



Sleeping with the Enemy: Sex, Sexuality and Antisemitism in the Extreme Right

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Executive Summary

This report examines the often under-studied connections between antisemitism and anti-gender sentiment within the neofascist militant accelerationist (NMA) movement. It considers the central importance of family within the NMA mission to maintain white racial 'purity', before outlining dominant antisemitic conspiracy theories prevalent between accelerationist movements such as the 'Great Replacement'. Closely related is the 'Cultural Marxism' conspiracy theory which is a key point of focus of this paper. This narrative frames Jewish people as having disproportionate influence within cultural institutions, such as the media, with Jews often imagined as using this power to influence society subtly in a variety of ways that might lead to the white race being 'replaced'. In particular, this report focuses on how the NMA movement imagines Jewish people as influencing sexual politics in ways that are regarded as being 'anti-family' and therefore constitute a threat to the white race.

Key Findings

- The rigid conceptions of what constitutes a 'real' family typical among NMA movements has direct implications for sex and gender norms. Any sexuality or aspect of sexual politics that falls outside these strict constructions is regarded as a threat to the white race and is attributed to hostile Jewish influence.
- NMA groups' anti-gender narratives therefore constitute a multi-pronged threat, combining hatred towards feminists and the LGBTQ+ community with antisemitism.

Overview

The Great Replacement conspiracy theory, which suggests that the racial and cultural integrity of the white race is under threat from a combination of non-white migration and decreasing white birth rates, has become the ideological backbone of many extreme-right movements. Yet one aspect of this conspiracy theory that often goes under-analysed is its relation to both antisemitism and anti-gender attitudes. This report focuses on the overlap and interplay of these two factors within the context of neofascist militant accelerationism (NMA).

The family unit is regarded by much of the extreme right as a symbolic microcosm of the white race. It will be shown that, within the context of NMA, very stringent ideas of what constitutes a 'real' family exist. These ideas therefore present any sexuality or aspect of sexual politics that falls outside this rigid conception as anti-family and thus anti-white. By focusing on Cultural Marxism, the conspiracy theory with deep ties to antisemitism that posits that Jewish people have disproportionate influence within cultural institutions, such as the media, this paper highlights multiple ways in which NMA actors frame various sexualities and aspects of sexual politics as being 'pushed' onto society by a nefarious Jewish elite with the intention of exterminating the white race.

Key Findings

- As part of the extreme right, NMA upholds a rigid construction of what constitutes a 'real' family, namely a heteronormative white couple, bound by marriage, who adhere to strict, traditional gender roles and regard it as their nationalistic duty to produce white children. Any sexuality or aspect of sexual politics that falls outside this description is therefore regarded as 'deviant' and a threat to the white race.
- Much of the NMA sphere promotes the Cultural Marxism conspiracy theory that regards Jewish people as having disproportionate power over cultural institutions, which they use to endanger the white race. Building upon centuries-old prejudices about the gender and sexuality of Jewish people, NMA adherents often regard 'deviant' sexualities as being pushed or forced on to society by Jewish people.
- These movements regard feminism as a concept invented and popularised by Jewish people with the aim of encouraging white women not to have children, which therefore threatens the continuation of the white race. Feminism is also often framed as a force that subverts traditional gender roles: masculinising women and feminising men. This subversion is, again, regarded as a threat to the traditional gender roles that underpin the nuclear family model and is also often used to frame trans people as posing a threat to the white race.

- Jewish people are often also regarded as spreading sexual 'degeneracy' through pornography. NMA movements are, by and large, stringently anti-pornography and argue that it is used by Jewish people to normalise mixed-race relationships that are seen to endanger the white birth rate. Pornography is also framed as a tool used by Jewish elites to keep white men weak and distracted from their racial replacement.
- Homosexuality and transness are often regarded by NMA actors as constituting a threat to the traditional white family and particularly to white children. Because NMA movements regard homosexuality and transness as choices or afflictions rather than being innate, Jewish people are often framed as 'turning' vulnerable white children gay or trans in order to attack the traditional nuclear family structure. Thus, children are often featured in homophobic or anti-trans NMA propaganda as a way to mobilise adherents against both the LGBTQ+ community and Jewish people.

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1 Introduction

Staring from a sepia-toned poster shared by a neofascist militant accelerationist Telegram channel are the faces of four white children, bathed in the light of the white supremacist Sonnenrad symbol and cradled by their doting mother and father amid the rubble of a crumbling city. The caption reads: “FIGHT FOR THEIR FUTURE”.¹ Often crowded between bloody calls to action and swathes of racist and antisemitic epithets, the motif of strong white families remains central within propaganda produced by white supremacist movements. However, this idealised image of the white family is often framed as being under threat from a range of far-reaching, and often antisemitic, conspiracy theories. The Great Replacement conspiracy theory, for instance, “combines lines of biological and cultural racism to unite adherents in a sense of generalized paranoia where the racial and cultural integrity of the white race is perceived to be under threat from a combination of migration along with decreasing birth rates among white Europeans”.² Within the collective imagination of the extreme right, the Great Replacement constitutes part of the larger conspiratorial worldview of “white genocide”, a theory that suspects a malicious plot, often explicitly blamed on Jewish people, exists to eliminate the white race altogether.³ Yet one aspect of the Great Replacement conspiracy theory that often goes under-analysed is how aspects of non-heteronormative sexuality are constructed as a threat to the continuation of the white race.

This paper therefore seeks to analyse how various sexualities and aspects of sexual politics are framed as threats to the white race by movements associated with neofascist militant accelerationism (NMA). This analysis adds to a small but existing pool of literature surrounding the far right’s involvement with so-called “anti-gender” movements. Katrine Fangen and Lisanne Lichtenberg show that these movements generally oppose what they term “gender ideology”, which “functions as an umbrella term for gender studies, gender quotas, abortion and LGBTI rights”.⁴ Agnieszka Graff and Elżbieta Korolczuk elaborate that the “triggers” for these campaigns generally include “reproductive rights, gay marriage and the prevention of gender-based violence, but also sex education in schools and gender studies in general”.⁵

Birgit Sauer illustrates that the far and extreme right have been active voices within anti-gender movements, viewing gender ideology – which some term “genderism” – as a threat to traditional gender roles that regard men as dominant breadwinners and women as obedient

1 Vorherrschaft Division Telegram archive, 18 August 2019; The Sonnenrad, also called the Black Sun, was a symbol appropriated by the Nazis in Hitler’s Germany and is now a commonly used motif by a number of white supremacist movements.

2 Alexander Meleagrou-Hitchens, Blyth Crawford, and Valentin Wutke, “Rise of the Reactionaries: Comparing the Ideologies of Salafi-Jihadism and White Supremacist Extremism”, *George Washington Program on Extremism*, (2021), 42.

