

Some sites are subtler and often a little misleading in their approach to recruiting members, especially sites that target young people (Burriss, Smith & Strahm, 2000; Back, 2002). They, typically, offer such things as downloadable music and video games and portray intolerant behaviour as normal. The borderless nature of the Internet aids these extremist groups with this process because it allows them to recruit members in countries where such activity is illegal.

Other characteristics, such as the openness and the instantaneous nature of communications on the Internet, are an advantage to extremist groups, and this is visible in the variety, number and depth of sites supporting extremist causes (Anti-Defamation League Law Enforcement Agency Resource Network, 2005). While some web sites have folded and others have deliberately been taken down, just as many new ones appear.

Extremist groups are not the only ones to integrate the Internet and its benefits into their lives. The Internet has also become embedded in the everyday life of users.

### **3.4 The dazzling bright light**

Haythornthwaite and Wellman (2002) refer to the first and second age of the Internet. The first age was a dazzling bright light which brought us a technological marvel to enlighten us and transform the world, just as a half-millennium ago the printing press promoted the original enlightenment in Renaissance times. The Internet was perceived as separate from the rest of life. When people were immersed in online worlds they were separated from everyday life.

Then, in early 1995, the dazzling bright light lost some of its brightness, and the second age of the Internet came to be (Hauben and Hauben, 1997; Haythornthwaite

and Wellman, 2002; Schafer, 2002). The Internet became embedded in everyday things, and it moved from the world of Internet wizards to the world of ordinary people who now use the Internet routinely as an embedded part of their lives. Even the Internet wizards found the Internet to be valuable in ways other than merely technical reasons. The average person used the Internet, or, more accurately, the World Wide Web to do such things as: communicate, do some general browsing, find information about products and services, make travel arrangements, entertainment and for online banking.

Hauben and Hauben (1997) refer to the Internet user as a “Netizen” (a Net Citizen) meaning that you “exist as a citizen of the world” while physically living in one country but globally you are in contact with other “Netizens”.

Statistics (Internet World Stats, 2007) show that there are 1.1 billion Internet users in the world, and often today’s user takes the use of the Internet for granted because it has become so much a part of their daily life (The Gale Group, 2007). But what is the Internet user of today really doing online these days? Chapter 4 determines the online activities of Internet users.

### **3.5 Summary**

Extremist groups started using online services such as the Internet because they recognized the Internet as being a far superior means of communication than their previous methods of, for example, flyers, newsletters, fax alerts, videos and radio programs. The Internet has enhanced communication because extremist groups are now able to reach a wider audience at a lower cost, using more enhanced content with hyperlinks and animation. This was the second step in the process of concluding the research question (as set out in Chapter 1).

# The ten most preferred online activities of Internet users 4

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As mentioned in Chapter 1, one of the sub-objectives of this study is to determine Internet user activities because this study conducts a content analysis of extremist websites uniquely from the “viewpoint” of today’s Internet user. The “viewpoint” is the activities of what Internet users are doing online.

Chapter 4 starts by presenting a global view on the diffusion of the Internet into the population for the purpose of providing an overall view on the number of Internet users.

The chapter then presents individual results from research that considers user activities on the Internet in Asia (China and Korea), Europe (United Kingdom and Italy), North America (Canada and United States) and Latin America/ Caribbean (Chile). Information has been gathered about their definition of an Internet user and the activities of their Internet users.

Chapter 4 concludes with a summary of results of the ten most preferred online activities of Internet users (their “viewpoint”).

## 4.1 Internet diffusion statistics for world regions

Internet World Stats (2008) recorded an estimated world population of 6.6 billion in June 2008. Internet usage data showed that 1.4 billion of these are Internet users, which represents 21.9% of the world population.

Internet usage by World Region (Chart 1) shows Asia, Europe, North America and Latin America/ Caribbean as the leaders or “first group”, with Internet users above the 100 million mark. The “second group” with anything less than 100 million Internet users consists of Africa, Middle East and Oceania/ Australia.

Chart 1 is based on data from Internet World Stats, June 2008.

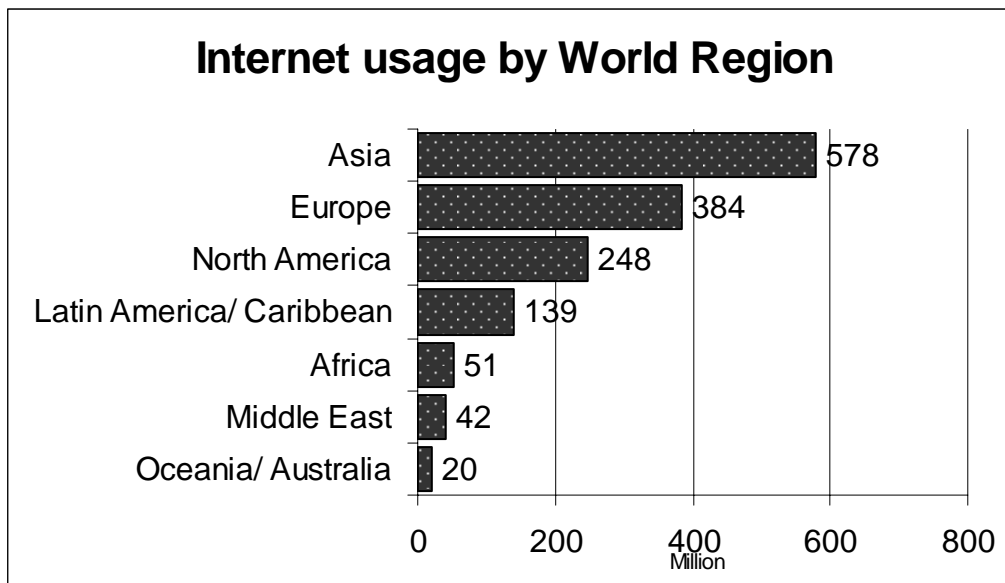


Chart 1: Number of Internet users by World Region

## 4.2 Individual Internet user activities by World Region

Asia, Europe, North America and Latin America/ Caribbean are the world regions that are assessed in this study. Individual information is gathered about their definition of an Internet user and the activities of their Internet users. The studies used in Chapter 4 were each conducted using their own set of criteria, for example: how their data was gathered, their definition of an Internet user and the activities searched for. Chapter 4 is not a comparison of these studies. The aim in using these studies is to help to determine which online activities Internet users generally use.

## 4.3 World region Asia

China and Korea represent the world region of Asia, and they are first to be assessed for their Internet user activities. By June 2008, Internet users in China reached 253 million, which accounts for only 19.0% of China's population of 1.3 billion (Internet World Stats, 2008). During the same time, compared with China, Korean Internet users reached only 34.8 million, but that accounts for 70.7% of Korea's population of 49.2 million.

Although China has only a small percentage of its overall population using the Internet, it claims to have a high IT literacy and sophisticated users of this technology (Du, 1999; China Internet Network Information Centre, 2007). Korea has had a vast growth in both Internet use and capacity (Yong and Gorman, 2002; Lee *et al*, 2005; Kim, 2005). Since the introduction of broadband services in July 1998, Korea is one of the leading countries in broadband performance and penetration. By September 2002, they had already reached 10 million broadband subscribers or over 70% connected households via broadband. By the middle of 2003 Korea had reached 11 million broadband subscribers or about 77% households connected. What is amazing about Korea's broadband services is that the above figures were achieved in such a short time (less than four years).

China lists e-mail as the most frequently used activity by their Internet users, whereas Korea lists e-mail as second only after "general web browsing". Chinese users next read online news and, thirdly, browse web pages for information on products, services, healthcare, jobs and government. Even though "leisure activities" are third on their list of activities for Koreans, they very much still like to play and download music, games, and movies and watch online TV.

#### ***4.3.1 Chinese study***

China Internet Network Information Centre (CNNIC) is a state-designated agency for Internet usage statistics. In January 2007 they published "the 19<sup>th</sup> Statistical Survey Report on Internet Development in China". Since 1997, the Internet Network Information Centre has continually been carrying out semi-annual statistical surveys on the development of the Internet in China. The closing date for this survey was December 31, 2006.

