25 scholarly publications from the last 20+ years on gender and masculinity in right-wing extremism, violence and politics from the last

By Olav Rosness

> *"Much of the scholarly literature on gender and the extremism focus on the roles of women. Men, and understandings of masculinity, is less in focus. This is a paradox because there is an increasing interest in understanding the roles, imageries and identities of men and masculinities within and extremist movements, ideologies, and actions. This short, annotated bibliography is an attempt to map out some publications over the last 20+ years which explicitly address men and masculinities. This is by no means an exhaustive list, but may be a starting place for young scholars who wish to develop this knowledge field further"*
>
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1. **Kutner, Samantha. 2020. 'Swiping Right: The Allure of Hyper Masculinity and Cryptofascism for Men Who Join the Proud Boys.'** *ICCT Research Paper. The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague*. **Available at: https://icct.nl/publication/swiping-right-the-allure-of-hyper-masculinity-and-cryptofascism-for-men-who-join-the-proud-boys/.**

Male millennials and members of Generation Z seem drawn to libertarian, conservative and right-wing movements, many of which exist almost exclusively online. The Proud Boys – a decentralized right-wing extremist movement with a flat-hierarchical structure that saw a surge in membership following the election of US President Donald Trump – is one of the newest forms of such 'conservative men's groups', emerging at a time when President Trump's acknowledgement of 'Q Anon' conspiracy theories suggests that the distance between the dark corners of the internet and the White House might be shorter than one might think. Taking an ethnographic approach to her subject matter, author Samantha Kutner seeks to get to know the young male members of the Proud Boys. More often than not, she finds that a sense of brotherhood and feelings of being a 'real man' – much like the factors identified by Kimmel (2018) in *Healing from Hate,* as well as by other authors – play a key role in members' decisions to stay in the group. Often, the feeling of being a part of something bigger plays a key role in drawing young men into and keeping them within 'brotherhood' organizations like the Proud Boys, which today can also exist in a purely online form.

2. **Pearson, Elizabeth. 2019. Extremism and toxic masculinity: the man question re-posed.** *International Affairs*, **95(6), 1251-1270.**

The field of masculinity studies has developed this initial question to a deep interrogation of the relationship between maleness and violence. Yet public and policy discourse often reduce the complexity of masculinities within extremism to issues of crisis and toxicity. Governments have prioritized the prevention of extremism, particularly violent Islamism, and in so doing have produced as 'risk' particular racialized and marginalized men. This article asks, what are the effects of the toxic masculinity discourse in understanding the British radical right? In particular, the article outlines two ways in which 'toxic masculinity' is an inadequate concept to describe activism in the anti-Islam(ist) movement the English Defence League (EDL). First, the term 'toxic masculinity' occludes the continuities of EDL masculinities with wider patriarchal norms; second, it neglects the role of women as significant actors in the movement. Using an ethnographic and empathetic approach to this case-study, the article explores how Zalewski's theoretical position offers a route to analysis of the ways in which masculinities and patriarchy entwine in producing power and violence; and to a discussion of masculinities that need not equate manhood with threat.

3. **Sieckelinck, Stijn, Elga Sikkens, Marion van San, Sita Kotnis and Micha de Winter 2019. 'Transitional Journeys Into and Out of Extremism: A Biographical Approach.'** *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* **42(7): 662–682.**

The ways in which men are radicalized tend to follow certain patterns. As Michael Kimmel has shown in *Healing from Hate* and '"White Men Are This Nation": Right-Wing Militias and the Restoration of Rural American Masculinity', masculinity – or, rather, the promise of being able to reclaim one's masculinity – has proven to be a salient factor in why young men join radical causes and extreme-right organizations. In 'Transitional Journeys Into and Out of Extremism: A Biographical Approach', Stijn Sieckelinck and colleagues interview former radicals and their families about the contexts that led them down the path of extremism, while also focusing on the process of deradicalization – that is, what factors helped radicalized individuals to abandon their extremist views and/or movements – providing valuable empirical detail about the push-and-pull factors of extremism, including right-wing extremism. Although most of the interviewees are male right-wing extremists, the article also includes the cases of some women, as well as left-wing radicals, jihadists and animal-rights activists. The interviewees are all from

Denmark and the Netherlands, and the article includes an interview guide that may be useful in future research.