3 The Anti-Defamation League, “‘The Great Replacement’: An Explainer”, (2021), <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/the-great-replacement-an-explainer>

4 Katrine Fangen and Lisanne Lichtenberg, “Gender and Family Rhetoric on the German Far Right”, *Patterns of Prejudice Vol.55 No.1*, (2021), 84.

5 Agnieszka Graff and Elżbieta Korolczuk, “Anti-Gender Politics in the Populist Moment”, *Anti-Gender Politics in the Populist Movement*, Routledge, (2022), 58.



Figure One: *An image shared by Vorherrschaft Division framing the white family as an endangered unit worth protecting and as a rallying cry to spur followers to action.*

housewives.⁶ Similarly, Marc-André Argentino et al. have noted that extreme-right accelerationists regard modern “progressive politics [as being] characterised by feminism, pluralism, gender fluidity and same sex rights” and that “these social movements, especially those that champion equal rights for women and LGBTQ+ people, [are] representative of the decline of the modern age”. They add that these prejudices are shared by both the extreme right and salafi-jihadists.⁷ This paper adds to this existing literature in two key ways: first, by

6 Birgit Sauer, “Authoritarian Right-Wing Populism as Masculinist Identity Politics. The Role of Affects”, in Gabriele Dietze and Julia Roth, eds., *Right-Wing Populism and Gender: European Perspectives and Beyond*, Transcript Verlag, (2020), 25

7 Marc-André Argentino, Amarnath Amarasingam, and Emmi Conley, “‘One Struggle’: Examining Narrative Syncretism between Accelerationists and Salafi-Jihadists”, *International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation*, (2022), <https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/ICSR-Report-One-Struggle-Examining-Narrative-Syncretism-between-Accelerationists-and-Salafi-Jihadists.pdf>, 20

specifically highlighting the overlaps between anti-gender discourses and antisemitism – an aspect of anti-gender narratives that often goes undiscussed. Second, much of the work on anti-gender movements focuses on the populist radical right, often leaving analysis of similar narratives within the extreme right under-explored. This paper aims to combat this gap by focusing on NMA as part of the broader extreme-right sphere.

Cas Mudde demonstrates that the ‘far right’ should be regarded as “those on the right who are ‘anti-system’, defined here as hostile to liberal democracy”. He stresses that the term ‘far right’ is an umbrella term encompassing two broader subgroups, the ‘radical right’, which “accepts the essence of democracy, but opposes fundamental elements of *liberal* democracy”, and the ‘extreme right’, which “rejects the essence of democracy” entirely.⁸ Tore Bjørgo and Jacob Aasland Ravndal expand upon this categorisation, adding that the extreme right is specifically composed of “racial nationalists”, who generally adhere to the idea that “the white race is superior [and that] racial mixing threatened its survival” and also believe that “revolutionary change is needed to overthrow Jewish dominance”.⁹ Where the radical right therefore seeks some resonance with mainstream political attitudes, the extreme right falls at the furthest end of the political spectrum, often justifying and advocating for violence against its enemies.

This paper will attend to anti-gender narratives from within the extreme-right context. Unlike many radical or more mainstream right-wing movements where such prejudices are often masked, the extreme right espouses a doctrine of open, virulent antisemitism. Analysing these movements specifically, therefore, will provide the clearest analysis of the interaction between extremist antisemitism and anti-gender narratives.

Method

Specifically, this paper analyses anti-gender narratives within the context of NMA. As defined by Matthew Kriner, militant accelerationism should be regarded as “a set of tactics and strategies designed to put pressure on and exacerbate latent social divisions, often through violence, thus hastening societal collapse”.¹⁰ Jade Parker stresses that accelerationism is an “ideologically agnostic doctrine” focused on orchestrating the collapse of modern society and thus unites a range of extremist actors from across the political spectrum.¹¹ Although not inherently linked to any one strand of ideology, Kriner argues that “Over time, this set of tactics and strategies [which make up militant accelerationism have grown] to include various ideological currents, the most dominant of which is neofascism”. He adds that “Individuals in this milieu that embraced neofascist accelerationism soon coalesced into an in-group identity that acknowledged their adherence to social collapse and in doing so built ideological structures around their shared embrace of militant accelerationism’s tactics and strategies”.¹² This analysis chimes with Alex Newhouse’s observation

8 Cas Mudde, “Introduction”, *The Far Right Today*, Cambridge: Polity Press, (2019), 7

9 Tore Bjørgo and Jacob Aasland Ravndal, “Extreme-Right Violence and Terrorism: Concepts, Patterns, and Responses”, *International Centre for Counter-Terrorism*, (2019), <https://icct.nl/app/uploads/2019/09/Extreme-Right-Violence-and-Terrorism-Concepts-Patterns-and-Responses.pdf>, 3

10 Matthew Kriner, “An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism”, *Accelerationism Research Consortium*, 9 May 2022, <https://www.accelresearch.org/shortanalysis/an-introduction-to-militant-accelerationism>

11 Jade Parker, “Accelerationism in America: Threat Perceptions”, *Global Network on Extremism and Technology*, 4 February 2020, <https://gnet-research.org/2020/02/04/accelerationism-in-america-threat-perceptions/>

12 Kriner, “An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism”

that “the accelerationist movement encompasses much more than just neo-Nazi and neo-fascist activists, but neo-fascist groups represent its most violent, dangerous, and extreme core”.¹³

The Accelerationism Research Consortium details that the NMA sphere should be regarded as a “fractal”, a “diverse movement that is decentralised but deeply interconnected”.¹⁴ Within this landscape various movements exist as a “global network” of extremist “nodes”, united by the shared aim of exacerbating existing political tensions to the point of societal collapse in order to rebuild a new, ‘pro-white’ society.¹⁵ Rather than consisting of traditional far-right groups with a formal, hierarchical structures and strict membership requirements, the movements within this network instead demonstrate a significant degree of ebb and flow between each other in terms of membership, ideology and propaganda.¹⁶ Kriner recommends, therefore, that the groups within the neofascist militant accelerationist sphere, can be thought of as being similar to “brands”.¹⁷

Just as with the broader extreme-right movement, which Manuela Caiani and Patricia Kröll show has been able to “transcend national borders” and achieve “supranational mobilisation” regardless of geographical boundaries owing to the use of the internet, the NMA landscape should be regarded as inherently transnational.¹⁸ Part of this transnationalisation can be linked to the movement’s original development “facilitated” by the online forum Iron March.¹⁹ H. E. Upchurch highlights that individuals on Iron March often broke off into smaller private online groups and that this “network of private groups served as the incubator for the common identity and strong social bonds necessary to maintain a transnational clandestine movement”.²⁰ Furthermore, Bethan Johnson and Matthew Feldman highlight the enduring central importance of the movement’s ideological figurehead, James Mason, whose book ‘*Siege*’ and subsequent ‘*Siege Culture*’ writings remain well circulated and a source of inspiration to members and adherents of accelerationist movements across the world.²¹

