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Bachelor Project Environmentalisms of the Right

B.Sc. International Relations and Organisations

**From Roots to Rhetoric: How do Far-Right Parties in the United Kingdom Invoke
Nature?**

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Abstract

This thesis inquiries into how contemporary far-right parties in the United Kingdom (UK), relate to nature. It arises from the current academic debate encircling whether the far-right has a genuine ideological understanding of nature or if it is more reflective of political opportunism. By asking the research question, *How do far-right parties in the United Kingdom invoke nature?* this thesis hopes to investigate the ideological underpinnings of the contemporary far-right by analysing discourses disseminated by the British National Party (BNP) and United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). A critical discourse analysis is employed to explore the thematic and rhetorical strategies to frame nature within the parties policies. The findings suggest that environmental themes are often entangled within broader, exclusionary policy, yet these invocations are deeply rooted in far-right ideology. This synthesis highlights the complex role of nature within political strategy.

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Introduction

Since the turn of the millennium, there has been a trend across Europe surrounding the rise of the far-right, and this is not something that the United Kingdom (UK) has been exempt from. Over the past 20 years, the country has borne witness to the most successful far-right parties in its history (Richardson, 2017, p. 134). This phenomenon is particularly intriguing given the UK's traditionally restrictive electoral system and longstanding culture of liberal and inclusive politics (Halikiopoulou & Vasilopoulou, 2010, p. 1). This growth coincides with an increase in awareness concerning the preservation of nature, as the local environment is progressively becoming the centre of both political rhetoric and public discourse. There has been a broader cultural movement towards prioritising Britain's natural environment, whether national government policies such as the 2019 Clean Air Strategy (UK Government, 2019), or community planning committees emphasising sustainable development practices. Thus, how the far-right and nature interact shall be the focus of this thesis.

The relationship between the two is present, as the far-right British National Party (BNP) has previously referred to itself as “the nation's only green party”, and maintains this on its current website (BNP, 2024). The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) has propagated a similar pledge. It has committed itself to “protecting this green and pleasant land”, hereby also citing 19th Century seminal English poet William Blake, famed for his romanticisation of the British countryside (Turner Graham, 2020, p. 58). Both parties can be characterised as far-right, so it becomes evident that nature occupies an important space within certain far-right circles (Turner Graham, 2020, p. 58).

Yet, some scholars believe that this understanding of nature was conceived out of a place of self-interest (Mix, 2009; Turner Graham, 2020). It has been understood that the far-right has taken advantage of the nation's concern for nature to increase political support and allowed them to discreetly advance separate means (Jahn & Wehling, 1991).

So, there is a debate about whether the far-right has a genuine ideological understanding of nature or if it is more reflective of political opportunism. These diverging understandings create an opportunity to further investigate this relationship between the far-right and nature in the UK, and has thus led to the research question:

How do far-right parties in the United Kingdom invoke nature?

This question seeks to investigate the ideological underpinnings of the far-right, and whether nature is simply a rhetorical tool or more representative of their ideology. This shall build upon existing academic literature, whilst focusing on the BNP and UKIP as representatives of the far-right movement in the UK. This investigation shall contribute to a deeper understanding of the far-right's ideological framework and will explore the extent to which environmental themes are integrated into far-right narratives.

To execute this, the thesis shall begin by investigating possibilities for why the far-right may have invoked nature within the backdrop of contemporary Britain through a literature review. This occurs with a specific focus on far-right ideology alongside examples of political opportunism, hoping to establish the greater context surrounding the research question and to highlight why the field requires further investigation. Following this, the main themes of this paper, such as nationalism, ecological imaginary and political opportunism shall be conceptualised to provide greater theoretical clarity. These conceptualisations lead to the theoretical expectation that the far-right invocation of nature stems from their broader ideological framework. A critical discourse analysis of party materials from the BNP and UKIP is then undertaken, facilitating the analysis and discussion of the complex relationship between far-right ideology and the resulting policies concerning nature.

Literature Review

This literature review shall begin with an overview of how the far-right in Britain began to relate to nature, before examining the current understanding of this relationship. It aims to highlight divergences in current scholarship, underpinning a debate in the field.

Origins of Far-Right Engagement with Nature in Britain

Connections between the far-right and nature have been demonstrated in academic studies through examples of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy (Armiero & Graf von Hardenberg, 2013; Biehl & Staudenmaier, 1995; Brüggemeier, Cioc & Zeller, 2005). Discourse often surrounds how these far-right governments implemented some of the most encompassing green policies of the time, highlighting how ecologism has been linked to political orientations across the ideological spectrum. In Britain, however, the far-right has predominantly occupied the fringes of politics and thus has received significantly less scholarly attention (Gest, Reny & Mayer, 2018, p. 1695).

Yet, the contemporary far-right in Britain has a recent history that has been traced back to the neo-romantic era. It was a response in the early 20th century to the Enlightenment, whereby nature was appreciated for its role in human existence. Here thinkers sought to reconnect with the natural world as it resonated spiritually and emotionally whilst rejecting industrialisation (Feldman, 2018, p.1; Lubarda & Forchtner, 2022, p. 86; Stocker, 2015, p. 45). It was during this period that scholars characterised the far-right in Britain by their back-to-the-land ideology, similar to what had been present in Völkisch thought in Nazi Germany (Moore & Roberts, 2022, p. 28). Figures such as Jorian Jenks have been carefully studied, as he envisioned a culturally homogenous Britain and advocated for a return to traditional values (Moore & Roberts, 2022, p. 29; Turner Graham, 2020, p. 62). These claims were grounded as a defence against perceived societal decay, as Jenks viewed the world to be struck by disaster and rapid urbanisation (Moore & Roberts, 2022, p. 29). Thus, this period marked the emergence of a relationship between the demise of rural Britain and of its people. So, whilst concern for the environment and nature is often associated with the political left, it has had a presence within the British far-right. Consequently, it has been argued that the environment has historically been a feature of far-right discourse.

Nature as Intrinsic to Far-Right Ideology

Forchtner and Kølvråa (2015) have asserted that respect for nature holds a foundational position within the far-right, as it informs a significant number of policies (p. 200). Although, nature tended to be understood as “our nation’s” landscape and countryside, as the emphasis was often based on the nation's beauty and parallels were drawn between a healthy natural environment and a racially homogenous class (p. 201). Thus, the focus is not global, as fantasies of local rural idylls feed into Britain's greater understanding of nationalism. So, for the far-right, nature quickly becomes attached to nationalism (p. 201). This can also be referred to as naturalism, which views culture to be deeply connected to the landscape of which it originates, *the ethnoscape* (Smith, 1983, p. 179). Because of this, it is argued that the environmentalism of the far-right in Britain is conditioned by deeper structures of nationalist ideology, as cultural identities are intertwined with geographical spaces (Forchtner & Kølvråa, 2015, p. 219; Smith, 1983, p. 185). Here, respect for nature is territorially specific and extends primarily to the homeland.

