



**HATE**  
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**HOW TO BEAT**

**THE BREXIT PARTY**

# BREXIT PARTY CAMPAIGN CHEAT SHEET

1

The Brexit Party are dangerous and divisive. Nigel Farage is trying to rebrand, but years of inflammatory remarks mean that many voters will be motivated to turnout by pointing out the Brexit Party could have a decisive role in the next Parliament.

2

The Brexit Party exists to fight for a No Deal Brexit, which will spark a recession, cause medicine shortages, cost people their jobs, and make austerity look like a warm-up act. Most voters don't want this to happen!

3

Nigel Farage's far-right friends across Europe are toxic - reminding people who it is that Farage has allied himself with hurts him with key voter groups.

4

The party has attracted numerous extreme figures and people who promote extremist messages. These examples of outright racism, Islamophobia and antisemitism scare many voters away.

5

In communities devastated by 40 years of de-industrialisation and a decade of austerity, it is vital to focus on the fact that the Brexit Party have no solutions to these problems. As UKIP leader, Farage wanted austerity to go further, for the NHS to be privatised and for workplace rights to be scrapped.



# THE BREXIT PARTY ARE DANGEROUS AND DIVISIVE, BUT THEY CAN BE BEATEN



Photo: Facebook

**by Matthew McGregor, Campaigns Director**

When the Brexit Party comfortably won the European Elections in May they set off a political earthquake. They have dropped down the news agenda since Boris Johnson became Prime Minister, but the Brexit Party surge in the polls shows no sign of being a flash in the pan. Their role could be significant in a looming General Election, and it is possible that the party could have MPs in the next parliament.

But who are the Brexit Party, and how worried should we be?

The threat from this party is very real. Nigel Farage is dangerous, and has used racism and Islamophobia to stir up division. Farage's anti-migrant "Breaking Point" poster in the EU referendum of 2016 was condemned as "vile" by people from across the political spectrum.

He claimed he would be concerned if Romanians moved in next door to him. During the 2015 general election campaign, Farage became known for the "shock and awful"

TV debate strategy, in which he deployed misleading statistics about foreigners with HIV.

His rhetoric has been appalling. Following the Westminster attack Farage spoke of a “fifth column living inside these European countries” on Fox News. “If you open your door to uncontrolled immigration from Middle Eastern countries you are inviting in terrorism”, said Farage. Farage even spun the tragedy to condemn opposition to Trump’s proposed Muslim travel ban.

Farage’s far-right connections across Europe and the United States are absolutely toxic.

He has cosied up to extreme figures across the world. Nigel Farage has more in common with Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin than with the common sense values of British people.

Wherever he goes, he has found common cause with far-right populists. He has promoted the far-right AfD party in Germany, whose leaders have engaged in vitriolic Islamophobia and anti-immigrant campaigns. He campaigned for far-right French leader Marine Le Pen, despite having previously condemned her party for “prejudice and antisemitism”.

While Farage is, by far, the most high profile figure in the Brexit Party, he is backed by a party that is rife with bad actors.

The party’s first leader, Catherine Blaiklock resigned abruptly after being exposed by HOPE not hate as having an extensive history of social media racism and had

frequently retweeted neo-Nazi content. The party’s Treasurer was sacked after being exposed over antisemitic social media posts. A Brexit Party campaign coordinator was sacked after a newspaper highlighted his previous BNP membership.

Even after attacking UKIP for being taken over by the far right, Nigel Farage said that “there is no difference” between UKIP and the Brexit Party. Nigel Farage and the Brexit Party want to present a mainstream image but time and time again, people with extreme views have found their political home in this movement.

The threat of the Brexit party is partly electoral: they played a major role in the Peterborough byelection, and are likely to be a major factor in a looming General Election. We can expect that most, if not all of their candidates will hold rightwing populist views, at best. Needless to say, the presence of these people in the next Parliament poses a serious threat to our vision of a hopeful, tolerant country.

But the threat is not only electoral. By becoming a serious electoral threat, the Brexit Party is already moving the political debate. We need to provide our own pushback against their politics of division, and to help shape the pushback of other progressive forces. HOPE not hate and its supporters will play our part in that pushback.



Photo: Steve Bowbrick / flickr

# THE BREXIT PARTY: DANGEROUS AND DIVISIVE

**The Brexit Party has carved out a role on the hard right of British politics, arguing vociferously for the most extreme form of Brexit, and savaging opponents with the dangerous language of “betrayal”. Whilst trickling policies out, the party currently has no manifesto, but it is possible to ascertain what the party might push for if it secures the election of any of its candidates in a forthcoming election.**

**The Brexit Party is not a fascist or far-right party, unlike the British National Party, or what UKIP has become; saying otherwise at this stage would not only be factually incorrect, but would undermine our case against them. However, the party is rooted in dangerous and divisive populism, and has been shown to hold extreme and discriminatory tendencies within it, which have the potential to make their voices heard at the very top of the party.**



Photo: Facebook



## RACISM AND ISLAMOPHOBIA

Farage has historically sought to exploit anxieties around immigration and appeal to the racist vote.