The scope, reach and membership of many extreme-right movements, therefore, extends far beyond the geographical locations where they were founded. Crucially, Newhouse argues that the threat of these movements extends beyond any one group and lies in the “networked” nature of accelerationist movements. Proscribed groups, such as Atomwaffen (since rebranded as the National Socialist Order), Feuerkrieg Division, Sonnenkrieg Division, The Base, and a series of smaller, non-designated movements frequently overlap in terms of membership, ideology and propaganda, with new groups or brands being easily created.²²

13 Alex Newhouse, “The Threat is the Network: The Multi-Node Structure of Neo-Fascist Accelerationism”, *CTC Sentinel* Vol.14 No.5, (2021), 17

14 Kriner, “An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism”

15 Ibid., 17

16 Newhouse, “The Threat is the Network”, 23

17 Kriner, “An Introduction to Militant Accelerationism”

18 Manuela Caiani and Patricia Kröll, “The Transnationalization of the extreme right and the use of the Internet”, *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* Vol.39 No.4, (2015), 343

19 Newhouse, “The Threat is the Network”, 18

20 H. E. Upchurch, “The Iron March Forum and the Evolution of the ‘Skull Mask’ Neo-Fascist Network”, *CTC Sentinel* Vol.14 No.10, (2021), 28

21 Bethan Johnson and Matthew Feldman, “Siege Culture After *Siege*: Anatomy of a Neo-Nazi Terrorist Doctrine”, *ICCT*, (2021)

22 Newhouse, “The Threat is the Network”, 23

The deeply interconnected nature of accelerationism has also been demonstrated by the string of mass-casualty shootings that have been carried out or attempted by extreme-right actors across the globe. For example, a 2019 firearms attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, in which 51 people were murdered across two mosques,²³ inspired similar attacks to be attempted in the United States,²⁴ Norway²⁵ and Germany,²⁶ with shooters often directly citing the Christchurch shooting as a key influence. Most recently, a mass-casualty firearms attack conducted at a supermarket in Buffalo, New York, on 14 May 2022, in which ten people were killed, can also be linked to this string of NMA violence.²⁷ The shooter, directly citing the Christchurch shooter's manifesto, describes "destabilization and accelerationism" as "tactics for victory", stating that "true change and the change we need to enact only arises in the great crucible of crisis".²⁸

With this inherent transnationalism in mind, this paper will focus on the broader transnational NMA movement rather than limit its analysis to any one country. Research was carried out using an open-source, non-participant qualitative approach, with the researcher observing and collating information about relevant accelerationist groups and individuals using social media. To this end, only public-facing communications and activities were analysed. The main resources gathered were archives of accelerationist movements' social media footprints, such as websites and Telegram channels, and propaganda and literature shared on the Iron March forum. Only English-language material collected or obtained from 2019 onwards is examined here. Given this focus on English-language resources, the analysis of this paper is largely confined to the UK and North American contexts. The manifestos of NMA shooters from 2019 onwards have also been collected by the researcher and are analysed within this paper.

This research does not seek to provide a comprehensive map of every node and actor within the NMA landscape but rather intends to provide an overarching analysis of the dominant narratives relating to Cultural Marxism, antisemitism and the anti-gender movement that are prevalent between these nodes and actors.

Structure of the Report

This paper is divided into three sections. The first outlines the central importance of family and familialism within NMA constructions. It will be shown that the extreme right frames family as at the heart of the white race and central to its survival. The second section will examine antisemitic narratives common throughout the extreme right and NMA, focusing on how the Cultural Marxism conspiracy theory imagines Jewish people to be all-powerful and actively involved in orchestrating the downfall of the white race. It will also demonstrate that these conspiracies are a continuation of long-standing negative, specifically gendered stereotypes surrounding Jewish people. The third section

23 See: BBC News, "Christchurch shootings: 49 dead in New Zealand mosque attacks", 15 March 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-47578798>

24 See: BBC News, "Texas Walmart shooting: El Paso attack 'domestic terrorism'", 5 August 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-49226573>; BBC News, "San Diego synagogue shooting: One person dead in Poway, California", 28 April 2019, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-48081535>

25 See: BBC News, "Norway court jails mosque gunman Manshaug for 21 years", 11 June 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-53006164>

26 See: BBC News, "Halle synagogue attack: Germany far-right gunman jailed for life", 21 December 2020, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-55395682>

27 See: BBC News, "Buffalo shooting: Ten dead in racially motivated attack at New York state store", 15 May 2022, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-61452958>

28 Payton Gendron, "Manifesto", 2022, 176

will unite these two narratives, examining primary materials produced by NMA movements and actors in depth. This section will highlight three key NMA narratives surrounding sex, gender and sexuality, noting the convergence between familialism and antisemitism in each. Finally, it will be concluded that sexual practices that NMA movements frame as 'deviant' are seen to undermine the sanctity of white families and are regarded as a by-product of Jewish-led plans to exterminate the white race.

It is necessary to note that the third section of this report contains visual propaganda and messages shared by NMA movements and actors that contain examples of homophobia, anti-trans hate, suicide, anti-feminism, racism, antisemitism and references to child sexual abuse. These examples have not been included lightly and have been included and referenced only where they have been deemed necessary in order to evidence arguments being made. The most violent or potentially upsetting images have been omitted or in some cases described in written language in order to prevent their wider circulation.

2 Familialism as a Frame for Gender and Sexuality in the Extreme Right

Evolving attitudes towards the far and extreme right increasingly recognise that “gender and family are not only central but also constitutive” of the movement.^{29,30} For example, Cas Mudde has argued that the far right’s conceptions of sexuality and gender are innately tied to its nativist principles, stating that “ideologically”, the far right adheres to “familialism”.³¹

Familialism is a form of nationalist biopolitics that regards the family unit as the foundation of the nation and vital for its stability and continuation. Importantly, Andreas Kemper delineates that is not an orientation towards the concept of family in general; rather, it is a kind of “gender conservatism [that] distinguishes a limited, population-biological-national, and normative idea of the family”. He continues, “Families who do not correspond to this idea – such as single parents, non-German [or, in this case of racial nationalism, non-white] families, financially weak families, and so-called patchwork or rainbow families – are marginalised, or even antagonised”.³²

Weronika Grzebalska and Adrea Pető clarify that as a form of biopolitics, familialism “subjugates individual reproductive and self-determination rights to the normative demand of the reproduction of the nation”.³³ The family is therefore fundamental to continuing the nation through reproduction. Having children is regarded as a necessary function of the family unit in order to continue the existence of the “pure people”, which in the context of racial nationalism refers to the white race.³⁴ This sentiment is most clearly reflected in the 14 words, a slogan ubiquitous among extreme-right and NMA movements, originally coined by white supremacist David Lane: “We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.”³⁵ Given the onus placed upon lineage and the nationalistic duty of reproduction, Lynn Berg notes that within the far right, therefore, “just as marriage is granted exclusively to heterosexual couples, the term family is only accorded to those unions that follow the model of a heterosexual marriage with children”.³⁶

