

References

- Abbas, T. and Akhtar, P. (2005) 'The new sociology of British ethnic and cultural relations: the experience of British South Asian Muslims in the post-September 11 climate' in H. Henke (ed.) *Crossing Over: Comparing Recent Migration in Europe and the United States*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, pp. 130–46.
- Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J. and Sanford, R.N. (1950) *The Authoritarian Personality*, New York: Norton.
- Ahmed, S. (2004) 'Affective economies', *Social Text*, 22(2): 117–39.
- Allen, C. (2010) *Islamophobia*, Farnham: Ashgate.
- Allen, C. (2011) 'Opposing Islamification or promoting Islamophobia? Understanding the English Defence League', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 45(4): 279–94.
- Alexander, C. (2013) 'The Muslim question(s): reflections from a race and ethnic studies perspective' in C. Alexander, V. Redclift and A. Hussain (eds) *The New Muslims*, London: Runnymede Trust, pp. 5–7.
- Allport, G. (1979) *The Nature of Prejudice*, New York: Basic Books.
- Anderson, B. (2009) 'Affective atmospheres', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 2: 77–81.
- Ashe, S. (2012) *The Electoral Rise and 'Fall' of the British National Party in Barking and Dagenham*, PhD thesis, Glasgow: University of Glasgow.
- Ashe, S. (2014) 'Why the British National Party didn't get more votes', available at: <http://blog.policy.manchester.ac.uk/featured/2014/07/why-the-british-national-party-didnt-get-more-votes>. Accessed: 04.08.2015.
- Atton, C. (2006) 'Far-right media on the Internet: culture, discourse and power', *New Media Society* 8(4): 573–87.
- Back, L. (1996) *New Ethnicities and Urban Culture: Racisms and Multiculture in Young Lives*, London: University College London Press.
- Back, L. (2002) 'Guess who's coming to dinner? The political morality of investigating whiteness in the gray zone' in V. Ware and L. Back, *Out of Whiteness: Color, Politics, and Culture*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, pp. 15–32.
- Back, L. (2007) *The Art of Listening*, Oxford and New York: Berg.
- Back, L., and Solomos, J. (1993) 'Doing research, writing politics: the dilemmas of political intervention in research on racism', *Economy and Society*, 22: 178–99.
- Back, L., Keith, M. and Solomos, J. (1998) 'Racism on the Internet: mapping neo-fascist subcultures in cyberspace' in J. Kaplan and T. Bjørge (eds) *Nation and Race: The Developing Euro-American Racist Subculture*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, pp. 73–101.
- Barker, M. (1981) *The New Racism*, London: Junction Books.

- Bartlett, J. and Littler, M. (2011) *Inside the EDL: Populist Politics in a Digital Age*, London: Demos, available at: http://www.demos.co.uk/files/Inside_the_edl_WEB.pdf?1331035419. Accessed: 28.08.2015.
- Bartlett, J., Birdwell, J. and Littler, M. (2011) *The New Face of Digital Populism*, London: Demos, available at: www.demos.co.uk/publications/thenewfaceofdigitalpopulism. Accessed: 06.06.2015.
- Beck, C. (2015) *Radicals, Revolutionaries and Terrorists*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Beck, U. and Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002) *Individualization: Institutionalized Individualism and Its Social and Political Consequences*, London: Sage.
- Billig, M. (1978) *Fascists: A Social Psychological View of the National Front*, London and New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Blee, K. (2002) *Inside Organized Racism: Women in the Hate Movement*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Blee, K. (2007) 'Ethnographies of the Far Right', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 36(2): 119–28.
- Bleich, E. (2011) 'What is Islamophobia and how much is there? Theorizing and measuring an emerging comparative concept', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(12): 1581–1600.
- Bleich, E. and Maxwell, R. (2012) 'Assessing Islamophobia in Britain' in M. Helbling (ed.) *Islamophobia in the West: Measuring and Explaining Individual Attitudes*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 39–55.
- Bottero, W. (2009) 'Class in the 21st century' in K.P. Sveinsson (ed.) *Who Cares about the White Working Class?*, Chichester: Runnymede Trust, pp. 7–14.
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. (1992) *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, Oxford: Polity Press.
- Brown, G. and Pickerill, J. (2009) 'Space for emotion in the spaces of activism', *Emotion, Space and Society*, 2: 24–35.
- Bucerius, S.M. (2013) 'Becoming a "trusted outsider": gender, ethnicity, and inequality in ethnographic research', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 42(6): 690–721.
- Busher, J. (2012) 'From ethnic nationalisms to clashing civilizations: reconfigurations of (un)civil religion in an era of globalization', *Religion Compass*, 6(9): 414–25.
- Busher, J. (2013) 'Grassroots activism in the English Defence League: discourse and public (dis)order' in M. Taylor, P.M. Currie and D. Holbrook (eds) *Extreme Right Wing Political Violence and Terrorism*, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 65–84.
- Bygnes, S. (2012) 'Ambivalent multiculturalism', *Sociology*, 47(1): 126–41.
- Castells, M. (2012) *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Clarke, J. (1993) 'Style' in S. Hall and T. Jefferson (eds) *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*, London: Routledge, pp. 175–91.
- Clarke, S. and Garner, S. (2010) *White Identities: A Critical Sociological Approach*, London: Pluto Press.
- Clifford, J. (1986) 'Introduction: partial truths' in J. Clifford and G. Marcus (eds) *Writing Culture: Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, pp. 1–26.
- Cockburn, T. (2007) "'Performing" racism: engaging young supporters of the far right in England', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 28(5): 547–60.
- Collins, M. (2011) *Hate: My life in the British Far Right*, London: Biteback.
- Collins, M. (2013) 'Sunderland drug dealer threatens Muslim EDL member', *The Insider's blog*, 5 November, available at: www.hopenothate.org.uk/blog/insider/sunderland-drug-dealer-threatens-muslim-edl-member-3162. Accessed: 07.05.2015.

