- Abernathy, G. (2019) 'Trump is not a racist. His voters aren't either', *The Washington Post*, 7 August, available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/08/07/trump-is-not-racist-his-voters-arent-either (last accessed 7 September 2019).
- Adams, R. (2019) 'UK's Prevent strategy "biggest threat to free speech on campus", *The Guardian*, 27 June, available at: https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2019/jun/27/uks-prevent-strategy-biggest-threat-to-free-speech-on-campus (last accessed 7 September 2019).
- Adut, A. (2018) Reign of Appearances: The Misery and Splendor of the Public Sphere. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2009) 'Liberal multicultualism is the hegemony it's an empirical fact: a response to Slavoj Žižek', *LibCom*, available at: http://tiny.cc/wdfpkz (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Ahmed, S. (2010) 'Feminist killjoys (and other wilful subjects)', *The Scholar and Feminist Online*, 8(3).
- Alexander, C. (2017) 'Racing Islamophobia', in F. Elahi and O. Khan (eds), *Islamophobia: Still a Challenge for Us All*. London: Runnymede Trust, pp. 13–15.
- Appel, J. (2019) 'Revolutionary quotes from centrist history', McSweeney's Internet Tendency, available at: https://www.mcsweeneys.net/articles/revolutionary-quotes-from-centrist-history (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Back, L., Sinha S. and Bryan, C. (2012) 'New hierarchies of belonging', European Journal of Cultural Studies, 15(2): 139-54.

- Balibar, E. and Wallerstein, I. (1991) Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities. London: Verso.
- Barker, M. (1981) The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe. London: Junction Books.
- Battaglia, A. (2006) 'A fighting creed: the free speech narrative in the Danish Cartoon Controversy', *Free Speech Yearbook*, 43(1): 20–34.
- Bittner, J. (2019) 'Is there freedom of speech in Germany?', *The New York Times*, 1 October.
- Bleich, E. (2011) *The Freedom to be Racist?* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bond, C., Mukandi, B. and Coghill, S. (2018) "You cunts can do as you like": the obscenity and absurdity of free speech to Blackfullas', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 32(4): 415–28.
- Boochani, B. (2018) No Friend but the Mountains: The True Story of an Illegally Imprisoned Refugee. Tr. O. Tifighian. London: Picador.
- Boulila, S. (2019) Race in Post-Racial Europe: An Intersectional Analysis. London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Braidotti, R. (2013) The Posthuman. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bray, M. (2017) AntiFa: The Anti-Fascist Handbook. London: Melville House.
- Brown, K. E. and Saeed, T. (2015) 'Radicalization and counter-radicalization at British universities: Muslim encounters and alternatives', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(11): 1952–68.
- Brown, W. (2018) 'Neoliberalism's Frankenstein: authoritarian freedom in twenty-first century "democracies", *Critical Times*, 1(1): 60–79.
- Busby, E. (2018) 'Claims students have created university free speech crisis have been "exaggerated", *The Independent*, 27 March.
- Butler, J. (1998) 'Merely cultural', New Left Review, 227: 33-43.
- Camp, J. T., Heatherton, C. and Karuka, M. (2019) 'A response to Nancy Fraser', *Politics/Letters*, 15 May, available at http://quarterly.

- politicsslashletters.org/a-response-to-nancy-fraser (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Camus, J. Y. and Lebourg, N. (2017) Far-Right Politics in Europe. Tr. J. M. Todd. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.
- Carey, J. (1992) Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society. New York and London: Routledge.
- Clover, J. (2017) 'Free speech year', Los Angeles Review of Books, 21 September, available at: https://blog.lareviewofbooks.org/essays/free-speech-year (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Cooper, D. (2013) 'Question everything? Rape law/free speech', Critical Legal Thinking [online], 28 November, available at http:// criticallegalthinking.com/2013/11/28/question-everything-rapelaw-free-speech (last accessed 25 November 2018).
- Davies, W. (2018) 'The free speech panic: how the right concocted a crisis', *The Guardian*, 26 July, available at https://www.theguardian.com/news/2018/jul/26/the-free-speech-panic-censorship-how-the-right-concocted-a-crisis (last accessed 17 August 2019).
- Dean, J. (2009) Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Delgado, R. and Stefancic, J. (2012) Critical Race Theory: An Introduction, 2nd edn. New York: New York University Press.
- de Noronha, L. (2018) 'Race, class and Brexit: thinking from detention', *Verso Blog*, available at: https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3675-race-class-and-brexit-thinking-from-detention (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- de Noronha, L. (2019) 'Deportation, racism and multi-status Britain: immigration control and the production of race in the present', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 42(14): 2413–30.
- Dobbernak, J. (2014) 'Sovereignty, security and muscular liberalism: debating "Sharia courts" in Britain', *EUI Working Paper* RSCAS 2014/103.