From 2013, under his leadership UKIP adopted an increasingly anti-immigrant tone, and Farage's appeal to racism was on stark display during the EU Referendum, during which he worked with Leave.EU, of which Brexit Party Chairman Richard Tice was co-founder and co-chair. The campaign relentlessly sought to stoke fears around immigration, and shamefully exploited tragedies such as the Orlando nightclub shooting.

To take just a few examples, Farage has:

- Posed in front of the infamous 'Breaking Point' poster in the lead up to the EU referendum, which has been compared to

Nazi propaganda and is widely recognised as the low point of the entire campaign. Farage has to this day refused to apologise for it.

- Blamed immigrants for making him late to one of his own speaking events, stating "That has nothing to do with professionalism, what it does have to do with is a country in which the population is going through the roof chiefly because of open-door immigration and the fact that the M4 is not as navigable as it used to be."
- Told LBC radio in 2014 that "I was asked if a group of Romanian men moved in next to you, would you be concerned? And if you lived in London, I think you would be".

- Claimed that parts of Britain were “unrecognisable” and “like a foreign land”. He had also claimed he felt “awkward” when he heard people speaking other languages on the train.
- When asked who he thought should be allowed to come to the UK, he said: “People who do not have HIV, to be frank. That’s a good start. And people with a skill.” During the 2015 general election campaign, he deployed misleading statistics about foreigners with HIV in a TV debate.
- Defended US President Donald Trump after he retweeted a post from Britain First, the far-right anti-Muslim street movement that has carried out “mosque invasions” in the UK. Farage called the outrage “out of all proportion” and “ridiculous”. After Trump told four congresswoman of colour to “go back and help fix the totally broken and crime infested places from which they came,” Farage said the President’s comments were “genius”, that he “does things his way” and called him “a remarkably effective operator”.
- Following the Westminster attack Farage spoke of a “fifth column living inside these European countries” on Fox News. “If you open your door to uncontrolled immigration from Middle Eastern countries you are inviting in terrorism”, said Farage. He even spun the tragedy to condemn opposition to Trump’s proposed Muslim travel ban, stating “Surely an American audience seeing this horrendous thing happening in Westminster should start to say to itself that when Donald Trump tries to put in place vetting measures, he is doing it to protect your country”.



Whilst Farage is by far the most high-profile figure within the Brexit Party, there are multiple party figures who have been tarnished by racism, Islamophobia or antisemitism scandals. These include:

**Michael McGough, treasurer:**

McGough was sacked as Treasurer after *The Guardian* uncovered him using antisemitic tropes about David Miliband and Peter Mandleson (claiming they have “shallow UK roots” or were “devoid of UK roots”). He also referred to a foreigner as “someone from a bingo bongo land”, and also said many of the survivors of the Grenfell Tower fire were “illegal aliens enjoying an amnesty”. He also claimed that “if we had sharia law then surely most of the terrorist retards would be limbless as they all seem to have past criminal records for theft and violence”.

**Kevin Moore, campaign coordinator for the North West:** Moore was sacked after his past as a member and candidate for the fascist British National Party (BNP) was exposed by the *Manchester Evening News*.

**Noel Matthews, national election agent:** Matthews was uncovered by *BuzzFeed* to have posted an article sympathetic to far-right extremist Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson), founder of the violent anti-Muslim street gang the English Defence League. Matthews wrote that “Tommy Robinson Drew Attention to Grooming Gangs. Britain Has Persecuted Him”, and also claimed that “Islamophobia is a silly, made up word”.

**Ann Widdecombe MEP:** HOPE not hate revealed that Widdecombe appeared on the Richie Allen Show, a radio broadcast affiliated with conspiracy theorist David Icke that serves as an online platform for antisemitic conspiracy theorists and Holocaust deniers. Allen has also himself questioned the numbers of Jews that died in the Holocaust. Widdecombe appeared on the show three times between August 2017 and April 2019. Other guests on the episodes featuring Widdecombe include Kevin Barrett, an antisemite and 9/11 and 7/7 conspiracy theorist.

**David Bull MEP:** HOPE not hate revealed that Bull also appeared on the Richie Allen Show in 30 April 2019. Bull later tweeted that the experience was a “pleasure” and linked to his interview via the website Conspiracy Daily Update (a site which contains numerous links to the show of former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke and nazi Mark Collett). The following guest on the episode was Lana Lokteff, the American white nationalist and co-host of Red Ice Radio, the premier media outlet of the alt-right.