29 Katrine Fangen and Lisanne Lichtenberg, “Gender and Family Rhetoric on the German Far Right”, *Patterns of Prejudice* Vol.55 No.1, (2021), 71

30 Kathleen Blee, “Women in white supremacist extremism”, *European Journal of Politics and Gender* Vol.4 No.2, (2021), 317

31 Cas Mudde, “Gender”, *The Far Right Today*, Polity Press, (2019), 148

32 Andreas Kemper, “Foundation of the Nation: How Political Parties and Movements are Radicalising Others in Favour of Conservative Family Values and against Tolerance, Diversity, and Progressive Gender Politics in Europe”, *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung*, (2016), 60

33 Weronika Grzebalska and Andrea Pető, “The gendered modus operandi of the illiberal transformation in Hungary and Poland”, *Women’s Studies International Forum* Vol.68, (2018), 167

34 Lynn Berg, “Between Anti-Feminism and Ethnicized Sexism: Far-Right Gender Politics in Germany”, in Maik Fielitz and Nick Thurston, eds., *Post-Digital Cultures of the Far Right: Online Actions and Offline Consequences in Europe and the US*, Transcript Verlag, (2019), 82

35 The Anti-Defamation League, “14 Words”, <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/14-words>

36 Lynn Berg, “Between Anti-Feminism and Ethnicized Sexism”, 83

This model of familism has direct implications for the kind of gender roles espoused by NMA movements. Ashley Mattheis has observed that the explicit focus on reproduction implies that the “world view of extreme right groups” is inherently “heteronormative and binary gendered”.³⁷ Gender roles are therefore stringently defined and regarded as part of a larger “complementary, biologically based gender order”, where men and women are viewed as being biologically predisposed to different roles.³⁸

Within these confines, however, Mudde stipulates that there are varying interpretations of familism across the broad far-right sphere, meaning that gender roles across different movements differ slightly. He elaborates that, traditionally, the far right has espoused “benevolent sexism”, where women are regarded as “morally pure and physically weak” with power over the domestic realm, in need of the protection of strong, traditionally masculine men who are responsible for working and family finances and are “preferably ... aggressive and muscular, to protect ‘their’ women”. In this model “(good) women should be adored by men, as women are necessary to make men complete – through the heterosexual family, the heart of the nation or race”.³⁹

By contrast, Kemper, alongside Birgit Sauer and Christine Bard, note an “increasingly aggressive masculinist scene” predominantly from within online extreme-right movements. These groups stray somewhat from the tenets of benevolent sexism and regard men as structurally oppressed by “state feminism”.^{40, 41, 42} This attitude is particularly prevalent within far- and extreme-right spaces influenced by the so-called “manosphere”, such as the alt-right, MGTOW (men going their own way) and incels.⁴³ Mudde describes these movements as characterised by “hostile sexism”, which regards women as “morally corrupt and politically powerful”, complicit in robbing men of their power and masculinity. Rather than being adored, hostile sexism dictates that women are instead objectified and degraded, with men seeking to “control reproduction by controlling women’s sexuality”.^{44, 45}

Although both frameworks dictate control over women’s reproductive sexuality and advocate for a patriarchal society, there are crucial differences in the way in which this control over women is framed. Whereas benevolent sexism regards women as being complementary to men owing to their inherent weakness and need for a male protector, which makes them naturally subservient, hostile sexism regards women as deviant and needing to be ‘tamed’ and controlled by a dominant man in order to start a family. Crucially, however, Sauer notes that family remains an important motif within these more masculinist movements, which she argues aspire to a resolution to the “crisis of masculinity” and “wish for a better future based on traditional gender roles, the heterosexual family and its promise of love”.⁴⁶

37 Ashley Mattheis, “Shieldmaidens of Whiteness: (Alt) Maternalism and Women Recruiting for the Far/Alt-Right”, *Journal for Deradicalization* Winter 2018/2019 No.17, (2018), 142

38 Fangen and Lichtenberg, “Gender and Family Rhetoric”, 80

39 Mudde, “Gender”, 149

40 Kemper, “Foundation of the Nation”, 25

41 Sauer, “Authoritarian Right-Wing Populism”, 23

42 Christine Bard, “Masculinism in Europe”, Sorbonne Université, 22 June 2020, <https://ehne.fr/en/encyclopedia/themes/gender-and-europe/european-man-a-hegemonic-masculinity-19th-21st-centuries/masculinism-in-europe>

43 Center on Extremism, “New Hate and Old: The Changing Face of American White Supremacy”, *Anti-Defamation League*, (2018), 27

44 Jacqueline Stevens, “The State of Membership”, *Reproducing the State*, Princeton University Press, (1999), 15

45 Mudde, “Gender”, 150

46 Sauer, “Authoritarian Right-Wing Populism”, 33

A comparison between these two attitudes can be drawn when considering the differing attitudes towards family espoused by the far-right Proud Boys movement and the extreme-right neo-Nazi figurehead Andrew Anglin. One of the central tenets the Proud Boys claim to stand for is the “veneration of the housewife”.⁴⁷ On Telegram, the movement’s founder, Gavin McInnes, has expanded on this tenet, saying “what we mean by this is that women who chose to be housewives and mothers should be celebrated for that choice ... In today’s world too many men do not prioritize having families but we do. We like sex, we want wives and we want babies.”⁴⁸ By contrast, Anglin has argued that men should have emphatically direct reproductive control over women’s sexuality and play a role in actively preventing women from participating in mixed-race relationships. He writes that “with a woman [who is in a mixed-race relationship], there is a lot of anger, because it’s OUR WOMB – that’s right, it doesn’t belong to her, it belongs to the males in her society – that is being used to produce an enemy soldier”.⁴⁹ The contrast between these two attitudes is clear. Where the Proud Boys stress that women should be celebrated for adopting maternal roles, Anglin advocates for direct male dominance over women’s reproductive autonomy. Crucially, however, both the (ostensibly) benevolent sexism of the Proud Boys and the hostile sexism of Anglin frame a woman’s ideal role as a mother and as the womb of the nation, thereby both seeking to exercise male dominance over women’s reproductive autonomy to some extent. Both outlooks also place the importance of (white) families at the centre of their attitudes to women and gender roles more broadly.