CNNIC uses computer auto online searches to obtain information on the number of domain names, websites, IP addresses, web pages and bytes of web pages. They then use an online survey to obtain information on accustomed behaviour of Internet users. Of the 20, 295 feedbacks received, 20,183 were effective. Offline sampling provides information about the total number of domestic Internet users.

The regional distribution of the 19<sup>th</sup> statistical survey report is as follows:

- *East China*: Beijing, Tianjin, Hebei, Liaoning, Shanghai, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian, Shandong, Guangdong and Hainan.
- *Central China*: Shanxi, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Anhui, Jiangxi, Henan, Hubei and Hunan.
- *West China*: Inner Mongolia, Guangxi, Chongqing, Sichuan, Guizhou, Yunnan, Tibet, Shaanxi, Gansu, Qinghai, Ningxia and Xinjiang.

The Internet user, as defined by the China Internet Network Information Centre (2007), is a Chinese citizen aged 6 and above who on average uses the Internet for at least one hour per week.

China claims to have technology-sophisticated users with a high IT literacy, which is apparent in the number of activities they perform online (Du, 1999; China Internet Network Information Centre, 2007). 86% of users in China list e-mail as the most popular activity on the Internet (Zhu and Wang, 2005; China Internet Network Information Centre, 2007). E-mail, as an activity is followed by 62% users that are reading online news, and 50% users who browse web pages to obtain information on products, services, jobs, healthcare, and government. Next, 43% users chat online via forums, bulletin boards and discussion groups. The rest of the activities include 36.3% users watching or downloading video material including online TV, 34.4% users who listen to or download music, including online radio, 26.6% users play internet games, 23.6% users conduct online shopping (buying), 14.3% users find information relating to online education, 13.3% users conduct online sales including online promotions and auctions, 10.5% users perform online financing such as banking and stock trading, 8.6% users perform online reservations for hotels, tickets and registrations and, lastly, 7.7% users use e-governance services such as online complaining.

#### ***4.3.2 Korean study***

In February 2007, the Ministry of Information and Communication (MIC) together with the National Internet Development Agency of Korea (NIDA) published the “Survey on the Computer and Internet Usage” report. This report is based on survey

results of 10,000 households (25,727 household members) nationwide, with population ages 3 and over. The survey period was from 1 December 2006 until 30 December 2006.

The distribution of the “Survey on the Computer and Internet Usage” report includes the following provinces: Seoul, Busan, Daegu, Incheon, Gwangju, Daejeon, Ulsan and Gyeonggi.

The National Internet Development Agency of Korea (2007) defines an Internet user as: “a person who has used the Internet at least once in the last 1 month.” They report on their Internet usage population by distinguishing between two age groups: since 2002 they have expanded their population group to include those aged 6 and over, the age eligible for school, and they also report on the age group 3 to 5.

Korean Internet users start using the Internet mostly out of curiosity or for fun (Yong and Gorman, 2002; National Internet Development Agency of Korea, 2007). At 32.0% “curiosity/for fun” is first on their list of reasons for using the Internet and second, at 15.8%, “to look up general information”.

Korea has had a vast growth in both Internet use and capacity (Yong and Gorman, 2002; Lee *et al*, 2005; Kim, 2005). Since the introduction of broadband services in July 1998, Korea is one of the leading countries in broadband performance and penetration. By September 2002, they had already reached 10 million broadband subscribers or over 70% connected households via broadband. By the middle of 2003 Korea had reached 11 million broadband subscribers, or about 77% of households connected. What is amazing about Korea’s broadband services is that the above figures were achieved in such a short time (less than four years).

87.6% of Internet users aged 6 and over use the Internet for data or information acquisition (Yong and Gorman, 2002; National Internet Development Agency of Korea, 2007). In addition, 83.8% use it for communication, via e-mail and chatting with others (Instant Messenger). 83.4% participate in leisure activities such as music, movie/TV and online games. Other activities include 51.6% users conducting Internet

purchases and sales, 35% users finding information relating to education or learning, 29.6% users performing financial transactions and 17.4% use social networking options.

#### **4.4 World region Europe**

Next in line to be accessed for their Internet user activities are the United Kingdom and Italy. They represent the world region of Europe. The United Kingdom, with an estimated population of 60.9 million in June 2008, has 41.8 million or 68.8% of the population who are Internet users (World Internet Stats, 2008). Compared to the United Kingdom, Italy has an estimated 58.1 million population with 34.7 million or 59.7% Internet users.

Internet users from both the United Kingdom and Italy generally browse or surf the Internet. This option is third on their lists of online user activities. The United Kingdom users firstly like to search for information about goods and services, and then they use their e-mail facility. Italian users on the other hand firstly read and write e-mail, and then they like to read local, national and international news.

##### ***4.4.1 United Kingdom study***

In August 2006, the Office for National Statistics published the “First Release: Internet Access, Households and Individuals” report, which is based on statistics from the “National Statistics Omnibus Survey”. The “National Statistics Omnibus Survey” started in October 1990 and is carried out by the Office for National Statistics once a month (12 times a year). The sample is based on interviews with 1,800 adults per survey month. One adult is selected per household.

Since 2006 the survey has reported on the United Kingdom, which includes Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) and Northern Ireland.

The Office for National Statistics (2006) defines the Internet user as an adult, aged 16 and over, who has accessed the Internet in the 3 months prior to the interview.



Internet users in the United Kingdom aged 16 and over list activities they have accessed within the last 3 months, as follows (Anderson and Tracey, 2001; The Office for National Statistics, 2006). 84% searched for information about goods and services, 80% used their e-mail facility, and 72% were involved in general browsing or surfing on the Internet. Other activities include 71% of users who searched for information about travel and accommodation, 45% of users played or downloaded games, images or music, 42% of users made use of internet banking services, 35% of users read or downloaded online news, including newspapers and news magazines, 27% of users found information relating to school, college or university courses, 23% of users listened to web radio or watched web television, 20% of users communicated via chat rooms and message boards, and 17% of users sold goods or services online.

#### ***4.4.2 Italian study***

In 2002, SDA Bocconi, the graduate school of management of Bocconi University in Milan, conducted the third study of the impact of the Internet on society. The first study was done in 1999 and the second in 2001. In September and October 2002, the third study was done via telephonic survey of the Italian population. The population included individuals aged 16 years and over by geographical area and gender (1111 individuals) listed in the telephone directories.

An Internet user, as defined by SDA Bocconi (2002), is an individual from the Italian population aged 16 years and over.

Since 1996, Internet use in Italy grew steadily (SDA Bocconi, 2002). 1996 showed a 4.5% population penetration, 1998 showed 8.5% and 1999 showed 14.2%. Between 1999 and 2001 Internet use increased significantly, from 14.2% to 28.7%. Between 2001 and 2002 Internet use became more regular, with an increase from 28.7% to 31.2%.

At 89.9%, by far the most common activity of Italian Internet users is writing or reading e-mail, followed by 66.4% of users reading local, national or international news (SDA Bocconi, 2002). 62.5% of users are generally surfing online for no

particular reason. Other activities include 44.6% of users gathering travel information, 40% of users listening or downloading online music, 21% of users watching or downloading online videos, 18.3% of users accessing online government services, 17% of users checking bank accounts, 14.4% conducting online shopping. 14% of users participate in forums, bulletin boards and/or discussion lists, 11% of users play games online, 7.6% of users access distant services for updating professional knowledge and skills, 4.4% participate in online trading, 1.6% of users participate in online auctions while 1.5% of users search for information about distance education for the purpose of obtaining certificates or diplomas.

## **4.5 World region North America**

Canada and United States represent the world region of North America and are also assessed for their Internet user activities. Canada's Internet users reached 28 million by June 2008 compared with the 220.1 million of the United States (Internet World Stats, 2008). Despite the significant difference in the number of Internet users, the number of Canadian Internet users account for 84.3% of Canada's population of 33.2 million, compared with the United States Internet users who account for 72.5% of the United State's population of 303.8 million.