- Collins, R. (2001) 'Social movements and the focus of emotional attention' in J. Goodwin, J.M. Jasper and F. Polletta (eds) *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 27–44.
- Copsey, N. (2010) *The English Defence League: A Challenge to Our Country and Our Values of Social Inclusion, Fairness and Equality*, London: Faith Matters.
- Crossley, N. (2002) *Making sense of social movements*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Crowley, J. (2007) 'Friend or foe? Self-expansion, stigmatized groups, and the researcher-participant relationship', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 36(6): 603–30.
- Dancygier, R. (2010) *Immigration and Conflict in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Della Porta, D. (2008) 'Research on Social Movements and Political Violence', *Qualitative Sociology*, 31: 221–30.
- Della Porta, D. (2013) *Can Democracy Be Saved?* Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Di Nunzio, D. and Toscano, E. (2014) 'Taking everything back: CasaPound, a far right movement in Italy' in A. Farro and H. Lustinger-Thaler (eds) *Reimagining Social Movements*, Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, pp. 251–63.
- Duncombe, J. and Jessop, J. (2002) "'Doing rapport" and the ethics of "faking friendship"' in M. Mauthner, M. Birch, J. Jessop and T. Miller (eds) *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, London: Sage, pp. 108–23.
- Duneier, M. and Back, L. (2006) 'Voices from the sidewalk: ethnography and writing race', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(3): 543–65.
- Eddowes, S. (2015) Interview with author, 18.07.2015.
- Edwards, G. (2014) *Social Movements and Protest*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Esseveld, J. and Eyerman, R. (1992) 'Which side are you on? Reflections on methodological issues in the study of "distasteful" social movements' in M. Diani and R. Eyerman (eds) *Studying Collective Action*, London: Sage, pp. 217–37.
- Ezekiel, R.S. (1995) *The Racist Mind: Portraits of American neo-Nazis and Klansmen*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Ezekiel, R.S. (2002) 'An ethnographer looks at neo-Nazi and Klan groups: the racist mind revisited', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 46: 51–71.
- Field, C.D. (2012) 'Revisiting Islamophobia in contemporary Britain, 2007–10' in M. Helbling (ed.) *Islamophobia in the West: Measuring and Explaining Individual Attitudes*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 147–61.
- Fielding, N. (1981) *The National Front*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Fielding, N. (1993) 'Mediating the message: affinity and hostility in research on sensitive topics' in C. Renzetti and R. Lee (eds) *Researching Sensitive Topics*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage, pp. 146–59.
- Ford, R. and Goodwin, M. (2014) *Revolt on the Right: Explaining Support for the Radical Right in Britain*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Francois-Cerrah, M. (2012) 'The truth about Muhammad and Aisha', *The Guardian*, 17 September, available at: www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/2012/sep/17/muhammad-aisha-truth. Accessed: 06.08.2015.
- Furedi, F. (2005) *Politics of Fear: Beyond Left or Right*, London and New York: Continuum.
- Garland, J. and Treadwell, J. (2010) "'No surrender to the Taliban": football hooliganism, Islamophobia and the rise of the English Defence League', *Papers from the British Criminology Conference*, 10: 19–35.
- Garland, J. and Treadwell, J. (2011) 'Masculinity, marginalization and violence: a

- case study of the English Defence League', *British Journal of Criminology*, 51(4): 621–34.
- Garner, S. (2009) 'Home truths: the white working class and the racialization of social housing' in K.P. Sveinsson (ed.) *Who Cares about the White Working Class?*, Chichester: Runnymede Trust, pp. 45–50.
- Garner, S. and Selod, S. (2015) 'The racialization of Muslims: empirical studies of Islamophobia', *Critical Sociology*, 41(1): 9–19.
- Gillan, K. and Pickerill, J. (2012) 'The difficult and hopeful ethics of research on, and with, social movements', *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, 11(2): 133–43.
- Gillies, V. and Alldred, P. (2002) 'The ethics of intention: research as a political tool' in M. Mauthner, M. Birch, J. Jessop and T. Miller (eds) *Ethics in Qualitative Research*, London: Sage, pp. 32–52.
- Gilroy, P. (2000) *Against Race: Imagining Political Culture beyond the Color Line*, Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Goffman, E. (1990) *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, London: Penguin Books.
- Goldberg, D.T. (2006) 'Racial Europeanization', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(2): 331–64.
- Goodwin, J., Jasper, J.M. and Polletta, F. (2001) 'Why emotions matter' in J. Goodwin, J. M. Jasper and F. Polletta (eds) *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 1–24.
- Goodwin, M. (2011a) *New British Fascism: Rise of the British National Party*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Goodwin, M. (2011b) 'Right response: understanding and countering populist extremism in Europe', *A Chatham House Report*, London: Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House).
- Goodwin, M., Ford, R., Duffy, B. and Robey, R. (2010) 'Who votes extreme right in twenty-first-century Britain? The social bases of support for the National Front and British National Party' in R. Eatwell and M. Goodwin (eds) *The New Extremism in 21st Century Britain*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 191–210.
- Gover, D. (2012) 'EDL leader Tommy Robinson faces trial for passport allegation after 9/11 US Speech', *International Business Times*, 22 October, available at: www.ibtimes.co.uk/english-defence-league-arrests-robinson-extradition-396866. Accessed: 23.03.2014.
- Grimm, R. and Pilkington, H. (2015) "'Loud and proud": youth and the politics of silencing', *Sociological Review*, 63(S2): 206–30.
- Hafez, F. (2014) 'Shifting borders: Islamophobia as common ground for building pan-European right-wing unity', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 48(5): 479–99.
- Hage, G. (2003) *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society*, London: Merlin Press.
- Hage, G. (2014) 'Continuity and change in Australian racism', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 35(3): 232–37.
- Hallet, R. and Barber, K. (2014) 'Ethnographic research in a cyber era', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 43(3): 306–30.
- Halliday, F. (1999) "'Islamophobia" reconsidered', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(5): 892–902.
- Hann, D. and Tilzey, S. (2003) *No Retreat: The Secret War between Britain's Anti-fascists and the Far Right*, Lancashire: Milo Books.
- Hay, C. (2007) *Why We Hate Politics*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heath, A. and Demireva, N. (2014) 'Has multiculturalism failed in Britain?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(1): 161–80.

- Helbling, M. (2012) 'Islamophobia in the West: an introduction' in M. Helbling (ed.) *Islamophobia in the West: Measuring and Explaining Individual Attitudes*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 1–18.
- Herring, S. (2001) 'Computer-mediated discourse' in D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen and H. Hamilton (eds) *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hewitt, R. (2005) *White Backlash and the Politics of Multiculturalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hogg, M. (2012) 'Self-uncertainty, social identity, and the solace of extremism' in M. Hogg and D.L. Blaylock (eds) *Extremism and the Psychology of Uncertainty*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 19–35.
- Ignazi, P. (2003) *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jackson, P. (2011a) 'The English Defence League: anti-Muslim politics online' in P. Jackson and G. Gable (eds) *Far-Right.Com: Nationalist Extremism on the Internet*, Northampton: Searchlight Magazine and the Radicalism and New Media Research Group, pp. 7–19.
- Jackson, P. (2011b) 'Conclusions' in P. Jackson and G. Gable (eds) *Far-Right.Com: Nationalist Extremism on the Internet*, Northampton: Searchlight Magazine and the Radicalism and New Media Research Group, pp. 70–75.
- Jackson, P. (2011c) *The EDL: Britain's 'New Far Right' Social Movement*, Northampton: RNM Publications, University of Northampton.
- Jackson, P. and Gable, G. (eds) (2011) *Far-Right.Com: Nationalist Extremism on the Internet*, Northampton: Searchlight Magazine and the Radicalism and New Media Research Group.
- Jasper, J. (1998) 'The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Social Movements', *Sociological Forum*, 13(3): 397–424.
- Jivraj, S. (2012) 'How has ethnic diversity grown 1991–2001–2011?', *Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE)*, University of Manchester, available at: www.ethnicity.ac.uk/medialibrary/briefings/dynamicsofdiversity/how-has-ethnic-diversity-grown-1991-2001-2011.pdf. Accessed: 25.06.2015.
- Jivraj, S. (2013) 'Muslims in England and Wales: evidence from the 2011 Census' in C. Alexander, V. Redclift and A. Hussain (eds) *The New Muslims*, London: Runnymede Trust, pp. 16–19.
- Jivraj, S. and Khan, O. (2013) 'Ethnicity and deprivation in England: how likely are ethnic minorities to live in deprived neighbourhoods?' *Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE)*, University of Manchester, available at: [www.ethnicity.ac.uk/medialibrary/briefingsupdated/ethnicity-and-deprivation-in-england-how-likely-are-ethnic-minorities-to-live-in-deprived-neighbourhoods%20\(1\).pdf](http://www.ethnicity.ac.uk/medialibrary/briefingsupdated/ethnicity-and-deprivation-in-england-how-likely-are-ethnic-minorities-to-live-in-deprived-neighbourhoods%20(1).pdf). Accessed: 30.06.2015.
- Jivraj, S. and Simpson, L. (2013) '2011 Census: Muslims and Sikhs most likely to feel British', available at: www.manchester.ac.uk/discover/news/article/?id=10147. Accessed: 22.04.2015.
- Juris, J. (2008) 'Performing politics: Image, embodiment, and affective solidarity during anti-corporate globalization protests', *Ethnography*, 9(1): 61–97.
- Kalkan, K.O., Layman, G.C. and Uslaner, E.M. (2009) "'Band of others?'" Attitudes toward Muslims in contemporary American society', *The Journal of Politics*, 71(3): 847–62.
- Kalra, V.S. (2006) 'Ethnography as politics: a critical review of British studies of racialized minorities', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(3): 452–70.
- Kelly, N. (2012) 'A boycott of the police commissioner elections could let in extremists',