In practice, Mudde argues that most far-right movements espouse “some combination of elements of benevolent and hostile sexism, which is generally referred to as *ambivalent sexism*”.⁵⁰ Joshua Grubbs shows that movements that adopt ambivalent sexism simply direct different sexist attitudes to different groups depending on how they navigate systems of male dominance. For instance, “women who conform to gender norms by respecting and submitting to largely patriarchal ... society are often the target of benevolent sexism”, whereas “women who do not conform to patriarchal norms are viewed as deserving hostile sexism, in that they are perceived as manipulative, angry, and seeking to control men”.⁵¹ As such, Mudde stipulates that although traditionally much of the far right adheres to benevolent sexism, hostile sexism may be expressed against “women who do not live up to their sexist ideals – such as female advocates of (Muslim) immigrants, lesbians, and feminists”.⁵²

Although there is some degree of malleability between different constructions of feminine and masculine gender roles, the framework of familialism dictates that these archetypes are constructed in relation to the concept of the family. In placing family at the heart of their racial nationalist struggle, therefore, the extreme right dictates that heteronormative and traditional roles for both men and women are necessary for reproduction and thus for the continuation of the white race. Using this same framing, Robert Claus and Fabian Virchow show

47 The Proud Boys, “Tenets”

48 Gavin McInnes, Telegram post from 25 May 2020

49 Andrew Anglin, *The Daily Stormer*, 19 September 2016

50 Ibid., 151

51 Joshua Grubbs, “Ambivalent Sexism”, *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Psychology and Gender*, SAGE Publications, (2017), 63

52 Mudde, “Gender”, 150

that a large proportion of the far right regards any sexuality or sexual practice other than heterosexuality as necessarily “deviant”. They write:

*“Far-right narratives and actions have always drawn a clear line between an alleged ‘natural’ heteronormative sexuality, from which the imagined national community (‘Volksgemeinschaft’) benefits, and ‘perverse’ or ‘abnormal’ sexuality as a threat to society’s stability, future and peace. Thus, pornography, homosexuality and paedo-sexual offenders are held responsible for the alleged problem of a decadent society that suffers from low moral values and destruction of the heterosexual family.”*⁵³

These deviant sexualities are regarded as threats to the “natural order” of the family, and thus, to the continuation of the white race.⁵⁴ The following section will elaborate on this perceived threat, demonstrating that much of the extreme right regards deviant sexualities as part of a larger antisemitic conspiracy theory.

53 Robert Claus and Fabian Virchow, “The Far Right’s Ideological Constructions of ‘Deviant’ Male Sexualities”, in Michaela Koettig, Renate Bitzan, and Andrea Petö, eds., *Gender and Far Right Politics in Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, (2017), 306

54 Angela McRobbie, “Anti-Feminism and Anti-Gender far right politics in Europe and Beyond”, *Open Democracy*, 18 January 2018, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/can-europe-make-it/anti-feminism-and-anti-gender-far-right-politics-in-europe-and-be/>

3 Antisemitic Conspiracies: Cultural Marxism and the Great Replacement

Antisemitism is the “long-standing shibboleth of the far right” and underpins much of the conspiratorial thinking that defines the extreme right.⁵⁵ In order to best understand the nexus of connectivity between the extreme right’s attitudes to gender and its antisemitism, it is first necessary to outline a number of dominant antisemitic narratives that form an ideological foundation for much of the extreme right.

At the heart of extreme-right antisemitism is the notion that Jewish people are involved in the targeted extermination of the white race. Erik Ward shows Jewish people are often racialised within the collective imagination of the extreme right, demonstrating that to white nationalists “Jews – despite and indeed because of the fact that they often read as White – are a different, unassimilable, enemy race that must be exposed, defeated, and ultimately eliminated”. This ability often to ‘masquerade’ as white contributes to long-standing stereotypes of Jewish people as powerful, shadowy figures within society; Ward concludes that “Jews function for today’s White nationalists [and the broader extreme right] as they often have for antisemites through the centuries: as the demons stirring an otherwise changing and heterogeneous pot of lesser evils.”⁵⁶

This antisemitic construction of elite Jewish puppeteers is most clearly evidenced in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum describes as “the most notorious and widely distributed antisemitic publication of modern times”.⁵⁷ First translated from Russian into English in 1920, the text reads as if it is the minutes of a meeting of elite Jewish elders who have gathered to conspire to take over the world. Although it has been proved to be a forgery long ago, Chip Berlet stresses that those “out on the furthest conspiracist limb [such as] race hate groups and neo-Nazis” still frequently cite the text as ‘proof’ of the Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG) conspiracy theory, which claims that Jewish elites secretly control Western politics.⁵⁸ The American Jewish Committee elaborates: “by manipulating Western governments, antisemites claim ZOG controls the world economy, limits free speech, confiscates land, and usurps military and police forces.”⁵⁹

55 Matthew Feldman, “Comparative Lone Wolf Terrorism: Towards a Heuristic Definition”, *Democracy and Security* Vol.9 No.39, (2013), 274.

56 Erik Ward, “Skin in the Game: How Antisemitism Animates White Nationalism”, *Political Research Associates*, 29 June 2017, <https://politicalresearch.org/2017/06/29/skin-in-the-game-how-antisemitism-animates-white-nationalism>

57 United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Protocols of the Elders of Zion”, (2010), <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/protocols-of-the-elders-of-zion>

58 Chip Berlet, “ZOG Ate my Brains”, *New Internationalist*, (2004), <https://newint.org/features/2004/10/01/conspiracism>

59 American Jewish Committee, “Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG)”, (2020), <https://www.ajc.org/translatehate/Zionist-Occupied-Government>

Closely related to this notion of ZOG are conspiracy theories surrounding Cultural Marxism, which posit “a link between ‘political correctness’ ... and a sinister plot to destroy Western civilisation” and, by extension, the white race.⁶⁰ Like the ZOG conspiracy theory, Cultural Marxism describes a controlling elite that utilises its deep-seated power within cultural institutions, such as “television, banking, entertainment, education, and even Washington, D.C.”, to evoke a Gramscian-style gradual cultural change resulting in the dissolution of traditional Western cultural values.^{61, 62} Rachel Busbridge et al., quoting from the writings of paleoconservative William Lind on the subject, provide a comprehensive definition of Cultural Marxism:

*“Rather than the ‘classless society’ of classical Marxism, Cultural Marxism allegedly promotes a radical egalitarian vision of an emptied-out, soulless multicultural, replacing the proletariat of old with a ‘new proletariat’ made up of immigrants, multiculturalists, black nationalists, secular humanists, feminists, homosexuals, sex educators and environmentalists. The purpose of the Cultural Marxist project is to destroy and replace the traditional institutions of Western civilisation, such as Christianity, national identity and the nuclear family, through the use of ‘politically correct’ ideology and the portrayal of ‘white men as evil’.”*⁶³

The spectre of Cultural Marxism as a synonym for political correctness has been employed by many on the radical and even mainstream right.^{64, 65} However, David Lawrence et al. warn that such “sanitisation” of the term obscures its “roots in the flagrantly antisemitic campaigns against ‘Cultural Bolshevism’”, stressing that among members of the extreme right these “antisemitic undertones remain intact”.⁶⁶ Similarly, the Community Security Trust has stressed that although mainstream Conservative politicians may not use the phrase with antisemitic intentions, “it will be received as a code by far-right antisemites”.⁶⁷