This argumentation is advanced through assertions that the British countryside has been understood as an expression of the nation's past and historical heritage (Turner Graham, 2020, p. 59). The timelessness of the countryside becomes reminiscent of feudal times, so it provides

comfort for today and the future. This enduring appeal has in turn rendered the countryside a key trope for nationalist imagery (Turner Graham, 2020, p. 60; Richardson, 2017, p. 163). Herein, nature becomes symbolic for British nationalism as Britons understand themselves to have had historical primacy to this section of the world, and thus claim sovereignty to the isle. This synergism creates feelings of belonging to such spaces and further exacerbates nationalist identities. Additionally, the imagery this provides, alongside the opportunity to reminisce about a pre-industrial world, creates welcomed feelings of nostalgia (Smith, 2009, p. 106). This is often articulated as vast and untouched landscapes as the spiritual home and sacred fatherland of the people (p. 108). So, nature has become a logical, albeit symbolic link between the past, present and future. Consequently, how nature has been incorporated into nationalist discourses becomes a pivotal element of contemporary far-right ideology. Eatwell (2000), even argued that this form of nationalism is the “core doctrine” of far-right parties, as this type of imagery is what often unites the differing factions (p. 412). The importance of nationalism for the far-right is further highlighted by Mudde (2002), who identified it as one of the few tenets that transcend the entirety of the current far-right, as the preservation of national identity is perceived to be paramount (p. 17).

A concern for nature is, therefore, a part of far-right ideological character, and Forchtner (2019) has argued that this is not a new phenomenon (p. 285). Through studying far-right magazines, he found that an ecological perspective often signified a holistic worldview, in which organisms should be understood by their immersion in an interdependent system (p. 286). Such visions of the community being rooted in its ecosystem and a desire for ecological harmony translated into a sense of responsibility for environmental degradation. This thereby indicates a true sense of concern for the natural environment by the far-right. Here, interest in ecologism is ideological, as the world is viewed as a holistic ecosystem, whereby nature is more than what it can simply provide, and humans are just one part of a greater whole (p. 287).

Lubarda (2020) expands on the social imaginary of the far-right, by introducing a spiritual dimension to their connection with nature (p. 7). Nature has been enunciated to be a ‘God-given gift’, as such, it is something that needs to be valued and protected, and once again this protection lies with humans (p. 15). Thus, environmental stewardship becomes a key feature within certain far-right communities. As a result, environmental degradation is also believed to be evidence of a spiritual deficit present in the modern world (p. 16). So, in some circumstances, the far-right relationship with nature has stemmed from a spiritual facet.

However, environmental stewardship places humans in a dominant position, which doesn't necessarily align with holism, an ideology of interdependence and equality. Therefore, it appears that the equation of nature, identity, and society or the far-right arrives with some inconsistencies. This could be explained by the variability within the far-right itself, yet Moore and Roberts (2022) believe that its versatility is due to nature being a thin ideological notion (p. 48). They argue that how the far-right understands nature lacks the depth and specificity needed to constitute an independent political idea. The argumentation continues by asserting that, to be substantial, it needs to be clarified and elaborated on, as currently, nature is just a way of articulating typical far-right rhetoric, rather than the core of the ideology. The following thesis shall investigate this theory, by examining how the far-right understands nature in the context of contemporary Britain. Consequently, this thesis will assess the validity of this assertion.

Nevertheless, it is evident that there is a continuous and multifaceted range of concern for the natural environment within far-right circles, creating an argument that its presence should not solely be dismissed as a strategic device to appease voters or to advance ulterior motives.

Nature as a Tool for Political Opportunism

The far-right's commitment to nature has also been understood as a method of political opportunism, as scholars have argued that the space the natural environment occupies in political discourse could provide a path for non-environmental means to be discreetly pushed (Jahn & Wehling, 1991; Mix, 2009).

This is facilitated, in part, by the absence of specific environmental stances, and has been observed most frequently in the United States (Mix, 2009, p. 138). By not retaining a rigid environmental position, the far-right are able to manipulate environmental themes to appeal to wider audiences. For example, the movement can move into more mainstream spaces by articulating views of environmental stewardship and policies surrounding preservation whilst retaining current followers by basing these claims on fears over immigration and overpopulation (Mix, 2009, p. 139; Richardson, 2017, p. 169). Further, it has been argued that, by presenting their policies in alignment with the mainstream, their ideas appear to be more legitimate, and potentially less marginalised. Mix (2009) contends that this shall increase the party's 'cultural currency', which refers to how the ordinary perception of the party is elevated, leading them to be valued more (p. 139). It is important to note that whilst these studies have

been based on the United States, they can still provide a lens to view the phenomena in the UK, and potentially provide a concrete basis for new analysis to build upon.

For example, Richardson (2017) develops the claim of political opportunism, arguing that such a narrative underlines the reactionary nature of the far-right's environmental rhetoric, specifically in the context of the UK (p. 167). Through analysing election literature, disseminated by the British far-right group the National Front, he found that the primary justification for green policies revolved around the UK's need to become self-sufficient, whilst pre-supposing that the nation is not currently truly independent. This was intended to be read as a negative state of affairs and served not only to broaden the party's appeal but also to reaffirm its commitments to existing members (p. 169). Here, it became apparent that tone and the framing of a situation are fundamental to understanding intention. Therefore, by utilising environmental salience, the National Front were able to reach a broader electorate, whilst maintaining their current support.

It is argued that this has also been seen historically, as environmental concerns have been coupled with far-right solutions as an entryway campaign manoeuvre (Richardson, 2017, p. 166). Here, examples draw upon the World Union for the Protection of Life, a non-profit organisation which has been used by the United Nations Environmental Program. During the late 20th Century, President Werner Georg Haverbeck had Nazi links and holocaust-denying roots (p. 168). Richardson uses this as a concrete example of how proto-fascists have gained considerable influence and acceptance in conservationist communities. As a result, the far-right have had opportunities to introduce their ideology into the environmental movement. His paper concludes by considering the possibility that environmentalism may, once again serve as a hook to attract wider support. However, this analysis pertains to a specific case study, thereby limiting its external validity. Consequently, this paper may not be suitable to use for great generalisations, however, it can be valuable to inform future research and hypotheses (Halperin & Heath, 2017, p. 192).

Additionally, the environment has been seen as a tool to legitimise far-right policies recently in the UK. Turner Graham (2020) highlights this by drawing on UKIP (p. 60). The party was conceived as a single-issue, Eurosceptic party and she argues that the environment has been utilised to legitimise this ideology. To illustrate this point, she draws on various examples. For instance, in 2017, the party released a statement to "protect this green and pleasant land", outlining how the British environment has suffered as a result of European Union (EU) policies

like the Common Agricultural Policy and the Common Fisheries Policy. In doing this, the environment, the EU and BREXIT became inter-connected, as the EU was painted as a tyrant preying on lone nations (p. 64). Here, Turner Graham argues that UKIP politicised the environment and used it to justify their Eurosceptic policies. This strategy is seen to be viable, as public opinion is generally interested in the environment, and so can be an effective means for legitimising a party's policy agenda (Mix, 2009, p. 141).