4. **Johnson, Jessica. 2018. 'The Self-Radicalization of White Men: "Fake News" and the Affective Networking of Paranoia.'** *Communication, Culture and Critique* **11(1): 100–115.**

In this article, we follow recent developments within the nexus of right-wing extremism, violence and masculinity through a case study of 'Pizzagate' – a theory that alleges the existence of a child-trafficking ring run by Hillary and Bill Clinton and other senior officials of the US Democratic Party. The author illustrates how easily conspiracies from the not-so-deep web target young men, who subsequently jump to conclusions and attempt what they consider to be a heroic rescue mission only to experience that the gap between conspiracy and real life is larger than they had initially assumed. Johnson thus shows how social media and paranoia work together to radicalize young men. 'Fake news' and conspiracy theories give them both an environment in which they can perform their gender and an audience for that performance, as well as how this can lead to a form of radicalization that can have dire consequences.

5. **Kimmel, Michael. 2018.** *Healing from Hate: How Young Men Get Into and Out of Extremism.* **Oakland, CA: University of California Press**

One of the main points throughout Michael Kimmel's work has been that men, particularly younger men and boys, are far more likely than women to gravitate towards extreme political causes and groups. The extreme right is thus a 'men's movement'. In *Healing from Hate*: *How Young Men Get Into and Out of Extremism,* Kimmel conducts in-depth interviews with what he calls 'formers' – young men who were previously involved in right-wing political extremism but who subsequently left the organizations or movements in which they were involved. From the United States to Sweden and Germany, Kimmel shows how particular structural, social and economic forces tend to lead men towards groups on the far-right, such as white supremacist and neo-Nazi groups. Kimmel argues that it is the constructions of masculinity seen within these movements that draw young men to join extreme and radical causes. Often, it seems that political issues are not particularly important in themselves. Instead, the promise of being able to 'take back one's manhood' plays a key role in efforts to explain why young men participate in extremist politics.

6. **Kühne, Thomas. 2018. 'Introduction: Masculinity and the Third Reich.'** *Central European History* **51(3): 354–366.**

As author Thomas Kühne points out in this introduction to a special issue of *Central European History* on masculinity and the Third Reich, it is no longer the case that gender studies proceeds as though 'gender applied only to women'. Here, Kühne discusses how masculinity has evolved from being a fringe and criticized theoretical angle to representing a fundamental understanding of gender as an ever-changing and socially constructed phenomenon. In addition, he argues that concepts of hegemonic masculinity and its virtues – strength, resilience and toughness – played a role of genocidal proportions during the Third Reich. In the genocide of the Nazi era, he suggests, the ultimate standard for masculinity was the hardness required to overcome guilty feelings about murdering civilians and alleged racial enemies. Kühne points out that, among other things, the notion of the 'Aryan' body, the culture of SS soldiers and homophobia all have gendered aspects, and he explores the relationship between these variables and Nazi violence, sexual violence and the Holocaust, paying particular attention to the links between militarism, masculinity and violence.

7. **Ezekilov, Jossif. 2017. Gender "men-streaming" CVE: Countering violence extremism by addressing masculinities issues.** *Reconsidering Development***, 5(1).**

Violent extremist groups differ in many aspects- ideology, operations, geography etc.- but almost all seek and recruit disillusioned young men as fighters on their front lines. The ubiquity of this strategy means that young men are drawn to such groups less because of the groups' specific beliefs and more out of an inherent need to fulfill their identities as men. Policies and analysis to counter violent extremism must therefore incorporate gender analysis-- "men-stream" their efforts- in order to identify factors that make men vulnerable to recruitment by extremist groups.

8. **Kelly, Annie. 2017. The alt-right: Reactionary rehabilitation for white masculinity.** *Soundings***, 66(66), 68-78.**

Coverage of the alt-right that emphasises its extremism has the potential to obscure both its links to mainstream conservatism and the appeal of its potentially persuasive new brand of

masculinity politics. This article argues that the alt-right's lack of a fixed political agenda or goal is indicative of its structure as a digital coalition of identity politics for straight white American men. This is evidenced by looking at discourses centred on masculinity in the primarily internet-based networks that comprise the alt-right, such as GamerGate, white nationalist and 'Red Pill' communities. The alt-right's positions on race and national security are linked to their more implicit anxieties about the evolving nature of American masculinity, as seen in reactions to the 'Pajama Boy' image. It has created an idealised avatar of white masculinity in opposition to what they perceive as the inherent savagery of Islam and the emasculated figure of the Millennial. Trump's version of right-wing masculinity is much closer to the alt-right than previous Republican presidents or candidates. This article contextualises the alt-right's digital visions of masculinity within the shifting political landscape of modern conservatism.