- The Guardian*, 22 October, available at: www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/oct/22/police-commissioner-election-extremists. Accessed: 05.05.2014.
- Kenny, M. (2012) 'The political theory of recognition: the case of the "white working class"', *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 14(1): 19–38.
- Kimmel, M. (2007) 'Racism as adolescent male rite of passage: ex-Nazis in Scandinavia', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 36(2): 202–18.
- Kirby, R. and Corzine, J. (1981) 'The contagion of stigma: fieldwork among deviants', *Qualitative Sociology*, 4(1): 3–20.
- Kitschelt, H. (2007) 'Growth and persistence of the radical right in postindustrial democracies: advances and challenges in comparative research', *West European Politics*, 20(5): 1176–1206.
- Klandermans, B. and Mayer, N. (2006) 'Right-wing extremism as a social movement' in B. Klandermans and N. Mayer (eds) (2006) *Extreme Right Activists in Europe: Through the Magnifying Glass*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 3–27.
- Klatch, R. (2004) 'The underside of social movements: the effects of destructive affective ties', *Qualitative Sociology*, 27(4): 487–509.
- Klug, B. (2012) 'Islamophobia: a concept comes of age', *Ethnicities*, 112(5): 665–81.
- Kundnani, A. (2004) 'The rise and fall of British multiculturalism' in G. Titley (ed.) *Resituating Culture*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, pp. 105–12.
- Laclau, E. (2005) *On Populist Reason*, London: Verso.
- Langebach, M. and Raabe, J. (2013) 'Inside the extreme right: the White Power music scene' in A. Mammone, E. Godin and B. Jenkins (eds) *Varieties of Right-wing Extremism in Europe*, London: Routledge, pp. 249–64.
- Leddy-Owen, C. (2014) 'Reimagining Englishness: "race", class, progressive English identities and disrupted English communities', *Sociology*, 48(6): 1123–38.
- Lentin, A. (2004) 'The problem of culture and human rights in the response to racism' in G. Titley (ed.) *Resituating Culture*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe, pp. 95–104.
- Lentin, A. (2008) 'Europe and the silence about race', *European Journal of Social Theory*, 11(4): 487–503.
- Lentin, A. (2014) 'Post-race, post politics: the paradoxical rise of culture after multiculturalism', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(8): 1268–85.
- Linden, A. and Klandermans, B. (2007) 'Revolutionaries, wanderers, converts, and compliants: life histories of extreme right activists', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 36(2): 184–201.
- Lone, A. and Silver, D. (2014) *Europe's White Working Class Communities: Manchester*, New York: Open Society Foundations.
- McDonald, K. (2006) *Global Movements: Action and Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- McDonald, K. (2014) *What Could a Sociology of the Subject Look Like?*, available at: www.academia.edu/10139839/What_could_a_sociology_of_the_subject_look_like, DOI:10.1177/20568460023. Accessed: 15.06.2015.
- McNay, L. (2014) *The Misguided Search for the Political*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Malbon, B. (1999) *Clubbing, Dancing, Ecstasy and Vitality*, London: Routledge.
- Massumi, B. (2004) 'Translator's foreword: notes on the translation and acknowledgements' in G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, London and New York: Continuum.
- Meer, N. (2014) 'Islamophobia and postcolonialism: continuity, orientalism and Muslim consciousness', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 48(5): 500–15.
- Meer, N. and Modood, T. (2009) 'Refutations of racism in the "Muslim question"', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 43(3–4): 335–54.

- Meer, N. and Modood, T. (2014) 'Cosmopolitanism and integrationism: is British multiculturalism a "zombie category"?', *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 21(6): 658–74.
- Meer, N. and Nayak, A. (2013) 'Race ends where? Race, racism and contemporary sociology', *Sociology*, E-special Issue 2: 1–18.
- Miles, R. (2000) 'Apropos the idea of "race"... again' in L. Back and J. Solomos (eds) *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 180–98.
- Minkenberg, M. (2013) 'The European radical right and xenophobia in West and East: trends, patterns and challenges' in R. Melzer and S. Serafin (eds) *Right-wing Extremism in Europe: Country Analyses, Counter-strategies and Labor-market Oriented Exit Strategies*, Berlin: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, pp. 9–34.
- Minkenberg, M. (2015) 'Profiles, patterns, process: studying the East European radical right in its political environment' in M. Minkenberg (ed.) *Transforming the Transformation? The East European Radical Right in the Political Process*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 27–56.
- Modood, T. (2013) 'Multiculturalism and religion: a three part debate. Part one: accommodating religions: multiculturalism's new fault line', *Critical Social Policy*, 22.10.2013. DOI: 10.1177/0261018313501826, pp. 1–7.
- Mouffe, C. (2005) *On the Political*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Mudde, C. (2007) *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mudde, C. (2014) 'Introduction: youth and the extreme right: explanations, issues, and solutions' in C. Mudde (ed.) *Youth and the Extreme Right*, New York, London and Amsterdam: IDEbate Press, pp. 1–18.
- Nayak, A. (1999) "'Pale warriors": skinhead culture and the embodiment of white masculinities' in A. Brah, M.J. Hickman and M. Mac an Ghaill (eds) *Thinking Identities: Ethnicity, Racism and Culture*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 71–99.
- Nayak, A. (2003) *Race, Place and Globalization: Youth Cultures in a Changing World*, Oxford: Berg.
- Nayak, A. (2005) 'White lives' in K. Murji and J. Solomos (eds) *Racialization: Studies in Theory and Practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 141–62.
- Nayak, A. (2006) 'After race: ethnography, race and post-race theory', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29(3): 411–30.
- Norris, P. (2011) *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Reilly, K. (2005) *Ethnographic Methods*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Paul, J. (2014) 'Post-racial futures: imagining post-racialist antiracism(s)', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37 (4): 702–18.
- Pilkington, H. (2012) 'When is a kettle not a kettle? When it is on slow boil', MYPLACE blog, 4 September, available at: <http://myplacefp7.wordpress.com/2012/09/04/when-is-a-kettle-not-a-kettle-when-it-is-on-slow-boil>. Accessed: 30.03.2014.
- Pilkington, H. (2014a) "'My whole life is here": tracing journeys through "skinhead"' in D. Buckingham and M.-J. Kehily (eds) *Rethinking Youth Cultures in the Age of Global Media*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 71–87.
- Pilkington, H. (2014b) 'Ethnographic Case Studies of Youth Activism: Introduction', WP7: Interpreting Activism (Ethnographies). Deliverable 7.1, MYPLACE Deliverable Report, available at: <http://www.fp7-myplace.eu/deliverables.php>. Accessed: 06.06.2015.
- Pilkington, H. (forthcoming) 'Can qualitative data speak beyond the individual case? Employing meta-ethnography for the synthesis of findings in transnational research

