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Comparative analysis of gendered frames in far-right rhetoric in the West

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ABSTRACT

This research delves into the examination of gender frames within a number of far-right platforms, such as American Renaissance, Heritage and Destiny, Britain First, Daily Stormer, and Front Page Magazine. Our primary objective is to dissect the construction of gendered frames and their consequential roles within the broader far-right political and ideological landscapes in the West. Employing a mixed-method approach, we scrutinize English language material from the aforementioned online platforms. This study argues that despite differences among these platforms, the representations of women's roles and identities are consistently shaped and moulded in alignment with overarching political and ideological perspectives such as racism, Islamophobia, antisemitism, anti-immigration, anti-feminism, anti-left, and anti-media. These perspectives serve as amplifiers, further contributing gendered frames. Ultimately, this dynamic process of constructing gendered frames contributes to the development of far-right identities, drawing distinct demarcation lines between 'us' and 'them'.

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Introduction

The far-right is often perceived as a realm dominated by men. Scholarship in this field often explores men's aspirations for power, strength, loyalty, a sense of belonging, and the restoration of romantic, pure, and undisturbed national past achievable through heroic male actions (Miller-Idriss & Pilkington, 2018, p. 7). Miller-Idriss and Pilkington assert that the traditional male dominance within the far-right is undergoing a transformation with women increasingly assuming roles in radical and far-right movements, roles that have largely been overlooked (Miller-Idriss & Pilkington, 2018). Women actively participate in far-right extremism, fulfilling diverse roles within these movements. Women can be found as violent actors, thinkers, facilitators, promoters, activists, and gendered exemplars for others (Campion, 2020, p. 148). Women frequently work behind the scenes utilizing social media to propagate conspiracy theories and subtly draw new women into the fold.

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Given the ideological and political stance of the far-right, the presence of women in the far-right might appear puzzling. After all, far-right extremists in the West staunchly uphold anti-feminist perspectives, propagating ideologies deeply rooted in rigid gender roles rooted in traditional forms of masculinities and femineity. The far-right ideologies cast men as primary wage-earners and women as homemakers while placing significant emphasis on women's sexual purity as a matter of racial honour. Furthermore, these movements emphasize the role of women as crucial figures in motherhood and the propagation of their racial group (Blee, 2021; Campion, 2020; Latif et al., 2023). Traditional far-right movements have consistently advocated for the restoration of 'the family and family values' (Pearson et al., 2020, p. 238). Historical fascist groups, in particular, have concentrated on women's reproductive capabilities and fertility, considering their function pivotal in preventing outbreeding. The expectation is for women to procreate to preserve the white race and counter the perceived threat of the 'great replacement', a central theme in white nationalist ideologies (Bjørge & Aasland, 2019, p. 4). Sustaining the biological nation by producing children of the white race holds paramount importance for these movements (Pearson et al., 2020; Scrivens et al., 2018). Considering such characteristics of the far-right, the question remains of what motivates women to become involved in these movements.

A considerable body of literature has been dedicated to the examination of women in within the far-right movement. This body of work is marked by a comprehensive analysis that explores various facets of women's participation, agency, and the representation within the far-right discourse in the Western societies. However, our research distinguishes itself by (a) closely scrutinizing the intersection of gender frames with other ideological frameworks within the rhetoric of the Western far-right, and (b) examining these gender dynamics within six far-right platforms to shed light on shared attributes and differences among these platforms in terms of how they formulate gender frames. The latter, in particular, has received limited scholarly attention in the relevant literature. By taking a comparative approach in examining these inter-platform, we gain insight into the level of significance of ideological and political contexts for different platforms. Our research is primarily guided by the following questions:

- How are women portrayed in the rhetoric of the far-right extremists?
- What are the broader political and ideological contexts that shape the gendered frames in the far-right extremists rhetoric?

Through a qualitative and quantitative analysis of texts acquired from the aforementioned far-right platforms, we argue that there are statistically significant differences across various platforms in how they depict women, as well as the broader political and ideological contexts in which these gender frames are embedded. Shared amongst these platforms are broader ideological and political frames such as racism, Islamophobia, antisemitism, anti-immigration, anti-feminism, anti-left, and anti-media sentiments. The nuanced differences lie in the degrees of correlations of gender frames with the broader ideological and political frameworks. In other words, whether women are portrayed as victims, perpetrators of violence, as lacking agency or exercising choice, is contingent upon the political and ideological contexts such as Islamophobia, antisemitisms,

anti-immigration, anti-feminism, anti-left and anti-media sentiments. For example, women as victims frames often intersect with anti-immigration and Islamophobia frames.

A nuanced understanding of the role of gender frames in extremist rhetoric can potentially enhance the formulation of targeted and effective strategies to counter radicalization through an evidence-based messaging strategy. This includes implementing counter-narrative initiatives, promoting social cohesion, reducing the appeal of extremist ideologies, and dissuading individuals from engaging in extremist actions.

It should be noted that our research is geographically confined to North America and Europe as the selected six platforms we investigate either originated in these locations or are predominantly concerned with social and political events in Europe and North America. We are fully aware of the substantial variations among far-right extremists world-wide, and when we use the term 'far-right', we primarily refer to English-speaking far-right extremists in Europe and North America.

Before we delve deeply into our discussion, it is crucial to establish conceptual clarity. There are varying interpretations in the literature regarding the notion of extremism and far-right, making this foundational understanding of utmost importance. Berger (2018) offers a succinct conceptualization of extremism. According to the author, extremism is the belief that success and survival of the group are inseparable from the perceived negative acts of an out-group, and the in-group and there is a willingness to adopt both offensive and defensive stances to ensure success and survival (Berger 2018). The term 'far-right' encompasses an exceedingly broad and complex array of actors and ideas, including 'movements, subcultures, organised and decentralised networks, as well as political parties' (Miller-Idriss, 2022, p. 4). In this research, we embrace Perliger's definition of the far-right, which posits that far-right groups advocate for internal homogenization and external exclusivity (Perliger, 2013, p. 15). In a minimalist approach, all far-right ideology exhibits an extreme version of nationalism and nativist sentiment (Perliger, 2020, p. 14). However, despite their differences, in general terms, far-right actors share similar perspectives, such as misogyny with the perception of women as inferior, a sense of sexual entitlement, objectification, and the endorsement of sexual assault. They also promote the idealization of traditional gender roles, wherein women not only assume specific roles but are also regarded as objects in need of protection, and often express the views that see gender equality as going too far (Agius et al., 2022, p. 685).

We review this literature on women in far-right in the following section, followed by a discussion of the theoretical framework that informs our analysis. Subsequently, we present a comprehensive research design outlining our chosen methods of inquiry and findings.