**Stuart Waiton, PPC:** The PPC for Dundee West and MEP candidate in Scotland was revealed by HOPE not hate to have made five appearances on Allen’s show between 27 June 2018 and 9 May 2019. Other guests on the show during Waiton’s appearances include Kevin Barrett.

**James Bartholomew, MEP candidate:** Bartholomew was uncovered by *The Guardian* to have repeatedly applauded the work of Charles Murray, author of *The Bell*



Catherine Blaiklock  
(Twitter)



Kevin Moore  
(Twitter)



Michael McGough  
(YouTube)

*Curve*, a notorious book on IQ and race, and claimed that majority-black urban areas were dominated by “a culture of physical violence, selfishness and predatory sex”.

**John Booker:** A PPC for Penistone and Stocksbridge and ex-UKIP councillor, Booker was revealed to have shared Islamophobic statements on Facebook in 2017, including that a screenshot of an email chain which suggests the US was “cutting its own throat” because it was “not fighting back” against increasing “Islamist” influence in the country.

**Mark Nash:** Announced as the party’s PPC for Moray, Nash was sacked after it was revealed he ran a blog in which he claimed mosques should be bulldozed and the “cancer” of Islam in the UK should be “crushed out of existence”.

**Suspended Conservatives:** In May 2019 *The Sunday Times* reported that Conservative members suspended for Islamophobia have campaigned for the Brexit Party, and that “activists supporting Nigel

F Farage’s new party have promoted bombing mosques, deporting imams and killing Muslims”. Incidents by former Conservatives who went on to support the Brexit Party include claims that “Islam is no different to Nazism”, joking about gun attacks at local mosques, and posting several “tears of joy” emojis in response to an article about the suffering of Uighur Muslims at alleged Chinese concentration camps.

**‘Brexit Party’ Facebook Group:** In August 2019 *The Times* revealed a Facebook group created by Brexit Party supporters, and used by activists to discuss canvassing, contained numerous instances of Islamophobia. The party denied links to the group but its members included at least four prospective parliamentary candidates and a Rotherham Brexit Party councillor (who was subsequently dismissed).

## SEXISM

**Nigel Farage:** Farage defended US President Donald Trump when recordings surfaced of him boasting that his status meant he could “grab” women “by the pussy”, claiming that it was “locker room banter” and “alpha male boasting”.

During his time as leader, UKIP adopted a policy to abolish statutory maternity pay. Farage has also claimed that women should “sit in the corner” if they wanted to breastfeed their children, in order not to be “openly ostentatious”.

**Ann Widdecombe MEP:** Whilst a contestant on *Celebrity Big Brother* in early 2018, Widdecombe claimed that the victims of Harvey Weinstein, the Hollywood producer who has faced numerous allegations of sexual harassment and assault, “had a choice”, stating “That’s on them. That was down to them”.

**John Tennant MEP:** *The Guardian* has revealed that Tennant made crude and obscene comments about women and children on Facebook.

**James Bartholomew, MEP candidate:** *The Guardian* has revealed that Bartholomew has supported benefit cuts for single mothers, a policy that he argued would reinforce “the shame attached to illegitimacy”.

**Martin Daubney MEP:** The leading Brexit Party figure and PPC for Ashfield was revealed by HOPE not hate to have spoken at the 2016 International Conference on Men’s Issues (ICMI). The ICMI was founded by A Voice For Men (AVFM), an organisation run by notorious

anti-feminist activist Paul Elam, who also spoke at the 2016 conference. Elam has repeatedly used violent language against women, for example, calling for the month of October to be renamed “Bash a Violent Bitch Month” (before claiming this was “satire”). AVFM also ran the now-deleted website Register Her, which posted personal details of women who were believed to have falsely accused men of rape, or were otherwise regarded as anti-men. Daubney defended Elam in 2015 as having “long been smeared” as one of “the internet’s biggest anti-feminist bogeyman”.

## PROMOTING THE FAR RIGHT ONLINE

HOPE not hate has revealed that numerous Brexit Party figures have shared content from far-right figures online:

**Paul Joseph Watson:** The far-right conspiracy theorist and Editor-at-Large of conspiracy theory site InfoWars has been retweeted by Nigel Farage, Farage’s press aide Dan Jukes and Michael Heaver MEP a staggering combined total of 877 times (695 of them Heaver).

**Mark Collett:** Collett, a former British National Party (BNP) figure and neo-Nazi who has frequently collaborated with former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke, has been retweeted by MEPs Martin Daubney and Lance Forman. The post retweeted by Forman features a picture of protestors following the Grenfell Tower tragedy, reading “Funny how the people who insist candles & peace vigils are the answer to Islamic terrorism are now ready to riot over a tragic accident.”

