Ayhan Kaya, Metin Koca and Ayşenur Benevento, *Nativist and Islamist Radicalisation: Anger and Anxiety,* Abingdoan, Oxon, New York, NY: Routledge, Series: Routledge research in race and ethnicity, 2023, 262 pages

ISBN: 978-1-032-31452-5 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-032-31455-6 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-003-30984-0 (ebk)

Review by Simona FER

Nativist and Islamist Radicalisation: Anger and Anxiety is a collection of studies with scrupulous attention to details where a wealth of research and consistent analyses were rigorously gathered by Ayhan Kaya, professor of Politics at Istanbul Bilgi University of Turkey, Metin Koca and Ayşenur Benevento, postdoctoral researchers in the European Research Council advanced grant project. The volume relies on experiences and testimonies of authors and appeals to students and scholars of migration, minority studies, nationalisms, European studies, sociology, political science, and psychology. As the authors state, the main strength and novelty of this edited volume is to understand and explain the malaise of both native and immigrant origin youth simultaneously through a scientific method by de-culturalising and de-religionising what is socio-economic, political, and psychological in origin.

Current political, social and economic issues concerning the European Union, faced with four dominant crises, namely the global financial crisis, the refugee crisis, the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine which all of them led to emotions of fear, trauma and anger, became a huge responsibility for experts to focus on explaining the challenges that both native and migrant-origin populations have to overcome.

Two fundamental concepts are explained by the editors in the introducti on of the present volume: *nativism* and *radicalism*, resorting to the literature supportive for a better unerstanding of their political, social and economic meaning and perspective.

On one side, nativism is considered a political doctrine that prioritises the

interests and the will of the native-born population. The concept of nativist doctrine is explained as a theory according to which the inhabitants of long standing should reign over those of newcomers. The logic of nativism lies on the demarcation between outsiders and insiders, between foreigners and the native-born, confirmed as bearers of a culturally superior civilisation.

On the other side, radicalism cannot be perceived as a stable and strong ideological position. Ideas that are radical in some views can be liberal or even conservative in others. Liberals and democrats of the 19th century were the radicals of their age and it is no longer possible to call them as such. The radicals of the 19th century were different from the radicals of 1968 generation in the sense that the latter ones challenged the patriarchal socio-political order. Likewise, the radicals of the present are also very different from the former ones.

Similar views are discussed and enlarged upon the delicate subject of radicalisation, providing authors'perspectives on how and why the youth might be radicalising. In this volume, an interdisciplinary understanding of approaches is deployed to analyse the rationale behind the radicalisation of nativist-populist youth as well as Muslim-origin youth in Europe. The current study argues that European youth responds differently to the challenges posed by contemporary flows of globalisation such as deindustrialisation, socio-economic, political, spatial, and psychological forms of deprivation, humiliation, and structural exclusion.

Many definitions of nativism described by the literature in the migration field include differentiation between the two groups: natives and immigrants. Migrants have been framed in many European countries as a threat since September 11, even earlier, since they have been perceived as a challenge to the societal, national, economic, and cultural security of the nation.

The research mainly analyses the ways in which radicalised groups from both native and migrant-origin populations express their discontent using different cultural repertoires.

Organized into three scrupulous and accurate sections, each of the studies arises from remarkable personal viewpoints. The first section of the volume, structured into three chapters, is titled *Spatial Deprivation and Geographic Contexts* and aims to invite the reader to rethink existing conceptualisations and approaches to studying radicalisation and discover the way they are rooted in local and regional factors. In her research, Roberta Ricucci, as in the suggestive title *It Is Possible to Be Both Muslim and a Good Citizen in a Catholic Country,* focuses on the importance of socialisation of the youngest Muslims in Italy, from an intercultural perspective, with

a relevant and robust perspective that aims at taking up the tension. And there should also be new priorities among young Muslims in the demands to be worked on and invested in. The author presents some confessions of children of immigration, which are against being associated with religious issues the way their parents used to be. For them religion ”often becomes what others see of you, a label that others see on you”. For some young Muslim people being able to cope with stereotypes means strongly stressing the Italian part of their identity. This is also an exercise they often have to do with their parents and the elderly people of their ethnic community.