Literature review: women and the western far-right extremism

The presence and roles of women within far-right movements have sparked extensive research exploring women's contribution, involvement, recruitment, and agency in the far-right (Gentry, 2022). Recently, the rhetoric of far-right extremism has placed significant emphasis on gender equality and human rights (Worth, 2021), in conjunction with addressing various perceived threats such as Islam and immigration (Pearson et al., 2020, p. 240). Notably, right-wing populist movements have shown particular pre-occupation with issues such as the hijab, female genital mutilation, grooming scandals, clashes of gender norms between the refugee immigrants and the citizen populations, and

crimes of rape (Mayer, 2013). The concept of gender equality has been manipulated by the far-right movements and right-wing political parties to attack Islam and non-Western cultures (Worth, 2021, p. 512). Within the far-right discourse, the notion of masculinity emerges as a tool to challenge and reshape contemporary neo-liberalism with an emphasis on viewing nationhood and traditional social structures as foundational pillars of civilization. Consequently, while the narrative of gender equality may seemingly portray enhanced agency, it is often accompanied by narratives that juxtapose identity against marginalized women, such as women of colour, thus perpetuating 'othering'.

Although the presence of women in these movements does not inherently undermine or contradict gendered ideologies of the far-right, it does reveal a certain level of ideological tension (Worth, 2021, p. 507). The tension stems from the desire to establish a 'popular nationalist discourse' that simultaneously plays into an aggressive masculinism while claiming to support 'gender equality' (Worth, 2021, p. 511). For instance, in France, Marine Le Pen's Front National party has propagated a discourse that portrays Islam and multiculturalism as constraints on women's freedoms in the context of European cultures (Farris, 2017). Farris notes that in Italy and the Netherlands, the defense of Western women's rights is incorporated into far-right political rhetoric, which paradoxically retains masculinist tendencies and upholds conservative notions of gender roles (Farris, 2017). Engendering the process of nationalism essentially involves overshadowing prevailing masculinities, another fundamental characteristic of far-right extremism (Thapar-Björkert, 2013).

It is important to recognize that women should not be perceived as passive recipients of far-right rhetoric or as passive participants in far-right movements. In reality, women within far-right groups and platforms, actively challenge their roles within the ideology. For instance, within the online Stormfront platform, women question men's 'traditional' concepts of women's societal roles, and, at times, critique these traditional views as abusive attitudes towards women (Veilleux-Lepage, Phelan & Lokmanoglu, 2023). Additionally, research indicates that women utilize their agency on platforms such as Nordfront to engage in discussions about their own roles within white nationalist movements and promote ideas of sistership and emancipation, even in cases where organizations and the ideologies they align with may hold a more restrictive view of women's roles and their subordination to men (Askanius, 2022, p. 1174). Some extremists strategically use the notion of safeguarding women's liberties as a means to bolster their broader political views, while others take a more confrontational stance towards feminism and gender equality (Worth, 2021, p. 512). Nonetheless, women play a crucial role in far-right organizations.

Women in leadership positions within both far-right and right-wing politics have readily adopted 'masculinist rhetoric in various ways' (Worth, 2021, p. 512). For example, Frauke Petry, the former leader of Germany's Alternative für Deutschland, expressed the view during the 2017 elections that feminism posed a danger for meritocracy as it was geared towards social engineering and welfarism (Worth, 2021, p. 514). Similarly, intellectuals like Coulter and Ingraham in the US, have reinforced the idea that 'feminism is an elitist liberal construct, part of a larger conspiracy against conservative values' (Worth, 2021, p. 517). Coulter not only embodies a masculinist paradigm, but also leans towards more extreme forms of misogyny to shock (Finlayson & Chambers, 2008). Likewise, Lana Lakteff from the Red Ice, an alt-right online news channel (Southern

Poverty Law Center, 2019) encourages women to actively oppose multi-culturalism and promotes nationalist views while celebrating white pride (Worth, 2021, p. 519). Aligned with these nationalist views, immigration is seen as a threat to gender equality and women's sexual security (Meret & Siim, 2012).

As the lines between extreme ideologies and mainstream beliefs increasingly continue to blur, the alarming rise of far-right rhetoric characterized by a sharp construct of 'us' versus 'them' becomes increasingly worrisome. Social categorization based on perceptions of 'us' versus 'them' often takes place along ethnic, racial, or other cultural lines (Marcia, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2009, p. 541). Such distinctions between the in-group and the out-group can influence behaviour that leads to favouritism towards the in-group and discrimination against the outgroup (Brown, 2020, p. 7; Tajfel et al., 1971; Woolf & Hulsizer, 2005). Individuals associated with the in-group are often viewed as morally right, good and strong, while the outgroup is perceived as immoral, dehumanized, and inferior (Schwartz et al., 2009, p. 514). Social interaction with group members plays a crucial role in solidifying attitudes such as identification with one's own group and derogation towards the out-group (Schwartz et al., 2009, p. 542). Research indicates that such perceptions and absolutist attitudes can easily lead to acts of violence directed against the out-group (Galland, 2020; Moghaddam, 2009, p. 164; Silberman et al., 2005). Considering these consequences of extremist rhetoric, exploring the far-right discourse renders it all the more important.

There is a substantial body of literature, dedicated to the study of women within the far-right movement. This body of work is marked by a comprehensive analysis that explores various facets of women's involvement, agency, and the representation of women within the context of far-right discourse in the Western societies. However, our research takes a distinct focus by closely examining the gender dynamics within six specific far-right platforms, an area that has received limited attention in academic discourse. This investigation aims to shed light on the shared attributes and disparities among these platforms in terms of how they depict women and how gender intersects with their ideological frameworks.

Theoretical discussions: framing processes

Frames or 'schemata of interpretation', derived from Goffman's work, is used by social and political actors to make sense of situations. Frames serve as cognitive filters that influence how individuals process information and 'render events or occurrences meaningful and function to organize experience and guide action' (Goffman, 1974). By selecting and highlighting specific aspects of events or issues and establishing connections between them, frames promote specific interpretations, evaluations, or solutions (Entman, 2004, p. 5) and can be utilized by groups to create collective understandings that validate and inspire group action (McAdam et al., 1996, p. 6). Framing, as a strategic process is characterized as deliberative, utilitarian, and goal-oriented (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 624). These frames are purposefully constructed and strategically employed to serve distinct objectives, including recruitment of new members, the mobilization of supporters, and the acquisition of essential resources, among other goals (Benford & Snow, 2000).

The literature on framing primarily focuses on two key areas: (a) framing processes that influence the interpretive schema constructed by movement participants to understand

their social worlds, and (b) the analysis of personal and collective identities shaped through everyday collective action (Hunt et al., 1994, p. 185). Therefore, framing is a dynamic process involving two interconnected aspects: ideologies and belief systems, which are 'interactional accomplishments that emerge from farming processes' (Hunt et al., 1994, p. 191). As such, frames can guide collective action and further frames (Hunt et al., 1994, p. 191). This takes place through a dynamic process that constructs and reconstructs belief systems and ensuing identities shaping both personal and collective identities (Hunt et al., 1994, p. 192). Inherent to all social movement framings is identity construction, which involves situating 'relevant sets of actors in time and space' and attributing 'characteristics to them that suggest specifiable relationships and lines of action' (Hunt et al., 1994, p. 185). Framing processes not only ideologically link individuals and groups but also contribute to the development, reinforcement, and embellishment of identities (Hunt et al., 1994, p. 185).

