The far right in the 21st Century in Europe and beyond – and ways of resistance and intervention
An Introduction

Mario Faust-Scalisi and Susan Arndt

Globally, fascism is on the rise. Again. In truth, it never truly disappeared. There is a longevity of racist sexism and sexist racism, to which fascism as its very extreme is but the tip of the iceberg. Put differently, the blatant affirmation of racial and gendered segregation, and the corresponding structural violation of rights and lives, has only ever been possible because the mainstreams of *white* societies in Europe and in *white* settler colonies across the globe have either actively applauded or passively tolerated patriarchy's *white* supremacy. This system rests on the claim that the so-called 'white race' is inherently superior to all other 'races,' and hence entitled, if not called to, to dominate the globe – and on building respective structures, while also reinforcing the binary power structures of patriarchal heteronormativity (e.g. Césaire, 1972). As Puja Kaur Matta's contribution in this volume shows, such claims of *white* and patriarchal superiority have deep roots in colonial projects and their gendered, missionary justifications – continuities that remain central to understanding today's far-right movements. Fascism is not a uniform phenomenon, and neither is the far right. The term 'far right' encompasses a variety of phenomena, and there are always exceptions – situations and circumstances that challenge the prevailing impression of a uniformly rising far right. And these counterexamples matter and are important. They may offer hope or allow to draw conclusions on how resistance can be organized. But they do not negate the broader trend of surging far-right influence – not only in Europe, but globally – a development that has been unfolding for several years now (Rodríguez-Aguilera, 2014, pp. 178ff.). Further, this rise is not limited to the growth of far-right parties, but also includes increasing influence on societal discourses and a surge in violence – specifically, transnationally connected far-right violence that takes multiple forms (Adamcová & Burrell, 2022, pp. 02ff.). Numerous explanations and interpretive frameworks have been proposed for this rise, often from a particular perspective or with underlying, sometimes unstated, agendas (see for example Gagatek, 2024, p. 265ff.). This raises the question: Why is

there a need for another anthology on the topic of the far right, and more so, one that does not focus on a specific country or far-right actor?

The far right cannot be adequately understood in isolation from the historical context of sexist racism. A transnational approach is essential that examines national specificities while also interrogating (historically embedded) national(istic) specifics. This is one very approach of this anthology. What is more, this book aims at intertwining academic, journalistic, artistic, and activist approaches and perspectives – drawing on each contributor's specific expertise in a region, societal context, or manifestation of the far right (including the freedom to use different, yet interrelated, conceptual labels). Bringing these perspectives together is not done arbitrarily, but with the clear purpose of better understanding how to counter the far right – whether in a specific region, within a state, across Europe, or beyond. To this end, the anthology presents a variety of interventions: from writing as a form of intervention to activism or artistic resistance. Sometimes this leans into the activist's own perspective; other times it takes a more analytical stance. But throughout, it adheres to the standards of scientific rigor and accuracy. This is not a conventional academic publication, yet it clearly follows scholarly standards, such as evidence-based reasoning and proper proof reading – while intentionally pushing the boundaries of form and disciplinary scope.

About this publication

The collection of texts and their authors was established during two events. The first was a workshop focused on developing arguments to counter the populist claims of the German far-right party *Alternative für Deutschland*' (AfD). The group analyzed party programs and collectively authored a book under the collective authorship Deutschland Solidarisch Gestalten (2025), presenting factual rebuttals to populist lies. To complement the focus on Germany, a second event was organized: an international conference hosted by the Doctoral College of Intersectionality Studies, titled "Mapping Intersectional Commitment Against Rightwing Extremism in Europe. Analysis, Communication, Intervention" (22–23 November 2024, University of Bayreuth, Germany). This conference was already eager to explore different European and non-European countries, while also addressing various societal realms (e.g. government and parliament, racist populism, journalism, neo-Nazi communities, and anti-racist NGOs). It also brought together most of the authors featured in this volume. The event showed the need to move beyond disciplinary boundaries to allow for effective intervention, while also highlighting the challenges of communicating with one another and with broader audiences. In doing so, the ongoing cycle of analysis, communication and intervention served as the central framework. Naturally, combating the far right requires a deep understanding of