9. **Ging, Debbie. 2017. 'Alphas, Betas, and Incels: Theorizing the Masculinities of the Manosphere.'** *Men and Masculinities* **22(4): 638–657.**

In 'Alphas, Betas, and Incels: Theorizing Masculinities of the Manosphere', author Debbie Ging examines the connections between various new and emerging masculinities. As with other entries in this bibliography, the article theorizes the connection between masculinities and various forms of extremist politics, along with the men who support them – this time in the online sphere, or what Ging refers to as Web 2.0. In particular, Ging explores the connection between men's rights activists (MRAs) and the anti-feminist ideology that can be seen in much of the modern online extreme right. Ging refers to this space as 'the Manosphere', a particular form of men-only activism and politics found almost exclusively online, within which, she argues, the emergence of a 'new' strand of masculinity can be identified – namely, that of 'beta-masculinities' or marginalized masculinities.

10. **Vito, Christopher. 2017. 'Masculinity, Aggrieved Entitlement, and Violence: Considering the Isla Vista Mass Shooting.'** *NORMA – International Journal for Masculinity Studies* **13(2): 86–102.**

The notion of aggrieved entitlement, a core theoretical concept developed by sociologist Michael Kimmel, is particularly relevant for the study of right-wing ideology, which often uses victimization as a channel of mobilization. The concept is used to refer to cases where there is a feeling that something has been taken from a particular group of people, and it is seen as

being in their best interest to reclaim it, where what is perceived as having been taken away might be economic privilege, social status, racial or ethnic characterizations, or other factors. In this study, author Christopher Vito applies Kimmel's concept of aggrieved entitlement to the case of the 2014 Isla Vista shooting, in which Elliot Rodger killed six people and injured fourteen. The killer's manifesto, *My Twisted World,* made it possible for anyone with internet access to familiarize themselves with the killer's psychology – particularly his frustrations over being unable to claim what he believed he was entitled to: sexual and romantic relations with beautiful women. In February 2020, a right-wing extremist in Hanau, Germany, targeted that city's immigrant population. The perpetrator voiced frustrations and references to the internet subculture of 'involuntary celibates' that were similar to those expressed by Rodger. In both cases, then, individuals responsible for acts of violence exemplify the links between right-wing extremist ideas, aggrieved entitlement and violence, thus indicating the need for further study of their interconnections.

11. Abraham, Jamie. 2016. 'Debunking the Myth of Male Privilege.' *University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform* **49(2): 303–334.**

Much of the existing literature on masculinity has focused on men's patriarchal attitudes or on the hegemony of masculinity. In many cases, the focus is on male domination either of women or of other men. In 'Debunking the Myth of Male Privilege', which examines the topic of sexual assault in the military, Jamie Abraham argues that different stories about male privilege could have been told. More specifically, Abraham argues that there is a need for critical engagement with theories of masculinity within feminist responses to gendered violence within heavily masculine institutions, such as the military. Such efforts would counteracts false gender binaries that frame women as outsiders breaking into a male military institution and men as insiders defending the male military culture, often in the name of military efficacy. This shift in approach would reveal that sexual assault, domestic violence, and even mass shootings on bases are hyper-masculine expressions of violence in response to masculinities imperatives.

12. Mehta, Akanksha. 2015. 'The Aesthetics of "Everyday" Violence: Narratives of Violence and Hindu Right-Wing Women.' *Critical Studies of Terrorism* **8(3): 416–438.**

In this article, author Akanksha Mehta draws attention to an important distinction between feminist scholarship on femininity and women and that on masculinity and men. In the context of right-wing movements and violence, men are usually classified as the perpetrators of

violence, while women are understood as being more peaceful and diplomatic. Women are also often depicted as passive actors, removed from their own agency, in scholarship on political violence. This type of stereotyping persists in South Asia, argues Mehta, where women are seen as peacemakers, while men go to war. By looking at the aesthetics of violence in the right-wing Hindu nationalist movement and how it shapes women's lives and women's participation in the movement, however, the author shows how the role of women, while different from that of men, can also be seen as nurturing violence. Thus, by highlighting the aesthetics of everyday violence associated with one right-wing movement and its women, the author points to the need for a wider discussion on gender and everyday violence, raising questions about how we study gender today.

