

RESEARCHING THE FAR RIGHT

Researching the Far Right brings together researchers from across the humanities and social sciences to provide much needed discussion about the methodological, ethical, political, personal, practical and professional issues and challenges that arise when researching far right parties, their electoral support, and far right protest movements.

Drawing on original research focussing mainly on Europe and North America over the last 30 years, this volume explores in detail the opportunities and challenges associated with using ethnographic, interview-based, quantitative and online research methods to study the far right. These reflections are set within a wider discussion of the evolution of far right studies from a variety of disciplinary viewpoints within the humanities or the social sciences, tracing the key developments and debates that shape the field today.

This volume will be essential reading for students and scholars with an interest in understanding the many manifestations of the far right and cognate movements today. It also offers insight and reflection that are likely to be valuable for a wider range of students and scholars across the humanities and social sciences who are carrying out work of an ethically, politically, personally, practically and professionally challenging nature.

Stephen D. Ashe is a researcher working on racism, class, the far right, anti-racism and anti-fascism, institutional whiteness and racial inequality in higher education and workplace racism.

Joel Busher is an Associate Professor at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations (CTPSR), Coventry University, UK.

Graham Macklin is a Postdoctoral Fellow/Assistant Professor at the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo, Norway.

Aaron Winter is Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of East London, UK.

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RESEARCHING THE FAR RIGHT

Theory, Method and Practice

*Edited by Stephen D. Ashe, Joel Busher,
Graham Macklin and Aaron Winter*

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CONTRIBUTORS

Stephen D. Ashe is a researcher working on racism, class, the far right, anti-racism and anti-fascism, institutional whiteness and racial inequality in higher education and workplace racism. His recent publications include *Reframing the 'Left Behind': Race and Class in Post-Brexit Oldham* (co-authored with James Rhodes and Sivamohan Valluvan) and *Racism Ruins Lives: An Analysis of the 2016–2017 Trade Union Congress Racism at Work Survey* (co-authored with Magda Borkowska and James Nazroo). Stephen is currently working towards completing his monograph, *The Rise and Fall of the British National Party: A Sociological Perspective*, for the Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right Series. He has published articles in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Race & Class* and *Discover Society*.

Chip Berlet juggles being a journalist, scholarly researcher, and progressive movement activist. In the mid-1970s Berlet was recruited into the Public Eye Network, which was founded by a group of progressive investigative reporters, licensed private investigators, paralegal investigators, attorneys, and activists who shared information about political repression and right-wing movements. The network helped launch the *Public Eye Magazine*. Moving to Chicago in 1978 he and his spouse bought a house in a predominantly White working-class southwest-side neighborhood where a neonazi alliance with the Ku Klux Klan was fighting racial integration. They spent ten years working with the Southwest Community Congress battling White supremacist violence. In Chicago, Berlet was hired to work as a paralegal investigator on lawsuits against illegal government spying. From there he was hired in 1981 by professor Jean V. Hardisty as researcher at what became Political Research Associates where he worked for the next 30 years. PRA now publishes the *Public Eye Magazine*.

Kathleen Blee is Distinguished Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh, USA. She has published widely on US white supremacy, including the

books *Understanding Racist Activism* (Routledge, 2017), *Inside Organized Racism* (2002); *Women of the Klan* (1991), and *Women of the Right*, coedited with Sandra Deutsch (2012).

Joel Busher is an Associate Professor at the Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations (CTPSR), Coventry University, UK. His primary research interests are in the social ecology of political violence; far right and anti-minority politics; and the enactment of counter-terrorism policy and its societal impacts. He has published extensively on these topics, and his book, *The Making of Anti-Muslim Protest: Grassroots Activism in the English Defence League* (Routledge), was awarded the British Sociological Association's Philip Abrams Memorial Prize. He is currently an associate editor at *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*; a member of the editorial board of *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*; and a member of the editorial board for the McGill-Queen's University Press book series, 'Power, Protest and Resistance'.

Tereza Capelos is Senior Lecturer in Political Psychology at the University of Birmingham, UK and incoming Director of the Institute for Conflict Cooperation and Security (ICCS). Her research examines the psychological micro-foundations of political judgement and behaviour, focusing particularly on political emotions and motivational processes during international crises and tensions. Tereza is co-Convener of the Political Psychology Standing Group of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), Co-Editor for the Palgrave Series in Political Psychology, past vice president of the International Society of Political Psychology (ISPP) and founder of the ISPP Summer Academy.

Nigel Copsey is Professor of Modern History at Teesside University, UK. His primary areas of research interest are fascism, neo-fascism and anti-fascism. Recent publications on fascism include *Cultures of Post-War British Fascism* (2015) (co-edited with John Richardson) and *'Tomorrow Belongs to Us': The British Far Right since 1967* (2018) (co-edited with Matthew Worley). He co-edits the Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right series with Graham Macklin.

Guido Dijkstra received his bachelor degrees in Political Science and History at VU University Amsterdam and his master's degree in Political Science at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. He is currently employed as an information specialist at the Christian University of Applied Sciences in Ede, the Netherlands. In this role he provides information services supporting research and education for both staff and students. He previously worked as a junior lecturer in research methodology at VU University Amsterdam. His primary research interests lie in the field of political sociology, political history and research methodology.

Betty A. Dobratz is Professor of Sociology at Iowa State University, USA. She received her PhD from the University of Wisconsin. She is first author of *White*

Power, White Pride! The White Separatist Movement in the U.S. and Power, Politics, and Society as well as numerous journal articles. Her research publications have focused on social inequality and political sociology including white power groups, Greek and American politics, and political graffiti in various nations. She has co-edited the *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*, *Research in Political Sociology*, and *The Sociological Quarterly*.

Katrine Fangen is a professor in sociology at the Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo, Norway. Her magister thesis on anarchists, communists and neo-Nazis in Eastern Germany was based on half a year of fieldwork during the time of the reunification of the two German states (in 1990). Her prize awarded doctoral (Dr. Polit.)-thesis was based on fieldwork among Norwegian neo-Nazis (1993–1994), including life-story interviews and analyses of fanzines and other paraphernalia. Following her PhD she has worked as a migration researcher at FAFO social research institute, and thereafter as a post doc at the University of Oslo with a project on identity formations, citizenship and coping strategies among Norwegian-Somalis. Then she initiated and coordinated a 3-year EU funded international research project analysing the multidimensional processes of inclusion and exclusion among young adult immigrants and descendants in seven European countries. During recent years, her main research topics have been right-wing populism, anti-Islamism, and nationalism. Fangen has been the sole author and co-editor of several books in methodology, and has published a range of books and articles in the fields of far right studies, migration studies and youth research.

Vasiliki Georgiadou is a Professor of Political Science at the Department of Political Science and History, Panteion University, Greece. She studied Political Science in Athens and in Münster, Germany and she holds her PhD from the University of Münster. Her research interests focus on far right parties, populism, radicalism and political extremism. She is the director of the Centre for Political Research at the Panteion University and a member of the Editorial Board of *Science and Society: Journal of Political and Moral Theory*. She was Principal Investigator of the research programme “Examining xenophobia in Greece during the economic crisis: A computational perspective” (European Economic Area Financial Mechanism/EEA-Grants) (2015–2017). She is author (in German) of *Non-capitalist Aspects of Development in Greece in the 19th Century* (1991) and (in Greek) of *The Far Right and the Consequences of Consensus: Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, Germany* (Kastaniotis, 2008). Her articles appear, among others, in *Electoral Studies*, *Party Politics*, *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, *Revue des Sciences Sociales*, *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, *The Greek Journal of Political Science*.

Annett Graefe-Geusch is a PhD candidate in International Education at New York University (NYU), USA, and is currently writing her dissertation on diversity management in Berlin’s ethics instruction focusing specifically on the treatment of minority religions from a teachers’ perspective. Her interests include the

intersections of migration, diversity and education, and school change driven by demographic variation.

Peter Hervik is a media anthropologist and migration studies scholar, who currently works as a Research Professor at the new Free University in Copenhagen, Denmark. He is the head of the team research project SERR (Study of Experiences and Reactions to Racialization in Denmark) (2015–2020). Originally trained at the University of Copenhagen, he also worked at the University of Oslo, Norway, Malmö University, Sweden, Aalborg University, Denmark and Hitotsubashi University, Japan. After anthropological dissertation fieldwork among the Yucatec Maya in Mexico, in the mid-1990s Hervik began studying the media coverage and popular understandings of ethnic and religious issues in Denmark and the other Nordic countries. Thus, his publication *The Annoying Difference. The Emergence of Danish Neonationalism, Neoracism, and Populism in the Post-1989 World*. (2011) follows the evolvement of neo-nationalism, neo-racism, the far right, populism and more in Denmark in a 20-year span. Other publications include: *Mayan Lives Within and Beyond Boundaries. Social Categories and Lived Identity in Yucatan* (1999); *Medierne muslimere*. [Muslims of the Media] (2002); *Can Behaviour Be Controlled? Women in Post-Revolutionary Egypt* (with Mette Toft Nielsen) (2017); *Racialization, Racism and anti-Racism in the Nordic Countries* (editor). (2019).

Anders Ravik Jupskås is a senior researcher and deputy director at the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at the University of Oslo, Norway. His research focuses on right-wing extremism, populism, political mobilization. He is currently part of a project on Far Right Politics Online and Societal Resilience (FREXO). He has published in *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *Swiss Political Science Review*, and authored several book chapters in recently published edited volumes on radical right parties in Europe.

Catarina Kinnvall is Professor at the Department of Political Science, Lund University, Sweden. She is the current Editor-in-Chief of the journal *Political Psychology* and the former vice president of the *International Society of Political Psychology*, as well as the co-editor for the Palgrave Series in Political Psychology. Her research interests involve political psychology, international relations and critical security studies, with a particular focus on gender, migration, radicalization and populism in Europe and South Asia.

Bert Klandermans is Professor in Applied Social Psychology at the Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, the Netherlands. He has published extensively on the social psychology of protest and social movement participation. He is the author of the now classic *Social Psychology of Protest* (1997). He is the editor and co-author (with Suzanne Staggenborg) of *Methods of Social Movement Research* (2002) and (with Nonna Mayer) of *Extreme Right Activists in Europe* (Routledge, 2006). With Conny Roggeband he edited the *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines* (2007).

He is co-editor of the *Encyclopedia of Social Movements* and of *The Future of Social Movement Research. Dynamics, Mechanisms, and Processes* (2013). He was the PI of large-scale comparative studies of contentious political action. In 2009 he received a royal decoration for his efforts to link science and society. In 2013 he received the Harold Lasswell Award of the International Society of Political Psychology for his lifelong contribution to political psychology. In 2014 he received the John D. McCarthy Award from Notre Dame University for his contribution to the study of social movements and collective action.”