- projects' in H. Pilkington, G. Pollock and R. Franc (eds) *Understanding Youth Participation across Europe: From Survey to Ethnography*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pilkington, H., Omel'chenko, E. and Garifzianova, A. (2010) *Russia's Skinheads: Exploring and Rethinking Subcultural Lives*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Quilliam (2013) 'Quilliam facilitates Tommy Robinson leaving the English Defence League', 8 October, available at: www.quilliamfoundation.org/press/quilliam-facilitates-tommy-robinson-leaving-the-english-defence-league. Accessed: 26.07.2015.
- Rancière, J. (1999) *Dis-agreement: Politics and Philosophy* (transl. Julie Rose), Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Rancière, J. (2011) 'The thinking of dissensus: politics and aesthetics' in P. Bowman and R. Stamp (eds) *Reading Rancière: Critical Dissensus*, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 1–17.
- Ray, L. Smith, D. and Wastell, L. (2004) 'Shame, rage and racist violence', *British Journal of Criminology*, 44(3): 350–68.
- Rex, J. (2000) 'Race relations in sociological theory' in L. Back and J. Solomos (eds) *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 174–79.
- Rhodes, J. (2009) 'Revisiting the 2001 riots: New Labour and the Rise of "colour blind racism"', *Sociological Research Online*, 14(5)3, available at: www.socresonline.org.uk/14/5/3.html. Accessed: 06.08.2015.
- Rhodes, J. (2010) 'White backlash, "unfairness" and justifications of British National Party (BNP) support', *Ethnicities*, 10(1): 77–99.
- Rhodes, J. (2011) "'It's not just them, it's whites as well": whiteness, class and BNP support', *Sociology*, 45(1): 102–17.
- Rokeach, M. (2015) *The Open and Closed Mind: Investigations into the Nature of Belief Systems and Personality Systems*, Eastford: Martino Fine Books.
- Runnymede Trust (1997) *Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All (Summary)*, available at: www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/islamophobia.pdf. Accessed: 2.03.2014.
- Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*, New York: Pantheon.
- Sawer, M. (2007) 'Wearing your politics on your sleeve: the role of political colours in social movements', *Social Movement Studies: Journal of Social, Cultural and Political Protest*, 6(1): 39–56.
- Shields, R., Park, O. and Davidson, T. (2011) 'Conclusion: a roundtable on the affective turn' in T. Davidson, O. Park and R. Shields (eds) *Ecologies of Affect: Placing Nostalgia, Desire, and Hope*, Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, pp. 317–26.
- Shouse, E. (2005) 'Feeling, emotion, affect', *M/C Journal*, 8(6), available at: <http://journal.media-culture.org.au/0512/03-shouse.php>. Accessed: 09.06.2015.
- Skenderovic, D., Späti, C. and Wildmann, D. (2014) 'Past and present expressions of Islamophobia: an introduction', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 48(5): 437–41.
- Simi, P. and Futrell, R. (2010) *American Swastika: Inside the White Power Movement's Hidden Spaces of Hate*, Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Simpson, P.A. and Druxes, H. (eds) (2015) *Digital Media Strategies of the Far Right in Europe and the United States*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Skeggs, B. and Loveday, V. (2012) 'Struggles for value: value practices, injustice, judgment, affect and the idea of class', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 63(3): 472–90.
- Smyth, L. and Mitchell, C. (2008) 'Researching conservative groups: rapport and understanding across moral and political boundaries', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 11(5): 441–52.

- Sniderman, P.M. and Hagendoorn, L. (2007) *When Ways of Life Collide. Multiculturalism and Its Discontents in The Netherlands*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Sobolewska, M. (2010) 'Religious extremism in Britain and British Muslims: threatened citizenship and the role of religion' in R. Eatwell and M. Goodwin (eds) *The New Extremism in 21st Century Britain*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 23–46.
- Solomos, J. (2013) 'Contemporary forms of racist movements and mobilization in Britain' in R. Wodak, M. KhosraviNik and B. Mral (eds) *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 121–34.
- Solomos, J. and Back, L. (1994) 'Conceptualising racisms: social theory, politics and research', *Sociology*, 28(1): 143–61.
- Soutphommasane, T. (2012) *The Virtuous Citizen: Patriotism in a Multicultural Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- St Louis, B. (2002) 'Post-race/post-politics? Activist-intellectualism and the reification of race', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25(4): 652–75.
- Stolz, J. (2005) 'Explaining Islamophobia: a test of four theories based on the case of a Swiss city', *Swiss Journal of Sociology*, 31(3): 547–66.
- Strabac, Z. and Listhaug, O. (2008) 'Anti-Muslim prejudice in Europe: a multilevel analysis of survey data from 30 countries', *Social Science Research*, 37: 268–86.
- Team Members (2006) 'Writing life-histories: interviewing extreme right-wing activists' in B. Klandermans and N. Mayer (eds) *Extreme Right Activists in Europe: Through the Magnifying Glass*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 51–64.
- Thien, D. (2005) 'After or beyond feeling? A consideration of affect and emotion in geography', *Area*, 37(4): 450–56.
- Toynbee, P. (2004) 'We must be free to criticise without being called racist', *The Guardian*, 18 August, available at: www.theguardian.com/world/2004/aug/18/religion.politics. Accessed: 25.05.2015.
- Trilling, D. (2012) *Bloody Nasty People: The Rise of Britain's Far Right*, London: Verso.
- Vakil, A. (2010) 'Whose afraid of Islamophobia?' in A. Vakil and S. Sayyid (eds) *Thinking through Islamophobia: Global Perspectives*, London: Hurst, pp. 271–78.
- Virchow, F. (2007) 'Performance, emotion, and ideology: on the creation of "collectives of emotion" and worldview in the contemporary German far right', *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 36(2): 147–64.
- Wacquant, L. (2008) *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Ware, V. (2008) 'Towards a sociology of resentment: a debate on class and whiteness', *Sociological Research Online*, 13(5)9, available at: www.socresonline.org.uk/13/5/9.html.
- Wetherell, M. (2012) *Affect and Emotion: A New Social Science Understanding*, London: Sage.
- Willis, P. (1997) 'Theoretical confessions and reflexive method' in K. Gelder and S. Thornton (eds) *The Subcultures Reader*, London: Routledge, pp. 246–53.
- Williams, S. and Law, I. (2012) 'Legitimising racism: an exploration of the challenges posed by the use of indigeneity discourses by the far right', *Sociological Research Online*, 17(2)2, available at: www.socresonline.org.uk/17/2/2.html.
- Wodak, R. (2013) '"Anything Goes!" – the Haiderization of Europe' in R. Wodak, M. KhosraviNik and B. Mral (eds) *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*, London: Bloomsbury, pp. 23–37.

