



## DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND WORK SCIENCE

### **SC30023, Far-Right Publics and Anti-Migrant Mobilisation, 7.5 credits**

Ytterhögers offentligheter och främlingsfientlig mobilisering, 7,5 högskolepoäng

*Third-cycle level / Forskarnivå*

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### **Reading and reference list for SC30023**

This reading and reference list was confirmed by Department of Sociology and Work Science 2026-02-17, and is valid from Spring semester 2026.

The reading and reference list is available on the next page.

## **Literature list SC30023 - Far-Right Publics and Anti-Migrant Mobilisation**

### **Course introduction: Far-right discourse and violence: making the connections**

Wahlström, Mattias, & Törnberg, Anton. (2021). Social media mechanisms for right-wing political violence in the 21st century: Discursive opportunities, group dynamics, and co-ordination. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33(4), 766-787. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2019.1586676> (21 pages)

### **What are publics: online/offline publics**

Fraser, Nancy. (1992) Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy, in Craig J Calhoun (ed.) *Habermas And The Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press (24 pages)

Davis, Mark. (2021). The online anti-public sphere. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 24(1), 143-159. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549420902799> (17 pages)

Wahlström, Mattias. (2010). Producing spaces for representation: racist marches, counterdemonstrations, and public-order policing. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28(5), 811-827. <https://doi.org/10.1068/d6909> (18 pages)

Törnberg, Anton, & Törnberg, Petter. (2024). *Intimate communities of hate: Why social media fuels far-right extremism*. London: Routledge.

- “Introduction” 1-12 (12 pages)
- “Situating Stormfront in Social Media Debates” 16-25 (9 pages)

### **Far-right climate obstruction**

Forchtner, Bernhard. (2025). The Rise of (Affective) Obstruction: Conceptualizing the Evolution of Far-Right Climate Change Communication (1986–2018). *Environmental Communication*, 0(0), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17524032.2025.2596620> (19 pages)

Vowles, Kjell, & Hultman, Martin. (2021). Dead White men vs. Greta Thunberg: Nationalism, Misogyny, and Climate Change Denial in Swedish far-right Digital Media. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 36(110), 414–431. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08164649.2022.2062669> (17 pages)

### **Conspiracy thinking and digital media**

Ekman, Mattias. (2022). The great replacement: Strategic mainstreaming of far-right conspiracy claims. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 28(4), 1127-1143. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13548565221091983>. (16 pages)

Staender, Anna, Humprecht, Edda, & Esser, Frank. (2024). Alternative Media Vary Between Mild Distortion and Extreme Misinformation: Steps Toward a Typology. *Digital Journalism*, 12(6), 830–850. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2024.2326928> (20 pages)

### **Rhetorical strategies: Nationalist nostalgia, ethnic nationalism**

Elgenius, Gabriella, & Rydgren, Jens. (2025). Who are the “People” and what does “Home” mean? A case of frame transformation and counter-framing of the “People’s Home” in the Sweden Democrat Rhetoric 1989–2022. *Social Semiotics*, 1–14.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/10350330.2025.2604741> (14 pages)

Elgenius, Gabriella, & Rydgren, Jens. (2024). The Politics of Ethnic Nationalism, Nostalgia and Anti-Immigrant Framing: The trajectory of the Sweden Democrats 1989 -2022. In M. Samers & J. Rydgren (Eds.), *Migration and Nationalism: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*. Edward Elgar. <https://www.elgaronline.com/downloadpdf/edcollchap-oa/book/9781839100765/book-part-9781839100765-12.pdf> (114-131) (17 pages)

### **Reactionary feminism and violent misogyny in the online ecosystems of the far right**

Askanius, Tina, Brock, Maria, Kaun, Anna, and Larsson, Anders Olof. (2024) “Time to abandon Swedish women”: Discursive connections between violent misogyny and white supremacy in Sweden. *International Journal of Communication*, 17(2024), 5024-5064.

<https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/16808> (19 pages)

Banet-Weiser, Sarah, & Reinis, Sara. (2025). The rage of tradwives: Affective economies and romanticizing retreat. *Feminist Theory*, 27(1), 50-66.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/14647001251371971> (17 pages)

### **Understanding White Supremacist Infiltration in the Age of Trump**

Berbrier, Mitch. (1999). Impression management for the thinking racist: A case study of intellectualization as stigma transformation in contemporary white supremacist discourse. *Sociological Quarterly*, 40(3), 411-433. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4121335> (22 pages)

Brown, Katy, Mondon, Aurelien, & Winter, Aaron. (2023). The far right, the mainstream and mainstreaming: Towards a heuristic framework. *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 28(2), 162-179.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2021.1949829> (17 pages)

Simi, Pete, & Futrell, Robert. (2020). Active abeyance, political opportunity, and the “new” white supremacy. In *Racialized Protest and the State* (pp. 112-139). London: Routledge. (27 pages)

### **Studying polarization and radicalization in social media**

Törnberg, Petter & Uitermarkt, Justus (preprint) “From the Platform Society to the AI Society: Towards Critical Studies of Generative AI” [https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/qahd3\\_v1](https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/qahd3_v1) (16 pages)

Gilardi, Fabrizio, Alizadeh, Meysam, & Kubli, Maël. (2023). ChatGPT outperforms crowd workers for text-annotation tasks. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 120(30). <https://www.pnas.org/doi/10.1073/pnas.2305016120> (3 pages)

### **Online radicalization: from ideas to action?**

Törnberg, Anton, & Törnberg, Petter. (2024). *Intimate communities of hate: Why social media fuels far-right extremism*. London: Routledge.

- (ch. 2) “A More Social Theory of Online Politics” (28-36) (8 pages)
- (ch. 5) Identity: becoming a community (60-75) (15 pages)
- (ch. 7) Affect: building emotional energy (98-117) (19 pages)

### **Online hate and online/offline dynamics**

Wahlström, Mattias, Törnberg, Anton, & Ekbrand, Hans. (2021). Dynamics of violent and dehumanizing rhetoric in far-right social media. *New Media & Society*, 23(11), 3290-3311. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444820952795> (22 pages)

### **Nativist violence: Group and individual processes at different scales**

Lundstedt, Måns. (2024). “Space, Time and violence”, Chapter 2 in Pathways to violence against migrants: space, time and far-right violence in Sweden 2012–2017. London: Routledge. (13 pages)

Ravndal, Jacob Aasland, & Bjørge, Tore. (2018). Investigating Terrorism from the Extreme Right: A Review of Past and Present Research. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 12(6), 5–22. <https://pt.icct.nl/article/investigating-terrorism-extreme-right-review-past-and-present-research> (12 pages)

Malthaner, Stefan, O’Connor, Francis, & Lindekilde, Lasse. (2024). Scattered attacks: The collective dynamics of lone-actor terrorism. *Perspectives on Politics*, 22(2), 463-480. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592723002852> (18 pages)

Plus around **500** pages drawn from recommended optional literature by the teachers in the course

**Altogether ca 950 pages.**