Indeed, Tanner Mirrlees details that, in Nazi Germany, the term “Cultural Bolshevism” was used as an antisemitic catch-all by Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels in “attacking any group of people or modernist cultural trend that they perceived to be corrupting or leading to the degeneracy of traditional German society”.⁶⁸ Jérôme Jamin adds that this concept was reignited by Conservative think tanks and extreme-right movements in the late 1990s and simply relabelled Cultural Marxism.⁶⁹

There is significant overlap between the ZOG and Cultural Marxism conspiracies: both envisage powerful Jewish insiders in important institutions, such as the government or media, working to influence and restrict society explicitly with the demise of the white race in

60 Rachel Busbridge, Benjamin Moffitt, and Joshua Thorburn, “Cultural Marxism: far-right conspiracy theory in Australia’s culture wars”, *Social Identities Vol.26 No.6*, (2020), 723

61 Ward, “Skin in the Game”

62 Bill Berkowitz, “‘Cultural Marxism’ Catching On”, *Southern Poverty Law Centre*, 15 August 2003, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2003/cultural-marxism-catching>

63 Busbridge, “Cultural Marxism”, 725

64 Peter Walker, “Tory MP criticised for using antisemitic term ‘cultural Marxism’”, *The Guardian*, 26 March 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/mar/26/tory-mp-criticised-for-using-antisemitic-term-cultural-marxism>

65 Berkowitz, “‘Cultural Marxism’ Catching On”

66 David Lawrence, Limor Simhony-Philpott, and Danny Stone, “Antisemitism and Misogyny: Overlap and Interplay”, *Hope not Hate and Antisemitism Policy Trust*, (2021), 13

67 Community Security Trust, “Antisemitic Discourse in Britain 2020”, (2021), 21

68 Tanner Mirrlees, “The Alt-Right’s Discourse of ‘Cultural Marxism’: A Political Instrument of Intersectional Hate”, *Atlantis Vol.39 No.1*, (2018), 53

69 Jérôme Jamin, “Cultural Marxism: A Survey”, *Religion Compass Vol.8 No.1*, (2018), 5

mind. The two can be thought of as complementary strands of a larger “superconspiracy”, a term coined by Michael Barkun to refer to “conspiratorial constructs in which multiple conspiracies are believed to be linked together hierarchically”.⁷⁰ This framing feeds into the simplified, binary world-view that characterises extremist movements, such as white supremacy, in which human history is divided into the absolutist categories of “good versus evil” or – to put it simply – the white race versus Jewish people and their allies.⁷¹

Ward outlines how this kind of conspiratorial thinking positions Jewish people as the “arch-nemesis of the White race”, the orchestrators of all the other perceived threats to white people.⁷² In this regard, the Great Replacement theory, one of the most far-reaching conspiracies within white supremacist movements, is believed to be ultimately tied to Jews as well. The theory “combines lines of biological and cultural racism to unite adherents in a sense of generalized paranoia where the racial and cultural integrity of the white race is perceived to be under threat from a combination of migration along with decreasing birth rates among white Europeans”.⁷³ The Anti-Defamation League shows that many white supremacists see Jewish people as responsible for the Great Replacement because they believe Jewish people have influence over non-white immigration to predominantly white countries.⁷⁴

More recently, David Lawrence et al. note that, as an extension of Cultural Marxism, the ‘Globohomo’ conspiracy theory has gained traction throughout the extreme right. The theory stipulates that “elites”, interpreted by much of the extreme right to be Jewish people, have control over “the media, business and other institutions [and] are seeking to eradicate differences between cultures and/or ethnic groups in order to impose a global ‘uniculture’.” The conspiracy plays on the extreme right’s anxiety surrounding what it regards to be traditionally white or European cultural values, with many promoters of the theory claiming that “the Globohomo scheme is ‘feminising’ or otherwise ‘weakening’ populations by pushing feminism, sexual freedom, gender fluidity, liberal values and immigration.”⁷⁵ This interplay between antisemitic conspiracies and anxiety surrounding sexual politics and customs often goes under-analysed in the context of the extreme right.

It is worth briefly noting that this imagined Jewish influence over sexual politics builds upon long-standing antisemitic stereotypes regarding Jewish sexuality. For example, Daniel Boyarin et al. examine the “relays between Jewishness and queerness, between homophobia and antisemitism” and note that “the popular notion that Jews embodied non-normative sexual and gender categories is long-standing”.⁷⁶ They argue that Jews have long been imagined as ‘doing gender differently’ and Jewish men have been characterised by a “weak and passive” effeminate masculinity, akin to that stereotypically associated with homosexuality.⁷⁷ Simon Theobald expands upon this notion, showing that this effeminate masculinity has often been used as a

70 Michael Barkun, “The Nature of Conspiracy Belief”, *A Culture of Conspiracy: Apocalyptic Visions in Contemporary America*, University of California Press, (2003), 6

71 Meleagrou-Hitchens, “Rise of the Reactionaries”, 15

72 Ward, “Skin in the Game”

73 Meleagrou-Hitchens, “Rise of the Reactionaries”, 42

74 The Anti-Defamation League, “The Great Replacement”: An explainer”, (2021), <https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/the-great-replacement-an-explainer>

75 Lawrence, “Antisemitism and Misogyny”, 13

76 Daniel Boyarin, Daniel Itzkovitz, and Ann Pellegrini, “Strange Bedfellows: An Introduction”, *Queer Theory and the Jewish Question*, Columbia University Press, (2003), 1

77 Ibid., 2

construct to “vilify” Jewish men, as being “unable to protect [their] way of life or family”.⁷⁸

By way of distinction, Marina Allal describes that the “stereotype of the ‘Jewess’ was built in contrast to a national ideal of femininity that upholds masculine domination”.⁷⁹ Boyarin et al. elaborate on this threatening stereotype, arguing that Jewish women have often been equated with images of “a dangerous seductress who might lead [Christian] men to their doom”. Yet they elaborate that behind “her sexual aggressiveness and deceit, the Jewess’s femininity was all show, a cover for femininity’s failure, hence the paradox that the Jewess could be at once too much and not enough of a woman”.⁸⁰ Thus, whereas Jewish men have often been regarded as weak, women have been coded as predatory and sexually immodest. Boyarin et al. argue further that these gendered differences have historically been employed to articulate and construct racialised constructions of Jewishness, contributing to notions of a biologically distinct Jewish race, and thereby coding Jews as the ultimate ‘other’.⁸¹

In the collective imagination of the extreme right, these perceived gendered differences combine with other existing antisemitic concepts to construct a notion of a predatory Jewish race focused on the downfall of Western society by ‘spreading’ practices of sexual degeneracy. Such ideas were prevalent in Nazi Germany where Jewish people, alongside other minorities such as the Roma, were believed to be sexually corrupt and were regarded as a “symptom of social disorder and, as such, came to represent both the figure of a traitor and the agent of the nation’s dissolution”.⁸²