Ayhan Kaya has a great contribution to the research by analysing heritage populism, utilised by the German nativist party Alternative for Germany (AfD), the author relying on the testimonies of young AfD supporters. The research has been conducted with a multitude of techniques, ranging from desk research to discourse analysis of the public speeches of the party leaders of the AfD. The chapter starts with the elaboration of the ways in which right-wing populist parties use the past for the formation of a kind of heritage that is to be used for coping with the ills of the present, in order to mobilise different social groups. In one subchapter the author concludes that since the so-called refugee crisis in the summer of 2015, the boundaries that are reconstituted by right-wing populist parties and their supporters are not necessarily meant to exclude refugees in need, but rather Muslim-origin immigrants and their descendants, who have become more competitive, visible and outspoken over time with their social, political, economic and cultural demands.

Most of the interlocutors in Dresden involved in the survey conducted by the author and editor of the present volume as well, said that they feel forgotten and that their economic interests are considered as they should be. A 30-year-old male from Dresden, a former self-identified neo-Nazi who was enrolled in the de-radicalisation programme a few years ago, expressed his resentment of the unification policies of Helmut Kohl’s government in the 1990s and their after-effects, stating that in the neighbourhood there are no young people and those who live there are losers. He also regrets that most young people move away, that place having no future.

Another conclusion that can be depicted in the study is that young natives in Dresden who are feeling affiliated with the AfD are more inclined to have nostalgic feelings about the Communist past, which they have not experienced themselves. According to the AfD’s party programme, German identity is “primarily shaped by culture” and is based on a “unique core inventory” that remains intact. Accordingly,

the inclusion of other cultures is considered a threat since it “degrades the German value system”, leading to a loss of cultural homogeneity in Germany.

In the third study within the volume Denis van de Wetering and Tobias Hecker, accordingly to Metzger explain two concepts: *disengagement,* which is the process whereby individuals cease to be members of an extreme (right-wing) group or organisation or to participate in its activities and *deradicalisation*, which is a cognitive and emotional process where a self-image based on an extreme radical ideology is abandoned in favour of a more moderate legal identity. The authors emphasize the ideea that by being involved in social interactions through their physical bodies and experiencing this involvement as a bodily sensation, individuals acquire implicit and inarticulate knowledge beyond consciousness and discursive thinking and that this also enables individuals to interact with their social environment on an intuitive level. The authors conducted thirteen interviews with former male members of right-wing extremist groups and organisations, activity established through official and civil society deradicalisation programmes in Germany. This was part of a project titled *Peer pressure on defectors from extreme right-wing scenes*, funded by the Federal Ministry of the Interior. A special focus of the study was the process of identity transformation in connection with the disengagement of right-wing extremist groups.

Most of the men interviewed by Denis van de Wetering and Tobias Hecker described themselves, mentioning that their involvement in the interactions of a right-wing extremist group enhanced their (already existing) reactive aggression and propensity for violence and put it at the service of political strategies against perceived enemies. However, the aggressions should not be understood only as reactions to imagined threats from perceived enemies. In their narratives, the male interviewees described their confrontations with supposed enemies as atmospherically charged not just with anger and fear but simultaneously with excitement and euphoria, culminating in brutal uninhibited and lustful violence. In their disengagement narratives, the male interviewees described their strong feelings of disillusionment, specifically mentioning disappointed expectations of solidarity and support from their comrades.

According to both authors statement a trusting relationship with a deradicalisation advisor helps disengaging right-wing extremists overcome their speechlessness and open up emotionally to their families and relationship partners. In addition, a trusting relationship encourages the development of new perspectives on life and ideas of identity beyond right-wing extremist contexts.

In the second section of the volume, titled *Mental Processes of Radicalisation,* Constantina Badea presents the effects and cosequences *When Attitudes of Both Mainstream Society and Immigrant-Origin Muslims Become Extreme,* explaining that immigration is often the subject of political debates in Western countries (i.e. European Union, USA). An important idea debated by professor Badea in her research is that immigrants not only want to provide for their families' material needs, but they also want to preserve their culture of origin and pass it on to the next generation.

