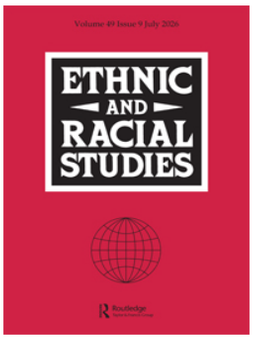

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Ethnic and Racial Studies

ISSN: 0141-9870 (Print) 1466-4356 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rers20

Beyond the urban-rural binary: spatial dynamics of integration, segregation, and radicalisation in Northwest Europe

Tahir Abbas & Richard McNeil-Willson

To cite this article: Tahir Abbas & Richard McNeil-Willson (01 Apr 2025): Beyond the urban-rural binary: spatial dynamics of integration, segregation, and radicalisation in Northwest Europe, Ethnic and Racial Studies, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2025.2482722

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2025.2482722

Published online: 01 Apr 2025.

ETHNIC AND RACIAL STUDIES
https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2025.2482722

Beyond the urban-rural binary: spatial dynamics of integration, segregation, and radicalisation in Northwest Europe

Tahir Abbas [a] and Richard McNeil-Willson[b]

[a]Institute of Security and Global Affairs, Leiden University, The Hague, Netherlands; [b]Alwaleed Centre for the Study of Islam in the Contemporary World, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the dialectical relationship between integration, segregation, and radicalisation across European urban and rural spaces, challenging conventional binary conceptualisations through qualitative analysis in the UK, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands. The findings reveal complex spatial dynamics wherein urban environments simultaneously facilitate intercultural exchange while harbouring mechanisms of socio-spatial segregation that may catalyse radicalisation. Rural localities, despite demographic homogeneity, manifest distinct integration challenges and demonstrate potential vulnerability to engagement in radicalisation, particularly through far-right movements. This spatial reconfiguration thus necessitates a reconceptualisation of predominant urban-centric paradigms in studies of radicalisation and extreme movements. The analysis advances theoretical understanding of how spatial relations intersect with identity formation, citizenship practices, and social cohesion across differentiated geographical contexts. These findings suggest the need for spatially attentive policy interventions that recognise the distinct yet interconnected social ecologies of urban and rural environments in addressing contemporary patterns of radicalisation and social fragmentation.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 29 November 2024
Accepted 14 March 2025

KEYWORDS
Spatial dynamics; integration; segregation; radicalisation; urban-rural divide; Northwestern Europe

Introduction

The spatial articulation of societal processes, particularly concerning integration and segregation phenomena, has long constituted a fundamental domain of sociological investigation (Lichter, Parisi, and Ambinakudige 2020; Musterd et al. 2015; Nieuwenhuis et al. 2019). Scholars have consistently demonstrated the profound implications of spatial configurations for social relations and community structures (Jessop 2016; Massey and Denton 1993; Ostanel 2015). Contemporary global transformations – intensified patterns of transnational migration, heightened concerns regarding processes of

CONTACT Tahir Abbas t.abbas@fgga.leidenuniv.nl
This article has been corrected with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.

radicalisation, and persistent challenges to social cohesion within increasingly heterogeneous societies – have lent new urgency to this field of inquiry (Baldassarri and Abascal 2020; Vertovec 2007, 2024; Vorobeva and Jauhiainen 2023).

Within this evolving socio-spatial paradigm, our research advances the theoretical discourse through a rigorous examination of the spatial dynamics underlying integration and segregation processes across four European polities: the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands. The investigation bifurcates along two critical analytical axes: first, examining the implications of neighbourhood segregation for social cohesion and concomitant radicalisation risks; and second, interrogating the differential manifestations of diversity and intergroup contact across urban and rural spatial contexts. These are then used to better understand and interrogate both the processes of and the concept of radicalisation.

Radicalisation is a contentious term, which critics contest contains a number of in-built assumptions that perpetuate the logic of the long War on Terror in pathologising violence and racialising security in a practice that often reduces the question of irregular violence to why some individual Muslims support certain interpretations of Islam that are linked to violence (Kundnani 2012). Contemporary conceptualisations of radicalisation have been critiqued as problematic, emphasising certain factors in engagement with violence – such as ideology and religious belief – whilst obscuring others, such as the social and political context within which contention occurs. Whilst there remains confusion and contention over the term (Sedgwick 2010), radicalisation has become a central component of policy – despite, or perhaps because of, its racialised implications.

One notable limitation of the study of radicalisation in contemporary research is that the "where" of such processes is significantly understudied (Miller-Idriss 2020), despite Coolsaet's assertion that "all radicalisation is local" (Coolsaet 2016). Indeed, where there has been engagement with the concept of place and its role in radicalisation, the discussion has overwhelmingly been confined to, and characterised as inherently linked to, urban areas (Fjellman, Lindekilde, and Gøtzsche-Astrup 2023), the result of specific urban "vulnerabilities". Such specifically urban factors that have been cited as linked to radicalisation have included segregation, urban deprivation, the collapse of community support, cultural and religious tensions, and youth disillusionment. However, these entrenched assumptions, in focusing on urban sites, risk perpetuating a securitised tale whereby integration and greater minority presence are framed as creating the tensions required for radicalisation. In doing so, they present radicalisation as associated primarily with migration and the "integration agenda" of the far and radical right (Sedgwick 2010). Furthermore, by highlighting radicalisation as a distinctively urban phenomenon, studies risk deemphasizing the radicalisation of rural, White-majority sites in Europe, thereby enabling the continuation of an already racialised policy and practice.

Significant existing research exists on the role of urban spaces in contention in various alternative academic fields, with urban studies literature in particular finding links between urban experiences of austerity, social inequalities, and formations of contention (Cassiers and Kesteloot 2012; Mullis 2021; Novy, Swiatek, and Moulaert 2012). Levels of social cohesion and the development of informal urban networks have been linked in research, with significant implications for the development of radical "extreme-right" milieus (Pilkington and Vestel 2024). However, interdisciplinary conversations involving space, social exclusion, and radicalisation are few and, when conducted, overwhelmingly urban-focused. The long use of concepts of radicalisation beyond the War on Terror and

its continued appearance in numerous contexts to describe individual and group processes of escalation from nonviolent to increasingly violent repertoires of action (Della Porta 2018) suggests that critical and interdisciplinary accounts of the phenomenon are possible. Critical and careful engagement with the term radicalisation does not – the authors contest – suggest agreement with its contentious and racialised implications, but instead offers an imperfect means to explore patterns of violence, as well as to better demonstrate the many limits of the current debate. Interdisciplinary scholarship and urban studies that link space, social exclusion, and contention thereby provide a critical point of departure for this study to undermine, challenge, and diversify the concept and understanding of radicalisation.

To explore this, our investigation seeks to address the following theoretically and empirically significant research questions:

(1) How do spatial dynamics mediate processes of integration and segregation within urban and rural contexts? This inquiry necessitates sophisticated analysis of the relations between geographical configurations and social formation processes.
(2) What are the dialectical relationships between neighbourhood segregation, social cohesion, and radicalisation risks? This question demands examination of the interactions between spatial isolation, community bonds, and vulnerability to extremist ideologies.
(3) How do lived experiences of diversity and intergroup contact manifest differentially across urban and rural spatial contexts? This line of inquiry facilitates comparative analysis of integration processes across varied geographical settings.

The scholarly significance of our investigation is underscored by ongoing theoretical debates concerning multiculturalism, integration policy efficacy, and the multifaceted challenges posed by ideological extremism across the political spectrum (Malik 2019; Van Heelsum and Vermeulen 2017). These issues, situated at the nexus of social policy, security paradigms, and community cohesion, demand rigorous empirical investigation. Our spatial analytical framework enables granular examination of environmental influences on social outcomes, potentially identifying localised interventions for enhancing societal integration. Furthermore, our comparative methodology, encompassing four European nations with distinct socio-political configurations and integration histories, facilitates identification of both transnational patterns and nation-specific particularities in spatial dynamics of integration and segregation.