However, whilst superficially it may seem apparent that the far-right is hopping onto the green bandwagon, many of these studies have failed to delve into the long and entangled past of the British far-rights relationship with nature. Moreover, they do not enunciate the relationship nature has with far-right nationalism. Furthermore, political opportunism is frequently assumed but rarely studied in political science arguments, resulting in a lack of systematic research concerning the phenomena (Walter, 2009, p. 368).

Therefore, this thesis seeks to fill that gap by investigating the fundamental relationship between nature and far-right policy. By examining how the contemporary far-right in Britain articulates its stance on natural discourses, this research aims to provide a deeper understanding of whether the use of nature is genuinely integrated into their ideology or merely used as a strategic tool. This investigation will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the ideological and strategic dimensions of the far-rights engagement with nature.

Theoretical Framework

To begin tackling the research question, and to aid the following analysis, some key concepts shall be introduced, such as the far-right, nationalism and ecological imaginary, alongside some rhetorical tools to help identify political strategy over ideology. This results in the theoretical expectation that the far-right's invocation of nature is rooted in their broader ideological framework.

The Far-Right

The term far-right is inherently broad, and defining the movement as a concept has been the subject of continuous debate among scholars (Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010, p. 18). The phenomenon is especially challenging to define due to its emotionally charged history since World War II, and subsequent attempts to distance itself from such associations. Further, it has been argued that, unlike traditional political parties, the far-right rarely adheres to a single foundational political doctrine, philosophy, or intellectual tradition (Zaslove, 2009, p. 309).

Notwithstanding the far-right's evolving and interpretive nature, some core values have been identified. In a comprehensive review, Mudde (1996) found that the far-right is most frequently identified by a commitment to; nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy and the strong state (p. 229). Thus, congruence in the literature revolves around the ideology of the far-right (Carter, 2018, p. 160). The merits of defining the far-right as an ideology lie in that it is a less volatile description and so can be extended beyond specific contexts (Giugni et al., 2005, p. 145; Golder, 2016, p. 1; Wodak & Meyer, 2015, p. 8). Therefore, this thesis identifies the contemporary far-right via its engagement with ideas of, nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy and the strong state.

Nationalism

Thus, it is evident that nationalism is a core principle of the far-right. It has also been theorised that nationalism may be the key to understanding the far-right's relationship to nature, as the two themes have been synthesised historically (Kyriazi, 2020, p. 184). Nationalism can generally be conceptualised as a notion which strives for a coherent nation-state, autonomous from external influence (Smith, 2009). Consequently, nationalism has a multifaceted significance in the British far-right, as it feeds directly into ideas surrounding identity, immigration, sovereignty and more. Additionally, environmentalism and nationalism share the foundational philosophical belief of preserving a specific 'identity', as both advocate for the defence of the particular (Forchtner & Kølvråa, 2015, p. 205).

Forchtner and Kølvråa (2015) observed that nature has fed into nationalism across three dimensions; the material, the symbolic and the aesthetic (p. 204). The material refers to a nation's finite resources, and the population's right to access these, such as timber from local forests (p. 215). The symbolic is applied when nature becomes figurative for something greater. For example, when a community claims sovereignty to a space, allowing for the construction of differences among peoples, based upon geographical boundaries and historical primacy (p. 212). Finally, the aesthetic relates to when nature is not perceived to be something to be controlled, but rather it is rooted in being beautiful and appreciable. Here, the everyday fulfilment individuals find through nature is understood to establish an emotive connection between the land and the people (p. 208). These three categorisations are an established and clear way in which to interpret how the far-right relates to nature ideologically, and so shall guide the coding frame.

Ecological Imaginary

The far-right has also made sense of the environment through ecological imaginary. This refers to a collection of beliefs, values and perceptions surrounding the natural environment, which affects the relationship between man and nature (Forchtner & Özvatan, 2020; Hughs, Jones & Amarasingam, 2022). This often entails visions of the intrinsic ecological worth of flora and fauna, and the desire to be in harmony with nature (Hughes et al, 2022, p. 1005). Central to these perspectives is the notion of nature as an entity uncorrupted by civilisation, or distorted by modernity, which generally contributes to nationalist ideals (Lubarda, 2022, p. 2). Ecological imaginary can manifest as eco-naturalism, eco-organicism as well as through spirituality and mysticism (p. 3).

Eco-naturalism can be conceptualised as the view that natural laws should apply to the human world (Forchtner, 2020, p. 8). It posits that nature can serve as a template for structuring the social order, thereby translating natural phenomena into social relations. This in turn emphasises the sanctity and value of the natural world for the far-right. However, eco-naturalism has a complex legacy. While it is connected to some of the earliest forms of ecological thinking, it was also used by the Nazi party, which linked it to nationalism. This in turn resulted in the conception of the blood and soil philosophy (Staudenmaier, 2011, p. 6).

Eco-organicism is a perspective within ecological imaginary whereby the far-right envisages the community as embedded in nature. Here, individuals become a part of the natural ecosystem, fostering a sense of interconnectedness with the land. It envisions a self-sufficient and harmonious existence with nature, where individuals can both care for and live off the land (Lubarda, 2020, p. 6). Thus, this holistic perspective views the people as a singular part of the greater whole. This fundamental interconnectedness, spanning across places, plants, animals, and people, consequently, requires profound measures for its protection (Forchtner, 2019, p. 287). It has been argued that this organicist ethos drives far-right parties to push for nature protection (Voss, 2019, p. 153).

In line with the organicist values, whether it is of Christian, pagan or non-religious character, the connection to nature has a spiritual aspect (Lubarda, 2022, p. 7). It emphasises a connection to ancestral heritage and a reverence for the land, reflecting a broader rejection of modernity and globalisation within far-right thought (p. 8). A spiritual understanding instils a deeper meaning and significance for the far-right as the natural world is experienced as a divinity. Thus, there is a sacred bond between humanity and the environment rooted in ideas of ancestral

heritage, traditional values, and a spiritual connection. Here, stewardship stems as a means to honour spiritual beliefs and ancestral ties to the land (Taylor, 2010, p. 7). This perspective is influenced by anti-Enlightenment traditionalist ideologies, that is not so present within the far-right today, but still deserves investigation, and may highlight further points of analysis.

In sum, ecological imaginary has played a critical role in how the far-right connects to nature and can shape both personal behaviours, and consequently political narratives. However, it was often found within fascist factions of the far-right, which is far more specific than the scope of this thesis. Yet, it has had significant historical importance, which is why it shall serve to inform the analysis as its legacy may help to explain how a genuine concern for nature, can trickle into informing policy beyond the natural environment. Understanding and engaging with these imaginaries is therefore important for this thesis.

Overall, these conceptualisations contribute to the far-right's broader engagement with nature and lead to the theoretical expectation that the far-right invocation of nature stems from their broader ideological framework.