For both Canadian and American Internet users, e-mail is their principal online activity. Canadians then will access online news and government sites. The second choice for American users is browsing the web for information on products, services, weather and sport.

### ***4.5.1 Canadian Study***

In October 2005, "Canadian Internet Project" published their executive summary of the results and findings of their first baseline study during May and June 2004. This survey compares, across a wide range of variables, Canadian Internet users and non-Internet users. These variables are demographic variables (gender, age, language, region, income etc.) particularly significant to the Canadian environment. Canadian Internet Project conducts this type of study every other year.

In May and June 2004 a telephonic survey of 3,014 randomly-selected individuals was conducted. The Criteria used for each individual was that they had to be aged 18 and over, living in one of the ten Canadian provinces, in a private home, and be able to express themselves in either French or English. 3,014 telephone interviews were completed; of which 2,011 were conducted in English (by Research House in Toronto) and 1,003 were conducted in French (by CROP in Montreal).

The geographical distribution was as follows:

- *English-speaking*: Ontario, Quebec, Alberta, British Columbia, Atlantic Region and Prairie Region.
- *French-speaking*: Island of Montreal, Rest of Montreal Census Metropolitan Area (CMA), Greater Montreal Area, Quebec: CMA, Quebec: East and North, Quebec: Centre and West, New Brunswick and Ontario.

An Internet user as defined by Canadian Internet Project (2004) is a Canadian individual aged 18 and over that uses the Internet.

Canadian Internet users use the Internet more for services than for accessing particular sites (Dryburgh, 2001; Canadian Internet Project, 2005). E-mail use for Canadian Internet users, at 91%, is their principal online activity, followed by 65% of users who access news sites and then 57% of users who access information or download information from a government site. Other activities include 52% of users shopping online for books, software, clothes, CD's and computers, 24% of users applying for a government programme or service, and 6% of users chatting online.

Canada measured "leisure activities" according to the time (average minutes per week) spent on these activities, and found that users spent an average of 53min/week playing online games, 52min/week listening to recorded music, 50min/week downloading music files, 41min/week listening to the radio, 11min/week reading online books, 8min/week watching movies, and 6min/week watching television.

### ***4.5.2 United States Study***

In September 2004, the University of Southern California's USC Annenberg School Center for the Digital Future published "The Digital Future Report, Surveying the Digital Future, Year Four". This report of Year Four forms part of the overall Digital Future Project, which examines the impact of online technology on America on a year-to-year basis. The "Surveying the Digital Future, Year Four" itself is a continuation of the exploration of how the Internet influences the social, economic and political behaviour of Internet users and non-users.

The first report of 2002 created a basic profile of the behaviours and attitudes of Internet users and non-users. The five subjects investigated by this report determined who was online, who was not online, media use and trust, social effects, communication patterns and consumer behaviour. Reports two, three and four continued the year-to-year assessment of more than 100 major topics. These topics focussed on Internet users compared to non-Internet users, new users with less than one year of experience compared with experienced users with seven or more years of experience.

Every year the Digital Future Project surveys more than 2000 households. They always survey the same households across the United States. They contact each of these households and determine how online technology has affected these households.

The Digital Future Report (2004) defines an Internet user as an American who uses the Internet.

90.4% of American Internet users send and receive e-mail and instant messaging (The Digital Future Report, 2004; National Telecommunications and Information Administration, 2004). 77.2% of users surf or browse the web most often for information on products or services. They also browse for information about health services, weather and sport. Other activities include: 52% of users read news online, 44.2% of users shop and buy online, 34.6% of users gather travel information, 32.5% of users track credit cards, and 28.5% of users play online games.

## **4.6 World region Latin America / Caribbean**

Chile represents the world region of Latin America / Caribbean, and is last to be assessed for its Internet user activities. Chile has an estimated 16.4 million population, and 44.9% of the population are Internet users, which accounts for 7.3 million of the total Chilean population (Internet World Stats, 2008).

Internet penetration in Chile is not evenly spread. Only a small, privileged group of the population has Internet access in Chile, and they are typically young males who are highly educated with a high income and who access the Internet from work or their place of study (Mendoza and Alvarez, 1997; Caceres and Sudweeks, 1999; Fernández & Goldenberg, 2003).

Chilean Internet users are more leisure-orientated when it comes to their online activities, and mostly they list browsing or exploring as their main reason for connecting to the Internet. Compared to the studies above, both Canadian and American Internet users list e-mail as their principal online activity.

### ***4.6.1 Chilean Study***

The World Internet Project-Chile study is conducted on an annual basis, and it is an internationally comparable study (Godoy and Herrera, 2004). It studies, firstly, the psychological and sociological effects of the Internet on human life, secondly, the situation of Chile compared to other countries, and, thirdly, the dissimilarities of these uses and effects throughout time. The World Internet Project-Chile 2003 study reported on users and non-users of the Internet and included regions outside the capital of Santiago de Chile. Later versions (2004 and 2006) of World Internet Project-Chile are available but they are, unfortunately, still available only in Spanish. The World Internet Project-Chile 2003 study was a face-to-face survey, and 1200 cases were evaluated.

Godoy and Herrera (2004) define an Internet user as “all person who used Internet in the last 90 days in any place for any amount of time, although he may not have a computer connected at his home”.

Chilean Internet users show a more leisure-orientated pattern in their use of the Internet (Mendoza and Alvarez, 1997; Caceres and Sudweeks, 1999; Godoy and Herrera, 2004). Browsing or exploring is mostly listed as the reason why users connect to the Internet. Online activities of Chilean Internet users include 77.9% of users who use e-mail, followed by 58.8% of users who access the Internet for purposes of reading news, 52.8% of users who use it for general browsing purposes, 25.4% of users who obtain travel information and make reservations online, 24.8% of users play online games, 20.5% check their bank balance online and 19.8% users buy online.

Presented in the next paragraph are the summary results of the Internet user online activities (their “viewpoint”) of all four World regions. This is thus a compilation of individual results from the above research that considered user activities on the Internet in Asia (China and Korea), Europe (United Kingdom and Italy), North America (Canada and United States) and Latin America/ Caribbean (Chile).

#### **4.7 Analysis of Internet user activities of the four World regions**

The secondary analysis of the above existing data sets yields the following ten most preferred online activities of Internet users: e-mail, leisure activity, general browsing, news, online shopping, online banking, social networking, travel, online education and online government. These ten Internet user activities provide an insight into which online activities are generally used by Internet users. Below there is a full discussion of each:

- **E-mail** is the first and most common Internet user activity by far, with countries such as Canada, United States, Italy, Chile and China listing e-mail as the most frequently used online activity by their Internet users. Individually, 91% of Internet users in Canada, 90.4% in United States, 89.9% in Italy, 86% in China and 77.9% in Chile claim to be e-mailers. Only in Korea and United Kingdom does e-mail follow after the “general web browsing” online activity, but still, at 83.8% and 80% respectively, e-mail is a frequently accessed activity.

- **Leisure activity** is second on the list of Internet user activities. 83.4% of Koreans make great use of leisure activities online, such as playing or downloading music, games and movies/TV. Korean leisure activities are third on their list of online activities, after “General web surfing” and “E-mail”. 45% of United Kingdom users play or download games, images and music, and 23% listen to web radio or watch web television. 28.5% of users from the United States and 24.8% of Chilean users play games online. 40% of Italian users mostly listen to or download online music, and 21% watch or download online videos while 11% play online games. 36.3% of Chinese users watch or download videos, including online TV, 34.4% listen to or download music, including online radio, and 26.6% play games online. Canada measured “leisure activities” according to the time (average minutes per week) spent on these activities. Users spent an average of 53min/week playing online games and 52min/week listening to recorded music. They spend 50min/week downloading music files, 41min/week listening to the radio, 11min/week reading online books, 8min/week watching movies, and 6min/week watching television.
- **General browsing** is third on the list of Internet user activities. In Korea, at 87.6%, “General browsing” ranks first on their list of online activities. For the United Kingdom, 84% users mostly search for information about goods and services, but 72% users also do some general web browsing. In the United States general browsing ranks second, after e-mail, at 77.2%. For Italy, at 62.5%, and China, at 50%, general browsing is third on their list of online activities, after “E-mail” and “News”. Chinese users mostly obtain information on products, services, jobs, healthcare and government. Chile ranks general browsing only fourth at 52.8%.
- **News** ranks fourth on the list of Internet user activities, and, for Italy at 66.4%, Canada at 65%, China at 62% and Chile at 58.8%, reading local, national and/or international news on the Internet (newspapers or news magazines) comes second after e-mail. For users from the United States, at 52%, “Reading news” is their third online activity, after “e-mail” and “general web surfing”. In the United

Kingdom 35% of their Internet users access online news. Korea does not list “News” as one of its online activities.

