

VOLUME 2  
ISSUE NO. 1  
JULY 2024

# WJRS

JOURNAL  
OF RIGHT-WING  
STUDIES

A PROJECT OF UC BERKELEY'S  
**Center for Right-Wing Studies**

SPECIAL ISSUE: CHALLENGES  
FACING RIGHT-WING STUDIES

this page intentionally left blank

# THE JOURNAL OF RIGHT-WING STUDIES

A PROJECT OF UC BERKELEY'S CENTER FOR RIGHT-WING STUDIES

---

## EDITORS

Lawrence Rosenthal  
Editor in Chief  
*Center for Right-Wing Studies*

Elijah Bures  
Managing Editor  
*Center for Right-Wing Studies*

Kelly Jones  
Associate Editor  
*University of California, San Diego*

## EDITORIAL BOARD

Martina Avanza  
*Université de Lausanne*

Ângela Lucia Silva Figueiredo  
*Universidade Federal do Recôncavo da Bahia*

Margaret Amaka Ohia-Nowak  
*Marie Curie-Sklodowska University*

Kathleen Blee  
*University of Pittsburgh*

Arlie R. Hochschild  
*University of California, Berkeley*

Rick Perlstein  
*Author and Historian*

Teresa Córdova  
*University of Illinois at Chicago*

Harry G. Levine  
*Queens College, City University of New York*

Craig Reinerman  
*University of California, Santa Cruz*

Carol Mason  
*University of Kentucky*

Joseph Lowndes  
*University of Oregon*

Stephen A. Small  
*University of California, Berkeley*

Maureen Eger  
*Umeå University*

Elliot Y. Neaman  
*University of San Francisco*

Vibeke Schou Tjalve  
*Danish Institute for International Studies*

Corey D. Fields  
*Georgetown University*

Troy Duster  
*University of California, Berkeley, and New York University*

Fabian Virchow  
*University of Applied Sciences, Düsseldorf*

*Design by Katherine Booska, JRWS Editorial Assistant, and Jessica Jiang*

*Typeset in Didot and Adobe Caslon*

*Correspond with us at [jrwseditors@gmail.com](mailto:jrwseditors@gmail.com)  
For submission information, see our website at [jrws.berkeley.edu](https://jrws.berkeley.edu)*

©2024 by authors and the UC Berkeley Center for Right-Wing Studies

Published in collaboration with eScholarship, the University of California's open access publishing platform: <https://escholarship.org>

# C O N T E N T S

---

Letter from the Editor <i>Lawrence Rosenthal</i>	1
<b><i>Introduction</i></b>	
The Curse of Relevance: Challenges Facing Right-Wing Studies <i>A. J. Bauer, Isis Giraldo, and Clara Juarez Miro</i>	2
<b><i>Articles</i></b>	
“Remove Kebab”: The Appeal of Serbian Nationalist Ideology among the Global Far Right <i>Monica Hanson-Green and Hikmet Karčić</i>	16
The Gab Project: The Methodological, Epistemological, and Legal Challenges of Studying the Platformized Far Right <i>Tim de Winkel, Ludo Gorzeman, Sofie de Wilde de Ligny, Thomas ten Heuvel, Melissa Blekkenhorst, Sander Prins, and Mirko Tobias Schäfer</i>	44
The Ordinarity of January 6: Rhetorics of Participation in Antidemocratic Culture <i>Diren Valayden, Belinda Walzer, and Alexandra S. Moore</i>	72
Stuart Hall’s Relational Political Sociology: A Heuristic for Right-Wing Studies <i>Tyler Leeds</i>	98
<b><i>Essays</i></b>	
Black Feminist Strategies for Right-Wing Studies <i>Blu Buchanan</i>	127
From the Margins to the Mainstream: A Personal Reflection on Three Decades of Studying and Teaching Far-Right Politics <i>Cas Mudde</i>	139
Burn after Reading: Research-Related Trauma, Burnout, and Resilience in Right-Wing Studies <i>Meredith L. Pruden</i>	152
Irrationality and Pathology: How Public Health Can Help to Make Sense in Right-Wing Studies <i>Emma Q. Tran</i>	164