**Stefan Molyneux:** Farage, Daubney, Heaver, Jukes, Brexit Party head of press Gawain Towler and MEP candidate George Farmer have also retweeted Stefan Molyneux, a racist Canadian social media personality who, as the Southern Poverty Law Centre writes, “amplifies “scientific racism,” eugenics and white supremacy to a massive new audience”. Over the past year Molyneux has increasingly flirted with open white nationalism and antisemitism.

**Faith Goldy:** Farage, Jukes, Heaver and Nathan Gill MEP have retweeted posts by Faith Goldy, a Canadian alt-right figure who was fired from her role at far-right media outlet Rebel Media in 2017 after appearing on a neo-Nazi podcast. She has also recited the nazi “14 words” slogan in a YouTube video.

**Peter Immanuelson (AKA Peter Sweden):** Farage, Gill, Jukes and Welsh Assembly Member Mark Reckless have all retweeted Immanuelson, a far-right social media personality who has previously denied the Holocaust (although has since backtracked) and claimed that “Hitler had some good points”. Farage’s (now deleted) retweet claimed “There’s been 3 bombings in Sweden now in just 5 days. And you heard nothing about it in mainstream media. Trump was right about Sweden.”

**Stephen Yaxley-Lennon (AKA Tommy Robinson):** Jukes has retweeted several posts from Lennon, English Defence League founder, prominent anti-Muslim activist and serial criminal. The influence of Lennon on UKIP was stated by Farage as a major reason for his defection and the subsequent creation of the Brexit Party.



Paul Joseph Watson  
(YouTube)



Mark Collett  
(Twitter)



Stephen Yaxley-Lennon  
Photo: Hope not hate

## OVERSEAS CONNECTIONS

Key figures in the Brexit Party, most notably leader Nigel Farage, have connections to a number of far right and otherwise unsavoury figures overseas. Whilst the Brexit Party does not sit on a group in the European Parliament, with MEPs claiming a supposedly principled stance about not allying with the far right, the comments and actions of figures now prominent in the party show clear connections and/or sympathies for anti-immigrant and racist actors in Europe and the USA.

**Steve Bannon:** Farage is a longtime associate of the far-right actor Steve Bannon, former advisor to US President Donald Trump and former boss of Breitbart News Network.

Bannon was responsible for increasing the confrontational tone and anti-immigrant attacks of Breitbart, which became obsessed with the supposed decline of the West at the hands of liberals and Muslims. Farage formerly had a column at the outlet, and Brexit Party MEPs Michael Heaver and Martin Daubney have written for it numerous times. The Brexit Party's Press Officer, Liam Deacon, was a former key writer for Breitbart London when it was under the editorship of Farage's former advisor Raheem Kassam.

Farage has described Bannon as "my kind of chap", and has even given Bannon a portrait of him dressed as Napoleon Bonaparte. The day Article 50 was triggered, Farage thanked Bannon and Breitbart, saying they had "helped with this hugely." In a recent



Steve Bannon  
Photo: Gage Skidmore

video, Bannon offered Farage a role helping to "knit together this populist nationalist movement throughout the world" making reference to far-right Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and Phillipino autocratic populist Rodrigo Duterte, telling Farage that he thinks he is the "perfect guy" for the role. In the video Farage agrees the project is a "worthwhile thing".

**Roy Moore:** On Bannon's bequest Farage appeared at a rally in support of Alabama Republican candidate Roy Moore in 2017, stating that it took him "a whole ten seconds to decide to drop everything" and appear at the rally.

Moore's spokesman has said that he "probably" wants to make "homosexual conduct" illegal, and has claimed that Muslims should not be able to be members of Congress, claiming that Islam is "directly contrary to the principles of the constitution". Moore has also been accused of sexually assaulting multiple teenage girls, which he has denied.

Campaigning for Moore after these allegations, Farage claimed he had "absolutely no hesitation putting my support, and my backing, behind a man like Judge Roy Moore", and claimed that his election was "important for the whole global movement across the West that we have built up and we have fought for".

**Marine Le Pen:** Despite previously condemning the party for "prejudice and antisemitism", Farage openly supported the National Front (renamed National Assembly, or RN) leader Marine Le Pen in the 2017 French presidential elections. Farage provided her with a friendly interview with on LBC in March 2017, stating "she has a huge amount in common with firstly the Brexit campaign and secondly with President Trump". He also called her the "real deal".

RN has fascist roots, and remains extreme despite Le Pen's attempts to "de-demonise" its image. For example, in July 2018 Le Pen's advisor Jean Messiha told an interviewer that when it came to Muslim immigration into France "We are at war now. Our country is under invasion and we are fighting this invasion". A 2018 Al Jazeera investigation uncovered

extensive links between RN and Generation Identity, a far-right youth movement whose French branch received donations from the Christchurch terrorist.

