



APPENDIX

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Overview of Milieus Studied

This appendix provides a brief description of each of the ethnographic case studies referred to in the contributions to this volume along with details of the case study reports where a fuller contextualisation of the studies as well as their findings can be found.

'Extreme-Right' Milieus

The nine 'extreme-right' milieus studied fall into two broad clusters of cases (see Figure A.1). These are: those where the milieu consists of activists in nationalist, radical- or extreme-right or 'new right' movements (France, Malta, Norway, Netherlands, UK); and those where the milieu is focused around a non-political interest (e.g. football, shooting, religion) but there are strong ideological connections between this milieu and nationalist, radical- or extreme-right movements and ideologies (Germany, Greece, Poland, Russia).

Case Studies of Activists in Nationalist, Radical- or Extreme-Right or 'New Right' Movements: France, Malta, Netherlands, Norway and the UK

In **France**, the case focuses on youth involved in, or close to, Corsican nationalist movements accessed either via prisons or via anti-immigrant groups. Participants in the study are mostly middle class or upwardly aspirant members of the working class frustrated at their perceived treatment as a low-status minority group by the French state. They see Christianity as an important identity marker in the struggle against a perceived Islamic takeover in the West and take inspiration ideologically from the French new right. Thus, the Corsican case is not exceptional

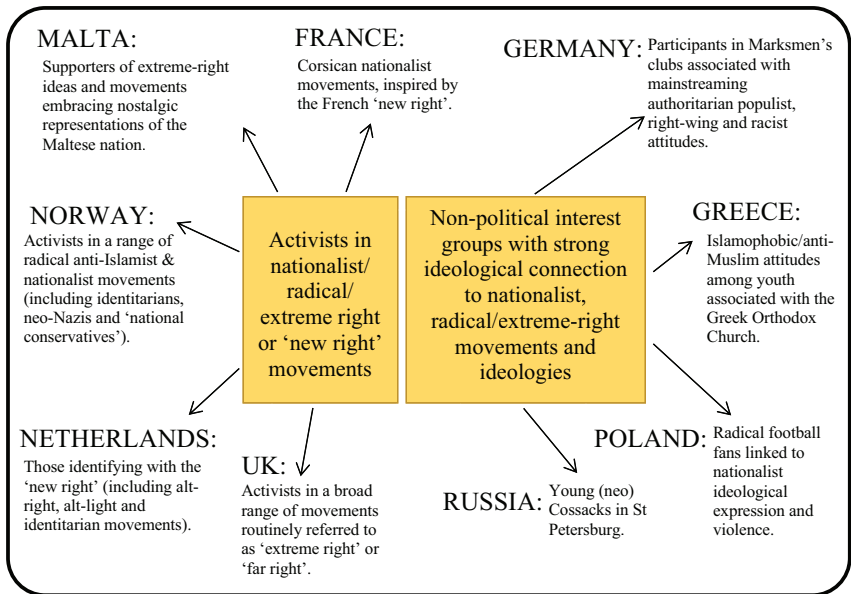


Figure A.1. 'Extreme-right' milieu studied. Created by Hilary Pilkington.

in France but can be seen as an example of the kind of radicalisation on the Right observed elsewhere in the country. Actors in this milieu have sought contact with a number of European radical or extreme right-wing groups but reject the ascription of labels of racism, fascism or Nazism. For further details, see Terrazoni, Liza. 2020. *Youth Involved in, or Close to, Corsican Right-Wing Nationalist Movements*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58694>.

The **Maltese** case considers young people's online and offline experiences of engaging with extreme-right ideas, individuals and groups. Narratives were collected from young people currently or formerly affiliated with extreme-right groups as well as young people living in areas subject to social upheaval and potentially susceptible to extreme-right narratives. In a broader sense, the case explores how young people make sense of, and engage with, their place and individual identities in the context of Malta's insularity from mainland Europe, its geopolitical position between Europe and Africa and the transformations brought about by EU membership and new migration dynamics. Its findings suggest that an absence of belonging and social cohesion drives young people to embrace nostalgic, and contested, representations of the Maltese na-

tion, or, in extreme cases, to define themselves in unified opposition to the 'other'. For further details, see Said, Maurice, Jean-Pierre Gauci and Christine Cassar. 2020. *Mapping Online and Offline Spaces of Engagement with the Extreme-Right among Young Maltese People*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58697>.