Index

Note: 'n' after a page reference indicates the number of a note on that page.

- activism
 - affect and 9, 11, 14, 57, 162, 177, 179–80, 181, 197, 199, 201, 202, 228–30
 - affective economy 32, 126, 143, 152
 - affective practice 177, 179, 180, 184, 195, 196, 202, 229
 - see also* violence, as affective practice
 - affective solidarity 10, 21, 75, 90, 109, 177, 178, 179, 184, 186, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 226, 228, 229
 - research and 17, 18, 32, 33
 - see also* demonstrations, affect and costs of 60, 85–89, 90, 173, 225
 - embodied 180, 181, 182, 186, 195, 198, 203, 216, 219
 - see also* politics, embodied
 - emotion(s) and xiv, 3, 8–10, 11, 30, 56, 89, 109, 112, 132, 143, 177, 178–80, 181, 184, 186, 193, 196, 201, 212, 213, 215, 216, 228–9
 - destructive role of 178–79, 200–1, 202
 - emotional collective 177, 186, 193, 195, 202, 228, 229
 - emotional transformation 10, 179, 196
 - reciprocal 177–78, 179, 197, 201, 202
 - shared 179, 201, 202
 - transmission of 181–82
 - effectiveness of 51, 53–55, 56, 184, 212, 213, 224, 230
 - forms of 180
 - grassroots 8, 38, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 51, 54, 97, 99, 114, 130, 174, 184, 191, 197, 201, 204, 225, 226, 227
 - leadership 39–42, 44, 45–47, 49, 54–55, 62, 122, 183, 196, 197, 200, 218, 222
 - see also* Robinson, T.
 - left-wing 27, 63, 122, 191, 200
 - performance and 98, 177, 180, 186, 187, 189, 190, 192, 193, 195, 197, 201, 228
 - rationality and 3, 8, 9, 11, 20, 35, 45, 56, 57, 82, 118, 143, 149, 150, 177, 178–80, 182, 184, 186, 212, 214, 215, 216, 219, 220, 229
 - right-wing 8, 27, 56, 75, 78, 89, 191
 - trajectories into 11, 60, 69, 89, 90, 225
 - family background and 80–81
 - material circumstances and 85
 - traumatic experience and 69, 82–83
 - types of 75, 78
 - see also* women, trajectories
 - trajectories out of 11, 60, 85–89, 90
 - youth 10, 20, 61, 206, 215
 - see also* Islamist, activism
- al-Muhajiroun 37, 134
- anger 9, 10, 40, 56, 74, 76–78, 83, 101, 106, 108, 116, 129, 145, 154, 158–59, 161–62, 170, 174, 175, 179, 182, 184, 196, 197, 206, 213, 217, 228
- Back, L. 1, 13, 25–26 *passim*, 28, 31–32 *passim*, 34, 60, 94, 108, 114, 205, 223, 231
- banter 29, 31, 44, 181, 185
 - homophobic 122
 - racist 28,
 - sexist 28, 66, 120
 - sexual 30, 62, 128
 - with opposition 52, 85, 185–86, 197

- being heard 51, 101, 155, 195, 203, 212–16, 229
- being seen 20, 155, 191, 191, 195, 203, 215
- Blee, K. 13, 17, 24, 64, 70, 75, 78–79 *passim*, 83, 90
- BNP *see* British National Party
- British National Party 12n.2, 12n.3, 33, 51, 230
- activism in 38–39, 42, 63, 78, 100, 102, 122, 210, 211
 - Britain First and 41
 - EDL and 38–39, 42, 48, 97, 99, 101, 102–3, 113, 211, 226
 - homophobia and 78, 122
 - ideology 2, 3, 8
 - racism and 38, 74, 78, 99, 100, 102–3, 109, 110, 117, 161, 221n.3, 226
 - support for 2, 8, 12n.3, 61, 77, 78, 102, 207, 220, 230
 - see also* Robinson, T. and
- Britain First 39, 49
- EDL and 41–42, 55
 - see also* British National Party and
- Castells, M. 9, 45, 51, 60, 154, 158, 218
- Casuals 37, 61, 183, 190
- see also* football, casual subculture
- chants 29, 50, 101, 111, 184, 195–97, 214
- anti-Muslim 107, 125, 131, 133, 138, 139, 140, 141, 151, 185, 196, 227
 - as affective practice 79, 177, 186, 195, 202, 229
 - counter-demonstrators and 31, 185, 196, 197
 - football 196, 197, 202n.2
 - identity-affirming 40, 45, 185, 187, 197, 216
 - patriotic 196
 - Unionist 56, 188, 191, 196
- Choudary, A. 134
- Christianity
- EDL and 126, 143, 144, 187
 - extremism and 130, 131
 - identification with 117, 118, 122, 144
 - UK and 13, 110, 136, 164
 - Western civilisation and 116, 126, 144, 187
- citizen
- critical 209
 - second-class 135, 148, 154, 155, 158–61, 163, 174, 175, 177, 228
- citizenship 108, 112, 157
- entitlement to 117, 118
 - immigration and 114–17, 155
 - multicultural 155
- class 34, 156
- identity 32, 147, 154, 191, 215
 - inequality 8, 156–57, 163
 - middle 70, 80n.6, 223
 - political 175, 208
 - politics of 112, 119, 156, 174
 - underclass 156
 - upper 70
 - working 163, 225
 - EDL and 8, 48, 61, 70, 174, 175, 191, 216
 - concerns 57, 156, 208
 - racism and 5, 7, 70, 156, 157, 158, 220, 231
 - white working class 3, 7, 8, 11, 116, 156, 157, 158, 160, 175, 176, 203, 204, 208, 215, 220, 228, 230, 231
 - see also* politics, class and; racism, class and
- Combat 18 48, 55, 138
- democracy xiii, 220
- contestation and 219
 - critique of 217, 218, 219, 230
 - deliberative 112, 178, 216, 218–19
 - EDL and 46, 220
 - in Islam 58n.6, 136
 - liberal xiv, 4, 12n.1, 58n.6, 216–17
 - parliamentary 217, 218, 230
 - participation in 157, 220
 - radical 203, 219
 - rejection of 4, 176n.9, 203, 216, 217, 218
 - socialism and 217
 - support for 7, 38
 - see also* populist radical right and; social movement, democracy and
- democratic
- anti-democratic 4, 203, 216, 217, 218, 230
 - deficit 208, 209
 - politics 208, 216, 219, 231
- demonstrations
- affect and 18, 181
 - as ‘a good day out’ 14, 177, 180, 202n.1
 - attendance at 39–40, 66, 67
 - bonding at 18, 109, 179, 180, 184, 186, 198
 - build up to 14, 180, 186
 - buzz of 62, 177, 181–82, 202, 229