Theoretical development

Our theoretical architecture, which undergirds the analytical framework, synthesises an intricate constellation of conceptual paradigms drawn from sociology, human geography, and political science. This interdisciplinary theoretical scaffolding facilitates a nuanced examination of the spatial dynamics of integration and segregation within our selected European polities.

The concept of "social cohesion", as theorised by Kearns and Forrest (2000), constitutes our primary analytical lens. Their foundational work conceptualises social cohesion as the degree of societal integration, manifested through the robustness of interpersonal bonds and collective identity formation within shared communal spaces (Bottoni 2018; Fonseca, Lukosch, and Brazier 2018). This theoretical construct proves instrumental in interrogating

the mechanisms through which spatial configurations either facilitate or impede cohesive community formation. The sophisticated understanding of social cohesion advanced by Kearns and Forrest enables critical examination of the dialectical relationship between physical space and social relations. Within this analytical framework, the phenomenon of Islamophobia emerges as a critical mediating factor, increasingly prevalent across European contexts (Najib and Hopkins 2020; Pickel and Öztürk 2018; Sayyid 2018). Islamophobia, whether emanating from localised tensions or national security paradigms, functions as a significant impediment to social cohesion, creating structural barriers between Muslim and non-Muslim communities and shaping spatial dynamics of integration and segregation (Ragazzi 2023; Wren 2001).

The theoretical framework incorporates Allport's (1954) "contact hypothesis", subsequently refined by Pettigrew (1998), which posits that structured intergroup contact, under specific conditions, can ameliorate prejudicial attitudes and enhance intergroup relations (Mondon and Winter 2017; Najib 2020). We extend this theoretical paradigm to examine the differential capacities of urban and rural spatial contexts in facilitating meaningful intergroup encounters. This theoretical application enables analysis of how varied geographical configurations present distinct opportunities and constraints for positive intergroup interaction and social integration. The contact hypothesis assumes particular salience when examining spatial manifestations of Islamophobia, as Najib and Hopkins (2020) demonstrate through their analysis of differential anti-Muslim practices across urban centres and peripheral spaces.

The concept of "neighbourhood effects", as theorised by Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley (2002), provides another crucial analytical dimension. This theoretical construct posits the significance of immediate spatial context in shaping individual trajectories, encompassing processes of social integration and potential radicalisation (Laurence 2016). The integration of neighbourhood effects into our analytical framework enables a granular examination of how specific spatial characteristics – including population density, socioeconomic composition, and built environment – influence individual and collective social outcomes (Mouratidis 2017). This theoretical perspective proves particularly salient in comparative analysis of urban-rural dynamics, illuminating how distinct local environments differentially shape social relations and behavioural patterns (Hancock 2020). The neighbourhood effects paradigm assumes critical importance in examining spatial distributions of Islamophobia, as evidenced by Najib and Hopkins' (2020) findings regarding differential manifestations of anti-Muslim practices across Parisian spatial contexts.

Massey's (1985) theory of "spatial assimilation" provides our final theoretical pillar. This theoretical framework suggests a correlation between socioeconomic mobility and spatial integration among immigrant populations. Our research interrogates the differential manifestation of this process across urban and rural contexts, considering distinct spatial and social characteristics of varied environments (Vogiazides and Chihaya 2019; Wessel et al. 2017). Critical examination of spatial assimilation theory's applicability across diverse geographical contexts contributes to theoretical refinement regarding the relationship between spatial mobility and social integration. However, processes of spatial assimilation encounter significant complications through phenomena such as Islamophobia, as Wren (2001) demonstrates regarding cultural racism's role in creating structural barriers to integration for Muslim communities (Mac An Ghaill and Haywood 2015).

The synthesis of these theoretical paradigms provides a sophisticated analytical framework for examining empirical data regarding spatial dynamics of integration and segregation across our selected European cases. The integration of these complementary theoretical perspectives enables multidimensional analysis of the relationship between space, social relations, and integration processes. Furthermore, we incorporate Finlay and Hopkins' (2020) conceptualisation of Islamophobia as governmentality, enabling analysis of how anti-Muslim sentiment functions as a regulatory mechanism shaping political participation and spatial practices among Muslim communities, simultaneously constraining and catalysing civic engagement among young Muslims (cf. Uenal 2016).

This theoretical foundation not only informs methodological approaches but also shapes interpretative frameworks, contributing to a sophisticated understanding of spatial dimensions of social cohesion and integration in contemporary European societies. We advance nuanced analysis of integration challenges and opportunities across diverse European contexts by examining the intersections between social cohesion, contact hypothesis, neighbourhood effects, spatial assimilation, and Islamophobia.

We acknowledge methodological limitations inherent in qualitative inquiry regarding generalisability, positioning our findings as providing rich analytical insights into the spatial dynamics of integration and segregation rather than statistically representative data.

Methods

Our methodological framework employs a mixed-methods approach, synthesising in-depth interviews with ethnographic observation. This methodological pluralism enables rich, multidimensional exploration of our research questions, capturing both macro-level patterns and micro-level lived experiences. Through systematic integration of these diverse data sources, we construct a comprehensive theoretical model of spatial dimensions of integration and segregation, one that advances both scholarly discourse and policy development. We maintain rigorous analytical objectivity while acknowledging the politically contested nature of our subject matter, ensuring our findings contribute substantively to both theoretical understanding and practical policy formation regarding integration, segregation, and radicalisation in contemporary European societies.

This investigation synthesises semi-structured interviews with practitioners, policymakers, and community members across the four studied nations. The research encompasses 417 interviews conducted from early 2021 to late 2023, distributed across the United Kingdom (33 per cent), Denmark (23 per cent), the Netherlands (23 per cent), and Norway (21 per cent), enabling robust comparative analysis. Respondents were categorised as young people aged 18–25 (51.6 per cent), activists (19.7 per cent), and practitioners (28.8 per cent), with a gender distribution of 57.3 per cent male, 41.2 per cent female, and 1.4 per cent unspecified. Geographical sampling encompassed major metropolitan centres, including London, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, and Oslo, alongside diverse urban and regional localities. Additionally, 64 young participants engaged in 15 focus groups conducted by the Public Mental Health Team of the project, providing supplementary data for analysis.

Young people and activists were interviewed from two communities—"Muslims" and "nationalists" – and verified their identity at the start of each interview. These two communities are broad, and we must stress, neither comparable nor compared as part of

this study, as doing so would be problematic. However, they represent the most likely communities to be impacted by counter-radicalisation programmes and securitisation processes, as the overwhelming focus of contemporary practices of counter-extremism. They therefore form a central point of discussion that enables us to draw on various different spatial sites and discourses within the context of authority discussions over radicalisation.

Muslim interviewees were drawn from mosques and Islamic groups, universities and religious colleges, and Muslim campaign groups. In contrast, nationalists were overwhelmingly drawn from engagement with organisations that defined themselves as nationalist in their political ideology or orientation. Participant recruitment employed purposive and snowball sampling methodologies, ensuring representation across governmental, civil society, and community sectors. Many of those who were interviewed therefore recommended others for interview, building a means for understanding localised patterns of activism and discourse.