### **Alternative fur Deutschland**

**(AfD):** Farage has campaigned for the anti-Muslim AfD at a rally in September 2017, being welcomed to the stage by top AfD politician Beatrix von Storch. Whilst at UKIP Farage also welcomed von Storch to his EFDD group in the European Parliament, saying "I've watched the rise of the AfD with fascination and interest, and I've been cheering from the sidelines".

The AfD is one of the most explicit anti-Muslim parties in Europe, arguing that Islam is incompatible with Europe, and von Storch herself has a history of anti-Muslim activity, for example accusing the Cologne police of appeasing "the barbaric, Muslim, gang-raping hordes of men".

**Victor Orbán:** Farage has claimed he "admires" Hungarian Prime Minister Orbán, calling him "the strongest and best leader in the whole of Europe", and telling Orbán to "Come and join the Brexit club, you'll love it!". Other Brexit Party figures have posted supportively of Orban on social media. Orbán and his party Fidesz have increasingly turned to nativist and authoritarian policies. The Council of Europe has called out Hungary for human rights violations in respect of the treatment of migrants, who have reportedly even been denied basic amenities such as food, as well as for new laws targeting the homeless (who are predominantly disabled, migrants, refugees and Roma). The European Parliament



(Photo: YouTube)

has also opened the possibility of sanctions proceedings after new laws were introduced threatening the independence of the country's judiciary and media.

**Alex Jones, InfoWars and Paul Joseph Watson:** Farage has appeared six times on InfoWars, the show of American conspiracy theorist Alex Jones, who has been described by the Southern Poverty Law Centre as “the most prolific conspiracy theorist in contemporary America”. Conspiracies forwarded by Jones include the claims that the 7/7 bombings were staged by the British government, and that the Sandy Hook school shooting was a “false flag attack”.

Michael Heaver MEP and Farage's comms director Dan Jukes are associates of Jones' protege Paul Joseph Watson, a far-right vlogger. Media Matters have uncovered Watson's claims that liberals are anti-science for not accepting that African and Middle Eastern people are more aggressive because they have lower IQs, stating “You can't deny that there are differences

between races when it comes to IQ”. Among Watson's numerous instances of Islamophobia is his 2015 claim that “there's no such thing as moderate Islam. Islam is a violent, intolerant religion which, in its current form, has no place in liberal western democracies.” Watson has also posted images of golliwogs online. HOPE not hate analysis shows that Heaver has retweeted Watson 695 times, Jukes has done so 151 times and Farage has done so 31 times.

**Jack Posobiec:** Farage and Jukes have been photographed with American far-right conspiracy theorist Jack Posobiec. A former host for the Canadian far-right platform Rebel Media who has been linked to white supremacists, Posobiec was a key promoter of the “Pizzagate” conspiracy theory, which alleged that a Washington DC pizzeria was a front for a paedophile ring that stretched to the top of the Democratic Party. Farage has retweeted content from Posobiec, as has Jukes and MEPs Heaver, Nathan Gill and Martin Daubney.

### DANGEROUS AND DIVISIVE

The modus operandi of Farage and the Brexit Party is to deepen existing divisions and exploit the crisis of mistrust in society. The Brexit Party has focused much of its energy towards savaging British institutions, which are presented as out of touch, elite, and often sinister, and claiming that failure to leave by 31 October amounts to “betrayal”. Below are just a few examples of this kind of dangerous rhetoric employed by Brexit Party figures.

**Nigel Farage**, prior to the founding of the Brexit Party, has claimed he would “don khaki, pick up a rifle and head for the front lines” if Prime Minister Theresa May failed to deliver Brexit “properly”, claiming “there will be widespread public anger in this country on a scale and in a way we have never seen before”. He has also referred to Nick Clegg and David Miliband as “quislings”, a term that has been used by several Brexit Party figures, including MEP John Longworth.

**Robert Rowland MEP** has been exposed by *The Guardian* calling for EU fishing vessels to be “given the same treatment as the *Belgrano*”, the Argentinian ship sunk by the British in 1982. Rowlands has also claimed at a Brexit Party event that “Parliament has abolished the referendum and declared war on the British people... There might not be tanks on the streets, but make no mistake: this is a coup against democracy”.

**Ann Widdecombe MEP:** In the first Brexit Party MEP speech in the European Parliament, Widdecombe likened the UK’s departure from

the EU to the emancipation of slaves, claiming “There is a pattern consistent throughout history of oppressed people turning on their oppressors, slaves against their owners, the peasantry against the feudal barons, colonies against empires, and that is why Britain is leaving”.