Ofra Klein is a PhD researcher at the European University Institute in Florence, Italy. She holds degrees in Sociology, Political Science, and Digital Humanities. She previously worked as a research assistant at VU University Amsterdam and the Berkman Klein Center for Internet and Society at Harvard University. Her research interests are in the field of online political mobilization.

Mehr Latif is a Post-doctoral Associate at the University of Pittsburgh, USA. She is currently contributing to research on white supremacist groups within the United States, including “Why White Supremacist Women Become Disillusioned, and Why They Leave,” co-authored with Kathleen Blee, Matthew DeMichele, Pete Simi, and Shayna Alexander (*Sociological Quarterly*, 2019); “How Emotional Dynamics Maintain and Destroy White Supremacist Groups,” coauthored with Kathleen Blee, Matthew DeMichele, and Pete Simi (*Humanities & Society*, 2018); and “Do White Supremacist Women Adopt Movement Archetypes of Mother, Whore, and Fighter?” coauthored with Kathleen Blee, Matthew DeMichele, and Pete Simi (*Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, forthcoming).

Graham Macklin is a Postdoctoral Fellow/Assistant Professor at the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo, Norway. He has published extensively on extreme right-wing and anti-minority politics in Britain in both the inter-war and post-war periods. Major publications include *Very Deeply Dyed in the Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism after 1945* (2007) and *Failed Führers: A History of Britain’s Extreme Right* (2020). His current work focusses on transnational right-wing networks, extreme right-wing terrorism and political violence. He co-edits the *Patterns of Prejudice, Fascism* and, with Nigel Copsey, the Routledge Studies in Fascism and the Far Right book series.

John Douglas Macready is a Professor of Philosophy at Collin College in Plano, TX, USA. His work focuses on critical issues in social and political philosophy with specific attention paid to the philosophy of human rights. He is the author of *Hannah Arendt and the Fragility of Human Dignity* (2018).

Geoff Manzi is a Professor of Philosophy and an Honors Faculty Fellow at Richland College in Dallas, TX, USA. He has previously taught at Loyola Marymount University, the University of Dallas, and North Lake College.

Nonna Mayer is Research Professor Emerita at CNRS affiliated to the Centre for European Studies and Comparative Politics of Sciences Po. She chaired the French Political Science Association from 2005 to 2016 and has been a member of the National Consultative Commission for Human Rights since 2015. Her main research topics are right-wing extremism, electoral behaviour, racism and anti-Semitism. Recent publications include: “The impact of gender on the Marine Le Pen vote,” *Revue française de science politique*, 67(6), 2017 (with A. Amengay and A. Durovic); “The Radical Right in France”, in J. Rydgren (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right*, (2018); “The political impact of social insecurity in France,” *Partecipazione e conflitto*, 11(3), 2019; “The ‘losers of automation’: A reservoir of votes for the radical right?,” *Research & Politics*, 6(1), 2019 (with Z.J. Im, B. Palier, J. Rovny).

Pasko Kisić Merino holds an MSc degree in Global Studies from Lund University, Sweden, and his research is focused on the relationship between far-right mobilisation and discourses, social media massification, and radicalisation processes. He is the Editorial Manager for the journal *Political Psychology*, and has performed research on security, strategic planning, and socioeconomic development for Lund University, the UNDP, the United Nations Evaluation Group (UNEG), UNICEF, governmental agencies in Peru, as well as development organisations in Peru and Sweden.

Cynthia Miller-Idriss is Professor of Education and Sociology and Director of Research in the Center for University Excellence (CUE) at the American University in Washington, DC, USA, where she leads the Polarization and Extremism Research and Intervention Lab (PERIL). Dr. Miller-Idriss has spent over two decades researching far right youth culture and symbols, most recently through a focus on aesthetic mainstreaming and style. Her most recent books are *The Extreme Gone Mainstream: Commercialization and Far Right Youth Culture in Germany* (Princeton University Press, 2018) and *Hate in the Homeland: The New Spaces and Places of Far Right Extremism* (under contract). In addition to her academic work, Dr. Miller-Idriss writes frequently for mainstream audiences and appears regularly in the media as an expert source and political commentator.

Aurelien Mondon is a Senior Lecturer in politics at the University of Bath, UK. His research focuses predominantly on the impact of racism and populism on liberal democracies and the mainstreaming of far right politics through elite discourse. His first book, *The Mainstreaming of the Extreme Right in France and Australia: A Populist Hegemony?*, was published in 2013 and he recently co-edited *After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech* published with Zed. His latest book, *Reactionary Democracy: How Racism and the Populist Far Right Became Mainstream*, co-written with Aaron Winter, was published by Verso in 2020.

Jasper Muis is employed as assistant professor at the Sociology Department of the VU University Amsterdam, the Netherlands. He graduated in Sociology at the

Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands. His doctoral dissertation (cum laude) about the rise of right-wing populism in the Netherlands received the Research Prize of the Praemium Erasmianum Foundation. His primary research interests include the far right, protest behaviour, and research methodology.

Andreas Önnarfors is Associate Professor in the History of Sciences and Ideas at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Specializing in the intellectual history of the eighteenth-century, he has published widely on trans-cultural relations, press history and organized sociability, in particular freemasonry and other fraternal orders. He has recently developed a new research field in the study of the European New Right where he has focused on radicalization, in particular linguistic framings and the relationship between online- and offline-mobilization in Germany. Önnarfors frequently features in Swedish and European press and regularly writes columns for the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right (UK). Since 2016, he has been a member of a European research group devoted to the study of conspiracy theories. Recent publications include *Freemasonry – A Very Short Introduction* (2017) and *Expressions of Radicalization: Global Politics, Processes and Practices*, together with Kristian Steiner (2018).

Barbara Perry is a Professor in the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities at Ontario Tech University, and the Director of the Centre on Hate, Bias and Extremism. She has written extensively on social justice generally, and hate crime specifically. She has also published in the area of Native American victimization and social control, including one book entitled *The Silent Victims: Native American Victims of Hate Crime*, and *Policing Race and Place in Indian Country: Over- and Under-enforcement*. She was the General Editor of a five volume set on hate crime (Praeger), and editor of *Volume 3: Victims of Hate Crime* of that set. Dr. Perry continues to work in the area of hate crime, and has made substantial contributions to the limited scholarship on hate crime in Canada, including work on anti-Muslim violence, hate crime against LGBTQ communities, the community impacts of hate crime, and right-wing extremism in Canada. She is regularly called upon by policy makers, practitioners, and local, national and international media as an expert on hate crime and right-wing extremism.

Vidhya Ramalingam has focused much of the past decade working to respond to far right extremism and terrorism. In 2010, she carried out fieldwork with far right movements in Sweden. Following the 22nd July 2011 attacks in Norway, she led the European Union's first inter-governmental initiative on far-right extremism, initiated by the Governments of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and the Netherlands, and launched by the EU Commissioner for Home Affairs. She worked with hundreds of practitioners in 10 European countries to design policy, initiate projects, and build capacity to respond to far-right extremism. In 2015, Vidhya co-founded Moonshot CVE, an organisation that uses technology to disrupt and counter violent extremism globally. She directs overall strategy and oversees campaigns, software development, and digital projects in over 25 countries. She has held various roles including Commissioning Panellist for the UK Security and Intelligence agencies and Economic and

Social Research Council (ESRC), Research Associate at the School of Anthropology at the University of Oxford, and Board Member of Life After Hate. She was previously Senior Fellow on Far Right Extremism at the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD), and Senior Research Fellow on Migration & Communities at the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR).

Jacob Aasland Ravndal is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) at the University of Oslo, Norway. Ravndal has published extensively on right-wing terrorism and militancy in Western Europe, with a particular focus on the Nordic countries. He has also developed the RTV dataset – an open access dataset documenting right-wing terrorism and violence in Western Europe since 1990. Ravndal's current research interests include the relationship between left- and right-wing militancy, terrorist tactics, and how ideas, emotions and relations shape violent extremist behaviour.

Peita L. Richards is a doctoral candidate at the Australian Graduate School of Policing and Security, Charles Sturt University, Australia. Her PhD portfolio applies social psychological theory to the understanding of online behaviours of the far right, predominantly in the United States. Peita holds a Bachelors degree in political science, history and psychological science, with a Masters in International Relations (Hons) majoring in international law and security. She is the recipient of the Australian Graduate Research Training Program scholarship for Higher Degree Research. Peita has previously received bursaries for new scholars in digital humanities, undergraduate and postgraduate travel scholarships. Peita's expertise focuses on the impact of social behaviour on policy, with an interest in online mediums in facilitating participation, the normalization of the far right, and factors influencing the intelligence and national security policy spheres.

Lamprini Rori is a Lecturer in Politics at the University of Exeter, UK. She has previously been a Leventis Fellow in Modern Greek Studies at Oxford University and a Marie Curie (Intra-European) Fellow at Bournemouth University. She holds a PhD in Political Science from Université Paris I, Panthéon-Sorbonne. Her thesis examined how the professionalization of political communication affected the organizational change of socialist parties in Europe and most particularly in France and Greece from mid-1970s to 2012. She is currently the Principal Investigator of the LSE grant 'Low-intensity violence in crisis-ridden Greece. Evidence from the radical right and the radical left', Early Career Fellow at the British School at Athens, Research Associate at SEESOX, and Media Officer of the Greek Politics Specialist Group of the PSA. Her research focuses on the far-right in Europe, radicalization, radicalism and political violence, the role of emotions in political behaviour, mass media effects, and the dynamics of political networks in social media. She has worked for research projects on political behaviour in crisis-ridden Greece and the Greek diaspora. Her publications appear, among others, in *West European Politics*, *Electoral Studies*, *Party Politics*, *Pôle Sud*.

Costas Roumanias is an assistant professor in Economics and Politics at the Department of International and European Studies, Athens University of Economics and Business, Greece. He holds a DPhil in Economics from the University of Oxford. His research interests involve areas of political economy, particularly games and empirics of elections, the far right and political extremism, applied auction theory and behavioral economics.