- **Online shopping** is fifth on the list of Internet user activities. Users in Canada at 52%, United States at 44.2%, China at 23.6%, Chile at 19.8% and Italy at 14.4% shop and buy online. 51.6% of Korean users shop online and also sell online. The United Kingdom, at 17%, and China, at 13.3%, sell goods or services online, while China’s sales also include online promotion and auction. 4.4% of Italian users participate in some online trading, and, at 1.6%, participate in some online auctions.
- **Online Banking** finds itself in sixth place on the list of Internet user activities. At 42%, the United Kingdom users make use of personal banking and financial services online. United States users, at 32.5%, track credit cards online. 29.6% of Korean users perform financial transactions online. Users in Chile, at 20.5%, and Italy, at 17%, check bank accounts online. Users in China, at 10.5%, do online financing, including banking and stock trading.
- **Social networking** is seventh on the list of Internet user activities. Chinese users, at 43%, make use of forums, bulletin boards and discussion groups. Users in the United Kingdom, at 20%, and Canada, at 6%, make use of chat rooms and message boards. Korean users, at 17.4%, have an online activity referred to as “social networking”. 14% of Italian users participate in forums, bulletin boards and/or discussion lists, and 7.7% discuss online social and political issues.
- **Travel** is eighth on the list of Internet user activities. 71% of United Kingdom users spend time searching for information about travel and accommodation. In comparison, Italy, at 44.6%, the United States, at 34.6%, and Chile, at 25.4%, spend much less time on searching for travel information. Canada shows their users as spending an average of 32 minutes per week on accessing travel information and making travel arrangements. China lists only actual online reservations (hotel, ticket and registration), with 8.6% of their online users



participating in this activity. Korea does not list “Travel” as one of its online activities.

- **Online Education** is ninth on the list of Internet user activities. 35% of Korean users find information relating to education or learning. The United Kingdom users, at 27%, find information relating to school, college or university courses. Chinese users, at 14.3%, find information relating to online education. Italian users, at 7.6%, search for information about distant services for updating professional knowledge and skills, and, at 1.5%, search for information about distance education for purposes of acquiring certificates/diplomas.
- **Online Government** is tenth and last on the list of Internet user activities. Canada is the country that mostly utilizes its online government sites. At 57%, Canadian users access or download information from a government site, and 24% apply for a government programme or service while 10% participate in an online government consultation or survey. Italian users, at 18.3%, make use of online government services. Chinese users, at 7.7%, make use of e-governance via online complaining, examining, or approving and supervision. None of the other countries listed “Government” as one of their online activities.

The above ten Internet user activities are all very relevant activities from the perspective of the online user, because these are the general activities they mostly perform online. The author does not expect to find all of the ten activities present on extremist websites, because some of the activities, such as online banking, travel and online government, contain very specific content and are not applicable to extremist websites.

## **4.8 Summary**

As of June 2008, 1.4 billion or 21.1% of a world population of 6.6 billion are Internet users (Internet World Stats, 2008). Chapter 4 determined that, first and foremost, they read and write e-mail. E-mail is the most common Internet activity by far. They then indulge in some leisure activity such as playing or downloading images, games, music

and video. They also listen to web radio and watch web TV. Other online activities include: general browsing, reading news (local, national and international), online shopping, banking, social networking, acquiring travel information, acquiring educational information and dabble a bit with government pages. This was the third step in the process of concluding the research question (as set out in Chapter 1).

Determining the online activities of today's Internet user is important because it is via this Internet user activities that extremist websites will be analyzed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the content analysis of extremist websites based on the ten Internet user activities as determined by the secondary analysis of Chapter 4. It then defines the search criteria for each Internet user activity for the purpose of explaining exactly what was searched for on the extremist websites. The chapter then continues to present the results of the content analysis of extremist websites.

### 5.1 Results from the content analysis

The study sample consists of 114 extremist websites. Each website is evaluated on content, and data is collected to determine the presence of the Internet user activities as determined in Chapter 4. The author does not expect to find all of the activities on extremist websites. The activities of online banking, travel and online government especially contain very specific content and are not really applicable to extremist websites. The results below follow from the content analysis.

#### 5.1.1 *E-mail*

The first and most used Internet user activity is e-mail. E-mail on websites is usually in the format of a hyperlink or an online form. Thus the first search criterion to determine the presence of the Internet user activity “e-mail” is an e-mail hyperlink on a website. The user just clicks on the hyperlink and it then opens a new e-mail message in an e-mail program. The second search criterion is an online form, which the user completes and then submits.

When the 114 extremist websites were evaluated for the above criterion, it was found that ninety one (79.8%) websites have some form of e-mail communication. Twenty one (18.4%) websites have no e-mail option and two (1.8%) websites have an e-mail option, but owing to webpage construction the e-mail hyperlink or online form is offline.

Contacting an extremist website in general is the most prevalent form of the Internet user activity “e-mail”. This contact option is only a general website contact option. It excludes contacting a specific person on the website or dealing with a specific subject. The user simply goes to the option “Contact Us” and either clicks on the e-mail hyperlink or completes an online form answering whatever general question they have or providing information they want. Fifty seven (50%) websites supply an e-mail hyperlink and fourteen (12.3%) websites supply an online form. One website (0.9%) supplies both an e-mail hyperlink and an online form for general contact purposes.

The next form of contacting a website is to be able to contact a specific person on the website. Such persons include, for instance, the founder of the extremist group, the co-founder and the secretary. The user can have a one-on-one communication with a person of his/her choice and thus a more personal experience. Twenty three (16%) websites allow the user to contact a particular person directly, for example: the church administrator, the pastor, the church secretary, the grand dragon, the chairman of the group, the vice-chairman, the publicity director and the imperial wizard of the Klan, just to name a view.

The third form of contacting an extremist website is on a more technical level. Fourteen (12.3%) websites specifically allow contact with the web master of their website or a “Technical support” team. With this option the user is able to ask questions of a technical nature, related, for example, to the creation of the website or when they experience problems with the usage of the website.

Another form of the Internet user activity “e-mail” found was that nineteen (16.7%) websites supply the contact information of related sites. They will, for example, supply e-mail addresses of other Realms, other Klans, regional districts, state contacts, contacts across Canada and Volksfront worldwide.

Thirteen (11.4%) websites either supply an online form or a specific e-mail address to the user for the purpose of applying to become a member of the group. This is the fifth form of the Internet user activity “e-mail”. Users are always cautioned that membership is a privilege, and that not everyone is successful in their application.

There are strict rules that apply and parameters to be met in order to become a member.

Lastly, five (4.4%) websites supply an online form or specific e-mail address to enable one to subscribe to their mailing list, such as a tape/CD lending library mailing list or mailing lists to receive broadcasts.

### ***5.1.2 Leisure Activity***

Leisure activity is second on the list of Internet user activities. Leisure activity is where the user has “interaction” with the website via an option other than text. Specifically, for this study, the search criteria include options such as video, audio, music/MP3s, online radio and online games. These criteria are considered “leisure activity” when the user can either view or listen to an item online or when the user is able to download an item to his/her own computer.

Of the 114 extremist websites evaluated for the Internet user activity “leisure activity”, ninety two (80.7%) websites have some form of leisure activity. Twenty two (19.3%) websites have no leisure activity on their website.