13. Roychowdhury, Poulami. 2014. 'Brothers and Others: Organizing Masculinity, Disorganizing Workers.' *Social Problems* 61(1): 22–41.

Hegemonic masculinity is often understood as a binding force that unites men of a particular identity while excluding other men and subordinate women. In this article, the authors challenge such an understanding of, and argue that masculinity, as an organizing mechanisms can have other origins and impact, beyond gender. First, the article discusses how hegemonic masculinity can be a strategy for forming social movements, and second, how collective gender identities around "brotherhood" may be challenged by disparate cultural histories and occupational networks which may shape interpretive disagreements over masculinity. These interpretive disagreements can alienated members and undermined mobilization around masculinity.

14. Kimmel, Michael. 2013. *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era*. New York: Nation Books.

Following the 2008 election of Barack Obama, Americans on the right mobilized against what they saw as a hostile takeover of their country and an attack on American values. As part of his research for *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era,* Michael Kimmel travelled across the country to observe the widespread discontent with the American status quo during this period. If the American dream was dead, what did this mean for America's men? Kimmel paints a picture of a country in economic decline, with small towns in a state of despair and widening inequality, as he attempts to pinpoint both structural and other factors that have turned both young and old men into ticking time bombs. *Angry White Men* is about those who

are unable to cope with a changing American landscape – about the men who are left behind and the stories they tell themselves. It is arguably even more relevant today, as we seek answers to the question of how feelings of hopelessness among men can lead to political polarization and violence.

15. **Meret, Susi, and Birte Siim. 2013. 'Gender, Populism, and Politics of Belonging: Discourses of Right-Wing Populist Parties in Denmark, Norway and Austria.' In: Birte Siim and Monika Mokre (eds)** *Negotiating Gender and Diversity in an Emergent European Public Sphere.* **London: Palgrave Macmillan, 78–96.**

In their chapter in the edited volume *Negotiating Gender and Diversity in an Emergent European Public Sphere,* authors Susi Meret and Birte Siim attempt to provide a framework for understanding the relationship between constructions of gender identity and European identity. In particular, what does it mean to be male and female in the wider European Union? The authors find that right-wing populist parties in the EU consciously use gender as a way to mobilize citizens. The authors' examination of recent developments within the European region shows that although such parties in the Nordic countries and Austria typically espouse traditional attitudes towards masculinity and patriarchal domination, their discourses have shifted to include arguments in favour of greater inclusivity and gender equality. Nevertheless, representatives of the Danish People's Party in Denmark and the Progress Party in Norway argue that gender equality has already been achieved in their respective countries and are therefore negative towards furthering the gender cause. The article emphasizes the role played by gender in electoral politics.

16. **Hong, Luoluo, 2010. 'Toward a Transformed Approach to Prevention: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence.'** *Journal of American College Health* **48(6): 269–279.**

Men greatly outnumber woman as perpetrators of violence. Indeed, almost all sole perpetrators of mass shootings have been men, and men have also been responsible for almost every right-wing extremist attack of the last ten years. What explains the lower threshold of men for the commission of acts of violence? In 'Toward a Transformed Approach to Prevention: Breaking the Link Between Masculinity and Violence', author Luoluo Hong examines the relationship between men, masculinity and violence through a study of 'Men Against Violence', a programme for college-age men at a large US university. Hong demonstrates how men's

understandings of what manhood and appropriate masculine behaviour are have a profound impact on their understandings of violence. The study further shows how expanding understandings of gender roles can reduce the likelihood that men will engage in sexual or physical violence. The article takes an empirical approach to the study of the relationship between masculinity and violence, highlighting the importance of college and high-school settings – a context also examined in C. J. Pascoe's (2007) *Dude, You're a Fag: Masculinity and Sexuality in High School* – as areas for future research.