Interviews were conducted in participants' native languages and subsequently translated for analysis. The interview protocol addressed perceptions of radicalisation, experiences with counter-radicalisation policies, perspectives on Islam's role in public discourse, and community-state relations. All data collection adhered to rigorous ethical standards, including audio recording, transcription, and anonymisation protocols to ensure participant confidentiality. Once the data was collected from the 417 interviews, statements were then analysed using Atlas.ti by a team of international researchers in each of the four case study countries, with knowledge of national languages. Coding was conducted to highlight and isolate themes, with particular attention paid to discussion on space, neighbourhood segregation, and social cohesion in their local areas, and their knowledge and experience of processes of radicalisation. This provided a holistic and critical exploration of the research questions, led by the research participants themselves.

Analysis

Urban-rural divide in experiences of diversity and integration

The data reveals a picture of the urban-rural divide across the studied countries, with significant implications for experiences of diversity and integration.

In rural areas, there's a consistent theme of stronger traditional values and less exposure to diversity. A Norwegian interviewee (nationalist, male) emphasises this:

> … what I think is perhaps one of the great advantages of living in the countryside is that people in rural Norway are more focused on family values, really, the core values of respecting people, respecting the elderly, being a good and kind person, etc. But also, you have very nice nature; you have people who are hard-working and decent, I think. I think there are perhaps a little less decent people in the cities because there can be a lot of drugs and crime and […] compared to the countryside.

This perspective is echoed in the UK, where rural upbringing is associated with a sense of community and isolation from diversity. As one interviewee (nationalist, male) notes:

> I grew up in a rural area, you know, a very large area of community. I was raised in my village. I mean, like, we moved around a couple of years back. Many, I mean, in my school, there were like less than ten people in my year in my primary school there.

However, this rural homogeneity can also lead to challenges when confronted with diversity. A Danish interviewee (nationalist, male) observes:

> If you go out into the countryside, I've had the pleasure of living in both places; it can be harder to see, plus somebody will be startled if you suddenly grow a beard, such old reaction patterns.

Other interviewees also raised concerns about instances of racism within the context of the more homogenous countryside. In contrast, urban areas are characterised by interviewees as having greater diversity but also more multifarious social dynamics. A UK interviewee (nationalist, female) describes the stark contrasts within urban areas:

> I live in [Northern rural town], which is in the borough. Some of [the town] is in the borough of [Northern English semi-rural area]. And I remember—I can't remember how many years ago now—but I remember being absolutely devastated because UKIP had gained my seat from Labour in the area, and I was absolutely devastated to be [represented by] a member of UKIP. But upon reflection, that makes a lot of sense to me. And so, where I live, I hate to say it, it is incredibly middle class, incredibly white, but there's a very clear interface between where I live and where [the town] begins, and quite a large estate that is predominantly Asian.

This quote highlights the spatial segregation that can occur within urban areas and across urban and rural divides, potentially impacting social cohesion and political leanings. It also suggests that within both urban and rural environments, there can be significant variations in experiences of diversity (Frost, Catney, and Vaughn 2021; Lan, Kandt, and Longley 2020).

Spatial dynamics of radicalisation

The data presents a nuanced picture of the spatial dynamics of radicalisation, in part offering a challenge to simplistic urban-rural dichotomies.

During interviews with both community members and stakeholders, we observed that space was seen as important in understanding radicalisation, and there was significant reason to suggest that place and local community were perceived as playing a significant role in enabling extremist movements. Research and policy have tended to pay particular focus to the role that the urban, post-industrial environment plays in promoting and enabling radicalisation, yielding important findings (Brand and Fragonese 2013). Within these, specific urban areas have often been highlighted as particularly "vulnerable" to radicalisation – Luton or Bradford in the UK (Kenney, Coulthart, and Wright 2017), Molenbeek in Belgium (Coolsaet 2017), or Aarhus and the Copenhagen district of Nørrebro in Denmark (Fjellman, Lindekilde, and Gøtzsche-Astrup 2023; McNeil-Willson 2021), among others. In the city of The Hague in the Netherlands, for instance, one counterterror practitioner noted the role that such communities play in concerns around extremism:

> [In Den Haag], the Schilderswijk is then the place to be to have these kinds [of people, so-called 'Islamists'], and that we saw as well with the jihadist movement. Most people [who travelled to the Islamic State] came from the Schilderswijk or surrounding areas. But for example, right extremism or more anti-Islam sort of feels like it's more from the Duindorp part of Den Haag …

Whilst some interviewees noted the specific areas that have become linked to concerns over extremism or radicalisation recently, this picture was greatly complicated across

interviews, with some challenging the conception of certain communities with extremism. Partly, this was brought into question by the wide variety of concerns over radicalisation that have developed in recent years, which are generally seen as going beyond young Muslims engaging in groups such as Islamic State. The rise of far-right, white nationalist, and other forms of extremism has seen a concurrent broadening of the spatial focus of policy and practice seeking to respond to radicalisation. This has engendered a new focus on the role of rural environments in such movements, with these new sites operating beyond those that have more traditionally been associated with extremism. As one interviewee clarified of the Dutch context:

> … a lot of young people that come up on our radar are young people who are not in places where we traditionally expect to find them. These are typically rural areas. These would not be in cities in Rotterdam, in The Hague, or in Amsterdam.

Recent years have seen a greater focus on the role of rural areas in radicalisation. However, this is not just linked to the rise of concern over far-right extremism, with many such movements observed as operating in various contexts. Various groups among the far right have been found to take on different special and geographical focuses throughout their development, as one UK interviewee (nationalist, male) noted:

> I think there's a distinction, some of what you'd call … Extreme political movements, street-based movements, radical right-wing movements, the English Defence League, and Infidel—some of these, they clearly seem to have a geographical focus relating to what's going on in some parts of the country that we can maybe talk about, but … The actual violent extremist actors who are growing in number—National Action, fascist groups, etc.—have no geographical patterns at all; they seem to be … around the country, rural and urban, of course.

This suggests that violent extremism itself is not confined to specific urban or rural sites, with extreme groups operating in a variety of ways across a variety of spaces. There was still evidence of longstanding assumptions around urban areas as being more vulnerable to radicalisation among some of those we interviewed, due to urban diversity and population density. However, this was partially attributed to the suggestion that counter-radicalisation efforts were often more urban-focused because of a perceived bias, with greater reporting linked to greater awareness of such concerns within an urban environment. As one Danish interviewee (nationalist, male) observed:

> Generally, yes, there is a difference between rural and urban. Then there is typically an attitude that radicalisation occurs in the city and right-wing in the provinces. Here we have seen many cases that have been in the media, which show that it is not always the case. Where it is easier to be aware of in the city because there are more people tied together, people are perhaps more aware of it and know where to go with it.

As a result, radicalisation was possibly seen as being higher in an urban context because reporting was higher in an urban context and lower within a rural context because of the lack of awareness or association about it. One interviewee also highlighted the traditionally closed nature of rural spaces as preventing the reporting of radicalisation:

> There are small rural places where there's mainly a white population, and the mayor and the other practitioners of the municipality tend to see some right-wing extremist or activist behaviour, but they can't pinpoint it because they are closed communities, and they keep everything to themselves.

Spatial dynamics were further nuanced when further overlaid by community dynamics. The perception of grievances and social exclusion within certain sites was also shown to impact the dynamics of radicalisation. As a UK interviewee (nationalist, male) stated:

> I think the spatial link is, as I said, predominantly around the grievances and the circumstances around which communities live where, where they can then say as a result of our circumstance, we have these feelings because things are unfair or it's not right. There's not an equilibrium in terms of our lives and what our expectations around that are and how, if we're supposed to be equal citizens, you know, what does that look like?