- counter- 36n.6, 97, 140, 166, 185, 197, 206
flash 14, 15, 39, 43, 51, 110, 138, 180
LGBT at 63, 64, 122–23
local 14, 64, 101, 180, 187, 193
national 14, 39, 40, 64, 180, 181, 195
policing of 18, 23, 42, 88, 164, 166–69, 185, 204, 205
purpose of 38, 172, 177, 180, 212, 216, 229
travel to 43, 80, 181, 187
violence at xi, 15, 23, 44, 48, 51, 53, 84, 166–69, 182–86
women at 30, 62, 64, 66, 73
- employment
EDL activism and 52, 88
opportunities xiii, 7, 60, 70, 77, 115, 163, 220
status xii, 22, 25, 48, 64, 65, 69–70, 72, 80, 85, 90, 170, 234–37
unemployment 33, 70, 116, 129, 157
- equality 4, 118, 119, 121, 155, 162
government policy and 156, 157, 163
in EDL 44, 45, 62
see also gender, equality and rights; inequality; LGBT, equality and
- ethics xii–xiii, 14, 20–21, 22, 24, 29, 33, 34, 223, 225
- ethnography x, xii–xiii, xiv, 1, 10, 11, 13n.10, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 25, 28, 30, 31–33, 34, 35, 222–23, 231
militant 33
sensory 202
- extreme right 5, 69, 75
definition of 4, 217
EDL and 4, 11, 89, 225
ideology 5, 111, 159, 161
research on 13, 35
support for 2, 61, 62, 66, 70, 74, 78, 89, 90, 159, 161
see also far right; women, in extreme right
- Ezekiel, R.S. 11, 13, 31, 33, 35, 36n.9, 58n.12, 64, 70, 91n.9, 126, 143, 152, 222, 228, 230
- family
background 65, 72, 76, 80–84, 90, 146, 148, 159
EDL as 11, 51, 90, 178, 180, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 226, 229
- ethnic and religious diversity in 103, 123, 136, 143
impact on 45, 87, 88, 91n.9, 142, 173, 213, 216
support for extreme right 78–79, 90, 107, 141, 225
status 71, 234–37
views on 120
see also activism, trajectories into, family background
- far right xii, 1–4, 8, 11, 12n.3, 37, 51, 59n.21, 60, 74, 76, 78, 113, 119, 124, 157, 207, 208, 220
definition of 4, 12n.1
EDL and xiii, 1, 3–4, 11, 37, 38, 41, 45, 49, 54, 55, 78, 85, 90, 92, 97, 102, 113, 114, 119, 121–22, 203, 217, 224, 225, 226, 230
ideology 1, 2–4, 8, 10, 15, 34–35, 48, 50, 55, 75, 89, 92, 94, 102, 108, 111, 117–19, 12, 124, 125, 143, 149, 150, 152, 157, 161, 201, 222, 226–28
music and 193–95,
research on 1, 2, 8, 10, 11, 13–14, 17, 24–25, 32–36, 85, 222
see also extreme right; social movement, far right and
- fear 9, 17, 56, 76, 77, 93, 108, 125, 126, 127, 129, 135–36, 141, 143, 149, 152, 154, 158, 159, 204, 207, 224, 228
- Fielding, N. 13, 30, 34–35
- football 59, 68, 77, 146, 147, 160, 183–84
casual subculture 37, 183
see also Casuals
colours 191
EDL and 37, 38, 65, 79, 173, 184, 199
firms 38, 61, 79, 173, 184, 190
hooligans xii, 65, 68, 69, 183
see also violence, football
- gender
equality and rights 4, 119, 121, 127, 209
femininities 119, 120
ideology 4, 97, 119–23
masculinities xi, 121, 123
research and 30–32
status 234–37
see also inequality, gender
- grievance
motivation for activism 174, 178, 219
political response to 158, 174, 175, 176, 203, 204, 220, 230, 231
- Griffin, N. 32–33, 50, 149

- hate 10, 55, 56, 101, 104, 106–7, 108, 111, 112, 118, 126, 127, 128, 134, 137, 139, 140, 142, 148, 162, 166, 173, 174, 193
- hope 9, 10, 50, 56–57, 118, 224, 231
- Hope not Hate 101
- immigrants 115, 157, 159
- as unfairly privileged 7–8, 160–62, 228
 - negative attitudes to 2, 11, 12n.4, 12n.5, 113
 - in EDL 115, 116, 118, 148, 151, 227
 - positive attitudes to 117
 - in EDL 115–16
- immigration 55, 70, 115, 124n.6, 157, 221n.3
- attitudes to 2, 150, 208
 - EDL and 37, 58n.3, 108, 114–16, 139, 207
 - government policy and 157–58, 160, 161, 163
 - racism and 93–94, 107, 113, 114, 115, 116, 126, 129–30, 139, 163, 175, 227
- inequality 1, 8, 154, 157, 158, 161, 162, 208, 212
- class 8, 156
 - ethnic 163
 - gender 135
 - of Muslims 12n.7
 - racial 8, 155, 156, 163, 175, 228
 - see also* equality
- Infidels (organisation) 29, 54, 55, 61, 66, 75, 83, 108, 117–19, 121, 122, 124n.5, 144, 200, 212, 217, 230
- infidels 143, 147, 193, 195
- injustice 1, 7, 8, 18, 75, 158, 172, 175, 177, 195, 203, 228, 230
- experience of 89, 154, 165, 173, 174, 225
 - government and 154, 161, 162, 166, 228
 - institutionalisation of 154, 164, 175, 228
 - racialised 154, 175, 228
 - struggle against 75, 155, 195, 225
 - see also* justice
- IS *see* Islamic State
- Islam
- abuse of children and 133–34, 144, 147
 - as aggressive 127, 131, 135–36, 144, 152, 227
 - as backward-looking 13, 132–34, 151, 227
 - as barbaric 127, 133
 - as ideology 58n.6, 106–7, 125, 127, 130, 132, 134, 136–38, 139, 141, 151, 152, 227
 - as intolerant 134, 151, 152, 227
 - as monolithic 125, 127, 128, 130, 131, 227
 - as oppressive 125, 132, 135, 137, 151, 227
 - see also* women, and Islam
 - as peaceful 131
 - as progressive 127
 - as religion 6, 106, 107, 127, 129, 137
 - as violent 76, 140, 151, 153n.15
 - conversion to 135–36, 147, 158
 - debate about 38
 - demonisation of 3, 151
 - extremism and 31, 37, 117, 130, 131, 134, 142, 143, 151, 153n.15, 227
 - in UK 6, 37, 77, 151, 153n.15
 - militant 1, 11, 130, 137, 224
 - moderate 130, 131, 143, 227
 - radical 4, 38, 82, 130, 136, 137, 142, 226
 - representation of 126–27
 - terrorism and 127, 140, 151, 153n.15, 227
 - threat of 3, 38, 101, 130, 144
 - see also* democracy, in Islam; LGBT, Islam and
- Islamic
- courts 38, 58n.5
 - cultural centres 39, 232
 - dress 129, 135, 137, 139, 141, 146, 164–65, 193
 - orthodoxy 130
 - prayer centres 110, 137, 138, 167
 - teachings 38, 63, 122, 139, 140, 147, 150, 227
- Islamic State 131
- Islamisation 136, 167
- Islamist
- activism, 37, 134, 135
 - anti-Islamist 1, 4, 12n.6, 151, 224, 227
 - clerics 166
 - ideology 43, 137
 - videos 82
- Islamophobia
- definition of 4, 5, 74, 125, 126–30, 150, 154, 227–28
 - EDL and 4, 5, 39, 92, 98, 102, 125, 130–38, 150, 151, 226, 227
 - in UK 1, 5, 6, 150, 151
 - racism and 5, 6, 11, 102, 125–26, 128–29, 150, 151
 - self-identification with 145, 148–50, 149

