Normalization of the Global Far Right

Pandemic Disruption?

Ulrike M. Vieten Scott Poynting

Normalization of the Global Far Right

This page intentionally left blank

Normalization of the Global Far Right: Pandemic Disruption?

BY ULRIKE M. VIETEN

Queen's University Belfast, UK

AND

SCOTT POYNTING

Queensland University of Technology, Australia Charles Sturt University, Australia



United Kingdom - North America - Japan - India - Malaysia - China

Emerald Publishing Limited Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2022

Copyright © 2022 Ulrike M. Vieten and Scott Poynting. Published under exclusive licence by Emerald Publishing Limited.

Reprints and permissions service

Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-83909-957-1 (Print) ISBN: 978-1-83909-956-4 (Online) ISBN: 978-1-83909-958-8 (Epub)



ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

Certificate Number 1985 ISO 14001

Contents

Ab	out the Authors	vii
	oduction: The Normalization of the Racist Far-Right as bal Phenomenon	1
	Mainstreaming Far-Right Politics and Normalizing Racist Exclusion of Minorities The Order of the Chapters	4 6
1.	The Historical Normalization of Racist Anti-Semitism and Global 21st Century Anti-Muslim Racism	11
	Linking the Everyday Present with the Past "Germany would be Transformed into a Gigantic Barrack" –	11 15
	Testimony to the Rise of the Anti-Semitic War Machinery The Continuity of Authoritarianism: Anti-Semitism and Anti-Muslim Racism Concluding Remarks	20 24
2.	Gender Toxicology: Complicity, Coloniality, and Liberal Gender Discourse	29
	Reflections on the Continuity of the Gendered Colonial Mind Dragging Different Histories of Male Dominance and Female	29
	Innocence in the Twentieth Century The Alliance of Liberal Feminists and Anti-Muslim Racists Overcoming the Bystanders' Habitus? Toxic Gender Stereotyping, the Christian Right and	31 34 37
	Banal Nationalism Concluding Remarks	39 42

3.	Crisis and Christchurch	47
	In Another Country	47
	Ideological Promiscuity and Replacements in the	40
	"Replacement Myth"	48
	Goebbels on Speed	53 54
	Crisis, Which Crisis? Concluding Remarks	54 57
4.	Ideological Elements of Islamophobia and their Deployment	
	by the Far-Right	61
	Basket of Deployables	61
	Where Does Islamophobia Come From?	64
	A New Definition and Analysis	67
	Islamophobia, Imperialist "War on Terror," and	
	Bringing Empire Back in	70
	Ideological Maneuvers	72
	Concluding Remarks: Beyond Denial	74
5.	Normalization disrupted?	77
	Introduction	77
	Summary of the Main Arguments	78
	The (Post) Pandemic Situation?	79
Bil	bliography	85
חת	Bibliography	
Inc	lex	95

About the Authors

Ulrike M. Vieten, PhD, is an Assistant Professor/Lecturer in Sociology, and Fellow of the Mitchell Institute for Global Peace, Security and Justice, at Queen's University Belfast (QUB). Her research focuses on the historical construction and shifting of racialized, gendered and classed group boundaries. She has published widely on theoretical and empirical aspects of European citizenship, minority ethnic identity, migration and gender, racism, and far-right-populism. She is the Editor-in-Chief of *the European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology (EJCPS)*, since 2020. She is active with the Britain-based sociological activists' network *Social Scientists Against the Hostile Environment (SSAHE)*.

Scott Poynting is an Adjunct Professor, Center for Islamic Studies and Civilization at Charles Sturt University, researching on Islamophobia. He is also Adjunct Professor in the School of Justice at Queensland University of Technology. He is a co-author of *Bin Laden in the Suburbs: Criminalising the Arab Other*.