its structure and substance, that is, thorough analysis. However, such findings must then be communicated effectively across different contexts and audiences. Any such analytically grounded communication is already a form of intervention. Yet intervention also represents a mode of resistance that goes beyond merely understanding or discussing the far right. And just as analysis and communication are key to intervention, interventions themselves must be subject to analysis and discussion. However, interventions often require compromises and may be based on incomplete information or analysis. Waiting for a fully comprehensive picture can delay or hinder necessary action, however – as illustrated here in the chapter on Christian Fundamentalism by Ruby Rebelde and Zoe Luginsland. In keeping with the unity-in-disunity of the book's core pillars, not every chapter engages equally with all of them – but the book as a whole fulfills this overarching agenda. The main perspective here is that of intervention, uniting different approaches and perspectives. Hence, this anthology focuses on various forms of interventions and resistance. Underpinning all the contributions are analyses, expanded and complicated here through mapping as a specific method of gaining empirical insights, not only in general, but with regard to spatial phenomena, too (Genz et al., 2024). Communication also remains a central pillar: this anthology itself is part of the broader effort to communicate findings, including best-practices. But while analysis, mapping, and communication have different significance for the diverse approaches and perspectives presented here, all revolve around or emerge as forms of intervention and resistance, in diversity. Interventions and resistance against the far right, in all its varieties, are shaped by compromises and limitations, but this does not diminish their importance. Taking this into account, this anthology is dedicated to countering the far right in Europe and beyond. It is built on the necessity of not remaining passive or confined to mere observation but instead actively engaging in analysis and intervention. This is both the aspiration and the guiding, unifying principle of the volume. To intervene in und thus resist the far right in Europe and beyond, is this book's goal – well knowing that it is one act among many.

Intersectionality, the far right and this anthology

As argued above, fascism is rooted in sexist racism and racist sexism. Yet it is also feeding from other forms of oppression. Some of the approaches presented at the conference did not prove as unifying and are therefore less prominent in this anthology. This especially applies to intersectionality, which was part of the conference title, but is not as prominent here again, although it remains an element of many of the chapters here. The far right does not only rely on racism and sexism for its arguments, but also on other power structures (most notably economically

driven class segregation) and various modes of discrimination – like ableism, psychism or ageism. Furthermore, the far right typically aligns itself with populism. Populism seeks to deny existing complexities and reduce them to simplistic truths. In doing so, it tends to, on the one hand, construct major societal conflicts and problems only to declare them unsolvable. Governmental and non-governmental actors of the far right often collaborate to create and instrumentalize failure, and so, generate social discontent. On the other hand, populism tends to offer overly simplistic explanations for existing problems, followed by equally simplistic solutions. These ultimately lead to discriminatory actions such as racist expulsions of 'migrants' or the enforcement of binary worldviews and heterosexual family models, in which 'women' are reduced to the roles of wife and motherhood (as shown in studies on populism and the far right including Schwartz et al., 2022, pp. 3218ff.). Studies show how governmental and non-governmental actors of the far right come together to create examples of failure, legitimize denial and distraction, or instrumentalize general social discontent. Transformation – when experienced as painful or challenging – and the lack of intersectional responses, which leave already disadvantaged groups even further behind, can foster the rise of the far right. These experiences are actively exploited by the far right, as shown in recent research (Harder, 2023, pp. 219ff.). This anthology also highlights how constructed 'traditions' or so-called 'traditional values' (like Christian fundamentalism) are used by the far right to discriminate, as discussed by Puja Kaur Matta, or explored in the contribution by Ruby Rebelde and Zoe Luginsland as used against sex-workers. Tobias Ginsburg, in turn, looks at how masculinity is constructed as a far-right promise that offers a toxic ideal, whose premise is that a return to the patriarchal past is the only way to solve contemporary problems. This logic leads the far right to claim that there are 'too many measures in favor of women,' ultimately declaring anti-discrimination laws and initiatives as discriminatory toward themselves, or against the so constructed 'male-read' individual. This weaponization of 'tradition' and patriarchal nostalgia is further contextualized in Puja Kaur Matta's contribution, which traces its historical entanglement with colonial rule and argues that today's anti-queer and anti-feminist far-right ideologies actively glorify a colonial past that was always already structured by racialized, gendered violence. Such sentiments reflect how the far right instrumentalizes a form of 'selected intersectionality,' as studies have already shown (Yazar & Haarstad, 2023).