- Eddo-Lodge, R. (2017) Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People about Race. London, Bloomsbury.
- El-Tayeb, F. (2011) European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Essed, P. and Muhr, S. L. (2018) 'Entitlement racism and its intersections: an interview with Philomena Essed, social justice scholar', *Ephemera: Theory and Politics in Organization*, available at www.ephemerajournal.org/contribution/entitlement-racism-and-its-intersections-interview-philomena-essed-social-justice (last accessed 17 February 2020).
- Fenton, N. (2016) Digital, Political, Radical. Cambridge: Polity.
- Ferree, M. M., Gamson, W. A., Gerhards, J. and Rucht, D. (2002) 'Four models of the public sphere in modern democracies', *Theory and Society* 31: 289–324.
- Finney, N. and Simpson, L. (2009) Sleepwalking to Segregation? Challenging Myths about Race and Migration. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Fredrickson, G. M. (2002) Racism: A Short History. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Freeden, M. (2008) 'European liberalisms: an essay in comparative political thought', *European Journal of Political Theory*, 7(1): 9–30.
- Freedman, D. (2017) 'Media power and the framing of the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks', in G. Titley, D. Freedman, G. Khiabany and A. Mondon (eds), *After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech*. London: Zed Books, pp. 209–22.
- Froio, C. (2018) 'A new nativism or a new racism? French far-right and Islam', *Reset Dialogues on Civilization*, 10 November, available at: https://www.resetdoc.org/story/froio-new-nativism-o-new-racism-french-far-right-islam-2015 (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Gayle, D. (2018) 'Thousands march in "free speech" protest led by right-wing figures', *The Guardian*, 6 May.
- Gelber, K. (2017) 'Using free speech as a weapon', Policy Forum,

- available at: https://www.policyforum.net/using-free-speech-weapon (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Gelber, K. (2019) 'Norms, institutions and freedom of speech in the US, the UK and Australia', *Journal of Public Policy* [online], 25 June, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-public-policy/article/norms-institutions-and-freedom-of-speech-in-the-us-the-uk-and-australia/9A5B4540C9EECEEE5 0CB6C32F97FC321 (last accessed 17 February 2020).
- Gelber, K. and Brison, S. J. (2019) 'Digital dualism and the "speech as thought" paradox', in S. J. Brison and K. Gelber (eds), *Free Speech in the Internet Age*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 12–32.
- Gillespie, N. (2018) 'Debate: the message of anti-racism has become as harmful a force in American life as racism itself', *Reason Magazine*, available at: https://reason.com/2018/11/09/the-message-of-anti-racism-has-become-as (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Goldberg, D. T. (2015) Are We All Postracial Yet? Cambridge: Polity.
- Göle, N. (2017) Daily Lives of Muslims: Islam and Public Confrontation in Contemporary Europe. London: Zed Books.
- Goodhart, D. (2014) 'Racism: less is more', *The Political Quarterly*, 85(3): 251–8.
- Goodhart, D. (2017) 'White self-interest is not the same thing as racism', The Financial Times, 2 March, available at: https://www.ft.com/content/220090e0-efc1-11e6-ba01-119a44939bb6?mhq5j=e1 (last accessed 3 March 2020).
- Gray, H. (2017) 'Race', in L. Ouellette and J. Gray (eds), *Keywords for Media Studies*. New York: New York University Press, pp. 161–5.
- Gregory, D. (2004) The Colonial Present. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Guénolé, T. (2015) 'Attentats à Paris: non, Alain Juppé, les Français musulmans n'ont pas à se justifier', *L'Obs*, 17 November, available at: http://leplus.nouvelobs.com/contribution/1450166-attentats-a-paris-non-alain-juppe-les-français-musulmans-n-ont-pas-a-se-justifier.html (last accessed 1 March 2020).