Members of the Muslim community may react differently to perceived rejection by the majority society. In the face of discrimination, they may respond by withdrawing into their national identity, reinforcing their identification as Muslims, and developing hostile attitudes towards the majority national group. More often, however, young self-identified Muslims claim membership in the national group.

Going back to Muslims concerns, according to the litterature review the results show a lack of correlation between tolerance of religious practices and prejudice against Muslims. They indicate that rejection of a particular practice (e.g. Islamic schools) cannot simply be considered prejudice against Muslims. Accepting a particular religious practice does not necessarily indicate non-prejudicial feelings. One of the strategies that C. Badea suggests is that in order to break the process of radicalisation, educational and training programmes targeting the mutual acceptance of cultural differences and the construction of a common national identity are needed. She also claims that the common national identity should be built on democratic principles and values rather than on particular religious views. Other study results show that constructing a common national identity based on shared civic values as citizens of a supra-ordinate group rather than members of a religious subgroup could be an effective intervention to improve intergroup relations within the same society.

Catarina Kinnvall, Tereza Capelos and Poppy Laurens in their research *How French Muslim Women Engage with the Challenges of Assimilation and Difference,* pay attention to the position occupied by some Muslim women in the Western world, who have come to constitute both a racialised and gendered category in nationalist and religious discourse. They ask how Muslim women identities are internalised and expressed in the context of the 'boundaries of inclusion and exclusion'. They focus particularly on the position of Muslim women minority groups in the Western world, as their status continues to be a source of animosity, anxiety,

and anger. The three authors'aim is to understand how French-born female Muslims make sense of their identity in the context of republicanism and its values of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and in result whether they feel they can occupy a space in public life or resign to the traditional private sphere. The conclusion was that the majority of women confined their faith to the private sphere in order to participate in French culture and public life. Although they appreciated the opportunities and privileges they were granted as French citizens, they internalised restrictions on their religious practice, liberty, and equality, which impacted their self-identification. French-Muslim women experience conflict between their French and Muslim identities on a daily basis, struggle to feel integrated into French society, and confine their faith to the private sphere to participate in French public life.

Is It Radical for a Woman to Become a Stay-at-Home Mother or Wear a Headscarf? is another very interesting and constructive study written by Ayşenur Benevento, one of the volume's editors, who during the analysis of the larger data set, noticed that young Belgian women place a particular emphasis on the importance of their self-choices and voluntary adoption of certain gendered practices while expressing their discontent through practices and emotions linked to their ethnicity, culture, religion, heritage, homogeneity, authenticity, past, and patriarchy.

A veil might provide an opportunity for a religious woman to make sense of, accept and declare her devotion to Islam. The price of this dedication, however, is usually positively correlated with the discrimination that they face in Belgium. While Islam is officially recognised as a religion and anti-discrimination principles are in place at different levels of jurisdiction, intolerance toward Islamic dressing practices is normalised and in some cases entrenched in the Belgian law.

A. Benevento presents the shared and diverse value expressions that emerged in the interviews with the 39 women first. Then, she focuses on the complexity and depth of orientations of the Belgian women categorised in two subsamples, as they present the most intense experience and knowledge as self-identified Muslim and right-wing native women. The similarities between guiding principles that emerge across women's positions led to thought-provoking findings, but some different meanings also emerged from the analysis. Women organised many of their gender-focused value expressions around the importance of self-choice, which helped them justify their acceptance of religious clothing or homemaker status.

Muslim women reported that they often experience discrimination at work, school, or in public due to their gender, appearance, and religious practices. Despite the fact that religious beliefs may be challenging to describe, these women clearly described their decisions about veiling practices in appreciative terms linked to catalysts in family. The author says that the veiled women who they interviewed rarely seemed like victims of discrimination despite their undoubtedly raw experiences of exclusion. What emerges from this study is the need to provide opportunities for women who feel silenced due to their political or religious alignments to share the same space and guide them to develop compassionate curiosity about each other's narratives. This research has demonstrated the importance of exploring the role of homemaker when studying radicalisation, which is an area that has thus far been dominated by concerns about non-normative (non-western) cultural practices such as veiling.