The first form of the Internet user activity “leisure activity” is video. On thirty four (29.8%) websites some form of video appears. Seven (6.1%) websites have videos that may be downloaded by the user to their own computer, and twenty seven (23.7%) websites have video material that may be viewed only online. Types of videos include short video clips, welcome videos, news videos, research videos and video clips of lectures.

Audio material, such as radio broadcasts, audio clips of interviews, sermons, audio Bible and messages appear on thirteen (11.4%) websites. Two (1.8%) websites have audio clips that may be downloaded by the user, and eleven (9.6%) websites have audio clips that the user may listen to online only. This is a second form of the Internet user activity “leisure activity”.

Extremist websites also have music as a form of “leisure activity”. Music appears in the format of a MP3 file, and fifteen (13.2%) websites contain music files. Eight (7%) websites allow the user to download their music free of charge, and seven (6.1%) websites have online music to listen to, without the option of downloading.

Radio, as a “leisure activity”, appears on twenty three (20.2%) websites. Radio is available either via archived files or live radio streaming. Ten (8.8%) websites save items such as radio programs, radio shows and news feeds on a dedicated radio archive, and thirteen (11.4%) websites allow streaming such as radio broadcasts, radio music channel and Internet radio.

Lastly, four (3.5%) websites contain the “leisure activity” of games. These games are created by the members of the website. Two (1.8%) websites have free games that the user may download and two (1.8%) websites have games that can be played only online.

### ***5.1.3 General Browsing***

General browsing is the third activity on the list of Internet user activities. General browsing is in the format of a hyperlink which eases the transition from one website to another. The search criterion in this study thus is when a website contains hyperlinks to related sites, sponsored sites and/or other non-related sites, because this will be an indication of the Internet user activity “general browsing”.

When the 114 extremist websites were evaluated for the Internet user activity “general browsing”, ninety five (83.3%) allow some form of general browsing. Nineteen (16.7%) websites have no browsing option on their website.

Eighty five (74.6%) websites contain hyperlinks to websites related to their cause. This is the first form of the Internet user activity “general browsing” These links are presented in the option “Contact us” where the web addresses of other clans, other realms, national offices, regional offices or worldwide contacts are supplied.

Sponsored sites are the second form of the Internet user activity “general browsing”. Sponsored sites usually appear as an extra pop-up window on the extremist website. It is labelled “Sponsored sites”. The pop-up window can either be closed by the user, or the user can choose to click the sponsored website link and move to the chosen site. Five (4.4%) websites allow for sponsored websites.

Sixteen (14%) websites link to other websites not related to their cause, their mission or their topic of discussion. They appear as the usual hyperlink, and the user can simply click the hyperlink and move away from the extremist website. This is the last form of the Internet user activity “general browsing” to appear on extremist websites.

#### ***5.1.4 News***

The next Internet user activity evaluated is “news”. News items are in the form of news articles published directly on a website or articles published in newsletters, newspapers or magazines. The search criterion thus for the Internet user activity “news” refer to such items as online news articles or news articles published in newsletters, newspapers or magazines. Newsletters, newspapers or magazines are available online, in downloadable format, in printable format, or they can be sent to the user via e-mail or snail mail.

Of the 114 extremist websites evaluated for “news”, a hundred and seven (93.9%) websites allow some form of news item on their website. Either the website owner or the members write the news items. The members must submit their news item to the website owner for evaluation and possible publication. Only seven (6.1%) websites have no news option on their website.

Articles are the first form of Internet user activity “news”. A hundred and seven (93.9%) websites use articles as a means to present themselves. Articles are of content, welcome, ideology, history, instruction, information, FAQ’s, information about the founder, about us, mission, disclaimer, code of conduct, sermons and membership guidelines. Ninety seven (85.1%) websites present online articles, and

sixteen (14%) websites archive older versions of articles with indexing for easy access or subject search.

Members of a group can choose to subscribe to a newsletter or newspaper. This is the second form of the Internet user activity “news”. Twenty one (18.4%) websites offer their members either a weekly or monthly newsletter or newspaper to subscribe to. Eighteen (15.8%) websites offer either an online newsletter or newspaper, or they send it to the subscribed member via e-mail. Two (1.8%) websites have an option where users can access archived options of their newsletters, and one (0.9%) website sends their newspaper via snail mail.

Some option to subscribe to a magazine appears on eight (7%) websites, and this is the third and last form of the Internet user activity “news”. Members of a group are given the option to subscribe to a magazine by sending an e-mail with their details or completing an online form. Magazines are free, but the owner mentions that for a small donation the member will contribute to the effort spent on creating the magazine. Five (4.4%) websites publish an online magazine, two (1.8%) websites send a printed version of the magazine to subscribed members via snail mail, and one (0.9%) website has a downloadable magazine.

### ***5.1.5 Online Shopping***

Online shopping is fifth on the list of Internet user activities. Websites usually have an online catalogue from which the user can choose or an online store. The author will thus search for either of these two options on extremist websites. Merchandise consists of items such as CD’s, tapes, books, pamphlets, videos, biographies, DVDs, clothing, magazines, flags, jewellery, pins, knives, buckles, posters, hats and armbands.

When the 114 extremist websites were evaluated for the Internet user activity “online shopping”, thirty six (31.6%) websites that provide their members the opportunity to buy merchandise were discovered. Seventy eight (68.4%) websites did not sell anything.



Search results show that seventeen (14.9%) websites have an online catalogue to choose from. When the user places his/her order via an order form it is submitted either electronically or by snail mail. Fifteen (13.2%) websites have a full online store with a virtual shopping cart and electronic payment option.

### ***5.1.6 Online Banking***

Online Banking is in sixth place on the list of Internet user activities. Banking organizations usually supply their customers with an online personal or corporate banking option. The search criterion in this study focuses on the option of personal banking services. These are options such as personal banking, track credit cards, financial transactions online and online financing.

Of the 114 extremist websites evaluated for the Internet user activity “online banking”, zero (0%) websites provide their members with the opportunity of performing any kind of online banking. The author cannot find any of the above-mentioned criteria on extremist websites. But, in spite of the fact that extremist websites do not integrate the Internet user activities “online banking” onto their websites this does not make it an irrelevant Internet user activity. “Online banking” is still the sixth most preferred Internet user activity (as shown in Chapter 4). It simply means that traditional “online banking” activities do not fall within the “make-up” of extremist groups.

Although the search criteria for online banking were not found on extremist websites does not mean that extremist groups do not have an “awareness” of online banking services. Eleven (9.6%) websites have an option for users to make a financial contribution to their cause either by donating monies or paying a membership fee via PayPal or Paypal Donate. Another activity on extremist websites that shows an “awareness” of banking services is the fifteen (13.2%) websites that have a full online store with a virtual shopping cart and electronic payment option.

### ***5.1.7 Social Networking***

Social networking is the seventh Internet user activity to be accessed. Social networking usually includes options that allow users to communicate more in “real time”. This is not like e-mail messages, which can be responded to at a later stage. With the communication options online chat, forums, Blogs and message boards, users are usually logged on at the same time and communicate in “real time” or “in time”.

When the 114 websites were evaluated for the Internet user activity “social networking”, thirty seven (32.5%) websites were found that provide the user with the means to communicate with other users in “real time”. Registration is free, and the website owner usually refers to the “code of conduct” of the group, to which it is important to adhere. Nearly two thirds, seventy seven (67.5%) websites have no “social networking” option on their website.

Discussion forums are the first form of the Internet user activity “social networking”, and they are available on twenty four (21.1%) websites. Some websites, eight (7%), have more than one forum to subscribe to and they range from options such as announcements, guidelines, news, general, FAQ’s, activism, heritage and life. Discussion forums are followed by online chat or live chat. Social networking is available on nine (7.9%) websites, and, after registration takes place for a username and password, the member can log on at anytime and join in on the live chatting. Both Blogs and message boards are respectively available on six (5.3%) websites for users to post their comments, messages or information.