- Hage, G. (2017a) Is Racism an Environmental Threat? Debating Race. Cambridge: Polity.
- Hage, G. (2017b) 'Not afraid', in G. Titley, D. Freedman, G. Khiabany and A. Mondon (eds), *After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech.* London: Zed Books, pp. 259–61.
- Hajjat, A. (2017) 'A double-bind situation? The depoliticization of violence and the politics of compensation', in G. Titley, D. Freedman, G. Khiabany and A. Mondon (eds), *After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech*. London: Zed Books, pp. 79–94.
- Haworth, A. (1998) Free Speech. London and New York: Routledge.
- Haworth, I. G. (2019) 'Trump and the flawed definition of racism', *The Times of Israel*, 31 July, available at: https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/trump-and-the-flawed-definition-of-racism (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Hervik, P. (2011) The Annoying Difference: The Emergence of Danish Neonationalism, Neoracism and Populism in the Post-1989 World. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Hesse, B. (2004) 'Im/plausible deniability: racism's conceptual double bind', *Social Identities*, 10(1): 9–29.
- Husband, C. and Alam, Y. (2011) Social Cohesion and Counter-Terrorism: A Policy Contradiction? Bristol: Policy Press.
- Jungherr, A., Posegga, O. and An, J. (2019) 'Discursive power in contemporary media systems: a comparative framework', *The International Journal of Press/Politics* [online], https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1940161219841543 (last accessed 17 February 2020).
- Kamola, I. (2019) 'Dear Administrators: to protect your faculty from right-wing attacks, follow the money', *AAUP Journal of Academic Freedom*, 10.
- Kassem, R. (2016) 'France's real state of emergency', New York Times, 4 August.

- Kaufmann, E. (2017) "Racial self-interest" is not racism: ethnodemographic interests and the immigration debate', *Policy Exchange*, March.
- Klein, A. (2012) 'Slipping racism into the mainstream: a theory of information laundering', Communication Theory, 22: 427-48.
- Kumar, D. (2012) Islamophobia and the Politics of Empire. Chicago, IL: Haymarket.
- Kundnani, A. (2014) The Muslims Are Coming! Islamophobia, Extremism and the Domestic War on Terror. London: Verso.
- Langton, R. (2018) 'Blocking as counter-speech', in D. Fogal, D. Harris and M. Moss (eds), *New Work on Speech Acts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 144–64.
- Lennard, N. (2019) Being Numerous: Essays on Non-Fascist Life. London: Verso.
- Lentin, A. (2016) 'The lure of "frozen" racism', Occupied Times [online], 31 March, available at https://theoccupiedtimes. org/?p=14225 (last accessed 18 November 2018).
- Lentin, A. (2018) 'Beyond denial: "not racism" as racist violence', Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies, 32(4): 400-14.
- Lentin, A. and Titley, G. (2011) The Crises of Multiculturalism: Racism in a Neoliberal Age. London: Zed Books.
- Lister, R., et al. (2015) 'PREVENT will have a chilling effect on open debate, free speech and political dissent', *The Independent*, 10 July.
- Maitra, I. and McGowan, M. K. (2012) Speech and Harm: Controversies over Free Speech. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mammone, A., Godin, E. and Jenkins, B. (eds) (2013) Varieties of Right-Wing Extremism, London: Routledge.
- Marlière, P. (2015) 'Charlie Hebdo and the dawn of French McCarthyism', *Open Democracy*, 17 August, https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/charlie-hebdo-and-dawn-of-french-mccarthyism/ (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Meech, D. (2019) 'Auckland University refuses to remove white