In the **Netherlands**, the case focuses on the new right milieu (including alt-right, alt-light and identitarian movements) as it manifests in the Netherlands today. This milieu comprises a mixture of groups and strands that distinguish themselves from the 'old' extreme right by a more modern style, international orientation and intellectual discourse as well as by its online methods of recruitment, organisation and communication and, ideologically, an anti-Islam focus. The study finds that the radical ideas of the milieu are seeping through to mainstream public debates, being identifiable, for example, in discussions about race ('race realism'), the influence of race on IQ and in the discussion of (traditional) gender roles. This is both undermining trust in authority and polarising society around ethnic and religious identities and political views. For further details, see van der Valk, Ineke, Natalie-Anne Hall and Mark Dechesne. 2021. *The New Right in the Netherlands*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58698>.

The **Norwegian** case explores the political trajectories and motivations of individuals within a milieu involved in, or with links to, groups and networks from a wide spectrum of radical anti-Islamist and nationalist ideologies including identitarians, neo-Nazis and 'national conservatives'. Participants in the study share a common purpose in 'defending the nation' – its assumed unique values, history and culture – in the context of the perceived threat posed to Europe and the West more widely by immigration. Most participants support 'remigration', inspired by the ideology of 'ethnopluralism' and 'traditionalism' associated with the thought of Julius Evola. For further details, see Vestel, Viggo. 2020. *Globalisation, Identity and Nationalism: The Case of Radical Right-Wing Youth in Norway*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58699>.

The **UK** case explores the trajectories of young people affiliated with a wide range of movements, parties or political campaigns in the UK routinely referred to as being part of the 'extreme-right' or 'far right'. While not co-located, physically or ideologically, these individuals inhabit a common milieu and are connected either personally or through shared activism. The study identifies the growing influence of identitarianism

and the alt-right, not least in the perceived threat posed to white identities from demographic change and the commitment to multiculturalism among the liberal establishment. However, this co-exists with a continued discomfort in talking about race and awareness that the naturalisation of racial difference underpins racism, which most participants in the study see as unacceptable. The study pays particular attention to the dissonance between the conceptual descriptor ('far-right', 'extreme-right') applied to the views and behaviours of those in the milieu and the rarity of anti-democratic or pro-authoritarian positions or the legitimisation of violence in the pursuit of political goals among participants. For further details, see Pilkington, Hilary. 2020. *Understanding 'Right-Wing Extremism': In Theory and Practice*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58702>.

Case Studies of Non-Political Interest Groups with Links to Radical or Extreme-Right Ideologies and Movements: Germany, Greece, Poland and Russia

In **Germany**, the study explores the particular milieu of Germany's 'marksmen's clubs' in the context of the mainstreaming of authoritarian populist, right-wing and racist, including anti-Muslim, attitudes in wider German society. The marksmen's clubs have their roots in a centuries-old tradition and millions of people participate nationwide in these ideologically conservative clubs. Their attraction for protagonists on the far right is evident in attempts by such actors to influence the marksmen's clubs milieu and to appropriate aspects of it. This study considers the responses of young people participating in marksmen's clubs to these developments. For further details, see Kerst, Benjamin. 2020. *Marksmen's Clubs in Germany in the Context of Mainstreaming the Extreme*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58695>.

In **Greece**, the case focuses on Islamophobic or anti-Muslim attitudes, behaviours and sentiments among young people associated with the Greek Orthodox Church. The milieu is characterised by a synthesis of the ideological and identity characteristics that bring together Orthodox zealots (who see themselves as 'soldiers of Christ'), Greek Orthodox far-right activists, militarists and neo-Nazi Golden Dawn supporters. They view themselves as participants in a common struggle for the protection of 'faith and fatherland' from the threat of 'Islamification' and for the propagation of nationalist and authoritarian far-right political programmes necessary to resist perceived threats and injustices faced by the Greek

Orthodox majority due to globalisation, multiculturalism, immigration and secularism. Attention is paid to comparing and contrasting attitudes between participants in the study belonging to more, and less, radical groups within the milieu. For further details, see Lagos, Evangelos, et al. 2020. *Young Orthodox Greeks with Islamophobic/Anti-Muslim Views and Attitudes*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58696>.