In the context of social movements, individual identities are shaped and reaffirmed through two collective action processes: (a) framing processes and (b) behavioural activities such as protests (Hunt et al., 1994, p. 166). Identity construction as such is an interactional accomplishment involving rhetoric, that is constructed according to group-specific guidelines and is continually redefined 'in light of new group experiences' (Snow & Machalek, 1984, pp. 175–177). Social movement actors provide 'appropriate vocabularies and narratives for participants and sympathisers to (re)construct their personal identities in ways that link or further commit them to the movement' (Benford, 1993; Hunt & Benford, 1994). In the context of social movements, identity construction occurs along the lines of in-group (protagonists) and out-group (antagonists) constructs. Threats to people's identities might underlie many forms of conflicts involving ethnic, gender, national or organizational groups (Brown, 2020). In-group biases play a significant role in the entrenchment of intergroup discrimination (Dunham et al., 2011).

According to Benford and Snow (2000, p. 623), a fundamental interpretive step undertaken by collective actors is frame amplification. Framing amplification entails emphasizing certain issues, events, or beliefs as more prominent than others, marked by the process of idealization, embellishment, clarification, or rejuvenation of existing values and beliefs (Benford & Snow, 2000, pp. 623–624). This refers to the choices made by movement actors to highlight specific frames. McCammon et al. (2004, p. 530) identify three general clusters of factors that influence framing amplification: (1) the specific membership composition of the movements, (2) the actors within the multi-organizational field targeted for persuasion by the movement, and (3) the structural or cultural opportunities that arise during periods of social change. A group's collective identity influences the type of frames that are amplified (Valocchi, 1996). An important factor determining the resonance of a frame with potential constituents is the extent to which the frames tap into existing values, referred to as frame alignment (Benford & Snow, 2000).

The framing of movements largely results from an ongoing and strategic interplay between the movement itself and its wider subordinates. This process is referred to as 'strategic framing' (McCammon et al., 2004). Strategic framing is characterized by deliberative, utilitarian, and goal-oriented processes, where frames are developed and deployed to achieve certain purposes such as recruitment, mobilizing, resources gathering. For framings to be effective for a movement, they must not only resonate with

sentiments already held by individuals, but also, they must contain elements that challenge 'prevailing beliefs'. This indicates that movement actors must engage in counter-framing (Evans, 1997; McCaffrey & Keys, 2000). The ongoing interaction with sympathizers and hostile groups alike, plays an important role in determining which frames were amplified and when (McCammon et al., 2004, p. 537).

By focusing our investigation on women, we seek to attain a deeper understanding of the construction of gendered narratives within far-right rhetoric. Our objective is to uncover motivation and mechanisms that drive the development of these gendered narratives and to explore how they relate to the broader beliefs and ideologies prevalent within the far-right. Our particular emphasis lies in exploring the formation of meaning and identities related to these gendered frames.

Research methods

This study adopts a mixed methods research approach combining both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Data was collected from six far-right online platforms. The data collection process took place between October 2019 and June 2022. The resulting text files contained a total of 2,016,083 words. These text files were initially coded qualitatively to identify any discussion broadly related to women, and subsequently, the identified texts were further analysed for specific themes. This meticulous coding process yielded over 2865 references, necessitating the application of quantitative analysis. The use of quantitative methods also allows for the exploration of inter-platform variations by conducting statistical analyses and significance tests. Complementing this, we offer a qualitative analysis and discussion of content material to provide a comprehensive and detailed overview of emerging trends and patterns.

Case selection rationale

The six platforms analysed in this study were chosen through a convenient sampling method and share the commonality of being published in the English language. These platforms can be categorized as Western far-right media outlets, hence, they are not representative of far-right landscape as they were not selected randomly. Two of these platforms, American Renaissance and Britain First, have received more attention in previous studies (Dixit, 2022) while others like Daily Stormer, Front Page Magazine, Gates of Vienna or Heritage and Destiney have not been studied extensively in the relevant literature. The inclusion of these diverse case studies allows for an analysis spanning a wide spectrum of platforms that align with our definition of the far-right.

Table 1 provides the description of online platforms included in the study.

Data analysis

This study implemented a two-step coding process. The data was manually coded by two coders using NVivo, a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software. Initially, the coders identified and coded text broadly related to women, e.g. women's names, or female pronouns. Through an inductive coding process, the coders then established various gender-related categories and subcategories based on the initial gender codes.

Table 1. Data description.

Name of the group	Brief description	Date	Word count
American Renaissance	American Renaissance was established by Jared Taylor in 1990 and serves as an online publication addressing topics concerning race, immigration and identity. With a substantial readership through the United States, the platform has garnered attention within the far-right community. The Southern Poverty Law Center, for instance, has referred to American Renaissance as a magazine and website that frequently showcases advocates of eugenics and individuals espousing explicit anti-black racism (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2019)	2019–2020	78,666 words
Britain First	Britain First is a political party that was established in 2011 by Jim Dowson and is presently led by Paul Golding. Britain First uses its online platforms to disseminate Islamophobic and anti-migrant rhetoric. While Britain First shares certain resemblance with British parties such as the British National Party and the English Defense League, it distinguishes itself by adopting a more ‘confrontational’ and takes a ‘militaristic approach’ influenced by ‘apocalyptic Christianity’, which is a characteristic that sets it apart from other groups in the country (Allen, 2014, p.355)	2019–2021	340,264 words
Daily Stormer	Daily Stormer is a commentary website that was founded in 2013 by Andrew Anglin. It has gained notoriety for promoting extreme right-wing views and has widely been recognized as one of the most well-known websites of its kind in the US. (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2019) has described it as a white supremacist, neo-Nazi, and antisemitic group. The Daily Stormer became increasingly popular following the events in Charlottesville, at the ‘Unite the Right’ rallies (Kaiser et al., 2016, pp. 428–429; Pearson, 2016). Daily Stormer covers a range of issues while particularly emphasizing on race, gender and multiculturalism (Pearson et al., 2020, p. 241)	January–February 2019	138,046 words
Front Page Magazine	Front Page Magazine is far-right website based in the United States that founded by the David Horowitz Freedom Center (DHFC). The publication features articles written by notable contributors from the far-right scene, giving a platform to their views and perspectives. The Front Page Magazine is known for hosting articles that promote conspiratorial and Islamophobic agenda (Hope Not Hate, 2019)	2015–2020	280,703 words
Heritage and Destiny	Heritage and Destiny is an online platform that focuses on reporting and the development of racial nationalism in Britain, Europe and America. It is considered as one of Britain’s leading non-party publications dedicated to racial nationalism. Noteworthy authors including Mark Cotterill, the founder of American Friends of the British National Party contribute to this online magazine. According to a report by (Hope Not Hate, 2019, p. 74), Heritage and Destiny features news articles and updates on racist movements in the UK	2008–2022	629,726 words
Gates of Vienna	Gates of Vienna is a blog that was founded in 2003 by Edward S. May and his wife. This online platform publishes a series of articles and posts with a strong far-right anti-Islamic focus. It presents a range of contents from both named and anonymous contributors. Gates of Vienna also hosts blog posts written by representatives of various political parties, organizations and think tanks. (Ekman, 2014, p. 6)	November and December 2021, April 2022	548,678 words

To evaluate the inter-rater reliability, all coders separately coded two platforms, American Renaissance and Daily Stormer for predefined categories. Cohen's Kappa coefficients were calculated based on the independent codes to measure agreement. The results demonstrated high levels of agreement for most coding categories with a Cohen's Kappa value of 0.64 indicating 95% agreement. Any discrepancies were resolved through coder discussion and group consensus. In the second stage, each coder individually coded a separate set of magazines. These codes were cross-checked by at least one other team member. Kappa Coefficients were again calculated to assess agreement, which ranged between 90% and 98%. The resultant disagreements were discussed and finalized by the coders.