Concerns within certain communities included not just national-level issues – migration, integration, or economic issues – but also largely focused on highly localised concerns, such as regional house prices, transport infrastructure, job prospects, the state of the local high street or shopping centre, and the availability of green spaces. As one interviewee in the UK (nationalist, female) stated:

> … the area I'm in, it's an area where there's a high amount of students and a high amount of foreign nationals. So, it's a very, very diverse area. And so, I think the problems are very diverse … Things like litter tend to be quite a big problem. I know that there are a few parks that are considered not safe for young girls to walk through on their own.

Interviewees highlighted how spatial factors can contribute to grievances that may fuel radicalisation. There may be greater concern about radicalisation in urban rather than rural areas, and radicalisation in urban areas is more likely to be associated with so-called "Islamist" extremism, in contrast to far-right extremism in rural areas. However, this was not found to be consistent across the interviews, and, despite these differences, problems linked to social exclusion and radicalisation were evident in a variety of different settings, regardless of whether they were urban or rural (Harteveld et al. 2021).

Impact of neighbourhood segregation on social cohesion

The data indicates that neighbourhood segregation can significantly impact social cohesion, with implications for integration and radicalisation risks. A UK interviewee (Nationalist, male) describes how even the framing of spatial segregation can fuel grievances:

> … the spatial impact of that would be if there's a lot of deprivation taking place, there are grievances around the state, doesn't care about us, our streets are dirty. You know, these are called 'no-go zones.'. And, you know, even David Cameron, when he came in, probably coming forward a decade or so, but just before he became Prime Minister, there were all these articles about, you know, 'no-go zones' and various bits. So, there's a feeling outside of those communities that it is, you know, heavily concentrated on Muslim communities living in an area; surely they must be linked to extremism.

This quote highlights how spatial segregation can lead to both internal grievances and external stigmatisation, potentially creating conditions conducive to radicalisation. It shows how certain spaces were perceived as being particularly hostile to other communities as the result of segregation. Within an urban area, many such areas were linked to migration and minority communities; whilst in a rural context, the White-majority composition of such communities was seen as potentially threatening to minorities.

The impact of segregation on social cohesion was evident in the Netherlands. An interviewee (nationalist, male) noted:

> The part we're living in is mainly a rural community or rural communities and mostly white. The white people are not a mix of ethnicities. So, it's relatively stable, and there is this sort of main culture from the white population.

This quote suggests that even in rural areas, the lack of diversity can lead to a form of segregation that may impact social cohesion on a broader scale (Butler 2020). Rural centres were more likely to be reported as being potentially hostile sites to young people from minority backgrounds. Young Muslims in the UK, Netherlands, and Denmark all reported that they felt safer in urban areas in which there were more likely to be other individuals from the same community or religious group, or individuals accustomed to a variety of community and cultural practices. As one Danish interviewee (nationalist, female) stated:

> There are areas where there is a large concentration of people with a different origin than Danish, and you will not jump so much in the eye if you suddenly start to dress differently, if you stand and hang out down on the street corner, because there is always someone who does. There are more and more families with a different background who have started to buy houses and so on, fortunately.

This was most notable perhaps in Denmark, where participants discussed the merits of government-designated "ghetto" communities. The Danish Government's "Ghetto Package" aimed to promote integration through the targeting of "parallel societies'—although" it has been consistently challenged as targeting poor, Muslim migrants (Ali 2018). Areas that are legally designated "ghetto communities" are where more than 50 per cent of the population are non-Western immigrants, many of whom are overwhelmingly Muslim and are subject to specific security measures to forcibly promote integration and adherence to "Danish values" (Bailey-Morley and Kumar 2022). However, some interviewees challenged the conceptualisation of so-called "ghetto" communities as exclusionary and hostile, characterising them as positive due to them providing a safe haven for minority communities. As one Danish interviewee (nationalist, male) stated:

> I've lived in the ghetto since I was 6 years old, for about 12 years now. All the people I grew up with, when we played soccer and roller skated and scooted and everything on the field. There's only one person besides me who isn't in a gang today. And yet I don't think there's racism where we live. But as soon as you get out and about, we live on the border of Hvidovre. When you go out to the city itself, you can immediately

In contrast, many interviewees stated that they had either experienced notable negative interactions in rural areas or had deliberately avoided rural areas because of concerns over potential instances. One UK interviewee (Nationalist, male) discussed their experience of visiting predominantly White areas, outside of larger urban centres:

> I feel like especially East London is quite nice. There are a lot of Muslims and Asians. Like, you don't even have to be Muslim. I feel like there's a lot, religion-wise. I feel like there's a lot of respect for people out there … I have been to one area where [I felt unwelcome] actually. Blackpool. With my whole family … I went there one time for the beach, and we ended up staying the night. We were the only Asians there. And we felt out of place, out of every place I've been to.

Similar sentiments were expressed across interviews, particularly amongst young Muslims, who reported a range of negative incidents and the sense of being unwelcome or existing as a visible outsider in rural spaces.

Interviews with young nationalists and others involved in right-wing politics also revealed a focus on segregation. The increasing multiculturalism of urban environments, for instance, was posited as a particular threat to safety and security. As one interviewee in the UK (Nationalist, male) stated:

> … they call it White flight, you know, they do. White people are being driven out of London, right? You hear these things: 'driven into the countryside because of immigration.'. And that was kind of a very conservative view that I'd hear often …

As this and other quotes demonstrate, the demographics of communities and the patterns of segregation embedded within them were seen as significantly impacting social cohesion, with implications for integration and radicalisation.

Intergenerational dynamics and spatial integration

The data also reveals significant intergenerational differences in experiences of integration, particularly in urban areas. A UK interviewee of Moroccan origin (nationalist, male) provides a detailed comparison:

> In terms of generation. I turn here; I feel like even the older generation has more. They're like they're more adept to, or they can adapt well to, this new generation. In Morocco, I feel it's still like if you would say old school, basically, yeah, you would have old people that wouldn't know how to use electronic devices, for example, smartphones and laptops. Whereas here you would have older people who would either have a rough idea of how to use them or actually know how to use them because I feel like by the time, maybe in the nineties or 2000s, Britain was obviously changing, and they had new things such as computers come around.

This quote highlights how urban environments in the UK might facilitate better intergenerational adaptation compared to more traditional settings, potentially aiding integration across generations (Goh 2020).

However, intergenerational dynamics can also be a source of tension, particularly in rural areas. A UK interviewee (nationalist, male) notes:

> … my parents got divorced when I was quite young. They both had full-time jobs. It was basically my grandparents who could look after me. So almost everything they espoused, especially living in such a quiet, rural area, there aren't many people around. So, you listen to your elders as you ought to.

This suggests that in rural areas, traditional values may be more strongly transmitted across generations, potentially impacting attitudes towards integration and diversity (Huijsmans et al. 2021).

There was concern about how communities had changed over time and the potentially negative impact this has had on social cohesion. Such grievances included the changing character of communities due to migration, changes in the ethnic and cultural diversity of local communities, and a perceived lack of integration during this process:

> When I was born and raised, we only had one Moroccan family in the street and maybe two or three Turkish. But they were on a certain level that they didn't have the lowest economic background. Then when we left the Schilderswijk when I was 13, then on the street were Moroccan and Turkish. We were, I think, the last three ethnically Dutch inhabitants of that street. (Muslim, male)

Another common theme in the interviews, particularly amongst young people, was new challenges of spatial integration for younger generations. Greater levels of income inequality, declining living standards, and substantial difficulty in accessing opportunities open to older generations – such as house buying, training, or employment in local areas – were all named as grievances. Ultimately, many younger interviewees expressed pessimism about their opportunities in comparison to their parents' or grandparents' generation, with much of this focused on community concerns and the lack of localised opportunities or support.