Ryan Scrivens is an Assistant Professor in the School of Criminal Justice at Michigan State University, USA. He is also a Research Fellow at the VOX-Pol Network of Excellence and a Research Associate at the International CyberCrime Research Centre at Simon Fraser University. Ryan conducts problem-oriented interdisciplinary research, with a focus on the local, national, and international threat of terrorism, violent extremism, and hatred as it evolves on- and offline. His primary research interests include terrorists' and extremists' use of the Internet, right-wing terrorism and extremism, combating violent extremism, hate crime, and computational social science. His research has been funded by Public Safety Canada, the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society, and VOX-Pol. He has presented his findings before the Swedish Defence Research Agency in Stockholm, the Centre of Excellence for National Security in Singapore, and the United Nations in New York City and Vienna. His work has also been featured in over 100 news stories (television, radio, print) and covered by an array of national and international media sources. Ryan earned a PhD in criminology from Simon Fraser University in 2017.

Amy Fisher Smith is a licensed clinical psychologist and chair of the Department of Psychology at the University of Dallas. She has served on the executive committee of Division 24 of the American Psychological Association, *The Society for Theoretical and Philosophical Psychology* for more than a decade in various capacities, and currently serves on the editorial board of the Division 32 journal, *The Humanistic Psychologist*. Her research interests include Holocaust and Genocide studies and the psychology of terrorism and conflict, specifically deradicalization from extremist groups.

Charles R. Sullivan is Associate Professor of History at the University of Dallas, USA, and former chair of its Department of History. He is also Associate Professor in the Department of Human and Social Sciences and Director of Braniff Graduate School's Master in Leadership program. His most recent work has examined challenges in contemporary Holocaust education, the political philosophy of anti-totalitarianism in mid-twentieth-century Europe, the dynamics of Alt-Right movements in the Russian Federation, and processes of de-radicalization from far-right extremism.

John W.P. Veugelers is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Toronto, Canada. A political sociologist, he has written widely on the far right, immigration politics, social movements, and voluntary associations in Canada,

France, and Italy. A recipient of awards for outstanding teaching at the University of Toronto, he has been a visiting professor at universities in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and a visiting fellow at the Camargo Foundation in Cassis, France. His articles have appeared in a range of scholarly journals (including *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *International Sociology*, *British Journal of Sociology*, *Comparative European Politics*, *European Journal of Political Research*, *Current Sociology*, *Acta Sociologica*, and *West European Politics*) and he is the author of *Empire's Legacy: Roots of a Far-Right Affinity in Contemporary France* (2020).

Lisa K. Waldner is a Professor of Sociology and Associate Dean for the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minnesota, USA. She received her PhD from Iowa State University. She has published on a variety of topics including intimate partner violence, sexual coercion, antigay hate crimes, political graffiti, and right-wing extremism. With Betty Dobratz she co-edited *The Sociological Quarterly* from 2012–2016; with both Betty Dobratz and Timothy Buzzell, she co-edited five volumes of *Research in Political Sociology* and authored *Power, Politics and Society*, second edition (2019).

Aaron Winter is Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the University of East London, UK. His research is on the far right, with a focus on racism, violence and mainstreaming. He is co-editor of *Discourses and Practices of Terrorism: Interrogating Terror* (Routledge 2010), *Reflectivity in Criminological Research: Experiences with the Powerful and Powerless* (2014) and *Historical Perspectives on Organised Crime and Terrorism* (Routledge 2018), and co-author with Aurelien Mondon, of *Reactionary Democracy: How Racism and the Populist Far Right Became Mainstream* (Verso 2020).

Ruth Wodak is Emerita Distinguished Professor of Discourse Analysis at Lancaster University, UK and of Applied Linguistics at Vienna University, Austria. She completed her PhD in 1974 and her habilitation in 1980, both at Vienna University. She has been the recipient of many awards, including the Wittgenstein Award for Elite Scholars (1996), the Grand Decoration of Honor in Silver for Services to the Republic of Austria (2011) and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Austrian Ministry of Women (2018). She is a member of Academia Europaea and the British Academy of Social Sciences. Her research interests include critical discourse studies, language and politics (populism studies), identity politics and the politics of the past, gender studies, migration studies and the study of racism and antisemitism. Recent book publications include *Europe at the Crossroads* (2019, with P Bevelander); *The Handbook of Language and Politics* (2018, with B Forchtner); and *Politics of Fear. What Right-wing Populist Discourses Mean* (2015).



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INTRODUCTION

Researching the far right

In recent years, concerns have intensified about the growing influence of the far right, whether at the ballot box or in terms of its wider cultural influence and the attendant threats to peace, societal cohesion and security. Europe has seen electoral gains for Jobbik and Fidesz in Hungary, Lega in Italy (whose leader, Matteo Salvini had served as both Italian Deputy Prime Minister of Italy and Minister of the Interior), Alternative für Deutschland in Germany, the National Rally (previously the Front National) in France, and Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ), founded by a former SS officer, in Austria, albeit some of these ‘successes’ have proved short-lived. In the USA, Donald Trump’s candidacy and presidency has been characterized by dog whistling to the far right through anti-Muslim and anti-Mexican racist rhetoric, and a repeated failure to condemn hate speech and the actions of white nationalists, even attracting endorsements from former Klansman David Duke and Alt-Right figurehead Richard Spencer. Though the chapters in this volume are largely focused on Europe and North America it would be remiss not to highlight that in India, Hindu Nationalists further consolidated their power in 2019 as Narendra Damodardas Modi won a second term as president with a significantly larger majority; and far right nationalism has also made inroads in Latin America, most notably with the 2019 election of Jair Messias Bolsonaro as President of Brazil.

Meanwhile, away from the ballot box, far right inspired violence, aggression and intimidation has become an all too familiar feature of contemporary news bulletins. Less than a year after Trump became President, the ‘Unite the Right Rally’ in Charlottesville, Virginia, saw Neo-Nazi, Neo-Confederate, Identitarian and Klux Klan groups chant racist and antisemitic slogans while holding a torch light march which resulted in the death of Heather Heyer, an anti-fascist/anti-racist activist. Since Charlottesville, terrorist and other mass casualty attacks on racial and ethnic groups have occurred with increasing frequency. This has included Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on 28 October 2018, where eleven people were killed when a

gunman opened fire on worshippers in the Tree of Life Synagogue; Christchurch, New Zealand, on 15 March 2019, where 51 people were killed and many more were wounded in attacks on the Al Noor Mosque and the Linwood Islamic Centre; and El Paso, on 3 August 2019, where 22 people were killed by a gunman targeting people who they identified as Hispanic. Such events appear to have confirmed the worst fears of many analysts (e.g. Ravndal, 2019) about the threat posed by global far right networks.

Not surprisingly, such developments have contributed to the emergence of a seemingly 'insatiable demand' (Bale, 2012) from the public, the media, policy makers, and activists, for information and insight into the various forms of far right politics observable today. Academics and other researchers have been quick to respond to that demand. Much of this growing scholarship sets out to better understand the phenomenon in terms of the movements and parties themselves, and the ebb and flow of the fortunes of these political and social formations, whether from 'supply' or 'demand' side perspectives (see Part I). Today, there is a vast output of studies that examine far right social movements, political parties, voters, supporters, activists, 'scenes', 'milieus' and far right subcultural dynamics, not to mention far right violence and terrorism. Alongside this, and sometimes intersecting with it, there has also emerged an important body of research that seeks to document and analyze the impacts of far right political formations and their ideas both on the various groups targeted by the far right and, more broadly, the threat it poses to the liberal post-war order, democracy, civil society and establishment parties.

Yet while there has been a substantial upsurge in empirical and theoretical research on the far right, there has been relatively little in the way of detailed discussion about the *practice* of researching the far right: that is, about the methodological, ethical, political, personal, practical and professional issues and challenges that arise from conducting research in this area. That is not of course to say that there has been a complete absence of such discussion. Researchers working on the far right have for a long time drawn on and contributed to the rich literature on doing research on 'sensitive topics' (Lee, 1993), on different types of 'unloved' groups (Fielding, 1993) and on the 'enemy' (Aho, 1994), as well as reflexive criminological research on 'criminals' and the 'the criminalized' (Lumsden and Winter, 2014). In 2007, Kathleen Blee assembled a range of papers for a special issue of the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* about conducting ethnographic research on the far right, a research strategy which at that time was considerably less widely used than it is today. The papers in that special issue not only inspired and provided valuable guidance for a new generation of ethnographic research on the far right, but also drew greater scholarly attention to issues such as the internal dynamics of far right organizations, the agency and motivations of far right activists, and the emotionality, culture and suspicion of outsiders that permeate such movements. The exploration of these issues has greatly enriched research on the far right during the last decade or so, generating valuable new insights about, for example, how far right organizations recruit members and generate support among the general public. More recently, Emanuele Toscano's (2019) edited collection on

Researching Far Right Movements has brought together the experiences and insights of scholars who have worked on far right and conservative movements in a number of countries, including Japan, Thailand, England, France, Italy, the United States and Turkey, using qualitative ‘close-range’ research methodologies to get ‘up close’ to the people who comprise these movements. The contributions to that volume encompass a range of issues such as researcher reflexivity and the ethical and political dilemmas that emerge when conducting research with those who assert ideas and values which differ from those of the researcher.

As the field expands however, and as the far right attracts the attention of scholars with an increasingly diverse range of disciplinary and methodological backgrounds, it is important that these conversations keep pace with and encompass the growing range of research perspectives and experiences within this field. This is partly about keeping pace with changes occurring within the far right itself, a point explored by several of the contributions to this volume. It is partly about helping researchers to identify and deploy the research strategies that will enable them to address the questions that they seek to answer, and about helping researchers working within different disciplinary or methodological traditions to engage in productive dialogue rather than, as sometimes happens, talking past one another. It is also about thinking seriously about and reflecting on issues related to researcher well-being and safety. There can be little doubt that researching the far right and similar groups can take an emotional toll on the researcher. As one recent report noted in relation to online research on the far right:

The very nature of the work is itself a cognitive burden. Online extremism and media manipulation researchers spend their days sifting through hate-speech-ridden Reddit threads, dehumanizing YouTube videos, and toxic chat rooms where death threats and active harassment campaigns are par for the course. The deluge of hate and extremist content takes a toll on their mental health and leaves some with PTSD-like symptoms, much like those experienced by content moderators at Facebook, they say.

(Martineau, 2019)

Researchers of the far right also often find themselves grappling, struggling even, with questions about whether their own research practices might even be fueling the very problems that they set out to understand and address. As James Aho reflected of his own research in the wake of the Oklahoma terrorist attack in April 1995, which killed 168 people:

After the bombing, I began to have misgivings about my research, feeling that I was profiting from the misfortunes of others: g-men, the radicals themselves, and their wives and children. I came to believe that in a perverse way my fascination with political violence was adding to the seeming voracious appetite for it in the public. In other words, I felt like a hypocrite.