Based on Kimberlé Crenshaw's (i.a. 1991) framework, this anthology argues that to counter this, intersectionality offers a most potent tool. It allows us to understand how different power-structures intersect and mutually reinforce one another. Different privileges amplify each other just as experiences of being discriminated against by multiple systems of power compounds have intersectional effects. Eventually, there are communities and individuals who are both privileged and discriminated against – positioned at varying degrees of access to power, privilege, and their denial. The far right seeks to exploit this by employing the strategy of divide-et-im-

pera (Henderson, 2024). Intersectionality, in contrast, aims to mobilize solidarity that leverages existing privileges to intervene into modes of discrimination. Intersectional solidarity can serve as a major driving force and guiding principle in countering the far right. Intersectionality asserts that the acting against discrimination should not be confined to a single axis, nor should it be the sole responsibility of those directly affected – such as 'women' fighting sexism, queer-identifying people against homophobia, or Black people fighting anti-Black racism. Rather, power structures and their tendency to privilege some while marginalizing others, must be collectively challenged. This requires solidaristic intersectional interventions that involve not only recognizing one's own privileges but also sharing or relinquishing them, thus contributing to the liberation of those who face discrimination (for example Kamasak et al., 2019, pp. 456ff.).

Thus framed, intersectionality serves both as a tool to understand the complexities of far-right policies and violence, and as a means to communicate about and resist them. It helps explain why certain political strategies fail, how backlashes gain momentum, and how far-right populism operates. This has been examined, for example, by Yazar (2024), who looked at how resistance to decarbonization and broader climate action intersects with ideology, particularly considering populism's eagerness to obscure given causalities (pp. 2452ff.). But this perspective does not encompass all forms of intervention or resistance discussed here. In practice, an intersectional perspective often remains limited, be it due to a lack of data or differing focal points. This can pose a potential risk and is certainly a limitation, but it can also form part of the necessary compromises in countering the far right – provided that the limitation is not treated as set in stone. This issue was discussed at the 2024 conference, leading to the decision to make intersectionality less central in this anthology. However, this by no means implies abandoning an intersectional perspective, as emphasized in the chapter by Mario Faust-Scalisi. Rather, or by Puja Kaur Matta, it reflects the choice not to adopt it as a unifying framework across all chapters. Instead, the diversity of approaches and perspectives is repeatedly enriched by an intersectional lens, highlighting the importance of complexity and maintaining a power-critical stance – regardless of the different (claimed) needs for compromise in intervention. Together the volume's overarching framework ultimately emerges as an intersectional intervention. This already foretells that not all the perspectives presented in each of the chapters are shared by all authors or the editors. This is evident, for instance, in the use of terminology.

The far right, right-wing, radical right or populist right?

As readers will have noticed, the 2024 conference still included the term 'right-wing extremism' in its title. Similarly, in this anthology, various terminologies are in use

alongside 'far right.' In part, the anthology contributors agreed to disagree on which terms to use, while being united in consistently using the term far right. In the chapter by Guillermo Fernández-Vázquez, the term Populist Radical Right Parties PRRP is used, too. This terminology is quite common in political science to describe far-right parties that follow a populist approach and is used in multiple studies (for example, Schwörer & Fernández-García, 2022, pp. 545ff.). However, not all actors on the far right adopt populism. Moreover, the term populism is frequently debated, especially when applied to both the far left and far right. Nonetheless, the term persists and continues to be used and justified, including in efforts to analyze both ends of the political spectrum together (Rooduijn et al., 2023, pp. 969ff.). Merely labelling a party as populist does not suffice to define its political goals. Populism is, after all, primarily a rhetorical structure of manipulation. The authors collected in this volume do not all follow the approach of foregrounding populism in discussions of the far right, nor do they uniformly apply the term, 'radical right.' Hence such terminologies cannot be applied to all perspectives and approaches that discuss how to counter the far right.