- supremacist signs from campus', *The Spinoff*, available at: https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/30-09-2019/auckland-university-wont-remove-white-supremacist-signs-from-campus (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Meer, N. and Mouritsen, P. (2009) 'Political cultures compared: the Muhammed cartoons in the Danish and British press', *Ethnicities*, 9(3): 334–60.
- Meng, M. (2015) 'Silences about Sarrazin's racism in contemporary Germany', *The Journal of Modern History*, 87(1): 102–35.
- Mills, C. W. (2017) Black rights/white wrongs: The critique of racial liberalism. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mitropoulos, A. (2017) 'Consequentialism and the protection of fascist entitlement', *S0metim3s*, available at: https://s0metim3s. com/2017/08/15/free-speech-and-consequences (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Mondal, A. A. (2018) 'The shape of free speech: rethinking liberal free speech theory', *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 32: 4 503–17.
- Mondon, A. and Winter, A. (2017) 'Charlie Hebdo, Republican secularism and Islamophobia', in G. Titley, D. Freedman, G. Khiabany and A. Mondon (eds), After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech. London: Zed Books, pp. 31–45.
- Morsi, Y. (2017) Radical Skin, Moderate Masks. London: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Moskowitz, P. E. (2019) The Case Against Free Speech: The First Amendment, Fascism, and the Future of Dissent. New York: Bold Type Books.
- Mottram, R. (2008) 'Protecting the citizen in the twenty-first century: issues and challenges', in P. Hennessy (ed.), *The New Protective State: Government, Intelligence and Terrorism*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 42–65.
- Mouritsen, P., Faas, D., Meer N. and de Witte, N. (2019) 'Leitkultur

- debates as civic integration in North-Western Europe: the nationalism of "values" and "good citizenship", *Ethnicities*, 19(4): 632–53.
- Murji, K. and Solomos, J. (eds) (2015) Theories of Race and Ethnicity: Contemporary Debates and Perspectives. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Myklebust, J. P. (2019) 'Holocaust experts: don't let deniers talk on campus', *University World News*, 6 April, available at: https://www.universityworldnews.com/post.php?story=20190405151913839 (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Nadi, S. (2017) 'The ideology of the Holy Republic as part of the colonial counter-revolution', in G. Titley, D. Freedman, G. Khiabany and A. Mondon (eds), *After Charlie Hebdo: Terror, Racism and Free Speech.* London: Zed Books, pp. 291–303.
- Ongün, E. (2019) 'No, we don't have the "right to be Islamophobic", *Jacobin*, 9 October, available at https://www.jacobinmag.com/2019/09/france-insoumise-islamophobia-racism-melenchon-pena-ruiz (last accessed 15 January 2020).
- Peters, J. D. (2005) Courting the Abyss: Free Speech and the Liberal Tradition. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Peters, J. D. (2008) 'Afterword: in quest of even better heresies', in A. Phillips, R. Kunelius and E. Eide (eds), *Transnational Media Events: The Mohammed Cartoons and the Imagined Clash of Civilizations*. Gothenburg: Nordicom, pp. 275–88.
- Philips, W. and Milner, R. (2017) The Ambivalent Internet: Mischief, Oddity, and Antagonism Online. Cambridge: Polity.
- Pigott, S. (2017) 'Anti-Muslim activists, white nationalists and anti-government figures join Pam Geller in NYC to protest Linda Sarsour', Southern Poverty Law Centre *Hate Watch*, 26 May, available at: https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/05/26/anti-muslim-activists-white-nationalists-and-anti-government-figures-join-pam-geller-nyc (last accessed 1 March 2020).

- Pitcher, B. (2009) The Politics of Multiculturalism: Race and Racism in Contemporary Britain. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Plenel, E. (2016) For the Muslims. London: Verso.
- Post, R. (2013) Democracy, Expertise, Academic Freedom: A First Amendment Jurisprudence for the Modern State. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Povenelli, E. A. (2011) Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Late Liberalism. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.
- Pyrhönen, N. (2012) The True Colours of Finnish Welfare Nationalism. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Renton, D. (2019) The New Authoritarians: Convergence on the Right. London: Pluto Press.
- Riemer, N. (forthcoming) 'Disciplinarity and the boycott', in D. Landy, R. Lentin and C. McCarthy (eds), *Enforcing Silence: Academic Freedom, Palestine and the Criticism of Israel.* London: Zed Books.
- Roediger, D. (2008) How Race Survived US History: From Settlement and Slavery to the Obama Phenomenon. London: Verso.
- Rosenfeld, S. (2019) Democracy and Truth: A Short History. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Rouse, C. M. (2019) 'Liberal bias: the new reverse racism in the Trump era', *American Anthropologist*, 121(91): 172–6.
- Rydgren, J. (2005) 'Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family', *European Journal of Political Research*, 44: 413–37.
- Saini, A. (2019) Superior: The Return of Race Science. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Sankin, A. (2017) 'How activists of color lose battles against Facebook's moderator army', *Reveal News*, 17 August, https://www.revealnews.org/article/how-activists-of-color-lose-battles-against-facebooks-moderator-army (last accessed 15 January 2020).