Political Opportunism

Types of rhetorical devices shall also be observed, to determine if invocations of nature are rooted in far-right ideology, or if it is more representative of opportunistic framings. As arguments persist the far-right maintains a superficial relationship with nature, where they are employing environmental rhetoric primarily to further alternative agendas.

Initially, the concept of issue exploitation arose. This refers to the strategic use of a particular topic, often a current event to support a different goal (Boin, Hart & McConnell, 2008, p. 82). The strategic application implies a disingenuous association and thus shall serve as a lens to analyse the party materials.

Secondly, strategic positioning presented itself as a way in which the far-right could frame the natural environment to further its own alternate agenda (Cole, 2005, p. 203). This refers to opportunistic coalitions or non-alignments. This means that the far-right can use nature to establish its place in politics, whether that be to significantly differentiate itself from the rest of the spectrum, distance itself from unpopular decisions of other parties, or hop onto a wave of popularity.

Thirdly, political posturing has been identified as a manner in which political parties have shown disingenuous concern (Fox & Stephenson, 2011, p. 397). This refers to when a party

may have taken a specific position, but it is not substantiated by any real policies. And thus, it serves as more of a superficial stance, with the objective of appeal, rather than any true invocation.

Such use of rhetoric insinuates a far more cursory relation to nature, with nature's primary use for the far-right being electability. Further, such tools allow for dialogues to be manipulated into realms beyond nature, and potentially exclusionary policies. So, an awareness of these linguistic strategies shall help to identify the purpose of discourse.

Methodology

To apply these theoretical understandings to the research question, a critical discourse analysis shall be employed. An important aspect of this question surrounds the use of language and the latent meaning behind word choices, which makes critical discourse analysis an appropriate methodology. This is because it is a qualitative form of analysis and so facilitates an in-depth investigation of how discourses give meaning to ideology and practices (Halperin & Heath, 2020, p. 364). To understand how language can be understood and interpreted in the greater context, sentences shall be used as the recording unit.

Case Selection

To understand how the far-right in the UK invokes nature, two parties have been selected for analysis, the BNP and UKIP. Political parties have been chosen as the unit of analysis as they exhibit greater ideological stability than that of varying far-right social movements in the UK (Burstein & Linton, 2002, p. 386). This in turn facilitates a more structured interrogation, as the focus on parties provides a clear lens for the critical discourse analysis to focus on the interplay of ideologies and electoral strategies. Additionally, the organisational structure inherent to parties allows for the acquisition of accessible and official documents, further aiding the resulting analysis. Further, the focus is on two, rather than a singular case study to increase the external validity of the research.

Moreover, whilst a plethora of parties has represented the far-right since the demise of the British empire, the BNP has been referred to as the most successful in the country's history (Copsey, 2008; Goodwin 2011; Richardson 2013). This is in part due to the ten years leading to 2009, when they achieved electoral success that goes unrivalled for the British far-right (Richardson, 2017, p. 134). Due to this, the BNP have been linked to the re-emergence of the far-right in the UK and is an illuminating example of the far-right in Britain. Moreover, the

party's 2018 environmental policies begin by labelling themselves as "the nation's only true green party" (BNP, 2024), which instantaneously highlights a connection of some form between the party and nature. Looking more broadly at the BNP's ideology, it is evident that the party is a continuation of the neo-fascist organisations that were formed after the Second World War, as ideas surrounding white nationalism, biological racism, xenophobia and anti-Semitism take an ideological lead (Goodwin, 2011; John & Margetts, 2009).

In 1993, the BNP was joined on the far-right of the political spectrum by UKIP. Originally conceived as a response to the Maastricht Treaty, UKIP was popularly perceived to be a single-issue Eurosceptic party (Usherwood, 2008, p. 14). Yet, under the leadership of Nigel Farage, from 2006 onwards, the party repositioned itself from being singularly opposed to the EU towards a wider conceptualisation of 'independence' (p. 11). This broader conceptualisation then encompassed a desire for greater sovereignty and autonomy in areas more generally and beyond that of the EU. This allowed the party to access broader political debates, and in turn lent them a greater sense of electability (Brynden, 2016, p. 35). This rang true, as the party began to achieve unprecedented success in both national and European elections (p. 2). Similar to that of the BNP, UKIP has maintained narratives surrounding the dangers of immigration and the loss of national identity (John & Margetts, 2009, p. 8). It is often due to this overlapping discourse that the two parties are viewed to take up the same space in British politics. Yet, UKIP themselves do not recognise this identification and tend to operate within the slightly more moderate peripheries of the far right, than that of the BNP (Brynden, 2016, p. 31). Therefore, UKIP is generally conceptualised as a far-right populist party (Brynden, 2016, p. 31; Usherwood, 2008, p. 16; Wodak, 2020, p. 33).

Consequently, it is beneficial to include both parties in the following analysis, as together they encompass a substantial proportion of the far-right. Their collective representation should be able to inform a comprehensive overview of how the far-right in Britain understands nature, and how this is incorporated into politics.

Whilst these parties may not currently share as much influence as they previously have had, they nonetheless serve as exemplary actors due to their far-right articulations of the natural environment (Turner Graham, 2020, p. 58). Hence, understanding their ideology could inform comprehension of other far-right parties in the UK, and shed light on broader inquiries regarding the far-right and nature, thereby contributing to the greater discussion.

Source Selection

The critical discourse analysis shall make use of party materials issued by both the BNP and UKIP. This means that a variety of primary sources shall be utilised in order to best explore how the parties frame their nature discourses within the greater political context. In this framework party materials include manifestos, election leaflets, as well as party magazines, such as the *Voice of Freedom* from the BNP. Such variation was chosen to allow this thesis to gain a well-rounded overview of their narratives. This is because the different materials serve different audiences, and so have different purposes. This method of analysis hopes to account for that potential variability. For example, party manifestos have been understood to define a party's political identity (Halikiopoulou & Vasilopoulou, 2010, p. 586). But it is also important to recognise that election materials are created for the consumption of the greater public, with the purpose of attracting a larger vote share (Electoral Commission, 2024). Thus, it has been argued that manifestos have often represented a more palatable representation of policies to appeal to a greater section of the electorate. Nevertheless, manifestos are unique in that it is an opportunity for the party to express its beliefs as a whole, and thus represent the collective narrative of a party. Further, manifestos are formal documents that illustrate how a party chooses to portray itself externally, and so shall constitute a significant part of this thesis' analysis.

The analysis shall also involve the BNP's magazine and blog posts from UKIP. For these sources, the readership predominantly consists of current members, so it can be assumed that the framing of topics may vary. For example, in contrast to election materials, the purpose of blogs may be more to engage followers or foster dialogue. Further, the increased frequency of publications greatly enriches the analysis. The triangulation of sources enables the research to be approached from differing angles and hopefully increases the reliability of results.