The authors of the present volume titled the third section *Critical Analyses of Islamist Radicalisation*, which aims to reassess the received wisdom over Islamist radicalisation from critical point of view, given the widespread focus on Islamis in the academic literature and not only. Martijn de Koning, in the introduction to his study *Counter-Radicalisation Policies and Responses of Dutch Muslims to the Racialisation of Danger* shows how an unstable constellation of perceptions of threat, hostility, and injustice, searching for belonging and identity, social networks (online and offline), intra- and intergroup relations play a role in incentivising pathways of (de-)radicalisation. The focus in this chapter is mostly on an assessment of how policies work and how Muslims engage with them or not. Martijn de Koning's study joins the conversation of religious and race studies scholars who critically interrogate ideas about religion and race as two separate and fundamentally different categories and look at their entanglements. Through policy analysis and ethnographic research conducted over the last 15 years and building on his earlier work with Maria Vliek, Martijn de Koning will explore the Dutch Countering Extremism/Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) and counter- radicalisation approaches as a form of governance problematising Islam through a racial-security lens. According to author's views and to literature review as well, the process of making visible who and what the problem is, is based upon a racialising ascription which clarifies how Muslims emerged as a category of intervention. The predominant focus on Muslims and radical Islam then turns Islam into a necessary condition to label someone a radical and to be scrutinised for potential risks. It is, however, never a sufficient condition. On the

contrary, being Muslim can also turn a person into a possible ally against radicalisation.

The conclusion is that The Dutch P/CVE policies are partly the result of this struggle, and co-emerged with the entanglement of different problem-spaces in which people who were increasingly ascribed a Muslim identity were problematised as out of place, out of time and out of bounds. This has resulted in a huge expansion of state powers and all kinds of laws, measures, policy documents and practices to identify, imagine, know, and eliminate potential risks.

Mehdi Lahlou, in his research *The Radicalisation of Morrocan-Origin Youth in Europe. The Case of France* tries to find some explanation to some questions within the idea that the concept of radicalisation should provide answers to questions such as the following ones: why do individuals join terrorist groups or commit terrorist acts? What goes on in his and her mind? What is it that makes an individual cross the threshold actually to use violence? In short: what makes a terrorist? As the author explains, in Morocco, religious radicalisation among young people began to appear by the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. Firstly, it started

to be visible in public universities and among student unions, where the Islamisation discourse gradually gained a place at the expense of the socialist and modernist discourses.

It is possible to argue that the path taken by radicalising young people in Morocco during the last few decades has been constituted by a combination of both internal and external factors. On the one hand, internal factors have made young people from poor and middle social classes easy targets for recruitment by jihadists as these youngsters were marginalised, impoverished, unemployed, and without much hope for the future. On the other hand, external factors brought Salafists and Wahabis to the fore, invading Moroccan society since the end of the 1970s under the banner of the protection of Islam. Among the sources of violence and terrorist attacks, as the author claims are: first, many young people with migration backgrounds suffer from low educational levels accompanied by the absence of reading, mainly newspapers and books. Second, easy access to information and propaganda documents/messages in the recent reign of social networks. Third, there is a social environment that makes the families increasingly conservative and communitarian. Further on, Mehdi Lahlou gives reasons for which terrorist acts occur. First, they have experienced early and restrictive interventions of social services and juvenile justice. Family environments are deemed inappropriate or

failing; transitions to homes and foster families mark the childhood and adolescence of most of them.

Then their schooling seems to correspond to that of the least qualified fractions of working-class backgrounds, as evidenced by the orienta-tion towards technical courses, which they will not necessarily complete. The research concludes that radicalisation of religious inspiration, even when it takes a violent shape, corresponds more to Islamisation of radicalism, delinquency, or violence than to radicalisation of Islam.