In order to ensure consistency, a final diagnostic test was conducted by a single coder using a 'constant comparison' process examining all entries for each category and subcategories (Carcary, 2009; George & Apter, 2004; Gwet, 2008). This detailed coding process resulted in more than 2865 references, providing a robust foundation for quantitative (Rose, 2011) analysis of the data, a practice that also enhances the credibility of qualitative data (Patton, 1999).

Positionality statement

In this study, the primary author took the lead in overseeing both the data gathering and analytic processes, while the two co-authors worked on the coding process. All three researchers are from ethnic minority backgrounds, within the respective countries where we live and work, which has facilitated a broad comprehension and awareness of gender frameworks. It is important to acknowledge that our sensitivity to the data was perhaps influenced by our gender and ethnic origins as intersectionality intensifies the way identities like gender and race amplify the unique experiences (Crenshaw, 1991). The intersectional nature of our identities, therefore, shaped our way of coding and analysing the data. Nonetheless, to mitigate biases, we consciously refrained from making subjective interpretations. We objectively examined our individual identities, beliefs, and values, by practicing reflexivity throughout the research process to understand their potential influence (Wilson, 2023, p. 87). Employing a reflexive process that included self-monitoring and self-responding to our thoughts, feelings, and actions (Cassell et al., 2017, p. 377), we tried to maintain objectivity throughout the research process. We maintained comprehensive documentation detailing any preconceived notions and disputes among the coders during the coding process. In summary, our approach involved thorough deliberation, with consultation of published literature, to ensure an objective and transparent data analysis process.

Limitations

This study is subject to certain constraints, primarily stemming from its exclusive emphasis on English language materials sourced from online media associated with far-right extremism. Our geographical scope is limited to Western English-speaking far-right platforms. It is important to note that the far-right is not confined to the Anglo-Saxon countries or the Western hemisphere. Additionally, our analysis covers a restricted number of platforms, which do not fully represent the broader discourse within

Western far-right circles. Despite these limitations, the insights gleaned from platforms under examination can still provide valuable information for shaping policies and guiding further research in the understanding of gender expressions among far-right extremists and their implications.

Conceptual definitions and operationalization

Table 2 provides a detailed account of operationalization of the concepts. These categories are derived from a careful review and assessment of the relevant literature.

Quantitative analysis

We calculate Chi-squared values for cross-tabulation of the aforementioned variables to examine (1) the variations between platforms in how they depict women, and (2) the broader political and ideological contexts that influence the discourse of gender for

Table 2. Coding category and definitions.

Coding category	Indicators and descriptions
Gender	Any topic/discussion related to women
Anti-Feminism	Broadly defined anti-feminism is a counter-movement of thought and action that is opposed to feminism, it has gained prominence in far-right discourse since feminism is viewed as destroying traditional values and Western culture (Lewis, 2019)
	Anti-abortion: The anti-abortion movement has assumed various core framings and rhetoric as a counter response to the legalization of elective abortion (Rose, 2011)
	Anti-LGBTQ¹: refers to intolerance and lack of respect for Lesbian, Gay, Binary, Transgender and Queer people with a disregard for their legal protection and rights where applicable (Cowan et al., 2005)
Anti-Immigration	Anti-immigration views are part of a wider ideology of the far-right. Minimally defined, anti-immigration views refer to the desire for the reduction or the abolishment of immigration fluxes (Van Spanje, 2011, p. 306). Holding anti-immigration views means expressing concerns about negative impacts of immigration or viewing immigrants in a negative light
Anti-Leftism	Anti-leftism refers to expressing thoughts, feelings or behaviours that undermine or are contrary to the ideologies and views of the political left and its movement of liberalism, social democracy, and globalization (March, 2012)
Anti-Media	The term refers to criticizing the media for being 'biased, leftist and/or politically correct' (Figenschou & Ihlebæk, 2019, p. 1233)
Antisemitism	It refers to prejudices, discrimination, or hostility towards Jews as a religious, ethnic, or cultural group
Islamophobia	It is referred to the perpetration of verbal anti-Muslim abuse and denigration of Muslim identity (Awan & Zempi, 2020; Sayyid, 2014)
Racism	Racism is defined according to the United Nations' Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice of 1978, which refers to 'the claim that racial or ethnic groups are inherently superior or inferior' which can lead to discrimination, prejudice, and unequal treatment.(United Nations, 1978)
Factual frames	Information about women that appears to be stated as a matter of fact without expressing any value judgements, e.g. historical information, and statistics.
Traditional gender roles	This a general category referring to, women playing domestic roles, defining women based on their biological characteristic, depicting women as mothers, wives, girlfriend, partner etc, sexual objectification of women, and depicting women in a sexual tone and referring to women in sexual terms
Victimhood frames	Depicting women as victims of various wrong doings such as rape, physical abuse, Viewing women as victims of Western Laws Viewing women as victims of Islamic law
Vilifications frames	Expressing contempt for women and girls on the basis of their sex (de Silva, 2020, p. 2) and viewing women as perpetrators of crimes
Women in public frames	Depicting women in politics, or as academics, journalists, judges, etc.

the far-right extremists. The analysis includes the reporting of observed and expected values, as well as adjusted residual differences between observed and expected values. To determine the significance of each value's contribution to the overall Chi-squared test, a general rule is applied: the larger the difference between the observed and expected value, the greater its impact. Adjusted residual values were computed based on the following formula:

$$\text{Adjusted residual} = (\text{observed} - \text{expected}) / \sqrt{[\text{expected} \times (1 - \text{row total proportion}) \times (1 - \text{column total proportion})]}$$

In our qualitative analysis, we analyse and discuss those variables that yielded an adjusted residual value is ≤ -2 or $\geq +2$. This threshold indicates that the number of cases in the cell deviates significantly either positively or negatively from the expected value. In statistics' terms, such a difference allows for the rejection of the null hypothesis.

Findings and discussions

In this section, we undertake a comprehensive analysis of the portrayal of women within the far-right rhetoric, followed by an exploration of the wider political and ideological contexts that shape these gender frames. This analysis is conducted in a three-step process: (a) analysing differences in the depiction of women in far-right rhetoric, (b) examining the variations in political and ideological contexts of gendered narratives across different platforms, and (c) investigating the gender frames within these broader political and ideological contexts. The results reveal compelling evidence of significant differences among the platforms in terms of how they depict women and how these gendered constructs, in turn, align with the far-right's overarching political and ideological frameworks. Through an examination of the intricate relationship and interdependencies between gendered narratives and overarching ideological perspectives of these platforms, we illuminate the role of gendered narratives in shaping in/out-group dynamics. The construction of identity as such unfolds a dynamic process in which the portrayal of women plays a pivotal role in reinforcing political and ideological narratives. These narratives often revolve around themes such as anti-feminism, anti-left, anti-media, Islamophobia, antisemitism, and racism. In turn, these narratives are further bolstered by the depiction of women.