- justice xiii, 1, 96, 154
 Criminal Justice Act 17
 miscarriage of 210
 social 10
 two-tier system of 81, 154, 164, 165, 173,
 175, 228
see also injustice
- KKK *see* Ku Klux Klan
- Klandermans, B. 8, 24, 36, 62, 75–78
passim, 89, 225
- Ku Klux Klan 117, 118, 124n.8, 207
- Laclau, E. 35, 224
- Lentin, A. 5, 94–96 *passim*, 113–14 *passim*,
 155–56 *passim*
- Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
 attitudes towards 23, 63, 122, 134
 EDL division xii, 23, 43, 58n.15, 64, 99,
 121–22, 133, 188
 equality and 119, 127
 Islam and 38, 63, 134, 136
 rights 4, 55, 108, 119, 122, 123, 212
see also, demonstrations, LGBT at;
 respect, for LGBT
- LGBT *see* Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and
 Transgender
- loud and proud xiv, 11, 184, 195, 202, 203,
 212, 213–16, 229
- MDL *see* Muslim Defence League
- media
 lack of coverage in 23, 49, 171, 172, 175,
 206, 224, 228
 exposure by 19, 20, 29, 39, 118, 216
 representation of EDL in xii, 19, 20, 23,
 24, 26, 27, 49, 50–51, 57, 62, 97,
 100, 199, 206, 224
see also Muslim(s), representation of;
 social media; social movement, new
 media and
- mosques 147, 172
 attacks on 39, 113, 137, 138, 166, 193,
 196
 building of 13, 55, 137, 138, 205, 233
 extremism and 137, 170
- Mouffe, C. 1, 56–57 *passim*, 203, 206, 213,
 219–20, 231
- Mudde, C. 4, 11, 12n.1, 61, 62, 70, 75, 203,
 216, 230
- multiculturalism
 anti-multiculturalism 112–14
 as ideology 119, 121, 124n.5
- backlash to 8, 108, 112–14, 118, 154,
 155–56, 157, 175
 failure of 7, 96, 114, 124n.5, 158
 policy of 112–13, 155–56, 219
 support for 113,
- Muslim(s)
 activists in EDL 100, 101, 102
 anti-Muslim attitudes 5–6, 54, 125,
 128–29
 as racism 92, 99, 102–7, 123, 125, 128,
 129–30, 139, 150, 151, 226, 227
 in EDL 3–4, 11, 29, 38, 40, 67, 79,
 102–7, 108, 113, 117, 123, 125–26,
 133, 134, 139–43, 148, 151, 152,
 154, 224, 227
 in UK 6, 8, 12n.4, 78, 127, 150, 164
 rejection of 139, 150–51
 anti-Muslimism 5, 126, 128, 139, 227
 as unfairly privileged 8, 133, 137, 150,
 154, 159–62, 164–65, 167, 168,
 170–72, 228
 as victims 137, 139, 153n.10
 attitudes to non-Muslims 134, 143,
 144–48, 152, 154, 172, 173, 227
see also infidels
- British foreign policy and 40, 79
 communities in UK xi, xiii, 6, 7, 37,
 127–28, 131, 153n.13, 205
 extremist 112, 126, 131, 134, 139,
 142–43, 227
 gangs 106, 124n.3, 133, 136, 139
 moderate 126, 130, 137, 142–43, 227
 Muslim Arbitration Tribunal 58n.5
 Muslim Council of Britain 12n.7
 patriotism and 110
 population growth 6, 111, 136
 representation of 6, 126–27, 128, 152n.1
 rights of 137
 violence by 67, 88, 126, 134, 135,
 140–42, 149, 227
see also inequality, of Muslims; chants
 and songs, anti-Muslim
- Muslim Defence League 140, 166, 172, 182,
 197
- National Front 59n.21
 activism in 78, 102, 118, 138, 199, 200, 210
 EDL and 50, 54, 55, 59n.21, 97, 226
 racism and 110
 support for 207
- National Socialism
 identification with 66, 105, 114, 117,
 118, 119, 217, 218