(Aho, 2016: 3)

The aim of this volume then is to further widen and deepen these conversations about the politics, practice and ethics of researching the far right, bringing together the experiences and insights of scholars rooted in a range of different disciplinary and methodological traditions, and working across many different manifestations of the far right in a variety of national and transnational contexts.

The volume emerged from a series of conversations between the editors prior to sending out a call for papers in 2016. The bulk of the chapters presented are drawn from that call for papers, which attracted contributions from scholars working across several disciplines and exploring a broad range of methodological and ethical dilemmas facing researchers working at the cutting edge of research on far right politics in all of its various forms. The papers derived from the call were supplemented with invited contributions from prominent scholars in this field of study, who were asked to provide ‘disciplinary overviews’. These set out how scholarship on the far right in their respective disciplines has developed and the ways in which scholars within their disciplines have sought to theorize and research the far right (see Part I). Each contributor was asked to reflect upon what they consider some of the most pressing theoretical and methodological problems that they have encountered whilst researching in the field. The result, we hope, will help to stimulate an ongoing dialogue between scholars from across a range of disciplines, methodological approaches and theoretical viewpoints as a means of advancing our collective research endeavour. We also hope that the volume will not only serve as a guide and reference point for scholars who might be new to this field, but also as a source of encouragement for such scholars who can draw succour from the fact that they are not alone as they wrestle with their various methodological and theoretical concerns and challenges.

This book: Scope and structure

Given our desire for this volume to engage and bring together perspectives across multiple disciplines and research traditions, we took a somewhat agnostic approach both towards how contributors interpreted the parameters of the ‘far right’, and to the use of other terms, such as ‘extreme right’ and ‘radical right’ within individual chapters, providing that contributors made clear how they are using the terms. This does raise challenges, most notably in relation to achieving a coherence of scope across the volume, with contributors deploying a range of more broad or narrow interpretations of ‘the far right’. We took the position however that this enables the volume to better capture the often complex and somewhat fuzzy parameters of the field than would have been the case if we had adopted a more prescriptive approach. Such definitional debates are a core feature in the opening section of this volume.

Part I: Disciplinary overviews

The first section of this book brings together a series of disciplinary overviews. Each of these chapters explores the evolution of far right studies from a particular

disciplinary viewpoint within the humanities or the social sciences, tracing the key developments and debates that have shaped the state of the field today.

Nonna Mayer provides an overview of how political scientists have defined, explained and operationalized the term far right, identifying a succession of key 'turning points' that have defined and redefined the field. She also explores the evolution and growth of the far right 'family' itself and considers the methodological challenges that this entails. **Nigel Copsey** maps historiographical interpretations of the far right between 1945 and the present, drawing attention to how the methodological insights offered by historians can assist scholars and students carrying out research in the present. Specifically, Copsey demonstrates how historical empirical inquiry, and the theoretical prism of fascism, has a significant role to play in helping contemporary far right scholars differentiate between organizational and ideological continuity, especially when it comes to the relationship between 'classic fascism' and the contemporary far right. **Kathleen Blee and Mehr Letif** then provide a survey of sociological research on the far right. As well as offering an overview of the theoretical and methodological perspectives that have shaped this field, they, like Mayer, also reflect on how the field itself is being shaped by the evolution of the far right. They note, for example, how new relationships between state and non-state actors, and new transnational constellations of actors, both demand scholarly attention and provide opportunities to elaborate on the interactions between micro-, meso- and macro-level processes relevant to the evolution of the far right. **Barbara Perry and Ryan Scrivens** discuss the specific contribution that criminologists have made to the field of far right studies. Drawing attention to the inherently interdisciplinary nature of criminology, Perry and Scrivens reflect on how criminologists situate analysis of right wing extremism within a wider set of understandings and insights about crime, criminality and the systems and procedures of criminal justice. Again, their discussion concludes with a series of observations about how the contemporary political context is affecting this field. Surveying the social and political psychology literatures, **Pasko Merino, Tereza Capelos and Catarina Kinnvall** then explore how our understandings and explanations of far right political parties or movements (i.e. the 'supply' side) and electoral behaviour (i.e. the 'demand' side) can and has been enhanced through analysis of the intersection of political developments and both individual and collective psychological experiences. Like Blee and Latif, they draw our attention to the relationship between micro- and macro-level processes by, for example, exploring how far right support may shape, and be shaped by, individual and collective psychology in societies characterized by 'extended' polarization, xenophobia and intolerance. And picking up a recurring theme, they also provide observations about how psychological analysis of the far right is today intersecting with analysis of other apparently cognate phenomena, such as populism, and extremist politics more broadly, including that which is propagated by groups such as Al Qaeda – or the so-called 'Islamic State'. Finally, in this section, **Peter Hervik** considers where anthropologists have, and have the potential to, contribute to research in this field. Central here, Hervik argues, is the way that 'good anthropology' scrutinizes key

empirical and analytical concepts, engaging critically with the top-down analytical concepts that have to a large extent defined wider contemporary political and academic debate about phenomena such as ‘the far right’ and ‘populism’. He also discusses two further contributions: the insights that anthropology offers with regard to how processes of racialization contribute to produce essentialist components of neo-national identity; and the methodological insights that can be derived from anthropological approaches to agency and researcher empathy.

Together, these chapters provide a helpful reminder, if one were needed, that while each of these disciplines makes specific contributions to the wider literature, the epistemological and theoretical boundaries between the various humanities and social science disciplines are not as clear cut as some would argue, or may have once been. Indeed, what is striking is the frequency with which the authors of these chapters reach across disciplinary boundaries and drawn insights and inspiration from scholars in other disciplines, whether in terms of theory, methods or practice. There can be little doubt that this inter-/ multi-disciplinarity reflects at least to some extent the intellectual debt owed by many contemporary scholars to explicitly inter-/multi-disciplinary studies that have shaped the field today, such as the Klandermans and Mayer’s much-cited 2006 volume, *Extreme Right Activists in Europe*.

Part II: Quantitative and online research

Drawing across a range of disciplinary, inter- and multi-disciplinary perspectives, the second part comprises chapters that examine the use of quantitative approaches and online research to describe, analyze and interpret different dimensions of far right politics. The chapters in this part also highlight the strengths and limitations of such approaches.

Vasiliki Georgiadou, Lamprini Rori and Costas Roumanias explore the ways in which scholars of the far right estimate their share of electoral votes using election panel surveys. They draw particular attention to the methodological challenges associated with attempts to analyze the ‘demand’ for the far right, and suggest how alternate research strategies, including the use of panel selection-correction techniques, and the use of new multi-election datasets might enable researchers to address these challenges. **Jacob Aasland Ravndal and Anders Ravik Jupskås** examine the issues surrounding how researchers can accurately and effectively document and measure far right violence. As well as examining core definitional issues – such as how what constitutes far right violence can both overlap and be distinct from concepts such as hate crime and terrorism – Ravndal and Jupskås critically review the existing datasets that are commonly used to measure far right violence. While their assessment highlights the limitations of existing datasets, they also argue that moves towards crowd sourcing, international standardized police reporting and victimization surveys might serve to strengthen the existing evidence base. **Jasper Muis, Ofra Klein and Guido Dijkstra** then move the discussion onto some of the new opportunities and challenges for

understanding far right discourses that are opening up with the advance of online methods. Focusing on Facebook and Twitter, they explore how content within these platforms can be used to analyze differences *between* and *within* far right parties and movements, particularly with regards to their framing of ‘outgroups’, and how far right leaders moderate their ideological standpoints once they have entered government. **Peita Richards’** chapter continues the focus on social media, but switches the analytical focus to questions of how social media analysis can be used to develop a more sophisticated understanding of individuals who are drawn to and associated with far right ideologies. In doing so, Richards elaborates on how new data posited in the public sphere via online platforms provide opportunities for qualitative and quantitative analyses of both content and behaviours. **Andreas Önnarfors’** chapter further illustrates this point, but also turns our attention to the challenges associated with capturing and theorizing the relationship between online and offline communication and socialization processes. Önnarfors does this through a case study that explores how PEGIDA and their allies on the far right of German politics have built popular support using stage-managed events that are recorded with the intention of being disseminated on the German online platform einprozent.de.

Section III: Interviewing the far right

The chapters in Part III consider issues relating to interview-based methods – a staple research strategy of much of the social and political sciences, but one that raises particular challenges for researchers of the far right.

In their chapter, **Amy Fisher Smith, Charles Sullivan, John Macready and Geoffrey Manzi** reflect on their experience of undertaking research with former far right extremists. As they observe, while the use of such methods are gaining in popularity, both in research on the far right and in cognate fields, such as research on terrorism, there is a need for greater attention to be paid to issues around methodological transparency, specification of methodological procedures, standardized reporting practices and developing a more refined understanding of the distinction and complementarities between qualitative and quantitative research traditions. They also reflect on issues of researcher bias, reflexivity, procedures for textual analysis and questions of interpretive validity. **Betty Dobratz and Lisa Waldner** build on the previous chapter. They explore a range of methodological issues that emerged during their decades-long research on the white power movement in the United States, during which they have combined interviews with observation-based methods. As in the previous chapter, they reflect on the relationship between qualitative and quantitative methods and the implications for interview-based research design. They also discuss questionnaire development, access issues, the dynamics of conducting face-to-face interviews, the role of emotions, establishing empathy and rapport, and the stigmatization of researchers of the white power movement. The chapter by **Bert Klandermans** provides further practical insight and advice about interviewing far right activists. Reflecting on his

experience of conducting life history interviews as part of a cross-disciplinary, transnational comparative study of far right activism in five Western European countries, Klandermans offers guidance in relation to four key themes: asking questions about far right membership; issues of meaning and the rationalization of far right membership; questions of continuity in activism and membership over time; and the significance attributed to context and whether far right activist responses to the previous three themes vary from country to country. Cutting across this, Klandermans also emphasizes the advantages of asking ‘what’ rather than ‘why’ questions of interviewees.

Part IV: Ethnographic studies of the far right

The chapters in Part IV discuss ethnographic approaches to researching the far right. Picking up and continuing some of the conversations from the special issue of the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* referenced above, these chapters provide further reflection on ethical dilemmas that such research is likely to generate, and explore issues of access, negotiating the parameters of ‘participation’, and simultaneously managing relationships with activists, colleagues and the public authorities. They do so, however, in different national and local contexts, and from a range of quite different theoretical perspectives and personal positionalities.