Inter-platform differences in framing of women

Broadly speaking, the discussion regarding women within the far-right rhetoric can be categorized into five broad recurrent themes: (1) factual information, (2) women in public life, (3) traditional views, (4) women as victims, and (5) vilification of women. These themes serve as focal points for understanding how women are conceptualized and discussed within the context of the far-right ideology.

Factual frames

The discussion of factual frames within the far-right rhetoric encompasses the presentation of data, statistics, and historical dates without explicit value judgement. While

factual gender frames may seem to maintain an appearance of objectivity, a closer examination reveals that such information functions in the manner described by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999, p. 16) as 'white propaganda'. White propaganda is information that appears reasonably close to the truth and is presented in a way that seeks to persuade the audience that the sender of the information is a 'well-intentioned individual with the best ideas and political ideology'. Extremists utilize white propaganda as yet another tool to advance their agenda, particularly by focusing on day-to-day politics and public affairs (Klein, 2012, p. 434).

Our findings illustrate that more often than any other far-right platform studied here, Heritage and Destiny depicts women in a narrative with a factual undertone (standardized residual value of 3.04). In comparison, Daily Stormer (standardized residual of -2.42) is less likely to adopt a factual narrative. For example:

Marine Le Pen's National Front won the elections in France, with around 25% of the vote. In Hungary the nationalist Jobbik party has polled around 15%. The national socialist Golden Dawn party in Greece triumphed over far left terrorism and state repression, polling 9.4% to take third place nationwide and gain three MEPs. Some of the best nationalist results were in Austria, where the Austrian Freedom Party has polled around 20% and should double its number of MEPs from 2 to 4. (Heritage and Destiny)

This extraction from Heritage and Destiny subtly highlights the nationalist perspectives amongst far-right platforms studied here, by emphasizing the success of 'nationalist' parties in Europe. As per the definition of propaganda provided by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999, p. 15) such rhetoric serves as a highly effective communicative device that is 'associated with control and is regarded as a deliberate attempt to alter or maintain a balance of power that is advantageous to the propagandist' (p. 15). Therefore, by highlighting these electoral successes, the passage implicitly lends support to far-right's endorsement of nationalist parties.

The p -value for the crosstabulation analysis in Table 3 is less than the significance level of .001. This indicates that the probability of the difference between the observed and expected values occurring by chance is less than 1%. As Table 3 shows, factual frames demonstrate a similar trend to the discussion of women in public (see Daily Stormer, Heritage and Destiny).

Women in public frames

Far-right extremist movements, while advocating for traditional gender roles for women, have also managed to attract women as remembers, some of whom have even risen to become prominent figures. These women not only embrace the far-right notion of masculinity but actively contribute to its propagation (Worth, 2021). Consequently, it is not uncommon to come across discussions that focus on female public figures within these movements. In fact, a common theme amongst these platforms is the narrative of women who hold public visibility, including actresses, journalists, politicians, artists, and writers. Notably, platforms such as the Front Page Magazine and Heritage and Destiny are more likely than other far-right extremists studied here, to discuss female politicians and public figures (the adjusted residuals based on differences between observed and expected values are 4.05 and 6.56, respectively). In comparison, Britain First and Daily

Table 3. Crosstabulation of platforms and gender frames.

Platforms	Factual frames	Women in public frames	Traditional gender roles	Victimhood frames	Vilification frames	Row total (observed values)
American Renaissance						
Observed Values	5	17	2	21	5	50
Expected Values	(8.13)	(15.82)	(3.35)	(15.26)	(7.44)	
Standardized Residuals	-1.18	0.35	-0.77	2.02	-0.96	
Britain First						
Observed Values	41	59	6	114	31	251
Expected Values	(40.80)	(79.41)	(16.82)	(76.61)	(37.37)	
Standardized Residuals	0.04	-2.99*	-2.83*	7.89*	-1.29	
Daily Stormer						
Observed Values	4	6	13	10	41	74
Expected Values	(12.03)	(23.41)	(4.96)	(22.59)	(11.02)	
Standardized Residuals	-2.42*	-3.80*	4.57*	-2.91*	16.67*	
Front Page						
Observed Values	4	31	4	13	9	61
Expected Values	(9.91)	(19.30)	(4.09)	(18.62)	(9.08)	
Standardized Residuals	-1.97	4.05*	-0.05	-1.51	-0.03	
Gates of Vienna						
Observed Values	23	30	3	48	15	119
Expected Values	(19.34)	(37.65)	(7.97)	(36.32)	(17.72)	
Standardized Residuals	1.02	-1.53	-1.84	2.80*	-0.74	
Heritage and Destiny						
Observed Values	54	112	26	40	19	251
Expected Values	(40.80)	(79.41)	(16.82)	(76.61)	(37.37)	
Standardized Residuals	3.04*	6.56*	3.28*	-4.99*	-3.41*	

Notes: $\chi^2 = 183.67$. The p -value is .000. Expected values are in brackets. The results are significant at $p < .001$. Adjusted residuals with * point to a difference of equal to $2\leq$ less than -2/more than +2.

Stormer (with adjusted residual values of -2.99 and -3.80, respectively) are less likely than the others to mention female public figures. The narrative surrounding women in public life may vary, encompassing depictions of female politicians within the far right or right-wing politics², female politicians from the left of the political spectrum, or simply female public figures such as journalists, writers, and academics.

For instance:

Because HIV disproportionately impacts LGBTQ+ people and people of color, this discriminatory policy is not only outdated, but is also a serious equity issue that has had significant impact on communities that already face many other systemic barriers to accessing the full range of opportunity in America, Kara Ingelhart, a senior attorney at Lambda Legal, said in a statement. The military is no longer there to defend the nation or win wars. Not to the lefties who now use it purely for identity politics posturing. The military is becoming a testbed for woke virtue signaling while undermining military readiness and national defense.

In the above quotation, the criticism extends beyond a single female public figure, such as Kara Ingelhart, and encompasses broader disdain towards 'lefties', and supporters of the LGBTQ rights. The discussion of female public figures within this context is closely intertwined with anti-leftist views. As evidenced in Table 5 (presented later in the paper), the observed values demonstrate a positive difference from the expected values in the

category of anti-left views and women in public. (The standardized residuals is 4.06, which is higher than the threshold of +2, with a p -value of .000.)

Framing female public figures, regardless of whether it is positive or negative, reflects a certain level of agency attributed to women in the public sphere. Where female public figures are framed positively, it often promotes empowerment within a racial context positioning women as active contributors in safeguarding white people. This perspective is explored by Worth (2021) who highlights that women in far-right groups, such as the British National Party (BNP), engage in public discourses on topics like reproductive control, divorce, and family. Such a strategy is aimed at creating a softer image. Moreover, framing women as politicians, lawyers, scientists, or even 'leftie' journalists signify the acceptance and normalcy of these roles and identities for women. Although this may align with society's expectations, it is noteworthy within the far-right extremists' rhetoric.