This antisemitic attitude, which associates Jewishness with sexual perversion and the subversion of societal norms, persists within white supremacist discourse today. Quoting from David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, Kristoff Kerl outlines narratives common in extreme-right movements that regard Jewish people as having “used sexuality as a means to sustain and extend their societal power by destroying “the morality and values of the Western world”.⁸³ Ideas such as these build upon constructions of Cultural Marxism that frame Jewish people as having access and power over cultural institutions to influence public opinion. They imagine that this power is utilised in the “spreading of ‘obscene’ cultural products” that challenge “the patriarchal sexual order” and thus constitute “a threat for white supremacy”.⁸⁴ In this way, various antisemitic conspiracies and stereotypes merge to form a framework in which perceived Jewish influence over sexual practices and politics is regarded as a threat to the white race. It is this dynamic that the next, final section of this paper will examine in depth.

78 Simon Theobald, “Sex through a Hole in a Sheet: Anti-Semitic Motifs and the Mythologising of Orthodox Sexuality in the Twentieth-Century Western *Zeitgeist*”, in Andrew Kip, ed., *The Ashgate Research Companion of Contemporary Religion and Sexuality*, Routledge, (2012), 291

79 Marina Allal, “Antisémitisme, Hiérarchies Nationales et de Genre: Reproduction et Réinterprétation des Rapports de Pouvoir”, *Raisons Politiques* No.24, (2006), 135

80 Boyarin, “Strange Bedfellows”, 6

81 Ibid., 2

82 Ibid., 9

83 Kristoff Kerl, “‘Oppression by Orgasm’: Pornography and Antisemitism in Far-Right Discourses in the United States since the 1970s”, *Studies in American Jewish Literature* Vol.39 No.1, (2020), 118

84 Ibid., 117

4 Sexual Practices as a Cultural Marxist Threat to White Families in the NMA Collective Imagination

Constructions of Jewish influence over sexual practices are commonplace throughout extreme-right propaganda, manifestos and writings. This section will draw on these primary resources from NMA movements and actors specifically, to demonstrate how various sexual practices and aspects of sexual politics are framed as being anti-white and how these narratives are inextricably linked to antisemitism. It will first detail the prevalence of Cultural Marxism in the NMA movements studied here and how that conspiracy theory is interpreted to relate to sexuality and constructions of traditional white families. Then, three examples of gender and sexual politics disavowed by many NMA movements will be analysed in terms of their relationship to antisemitism. Namely, NMA movements' hostile attitude towards feminism, pornography, and homosexuality and transness will be examined in depth. Although this section is by no means exhaustive, it aims to cover some of the most dominant narratives in relation to sexuality and antisemitism that are common throughout many such movements.

Cultural Marxism, Sexuality and the Family

It is first necessary to demonstrate briefly how aspects of perceived 'deviant' sexualities are linked to Jewish people within the NMA movements analysed here. As outlined above, Cultural Marxism is one of the most dominant conspiracies among the extreme right. In his *Siege Culture* writings, James Mason, the ideological figurehead of Atomwaffen Division, describes how media institutions have "been subverted and taken over by Jews. From newspapers to radio to Hollywood to television, etc", and argues that the education system has been "likewise subverted and poisoned".⁸⁵ Mason elaborates on this paranoia in other writing, often describing society as "brainraped" by "a JEWISH media" intent on a "traitorous drive to subvert and to sell out our [white] people".⁸⁶ These same ideas are echoed in propaganda and writings produced by NMA movements inspired by Atomwaffen, as well as in writings produced by lone actors. In particular, John Earnest, the shooter at Poway synagogue in 2019, wrote that Jewish people were involved in a "meticulously planned genocide of the European race" that involved "lying and deceiving the public through their exorbitant role in new media".⁸⁷ Echoes of this conspiratorial

⁸⁵ James Mason, "A New Media", *Siege Culture*, 11 October 2017

⁸⁶ James Mason, "Islam", *Siege Culture*

⁸⁷ John Earnest, "An Open Letter", (2019), 1

thinking are also evident in the manifesto written by Brenton Tarrant, the Christchurch shooter, in 2019, which reads:

“Democracy is mob rule and the mob itself is ruled by our own enemies. The global and corporate ran press controls them, the education system (long since fallen to the long march through the institutions committed by the marxists) controls them, the state (long since heavily lost to its corporate backers) controls them and the anti-white media machine controls them.”⁸⁸

However, Tarrant does not explicitly link this perceived “control” of institutions to Jewish influence, an omission for which some fellow NMA extremists have criticised him.⁸⁹

Importantly, with the exception of Tarrant, these sources also explicitly suggest the perceived Jewish elite utilises its media power to spread the seeds of sexual degeneracy in society. For example, in the wake of the MeToo movement and the flurry of sexual-assault allegations against Hollywood producer Harvey Weinstein, Atomwaffen Division released a propaganda poster showing Weinstein groping a young girl above the tagline “Hitler, Rockwell, and Pierce warned you about sleazy Hollywood k*kes”.⁹⁰ Similar posters produced by the affiliated Feuerkrieg Division also allude to “a purportedly Jewish-controlled Hollywood and the base immorality purportedly within that industry”, with the implication that Jewish people wield their media influence to spread sexual degeneracy throughout society (Figure Two).^{91, 92} More explicit still is a meme shared by the group on their Telegram channel that simply depicts a heavily stereotyped Jewish man tattooed with the word “degeneracy” being shot by a man clad in a skull-mask posing under a Sonnenrad.⁹³ Indeed, this trope of Jewish-led sexual perversion is also evident in James Mason’s writings, in which he states: “the filth portrayed by Hollywood and television. Is it just trying to keep up with popular trends? Or is it actually leading the way? I assure you, it is the latter”.⁹⁴ Thus, the perception that Jewish people are targeting the white race by using media institutions to spread sexual perversion is commonplace throughout NMA movements and lone actors.