The **Polish** case focuses on the milieu of radical football fans as a site of radical nationalist ideological expression and violence directed not only against rival supporters but other perceived 'enemies'. The expression of ideological symbolism in football culture is a significant element of the contemporary construction of national identity in Poland and connections between the football fan movement and the Catholic Church (epitomised by the annual pilgrimage of Polish football fans to Czestochowa) are indicative of the fan milieu's engagement with the social mainstream. Nationalist ideology and symbolism are deployed in the radical fan milieu as a tool for constructing not only the nation but also a vision of the enemy, excluded from the imagined community, and subject to vilification. This study of radical fan milieus in a number of Polish cities analyses examples of such expressions and argues that football culture has been used as a cultural resource and political tool by nationalist movements promoting particular versions of national 'memory' and 'identity'. For further details, see Kuczyński, Paweł, et al. 2021. *Radical Football Fans*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58700>.

The **Russian** case considers the right-wing milieu of the young (neo) Cossacks of Saint Petersburg. Originally a free military formation originating in the sixteenth century, the Cossacks gradually became an ethno-social community performing the function of protecting and defending the increasingly militarised state and its political and social order. Today the Cossack movement is characterised by a rigid hierarchical structure, which, supported by the state, performs an informal policing function including the deployment of violence against the civilian population in the event of protest and disorder. Ideologically, the Cossacks see themselves as defenders of Orthodox Christianity but also share xenophobic and anti-immigrant positions, 'traditional' and neo-patriarchal values. These positions, alongside a sense of perceived injustice, regarding rights and access to resources, act as a basis of radicalisation within the (neo) Cossack milieu. For further details, see Sablina, Anastasia, and Alena Kravtcova. 2020. *(Neo)Cossacks in St. Petersburg, Russia*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58701>.

'Islamist' Milieus

The ten 'Islamist' milieus studied might be very loosely grouped into two clusters (see Figure A.2). These are: those conducted in urban districts or neighbourhoods associated with 'Islamist' activism, migrants from Muslim majority countries and, often, social deprivation (Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Tunisia, UK); and those focusing on particular sites or channels (family and informal networks, non-official prayer houses, civil society organisations, prisons) of potential 'Islamist' radicalisation (France, Greece, Russia, Turkey).

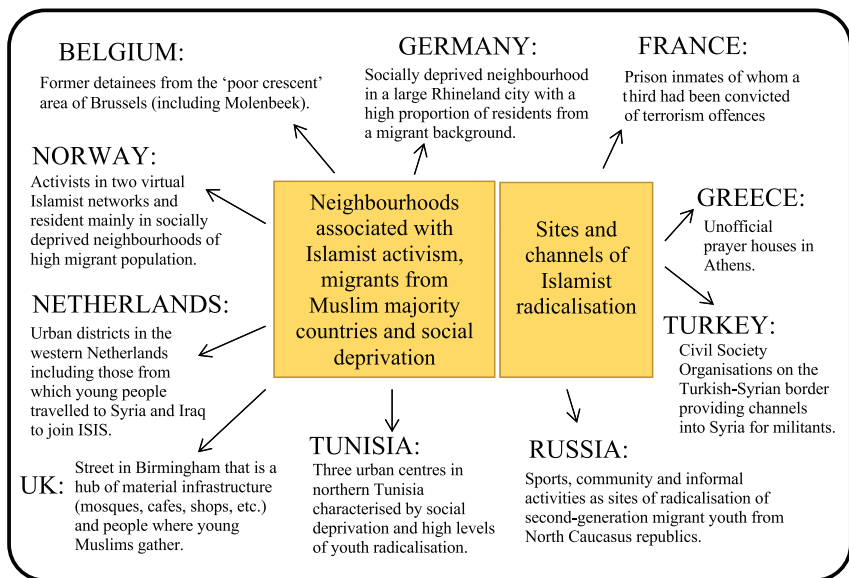


Figure A.2. 'Islamist' milieus studied. Created by Hilary Pilkington.