Traditional gender roles

A key characteristic of contemporary far-right extremists is their embrace of forms of masculinity associated with the past. Consequently, they often express anti-feminist sentiments in their rhetoric or advocate for various traditional roles for women (Pearson, 2019). These frames are designed to shape an identity for women that is aligned with conventional gender roles. Herein, the concept of traditional gender roles was assessed using indicators such as domestic responsibilities (e.g. motherhood, being a wife or a girlfriend) and the depiction of women in objectifying and sexualized terms. These indicators were employed to gauge the extent to which women were portrayed within the confines of traditional gender roles and reduced to sexual objects.

While Britain First is less likely than other platforms to promote women's traditional roles (see Table 3), both Daily Stormer and Heritage and Destiny illustrate a positive difference between observed and expected values when it comes to depicting women in traditional roles (adjusted residuals of 4.57 and 3.28 respectively). For example:

Abernathy related an extraordinary story that indicated King [referring to Martin Luther King] spent the last night of his life enjoying the attentions of not one but two followed by an encounter with a third woman whom he knocked sprawling across his motel room bed.

This excerpt exemplifies a common trend in the Daily Stormer, where women are framed within a sexualized discourse. It is important to note the wider context of the example, which explicitly involves racial dynamics. Upon closer examination, it becomes apparent that traditional values exhibit a positive correlation with racist views as demonstrated in Table 5 (standardized residual value is 5.94). This point is further discussed in the next section.

A recurring theme in traditional frames within the far-right discourse revolves around women's roles in relation to men, primarily as wives, girlfriends, or mothers. However, women's identities as mothers and caregivers within the far-right movements are not simply ascribed by men. Research on women-only online forums reveals that while ideology may not be the central focus of conversation, it strongly permeates everyday topics such as family, pregnancy, sisterhood, and emancipation (Lokmanoglu & Veilleux-Lepage, 2020). By emphasizing on conventional gender roles, particularly the reproductive significance of women, far-right ideology aims to regain control over women while subtly denoting their specific guidelines about what roles are desirable for women. The

portrayal of women's liberation as a threat suggests that liberation will encourage women to have abortions, maintain their careers, and have sexual relationships with women or non-white males (Mills et al., 2020, p. 571). According to Piazza (2017, p. 56), there is a correlation between rising right-wing terrorism in the US and indices of female empowerment, notably abortion rates and female labour force participation.

Victimhood frames

A prevalent trend within far-right extremists rhetoric portrays women as victims of various forms of violence, such as rape, stabbing, killing, or unjust laws. Far-right activists have increasingly utilized narratives of victimhood, particularly focusing on the experiences of white women in multicultural societies (Ebner & Davey, 2019, p. 36). Paradoxically, as mentioned earlier, far-right extremists also advocate for traditional gender roles for women and a return to traditional power dynamics between men and women. Our analysis shows that while Britain First and Gates of Vienna are more likely than other groups to demonstrate such views (with standardized residual values of 7.89 and 2.80 respectively), Daily Stormer and Heritage and Destiny show the opposite trend (standardized residual values of -2.91 and -4.99. See Table 3). For instance,

Following the 2015–2016 New Year's Eve sex attacks on hundreds of women in Cologne by men of 'Arab or North African appearance', many 'far-right bigots' claimed the attacks were somehow linked to recent mass immigration from violence-plagued, woman-hating, middle eastern shit-holes.³

The above text from the Britain First platform depicts women as victims of sexual violence. However, it is important to note that women's victimization is not isolated from other far-right political ideologies. Often violence against women is attributed to the 'othered man', who is often an immigrant man, a Muslim man, or a racialized perpetrator in a process that accentuates identity formation along the lines of 'us' versus 'them'. Further analysis presented in Table 5, reveals that narratives of women's victimization are positively associated with anti-immigration and Islamophobic tendencies (observed values are higher than expected values and p -value is .000). Britain First, more than any other platform shows a higher likelihood to depict women in an anti-immigration and Islamophobic context (refer to Table 4). It is worth highlighting that women's victimization is not limited to white women victimized by Muslim men or the Islamic laws. However, these women become topic of concern primarily when the perpetrator align with the broader political narrative of Islamophobia and anti-immigration values. In addition to women being victims by 'othered' men, women are also depicted as victim of domestic Western laws and norms. For example:

First Greek champion triple jumper Voula Papachristou was expelled for having posted a 'racist' message on Twitter and for being a supporter of the Greek nationalist party Golden Dawn, which won 7% support across Greece in recent elections. Miss Papachristou's offending Twitter message merely repeated a joke about Greek immigration problems, connected to recent reports of a West Nile malaria virus: 'With so many Africans in Greece, at least the West Nile mosquitoes will eat home-made food.'⁴

This excerpt shows that these gendered frames are intertwined with other frames such as anti-immigration, and Islamophobia (refer to Table 5). Such views align with the

Table 4. Crosstabulation of platforms and broader political and ideological frames.

Platforms	Anti-feminist	Anti-left	Anti-media	Anti-immigration	Islamophobia	Antisemitism	Racism	Row total (observed values)
American Renaissance								15
Observed Values	1	4	2	6	1	1	7	
Expected Values	(1.84)	(2.76)	(1.44)	(4.14)	(3.91)	(0.92)	(1.84)	
Standardized Residuals	-0.65	0.91	0.53	1.23	-1.53	0.09	5.90*	
Britain First								128
Observed Values	8	16	3	42	58	1	2	
Expected Values	(15.69)	(23.54)	(12.26)	(35.31)	(33.35)	(7.85)	(0.52)	
Standardized Residuals	-2.32*	-2.03*	-2.85*	2.13*	15.05*	-2.53*	-3.60*	
Daily Stormer								34
Observed Values	15	5	2	1	1	10	14	
Expected Values	(4.17)	(6.25)	(3.26)	(9.38)	(8.86)	(2.08)	(4.17)	
Standardized Residuals	9.74*	-0.57	-0.75	-2.80*	-2.70*	10.66*	8.37*	
Front Page								32
Observed Values	5	10	14	1	1	1	3	
Expected Values	(3.92)	(5.89)	(3.07)	(8.83)	(8.34)	(1.96)	(3.92)	
Standardized Residuals	0.64	2.30*	12.55*	-2.70*	-2.60*	-0.72	-0.51	
Gates of Vienna								26
Observed Values	1	3	1	16	4	1	2	
Expected Values	(3.19)	(4.78)	(2.49)	(7.17)	(6.77)	(1.59)	(3.19)	
Standardized Residuals	-1.27	-0.89	-0.98	6.03*	-1.19	-0.50	-0.72	
Heritage and Destiny								26
Observed Values	2	10	3	6	3	2	4	
Expected Values	(3.19)	(4.78)	(2.49)	(7.17)	(6.77)	(1.59)	(3.19)	
Standardized Residuals	-0.72	3.42*	0.37	-0.52	-1.58	0.36	0.53	

Notes: $\chi^2 = 183.67$. The p -value is .00000. Expected values are in brackets. The results are significant at $p < .01$. Adjusted residuals with * point to a difference of less than -2 and more than +2.

Table 5. Gender constructs vs. political and ideological contexts.