Similarly, this holds true for the term 'extremism,' as in right-wing extremism. Labelling parties or mindsets as 'extreme' carries the implication that the actors' worldviews and policies violate fundamental human norms or values. Some authors in this volume, such as Arash Beidollahkhani make prominent use of this terminology. In some other contexts, the term 'right-wing extremism' is commonly used – for instance, by the 'Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz,' (BfV) the German Domestic Intelligence Service. The BfV classifies actors as politically right or as 'right-wing extremists,' with the latter typically summarized to mean 'overrating ethical belonging' or rejecting the fundamental principle of equality (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, 2025). In Germany, it matters whether a far-right party such as the AfD is officially classified as 'right-wing extremist.' However, from an analytical perspective, this distinction is less significant. Analytically the AfD is clearly a far-right party (Deutschland Solidarisch Gestalten, 2025). This holds true in other contexts as well. The term 'right-wing extremism' does not work equally well for all authors in this anthology, or for all the contexts discussed here. Since this anthology aims to bring together diverse and wide-ranging perspectives and approaches from different backgrounds, terminology like 'right-wing extremist' is not universally applicable.

Already at the conference, it was agreed to use the unifying term 'far right' to encompass multiple, and at times only loosely connected, phenomena. This aligns with existing research and insights that aim to describe these varied phenomena. Moreover, it is not a unique idea that is being introduced here, rather, one that is firmly grounded in scholarly literature and academic discourse (see, for example, Carter, 2018, pp. 157ff.). In general, it refers to, but is not limited to, the following conceptual idea:

"The term 'far right' is an umbrella concept used to refer to the '(populist) radical' and 'extreme' variants of right-wing politics. It is, by definition, a generic term used to identify and bring together collective actors located on the rightmost end of the *ideological* left–right spectrum, but it is not devoid of meaning because of this aggregative property. Although the term evokes position and spatial location, it is also substantive as it refers to constituent parts (i.e. radical/extremist collective actors) discernible on the basis of their democratic/anti-democratic outlook (...). [T]he far right includes all those ultranationalist collective actors sharing a common exclusionary and authoritarian worldview – predominantly determined on sociocultural criteria – yet varying allegiances to democracy." (Pirro, 2023, p. 103)

Even though some may dismiss this as 'just terminology,' terminology does matter. It plays an important role in bringing together diverse perspectives and phenomena – enabling the understanding that examining national phenomena such as the far right in the United Kingdom would also require an awareness of transnational links and networks; and that the same terminologies may be employed for widely different yet highly interconnected perspectives and phenomena covered under different terminologies, as in Germany, for instance, the term 'right-wing extremism.' This is a main reason why we have chosen to use the unifying term – the 'far right' – while still allowing for variation and nuance within it. For example, the chapter by Konrad Moussa Ibrahima Erben uses the term 'extreme far right' to better capture the specific German context from this perspective, while Guillermo Fernández-Vázquez refers to PRRP (Populist Radical Right Parties) in his chapter. Meanwhile, Susan Arndt chooses the term 'fascism' to highlight not only the ideological and rhetorical aspects of populism, but also the preferred modes of governance and control exercised by the far-right parties and movements looked at.

In this sense, this anthology is also a plea to adopt the term 'far right,' not only to map and analyze the far right in all its 21st century diversity, but also to connect the various forms of intervention and resistance. The aim is to counter the far right as a whole, rather than merely addressing some of its manifestations in isolation. Despite this call for unity, engaging with the diversity and variety collected here presents some challenges. They, at times, necessitate a degree of distance and the courage to disagree with certain perspectives, terminologies or approaches – albeit without rejecting the premise of an entire chapter or intervention. This diversity and debate are seen as a strength of the anthology as such, and of the collective effort of its contributors. Nonetheless, it is worth highlighting a few specific aspects.