- Scott, J. W. (2017) 'On free speech and academic freedom', AAUP Journal of Academic Freedom, 8.
- Shafik, M. (2018) 'Free speech on campus', The Economist Debates, *The Economist*, 17 April.
- Shand-Baptiste, K. (2020) 'We don't need more of the same bigoted debate', *The Independent*, 29 January, available at https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/racism-bbc-question-time-today-times-radio-lbc-broadcast-a9308396.html (last accessed 30 January 2020).
- Sharma, S. and Nijjar, J. (2018) 'The racialized surveillant assemblage: Islam and the fear of terrorism', *Popular Communication*, 16(1): 72–85.
- Sian, K. (2017) 'Born radicals? Prevent, positivism and "race thinking", *Palgrave Communications*, 3: 1–8.
- Simpson, R. M. and Srinivasan, A. (2018) 'No platforming', in J. Lackey (ed.), *Academic Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 186–209.
- Sivanandan, A. (1990) Communities of Resistance: Writing on Black Struggles for Socialism. London: Verso.
- Smith, E. (2020) No Platform: A History of Anti-Fascism, Universities, and the Limits of Free Speech. London: Routledge.
- Song, M. (2014) 'Challenging a culture of racial equivalence', British Journal of Sociology [online], 65(1): 107–29.
- Stolcke, V. (1995) 'Talking culture: new boundaries, new rhetorics of exclusion in Europe', *Current Anthropology*, 36(1): 1–24.
- Susen, S. (2011) 'Critical notes on Habermas's theory of the public sphere', *Sociological Analysis*, 5(1): 37–62.
- Taylor, K.-Y. (2016) From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation. Chicago, IL: Haymarket.
- Taylor, P. C. (2013) Race: A Philosophical Introduction, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Polity.
- Titley, G. (2019) Racism and Media. London: Sage.

- Toor, A. (2015) 'France's sweeping surveillance law goes into effect', *The Verge*, 24 July.
- Traverso, E. (2019) The New Faces of Fascism. London: Verso.
- Turner, C. (2018) 'Universities which "no platform" controversial speakers will face government intervention', *The Telegraph*, 3 May.
- Turner, J. (2018) 'Internal colonisation: the intimate circulations of empire, race and liberal government', *European Journal of International Relations*, 24(4): 765–90.
- Tyrer, D. (2012) 'Race, offence and democracy', MnM Working Paper no. 8.
- Valluvan, S. (2016) 'What is "post-race" and what does it reveal about contemporary racisms?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(13): 2241–51.
- Valluvan, S. (2019) *The Clamour of Nationalism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Vigoreaux, E. (2016) 'Pour poursuivre la soeur d'Adama Traoré, la maire veut faire payer la commune', *L'Obs*, 16 November, available at: https://www.nouvelobs.com/justice/20161116.OBS1315/pour-poursuivre-la-s-ur-d-adama-traore-la-maire-veut-faire-payer-la-commune.html (last accessed 1 March 2020).
- Virdee, S. (2014) Racism, Class and the Racialized Outsider. London: Macmillan.
- Volkmer, I. (2014) The Global Public Sphere. Cambridge: Polity.
- Wade, P. (2015) 'Racism and liberalism: the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(8): 1292–7.
- Waldron, J. (2012) *The Harm in Hate Speech*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Waklker, T. (2018) *Channel 4 News*, 25 April, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1_6APlOR_jg (last accessed 3 March 2020).
- Weber, C. (2015) Queer International Relations. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Wekker, G. (2016) White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.
- Winston, B. (2012) A Right to Offend. London: Bloomsbury.
- Wodak, R. (2015) The Politics of Fear: What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean. London: Sage.
- Wolfe, P. (2016) Traces of History: Elementary Structures of Race. London: Verso.
- Zeroula, F. (2016) 'Cinq mois après la mort d'Adama Traoré, le "deuil n'est pas fait" à Beaumont-sur-Oise', *Mediapart*, 27 December, available at: https://www.mediapart.fr/journal/france/271216/cinq-mois-apres-la-mort-d-adama-traore-le-deuil-n-est-pas-fait-beaumont-sur-oise?onglet=full (last accessed 1 March 2020).