17. Anderson, Eric. 2009. *Inclusive Masculinity: The Changing Nature of Masculinities*. New York: Routledge

The central argument in this volume is that we need to recognize that masculinities are changing. The author offers new theoretical insights on the construction and maintenance of masculinities which departs from the dominating concept of hegemonic masculinity; more specifically the author suggest that we are better served by using the terms; 'orthodox masculinities' and 'inclusive masculinities', the latter, in particular, having the potential to move forward thinking on transformative gender practices. Furthermore, right-wing groups and movements often employ inclusive masculinities as a form of organization. Strong connections are formed between members as they bond through their masculinities. More often than not, a central theme within right-wing politics and extremism is the notion that there is a need to reclaim masculinity – a task that might take the form of a national project, such as that of President Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, or of a personal, gendered vendetta, as seen in the 2014 Isla Vista shooting. Importantly, the powerful role played by masculinities in the creation of bonds between males should not be overlooked but needs to be understood in more detail, as this volume outlines.

18. Brantlinger, Patrick. 2007. 'Shooters: Cultural Contexts of the Virginia Tech Tragedy.' *Situations* 1(1): 1–25.

The focus in this article is primarily on the cultural contexts of the Virginia Tech Tragedy and the possible motivations of the shooter. The author argues that the shooter, Seung-Hui Cho, subscribed to a non-dominant form of masculinity, i.e. loser/loner masculinity. In all cultures, being a 'winner' is seen as much better than being a 'loser' or a 'loner'. In much the same vein as Mia Consalvo in 'The Monsters Next Door: Media Constructions of Boys and Masculinity', Brantlinger examines how labels such as 'loser' or 'loner' influence individuals' sense of

victimization, with a particular focus on how Cho's cultural setting and insufficient masculine performance played a role in his decision to shoot up his own classroom.

19. Connell, R. W, and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. 'Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept.' *Gender & Society* 19(6): 829–859.

The notion of hegemonic masculinity is central in efforts to understand how masculinity influences right-wing extremism and politics. In short, 'hegemonic masculinity' refers to the dominant forms of masculinity that subjugate both women and marginalized masculinities such as those of gay men. Hegemonic forms of masculinity are those that are considered 'normal' or 'ordinary' within a society or social group, and represent a form of masculinity young men often aspire to. In this way, they serve to suppress other men's chances at reaching hegemonic standards of masculinity. In recent years, the complex concept of dominant or hegemonic masculinity has been the subject of more than 50 books. In this article, however, authors R. W. Connell (who initially coined the term 'hegemonic masculinity') and James W. Messerschmidt attempt to realign the theoretical framework and make it more applicable to social science. In the context of right-wing movements or organizations, hegemonic masculinity serves as an important frame of reference against which the masculinity of both members and leaders can be checked. Ideals and ideology are reviewed within a frame of hegemonic masculinity, as members of such movements ask: Are we manly enough? How can we develop our masculinity to gain legitimacy?

20. Consalvo, Mia. 2003. 'The Monsters Next Door: Media Constructions of Boys and Masculinity.' *Feminist Media Studies* 3(1): 27–45.

In 'The Monsters Next Door: Media Constructions of Boys and Masculinity', Mia Consalvo examines how issues of gender and violence were treated in the context of the Columbine school shooting of 20 April 1999. Although this episode was not directly linked to any far-right extremist movement, there were clear links between the school shooting and right-wing politics. The date of the shooting, for example, was chosen to coincide with Adolf Hitler's birthday, and the shooting was racially motivated and inspired by Nazism. Consalvo's article reveals that the links between right-wing radicalism, violence and gender – particularly questions related to men and masculinity – are more complex than previously thought. The author shows that the Columbine shooters were first portrayed as 'deviants' and 'monsters' in media coverage of the shooting. Later, however, coverage focused more on their marginalized

masculinities as 'geeks' and 'outcasts'. She suggests that until masculinity and its different constructions are better explored in general society, we as news audiences and citizens will be blind to how particular masculinities are linked to destructive traits and behaviours, such as a tendency to lean towards extremist politics.

21. Fangen, Katrine 2003. A death mask of masculinity: the brotherhood of Norwegian right-wing skinheads. Chapter 11 in: Søren Ervø and Thomas Johansson (eds.) (2003), *Among Men: Moulding Masculinities*, vol. 1. London: Ashgate

The analysis in this chapter is inspired by Connell, Wetherell and others who see masculinity as something men negotiate in ongoing situations. A boy is not passively transformed into a man. Rather, all through his life he has to construct and reconstruct his sense of maleness as resolution to dilemmas concerning expectations from others (both men and women) and concerning the power relations he enters. The core question is what signals right-wing males give to the outside world by the clothes they wear, by the way they relate to each other, by the way they walk, and more explicitly by the words they use to define themselves in contrast to other men. The analysis shows that right-wing skinhead subculture provides an atmosphere which is attractive to young boys who long for acceptance and the feelings of honor, power and excitement. In this context, violence and intimidation are made possible as a distinct part of a lifestyle constituted by a stylized version of masculinity. However, the warm brotherhood has its limits. The feeling of distrust in relation to the outside world with all its possible enemies leads to a feeling of distrust between the skinheads as well. Many of them are better in dealing with power than in dealing with intimacy, hence there is only a thin layer between comradeship and intimidation.