The next chapter in the third section was explored by Metin Koca author of this volume, as well, in his study called *Religiosities in a Globalised Market: Migrant-Origin Muslim Europeans' Self-Positioning Beyond the Sending and Receiving States' Politics of Religion.* This article focuses on the space that Zainab, a Muslim origin woman, interviewed for this study, and others urge to open by engaging with globally circulating cultural forms – i.e. "the field of possibilities" in Zainab's words. The research analyses individuals who shape their identities around a specific faith system and, as such, become a security concern for the governments occupying themselves with religiosities. His research rests on 152 structured interviews conducted with individuals who self-identify as Muslims in Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The interlocutors' Muslimness was their common denominator, as the author mentions. However, different other identifications appeared in their narratives depending on their perceived context (e.g. some identified themselves as "European", others refused to do so; some identified themselves with the nationality of their country of residence, others did not). During the interviews, which lasted about 90 minutes on average, the individuals were asked to discuss their personal histories, neighbourly relations, family and friendship ties, and mobility history, and to enlarge upon their thoughts on diversity, religiosity, the current state of politics and economics, and finally, their future expectations.

Metin Koca concluded that their interlocutors interact with a globally circulating religious repertoire reterritorialised and recontextualised in Europe and in line with the locally produced emotional needs, interlocution processes, and ideological priorities, the author promising the a future research shall focus on the polarisation in the many-voiced migrant-origin communities and the political economy of relations through which the state authorities appropriate the religious sphere.

Olivier Roy, also a contributor to the volume we have the pleasure to review,

in his research *Commentary: Why Extremism?* Among other interesting and useful views, the author turns to another side of his research, mainly the deradicalisation policies that are implemented in different places. These policies shed light not so much on the real radicalisation processes, but on the assessment and prejudices underlying these policies, as he explains. He considers that policies are always centred on combatting bad Islam by promoting good Islam and that radicalisation is no longer in the act (violence) but in the motives. Oliver Roy defines jihadism as a religious ideology, although this term of ideology is a bit out of place and contributes to erasing the difference with secular ideologies, as he claims. He also prefers to talk about jihadism as a big narrative construct centred on self-heroisation and the quest for salvation through martyrdom. He adds that, however, this is not the category most commonly used by deradicalisation actors and that the radicalised would remain dangerous as long as they had not reset the religious software. His conclusion with a great impact is that religious freedom is a

collateral victim of the fight against radicalisation, because this fight locks the space for theological reflection and puts the religious field under the direct or indirect control of the state.

Succinctly considering each study in the present volume, I would gratefully state that their high quality and vibrant reflection over very interesting cases and life situations can be easily observed in their original value and efforts, conducted and provided by the contributors. This volume offers a captivating expertise of authors through masteful works of professors, researchers and PhD graduates, and serves as an invaluable addition to the field of Migration and Identity, thoroughly analyzing and exploring literature and theories, as well.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Adesote Samson Adesola is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of History and International Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Osun State University, Osogbo, Nigeria. He is currently the Sub-Dean, Postgraduate, Faculty of Humanities of the University. He was formerly a lecturer in the Department of History and International Studies, McPherson University, Seriki-Sotayo, Ogun State. He has his Nigeria Certificate in Education (Economics/History) from Adeyemi College of Education, Ondo; B.A Ed History from Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife; M.A and PhD History from the University of Ibadan. He is a budding Historian and prolific writer. He has published extensively in many reputable local and international journals and edited books covering his areas of his research interests, that is, Economic and Social History of Nigeria with major emphasis on Migration, Conflict, Diaspora and Security Studies; and Political History. He is an active member of some professional bodies such as the Historical Society of Nigeria and African Economic History Network. Contact: solaade2007@ymail.com .

Peters Akin is a Chief Lecturer in the Department of History, School of Arts and Social Sciences, College of Education, Omu-Ijebu, Ogun State, Nigeria. He was formerly Head of Department of History and Dean, School of Arts and Social Sciences, College of Education, Omu-Ijebu. He has his M.A History from the University of Ibadan. His major areas of research interest include Social, Political and Economic History of Nigeria and Africa. He has published in local and international journals and edited books. He is a member of the Historical Society of Nigeria.

Hilmiye Nesrin Dilbaz, PhD, is Professor at Üsküdar University, Department of Clinical Psychology, İstanbul- Turkey. She graduated from Anadolu University Faculty of Medicine in 1984. Hilmiye Nesrin Dilbaz completed his doctorate in Adult Psychiatry in 1991 as Assistant Professor. Between 1991-2004, Hilmiye Nesrin Dilbaz worked as Psychiatry Specialist, Associate Professor, 2nd Psychiatry Clinic Chief and finally AMATEM Director at Ankara Numune Hospital. Since 2012, Hilmiye Nesrin Dilbaz has been managing NPISTANBUL Brain Hospital Addiction Centre. Hilmiye

Nesrin Dilbaz main areas of research interest are substance abuse. Contact: hilmiyenesrin.dilbaz@uskudar.edu.tr.