Composition of the Volume

Understanding that resistance needs multiple voices and diverse perspectives – that it needs the "art of plurality" (Thorne, 2022, pp. 567ff.) to be effective – this volume brings together a range of viewpoints. The anthology does not present a unanimous voice or a single perspective. This also means that certain framings or interpretations are not shared by all contributors. For example, the authors of this introduction see the connections drawn out by Arash Beidollahkhani between the far right and Islamic fundamentalism and the framing of what is meant by the umbrella term 'Islamic fundamentalism' as alternative viewpoint. Nevertheless, this highly insightful chapter is crucial for recognizing that such links exist and must be considered when countering the far right.

A similar point can be made regarding some of the terminologies employed in the chapter by Konrad Moussa Ibrahima Erben, which have been, and can be, critically examined from an intersectional perspective, particularly with respect to gender. However, as with each chapter in the volume, the respective author(s) is/are responsible for their own contributions, presenting their unique perspectives, and choosing their own approaches to intervention and resistance – particularly in how to counter the far right. Not only do the two chapters mentioned above reflect the kind of internal debates and discussions we encountered in this process, but they also provide insight into the thorough review process undertaken – including decisions we made on what to retain and what to revise. This applies to all the chapters in the collection, resulting in an anthology that adheres to certain shared standards, such as regarding terminology – while ultimately allowing for a broad diversity of viewpoints. This heterogeneity is in part due to the different professional backgrounds reflected here. At the same time, key academic debates and partial disagreements are present throughout the volume – sometimes explicitly, sometimes more subtly – such as differing views on the use of the concept of Eurocentrism. But, as emphasized earlier, these reflect the well-considered decisions of the authors of the individual chapters and were discussed before publication. Each contribution holds its own value and rationale, regardless of whether the editors or other readers fully agree with the framing, description, or terminology. What matters is fostering a more open and pluralistic understanding.

The willingness to share knowledge and engage in dialogue across different approaches to confronting far-right positions is a fundamental basis for building alliances and practicing intersectional solidarity. Of course, certain core values must be shared – such as an outright rejection of structural discrimination and the abuse of power. But based on this common commitment, flexibility and openness towards each other's theoretical accents is pertinent. This spirit of mutual respect affirms our shared understanding: that, ultimately, we all stand united against the far right and envision a similar alternate future.

Reasoning

Behind these decisions lies the insight that those countering the far right too often become divided – not only by the far right, but also through disagreements about certain concepts, foci or other issues. These circumstances have been discussed for years, and there is an ongoing debate about whether this view holds true (Banerjee, 2013, pp. 14ff.). At least as much it also makes sense to repeatedly highlight the divisions within the far right itself, for example, regarding questions of foreign policy (Becker & Ondarza, 2024). The point to be considered here is not whether 'the left' is more divided than 'the far right.' Instead, what matters is the insight that division endangers the effectiveness of efforts to counter the far right. As authors of this introduction, we do not have to agree with every sentence in its wording, conclusions, or perspectives. Once again – these collected texts reflect the views of their respective authors. But there is an underlying consensus, not only in using the terminology of far right, but also regarding the necessity of countering the far right and intervening against it in all its diversity, both in Europe and beyond. The approaches differ, and there is good reason to write here about activist, academic, and artistic interventions and forms of resistance. Yet they all move in the same direction, each considering which path they see as most fitting to counter the far right. This anthology focuses on the far right in the 21st century and its rise, but it does so from the perspective of countering this rise, reflecting on and exchanging ideas about resistance and interventions.

Structure of the anthology

This volume intertwines activist, academic and artistic approaches to resistance and intervention. In doing so, it follows a structure that organizes the chapters into three parts, linked to the fundamental triad of analysis, communication, and intervention, without merely repeating it. The first part brings together more theoretical and general approaches, focusing on communication and related perspectives. This is followed by the largest section of the anthology – Part 2 – which centers on mapping and analysis. It discusses these both as forms of intervention and as foundations for it, bringing together a variety of activist, academic and artistic modes of intervention and resistance informed by diverse approaches to analysis and mapping. Finally, the anthology concludes with Part 3 on mapping as intervention, and mapping alongside intervention, delving further into practices of intervention and resistance while discussing the central role of mapping in this context. Before outlining these sections and their chapters in more detail, it should be noted that the structure is itself a 'construct under construction.' Nonetheless, it follows an internal logic, guiding the reader from more general to more specific perspectives, repeat-

edly combining (more) academic with (more) activist approaches. The various chapters and parts complement each other, offering a complex and nuanced perspective on how to counter the far right in Europe and beyond. In this way, the volume demonstrates how activist, academic, and artistic forms of resistance and intervention operate, emphasizing why it is worthwhile to engage with all of them.