The sources shall be selected between the years of 2009 – 2014. This timeframe also encompasses a national general election and two European elections, in addition to multiple local elections. As a result, substantial party materials will have been generated for varying contexts, in turn increasing the research's external validity. Further, this period witnessed the emergence and growth of the two parties. Studying the parties during their ascendance should provide insight into the ideological development and electoral strategies (Schlesinger, 2014). Also, within the greater context, this timeframe occurs directly after the 2008 financial crash and is characterised by an economic recession, oftentimes a fertile opportunity for the far-right

(Saul, 2015, p. 25). Thus, by using this timeframe to study the far-right and its relationship to nature, it could elucidate how the parties respond to prevailing socio-economic contexts.

Coding Frame

To guide the discourse analysis, a coding frame has been constructed, see *Figure 1*, a more detailed description is in the Appendix, see *Figure 2*. This shall divide the materials into differing categories, allowing for a close examination of the data (Halperin & Heath, 2017, p. 380). In doing so, the texts become organised according to thematic coherence, enabling relevant parts to be analysed together. For this research project, the initial categorisations were inspired by prior literature, such as the two main categorisations: intrinsic to ideology and political opportunism, alongside some of the sub-categories. However, as the coding process began, the framework evolved to become more encompassing, as new elements emerged. Consequently, it can be understood that a grounded coding process was undertaken (p. 381).

Figure 1

Category	Sub-category
Intrinsic to Ideology	Symbolically
	Aesthetically
	Materially
	Genuine Policy Commitment
	Ecological Imaginary
	Political Opportunism
Political Opportunism	Issue Exploitation
	Strategic Positioning
	Political Posturing

Analysis

Whilst analysing party materials from the BNP and UKIP, some interesting themes presented themselves. The analysis was guided by the coding frame (*Figure 1*), which allowed for

comments to be categorised coherently, yet still, anti-globalist, anti-modernist and anti-immigration themes appeared to underline many areas of policy.

The Aesthetics of Urbanisation

The aesthetic value of nature was by far the most salient categorisation within the coding framework. For example, the importance of the greenbelt was frequently emphasised by both parties (BNP, 2010a, 2010b; UKIP, 2010, 2013). Greenbelts are designated green spaces surrounding cities designed to restrict urban sprawl and thereby preserve national landscapes (Kühn, 2003). Its role in the prevention of urban sprawl aligns with the far-right's greater ideology of rejecting modernity, as it safeguards the traditionalism of rural villages. Consequently, greenbelts help to prevent rapid change, thus supporting fundamental far-right ideology. Alongside this, protecting the greenbelt, and by extension natural landscapes, feeds into the far-right's broader nationalist agenda, which often relies on the continuity and nostalgic value of the countryside (Turner Graham, 2020). By defending the greenbelt, the BNP and UKIP can present themselves as defenders of the nation's heritage and nature, whilst staying committed to far-right ideology. This is reinforced by their continued rejection of building on greenfield sites, with a strong preference for brownfield development plans (BNP, 2009, 2013; UKIP, 2013).

However, the emphasis shifts for both parties when discussing property development. Both parties identify the cause of the current housing deficit to be immigration. For instance, UKIP's 2010 manifesto states, "By controlling immigration, large areas of British countryside will not need to be destroyed by house building" (p. 11). Such framing suggests that greenspaces are being destroyed by immigrants driving the demand for housing projects. This cause-and-effect understanding bolsters their anti-immigration agenda, indicating that the protection of greenbelts and greenfield sites is no longer exclusively an environmental concern.

This is advanced by the BNP positing a "local connections test" (BNP, 2010, p. 9). This policy requires applicants for social housing to demonstrate a historical association with the area. By placing a high value on ancestral rootedness, this policy effectively excludes immigrants from accessing housing, thereby fostering a community grounded in historical continuity and rootedness. This approach aligns with both their anti-immigration stance and their broader ideological commitment to cultural and national homogeneity. Thus, the far-right's belief in the sanctity of nature can reinforce exclusionary policy.

This echoes the romantic notion of intergenerational responsibility, whereby Burke articulates that a generational attachment to a place shall lead to better care of it, arguing that this is the true meaning of conservation (Castellano, 2011, p. 75). The original meaning of this was founded on the class system, but it can be more clearly understood within the current far-right as a separation between foreigners and Britons. So here, the far-right respect for nature stems from the romantic tradition of rejecting modernity and is used to understand the current housing crisis.

Furthermore, such policies would also immediately appeal to rural constituents, where the protection of greenbelts is an especially local issue. Thus, emphasising the green belt as a concern could consolidate their base here. Generally speaking, the far-right does better electorally in rural Britain, so it makes strategic sense to maintain policies that directly affect current supporters (Neal & Agyeman, 2006, p. 99).

The Far-Right and Renewable Energy

The aesthetic value of nature was further present in far-right narratives as wind turbines were framed as a “blight to local landscape” (BNP, 2010, p. 9). The beauty of the natural landscape is positioned in contrast to the unnatural structure, whereby it is framed as visual pollution itself. The hostility towards the wind turbine could be interpreted as a rejection of globalism due to renewable energies' associations with international climate agreements, which are perceived to infringe national sovereignty. Yet, the BNP manifesto later demonstrates a commitment to renewable and quasi-renewable energy sources, as it can contribute to national energy independence (p. 61). Consequently, opposition to turbines may not arise from an anti-globalist perspective. Especially considering that the average voter probably is not considering globalised power structures when reading these materials, but rather; what will affect them, their village and their community. Thus, direct physical change to the local area is what drives opinion.

This concern is compounded as the BNP suggested forms of renewable energy are far less visually intrusive, such as wave and hydrogen (2010, p. 9). This is congruent with the aesthetic value they place on nature. The BNP's preference for specific types of renewable energy indicates a pragmatic approach to the local environment, as ecological preservation is balanced with nationalistic goals of self-sufficiency and the importance of unspoiled beauty.

However, this attitude highlights a major discrepancy between the two parties, as UKIP “calls for an immediate halt to unjustified spending on renewable sources” (2010, p. 10). This is

because they argue renewables have hiked energy prices and led to fuel poverty. The variability in support of green energy initiatives indicates that nature is not a primary concern for the parties once incorporated into their broader perspectives. Thus, it could be understood that renewable energies are not a fundamental tenet of right-wing ideology once incorporated into their broader perspectives, but rather an incidental concern used to further other aims.

It is also important to note is that throughout all party materials analysed, solar panels have not been mentioned. This is interesting as solar panels are also commonly associated as being a blot on the local landscape (Gill, 2023). So, if the rejection of turbines does stem from the aesthetic impact this has on the countryside and in turn national character, is interesting as to why solar panels have been omitted from the same levels of criticism, or even any form of comment.

Ecological Imaginaries

Policies and statements surrounding ecological imaginaries are also present for both the BNP and UKIP. A desire for small family-run farms was present, alongside the disapproval of industrial farming and genetically modified foods (BNP, 2009, 2010; UKIP, 2010). These policies embody a traditional ‘British way of life’, under threat by modern intensive farming techniques. It is a romantic position that aligns with the ideology of preserving a pure and authentic national identity. Small farms are considered important to the British countryside and heritage and thus deserve protection. Later policies by the BNP maintain this, arguing that “local farms will be used to supply nearby schools and hospitals with fresh produce” (2010, p. 60). Here, an eco-organicist understanding of nature is present, as a picture is painted of the local environment supporting and nourishing the local population. This would also stimulate local economies, as money is kept in the community and dependence on global agricultural markets is reduced.