Simona Fer, PhD, is Lecturer at the Faculty of History, International Relations, Political Science and Communication Sciences, Department of Political Science and Communication Sciences, University of Oradea. Her area of expertise are the Language of Journalism, News Agency Journalism, Basic and Social Communication in English. Contact: simonag_1976@yahoo.com.

Renato Galhardi is a Brazilian sociologist holding a Ph.D. in Social and Political Sciences from the Universidad Iberoamericana, in Mexico City (UIA). Renato holds a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology from San Francisco State University (SFSU), a Masters in Social Sciences from the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences, in Mexico City (FLACSO) is accredited as an International Migration specialist from the Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Tijuana (COLEF). He is currently studying the phenomenology of migration experiences of deported Mexican men in Tijuana. Renato currently lives in Mexico City with his life-partner and cat, Balzac. Contact: renato.almeida@correo.uia.mx

Gabriela Goudenhooft (PhD Habil.) Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science and Communication Studies, Member of the Board of Faculty of History, International Relation, Political Science and Communication, University of Oradea; particularly concerned to develop inter and cross disciplinary studies that combine knowledge from areas such as philosophy, sociology, law, social psychology, media studies, discourse studies, social imaginary etc. Author of several articles, studies and scientific papers, books in areas like political philosophy, social and political imaginary, diaspora, human rights, government, EU policy, communication and discourse analysis. Contact: gabrielagoud@gmail.com .

Johane Hlatywayo holds a PhD and a master's degree in environmental management. He is a dedicated scholar and educator known for his expertise in Physical Geography and Environmental Resource Management. With a strong desire to understand and protect our planet's ecosystems, Johane Hlatywayo has dedicated his career to both teaching and pioneering research in this critical field.

Simbarashe Jombo is a postdoctoral research fellow at Sol Plaatje University, Department of Physical and Earth Sciences in South Africa. His expertise includes remote sensing, GIS, and statistical analysis for environmental management and community benefit. He specialises in research on sustainable development, government policy implementation, and their effects on vulnerable communities.

Tabaro H. Kabanda is a lecturer at the University of Dodoma in the College of Earth Sciences and Engineering. With a Doctoral Degree in Geography and Environmental Science, their research interests lie in the interdisciplinary realm of earth and environmental systems sciences. Contact: kabandatabaro@gmail.com .

Cristina Matiuta, PhD, is Associate Professor at the University of Oradea, Romania, Department of Political Science and Communication. She teaches in the areas of Civil Society, Political Parties and Theory and practice of democracy. She is Jean Monnet professor in the cmatiuta@uoradea.ro. field of European integration studies. Contact: cmatiuta@uoradea.ro.

Irina Pop, PhD, is a Lecturer at the Department of Political Science and Communication Sciences at the University of Oradea. Her main research interest revolves around xenophobia, legal and illegal migration, and identity. Contact: popirinamihaela@gmail.com.

Kudzayi Savious Tarisayi, PhD, is a Senior Lecturer at Stellenbosch University, where he is affiliated with the Department of Curriculum Studies. He specializes in teaching Geography Education and has conducted research on a variety of topics, including teacher migration, integration of ICTs in Geography Education, and contemporary issues in education**.** Contact: kudzayit@gmail.com .

Gülşah Yıldırım is research assistant at Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Faculty of Education, Department of Educational Sciences, Department of Guidance and Psychological, Turkey. She completed her master's degree in Üsküdar University Clinical Psychology in 2020. She is currently continuing her doctoral education in the field of Psychological Counseling and Guidance at Ege University. Gülşah Yıldırım, who started to work as a research assistant at Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University in February 2020, still continues to work there. Gülşah Yıldırım main areas of research

interest are disadvantaged individuals, identity, microaggression, mental health. Contact: gulsah.yildirim@comu.edu.tr.