Policies and interventions

The data reveals mixed perspectives on policies and interventions related to integration and countering radicalisation. A UK interviewee (nationalist, male) discusses the evolution of the Prevent strategy and its impact on the spatial dynamics of radicalisation:

> I think the spatial dynamic becomes less important over time because suddenly, you know, space comes to you rather than you having to be in a place. And I think that's where the biggest shift in the evolution of radicalisation has happened. And if you take the work of practitioners and the prevent duty, and people often say it has prevented being a success, is it a failure or whatever? But what you can see is actually part of the awareness that's kind of gone out. It's a lot harder for people to go undetected in public spaces, whereas previously that was easier.

This suggests that while spatial dynamics remain important, online radicalisation is becoming increasingly significant, challenging traditional place-based interventions.

The rise of the internet and online social media as a means of connecting was observed in many interviews. As one interviewee from the Netherlands stated:

> … what is nationwide, according to the NCTV, is the right-wing extremism activists who are radicalised online … Most of them are in the online world, in the cloud. (Nationalist, male)

Research and policy have increasingly noted the breakdown and atomisation of extremist groups into much looser networks and milieus, as well as the ideological borrowing of concepts across former ideological boundaries (Vink et al. 2024). This has meant a generalised decline in the importance of physical meet-ups and other traditional patterns of membership, replaced by online networking and engagement.

In the Netherlands, there's evidence of varying approaches to integration across different spatial contexts. An interviewee (nationalist, male) notes:

> That's also kimnd of something that I do feel strongly about if I were ever to go into politics, that well, the look into … is the connection with rural areas.

This suggests a recognition of the need for policies that address the specific challenges of integration in rural areas, as well as concerns over rural deprivation and social exclusion.

Identity and citizenship in diverse spaces

The data indicates that experiences of identity and citizenship vary significantly across different spatial contexts. A Norwegian interviewee (nationalist, female) describes hiding their political affiliation in urban environments:

> I lie to people when they ask … this year here, when I haven't studied because I wanted to do politics, and people ask, 'What are you doing, then?" I say that I'm studying nursing in my first year at OsloMet. Because I don't want to go into that. Especially if it's people who are, well, I have a kind of urban environment, those kinds of girls. So, I try to avoid that. And if I get caught in the lie, I just say that it's because I'm involved in politics, I'm a member of the Progress Party, and I get so much hate that I usually don't start by saying that.

This quote highlights how urban environments can sometimes create pressure to conform or hide certain aspects of identity, potentially impacting feelings of citizenship and belonging.

In contrast, a UK interviewee (nationalist, male) emphasises how urban environments shape identity and worldview:

> I do think the spatial aspects and the geography, the geographic dynamic, definitely make a big difference. Because if you are growing up in a community, say, for example, in a city, London, where I was growing up, or Merseyside, or, you know, in different difficult places around Birmingham, in the Midlands, for example, the reality is that your worldview, how you see things, how you see yourself, how you see problems, and how you navigate issues, is very much influenced by the dynamics of your home, but also of your community.

This suggests that urban environments, with their diversity and complexity, can significantly shape individual identities and perspectives on citizenship.

Urban areas have generally been highlighted as more vulnerable to radicalisation. This is explicitly or implicitly often framed as the result of the composition of urban communities as containing a variety of different communities, along with post-industrial decline causing patterns of deprivation and inequality. However, some interviewees expressed sentiments that suggested that the urban space enabled greater opportunities to work across ideological divides because of the closeness of various communities.

> I think what you mwill find funny about Rotterdam is that there is some kind of geo-demographic divide. The West is Morocco; the East is the Netherlands; the North is Turkey; the South is Africa; and the centre is mixed—the United Nations headquarters. But with Feyenoord [Football Club], with football, everyone comes together. You see people who usually vote for what we consider to be racist, far-right, defend Turkish players from the deepest part of their hearts. (Muslim, male)

This enhanced analysis reveals the intricate spatial dynamics of integration and segregation across the studied countries. Urban areas offer more diversity and opportunities for intercultural contact, but they can also be sites of segregation and potential radicalisation. Rural areas, meanwhile, are often more homogeneous, increasingly prone to concerns over far-right and other nationalist extremism, and face unique challenges in terms of radicalisation, integration, and social exclusion. The data underscores the need for nuanced, context-specific policies that address the significance of spatial factors, identity, citizenship, and social cohesion in both urban and rural settings.

Discussion

The empirical findings of our investigation into spatial dynamics of integration and segregation across Northwest European contexts reveal multilayered intersections between geographical configurations, social cohesion processes, and radicalisation potentialities. This discussion interrogates the theoretical implications of our research, situating our

findings within broader sociological discourse while advancing trajectories for future scholarly inquiry and policy intervention.

Our analysis reveals dialectical relationships between urban and rural environments regarding integration and segregation processes. Urban spaces, characterised by inherent demographic heterogeneity and enhanced opportunities for intercultural exchange, simultaneously manifest potentialities for both integration and pronounced segregation. This contradiction problematises reductive narratives positioning urban spaces as either sites of radicalisation emerging from post-industrial precarity and structural inequality or unambiguous vectors of liberal multiculturalism. Rather, our findings suggest nuanced spatial experiences within urban contexts: while facilitating increased exposure to diversity, these spaces simultaneously enable micro-level segregation, producing what we theorise as "diverse segregation" – a phenomenon wherein aggregate heterogeneity coexists with localised ethnic-cultural enclaves. This conceptualisation extends Crul and Schneider's (2010) comparative integration context theory, emphasising local institutional configurations in shaping integration outcomes. These enclaves present simultaneous challenges and opportunities, enabling minority communities to develop protected spatial zones.

Rural contexts, traditionally conceptualised as bastions of homogeneity and traditional value systems, emerge as more dynamic than previously acknowledged in scholarly literature. While exhibiting reduced ethnic-cultural diversity, our findings demonstrate their susceptibility to integration challenges and radicalisation processes. This observation necessitates recalibration of academic and policy attention historically skewed toward urban contexts (Woods 2005). Previous scholarship has examined constructions of whiteness and patterns of rural racism (Knowles 2008) and critiqued presumptions of rural white homogeneity in dismissing racial dynamics as rural policy concerns (Neal 2002). Our research evidences distinct patterns of social exclusion within rural spaces intersecting with radicalisation processes, demanding nuanced theoretical attention, particularly regarding digital radicalisation transcending physical boundaries, addressing policy lacunae, and extending contemporary critiques of urban-centric approaches to interculturalism (Jones and Tonkiss 2023).

Spatial segregation and social cohesion emerge as critical theoretical dimensions. Our findings demonstrate that neighbourhood segregation, across urban-rural contexts, significantly influences social cohesion processes and subsequent radicalisation risks. However, this relationship manifests non-linearly, mediated through intersecting socioeconomic conditions, community dynamics, and individual identity formations. This multidimensional theorisation of the segregation-cohesion nexus builds upon scholarship by Musterd (2005) and Hickman, Crowley, and Mai (2008) examining nuanced relationships between spatial segregation and social integration.

Our findings reveal significant intergenerational dynamics shaping integration experiences and identity formations across differentiated spatial contexts. Previous scholarship has examined spatial contestation and racialisation regarding Muslim youth political radicalism, particularly within traditional sites of contestation such as universities (Brown and Saeed 2014), and processes of Muslim space-making around religious practice (Sunier 2020). The urban-rural dialectic significantly mediates these intergenerational processes, with urban environments potentially facilitating accelerated adaptation and integration across generations. This observation introduces crucial temporal dimensions to

theoretical understanding of spatial dynamics in integration processes, extending Crul and Schneider's (2010) theorisation regarding local contextual determinants in shaping intergenerational integration outcomes.