Case Studies of Neighbourhoods Associated with 'Islamist' Activism: Belgium, Germany, Netherlands, Norway, Tunisia and the UK

The **Belgian** case study focuses on the 'poor crescent' area of Brussels – comprising a crescent-shaped collection of deprived inner-city neighbourhoods, including the infamous Molenbeek district – which have become associated with jihadism at home and abroad. The district is home to a significant proportion of young descendants of Moroccan immigrants who have experienced a variety of social challenges growing up and have

often been engaged with criminal activity as well as with 'Islamism'. The research focuses on biographical interviews with young men in prison for terrorism-related offences contextualised in a wider engagement with the neighbourhoods from which they come. For further details, see Benaïssa, Chaïb. 2021. *Radicalisation from the 'Poor Crescent' Area*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58681>.

In **Germany**, research was conducted with young Muslims living in a socially deprived district of a large city in the Rhineland, with an established neo-Salafist network. A significant proportion of the population is of migrant background and many face racist discrimination in their daily lives. The area suffers from issues with drugs and crime and carries an externally imposed stigma that is reproduced by local and national media. The study focuses on the identity struggles of young Muslims in this area, most of whom are from migrant backgrounds but some of whom are converts to Islam. Those in this milieu varied in terms of their current or former connectedness with radical neo-Salafist networks and their physical and mental proximity to radical neo-Salafist narratives. However, none had closed worldviews or opinions that were not open to challenge. For further details, see Nanni, Sara. 2021. *Neustadt and Beyond*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58684>.

The **Dutch** ethnographic research concerned a number of urban areas in the western part of the Netherlands, focusing on a district in The Hague, which in recent years has witnessed a considerable outflow of young people travelling to Syria and Iraq to join ISIS. Research participants were individuals, groups and organisations with first-hand experience of issues related to 'Islamist' radicalisation in the Netherlands either because they themselves were part of the radical scene (recently or when home-grown terrorism had emerged following the 9/11 World Trade Centre attacks) or because they knew people in their vicinity who participated in such scenes. For further details, see Dechesne, Mark, and Ineke van der Valk. 2021. *Islamist Radicalisation in the Netherlands*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58688>.

The **Norwegian** case study focuses on individuals, most of whom had grown up in the high-rise suburbs on the east side of Oslo, involved in two 'Islamist' networks – The Prophet's Ummah and Islam Net. These emerged as virtual networks but developed into physical groups that partially overlap. The milieu studied consists of young people who surround the cores of these groups and who have considered going to Syria, or have connections with other young people who have travelled to participate in the Syrian conflict, either as combatants or through humani-

tarian work. For further details, see Vestel, Viggo, and Qasim Ali. 2021. *Globalisation, Identity and Islam: The Case of Radical Muslim Youths in Norway*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58689>.

In **Tunisia**, the ethnographic study focuses on three urban centres in northern Tunisia: Tadhamon (a suburb of Tunis), Bizerte and Menzel Bourguiba. The areas are characterised by unemployment, lack of prospects, poverty and ineffective local governance. Moreover, while many Tunisians living along the coast consider themselves primarily Mediterranean, embracing freedom of religion, Tunisians living in the interior of the country as well as those who have migrated to the urban areas studied here typically adopt more orthodox forms of Islam. This has led to the areas being viewed as prone to high levels of radicalisation among young people in a period in which Tunisia became one of the main recruiting sites of youth for ISIS. Whilst a Muslim majority country, in Tunisia, 'Islamism' and Salafism remain under scrutiny by the authorities. For further details, see Memni, Chokri. 2021. *Young People's Trajectories through Radical Islamist Milieus: Tunis (Tadhamon), Bizerte, Menzel-Bourguiba*. Unpublished DARE Research Report.