### ***5.1.8 Travel***

Travel is eighth on the list of Internet user activities, and it usually provides options, which allow the user to search for information about travel and accommodation, access travel information, make travel arrangements and conduct actual online reservations (hotel, ticket and registration). If the author finds some or all of the above options on extremist websites, it will be an indication of the presence of the Internet user activity “travel”.

Of the 114 websites evaluated, zero (0%) websites provide their members the opportunity to perform any kind of online travelling arrangements. A zero result indicates that extremist websites do not integrate the Internet user activity “travel” onto their websites. But, despite this fact, “travel” is still a relevant Internet user activity, and it simply means that “travel” activities do not fall within the “make-up” of extremist groups.

Again the author searched for an “awareness” of travel activities on extremist websites, options such as links to travel sites or the sponsoring of a travel site, but no such “awareness” was detected.

### ***5.1.9 Online Education***

Online Education is second last on the list of Internet user activities. Online education is usually where a user can register and/or follow an online course for the purpose of obtaining an educational qualification. The search criteria for the Internet user activity “online education” refer to any type of online course or online teaching materials.

Results from the 114 websites evaluated, show only five (4.4%) websites provide the user with any sort of educational material. A hundred and nine (95.6%) websites have no educational materials present. The first of the five websites contains an educational supplement called “Bible questions answered”, the second contains teaching sermons, the third allows the user to book a Bible course at the American Institute of Theology, the fourth has an option to buy “BOK Officers” course materials from their online store, and the last has a link to a University website to access their online books.

### ***5.1.10 Online Government***

Online Government is the last Internet user activity to be accessed. Usually online government involves such options as accessing or downloading government information from a site, applying for a government programme or service or participation in an online government consultation. Thus, if some or all of these

options should be found it would be an indication of the integration for the Internet user activity “online government” into extremist websites.

Unfortunately when the 114 extremist websites were evaluated, none of the above-mentioned criteria was found. Zero (0%) websites provide their members with the opportunity of accessing any type of government information or websites. In spite of the fact that extremist websites do not integrate “online government” activities into their website it does not make it an irrelevant Internet user online activity. Even though “online government” is only the tenth most preferred Internet user activity (as shown in Chapter 4) it is still in the top ten list. “Online government” activities simply do not fall within the “make-up” of extremist groups.

Again the author searched for some kind of “awareness” of online government services on extremist websites, but nothing was found. There are no such “awareness” options as links to government sites or sponsored government sites.

## **5.2 Summary**

Results show that the following Internet user activities are present on extremist websites, and they are e-mail, leisure activity, general browsing, news, online shopping, social networking and online education. As expected, some of the Internet user activities yielded no results when the authors searched for their criteria, and they are online banking, travel and online government. The activities not found contain very specific content and are not really applicable to extremist websites. But, when the author searched for an “awareness” of these activities, “online banking” showed some results. This was the last step in the process of concluding the research question (as set out in Chapter 1).

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Chapter 6 presents the discussion and conclusion to the research question and makes suggestions for further research.

### 6.1 Discussion and conclusion

The problem addressed by this study was whether a list of ten Internet user activities was present on extremist websites and to what degree they were integrated. The study addressed this problem by using qualitative and quantitative methods, a secondary analysis of existing datasets followed by the content analysis.

For this study, Ray Franklin's "The Hate directory" dated 15 July 2007 was used as source to create a sample list of 114 extremist websites. Ray Franklin's "The Hate directory" is a reference document of current and historical extremist websites and includes websites of individuals and groups that are still active, as well as those websites no longer in operation. This sample list was then analyzed for content by using a list of ten Internet user activities or from the "viewpoint" of today's Internet user. The Internet user activities in turn were established by a secondary analysis of existing data sets. Results from the secondary analysis showed the ten most preferred Internet user activities as e-mail, leisure activity, general browsing, news, online shopping, online banking, social networking, travel, online education and online government.

Some extremist websites integrated many of the Internet user activities onto their websites and others presented only a view. Results showed that the Internet user activities were in fact present on extremist websites.

The Internet user activity "news" occurred most frequently on extremist websites. This indicates that extremist websites know that the written word is still the easiest way to present themselves. This is irrespective of whether "news" is now available online and not only in printed format. Topics ranged from ideology, history, our mission, instruction, information, FAQ's, about us, about the founder, code of

conduct, to membership information. News articles were available online, but extremist websites also published news articles in newsletters, newspapers and magazines. Usually the website owner wrote most of the articles, but members would also submit news articles to the website owner for evaluation and possible publication.

Together with the written word, extremist websites know how to enhance the appearance of their websites with “leisure activity” items such as video, audio, music/MP3s, online radio and online games. These items draw a user further into the sub-pages of the website, because usually there are more video clips, audio clips, music files, radio broadcasts and games available somewhere else on the website.

The Internet user activity of “general browsing” closely followed “news” in terms of its being integrated considerably onto extremist websites. Extremist websites allowed for hyperlinks to related sites, sponsored sites and/or other non-related sites on their website. Extremist websites mostly had links to websites related to their cause, and this interconnectivity greatly eased the user’s transition from one extremist website to the next. These hyperlinks were usually presented in the option “Contact us” where the web addresses of other klans, other realms, national offices, regional offices or worldwide contacts were supplied. Extremist websites also allowed sponsored sites via an extra pop-up window on their website. They also allowed hyperlinks to other websites not related to their cause, because this option helped the user to move away from the extremist website.

Extremist websites showed that they understood the value of having communication channels to and from their members. Communication with the extremist website owner was greatly eased with the Internet user activity “e-mail”. It also allowed for easy communication between users themselves, between users and the webmaster, and between users and support (technical and non-technical). Users either simply clicked on an e-mail hyperlink or completed an online form.

Enhancing the means of communication further was the Internet user activity “social networking”, and this included options such as online chat, forums, Blogs and

message boards. The difference with “social networking” activities to “e-mail” is that they are in “real time”. Users are usually logged on at the same time and communicate in “real time” or “in time”. Registration was free and the website owner usually referred members to the “code of conduct” of the group, to which they must adhere. These modes of communication allow for extremist websites to reach a much wider audience than previously possible and to get their message “out there”.

Some extremist websites promoted themselves or their “brand” through their merchandise. They provided their members with such options as an online catalogue or an online store with virtual shopping cart and electronic payment options. Merchandise included items such as CDs, tapes, books, pamphlets, videos, biographies, DVDs, clothing, magazines, flags, jewellery, pins, knives, buckles, posters, hats and armbands.

Very few, only five, extremist websites integrated online educational materials onto their websites. None of them had a full online course for the purpose of obtaining an educational qualification. But these five websites contained options such as an educational supplement called “Bible questions answered”, teaching sermons, booking a Bible course at the American Institute of Theology, buying “BOK Officers” course materials from their online store and a links to a University website to access their online books.

The next three Internet user activities of “online banking”, “travel” and “online government” each yielded an interesting “zero” result, which is still a result in itself. A “zero” result just means that the criteria as set out in Chapter 5 for each of these Internet user activities were not found.

The fact that extremist websites did not integrate “online banking”, “travel” and “online government” Internet user activities onto their websites does not make them irrelevant Internet user activities. “Online banking”, “travel” and “online government” are still in the top ten listed Internet user activities (as shown in Chapter 4). Their criteria, as determined for this study, are not relevant to the cause of extremist websites for the purpose of increasing their level of membership.

But, when the author again searched extremist websites to find whether there was not an “awareness” of “online banking”, “travel” and “online government” activities, the picture changed slightly. “Online banking” then yielded the following results: eleven (9.6%) websites had an option where users could make a financial contribution to their cause by either donating monies or paying a membership fee via PayPal or Paypal Donate; fifteen (13.2%) websites had a full online store with a virtual shopping cart and electronic payment option. For “travel” and “online government” there were no such “awareness” options as links to these types of sites or sponsored sites.