Our analysis of spatial dynamics of radicalisation problematises dominant narratives associating this phenomenon primarily with urban environments. While our findings indicate urban spaces, through population density and heterogeneity, may present increased opportunities for radicalisation processes, rural contexts demonstrate parallel susceptibilities. This nuanced theoretical understanding aligns with Malthaner and Waldmann's (2014) work on supportive social environments in radicalisation processes while extending theoretical frameworks to encompass diverse spatial contexts.

The policy implications emerge as profound and multidimensional. First, findings demonstrate the imperative for spatially nuanced approaches to integration and counter-radicalisation interventions. Universalist approaches, often implicit in national policy frameworks, prove inadequate given the heterogeneous challenges and opportunities presented by differentiated spatial contexts. Our research suggests a necessity for "spatially adaptive policies" – interventions sufficiently flexible to address distinct urban and rural challenges while maintaining national policy coherence.

Secondly, findings emphasise the importance of addressing physical and virtual spatial configurations in integration promotion and counter-radicalisation efforts. The increasing salience of digital radicalisation necessitates a theoretical reconceptualisation of spatial dimensions in policy frameworks. This extends Neumann's (2013) work on digital radicalisation by emphasising the necessity for integrated analysis of online-offline spatial dynamics.

Thirdly, our analysis demonstrates the critical importance of social cohesion policies addressing spatial segregation, socioeconomic marginalisation, and community relations. Such interventions must transcend reductive demographic mixing approaches, prioritising meaningful interaction and shared experience across diverse communities. This theoretical framework resonates with Kearns and Forrest's (2000) work on social cohesion and urban governance while emphasising spatially nuanced approaches. This extends Parker and Karner's (2010) emphasis on incorporating place specificity and local identity formations in contemporary multiculturalism and urban social cohesion debates.

While our investigation provides sophisticated theoretical insights into the spatial dynamics of integration and segregation across Northwest European contexts, it simultaneously opens trajectories for future research. One promising direction involves deeper examination of digital technologies' reconfiguration of spatial dynamics in integration and radicalisation processes. Our findings suggest increasing salience of virtual spaces, potentially necessitating reconceptualisation of traditional spatial and community theoretical paradigms. Longitudinal investigations tracking the evolution of spatial dynamics would provide a sophisticated understanding of the integration and segregation processes' responses to shifting social, economic, and technological contexts. Furthermore, comparative analyses across broader European contexts could illuminate national framework influences on spatial dynamics, elucidating how diverse policy regimes and historical trajectories interact with local spatial factors in producing differentiated integration and segregation outcomes.

Our investigation advances theoretical understanding of integration, segregation, and radicalisation processes in contemporary European societies. By illuminating

multidimensional dynamics across urban and rural contexts, it demonstrates the necessity for sophisticated, context-sensitive approaches to integration promotion and radicalisation intervention in increasingly heterogeneous societies. As European polities navigate challenges of diversity and social cohesion amid technological transformation, such nuanced theoretical frameworks prove crucial for developing equitable and resilient policies fostering inclusive communities across diverse spatial contexts.

Conclusion

This empirical investigation interrogates the spatial dynamics of integration and segregation across selected European polities, examining the urban-rural dialectic, patterns of neighbourhood segregation, and their multifaceted implications for social cohesion and radicalisation processes. Our findings demonstrate the imperative for theoretically sophisticated, context-specific approaches to integration and counter-radicalisation policies that acknowledge the intersecting geographical, social, and cultural determinants shaping these phenomena.

Our analysis reveals a dialectical relationship between urban and rural environments regarding integration and segregation processes. Urban spaces, while nominally facilitating opportunities for diversity and intercultural exchange, simultaneously manifest as potential sites of structural segregation and, in certain contexts, catalysts for radicalisation processes. This contradiction problematises reductive narratives positioning urban spaces as unambiguous vectors of multicultural integration. Significantly, certain urban localities that might be anticipated to present challenges, given histories of profound cultural transformation and post-industrial decline, demonstrated unexpected resilience against radicalisation processes. These spaces instead facilitated the development of community-based resistance mechanisms against structural racism, discrimination, and social marginalisation. Rural contexts, frequently conceptualised through oversimplified frameworks of homogeneity, reveal distinct challenges in fostering integration processes. Moreover, the increasing salience of digital communications infrastructure, socioeconomic precarity, and the emergence of far-right and nationalist movements suggest that Northern European rural spaces are increasingly susceptible to radicalisation processes. This finding necessitates a theoretical reconceptualisation of spatial distributions of integration challenges and radicalisation risks.

The policy implications of our research are profound and multidimensional. First, our findings demonstrate that integration policies demand calibration to specific spatial contexts, acknowledging the distinct challenges manifesting in urban and rural environments. This necessitates a transition from universalist approaches toward granular, spatially sensitive policy frameworks. Second, counter-radicalisation initiatives must adopt holistic perspectives encompassing both physical and virtual spaces, particularly given the increasing significance of digital platforms in radicalisation processes. The virtual domain, transcending geographical boundaries, introduces new spatial dynamics demanding urgent policy attention while necessitating consideration of differentiated social media engagement patterns across urban-rural contexts. Finally, social cohesion policies must address the recursive relationships between spatial segregation, socioeconomic marginalisation, and community relations, prioritising meaningful intergroup interaction over demographic integration.

Several promising trajectories for future research emerge from our investigation. A particularly salient direction involves examining how digital technologies reconfigure spatial dynamics of integration and radicalisation. Our findings suggest increasing significance of virtual spaces in these processes, potentially necessitating theoretical reconceptualisation of traditional spatial and community paradigms within integration and radicalisation studies. Additionally, longitudinal investigations tracking the evolution of these spatial dynamics would provide crucial insights into how integration and segregation processes respond to shifting social, economic, and technological contexts, illuminating policy intervention efficacy and emerging spatial patterns. Moreover, comparative analyses encompassing broader European contexts could illuminate the role of national frameworks in shaping spatial dynamics. Such research could elucidate how diverse policy regimes, historical trajectories, and cultural formations interact with local spatial factors to produce differentiated integration and segregation outcomes. This transnational perspective would enhance theoretical understanding while informing more effective policy transfer across European contexts.

This investigation advances theoretical understanding of spatial dimensions of integration, segregation, and radicalisation in contemporary European societies. By illuminating the nuanced and often contradictory nature of these dynamics across urban and rural contexts, it demonstrates the necessity for sophisticated, context-sensitive approaches to promoting integration and addressing radicalisation in increasingly heterogeneous societies. As European polities navigate challenges of diversity and social cohesion amid technological transformation and global interconnection, such nuanced theoretical frameworks prove crucial for developing equitable and resilient policies fostering inclusive communities across diverse spatial contexts. Progress demands not only scholarly rigour and policy innovation but also sustained dialogue between researchers, policymakers, and communities themselves.

Ethics statement

This research was conducted in strict adherence to ethical guidelines to ensure the protection of participants and the integrity of the study. The research design, data collection, and analysis processes were reviewed and approved by the FGGA Ethics Committee at Leiden University (reference number: 2021-016-ISGA-Abbas). The study, entitled "Determining multi-level led causes and testing intervention design to reduce radicalisation, extremism and political violence in northern-west Europe through social inclusion", was granted a favourable ethical opinion on 5 November 2021, based on the submitted application and supporting documentation, confirming compliance with institutional and international ethical standards.

Participant consent and protection

All participants were adults aged 18–25 and provided informed consent prior to their involvement in the study. Participants were fully informed about the purpose of the research – to examine spatial dynamics of integration, segregation, and radicalisation across urban and rural contexts in the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands – the nature of their participation (semi-structured interviews and focus groups), and their right to withdraw at any time without consequence.