22. Kimmel, Michael. 2003. 'Globalization and Its Mal(e)contents: The Gendered Moral and Political Economy of Terrorism.' *International Sociology* 18(3): 603–620.

Exploring areas that he would develop in his 2013 book *Angry White Men,* in 'Globalization and Its Mal(e)contents: The Gendered Moral and Political Economy of Terrorism', Kimmel reflects on how globalization – with its increased connectivity of nation-states and their economies – is reshaping local and regional masculinities. In this ongoing process of economic development and transformation, men are perhaps feeling the effects of a new form of change to a greater extent than women. Kimmel examines how masculinity and globalization intersect, and how this has led to the emergence of various far-right and extremist groups. He finds that

masculinity is increasingly taking on a symbolic form, stirring strong emotions and serving as an ideological resource, a rhetorical device and a way to recruit young men to dedicate their lives to extreme political engagement.

23. Connell, W. Robert. 2000. 'Arms and the Man: Using the New Research on Masculinity to Understand Violence and Promote Peace in the Contemporary World.' In: Ingeborg Breines, Robert Connell and Ingrid Eide (eds) *Male Roles, Masculinities and Violence: A Culture of Peace Perspective.* **Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 21-33**

In 1997, UNESCO organized a meeting on 'Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace' in Oslo, Norway. Until this time, the role of men in peace work had received almost no attention. The meeting was arranged to enable a discussion of the social, cultural and economic conditions that produce violent men. The report which was produced as a result of the meeting argued that men and violence come to be interrelated through social understandings, media and peer activities. The report also highlighted that a sense of entitlement experienced by many men may result in feelings of powerlessness which in turn may lead to violence. Such feelings of powerlessness can make an individual join a racist movement, for instance, in order to restore a sense of control. Lastly, it suggested that racist, ethno-nationalist, or other right-wing political causes, often centre on ideas of males roles as 'demand for dominance', while women's roles are often seen as "supporters" or 'mothers of warriors'.

24. Kimmel, Michael, and Abby L. Ferber. 2000. '"White Men Are This Nation": Right-Wing Militias and the Restoration of Rural American Masculinity.' *Rural Sociology* **65(4): 582–604.**

Although right-wing militias may not be the first group of political radicals to come to mind in a discussion of masculinity and the extreme right, in their article '"White Men Are This Nation": Right-Wing Militias and the Restoration of Rural American Masculinity', authors Kimmel and Ferber illustrate the importance of examining this type of organizational structure. In particular, the authors show how right-wing militias are characterized by a 'politics of paranoia' in which conspiracies, racism, sexism and antisemitism are combined in ways that closely resemble the ideological mind-sets of various historical and modern extreme-right groups. While the authors do not neglect structural causes like poverty or class in their efforts to explain the phenomena they observe, masculinity is used as the primary analytical tool.

Right-wing militias in the USA are a 'men's movement', argue the authors, and a perceived loss of masculinity and the hope of reclaiming it constitute one of the movement's primary driving forces.

25. Fangen, Katrine. 1998. Right-wing skinheads-Nostalgia and binary oppositions. *Young*, 6(3), 33-49.

The right-wing of the skinhead subculture has been well-known in Europe and the US since the late 1980s. The skinheads' militant appearance, endorsement of violence and Nazi gestures make them representatives of the worst qualities imaginable to people outside their group. In the aftermath of the atrocities of the Second World War, it is difficult to understand why young people join such a movement. As did the Nazis in the Second World War, right-wing skinheads stress binary oppositions in their definitions of themselves and others, where notions of masculinity are central. They divide the world rigidly according to 'us and them', friend and enemy. Even though their community has its internal threats, these men become addicted to a blend of adventure and excitement. This is the reason the community becomes so important to them, providing them with a sense of importance and commitment they would not experience with the same strength anywhere else.