Discourses connected to ecological imaginary are also present in the BNP’s quarterly magazine, the Voice of Freedom, as the writers refer to “a healthy environment for healthy people” (2009, p. 5). The healthy connection between the two implies that only a certain group deserves access to the environment. Such a holistic view could lead to exclusionary practices as the health of the landscape becomes linked to the strength of the nation. So, whilst environmentalism would become of significant importance, following this rhetoric, it would be a nationalistic and exclusionary form of environmentalism.

The narrative of the British nation being intrinsically tied to the land was a common theme found in the party materials. Comments such as “of British blood and British earth” (BNP, 2009, p. 11) were even present, echoing a highly Völkisch tone. This sentiment was expanded by explaining that it is the people of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, that are tied together by blood and earth. By viewing the devolved nations as a single entity, and excluding Northern Ireland from the narrative, it is evident that the far-right in Britain promotes an imperial strain of nationalism, through its understanding of the national landscape. Such cultural homogeneity implies an opposition to the separatist movements within the UK, as the far-right seeks to assimilate the distinct identities through the island(s) characteristics.

This serves a purpose beyond mere identification with nature; it supports a cohesive national identity that directly benefits a nationalist agenda. The sense of cohesion makes it easier to rally around a common narrative and mobilise voters. Additionally, promoting cultural homogeneity’ among the devolved nations helps resist multiculturalism by reinforcing an ‘us vs them’ narrative frequently found in far-right discourse (Mierina & Koroļeva, 2015, p. 183). So, it can be concluded that traditional forms of exclusionary ecological imaginaries are still present within the far-right, in the UK at least.

Global Climate Change

Global climate change (GCC) was frequently dismissed as a real threat, by both parties. Whether through scepticism or denial, both exhibited clear hostility towards the concept. In 2010, both parties rejected the anthropogenic causes of GCC and supported repealing the Climate Change Act (BNP, 2010, p. 62; UKIP, 2010, p. 11). This reveals a clear link between GCC and fears of globalisation. For example, the BNP argued that it is “the ‘climate change’ theory which holds that all western nations need to be stripped of their manufacturing base...” (2010, p. 10). A concern for the UK’s heavy industry is present, alongside the loss of sovereignty. Fears surrounding job loss now present climate change as a social issue, and the British worker is positioned in opposition to globalist climate policies. Sovereign control once again becomes a central concern, as it is perceived to be the primary way to protect these jobs from the impacts of international agreements. A similar rhetoric was identified by Agius et al (2020), with Trump who was heavily reliant on the white, blue-collar worker (p. 440). Trump constructed a narrative emphasising national control of America’s nature to benefit American greatness. This justified leaving the Paris Agreement, which was framed as imposing an unfair economic burden on the average American (p. 444). This parallel highlights a broader pattern among the far-right in Western nations, where GCC is viewed through a nationalist and

protectionist lens. Here, GCC discourse has been manipulated to appeal to economic insecurities and positions the far-right as defenders of nationalist sovereignty, as after all the global environment serves no purpose within far-right imaginaries.

The far-right in Britain argues that we got here as “mandated by the other parties’ adherence to the global warming theory” (BNP, 2010, p. 61). This has two primary implications, which are present in many of their policies. Firstly, the reference to “theory” could be understood as an attempt to undermine the scientific authority that usually follows the discourse. Alongside this, jargon often associated with the phenomenon is always referred to by UKIP and the BNP in speech marks, indicating that these are not terms they identify with, separating themselves from the rest of the political spectrum, which does adhere to the ‘theory’. Further, they blame the current establishment in a manner of strategic positioning as they stand in direct opposition to prior governments, which have applied climate-sensitive policies, and the EU, which is blamed for the expensive policies. This is underpinned by both parties on separate occasions claiming to be the *only* party that is sceptical of GCC.

However, it must be noted that the far-rights rejection of GCC does not undermine the importance they place on the local environment. As can be exemplified by UKIP who want “Divert billions of pounds of funding from wasteful global warming-related spending toward environmental improvements of real value.” (2010, p. 11). This underlines that respect for the local environment does not need to be affiliated with the global one.

Conclusion & Discussion

To conclude, a critical discourse analysis of far-right party materials in the UK supports the theoretical expectation that far-right invocation of nature is ideologically driven, as it facilitates the curation of identity, culture, and heritage. It can be seen that the far-right understanding of nature in the UK varies from that of the common understanding, and concerns are not uniform- but this does not mean that their relationship is simply superficial.

Nature often found itself thrown into greater debates, and whilst it featured in the party materials analysed, it rarely received policy priority. Rather, matters of environmental concern could be found within sections such as agriculture, energy, or housing. However, ideas surrounding nationalism, naturalism and romanticism were frequently articulated and could be established as the root of the discourses.

A fundamental digression could also be observed between how on the one hand, the far-right engaged with the protection of nature as *our* national countryside, emphasising its purity and beauty. On the other hand, they cast doubt towards transnational environmental issues, through GCC scepticism, for example. This dualism emerges from their commitment to nationalism which is undermined by such transnational policies. As such, far-right invocation of the environment and nature stems from the local, and the national- not the global.

The far right does not approach the natural environment purely as a strategy to attract a wider audience, nor as a simple object for exploitation, but perceives land and landscape as being deeply linked to the nation. Through this analysis, it has become evident that an innate understanding of nature for the far-right is fundamentally entangled with broader, exclusionary ideologies, resulting in policy that popularly would not be associated with nature. Environmental concerns are, though genuine in many cases, and not merely incidental, fundamentally of a subsidiary nature to the broader and exclusionary ideology that uses a form of weaponised environmentalism to support their primary ideological aims. For example, for the far-right in the UK, phenomena such as immigration are tied to nature, as it is viewed as a burden to British land, and by extension the British people. This conflation suggests that concepts such as ‘opportunism’ and ‘genuine interest’ are not mutually exclusive, but rather interconnected, highlighting the complex role of nature in political strategy.

This research has built upon the current academic understanding of the far-right in the UK and has contributed to building a stronger foundation for investigating their relationship with nature. However, this research is based singly on the UK and draws analysis from two parties, whose primary concern is that of the UK. So, the findings may not be generalisable internationally. Therefore, future research could be in the form of a comparative analysis of parties across countries to provide insight into how this relationship varies across cultural and political contexts. This would be especially interesting to include highly urbanised states to investigate what kind of variability this would produce. Further, the focus on parties, specifically the BNP and UKIP cannot be representative of the entirety of the British far-right, who also take up space beyond these specific political party structures. Thus, a focus on movements, either instead of: or alongside, established political parties could yield further findings, as movements often operate with different dynamics and strategies. Therefore, with the inclusion of far-right movements a more nuanced understanding of their invocation of nature may be achieved.