An important purpose for extremist groups is to increase their level of membership. Unfortunately, the scope of this study is not to determine whether there was an increase in the level of members. Although extremist websites contained the Internet user activities searched for, the study was unable to confirm increased levels of membership because of the inclusion of these Internet user activities on extremist websites. The aim of this study was only to find whether ten Internet user activities were present on extremist websites together with their degree of integration. The aim has been a content analysis of extremist websites from the “viewpoint” of the today’s Internet user. Possible future studies may, however, conduct an in-depth analysis of any of the ten Internet user activities as determined by Chapter 5 to see whether a particular activity can influence membership.

Now, a thought to ponder! If extremist websites incorporate onto their websites some of the activities that Internet users are doing online, will it not be very likely that they can increase the interest of a user already aligned to some form of radical ideology and therefore expedite the chance of allegiance? Schafer (2002) also mentioned this problem in his discussion, and he referred to a study by Kaplan and Weinberg (1998) who argued the issue that the Internet is a powerful tool in creating allegiance, but not actually increasing the size of extremist groups. But understanding what content and information will appeal to Internet users combined with the fact that a user is already aligned to some form of radical ideology may increase the likelihood of that particular user forming an allegiance to the extremist group whose website he/she happens upon. The scope of this study could unfortunately not determine this issue.



Are extremist groups really extreme or hate groups? This is another issue that could not be determined by this study. The reader of this study should also not have been convinced that the websites used in this study were in actual fact extreme. There have been only a few attempts to analyze extremist websites systematically. For example studies such as Haque *et al* (1999), Schafer (2002) and Gerstenfeld *et al* (2003) examined extremist web sites on content and use. Data from this study could thus not determine the extremeness of websites.

Results from this study confirm that extremist websites have changed and evolved with the changing times. Just as users of the Internet have become “Netizens”, and the Internet itself has evolved, so have extremist websites, and other websites for that matter, stayed in touch with their ever changing environment.

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## Appendix A

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NO	NAME	URL
1	AAARGH	<a href="http://vho.org/aaargh/engl/engl.html">http://vho.org/aaargh/engl/engl.html</a>
2	Air Photo Evidence Ball Report	<a href="http://www.air-photo.com/">http://www.air-photo.com/</a>
3	American Action Knights	<a href="http://www.dslextreme.com/users/whtknt/action.html">http://www.dslextreme.com/users/whtknt/action.html</a>
4	The American Nazi Party	<a href="http://www.americannaziparty.com/">http://www.americannaziparty.com/</a>
5	American Resistance Corps	<a href="http://www.geocities.com/ARCOrg/">http://www.geocities.com/ARCOrg/</a>
6	Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	<a href="http://www.bayouknightskkk.com/">http://www.bayouknightskkk.com/</a>
7	BC White Pride	<a href="http://www.bcwhitepride.org/">http://www.bcwhitepride.org/</a>
8	Be Wise As Serpents	<a href="http://www.iahushua.com/BeWise/">http://www.iahushua.com/BeWise/</a>
9	Bible Believers	<a href="http://www.biblebelievers.org.au/">http://www.biblebelievers.org.au/</a>
10	The Black Sun 666	<a href="http://www.666blacksun.com/">http://www.666blacksun.com/</a>
11	California Skinheads	<a href="http://www.caskinhead.com/">http://www.caskinhead.com/</a>
12	Campaign For Racial Truth in History	<a href="http://www.revisionisthistory.org/">http://www.revisionisthistory.org/</a>
13	Christian Identity Church White Patriot Militias	<a href="http://kelticklankirk.com/militias_christian_identity.htm">http://kelticklankirk.com/militias_christian_identity.htm</a>
14	Council on Domestic Relations	<a href="http://www.sweetliberty.org/index.shtml">http://www.sweetliberty.org/index.shtml</a>
15	Creators Rights Party	<a href="http://www.christiangularry.com/creator.html">http://www.christiangularry.com/creator.html</a>
16	Daryl Smith	<a href="http://www.iamthewitness.com/">http://www.iamthewitness.com/</a>
17	David Duke	<a href="http://www.davidduke.com/">http://www.davidduke.com/</a>
18	Divine Right Order	<a href="http://www.churchofthecreator.org/divinerightorder.html">http://www.churchofthecreator.org/divinerightorder.html</a>
19	Dixie DollSS	<a href="http://www.freewebs.com/dixiedollss/">http://www.freewebs.com/dixiedollss/</a>
20	Diehard Records	<a href="http://www.diehardrecords.net/">http://www.diehardrecords.net/</a>
21	East Coast Aryan Nations	<a href="http://www.eastcoastaryannations.faithweb.com/">http://www.eastcoastaryannations.faithweb.com/</a>
22	Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	<a href="http://www.knights311.org/">http://www.knights311.org/</a>
23	Ernst Zundel's Voice of Freedom Site	<a href="http://www.zundel.org/">http://www.zundel.org/</a>
24	Extermination 14/88	<a href="http://www.extermination.org/">http://www.extermination.org/</a>
25	Extreme Violent Racism	<a href="http://www.whitehonor.com/">http://www.whitehonor.com/</a>
26	Faction-88	<a href="http://faction88.stormpages.com/">http://faction88.stormpages.com/</a>
27	The Fiery Cross - Church of the Cross Of Christ	<a href="http://www.fierycross.org/">http://www.fierycross.org/</a>
28	First Amendment Exercise Machine	<a href="http://www.faem.com/">http://www.faem.com/</a>
29	Free Knights of New York	<a href="http://www.geocities.com/free_knights_of_ny/">http://www.geocities.com/free_knights_of_ny/</a>
30	Free Your Mind Productions	<a href="http://www.freeyourmindproductions.com/">http://www.freeyourmindproductions.com/</a>
31	German Cross	<a href="http://www.germancross.com/">http://www.germancross.com/</a>
32	German Defence League	<a href="http://www.compuserb.com/germandefenseleague/">http://www.compuserb.com/germandefenseleague/</a>
33	Global Minority Report	<a href="http://www.globalminorityreport.com/">http://www.globalminorityreport.com/</a>
34	God Hates Fags	<a href="http://www.godhatesfags.com/">http://www.godhatesfags.com/</a>
35	Gerald L.K. Smith	<a href="http://www.stormfront.org/posterity/ci/glksmith.html">http://www.stormfront.org/posterity/ci/glksmith.html</a>
36	Heritage Front	<a href="http://www.heritagefront.com/">http://www.heritagefront.com/</a>
37	HinduUnity.Org	<a href="http://www.hinduunity.org/">http://www.hinduunity.org/</a>
38	Holy Western Empire	<a href="http://www.holywesternempire.org/">http://www.holywesternempire.org/</a>
39	House of Adam	<a href="http://www.houseofadam.org/">http://www.houseofadam.org/</a>
40	Holocaust History Archive	<a href="http://litek.ws/">http://litek.ws/</a>
41	IKUK - Imperial Klans of the United Kingdom	<a href="http://www.kkkk.net/ikuk/index.htm">http://www.kkkk.net/ikuk/index.htm</a>
42	Imperium Europa	<a href="http://www.imperium-europa.org/">http://www.imperium-europa.org/</a>