### STRUCTURE

Whilst the Brexit Party has painted itself as a “movement for democracy”, very little of it seems to exist within the party, which has been described by Farage’s ally and Tice’s former colleague Arron Banks as “almost a dictatorship at the centre”. The party has adopted a peculiar structure that sidesteps usual accountability for the leader, and essentially enables him to lead however he wants.

The party’s constitution, available on the Electoral Commission (EC) website, makes reference to a membership that “shall be open to any natural person who shares the party’s objectives and core beliefs”. However, at current the public can only sign up to be a paying “registered supporter”, rather than an official member. Whilst the Brexit Party claims to have amassed over 115,000 such supporters, they currently do not have a say in its leadership.

The constitution puts the Leader in charge of giving “political direction” to the party and responsibility for “the development of the Party’s policies with the agreement of the Board”. The party’s Board functions as its “principal management and administrative authority”, dealing with funds, structure and

employees, approving policies and conducting disciplinary procedures. The Leader's term runs for "four years", and can be elected for successive terms, and a motion of no confidence in the leader can only be passed by no fewer than five members of the Board.

However, this Board is to be made up of "between 4 and 8 Party members", who are appointed by the Party leader. The Leader also sits on the Board alongside the Chairman, who, of course, is also selected by the party Leader, meaning that Farage can fill the Board with yes men. Farage told *The Sunday Telegraph* in May that he is "running a company, not a political party", and that "The Chairman Richard Tice and I are not afraid to make decisions".



The Brexit Party Chairman Richard Tice  
Photo: I7p0h8o0n9e0 / wikimedia.org

## FUNDING

Additionally, the Brexit Party has employed a somewhat murky funding system. In June the Electoral Commission ordered the Brexit Party to overhaul its funding process, ruling that it was "open to a high and ongoing risk of receiving and accepting impermissible donations". The party had claimed that much of its funding came from small donations, and donations of less than £500 are exempt from the requirement of registering with the EC. Because it used payment systems such as PayPal, the party could potentially have accepted donations from foreign donors, who could have donated multiple times.

The party has also attracted a number of large donors, most notably the former Conservative backers Jeremy Hosking and Christopher Harborne, who have donated nearly £250,000 and £200,000 respectively. The party also received £100,000 from George Farmer, who unsuccessfully stood for the party in the European Elections in May. Farmer is the son of the multimillionaire former Tory treasurer, and also a former member of Oxford University's notorious Bullingdon Club, which also counts Prime Ministers Boris Johnson and David Cameron as former members. He also heads up Turning Point UK, the British branch of the pro-Trump American student organisation.

# UNDERSTANDING BREXIT PARTY VOTERS

THOSE WHO VOTED for the Brexit party in the recent European elections are not a homogenous group. To beat the Brexit party in forthcoming elections means understanding how they split, and how to get our messaging right.

We've identified about three groups of Brexit party voters. Around 10% are right wing libertarians – they want to privatise the NHS, do not support welfare of any form, encourage spending cuts.

Then there is a larger share of voters who would draw the line at extremely racist comments from

*People who voted for the Brexit party in the European Elections 2019 (n = 398 weighted). All figures, unless otherwise stated, are from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 1,705 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 30th – 31st May 2019. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+).*

party members and would be put off with an association with the far right – this supports their rejection



Photo: Facebook

of Batten and UKIP as the party has swung further right. At the same time, they don't see Farage himself as racist, and Farage's efforts to keep quiet on immigration under the Brexit party banner mean many in this group won't see a link.

Then we find a third group of voters who hold far more anti-immigrant and racist views, and see the far-left as a much greater threat than the far right.

Brexit party voters are united in that they are motivated by Brexit and are optimistic about a no-deal outcome. They like Farage because they see him as a plain-speaking, strong leader who is a real man of the people.

To beat the Brexit party, we can capitalise on these splits between their voters and supporters to target different groups. But we also need to understand that they are very dismissive of smears, in the same way they dismiss economic projections of the far right due to their anti-establishment motives. The majority of their supporters reject extremes, but draw the lines on racism further away than most.