Given the sensitive nature of the research topic, which includes discussions of radicalisation, extremism, and social exclusion, particular care was taken to ensure that the study did not cause harm to participants or the communities involved. The research team prioritised a focus on understanding spatial dynamics and social processes without stigmatising any groups or individuals.

Data privacy and confidentiality

Data collection adhered to rigorous ethical protocols, including the use of audio recording, transcription, and anonymization to protect participant confidentiality. All interviews and focus groups were audio-recorded with participants' consent, transcribed, and anonymized to ensure anonymity. Personal identifiers were removed, and pseudonyms were used in the reporting of findings to safeguard identities.

Interviews and focus groups were conducted in participants' native languages to facilitate clear communication and understanding, with translations provided where necessary for analysis. This approach ensured that participants could fully comprehend the study's purpose and provide informed consent.

Ethical considerations across multiple sites

The study was conducted across multiple countries, including the United Kingdom, Norway, Denmark, and the Netherlands. Ethical considerations were consistently applied in all research locations, ensuring compliance with both local regulations and international ethical standards. The FGGA Ethics Committee's approval encompassed the multi-site nature of the research, confirming that ethical protocols were maintained across all contexts.

Conflicts of Interest and Funding

The authors declare no conflicts of interest that could have influenced the design, conduct, or reporting of this research. Neither Tahir Abbas nor Richard McNeil-Willson have affiliations or financial interests that biased the study's outcomes.

This study was conducted as part of a broader project on social inclusion and radicalisation in northern-west Europe, aimed at informing policy and practice to enhance social cohesion. No specific funding sources are disclosed in the paper that could have influenced the research outcomes, though the project aligns with the objectives outlined in the ethics application submitted to the FGGA Ethics Committee.

Additional ethical considerations

The research involved 417 interviews and 15 focus groups with young people, activists, and practitioners, recruited through purposive and snowball sampling. These methods are standard in qualitative research and were implemented to ensure diverse representation without raising ethical concerns.

The sensitive topics of radicalisation and extremism were approached with care, focusing on spatial and social dynamics rather than individual pathology. This framing

minimised potential distress to participants and avoided reinforcing stereotypes or racialized assumptions often associated with radicalisation discourse.

This ethics statement affirms the commitment of the research team to upholding the highest standards of ethical conduct throughout the study. The approval from the FGGA Ethics Committee, combined with rigorous protocols for consent, confidentiality, and sensitivity to the research topic, ensures that the study was conducted responsibly and with respect for all participants.

This statement is comprehensive, addressing key ethical components such as consent, data privacy, ethical approval, conflicts of interest, and the sensitivity of the research topic, tailored to the specifics of the provided paper and supporting documentation.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported by H2020 Society [grant number 959200].

ORCID

Tahir Abbas http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0968-3261

References

Ali, A. 2018. 'Denmark's "Ghetto" Policies are an Ominous Sign that Liberal Europe is Starting to Unravel at the Seams.' *Time*, July 3.

Allport, G. W. 1954. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Bailey-Morley, A., and C. Kumar. 2022. "Current Danish Immigration System and Approach, Public Narratives and Attitudes Towards Refugees and Other Migrants." In *ODI*, 5–9.

Baldassarri, D., and M. Abascal. 2020. "Diversity and Prosocial Behaviour." *Science* 369:1183–1187.

Bottoni, G. 2018. "A Multilevel Measurement Model of Social Cohesion." *Social Indicators Research* 136:835–857.

Brand, R., and S. Fragonese. 2013. *The Radical's City: Urban Environment, Polarisation, Cohesion*. London: Routledge.

Brown, K. E., and T. Saeed. 2014. "Radicalisation and Counter-Radicalisation at British Universities: Muslim Encounters and Alternatives." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38 (11): 1952–1968.

Butler, R. 2020. "Youth, Mobilities and Multicultures in the Rural Anglosphere: Positioning a Research Agenda." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44:63–82.

Cassiers, T., and C. Kesteloot. 2012. "Socio-Spatial Inequalities and Social Cohesion in European Cities." *Urban Studies* 49 (9): 1909–1924.

Coolsaet, R. 2016. "All Radicalisation is Local: The Genesis and Drawbacks of an Elusive Concept." Brussels: Egmont, Royal Institute for International Relations, Egmont Paper 84.

Coolsaet, R. 2017. *Molenbeek and Violent Radicalisation: A Social Mapping*. European Institute of Peace .

Crul, M., and J. Schneider. 2010. "Comparative Integration Context Theory: Participation and Belonging in New Diverse European Cities." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (7): 1249–1268. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419871003624068

Della Porta, D. 2018. "Radicalisation: A Relational Perspective." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (1): 461–474. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-042716-102314

Finlay, R., and P. Hopkins. 2020. "Resistance and Marginalisation: Islamophobia and the Political Participation of Young Muslims in Scotland." *Social & Cultural Geography* 21 (4): 546–568. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2019.1573436

Fjellman, A., L. Lindekilde, and O. Gøtzsche-Astrup. 2023. "Urban Geographies of Countering Violent Extremism: Spatial Patterns in Nordic Societies." *Behavioural Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/19434472.2023.2261999

Fonseca, X., S. Lukosch, and F. Brazier. 2018. "Social Cohesion Revisited: A New Definition and How to Characterise It." *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 32:231–253. https://doi.org/10.1080/13511610.2018.1497480

Frost, D., G. Catney, and L. Vaughn. 2021. "We are Not Separatist Because so Many of us are Mixed': Resisting Negative Stereotypes of Neighbourhood Ethnic Residential Concentration." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 48:1573–1590. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2021.1912590

Goh, K. 2020. "Flows in Formation: The Global-Urban Networks of Climate Change Adaptation." *Urban Studies* 57 (11): 2222–2240. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098018807306

Hancock, C. 2020. "Accommodating Islamophobia: How Municipalities Make Place for Muslims in Paris." *Social & Cultural Geography* 21 (4): 527–545. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2019.1616808

Harteveld, E., W. Brug, S. Lange, and T. Meer. 2021. "Multiple Roots of the Populist Radical Right: Support for the Dutch PVV in Cities and the Countryside." *European Journal of Political Research* 61 (2): 440–461.

Hickman, M., H. Crowley, and N. Mai. 2008. *Immigration and Social Cohesion in the UK: The Rhythms and Realities of Everyday Life*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Huijsmans, T., E. Harteveld, W. Brug, and B. Lancee. 2021. "Are Cities Ever More Cosmopolitan? Studying Trends in Urban-Rural Divergence of Cultural Attitudes." *Political Geography* 86:102353. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2021.102353

Jessop, B. 2016. "Territory, Politics, Governance and Multispatial Metagovernance." *Territory, Politics, Governance* 4 (1): 32–38. https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2015.1123173

Jones, D., and K. Tonkiss. 2023. "Belonging and Becoming in the City and the Countryside: Young People, (Multi)Culture and the Urban/Rural Divide." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 47 (6): 1307–1328. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2023.2247463

Kearns, A., and R. Forrest. 2000. "Social Cohesion and Multilevel Urban Governance." *Urban Studies* 37 (5-6): 995–1017. https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980050011208

Kenney, M., S. Coulthart, and D. Wright. 2017. "Structure and Performance in a Violent Extremist Network: The Small-World Solution." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61 (10): 2208–2234. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002716631104

Knowles, C. 2008. "The Landscape of Post-Imperial Whiteness in Rural Britain." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (1): 167–184. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701538992

Kundnani, A. 2012. "Radicalisation: The Journey of a Concept." *Race and Class* 54 (2): 3–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/0306396812454984

Lan, T., J. Kandt, and P. Longley. 2020. "Geographic Scales of Residential Segregation in English Cities." *Urban Geography* 41 (1): 103–123. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2019.1645554

Laurence, J. 2016. "Wider-community Segregation and the Effect of Neighbourhood Ethnic Diversity on Social Capital: An Investigation Into Intra-Neighbourhood Trust in Great Britain and London." *Sociology* 51:1011–1033. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038516641867

Lichter, D., D. Parisi, and S. Ambinakudige. 2020. "The Spatial Integration of Immigrants in Europe: A Cross-National Study." *Population Research and Policy Review* 39 (3): 465–491. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11113-019-09540-3

Mac An Ghaill, M., and C. Haywood. 2015. "British-Born Pakistani and Bangladeshi Young Men: Exploring Unstable Concepts of Muslim, Islamophobia, and Racialisation." *Critical Sociology* 41 (1): 114–197. https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920513518947

Malik, K. 2019. "The Failure of Multiculturalism." *Foreign Affairs* 94:21–32.