**NO NAME****URL**

43 Invisible Empire White Knights of the KKK	<a href="http://www.konfederationklans.com/portal/">http://www.konfederationklans.com/portal/</a>
44 Islamic Monitor	<a href="http://www.geocities.com/Athens/olympus/7864/islam.htm">http://www.geocities.com/Athens/olympus/7864/islam.htm</a>
45 Imperial Klans of America Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	<a href="http://www.kkkk.net/">http://www.kkkk.net/</a>
46 James Wickstrom - Yahweh's Truth	<a href="http://www.jameswickstrom.com/">http://www.jameswickstrom.com/</a>
47 Jewish Defense League	<a href="http://www.jdl.org/">http://www.jdl.org/</a>
48 Jewish Ritual Murder - Church of True Israel	<a href="http://www.churchoftrueisrael.com/streicher/jrm/">http://www.churchoftrueisrael.com/streicher/jrm/</a>
49 Jew Watch	<a href="http://www.jewwatch.com/">http://www.jewwatch.com/</a>
50 Jews NOT for Jesus	<a href="http://www.geocities.com/jewsnot4jesus/">http://www.geocities.com/jewsnot4jesus/</a>
51 Keltic Klan Kirk - American Reformation Ministries	<a href="http://www.kelticklankirk.com/">http://www.kelticklankirk.com/</a>
52 Kingdom Identity Ministries	<a href="http://kingidentity.com/">http://kingidentity.com/</a>
53 Klassen's Teachings	<a href="http://www.rahowa.com/">http://www.rahowa.com/</a>
54 Knights of the the Ku Klux Klan	<a href="http://www.kkk.com/">http://www.kkk.com/</a>
55 Ku Klux Klan LLC - Home Page	<a href="http://www.kukluxklan.bz/">http://www.kukluxklan.bz/</a>
56 Ladies of the Invisible Empire (Southern White Knights)	<a href="http://swkloties.homestead.com/">http://swkloties.homestead.com/</a>
57 Libertarian National Socialist Green Party	<a href="http://www.nazi.org/">http://www.nazi.org/</a>
58 Local White Boy	<a href="http://www.localwhiteboy.com/">http://www.localwhiteboy.com/</a>
59 Maryland Skinheads	<a href="http://www.marylandskinheads.com/">http://www.marylandskinheads.com/</a>
60 Mission to Israel	<a href="http://www.missiontoisrael.org/">http://www.missiontoisrael.org/</a>
61 Mississippi White Knights of the KKK	<a href="http://mwkkk.com/">http://mwkkk.com/</a>
62 MSR Productions	<a href="http://msrproductions.com/">http://msrproductions.com/</a>
63 MuadDib's Primer	<a href="http://www.nationalistpartyusa.org/Primer.htm">http://www.nationalistpartyusa.org/Primer.htm</a>
64 The Myers' papers	<a href="http://www.gwb.com.au/2000/myers/index.htm">http://www.gwb.com.au/2000/myers/index.htm</a>
65 Nation of Islam	<a href="http://noi.org/">http://noi.org/</a>
66 National Alliance	<a href="http://www.natall.com/">http://www.natall.com/</a>
67 National Aryan Knights and White Rights	<a href="http://www.whiterights.info/">http://www.whiterights.info/</a>
68 NAAWP of Florida (National Advancement of White People)	<a href="http://naawpflch.org/">http://naawpflch.org/</a>
69 Nordwave	<a href="http://www.nordwave.net/">http://www.nordwave.net/</a>
70 Nazi Lauck NSDAP/AO	<a href="http://www.nazi-lauck-nsdapao.com/">http://www.nazi-lauck-nsdapao.com/</a>
71 Ohio Knights of the KKK	<a href="http://www.ohiokkk.com/">http://www.ohiokkk.com/</a>
72 Order of White Knights	<a href="http://www.orderofwhiteknights.org/">http://www.orderofwhiteknights.org/</a>
73 Overthrow	<a href="http://www.overthrow.com/">http://www.overthrow.com/</a>
74 Our Legacy of Truth	<a href="http://www.stormfront.org/posterity/">http://www.stormfront.org/posterity/</a>
75 Oklahoma Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	<a href="http://www.oklahomakkk.com/">http://www.oklahomakkk.com/</a>
76 The Pagan Front	<a href="http://www.thepaganfront.com/">http://www.thepaganfront.com/</a>
77 P.O.W.E.R.	<a href="http://www.14power88.com/">http://www.14power88.com/</a>
78 Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion (Alabaster's Archive)	<a href="http://www.geocities.com/alabasters_archive/the_jewish_peril.html">http://www.geocities.com/alabasters_archive/the_jewish_peril.html</a>
79 The Proud White Brotherhood	<a href="http://www.pwb.krijattoosupply.com/">http://www.pwb.krijattoosupply.com/</a>
80 The Palestinian Information Center	<a href="http://www.palestine-info.co.uk/">http://www.palestine-info.co.uk/</a>
81 Race Realist	<a href="http://www.racerealist.com/">http://www.racerealist.com/</a>
82 Resistance	<a href="http://resistance.jeeran.com/">http://resistance.jeeran.com/</a>
83 The Revisionist	<a href="http://www.vho.org/tr/">http://www.vho.org/tr/</a>
84 Romanian National Vanguard	<a href="http://www.ronatvan.com/">http://www.ronatvan.com/</a>

NO NAME	URL
85 The Racial Compact	<a href="http://racialcompact.com/">http://racialcompact.com/</a>
86 The Scriptorium	<a href="http://www.wintersonnenwende.com/scriptorium/">http://www.wintersonnenwende.com/scriptorium/</a>
87 Scriptures for America	<a href="http://www.scripturesforamerica.org/">http://www.scripturesforamerica.org/</a>
88 Skinheadz	<a href="http://www.skinheadz.com/">http://www.skinheadz.com/</a>
89 Stormfront	<a href="http://www.stormfront.org/stormfront">http://www.stormfront.org/stormfront</a>
90 Skinheads of the Racial Holy War	<a href="http://www.rahowa.com/">http://www.rahowa.com/</a>
91 Terror Edge	<a href="http://www.terror-edge.com/">http://www.terror-edge.com/</a>
92 Texas Bayou Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	<a href="http://kkktexas.com/">http://kkktexas.com/</a>
93 Thomas Robb Ministries	<a href="http://www.christianidentity.tv/">http://www.christianidentity.tv/</a>
94 Traditionl Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	<a href="http://www.tckkkk.org/">http://www.tckkkk.org/</a>
95 Turner Diaries	<a href="http://www.skrewdriver.net/turnerintro.html">http://www.skrewdriver.net/turnerintro.html</a>
96 Ulster White Nationalist Party	<a href="http://www.wnpulster.4t.com/">http://www.wnpulster.4t.com/</a>
97 United Northern and Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	<a href="http://www.unskkkk.com/">http://www.unskkkk.com/</a>
98 Utah's American National Socialist Workers' Party	<a href="http://utanswp.tripod.com/">http://utanswp.tripod.com/</a>
99 UNSK Realm of Georgia	<a href="http://www.unskkkk.com/Georgia.html">http://www.unskkkk.com/Georgia.html</a>
100 UNSK Realm of Indiana	<a href="http://www.unskkkk.com/Indiana.html">http://www.unskkkk.com/Indiana.html</a>
101 Viking Youth Corps	<a href="http://www.nsm88.org/youth/vycjoin.html">http://www.nsm88.org/youth/vycjoin.html</a>
102 Voice of White America	<a href="http://members.aol.com/tsaukki/whiteamr.htm">http://members.aol.com/tsaukki/whiteamr.htm</a>
103 Volkermord	<a href="http://www.volkermord.org/">http://www.volkermord.org/</a>
104 Volksfront	<a href="http://www.volksfrontinternational.com/">http://www.volksfrontinternational.com/</a>
105 VNN Forum	<a href="http://www.vnnforum.com/">http://www.vnnforum.com/</a>
106 Western Safeguards Initiative	<a href="http://wsi.matriots.com/">http://wsi.matriots.com/</a>
107 White Aryan resistance - The Insurgent	<a href="http://www.resist.com/">http://www.resist.com/</a>
108 White Diamond Graphics	<a href="http://whitediamondss.com/">http://whitediamondss.com/</a>
109 Women for Aryan Unity	<a href="http://www.w-a-u.net/">http://www.w-a-u.net/</a>
110 World Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	<a href="http://www.worldknights.org/">http://www.worldknights.org/</a>
111 Yahweh's Brigade	<a href="http://www.angelfire.com/pa3/yahslaws/">http://www.angelfire.com/pa3/yahslaws/</a>
112 Yahweh's Truth	<a href="http://www.jameswickstrom.com/">http://www.jameswickstrom.com/</a>
113 Yggdrasil's WN Library	<a href="http://www.whitenationalism.com/">http://www.whitenationalism.com/</a>
114 ZioPedia	<a href="http://www.ziopedia.org/">http://www.ziopedia.org/</a>

This study examined extremist websites to determine the occurrences of specific activities, particularly in terms of the online activities