Katrine Fangen looks back on her observational study of the Norwegian far right during the mid-1990s. Critically engaging with similar studies in the field, Fangen provides practical advice for far right researchers in relation to a number of issues, such as entering the research field and seeking access, as well as other ethical dilemmas associated with securing informed consent, maintaining anonymity and respecting participant integrity. In doing so, Fangen highlights the importance of openness, honesty and transparency when it comes to establishing rapport. Reflecting on her research on the Swedish Democrats between 2008 and 2011, **Vidhya Ramalingam** discusses both the unique opportunities afforded to her and the challenges she confronted as a female researcher of colour (ROC) working on the far right. She considers how the female ROC is required to adapt the framework of enquiry when researching and surrounded by ‘unsympathetic research subjects’, and also discusses how her ROC subject position shaped issues of access, personal safety and the emotional dynamics of participant observation and qualitative interviews. **Joel Busher** takes, as a starting point, one of the central ethical challenges for ethnographers working on the far right previously identified by Blee (2007): how to uphold the ‘scholarly ethics of fairness’ when researching and writing about a movement that the researcher considers distasteful and harmful. Busher describes how, in his research into activism in the English Defence League (EDL), he sought to address this through the adoption of a principle of ‘non-dehumanization’. Tracing his own journey, he describes how this principle shaped decisions at design, fieldwork and writing up stages of the research. **Stephen Ashe** then charts his journey to what turned out to be an 18-month political ethnographic local case study on the electoral rise and fall of the British National Party

(BNP). Ashe provides an account of the twists, turns and ethical, political and practical dilemmas encountered. Throughout his chapter, Ashe pays particular attention to how questions of whiteness and class shaped both his research design and relationships in the field. He concludes by reflecting on some of the questions and criticisms he and other ethnographers have faced when disseminating their research.

Part V: The significance of place, culture and performance when researching the far right

As noted above, one of the key challenges for researchers of the far right is how to capture and analyze movements and cultures that are dynamic, multi-faceted and sometimes surprisingly diverse. The chapters in Part V all grapple with and offer strategies for responding to this challenge. In doing so, these chapters shed further light on questions of definition and categorization, method and scale, as well as turning attention to important issues such as how researchers can augment their understanding of the far right by paying more careful attention to crucial yet often overlooked elements of far right cultures such as place, consumption and the everyday practices through which far right discourse can become socially embedded.

John Veugelers' chapter provides us with a reminder that when it comes to understanding the far right, 'place matters'. Examining the importance of locality as a unit of analysis, and reflecting on his own work on the Front National in the Southern French city of Toulon, Veugelers focuses on the unique contribution that single-case studies can make to our understanding of the far right. He draws particular attention to the way that such research strategies can help to 'bridge' and integrate historical and other social scientific methods. **Cynthia Miller-Idriss and Annett Graefe-Geusch** discuss their research on the commercialization of far right youth culture in Germany, which combines interviews with analysis of a digitized archive of symbolic and commercial far right products. Their research leads them to two conclusions that might have profound implications for how we research the far right, particularly in relation to the iconography of such political and social formations: first, that holding on to fixed categories of far right membership can obscure important sources of information on the far right and mistakenly frame youths as having static identifications with certain ideological and political scenes; and second, that the integration of material culture into focused qualitative interviews can 'shift our understandings of what it means to be associated with or exposed to far right scenes and subcultures' by teasing out 'multiple layers of ... affiliation'. **Ruth Wodak** then examines the merits and limitations of critical discourse studies, and discourse-historical approaches in particular, as strategies for analyzing and interpreting the far right. Grounding the discussion in the case study of the Austrian Freedom Party and their 'politics of denial' and use of the 'blame game', she considers how these approaches can assist our analysis of far right rhetoric and the micro-politics of such parties. Reflecting on her research

experiences, she contends that if we are to understand both the resonance of far right messages and their electoral fortunes, it is imperative that we pay greater attention to ‘everyday performances’ which often transcend the analytical categories used by investigating the nature of far right ideology.

Section VI: The intersection of academic and activist positionalities and disseminating far right research

There are often important intersections and overlaps between research on the far right and efforts to counter, challenge and inhibit the growth or spread of such movements. This is perhaps not surprising. As Blee noted in the introduction to the special issue on ethnography and the far right, many scholars undertaking research on the far right are motivated to do so by their concerns about the impact that such movements have upon those targeted by its politics (as well as those drawn into such groups) and for society as a whole. Yet this intersection of research and activism can raise challenging questions for researchers about how they conduct their work. The two chapters that make up the sixth and final part in this collection provide reflections on negotiating researcher and activist positionalities, and on the challenges that come with, as well as some of consequences that emerge from, disseminating research on the far right.

Chip Berlet discusses the challenges that come with balancing a variety of different roles when working on the far right as a researcher committed to progressive social movements in the United States. In doing so, Berlet reflects on how he has managed to keep ‘the archivists, journalist and scholar separate and ethical’ over the course of 40 of research. Here Berlet outlines his work for the Public Eye Network, which monitors right-wing groups, studying neo-fascist and neo-Nazis, anti-racist research and organizing, being a journalist, a paralegal investigator and working for Political Research Associates, focusing on the organizing practices and ethical issues that this work entails. Berlet also discusses his work on the Christian Right and Gay Rights, being compelled to be an expert witness for the defense following the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 and trying to work within the ethical parameters set by the American Sociology Association. **Aurelien Mondon and Aaron Winter** reflect on a number of challenges faced by far right researchers in the present context. Their chapter starts with an overview of the current landscape researchers are forced to navigate, with a particular focus on the media and the current hype around the topic and in the field. In response to the increasingly challenging environment that researchers face when presenting and disseminating research on the far right in media forums and to the wider public, they consider what they see as a variety of challenges, pitfalls and shortcomings that far right scholars ought to avoid and/or address: namely, issues of amplification; hype and legitimization; distraction and deflection; access, risk and representation; and ‘bandwaggoning’. They conclude by setting out a number of questions which they have found important to consider and reflect upon in their own research and practice.

Concluding thoughts

This collection is not intended to be definitive, prescriptive or indeed the last word on the theory, method and practice of researching the far right. A single edited collection, no matter how ambitious, could not be expected to cover every single issue relating to the researching the far right. Indeed, the authors are conscious of a number of areas that are not covered in this volume – for instance a chapter on working with far right primary sources or researching the far right in a transnational context. Instead, what we have tried to do is to put together a volume which sparks further conversation, collaboration and debate about such issues more generally.

While the contributions to this volume highlight several areas of convergence between scholars working from within different disciplinary traditions (for instance, the fairly widespread embrace of theorizing the far right in terms of ‘supply’ and ‘demand’), they also reveal important differences in terms of, for example, approaches to, and theorizations of, empathy, ethics and the politics of terminology. This volume also reveals variation in scholars’ views about how they ought to respond to threats of far right violence directed either at themselves or others, and how researchers handle issues around potentially exaggerating or downplaying, normalizing or Othering both far right groups and those who participate in such groups. While some of these differences are informed by different disciplinary and research traditions, others are shaped by the researchers’ political positionalities and by whether or not the researcher themselves would likely be constructed as ‘Other’ by the far right group that they study.

In light of the above, it seems appropriate to conclude by looking forward and drawing attention to three ways in which we hope the scholarship on the far right might develop over the years ahead. The first of these is that we hope that scholars researching the far right will, as they have done in recent years, continue to look outwards and engage with other subfields that may have much to offer in terms of enriching our understanding of the far right – today, more than ever, we cannot afford to retreat into our silos. One of the major innovations during the past decade or so has, for example, been a growing engagement with research on social movements. This has expanded the theoretical, conceptual analytical vocabulary of the wider field and provided a number of powerful conceptual tools for understanding the ebb and flow of far right politics at micro, meso and macro levels (Klandermans and Mayer, 2006; Caiani et al., 2012). So, what other subfields might research on the far right engage with? One obvious one would be the subfield on political violence, albeit there are a number of reasons why we might proceed with caution here (see Merino, Capelos and Kinnvall; Ravndal and Jups-kås, all this volume). Others might include political and human geography, and it is also apparent that as the ‘online’ and ‘offline’ become increasingly interconnected and indistinguishable from one another it is clear that a constructive dialogue with Data Science will be of fundamental importance if researchers of the far right are to keep pace with the changing nature of such movements (see Muis, Klein and

Dijkstra; Richards; Önnersfors, all this volume). We believe that more could also be done to consider how postcolonial, decolonial and critical race theory can improve our understanding of the far right, both within Western and non-Western contexts (see Ashe, this volume), particularly as researchers begin to grapple with questions about the continuities and discontinuities between far right and nationalist politics in Western and non-Western contexts.

The second way in which we hope to see the scholarship on the far right evolve over the coming years would be for the field to be shaped by scholars from an increasingly diverse range of backgrounds, in terms of nationality, gender, ethnic and religious background. We very much acknowledge the irony of this point, given that the editorial team is comprised of four white men from the global north. There is an impressive literature on gender and sexuality in relation to the far right. Indeed, as this volume attests, women have played and continue to play a major role in shaping the field. It is important that women, researchers of colour and researchers from non-Western countries continue to have a growing presence within this field, and in doing so that the field incorporates different assumptions, perspectives, understandings and methodological and theoretical frames concerning the nature and impact of such politics. For example, the perspectives of scholars working and based in non-Western contexts experiencing forms of far right politics has the potential to generate important insights about the extent to which theories and concepts largely deployed and developed within Western contexts have wider applicability. In turn, this will enable critical reflection upon the theory, methods and practices that have come to characterize much of the scholarship on the far right in Europe and North America in particular. There are clearly challenges here. For example, it is likely that in many contexts researchers of colour will encounter greater barriers than white researchers when it comes to accessing members of far right formations (see Ashe; Dobratz and Waldner; Mondon and Winter; Ramalingam, all this volume). We believe, however, that such research has considerable potential to move the field forward.