Malthaner, S., and P. Waldmann. 2014. "The Radical Milieu: Conceptualising the Supportive Social Environment of Terrorist Groups." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37 (12): 979–998. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2014.962441

Massey, D. S. 1985. "Ethnic Residential Segregation: A Theoretical Synthesis and Empirical Review." *Sociology and Social Research* 69 (3): 315–350.
Massey, D. S., and N. A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
McNeil-Willson, R. 2021. "Counter-terrorism and the Repression of Islamic Activism: Hizb ut-Tahrir in Britain and Denmark." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 30 (5): 1–16.
Miller-Idriss, C. 2020. *Hate in the Homeland: The New Global Far Right*. Princeton University Press.
Mondon, A., and A. Winter. 2017. "Articulations of Islamophobia: From the Extreme to the Mainstream?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40 (13): 2151–2179. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1312008
Mouratidis, K. 2017. "Built Environment and Social Well-Being: How Does Urban Form Affect Social Life and Personal Relationships?" *Cities* 74:7–20. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2017.10.020
Mullis, D. 2021. "Urban Conditions for the Rise of the far Right in the Global City of Frankfurt: From Austerity Urbanism, Post-Democracy, and Gentrification to Regressive Collectivity." *American Journal of Hospice and Palliative Medicine* 58 (1): 131–147.
Musterd, S. 2005. "Social and Ethnic Segregation in Europe: Levels, Causes, and Effects." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 27 (3): 331–348. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0735-2166.2005.00239.x
Musterd, S., S. Marcińczak, M. Van Ham, and T. Tammaru. 2015. "Socioeconomic Segregation in European Capital Cities. Increasing Separation Between Poor and Rich." *Urban Geography* 38:1062–1083. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2016.1228371
Najib, K. 2020. "Spaces of Islamophobia and Spaces of Inequality in Greater Paris." *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 39:606–625. https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654420941520
Najib, K., and P. Hopkins. 2020. "Where Does Islamophobia Take Place and who is Involved? Reflections from Paris and London." *Social & Cultural Geography* 21 (4): 458–478. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2018.1563800
Neal, S. 2002. "Rural Landscapes, Representations and Racism: Examining Multicultural Citizenship and Policy-Making in the English Countryside." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 25 (3): 442–461. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870020036701c
Neumann, P. R. 2013. "Options and Strategies for Countering Online Radicalisation in the United States." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 36 (6): 431–459. https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2013.784568
Nieuwenhuis, J., T. Tammaru, M. Van Ham, L. Hedman, and D. Manley. 2019. "Does Segregation Reduce Socio-Spatial Mobility? Evidence from Four European Countries with Different Inequality and Segregation Contexts." *Urban Studies* 57:176–197. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098018807628
Novy, A., D. C. Swiatek, and F. Moulaert. 2012. "Social Cohesion: A Conceptual and Political Elucidation." *Urban Studies* 49 (9): 1873–1889. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098012444878
Ostanel, E. 2015. "Questioning Integrationist Policies in Berlin: The Role of Neighbourhood Initiatives in the City of Difference." *City* 19 (5): 770–774. https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2015.1071120
Parker, D., and C. Karner. 2010. "Reputational Geographies and Urban Social Cohesion." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (8): 1451–1470. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870903549011
Pettigrew, T. F. 1998. "Intergroup Contact Theory." *Annual Review of Psychology* 49 (1): 65–85. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.49.1.65
Pickel, G., and C. Öztürk. 2018. "Islamophobia Without Muslims? The "Contact Hypothesis" as an Explanation for Anti-Muslim Attitudes—Eastern European Societies in a Comparative Perspective." *Journal of Nationalism, Memory & Language Politics* 12 (2): 162–191. https://doi.org/10.2478/jnmlp-2018-0009
Pilkington, H., and V. Vestel. 2024. "Situating Trajectories of 'Extreme-Right' (Non)Radicalisation: The Role of the Radical Milieu." In *Resisting Radicalisation?: Understanding Young People's Journeys Through Radicalising Milieus*, 1st ed., edited by H. Pilkington, 65–100. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
Ragazzi, F. 2023. "Counter-radicalisation, Islam and Laïcité: Policed Multiculturalism in France's Banlieues." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46 (4): 707–727. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2022.2032248
Sampson, R. J., J. D. Morenoff, and T. Gannon-Rowley. 2002. "Assessing "Neighbourhood Effects": Social Processes and new Directions in Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28 (1): 443–478. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.28.110601.141114

Sayyid, S. 2018. "Islamophobia and the Europeanness of the Other Europe." *Patterns of Prejudice* 52 (5): 420–435. https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2018.1512481

Sedgwick, M. 2010. "The Concept of Radicalisation as a Source of Confusion." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 22 (4): 479–494. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2010.491009

Sunier, T. 2020. "Islam, Locality and Trust: Making Muslim Spaces in the Netherlands." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 44 (10): 1734–1754. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2020.1851738

Uenal, F. 2016. "Disentangling Islamophobia: The Differential Effects of Symbolic, Realistic, and Terroristic Threat Perceptions as Mediators Between Social Dominance Orientation and Islamophobia." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 4:66–90. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v4i1.463

Van Heelsum, A., and F. Vermeulen. 2017. "'Cities' Policies: The Work of European Cities to Counter Muslim Radicalisation'." *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 19:161–179. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-017-0533-1

Vertovec, S. 2007. "Super-Diversity and its Implications." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (6): 1024–1054. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701599465

Vertovec, S. 2024. "Contexts, Categories and Superdiversities." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 47 (8): 1678–1683. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2024.2317958

Vink, D., T. Abbas, Y. Veilleux-Lepage, and R. Mcneil-Willson. 2024. "Because They Are Women in a Man's World:" A Critical Discourse Analysis of Incel Violent Extremists and the Stories They Tell." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 36 (6): 723–739.

Vogiazides, L., and G. Chihaya. 2019. "Migrants' Long-Term Residential Trajectories in Sweden: Persistent Neighbourhood Deprivation or Spatial Assimilation?" *Housing Studies* 35:875–902. https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2019.1636937

Vorobeva, E., and J. Jauhiainen. 2023. "Transnationalism and Belonging: National Identity Negotiations and Their Outcomes." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 49 (13): 3389–3408. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2023.2184293

Wessel, T., R. Andersson, T. Kauppinen, and H. Andersen. 2017. "Spatial Integration of Immigrants in Nordic Cities: The Relevance of Spatial Assimilation Theory in a Welfare State Context." *Urban Affairs Review* 53 (5): 812–842. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087416638448

Woods, M. 2005. *Rural Geography: Processes, Responses, and Experiences in Rural Restructuring*. London: Sage.

Wren, K. 2001. "Cultural Racism: Something Rotten in the State of Denmark?" *Social & Cultural Geography* 2 (2): 141–162. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360120047788