Part 1 – Theory, Communication and General Approaches

Following the title of this volume, the focus is specifically on activist, academic and artistic approaches to resistance and intervention, explored from a variety of perspectives, whether more journalistic or more academic. Nonetheless, this remains an academic anthology that aspired to meet scholarly standards, while also taking into account the diverse backgrounds of its authors and their different approaches to various topics. The first part of the book eagerly discusses the overarching ideas of the volume by examining the concepts of activist, academic and artistic resistance, and intervention. This is first addressed by Mario Faust-Scalisi, who looks at the necessity of adopting an intersectional perspective when confronting the far right. Considering that the far right is not only racist – in various degrees and forms – and sexist – also in diverse ways – but also ableist, classist, and adultist, to name only some of its pillars of discrimination, confronting only one of these aspects will always limit the effectiveness of resistance and intervention. Thus, Mario Faust-Scalisi explores the power and agency of intersectional solidarity as a means to counter the far right.

In the next chapter of this section Natascha Strobl discusses 'Culture Wars' as far-right attacks on anti-discrimination work, framing them as a main pillar of postmodern fascism. Providing an overview and a less theoretical discussion of how culture wars are advanced and 'fought' – while still firmly grounded in theory – Natascha Strobl examines both the term as an analytical lens and the topic of Culture Wars itself, in order to better understand the new far right.

In the last chapter of this section, Susan Arndt writes about empathy as tool to counter 'necropolitics' as used by the far right to dehumanize. By explaining how racism is foundational to the far right and has been designed to 'legitimate' violence to such an extent that it has muted empathy, Susan Arndt shows how a return to global empathy may serve as an affective strategy in the fight against fascism's inhuman tactics. All three chapters show that theory, its communication, and its analysis come together and are central to first understanding and then countering the far right. This already indicates that the organisation into separate parts will always remain, to some degree, an artificial one.

Part 2 – Mapping and Analysis

The second part of this volume focuses more on analysis and brings together a range of specific approaches. While the first part is not limited to constructed national identities or a single perspective, Part 2 presents more targeted analyses. Yet, taken together in their diversity, these contributions provide a complex perspective on the importance of analysis and the need to map the status quo and current developments to counter the far right. The first chapter in this section, by Safia Dahani, examines the far right in France, focusing specifically on its development into what is now constructed as the 'middle of society.' Following the provocative question, 'How did we get here?,' Safia Dahani outlines how Marine Le Pen developed from outcast to 'respected politician.' By mapping the status quo and analyzing the developments that led to it, Safia Dahani shows how empty the notion of 'normalization' truly is, and highlights the role the media play in strengthening this narrative.

A different perspective is offered by Daniel Trilling, who focuses on the United Kingdom. Drawing on his professional background, this journalistic account takes the far-right riots in Northern England in 2024 as a vantage point. The article also maps the development of the far right in the United Kingdom, both within party structures and beyond. Being a journalistic account, this chapter also highlights the need for such perspectives: journalism as activism and artistic resistance to counter the far right through mapping and analysis, while also striving to go beyond these approaches.

Konrad Moussa Ibrahima Erben examines Germany and the German far right, focusing on its use of the narrative of 'migrant crime' to justify far-right policies. Through academic analysis, this chapter shows how the narrative of 'criminal foreigners out' is instrumentalized by the far right to normalize its positions. This links the discussion of the German far right in this chapter to the chapters by Safia Dahani and Natascha Strobl, which look at strategies of 'normalization,' here with a focus on constructing and reporting crime. Analyzing the constructedness of motives such as 'criminal foreigner' allows for mapping the communication strategies employed by far-right actors and related tactics.