Platform	Anti-feminist frame	Anti-leftist frame	Anti-media	Antisemitism	Anti-immigration	Islamophobia	Racism	Row totals (observed values)
Traditional values								
Observed Values	1 (0.27)	3 (2.43)	1 (0.69)	1 (0.27)	1 (3.78)	1 (3.51)	4 (0.74)	12
Expected Values	1.70	0.40	0.40	1.70	-1.51	-1.42	5.94*	
Standardized Residuals								
Victimhood								
Observed Values	1 (2.01)	3 (18.11)	1 (4.80)	1 (2.01)	36 (28.17)	34 (26.16)	7 (5.53)	83
Expected Values	-0.83	-3.78*	-1.84	-0.83	3.30*	3.41*	1.08	
Standardized Residuals								
Vilification								
Observed Values	1 (0.74)	12 (6.63)	3 (0.57)	1 (0.18)	3 (10.31)	11 (9.57)	2 (2.02)	33
Expected Values	1.01	4.07*	0.95	0.57	3.48*	4.38*	1.63	
Standardized Residuals								
Women in Public								
Observed Values	1 (1.18)	18 (10.60)	5 (3.06)	1 (0.29)	16 (16.49)	6 (15.31)	6 (3.24)	53
Expected Values	-0.19	4.06*	1.64	1.52	-0.18	-2.71*	2.43*	
Standardized Residuals								
Column Totals	4	26	4	71	36	21	11	173

established literature on far-right discourse, which often depicts Western women as victims of actions attributed to immigrants and Muslim men (Marcks & Pawelz, 2022). As noted by Ebner and Davey (2019), these narratives are sometimes extended to the broader Muslim community. For instance, figures like Tommy Robinson, have used instances of migrant rape crimes and the perceived oppression of women in Islam to characterize all Muslims as potential rapists and a threat to white, non-Muslim women (Ebner & Davey, 2019, p. 36). Similarly, Akkerman's (2015) analysis of far-right parties highlights a trend among these parties in establishing a correlation between the alleged mistreatment of women and lack of equality for women in Muslim countries as proof that Islam is incompatible with Western values (Akkerman, 2015, p. 53). This phenomenon has been termed 'Femonationalism' by Sara Farris, referring to the instrumentalization of non-white and migrant women in Europe by the far-right and certain strands of feminism to stigmatize Muslim men (Farris, 2017, p. 4).

Vilification frames

As noted by Mudde, misogyny, which is a strong dislike or hatred of women, is a notable characteristic of the far-right, evident in both online and offline contexts (Mudde, 2019). The author points out that most far-right groups exhibit a combination of benevolent and hostile sexism. The portrayal of women as vilified and negatively depicted characters serves to gauge this aspect of far-right narratives. The vilification of women is measured along two prominent indicators, derogatory language towards women and portrayal of women as perpetrator of crimes or being violent. Daily Stormer is more likely than any other platform to show women as vilified who are responsible for many social ills. For example:

Women will do anything for pleasures of the flesh, especially when the price is right. Florida woman convicted of helping mastermind the killing of her husband nearly two decades ago has been sentenced to life in prison.

Or another example from Daily Stormer:

Back then women used to be able to better hide their indiscretions but now living in the age of the camera and the and been revealed that women are absolute trash. The fact that you can be informed about how trash women are through the Internet is increasingly being fought against by the Jewish social engineering aimed at normalizing degeneracy and all kinds of perversions.⁵

Daily Stormer, stands out amongst other extremist platforms in its use of derogatory terms when referring to women as exemplified by: 'depraved whores', 'sluts', 'incapable', and 'desperate'. The platform depicts women as desperate and depraved, suggesting they should be 'kept in cages' and used for 'breeding'. Denigrating and vilifying women as such reflects a trend of misogyny, coupled with perceived threat arising from the advancement of women's rights. Controlling the reproductive capabilities of white women is seen as necessary to counter the concept of the 'Great Replacement' (Lewis, 2019). In the above example, as demonstrated in Table 5, a correlation between vilification and an anti-feminist trend can be observed among the platforms analysed here. These observations will be expounded in the following section.

Political and ideological frame amplifiers

Gendered frames are shaped by the broader political and ideological contexts of far-rights discourse, which function as frame amplifiers by emphasizing and highlighting particular ‘issues, events, or beliefs as being more salient than others’ (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 623). These frame amplifiers, e.g. racism, anti-feminist views, Islamophobia are, in turn, closely associated with how women are portrayed while indicating a relational entanglement of narrative, with each narrative complementing the other to evoke a desired outcome. For example, the narratives of concrete threats by the ‘othered men’, i.e. Muslim and immigrant men, and victimization of Western women serve as emotional groundwork that convey physical or even moral threats to the collective identity. This study identifies several frame amplifiers, namely anti-feminism, anti-leftism, anti-media views, Islamophobia, antisemitism, and racism. In this section, first, we closely examine these frame amplifiers and highlight the variations across different platforms (Table 4). Subsequently, we explore if these broader political and ideological contexts are associated with a particular image of women (Table 5). For example, we explore if the depiction of women in traditional roles is associated with Islamophobic and anti-immigration frames. This method in turn will allow us to further scrutinize framing compositions and congruency building in frames.

Once again, there are inter platform differences in terms of what broader political and ideological topics are used as contexts that shape the development of gendered frames. For example, Daily Stormer (with a standardized residual value of 9.74) is more likely than the other platforms to adopt an anti-feminist discourse when referring to women (see Table 4). Conversely, Britain First (with a standardized residual value of -2.32) exhibits a lower likelihood than other platforms studied here to adhere to such frames. While Table 4 points to inter-platform variations, a closer look at some of these framing amplifiers points to the nuances and complexities of framing entanglement of two or more frames with each other: The following excerpt from the Daily Stormer illustrates this point further:

The ridiculous Jewish feminism has not brought women happiness only caused women to be angry and unhappy. The toxic Jewish ideology known as feminism has obviously had a very negative impact on society. It has convinced women that they be happy unless they establish a career and try to behave like a man throughout their and Many of these women are paying a heavy price for believing these insane Jewish lies because feminism has not brought them happiness and has only brought them emotional ruin and despair.

In this passage, Daily Stormer criticizes feminism – while associating it with semitism – alleging that it has had a negative impact on the lives of women. Statistical analysis presented in Table 4, further illustrates that such anti-feminist frames are closely intertwined with and amplified by other broader ideological frames such as antisemitism (the adjusted residual value for antisemitism shows similar statistically significant values and signs for antisemitism and anti-feminism for Daily Stormer). This is indicative of a deliberative and complex process of congruence building in frames wherein frames are developed and deployed to achieve goals such as attracting recruits and sympathizers. As observed by Acharya, if intense actions such as violence have to be convincingly justified, congruence building becomes key to acceptance (Acharya, 2004, p. 239).

Anti-leftist views are another prominent frame amplifier that shapes gendered frames. Such themes are particularly pronounced in both Front Page Magazine and Heritage and

Destiny, while Britain First (with a standardized residual value of -2.03) has a lower likelihood of resorting to anti-leftist frames. The prevalence of anti-leftist frames serves as the broader political backdrop that influences gender frames such as the vilification of women and women in public frames (see Table 5). A passage from Heritage and Destiny illustrates this point further:

Among Balakrishnan's supporters was his wife, known as Comrade Chanda. Between them they were arrested at least eight times during the 1970s. A typical example of the group's rhetoric came after an incident at Brixton prison in February 1976 when Comrades Bala and Chanda were being visited by two fellow Brixton Maoists.