## HOW THEY SEE FARAGE

- When asked what words they most associate with Nigel Farage, Brexit party voters are most likely to say plain speaking (55%) pro-Britain (45%), Patriotic (26%), Leader (24%), Man of the people (23%) or strong (18%). Only 2% would say far right, 4% would say extreme, and no Brexit party voters saw him as racist or anti-Muslim

- At the same time, almost as many think Farage is a divisive character (36%) as is not divisive (37%)
- 82% say Nigel Farage is not racist – 35% of the total population would say he isn't racist. Just 3% of Brexit party voters would say he is racist
- 80% of Brexit party voters say they think Nigel Farage would be a strong leader – only 3% think he would be a weak leader

## HOW THEY SPLIT

- 56% of Brexit party voters say they would think worse of the Brexit party if leading members were found to make racist and anti-Muslim comments. 30% said this would not shift their positive view of the party
- 42% of Brexit party voters say they would think worse of the Brexit party if leading members supported opening up the NHS to more privatisation. 30% said this would not shift their positive view of the party. 8% said this would actually make them think better of the party
- 38% of Brexit party voters say they would think worse of the Brexit party if the party aligned itself with far-right parties across Europe. But 34% said this would not shift their positive view of the party
- A third (33%) of Brexit party voters say they would think worse of the Brexit party if the party supported greater public spending cuts. But 39% said this would not shift their positive view of the party and 8% said this would actually make them think better of the party

# UNDERSTANDING BREXIT PARTY SUPPORTERS

## WHO SUPPORTS THE BREXIT PARTY?

To beat the Brexit Party, it is important to know what drives the people who might vote for them. An analysis of polling commissioned by HOPE not hate provides valuable insight into the views of Brexit Party supporters, where they stand on the key issues, and how they feel about the key personalities in British politics today:

*This article contains an analysis of those who said they hold a favourable view of the Brexit party (n=934 weighted) in our Fear & HOPE polling. All figures, unless otherwise stated, are from YouGov Plc. Total sample size was 6,118 adults. Fieldwork was undertaken between 26th April – 1st May 2019. The survey was carried out online. The figures have been weighted and are representative of all GB adults (aged 18+).*

- Brexit Party supporters are overwhelmingly anti-immigrant, hostile towards Muslims in Britain, but do not like the hard-core narrative of 'Tommy Robinson' or Gerard Batten.
- Despite the fact this voter block is highly likely to turn out to vote, they are very mistrustful of politicians.
- They are really followers of Farage: their trust in UKIP has degraded but they still hold Nigel in high regard. At the same time, they really want politicians to listen to them more, so his 'say what we're all thinking'

image is cutting through the reality of his background.

- They are, unsurprisingly, very Brexit motivated and very optimistic about what Brexit will bring.
- They feel betrayed by delays to Britain's departure from the EU and would not be put off if a campaign to stop the overturning of Brexit became violent.
- Brexit party supporters are not homogenous in their views. There are some clear splits between distinct groups of supporters in terms of their support for the NHS, support for welfare and zero hours contracts.

## WHAT THE POLLING SAYS ON THE KEY ISSUES

### Brexit

- Britain leaving the EU is, unsurprisingly, the most important issue for Brexit party supporters (60%), followed by immigration and asylum (35%), health (32%) and crime (30%).
- 84% of Brexit party voters want Britain to leave the EU without a deal. 13% want to leave on the terms negotiated by the Government, just 2% want to leave the EU but stay inside the customs union and single market.
- However, Brexit party supporters are incredibly optimistic about what Brexit will bring:

- Just 11% think that their personal economic circumstances will get worse in the next few years after Britain leaves the EU
- 30% think it will get better and 59% think there will be no change
- 57% think the economic circumstances of the country as a whole will get better
- 13% think they will get worse and 30% think there will be no noticeable change
- 84% think that the British economy as a whole will be better off after the UK leaves the EU, just 2% say they think the economy will be worse off
- 65% think that economic prospects for themselves and their families will be better after Britain leaves the EU, just 1% say this would be better if Britain remained an EU member
- 78% think that opportunities for children growing up today would be better if the UK leaves the EU – just 2% think these would be better if we remained

This is worrying given the predicted impacts of the hard Brexit these same people are seeking. A devastating impact on the economy that does not match up with their false hopes will see a rise in frustration, anger and anti-politics sentiment.

- The majority are already very angry about the delay to Britain's departure from the EU (89% compared to 35% nationally):
- 81% say that if it looked as though Brexit was about to be reversed, and Britain would

instead remain a member of the EU, they would support a campaign to ensure Britain does go ahead and leave the EU

- If as part of this campaign there were protests that then became violent, or threatened violence, 77% of those supporting such a campaign would not consider their view. Only 9% would reconsider their position.

### **Islam, immigration and multiculturalism**

- The great majority of Brexit Party supporters are extremely opposed to multiculturalism and immigration:
- 71% say that having a wide variety of backgrounds and cultures has undermined British culture
- 67% say that on the whole, immigration into Britain has been a bad thing for the country
- 73% say that Britain's multiracial society isn't working and different communities generally live separate lives.

They see multiculturalism as having a more negative than positive effect on both British culture (72% say negative, 12% say positive) and, to a slightly lesser extent the British economy (44% say negative, 30% say positive).

- They are extremely negative about the state of Britain today. When asked if they think that, overall, things now are better or worse than they were ten years ago, 76% say that things are worse for Britain as a whole. Just 22% think things are better for themselves and their families.