In terms of more activist forms of resistance, while Konrad Moussa Ibrahima Erben's approach can be seen as academic resistance to counter the far right, the following chapter looks at the project 'Deutschland Solidarisch Gestalten,' written and summarized by Mario Faust-Scalisi. This chapter traces the development of the project from its roots in academic discourse to its emergence as a broader network. Major encounters and approaches within 'Deutschland Solidarisch Gestalten' are outlined, showing how the network brought together academics and activists to intervene against the far right, through exchange, analysis, and mapping of developments and the status-quo. Interestingly, Konrad Moussa Ibrahima Erben was, next to other authors here, also part of 'Deutschland Solidarisch Gestalten.'

Both chapters demonstrate the necessity of a broad approach to countering the far right, emphasizing exchange and the integration of different intervention strategies. This also includes the need to go beyond Europe in both perspective and analysis. This is the leading principle of the final chapters in this section of the anthology as well. Guillermo Fernández-Vázquez examines how the Spanish far-right party Vox, although not the most electorally successful, functions as a major actor within international far-right networks, especially in relation to the Americas. At the same time, this chapter highlights the need for an intersectional perspective, illustrating how Vox constructs a distinct form of racism through the idea of the 'Iberosphere,' and differentiates between migrants according to perceived 'classes.' Examining this specific case allows for mapping how the far right operates beyond party structures and is highly dependent on specific actors and topics. Consequently, effectively countering the far right requires a differentiated analysis, mapping out the variety and diversity of far-right actors and movements. Guillermo Fernández-Vázquez provides such an analysis through his in-depth exploration of influence within a transnationally connected far right beyond Europe.

The need for such an expanded perspective is also emphasized in the following chapter by Arash Beidollahkhani, who examines the links between the far right and Islamic fundamentalism. This innovative approach of looking at the linguistic connections and similarities, reveals that these two loosely connected groups, often constructed as oppositional to each other, in fact share more in common than is generally recognized. In the chapter, this is described as 'antagonistic symbiosis,' discussing and showing how both sides contribute to and benefit from global polarization. On the one hand this underscores the need to broaden our perspective to develop a more complex and nuanced picture of the far right in Europe and beyond. On the other hand, it highlights the importance of conceptual analysis to map developments and the status quo within these movements, to allow for intervention and resistance.

The latter is even more of a guiding principle for Ruby Rebelde and Zoe Luginsland from FundiWatch, who, in their article, look at Christian fundamentalism and its strategic use of storytelling and the spread of moral panic. This analysis again links to the Culture Wars, showing that Christian fundamentalism is not only part of these conflicts but also operated through international networks far beyond Europe. This chapter takes the form of an activist and artistic intervention and resistance, while remaining academically grounded, as it is written by activists rather than scholars. Lastly, as in the chapter by Arash Beidollahkhani, it focuses on an aspect of the far right that is often overlooked. However, instead of examining links to Islamic fundamentalism, it analyzes connections to Christian fundamentalism as yet another form of constructed religious fundamentalism. By analyzing and mapping how Christian fundamentalism strategically fosters moral panic to 'normalize' far-right ideologies – with examples mainly drawn from Germany – this chap-

ter provides insights into effective interventions. This is precisely what FundiWatch seeks to achieve through this article and its broader work.

Part 3 – Mapping and/as Intervention

And this again connects to Part 3 of the anthology, which emphasizes mapping as intervention, as well as mapping *and* intervention – examining activist, academic and/or artistic forms of resistance and intervention. The first chapter in this third section particularly focuses on a concrete artistic intervention. Mario Faust-Scalisi looks at two comics as media of antifascist intersectional solidarity. By mapping antifascism through labels and movements, with a focus on Europe – and specifically Germany and Italy in relation to the comics – the chapter demonstrates how comics enable connectedness, whether through their free distribution or through funding initiatives for those in danger. The comics are presented as forms of artistic resistance and intervention aimed at countering the far right in Europe by mapping antifascist resistance alongside far-right counteractivities, with a particular focus on Hungary and Germany. Both examples clearly show the need to confront the far right from a European perspective, moving national boundaries time and again, and by combining analysis, activism, and artistic resistance and intervention. This chapter centers on the specific position and work of the Italian artist Zerocalcare, examining two of his comics as published in Germany and Italy. Here, too, the links to the other two parts of the anthology are clearly visible. These connections also serve as a guiding principle in the following chapter.