In this excerpt, Heritage and Destiny portrays the involvement of Comrade Chanda is depicted a villainous figure, in holding three women against their will and subjecting them to physical and psychological abuse. This example highlights the interplay between anti-leftist views and gender frames that can manifest in the vilification of women. Similarly, anti-media frame amplifiers are a prominent feature of Front Page Magazine (with a standardized residual value of 12.55). For example:

She has been lionized by the leftwing newspaper 'The Guardian' who apparently sees no wrong in brainwashing our vulnerable children in this manner.

Once again, we can observe framing congruity and a complex web of relationships between frames employed here. The concern is not with just any form of media but specifically with the 'leftwing' media. This aligns with the political perspectives of the platforms studied here, where anti-immigration, racism, and Islamophobia constitute other prominent framing amplifiers. Britain First (with standardized residual values of 15.05, in Table 4) is more likely than other platforms to frame women in anti-immigration and Islamophobic contexts. Conversely, Daily Stormer and Front Page Magazine (with a standardized residual value of -2.70 and -2.60 respectively) demonstrates a lower likelihood than other platforms to resort to Islamophobic discourses. In comparison, for Daily Stormer, it is antisemitism (standardized residual value of 10.66) and racism (standardized residual value of 8.37) that amplify particular gender frames. In fact, closer examination of these political and ideological contexts reveals that within anti-immigration and Islamophobic frameworks, discussions often revolve around the victimizations and vilification of women (refer to Table 5). Anti-Islam and anti-immigration extremists have often scrutinized Islam using women's treatment as the basis of their critique, positioning themselves as beacons of 'Western values'.

In fact, framing amplifiers such as anti-media, anti-leftist and anti-feminist perspective, demonstrate strong countering characteristics, which emerge through an ongoing interaction with both sympathetic and opposing groups through a dynamic process, in which narratives opposing the far-right frames are actively countered.

Conclusion

This paper takes a comparative analysis approach to the study of a selected number of far-right platforms such as American Renaissance, Britain First, Daily Stormer, Front Page Magazine, and Heritage and Destiny. Our study points to a certain level of differences in the gender frames presented in these platforms. For example, Daily Stormer, is more likely

than any other platform to vilify women, while Britain First has a higher tendency than other platforms studied here to portray women as victims. We also illustrated that such gendered frames take place in the broader ideological and political contexts. For instance, victimization frames are often embedded in anti-immigration and Islamophobia contexts.

Despite variations across platforms, our analysis reveals recurring framing amplifiers within the gender discourse of these far-right platforms. Gendered frames depicting women's roles and identities are closely embedded in broader political and ideological frames such as anti-feminism, anti-leftism, anti-media, antisemitism, Islamophobia and racism. In general, discussions concerning women fall within one of these prominent frame amplifiers which indicates 'idealization, invigoration, embellishment, clarification, or invigoration of existing values or beliefs' to borrow (Benford and Snow, 2000, p. 624). As such, gendered frames show a high degree of congruity with other political and ideological frames of the far-right platforms studied here. Understanding and investigating these broader contexts help us untangle some of the more nuanced relations between gendered frames and these broader contexts. As Klein (2012, p. 434) informs us, the political rhetoric of far-right platforms, may bear elements of accurate information if analysed individually. However, when viewed collectively, it becomes clear that these reports are effectively part of a larger mechanism that continually feeds on race-based news story after another, in order to produce only a distinctly racist point of view (Klein, 2012, p. 434).

In fact, these broader political and ideological framing amplifiers, contribute to the credibility-building and legitimacy of gendered frames. Message compositions indicating consistency and congruity are in turn important for recruitment and action, particularly if the movement encourages violence (Acharya, 2004, p. 239). As such, it is important to understand how various narratives by extremists become important for mobilization efforts. Within the gendered frames studied here, an important cross-cutting issue is identity construction along the lines of 'us' versus 'them'. Gendered narratives are often shaped within the othering narratives of immigrants, Muslims, feminists, jews. Some of these othered categories, such as Muslims and immigrants are even portrayed as brutal and immoral, who are responsible for victimization of 'our' women. In the broader rhetoric of far-right platforms studied here, such narratives assume a civilization gap, whereby the own community's culture appears to be superior and foreign culture as inferior. Simultaneously these serve to ensure consistence in the narratives of gender since they would otherwise lack the necessary dramatics if cultural shifts caused by immigration and were not identified as a loss of civilization (Marcks & Pawelz, 2022). As observed by the authors, without the presupposition of such cultural dispositions, individual cases of migrant violence, for example, could not generalized as an epidemic problem.

These arguments and narratives are shaped in a dynamic process, wherein the frames resonate with the beliefs and values of the intended audiences. To increase the effectiveness of these arguments, extremist platforms employ counter-framing strategies that revolve around various issues such as feminism, immigration, media, and Islam. By capitalizing on larger social and political discourses, e.g. immigration, the far-right has adeptly integrated gender frames within these broader contexts. This phenomenon exemplifies what McCammon et al. (2004) refer to as strategic framing, characterized by its utilitarian and goal-oriented nature. The dynamism of this framing process also implies its fluidity, as interaction with the broader social and political environment influences when, how, and

which frames gain prominence. For example, during election periods, gender frames become embedded in electoral discussions, showcasing the adoptability and context-dependent nature of these platforms' framing strategies.

While our study highlights some of the nuanced and subtle differences between various far-right discourses, there are certain limitations to the analysis. Despite a significant corpus of data, the data is limited to only six far-right platforms, hence, the number of observations for some of the variables investigated here are small and limited to English-language platforms. Future research can expand the scope and including other examples, and incorporate non-English material, will help establish more rigorous analysis. Furthermore, exploring frame formation dynamics particularly investigating more closely the consensual and conflictual interactions amongst the far-right extremist discourses and how they engage with the potential audience will further illuminate the topic.

Nonetheless, by elucidating the use of these frames in promoting extremist beliefs, campaigners may effectively educate the public and politicians on the intricacies of far-right discourse. By acquiring knowledge about the framing methods used by extreme platforms, activists can formulate counter-framing strategies. Individuals can construct alternative narratives that contest and refute the detrimental gender frameworks disseminated by far-right factions. This strategy can be highly efficacious in mitigating the proliferation of extremist beliefs and diminishing their allure.

Finally, the findings of this study can be utilized by governments to inform the formulation of policies intended to address far-right extremism. Gaining insight into the function of gender frames within extremist rhetoric has the potential to facilitate the development of more precise and efficient approaches in mitigating radicalization, execute counter-narrative initiatives, foster societal unity, diminish the attractiveness of extremist beliefs and discourage individuals from participating in extremist actions by presenting evidence-based messaging that challenges these narratives.

Notes

1. LGBTQ is the acronym for Lesbian, Gay, Trans and Queer.
2. It is important to differentiate between right-wing politics, which typically advocate conservative policies in terms of economics and societal values, and the far-right, which tends to espouse more extreme ideologies such as white supremacy, ultra-nationalism, and nativism (Center for Research on Extremism, 2020).
3. Britain First.
4. Heritage and Destiny.
5. Daily Stormer.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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