The fieldwork in the **UK** focuses on what is referred to as 'Muslim street' in Birmingham, characterised by a rich Islamic infrastructure and resources for living out 'Islamist' lifestyles. It has a plethora of commercial enterprises and formal and informal organisations that cater to the needs of young Muslims and was seen by research participants as a hub where young Muslims gather, connect and pass through. However, the area is also characterised by high rates of multiple deprivation, and recent media and policy attention to the street and broader neighbourhood has led to its representation as a space where extremism is fostered. The street is a focus of attention for counter-extremism agencies, which operate in partnership with a number of prominent mosques in the area. 'Islamist' activists are also attracted to the area because of its combination of resources, in the form of spaces, and individuals potentially receptive to their message (often framed in a negative perception of South Asian Islam and folk practices and its traditional authorities). For further details, see Hussain, Ajmal. 2021. *Muslim Street*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58692>.

Case Studies of Sites and Channels of Islamist Radicalisation: France, Greece, Russia and Turkey

The **French** ethnographic study was located in a prison, where a third of the young Muslims participating in the study had been convicted for crimes related to radicalisation and terrorism. While the socio-economic

conditions of the *banlieues* where many young Muslims grow up and live point to the link between inequality and radicalisation, in France, prison has been seen as a particular catalyst for radicalisation. This is because of the experience of confinement, the sense of isolation, guilt and lack of future prospects combined with the often humiliating behaviour and omnipresence of guards, which can create an openness to radical 'Islamist' narratives. The ethnographic study captures experiences and attitudes related to personal history, society and radicalisation of the inmates to elucidate the complex interrelationship between socio-economic circumstances, psychological processes and radicalisation and non-radicalisation. For further details, see Conti, Bartolomeo. 2020. *Trajectories of (Non)Radicalisation in a Prison Milieu*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58683>.

The **Greek** study focuses on a specific milieu in a central area of Athens where young Muslims attend, and gather socially in, non-official places of worship. Although there has been a small Muslim minority community in Greece from the Ottoman Empire, a significant influx of Muslim immigrants in recent years has increased the Muslim population to around 5–10% of the total population of Athens. However, historical animosity and suspicion towards Turkey and Islam, combined with the powerful presence of Greek Orthodox Christianity as the official state religion, means that the capital city has had no official mosque (until November 2020). In this context, non-official prayer houses are often portrayed as potential incubators of radicalisation while stigmatisation of Muslim refugees and immigrants, as well as the active campaign by extreme-right groups to prevent the construction of the Athens mosque, has fuelled the potential for radicalisation of young Muslims in the city. For further details, see Sakellariou, Alexandros. 2021. *Young Muslims in Unofficial Prayer Places of Athens*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58686>.

The ethnographic fieldwork in **Russia** is focused on young men with a North Caucasian regional background currently living in two Russian megacities – Saint Petersburg and Moscow. The research participants come mainly from Dagestan, the largest and most Islamised republic in the North Caucasus and the main arena of confrontation between regional and federal authorities and jihadists. These young people are second-generation city dwellers but the first generation to be born after the beginning of the post-Soviet re-Islamisation of the North Caucasus. Thus, unlike their parents and older relatives, who tend to be adherents of traditional Sufi Islam, they are more likely to opt for fundamentalist versions of Islam. Their religious views are characterised by a high de-

gree of protest politicisation and those from this social milieu reportedly predominate among young people who have gone to fight in Syria on the side of the Islamic State. For further details, see Poliakov, Sviatoslav, and Yulia Epanova. 2021. *Urban Second Generation Muslims from the North Caucasus in St Petersburg and Moscow, Russia*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58690>.

In **Turkey**, the focus of the research was on the role of civil society organisations (CSOs) in providing a space for ‘Islamist’ and Salafist influences to take root among young Turkish men and women living along the Turkish-Syrian border at the time of significant conflict (2015–18). Many young men and women engaged with the humanitarian efforts and benefitted from substantial aid and support provided by these ‘Islamist’ CSOs, in the process adopting more conservative norms and finding legitimisation for radical views and ideals that engaged with the ongoing conflict and war within and beyond the Turkish borders. These were sites also of targeted recruitment of young people by Salafi individuals and organisations as well as, in some cases, being an instrument of the government, allowing it to exert influence across the border in Syria and provide channels into the country for militants. For further details, see Kurt, Mehmet. 2020. *When the Salt Stinks: The Syrian War, Kurdish Question and Borderline Radicalisation in Turkey*. DARE Research Report. Retrieved 28 August 2022 from <https://documents.manchester.ac.uk/display.aspx?DocID=58691>.