- 78% think that new immigrants are given priority ahead over established residents when it comes to benefits or using public services.
- Just 11% think that a sharp reduction in immigration after the UK leaves the EU will have an adverse effect on the British economy; 67% refute this.
- 42% feel very strongly that immigration has on balance made this country worse.

A large share of Brexit party supporters hold strong anti-Muslim views:

- 37% see Muslims extremely negatively, distinctly different from their view on all other religious groups
- 63% think that Islam is generally a threat to the British way of life. Just 14% think it is generally compatible
- When asked why, 44% said they saw Islam as a threat to the British way of life because Islam breeds intolerance for free speech and calls for violent actions against those who mock, criticise or depict the religion in ways they believe are offensive; 40% said so because they believe that Islam seeks to replace British law with Sharia law
- 79% think that Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation
- 63% believe that there are no go areas in Britain where sharia law dominates and non-Muslims cannot enter; only 12% disagree
- 48% say they would feel very uncomfortable if they passed a woman in the street wearing religious clothing that covers the face

- At the same time, slightly more think discrimination is a serious problem for Muslims in Britain today (32%) as deny this (31%).
- Brexit party supporters share an assimilationist view of integration which reflects their anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant views. The most popular intervention to improve community relations in Britain are banning religious clothing that covers the face, like the burqa (56%), controlling and reducing new immigration (47%) and compulsory English classes for all new immigrants (44%).

### **Values and identity**

- Brexit Party supporters think that British values are in decline (42% strongly agree that they are).
- Brexit party supporters are slightly more likely to identify as English (49%) than British (48%). The population as a whole is much more likely to see themselves as British (59%) than English (26%).
- Brexit party supporters are more optimistic about the future than the majority population: 49% are optimistic, 51% are pessimistic. 75% are happy with their lives so far.

### **Party affiliation**

- The majority of Brexit party supporters hold a very high level of support – on a scale of 1-100, where 0 means you absolutely would never vote for the party and 100 means you feel politically very warm towards the party, 75% place themselves between 90-100, 23% at 81 – 90 and 2% between 71-80.

- Most have a broken relationship with the Conservative party, feeling let down by delays to Britain's exit from the EU. A third (33%) feel strongly that they would absolutely never vote Conservative, while 14% say they still feel very warm towards the party.
- Most also have a broken relationship with UKIP: just 24% of Brexit party supporters felt very warm towards UKIP, with 29% saying that they would definitely never vote for the party.

### Personalities

- Brexit Party supporters have a very positive view of Nigel Farage. 64% see him very favourably. But they dislike Gerard Batten. Just 5% see him very favourably.
- The majority also oppose Tommy Robinson. 37% see him very unfavourably, while 11% see him very favourably – though this is over 5 times greater than the proportion of the population as a whole, among whom 2% see him very positively.

### Anti-politics

Brexit party supporters share a strong anti-politics and anti-establishment view:

- 83% think that political correctness is used by the liberal elite to limit what we can say
- 80% say that none of the main political parties speak for me
- 59% believe that the media and politicians work together to lie to the public

# 79%

**of Brexit Party supporters think that Islam poses a serious threat to Western civilisation**

- 79% think that political correctness is causing the police and media to deliberately play down the ethnic background of some child sex abuse scandals
- Just 4% say they think the political system works well
- 77% feel very strongly that politicians should pay more attention to voters views – more than the average person (50% of total feel the same way)
- Despite their support for 'strongman' politician Farage, just 6% feel strongly that politicians should lead the way, and not be swayed too easily by public opinion.
- 87% think that you cannot be proud of your national identity these days without being called racist, with only 11% agreeing that Brexit has enabled and legitimised prejudice towards migrants and ethnic minorities.
- 44% feel very strongly that discrimination against white people has become as big a problem as discrimination against non-white people. Just 8% feel very strongly that discrimination against non-white people continues to be far more significant than any discrimination against white people.

# NIGEL FARAGE'S FAR RIGHT FRIENDS

Sweden's far right and anti-immigrant Swedish Democrats were actively involved in Nigel Farage's Europe of Freedom and Direct Democracy group in the European Parliament.

Nigel Farage has supported far-right French leader Marine Le Pen, despite having previously condemned her party for "prejudice and antisemitism".

Nigel Farage has promoted the far-right AfD party in Germany, whose leaders have engaged in vitriolic Islamophobia and anti-immigrant campaigns.

Farage has spoken admiringly of Matteo Salvini, the leader of the far right Lega party.

Farage has claimed that he "admires" Victor Orbán, saying that he is "the strongest and best leader in the whole of Europe". Orbán is an authoritarian leader who called Muslim refugees "invaders".