Third, and finally, we hope that the growing number of research centres, departments and networks, book series and special issues devoted wholly or in part to advancing our understanding of the far right will dedicate greater time and space to questions relating to methods and the ethics, politics and practice of this research. More specifically, we hope that, as we have tried to do within this volume, these discussions of the methods, ethics, politics and practice of research on the far right will be inclusive discussions, characterized by a genuine will and desire on the part of researchers to enrich their ability to understand and interpret the far right by drawing across the full gamut of available methodologies and approaches. As far right politics continues to evolve, so too do the research methodologies and theoretical tools that individual researchers need in order to analyse and understand it. And given the breadth of scholarship currently being conducted into far right politics today, it is arguably beyond the resources of a single academic, or even any single centre or department, to stay abreast of even a portion of the published research or how their own particular specialism within the field relates to

others. Yet achieving such inclusive discussions about research methods, ethics, politics and practice is not without its challenges. For example, at a time when academic research governance is increasingly subjected to the logics of market competition, researchers are often drawn into forms of territorialism and are likely to feel pushed to position themselves as a ‘go-to’ person on all things relating to the far right. Nonetheless, we must find a way to encourage a culture of collegiality, generosity, humility and mutual acknowledgement of expertise within the field. We would suggest that a good starting point for this would be for all of us to be as honest as possible about the limitations of our knowledge and about the fact that, while it is important that we take seriously and seek within our work to resolve the various political and ethical dilemmas discussed in this volume, the ‘solutions’ that we construct and find are unlikely ever to be easy or clear-cut, let alone ‘perfect’.

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Notes

- 1 At the request of 113 members of the European Parliament, and in spite of the fierce opposition from Jean-Marie Le Pen, a Committee of Inquiry was set up to examine 'the Rise of Fascism and Racism in Europe', chaired by the Greek MP Dimitrios Evrigenis, who authored the committee's final report which was published in 1985.
- 2 The first wave started in the immediate post War, notably in Germany with the political resurgence of Nazi parties. The second wave saw the rise of anti-statist and anti-tax protests, instigated by the small shopkeepers of Poujade movement in France in the mid-1950s and the Danish and Norwegian Progress parties during the 1970s.
- 3 "Extreme nationalism, ethnocentrism, anti-communism, anti-parliamentarism, anti-pluralism, militarism, law and order thinking, a demand for a strong political leader and/or executive, anti-Americanism and cultural pessimism" (Falter and Schumann, 1988: 101).
- 4 This term was introduced by Peter Einsiger in the 1970s, and experienced a new lease of life in the 1980s in the what was the growing field of research on social movements. It then referred to the specific configuration of resources, institutions and actors that facilitated or constrained the development of protest movements.
- 5 Name given by William Robinson (1950) to the error of inferring from a correlation observed at the level of groups that it applies at the level of the individuals (for instance the fact that areas with a high proportion of Black people also have a high proportion of illiterates does not mean that Blacks are more often illiterate).
- 6 See the summary of the articles and books in which he tells his experience and the methodological lessons he learned from it: <https://www.cairn.info/publications-de-Bi-zeul-Daniel-17499.htm>.
- 7 Ruling right wing parties with ideas close to the RR's such as Fidesz in Hungary or Law and Justice in Poland.
- 1 See review by Gregor in *American Political Science Review*, vol. 72, no. 4, December 1978, p. 1474.
- 2 Cas Mudde cites, as examples of the work of 'historians', Kurt Tauber's monumental *Beyond Eagle and Swastika* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan College, 1967), but Tauber was an associate professor in political science. Mudde also cites Dennis Eisenberg's 1967 book, *The Re-emergence of Fascism* (London: Macgibbon and Kee), but Eisenberg was an Israeli journalist. A further citation is to Angelo Del Boca and Mario Giovana's book, *Fascism Today* (London: Heinemann, 1970), a survey by two Italian journalists, which the historian Gerhard L. Weinberg would lambast as 'pseudo-history', see *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 86, no. 4 (1971), pp. 665–67.
- 3 For a recent (Griffinesque) working definition of neo-Nazism, see Paul Jackson, *Colin Jordan and Britain's Neo-Nazi Movement: Hitler's Echo* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).
- 1 We introduce **the Far Right** as a category, but we refer to **far right** (lower case) policies, leaders, approaches, when it is not about the group but about the ideological orientation.
- 2 See Capelos and Demertzis (2018) for a discussion of resentment as moral indignation versus *ressentiment* as compensatory emotion of the powerless that expedites transvaluation so that the person can stand and handle her or his frustrations.
- 1 The Tobit model is a statistical model describing the relation between a limited dependent variable (y), and the explanatory variables (X). The dependent variable (y) in Tobit models is typically zero for a non-trivial fraction of the population and is continually distributed over positive values for the rest of the population.

- 2 Indicatively Knigge (1998) considers support in FR only in six countries with established FR presence; Lubbers, Gijsberts and Scheepers (2002) include in their sample only countries where FR parties exist; van der Brug, Fennema and Tillie (2005), Koopmans (1996), Veugelers and Magnan (2005) also select countries where the FR competes. Individual-level analysis is not in principle immune to the problem as it often only focuses on individuals in selected countries where FR exists without controlling for individual behaviour in countries in which the FR vote is not observed (see for example Arzheimer and Carter, 2006).
- 3 The problem was first identified and addressed in Heckman (1979). Correctly identifying and addressing sample selection is of fundamental importance in empirical work. Since then, a number of studies that enrich Heckman's original results for use with panel data have emerged (see for example Wooldridge, 1995; Kyriazidou, 1997; Dustmann and Rochina-Barrachina, 2007).
- 4 Immerzeel and Pickup (2015) examine the effects of supply side on voter turnout. They found that the emergence of successful PRR parties in Western Europe increases the propensity to go to the polls between specific groups of voters that are strongly opposed to the FR parties. This may reduce the FR vote share.
- 5 Political institutions have country-level variation and are typically invariant in the 14 years that this sample spans, but can correlate with the economic covariates as is argued below. To estimate consistently the effect of the contextual covariates on the FR vote share, panel data techniques are employed. While this ensures that the time-invariant political institutions do not bias the estimates of the effects of the contextual variables, the effects of the institutions themselves on the FR vote shares cannot be identified.
- 6 That is by including binary variables (one for each country), each taking the value 1 if the election took place in the country and 0 otherwise.
- 7 This is known as the incidental parameters problem (Neyman and Scott, 1948). Although the slope coefficients for the Tobit models are not affected, the standard errors cannot be consistently estimated (Greene, 2004). Standard errors in the Tobit model with region dummies are calculated by jackknife estimation.
- 8 Technically, these are missing observations, which are treated as zero values so that Tobit models might be employed.
- 9 We are indebted to Katerina Kyriazidou for suggesting this estimation approach.
- 1 This number is derived from an updated version of the RTV dataset yet to be released publicly. For more details, see "Right-wing terrorism and violence in Western Europe: the RTV dataset." *C-REX - Center for Research on Extremism*: www.sv.uio.no/c-rex/rtv [accessed 5 April 2019].
- 2 This section draws heavily on a previous article by Ravndal (2016), originally published in *Perspectives on Terrorism*.
- 3 See 'Hate crime,' *Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention – Brottsförebyggande rådet (Brå)* <https://www.bra.se/bra-in-english/home/crime-and-statistics/hate-crime.html> [accessed 25 August 2018].
- 4 See Rigspolitiet Forebyggelsescenter (NFC), *Hadforbrydelser I 2015* (June 2016) https://www.politi.dk/NR/rdonlyres/C452577B-1EFE-4C73-8207-62B05E3E783E/0/%C3%85rsrapport_hadforbrydelser_2015.pdf [accessed 15 June 2017].
- 5 See "Right-wing terrorism and violence in Western Europe: the RTV dataset." *C-REX – Center for Research on Extremism*: www.sv.uio.no/c-rex/rtv [accessed 5 April 2019].
- 6 See Movimiento contra La Intolerance (2019): <http://www.movimientocontralaintolerancia.com/html/raxen/raxen.asp> [accessed 5 April 2019].
- 7 See Southern Poverty Law Center (2019) "Hate incidents: Incidents of apparent hate crimes and hate group activities listed here are drawn primarily from media sources." Southern Poverty Law Center: <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/hate-incidents> [accessed 5 April 2019].
- 8 See База Данных [Database] <http://www.sova-center.ru/database/> [accessed 5 April 2019].
- 9 See The City at a Time of Crisis (2014) "Map of attacks on migrants in Athens." The City at a Time of Crisis: <http://map.crisis-scape.net/> [accessed 5 April 2019].

- 10 See The City at a Time of Crisis (2014) “Map of attacks on migrants in Athens.” The City at a Time of Crisis: <http://map.crisis-scape.net/> [accessed 5 April 2019].
 - 11 See also, TellMAMA (2019) “Islamophobia – Series of reports and resources.” TellMAMA: <https://tellmamauk.org/resources/> [accessed 5 April 2019].
 - 12 See Eurostat (2019) “Your key European statistics.” Eurostat: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat> [accessed 5 April 2019].
 - 13 See European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2016) “Subgroup on methodologies for recording and collecting data on hate crime.” European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/project/2017/subgroup-methodologies-recording-and-collecting-data-hate-crime> [accessed 5 April 2019].
 - 14 See European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2016) “Research & projects.” European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/research> [accessed 5 April 2019].
 - 15 See European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2013) “FRA survey of Jewish people’s experiences and perceptions of discrimination and hate crime in European Union Member States.” European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights: <http://fra.europa.eu/en/survey/2012/fra-survey-jewish-peoples-experiences-and-perceptions-discrimination-and-hate-crime> [accessed 5 April 2019].
- 1 More details on our study can be found in Klandermans et al. (2016).
 - 2 For more details on our study, see Muis and Dijkstra (2014).
 - 1 OAuth is the term used by Twitter to assign an original authentication code, which identifies you as a researcher on their network. This is paired with a unique key, similar to a password. Both are required to work in concert in order to gain access to the API network.
 - 2 RT as pertaining to Re-Tweet, to repost in full that of another user
 - 3 A compression system for large, layered folders and data files
 - 4 Now the most commonly used language for big data analysis, “R” is a language with similar purposes to earlier languages such as XML and Python; however, it is the most frequently used when working with social media platforms and data sets beyond 20,000 lines or data points.
 - 5 .bz2 files are not dissimilar to a winzip or .zip compressed file but, are usually much larger in size and consist of a multitude of .zip files within the single compressed .bz2 file.
 - 6 A working data frame comprising of all data retrieved. An RData data frame is not dissimilar to Excel or NVivo, however it allows much greater file sizes to be processed, and integrates the ability to run searches or extract subsets of data using R code within the one computer window.
 - 7 The archived data sets include the metadata of a user in addition to the actual tweet that was sent. Examples of this metadata include a location, if one was set; the user’s handle and name, if entered; links to a personal URL or biography; friends lists; and numerical data such as the numbers of tweets sent, RTs, likes, and comments.
 - 8 The core lexicon refers to the list of key terms that were used to create a subset of relevant data out of each archived set, and was used across all three sets of data. An extended lexicon was added to the salient events to include event-specific hashtags.
 - 9 Prior to commencing sampling, please check your institution’s IT usage policy and ensure permissions are granted to avoid tripping any links to pages under legal surveillance, or breaching conditions of use in relation to violent or racist content being accessed on institutional property.
 - 10 A tweet which was marked by the user as a particular post of interest, enabling them to either demonstrate support, or to quickly review at a later time.
 - 11 Bots and automated accounts are user accounts set up by advanced coding to identify other users engaging with specific key words, accounts or hashtags. These accounts either follow or respond with pre-programmed, automated messages. Similarly, sock puppets are accounts which do not depict real users, but are run by real people working full time on the dissemination of propaganda, behind multiple, fictional identities.