- National Socialism (*cont.*)
 ideology of 3, 105, 114, 117, 119, 217, 218
 rejection of 217
- Nayak, A. xi-xiv, 5, 31, 34, 78, 93, 95–96
passim, 106, 156, 173
- NF *see* National Front
- patriot 55, 109, 112, 113, 204
- patriotism
 chants 196
 ethnic minorities and 110
 national liberal 112
 understanding of 109–12
 ultra-patriotism 4, 37
see also Muslims, patriotism and
- Pegida UK 41, 42, 214
- political correctness 31, 109, 119, 208
- political socialisation 75, 78, 80, 90, 225
- politics
 British xii, 2, 3, 7, 11, 209, 231
 class and 57, 112, 156, 157, 175, 208
see also class, political; class, politics
 of consensus in 219
 contention in 78, 203, 205, 219
 distrust of xiv, 46, 136, 203, 204, 208–12, 216, 218, 220, 229
 EDL and 10, 42, 45, 46, 48–9, 57, 103, 174, 208–12, 220, 229
 embodied 203, 216, 219
 failure of 216
 formal xiv, 4, 10, 204, 207–13, 216, 218, 220, 230
 left-wing 27, 63, 118, 119, 231
 meanings of 1, 203, 210–13, 219, 229, 230
 moralisation of 203, 206–7, 231
 multicultural 7, 155, 156
 non-democratic 216
 non-politics of action 203, 211, 212, 218, 230
 of resentment 3, 176, 220
 of silencing 57, 93, 203–8, 212, 214, 219, 229, 231
 passion and xiv, 1, 3, 213, 219, 231
 progressive 5, 230
 ‘race’ and 94–96, 123, 156, 226
 recognition 127, 176, 220
 research and 1, 4, 5, 11, 13, 14, 20, 26–27, 31–36, 222–24, 230
 right-wing 38, 42, 119, 124, 203, 208, 219, 220, 231
 youth and 210
see also democratic, politics;
- populism 3, 4, 7, 12n.1, 12n.10, 42, 47, 56, 112, 119, 150, 157, 159, 203, 214, 218, 219, 220, 231
see also UKIP; populist radical right
- populist radical right 1, 160
 definition of 4, 12n.1, 216–17
 democracy and 4, 216–17, 220
 EDL and 1, 4, 11, 78
 ideology 108, 160
 research on 2, 42, 222
 support for 2, 3, 11, 124, 157–58
- Quilliam Foundation 4, 12n.6, 40, 41, 58n.1, 58n.7, 85, 137
- Qur’an 131, 132, 134, 135, 140, 165, 193
- ‘race’
 ‘post race’ 95, 96, 105
 theories of 1, 5, 11, 93–96, 114, 152n.1, 155, 156
 understanding of in EDL 92, 103, 104–7, 123, 175, 226
- racism xii, xiv, 5–8, 155, 223
 anti-racism 5, 26, 28, 34, 96, 156, 212, 230
 cultural 11, 93–94, 103, 106, 115, 125–26, 128, 129
 EDL and 71, 97–108
 experiences of 74, 98, 155, 171, 173
 Islamophobia and 5, 6, 106–7, 125, 128–29, 130, 150–51, 226, 227
 new 11, 93–94, 103, 115, 125, 128
 numerical 111
 post- 105
 rejection of 42, 53, 77, 97–99, 107, 123, 140, 226
 socialisation and 78–79
 strategic 108
 struggle against 5, 28–30, 34, 93, 94, 96, 155, 223, 230
 theories of 1, 11, 93–96,
 understanding of 102–5, 123, 226
 victims of 33,
 whiteness and 169–73
see also class, racism and
- racist
 EDL and language 28–29, 99, 105, 139, 140
 ‘not racist’ 1, 11, 29, 93, 97, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 106, 108, 113, 123,

- 125, 129, 139, 150, 204, 215, 226, 227
 perceived as 3, 4, 5, 50, 57, 62, 88, 92, 97–101, 103, 104, 123, 205, 206, 222, 224
 racists within 29, 97–99, 107–8, 226
 label 154, 159, 173, 203, 204, 205, 206–8, 220, 221n.3, 228, 229, 230
- respect 56
 for British culture and tradition 38, 148, 165, 175
 for British soldiers 37, 110, 147, 148, 218, 226
 for LGBT 122, 123
 for Muslims 127, 137, 165
 for police 167
 lack of respect
 by Muslims 126, 143, 147–48, 151, 227
 for non-Muslims 134
- Rhodes, J. 8, 35, 70, 78, 157, 159, 161, 163, 175, 176n.1, 228
- Robinson, T.
 ‘barmy army’ 37, 40, 45, 57, 195
 BNP and 38–39
 criticism of 49, 54
 ideology of 40, 98, 113, 137, 174, 208
 imprisonment 39, 45, 54, 58n.13
 leadership style of 42, 45–46, 101
 resignation of 40, 41, 46, 92, 98
 support for 45, 54, 211
- Sharia law 133, 148
 in UK 38, 58n.5, 136, 145, 153n.13, 164, 165, 166
 punishment under 133, 135
- social media
 alternative to mainstream 49, 57, 224
 communication via 15, 51, 57, 118
 dangers of 52, 89, 198
 organisation and 13, 35, 51, 57, 224
 scepticism towards 52, 57, 180
 source of conflict 52, 224
 source of information 76–77, 171, 172
- social movement xii–xiii, 1, 4, 8–10, 13, 33, 51, 55, 60, 75, 89, 177–80, 184, 194, 197, 201–2, 218, 224
- democracy and 218
 emotions and 8–9, 55, 89, 177–80, 191, 197, 201–2, 228–29
 far right and 8, 177, 186, 201, 222
 new media and 13, 51–52, 224–25
 standing together 54, 155, 198, 200
- togetherness 9, 10, 186, 197, 202, 229
- UAF *see* Unite Against Fascism
- UKIP *see* United Kingdom Independence Party
- Unite Against Fascism 36n.6
 as enemy 31, 36n.6, 52, 123
 association with 19, 27, 29, 31
 debate with 27
 funding of 48
 tactics of 50, 52, 88
- United Kingdom Independence Party 2, 49, 61, 112, 115, 124n.6, 209
- violence
 as affective practice 184
 conviction for 15, 23, 40, 84–85, 86, 169, 173, 176n.7, 233
 disorder and 177, 182–86
 domestic 25, 65, 69, 76, 81–83, 104, 120–21
 efficacy of 51, 53, 183, 184, 185
 football 173, 183, 184
 homophobic 122
 incitement to 85, 169, 185–86
 pleasure in 177, 182–84
 police 167, 168
 racist 95, 104, 128, 161, 171, 173, 175, 215
 rejection of xiii, 44, 53, 62, 92, 93, 123, 168, 184, 204
 symbolic 138, 193, 194
 threat of 52, 88, 89, 168, 173
 youth and 167, 183
see also demonstrations, violence at; Muslims, violence by; Islam, as violent; women, violence towards
- Wacquant, L. 35, 60, 70, 157, 163, 223
- women
 in EDL
 Angels division 43, 66, 80, 99, 119–20, 120, 121, 146, 187, 189
 proportion of 62
 representation of 119, 121
 roles 45, 58n.15, 62, 64, 66, 121
 trajectories 30, 64, 83
 in extreme right 58n.12, 62, 64, 66, 78, 79, 83, 119
 Islam and 13, 38, 104, 127, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 145, 147, 150, 164
 violence towards 104, 121, 133, 134, 135, 146
see also demonstrations, women at

- youth
- in EDL
 - attitudes to 43, 48, 53, 67, 214–15
 - division 19, 20, 27, 28, 43, 48, 52, 53, 67, 89, 123, 131, 165, 200, 205, 214, 215
 - proportion of 10, 61–62
 - racism and 77, 106, 108, 113, 117–19, 140, 142
 - roles 43, 45, 47–48, 57, 67, 214–15, 225
 - solidarity, 198, 200
 - in extreme right 61, 69, 70, 124, 161, 193
 - Muslim 7, 104, 136, 137, 141, 147, 160, 161, 169, 172
 - research and 10, 20, 27, 28, 33, 34
 - socio-economic position of 70, 77, 85, 124, 161
 - see also* activism, youth; violence, youth and