Puja Kaur Matta's chapter delivers an intersectional intervention by tracing the colonial continuities that underpin contemporary far-right ideologies in Europe. Through a close examination of the Christian missionary-military complex in German South-West Africa (present-day Namibia), she reveals how colonialism operated as a system of control over bodies, spaces, and territories, violently gendered and racialized that justified gender and racial segregation. Her chapter connects this history to current far-right formations, focusing on actors such as Tradition, Family, Property (TFP), to demonstrate how today's anti-gender campaigns are not merely ideological but deeply rooted in a romanticized vision of Europe's colonial past. She argues that these far-right interventions are sustained by Europe's refusal to reckon with its imperial legacy, and that resisting the far right requires dismantling the colonial epistemologies that continue to shape European identity and political structures. Puja Kaur Matta not only contributed to the text of *Deutschland Solidarisch Gestalten* but also highly contributed in the editorial process. This chapter connects to the other chapter on Christian fundamentalism, but adopts an interventionist approach, functioning as both academic resistance and intervention. It shows how countering the far right requires understanding these historical con-

tinuities and the Eurocentric foundations underpinning current far-right policies and claims.

These more academic, interventionist approaches are followed by two chapters that focus on activism. The first is the chapter by Tobias Ginsburg titled "Beyond the Firewall," which describes his approach of infiltrating the far right, and more specifically, infiltrating spaces of fascist masculinities. This chapter highlights the importance of examining masculinities to be able to effectively counter the far right and its anti-feminism. However, this focus on masculinities serves only as a vantage point; while analysis enables intervention, it is not the main form of intervention presented in this chapter. Instead, the intervention here is infiltration itself – becoming temporarily part of these structures to better understand what is frightening and plainly dangerous. Tobias Ginsburg brings together mapping as intervention with activist and artistic resistance, providing an 'insider' perspective on how to counter the far right.

The final chapter of this anthology again presents a concrete intervention, focusing here on activist resistance grounded in academic analysis and the mapping of far-right policies. Unlike previous chapters that address Europe and beyond, this chapter emphasizes the importance of local action. Broader perspectives and an understanding of global links have limited interventionist impact if these insights are not localized. This is precisely the focus of the last chapter of this volume, which examines concrete resistance against the introduction of banking cards with limited functions for asylum seekers, replacing the previous system of cash payments in Germany. The effects of these policies, along with the rhetorics linked to their clear far-right roots, are mapped and analyzed here, enabling counter-interventions, and encouraging activist resistance. Thus, this chapter takes an abstract and broad approach, and re-concretizes and localizes it through specific, situated activism.

Countering the far right in Europe and beyond

All these chapters, organized into three parts, demonstrate the variety of ways to counter the far right in Europe and beyond. They bring together academic, journalistic, activist, and artistic forms of resistance and intervention, highlighting different approaches, their limits and challenges. Yet, they also create space for agency, resistance and hope, illustrating pathways to counter the far right, locally, regionally, at constructed national levels, and beyond. This diversity of perspectives and approaches is essential to confronting a rising far right. Academic analysis is key, as are communication and the variety of interventionist forms of resistance. These insights emerge from the discussions underpinning this anthology and are precisely why this volume brings them together. Interventions need analysis and mapping; they often require academic approaches as well as artistic interventions. Yet, all analysis and

mapping efforts remain limited without communication and intervention – indeed, the communication of academic findings can itself be an intervention or part of it (Bange, 2023, p. 481ff.). Bringing together multiple approaches and highly diverse authors, this anthology shows how to counter the far right in Europe and beyond. It is also a call to action: to take these encounters, insights and approaches and become active yourself, in the way you find most appropriate. And reading this volume is already a first step of resistance and intervention.

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