- 1 In their review, Lum et al. (2006) initially examined over 14,000 studies published between 1971 and 2003 with inclusion criteria including counter terrorism interventions. Studies were also selected using the Campbell Collaboration review process, a process that emphasizes an evidence-based approach.
- 2 Our preferences here are similar to the developing methodology of the oral history interview, on which see, Abrams (2016) and Oral History Association (2009) “Principles and Best Practices.” Oral History Association webpage: <http://www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practice> [accessed 5 April 2019].
- 3 In addition to semi-structured interviews, our research takes a multi-source approach that cross-references the semi-structured interview data with open source material and other publicly available information relevant to FRE and to our participants (e.g., websites, archived public videos, and newspaper stories).
- 4 For our purposes, we have found the Style Guide of the Baylor University Institute of Oral History (<http://www.baylor.edu/oralhistory/doc.php/14142.pdf>) useful.
- 1 Meanwhile, both Germany and the Netherlands have successful ER parties. That does not mean that the observations reported here are invalid. This is what the ER was then.
- 1 I have previously written about this in Norwegian books and articles, as well as in my PhD thesis, which is available in English.
- 1 This chapter uses the term Researchers of Colour to describe researchers who self-identify as ‘persons of colour’, defined as persons who are not white or of European heritage, often sharing common experiences of individual, institutional, cultural, or systematic racism. While this is a commonly accepted term in 2020, the year this chapter is to be published, I acknowledge that the terminology and language used to describe racial designations is often limited in many ways, and may shift over time.
- 2 The results of this study are available in ‘The Sweden Democrats: Anti-Immigration Politics under the Stigma of Racism,’ Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford: Working Paper No. 97. The entire publication is accessible from the University of Oxford or the author upon request: Ramalingam, Vidhya (2011) *The Sweden Democrats: Anti-immigration Politics under the Stigma of Racism*. Dissertation in Anthropology, Migration Studies, University of Oxford, UK.
- 3 Images of women of colour confronting the far right include British woman Saffiyah Khan smiling defiantly at an English Defence League protester in Birmingham, United Kingdom. Information available from the *Guardian* [<https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/apr/09/birmingham-woman-standing-in-defiance-of-edl-protester-goes-viral>]. Another seminal photo was taken of Tess Aplund, an anti-racism activist in Sweden, standing defiantly with her fist raised at a Nordic Resistance Movement demonstration in Borlänge, Sweden. Information available from the *Independent* [<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/woman-sweden-tess-asplund-who-defied-neo-nazis-in-viral-photo-says-group-should-never-have-been-a7012421.html>].
- 1 A change of government in 2010 and the concomitant restructuring of research and investment priorities meant that this piece of meta-analysis was never completed.
- 2 This was partly about my position of relative power in comparison with the grassroots activists with whom my research was primarily concerned. While recognising the potential harm that groups such as the EDL can do – undermining community relations and spreading fear, distrust, anger and hatred – most of the activists I knew inhabited structurally marginal positions. My assessment might have been different had my research been primarily about the movement’s leadership.
- 3 I did not contribute to discussions on Facebook pages or groups, and did not share information about or images from EDL events via Facebook. I was concerned that if I did, this might be perceived by activists, or by my friends and family, to indicate tacit support for the group.
- 4 The EDL was not a membership organization. Here I use ‘member’ referring to those who regularly attended EDL events.

- 5 I also considered using the term anti-Islam, but opted for anti-Muslim as it seemed to me that the activists I met were not only protesting against the religion in the abstract, but about the people who practiced or identified with that religion.
- 6 Morrison's (2014) work on 'splits' in dissident Irish republican groups provides a good illustration of this point in another context.
- 1 While the work of Gramsci, Williams and Thompson had a profound impact on my sociological imagination, I was mindful of key silences and the limitations in each of their writings, especially when it comes to matters of race and racism (see Gilroy, 1987; Matthews, 2013; Wilderson III, 2003).
- 2 The letters pages in the BNP's monthly magazine demonstrated considerable levels of debate and disagreement between the party hierarchy and its members. For example, see the letters pages of the May and June 2006 editions of *Identity* for an insight into the depth of debate that emerged from Nick Griffin's decision to try to tap into what he considered to be a growing sense of 'Englishness' characterised by feelings of cultural, economic and political inequity.
- 3 The 'angry white man' thesis has recently been reconceptualised as the 'left behind' thesis in an attempt to explain electoral support for the United Kingdom Independence Party, as well as the outcome of the 2016 EU referendum. Both the 'angry white man' and the 'left behind' theses echo many of the core elements of the 'losers of modernization' thesis which dominated this field study in the 1990s (see Betz, 1994; Betz and Immerfall, 1998).
- 4 For an overview of the way in which the structures and editing of local newspapers, including letters pages, can influence both the politics of racism and the types of newspaper coverage that political parties receive, see Richardson, 2001; Richardson and Franklin, 2003; 2004).
- 5 For example, when 12 BNP councillors were elected in Barking and Dagenham in 2006, the *Guardian* – a leading broadsheet newspaper in Britain – ran the following headline: 'Welcome to Barking – new far right capital of Britain: As the BNP celebrates, local people face up to the area's new notoriety' (Muir, 2006). The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) also got in on the act, producing a provocatively titled documentary called *All White in Barking*, which while noting the activities of the BNP, failed to cover the localized forms of anti-racist and anti-fascist opposition that had also emerged at this time (for a critique of the BBC *White Season*, see Ware, 2008; see also, *Last Whites of the East End*, a documentary aired by the BBC on 24 May 2016). Similarly contentious academic articles would soon follow, such as Goodwin's (2008) 'Backlash in the "hood"' (see Rhodes, 2011 for critique of Goodwin's article).
- 6 That said, there were other occasions whereby other key actors were more suspicious of me after having seen me observing other political parties campaigning.
- 7 United and popular fronts are typically conceptualised in terms of class. The former is basically an attempt to forge an alliance led by the working class in the interests of the working class, while the latter seeks to unite 'working class organisations with middle class, liberal, and bourgeois parties' to 'form a people's front rather than a workers' front' (Rees, 2011: 46).
- 8 The depth of complacency is captured in the following quote from the incumbent Labour Member of Parliament for Barking, Margaret Hodge, during a BBC radio interview in 2009:

'Until the BNP really emerged, come elections you might deliver a few leaflets, you might have a presence at the polling station. Nobody really knocked on doors, nobody asked people what was the thing that mattered to them in their local communities. Nobody really listened And there we were, us politicians, being voted in year on year and we were simply not listening ...'.
- 9 Interestingly, this short questionnaire revealed that even though the 2010 general and local elections were held on the same day, many residents had voted for local BNP candidates but not Party Chairman Nick Griffin. Similarly, some residents also informed me that while they had voted for local BNP candidates at local elections in 2006 and

2010, they had also voted for Labour and Conservative candidates because each ward was able to elect three councillors to represent them. Residents also explained that they did not vote for the BNP in the GLA, national and European elections because they did not think that the BNP had a realistic chance of winning. This highlights a limitation in the way that knowledge on the electoral support for the far right is generated using opinion polls, which although examining previous support for other candidates and parties, tend not track voting behaviour across different types of elections. Not only this, surveys such as the one deployed during my research also have the potential to offer new insights in terms of temporal dimensions and strength of far right electoral support.

- 10 Launched in late 2009, the local Labour-run council began printing *The News* as a response to the negative coverage it was receiving in the area's two local newspapers. Therefore, *The News* was not simply a 'community newspaper'. It was also, at least in part, an attempt to bolster the hegemony of both the Barking and the Dagenham branches of the Labour Party.
- 11 Although, as Ramalingam's contribution to this collection shows, far right activists expressed their racist views to a 'female Researcher of Colour' (see also Ezekiel, 1995).
- 12 I was born in the town of Paisley in the West of Scotland. Both my parents were factory workers for almost two decades before deindustrialization hit the town. Prior to redundancy both my parents were 'affluent workers'; that is, 'unskilled' working class people who experienced relatively well-paid and secure employment. I lived in the neighbourhood into which I was born for more than three decades – a neighbourhood which in 2016 was classified as the most deprived in Scotland. Other than periods of doctoral fieldwork, I had never lived anywhere else. My family consists of a mix of white Scottish, Irish, Catholic and Protestant backgrounds. From a very early age, I was aware of both anti-Catholic racism and sectarianism, most of which is centred around the rivalry between Glasgow's two main football clubs and the political situation in the North of Ireland. I was also introduced to anti-racism, anti-fascism, family histories of left-wing activism and trade unionism at a relatively young age. I draw attention to the above, not to play working class hero, but because my background was often a key feature in my interactions with local people in Barking and Dagenham. I also draw attention to this because amid recent academic discussion in and around Brexit and the far right in Britain, where some have sought to lay claim to a sense of working class authenticity (for an overview, see Shilliam, 2018; and Tilley, 2017). Often presented as a radical response to liberal and right-wing academic, political and media discourses which stigmatize the 'traditional working class' or 'left behind', these narratives serve as proxies for 'white working class', and obfuscate both middle class racism and the structural and institutional racism enacted by Britain's political and economic elites. In many ways, such claims of working class authenticity are not authentic to me. Such claims are both politically and intellectually unhelpful, not to mention exclusionary, if not nativistic. Reinforcing the very kind of identity politics they purport to oppose (see Valluvan, 2019), cruder claims to authenticity demand recognition for a homogenized, and whitened, working class, while also feeding into, if not reinforcing, notions of 'deserving' and 'undeserving poor' (see Shilliam, 2018). Such accounts, to my mind at least, obscure the fact that the working class in Britain has been multi-racial, multi-ethnic and politically heterogeneous from its very inception (see Virdee, 2014), while also failing to take appropriate account of the fact that neoliberalism, globalization, deindustrialization and austerity have had a disproportionate impact on working class people racialized as non-White British, especially women (see Hall et al., 2017). For me, such claims to authenticity are the residue of a strain of socialist nationalism long advocated by sections of left in Britain (see Virdee, 2014).
- 13 For example,

Quote one: You don't live here. You can't tell us how to think [long pause]. There were people coming over here that genuinely needed to be here and they need a job. But now I'm changing again because our people can't get jobs. Our families are suffering and everybody else's families are suffering. Our families are suffering badly.