Appendix A, Coding Frame

Figure 2

Category	Description	Sub-category	Indicator
Intrinsic to Ideology	How is nature ideologically connected to the far-right	Symbolically	A claim to sovereignty
		Aesthetically	Enjoying ‘unspoiled beauty’
		Materially	Management of a nations land, in terms of the resources that can be produced
		Genuine Policy Commitment	Concrete policies in place, with nature as primary concern
		Ecological Imaginary	Propagation of ideas related to naturalism, organicism, and spirituality.
Political Opportunism	How is nature being used as a rhetorical tool to further alternate goals	Issue Exploitation	When current events are used for immediate gain
		Strategic Positioning	Opportunistic coalitions or non-alignments
		Political Posturing	When a political position has been taken, but it is not substantiated with policy.

Appendix B, Coding Frame with Materials

Source	Sentence	Code
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 106, 2009, (p. 5).	A healthy environment for healthy people.	Ecological Imaginary.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 106, 2009, (p. 5).	Ban on greenfield site house building.	Aesthetic.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 106, 2009, (p. 5).	An end to field trials of GM crops.	Material.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 106, 2009, (p. 5).	Restoration of our 200 mile fishing limit.	Material.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 106, 2009, (p. 5).	British ownership and control of British industry and resources.	Material.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 106, 2009, (p. 11).	Of British Blood and British Earth.	Ecological Imaginary.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 106, 2009, (p. 12).	The Tories, under Thatcher crippled our coal industry.	Strategic Positioning.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 109, (p. 14).	Born an Englishman and a BNP member. I emigrated to Canada 45 years ago and I still love and feel deeply for the Mother country.	Symbolic.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 109, (p. 15).	The sad decline of London's great parks.	Political Posturing.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 4).	The BNP demands an end to the destruction of Britain's green belt, caused primarily by housing demand fuelled through mass immigration.	Political Posturing.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 4).	The BNP will launch a "polluter pays" policy in the fight against environmental damage.	Genuine Policy Commitment.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 5).	The BNP rejects the "climate change" theory which holds that all western nations need to be stripped of their manufacturing base and pay untold billions to the Third World to build up their industries	Issue Exploitation.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 5).	The BNP will encourage the use of existing "brown sites" for all new building or industrial developments	Aesthetic.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 8).	The BNP will encourage the regeneration of the family farm as the core structure of Britain's agricultural sector.	Ecological Imaginary.

BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 8).	The BNP will promote British agriculture by gradually phasing out the EU's CAP subsidies and replacing them with a viable UK system.	Political Posturing.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 8).	The BNP will investigate the need for a massive soil reinvigoration scheme.	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 8)	The BNP will bring back our nation's traditional 200 mile coastal fishing exclusivity zone.	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 9).	The BNP rejects the notion that our nation's nuclear power stations should be owned by foreign investors.	Political Posturing
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 9).	The BNP will introduce a "local connection test" for any applicant seeking social housing in terms of which they would need to demonstrate a positive and historical link to the area.	Symbolic.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 9).	The BNP will stop the building of wind turbines which are inefficient and blight the landscape.	Aesthetic.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 9).	The BNP is committed to research into renewable and quasi-renewable energy sources and transmission systems, such as wave power, hydrogen fuel, and nuclear energy.	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 9).	The BNP will investigate clean-burning coal-fired power plants as another method of dealing with increased energy demands	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 9).	The BNP opposes the punitive taxation mandated by the other parties' adherence to the global warming theory and the "carbon credit" racket.	Issue Exploitation.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 10).	These expenditures which will be cut include the annual costs of £18 billion spent on "global warming,".	Issue Exploitation.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 24).	The Environment: Threatened by Mass Immigration.	Issue Exploitation.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 24).	Our 'green and pleasant land' is rapidly disappearing as Britain has become one of the most densely populated countries in the world.	Symbolic.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 24).	Mass immigration has fuelled this overpopulation. Official estimates predict that, if left unchecked, immigration into Britain will require a city the size of Birmingham to be built every five years and result in a total population of 90 million people by 2050. Already, immigration accounts for 40 percent of all new households established in Britain. More people equal more roads, services, utilities, travel, noise, congestion and pollution. The Optimum Population Trust has suggested that Britain is best suited to a population of 30 million people. Other forecasts suggest the population will shortly reach 70 million — due entirely to the demographic changes wrought by establishment politicians.	Symbolic.

BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 24).	The BNP will relieve the unbearable pressure on our green belts by ending immigration. This will, at one blow, remove the need for an extra four million homes in the green belts of England in particular.	Symbolic.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (pp. 24-25).	Institute Strict Anti-Pollution Measures to Halt Environmental Damage: Our ideal is a clean, attractive country, free of pollution in all its forms, including — where feasible — those of noise, light and congestion	Genuine Policy Commitment.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 25).	The BNP will work to do away with the stark modernism of 1960s-style socialist architecture which currently blights our towns and cities... replaced with a blend of aesthetically pleasing, traditional styles, made whenever possible out of local materials to retain the individual character of each region. To this end, we shall ensure that the traditional crafts and trades required to preserve the building styles characteristic of the UK receive the financial assistance of the Government. Thatchers, dry wall stone builders, masons, carpenters, and others will be promoted.	Aesthetic.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 44).	Englishness especially has been undermined in recent years, as has the entire concept of British identity, which embraces so much of the regional and national characteristics within these islands. As we have previously observed, the people of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland are bound together by blood and this close connection ensures an overlap of culture, heritage and tradition.	Ecological Imaginary.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 46).	The pub has in fact become part of our cultural heritage and has become as symbolic of Britain as the red telephone box or Dover cliffs In some areas it is because the indigenous British population has been ethnically cleansed and the new immigrant communities have no interest in maintaining that aspect of British culture.	Ecological Imaginary.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 57).	Transport projects should be designed in sympathy with the landscape and therefore utilise road tunnels where appropriate.	Aesthetic.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 59).	A healthy nation depends on a healthy environment and healthy food. The BNP envisages a strong, healthy agriculture sector and vibrant farming communities as essential to the nations' well-being.	Ecological Imaginary.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 59).	The New Zealand experience will be studied closely. We will work towards increases in food quality, from a nutritional viewpoint, and environmentally sustainable rural communities.	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 59).	Our ideal is to restore family farms in place of agribusiness.	Material.

BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 60).	We favour the establishment of sustainable, mixed agriculture based upon family farms employing high technology and sound husbandry.	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 60).	We favour healthier and sustainable organic farming.	Ecological Imaginary.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 60).	Local farms will be used to supply nearby schools and hospitals with fresh produce.	Ecological Imaginary.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 60).	Given the plundering of Britain's fishing zones in recent decades, we recognise that a degree of conservation may initially be necessary.	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 60).	We shall fund urgent research into the environmentally disastrous river, loch and estuary fish farms with a view to proposing constructive solutions	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 60).	The work of the Countryside Restoration Trust will be supported, publicised and promulgated.	Aesthetic.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 61).	We shall increase nuclear power generation with a view to providing 40 percent of the UK's energy requirements.	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 61).	The UK was once a world leader in nuclear power but the technology was discouraged by successive governments and exploited abroad. The last world-class British nuclear power company, Westinghouse, was sold by the Government in 2006.	Strategic Positioning.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 61).	The BNP is urgently committed to a policy of national energy independence, based, as far as possible, on renewable energy sources.	Genuine Policy Commitment.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 62).	Britain continues to possess significant reserves of coal, sufficient perhaps for several centuries depending upon the rate of consumption. We shall therefore support the construction and reconstruction of coal-based generation plants, with the most modern clean air technology.	Material.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 62).	We shall cease the pointless construction of inefficient wind turbines... part of our EU obligations.	Issue Exploitation.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 62).	We oppose the thesis behind 'carbon capture'. This is a technology that not only doubles the price of electricity but is undeveloped and potentially environmentally damaging.	Issue Exploitation.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 61).	We shall end the current government's policy of meeting Britain's Copenhagen obligations, which are based on the unproved science of 'man-made' global warming.	Issue Exploitation.
BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 61).	The BNP opposes the punitive taxation mandated by the other parties' adherence to the global warming theory and the "carbon credit" racket.	Strategic Positioning.

BNP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 62).	We shall repeal the ill-informed Climate Change Act and all related EU legislation that is detrimental to our interests, including the EU's Carbon Tax.	Strategic Positioning.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 137, 2013, (p. 11).	Ban greenfield site housing.	Aesthetic.
BNP, Voice of Freedom, Issue 137, 2013, (p. 11).	No more wind factories.	Political Posturing.

Source	Sentence	Code
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 4).	A 25-year programme of building nuclear power stations that will provide Britain with 50% of its future electricity demand.	Material.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 5).	As a member of the EU, Britain has lost control of her borders.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 10).	Increase nuclear power generation to provide up to 50% of our electricity needs. Because Britain's domestic energy plants are ageing and renewable energy sources have been shown to be unreliable.	Political Positioning.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 10).	UKIP accepts that the world's climate changes, but we are the first party to take a sceptical stance on man-made global warming claims.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 10).	UKIP now calls for an immediate halt to unjustified spending on renewable sources that has led to massive energy price hikes and fuel poverty.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 11).	Protect the environment by controlling immigration and the associated building demand.	Symbolic.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 11).	Repeal the UK's Climate Change Act and return to a Department of Energy.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 11).	Immediately repeal disastrous EU Directives such as the Large Combustion Plant Directive. The Directive threatens to put the lights out by closing a quarter of the UK's domestic coal and energy plants by 2015 without providing any realistic, working alternatives.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 11).	Stop funding the UN's International Panel on Climate Change and the UN Framework Convention, and fund the Met Office according to forecast accuracy.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 11).	Ban schools from using global warming propaganda such as Al Gore's film 'An Inconvenient Truth'.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 11).	Divert billions of pounds of funding from wasteful global warming-related spending toward environmental improvements of real value.	Issue Exploitation.

UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 11).	Ensure any large new wind farms are constructed offshore. UKIP regards onshore wind turbines and the accompanying power lines as eyesores in beautiful countryside.	Aesthetic.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 11).	Support the efficient extraction of indigenous coal for use in cleaner, coal-fired electricity generation plants.	Material.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 11).	Invest in more flood and coastal defences.	Material.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 12).	Introduce management of Green Belt land by elected 'Green Belt Conservators', like National Park managers, to vigorously conserve the environment while allowing appropriate economic activity, amenities and housing supply.	Genuine Policy Commitment.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 12).	By controlling immigration, large areas of British countryside will not need to be destroyed by house building.	Political Posturing.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 14).	Reassert our territorial rights, reclaim our fishing grounds, restore our fishing fleet and support our fishing industry for future generations.	Political Posturing.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 14).	We will continue to oppose production of GM food	Ecological Imaginary.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 14).	This will empower the consumer and demonstrate the high quality of British produce and UK animal welfare standards	Political Posturing.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 14).	Change legislation to allow the formation of a greater number of producer co-operatives	Material.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 15).	Ban all forms of industrial fishing and pair trawling for bass. Industrial trawlers have helped cause a catastrophic decline in key fish species.	Material.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 15).	Strengthen the UK's Fishery Protection resources to guard British fishing grounds.	Political Posturing.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2010, (p. 14).	UKIP will implement policies to ease key worries, breathe new life into the rural economy and enhance the countryside.	Political Posturing.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 18).	Electricity from offshore windfarms costs at least three times as much to produce as electricity from a gas-fired combined-cycle power station.	Political Posturing.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 18).	It may or may not be proved 20 or 30 years from now that global warming has been caused predominantly by mankind.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 18).	Leading chemical companies have warned the government that its energy policies will render them uncompetitive, leaving them to quit Britain for lower-cost countries.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 18).	UK's adoption of the EU's green agenda.	Strategic Positioning.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 36).	This island is made mainly of coal and surrounded by fish.	Material.

UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 36).	The global fishing industry suffers seriously from a much-analysed difficulty in economic organisation known as ‘the tragedy of the commons’.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 36).	The EU’s centralized control over fishing has been a disaster, both economically and in terms of environmental impact.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (pp. 36-37).	1.3 million tonnes of fish from the Atlantic north-east are discarded every year... this loss can be blamed on the CFP and the UK’s membership of the EU.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 37).	The squandering of nature’s bounty has been going on for many years.	Material.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 37).	The undoubted result of joining the EEC/UK was that the UK lost control of its territorial waters.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 38).	The UK has the best fishing grounds of any country.	Material.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 38).	The discarding of dead fish on an industrial scale is outrageous.	Material.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 38).	If discards are conservation, I’m a mad hatter.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Leaflet, 2012, (p. 38).	We are a nation blessed by abundant rainfall with a long history of high-quality and low-cost tap water.	Material.
UKIP, Isle of Wight Local Manifesto, 2013, (p.1).	Ukip are against mass house building. We want to protect the green belt and green spaces of our Island.	Political Posturing.

UKIP, Isle of Wight Local Manifesto, 2013, (p.1).	We are only major party that nationally campaigns against Wind Turbines. A Ukip administration would immediately impose a moratorium on all Turbines for the duration of the Council term.	Strategic Positioning.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2014, (p. 4).	Our green spaces are threatened by over-development largely brought about by the population pressure caused by mass immigration.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2014, (p. 4).	The 2008 Climate Change Act costs an estimated £18bn per year – that’s more than £500 for every household in the UK. We will scrap this Act.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2014, (p. 4).	EU renewables targets mean taxpayers’ money subsidises wind farms that require gas powered back-up when the wind doesn’t blow.	Issue Exploitation.
UKIP, Manifesto, 2014, (p. 4).	The EU Large Combustion Plant Directive will shut many vital oil and coal-fired power stations in 2015. OFGEM warns that plant closures could cause blackouts.	Issue Exploitation.
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