Quote two: I mean you must see it in Glasgow, because I don't think you're quite as tolerant of multicultural, race as we are, or you weren't at one time. I mean I'm not being, I've got a, one of my relations is from Glasgow.

- 14 Indeed, while watching anti-fascist campaigners knocking on residents' doors I heard similar arguments when racism was challenged. For example,

Out observing in Becontree tonight. Several heated exchanges between HnH [campaigners] and local people. Objection taken to the BNP being called 'fascists', 'Nazis' and 'racists' ... Two young white men, aged 18–25 years confronted me and the Green Party activist from Islington [a borough in Central London]. One shouted 'Who the f**k do you think you are? Come to my door with those 'f**king leaflets!' The other guy shouted 'f**k off back to Islington' several times as we walked away (Field diary extract – Wednesday 28th April 2010).

The catalyst for some of the more fiery exchanges stemmed from the way in which some anti-fascist campaigners were too quick to reach for terms like 'fascists', 'Nazis' and 'racists' rather than listening to what local residents had to say. From an anti-fascist perspective, this is not to say that the use of such terms was not justifiable on many occasions but rather these exchanges demonstrated that sustained anti-racist, anti-fascist work that engages with local residents' experiences, opinions and anxieties was required.

- 15 For a further discussion on the origins of 'no platform' politics, see Smith, E. (2015) " 'By whatever means necessary': The origins of the 'no platform' policy." *New Historical Express*, 3 November 2015. <https://hatfulofhistory.wordpress.com/2015/11/03/by-whatever-means-necessary-the-origins-of-the-no-platform-policy/> [accessed 24 July 2019].
- 16 It is important to note that such individuals usually shared the BNP's hostility towards a particular racialized group (see Copsey, 2008).
- 17 Osmundson, J. (2013) "Love letter to white people". *The Feminist Wire*, 3 September 2013. <https://thefeministwire.com/2013/09/love-letter-to-white-people/> [accessed 24 July 2019].
- 1 The author gratefully acknowledges the support provided by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Parts of this chapter were written while the author was Visiting Professor, Department of Political Science and School of Government, LUISS Guido Carli, Rome, Italy. Thanks also to Milos Brocic, Roberto Chiarini, Gabriel Menard, Sébastien Parker, and the chapter reviewers for their comments, questions, and suggestions.
- 1 The digital image archive did not ever become a finite entity; over the years, additional screenshots and photographs were added and new symbols and codes analyzed. Moreover, some of the original set of nearly 3,000 images were essentially duplicate images retained because clothing items or catalog pages were photographed from multiple angles in order to show the larger context of the catalog page or frame. Some individual products could thus be associated with as many as 3–4 single images, as separate codes, iconography, symbols or text on a shirt sleeve, front, back, pocket were digitized or due to "zooming in" on particular symbols in order to make text legible or parts of a symbol more visible. For this reason, quantitative descriptors for the archive turn out not to be very useful except to illustrate its scale and scope. See Miller-Idriss (2018), especially the Methodological Appendix, for further discussion.
- 2 As communicated by an external reviewer for an early grant proposal for Miller-Idriss (2018)'s research, for example – but published scholarship has offered similar framings. Hagan, Merckens and Boehnke (1995: 1034) describe "adolescent inclinations to drift into subterranean traditions of right-wing extremism as well as juvenile delinquency," indicating that there is a liminal phase during which risk of participation in the far right is highest, after which it presumably declines. Notably, there is also some research indicating a life-cycle trajectory for both left- and right-wing youth activists, in which 'postactivist adult lives' are characterized by continuity in political orientations but 'less radical style' (Braungart and Braungart, 1990: 243 and 279)
- 3 319: Naja, ick hab eigentlich alle Kumpels... wir kennen uns ja auch schon ewig lange, ja? Schon seit unserer Jugend und wir sind einfach damit aufgewachsen. Wir haben halt

unsere Sachen da mitgemacht und ehm ja... kam der erste mit 'ner Alpha Jacke, dann kam der zweite mit 'ner Alpha Jacke, so fing das allet mal an. Ja, dann ist man natürlich damals auch mal in so'n Szenen mit ringerutscht, ja? Hat mal geguckt, wat da los ist, aber sich davon auch wieder distanziert, ja?

Interviewer: Welche Szene meinst du damit?

319: Ja, natürlich eh die rechts-extreme, ja? Aber wie gesagt, da ist man denn eh sehr schnell auch wieder von abgekommen, wenn man selber gemerkt hat, dass nischt bringt. 4 114: "denen man eine gewisse Heimattreue unterstellen kann."

- 5 As argued by Mabel Berezin in a presentation during a seminar in Athens, Greece as part of the Economic and Social Research Council-funded research network "Right-Wing Extremism in Contemporary Europe," September 2014.
- 6 For more information, see <http://girds.org/projects>, accessed January 30, 2018.
- 1 Research for this chapter was conducted in July 2018 prior to the collapse of the Austrian government in May 2019, after the publication of the scandalous "Ibiza-Video", May 17, 2019 (see Wodak 2020).
- 2 In this chapter (and book) the term 'far right' is used for many parties which are also labeled 'populist', 'right-wing populist', or indeed, 'extreme-right' parties. I distinguish here between far-right (also right-wing populist as defined in Wodak 2015a), and extreme-right parties (as defined in Wodak and Richardson, 2013) See also Wodak (2020) for an extensive discussion of these terms.
- 3 See, for example, Harrison and Bruter (2011); Feldman and Jackson (2013); Mudde and Kaltwasser (2012); Sir Peter Ustinov Institut et al. (2013); Wodak, KhosraviNik and Mral (2013); Wodak (2013a, 2013b; 2015a; 2015b; 2016; 2017a); Müller (2017); Kras-teva 2017.
- 4 E.g., <http://www.news.at/a/anschlaege-norwegen-fpoe-hetzt-302711> (accessed 20 April 2017).
- 5 See Montgomery (2017).
- 6 See, for example, Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2009); Matouschek et al. (1995); Pelinka and Wodak (2002); Reisigl (2013); Wodak and Pelinka (2002) for more details. It is important to emphasize at this point that far-right populist/national-conservative parties have now won majorities in the former Eastern Bloc countries such as Hungary and Poland. Unlike their counterparts in 'the West', they obviously find it less difficult to promote explicit xenophobic, antisemitic and antiziganist messages. They also draw on traditional antisemitic beliefs shared widely across the population which differ in their quality and explicitness from similar resentments in the UK or France, for example, where hegemonic Israeli politics are usually integrated into debates about Jews (thus sometimes also insinuating world-conspiracy themes, of course) (see Kovács, 2013; Wodak, 2018).
- 7 Belam, M. (2017) "Fact-checking isn't enough. To fight the far right, the media must spread the truth." *The Guardian*, 7 February 2017:
https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/feb/07/fact-checking-far-right-media-truth-donald-trump-terrorist?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other [accessed 5 April 2019].
- 8 The term *Manichean* stems from a religious belief system of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. In this sect, every phenomenon was divided into two opposing sides: light and darkness, good and evil, and so forth. Nowadays, this term has been recontextualized to label ideologies which structure the world into dualities, without any overtones (see Klein, 1991).
- 9 See for example, Richardson (2004); Wodak and Krzyżanowski (2008); Wodak (2011); Wodak and Meyer (2015) for more information on specificities of discourse and genre analysis.
- 10 "Retractable" [in German: *nachvollziehbar*] implies that text analyses should be transparent so that any reader can trace and understand the detailed in-depth textual analysis.
- 11 For this normative distinction, see Boukala (2019); Forchtner (2011); Forchtner and Tominc (2012); Reisigl (2014); Wodak (2020); Wodak and Forchtner (2014).

- 12 See 'Streit um antisemitisches Bild auf Strache-Seite,' *Der Standard*, 19 August 2012: <http://derstandard.at/1345164507078/Streit-um-antisemitisches-Bild-auf-Strache-Seite> [accessed 9 September 2019]; <http://www.sosmitmensch.at/search?q=Strache+Facebook&x=23&y=10>; and 'Strache-Karikatur: SPÖ empört über ÖVP,' *ORF*, 5 March 2013: <http://oe1.orf.at/artikel/336348/> [accessed 9 September 2019], for more details.
- 13 See <http://derstandard.at/1345164507078/Streit-um-antisemitisches-Bild-auf-Strache-Seite> (accessed March 12, 2015).
- 14 See <http://derstandard.at/1345164507078/Streit-um-antisemitisches-Bild-auf-Strache-Seite> (accessed March 12, 2015). Der Standard reproduced the US-American caricature, allegedly taken from hangthebankers.com. Other newspapers (<https://kurier.at/politik/klage-wegencartoon-auf-straches-facebook-seite/808.802> and <https://www.bz-berlin.de/artikel-archiv/antisemitismus-vorwurf-gegen-fpoe-chef-strache> (both accessed May 12, 2020)) maintain that the original caricature was published by the Canadian Jude Potvin (<http://www.michaeljournal.org/juvidm/caricatures.html>) (accessed May 12, 2020). Obviously, it is difficult to trace the relevant sources as the Facebook page of HC Strache has been closed down by the FPÖ after the so-called 'Ibiza-Scandal' in November 2019 and thus, HC Strache's original postings cannot be accessed anymore.
- 15 The transcription here follows rudimentary transcription rules developed for conversations. Such a transcription allows following the dynamic of the conversation and presents all voices as they interact, overlap and interrupt each other. This is a simplified presentation of the full transcript, which follows the HIAT rules for transcriptions.
- 16 See Wodak (2015a) for an extensive discussion of denials, justification strategies and disclaimers.
- 17 See Günter Traxler, 'Strache-Interview "im Weichspülmodus",' *Der Standard*, 27 August 2012 <http://derstandard.at/1345165340089/Strache-Interview-im-Weichspuelmodus>. The *Kleine Zeitung* commented on how Strache had succeeded in presenting himself as victim: <http://www.kleinezeitung.at/nachrichten/politik/2936602/opferumkehr-des-h-c-strache-story>; other politicians were angry about Strache's attacks on his former mentor Jörg Haider, and so forth: <http://www.heute.at/news/politik/art23660,763710>. In any case, the interview (and the provocation via the Facebook incident) proved to be agenda-setting [all links accessed 20 April 2017].