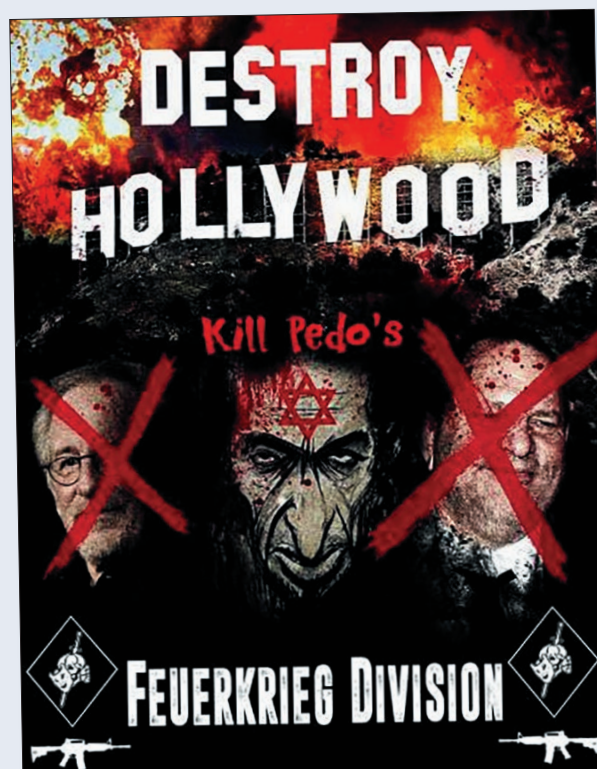


Figure Two: A poster produced by Feuerkrieg Division implying that Jewish people have control of Hollywood and are using this influence to promote paedophilia.

⁸⁸ Brenton Tarrant, “The Great Replacement”, (2019), 20

⁸⁹ Meleagrou-Hitchens, “Rise of the Reactionaries”, 81

⁹⁰ Atomwaffen Division website archive, 2 February 2018

⁹¹ Feuerkrieg Division Telegram archive, 19 November 2019. The group’s email address has been removed from the image by the author.

⁹² Johnson, “Siege Culture After Siege”, 7

⁹³ Feuerkrieg Division Telegram archive, 23 August 2019

⁹⁴ James Mason, “The Media”, *Siege Culture*, 30 August 2017

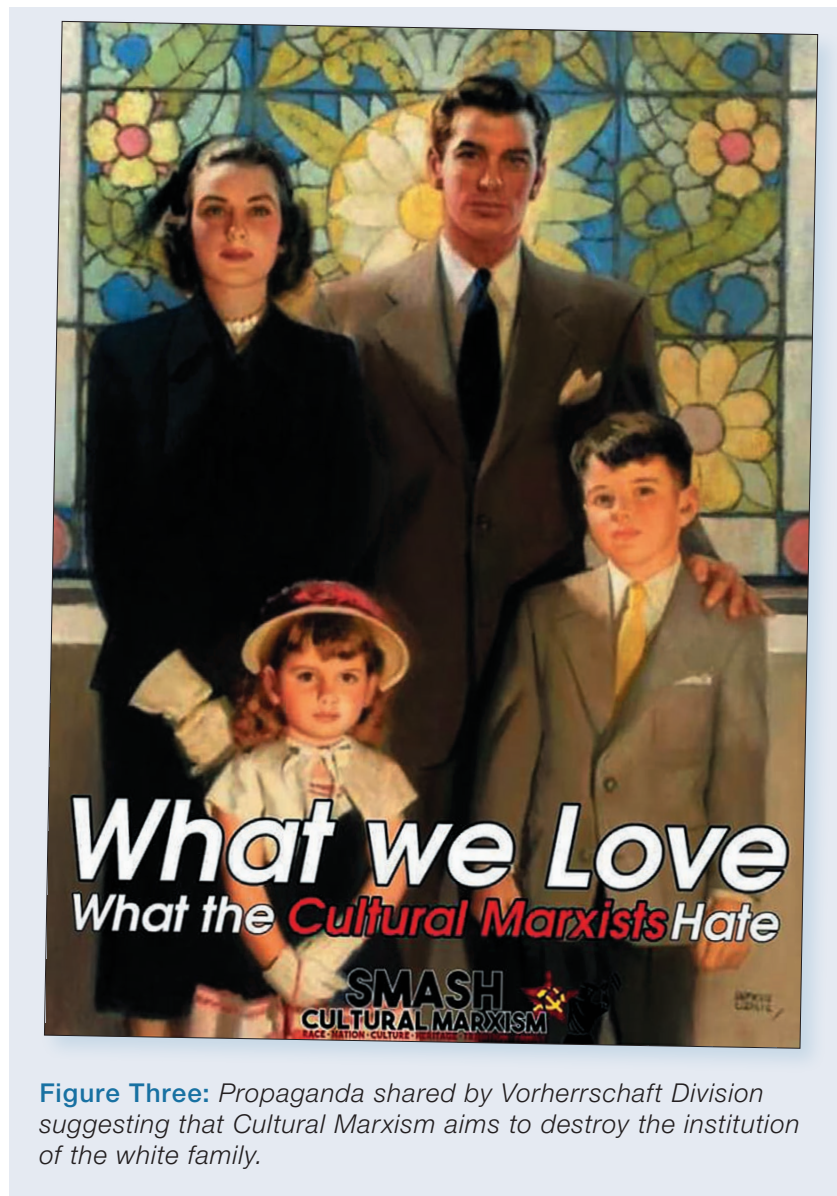


Figure Three: Propaganda shared by Vorherrschaft Division suggesting that Cultural Marxism aims to destroy the institution of the white family.

These movements also frame the white family as the ultimate target of Cultural Marxists. This is clearly evidenced in propaganda shared by Vorherrschaft Division, another node of the NMA network, which simply captions an image of a white, immaculately dressed, 1940's style, church-going family with "What we Love, What the Cultural Marxists Hate" (Figure Three).⁹⁵ The image implies that the collapse of Christian morality and the collapse of the family are one and the same, and that both are endangered by Cultural Marxism. In the same vein, Mason outlines that Jewish people have sought "to overturn our civilization and to destroy us as a people". He argues that if society was free of Jewish people, then "the family core would be re-established".⁹⁶ Thus, Cultural Marxism and, therefore, Jewish people are framed as an oppositional anti-white force with the aim of corrupting the white race by spreading sexual practices regarded as threatening to the traditional nuclear family.

⁹⁵ Vorherrschaft Division Telegram archive, 3 September 2019

⁹⁶ James Mason, "Those Who Want To Live", 3, 4

Feminism and Traditional Gender Roles

Specifically, one of the most far-reaching concepts thought to be pushed by a shadowy Jewish elite is feminism, which many NMA movements regard as being responsible for a wide array of social ills. Given the extreme importance NMA extremists attribute to the family unit and the production of children as a way to continue the racial lineage of white people, Julie Mostov observes that when racialised visions of the nation are perceived as being under threat, “gendered bodies become the object of control, from direct attacks on abortion rights, to racialized reproductive incentives and patriarchal narratives that stigmatize the other’s gendered practices, to family separations and decisions around deserving asylum seekers”.⁹⁷ Thus, individuals’ autonomy over their bodies, particularly women’s bodies, becomes a politicised object of scrutiny, as “control of women’s sexuality is tightly linked to control of national space and the transgressing of symbolic and physical borders”.⁹⁸

This dynamic is reflected in Mason’s writing, where he implies that sexual relationships becoming increasingly casual has endangered the white race. He states that “Our ancestors kept covered up and sex was confined, or limited, or restrained, to marriage. But WOW! What a sky high birthrate! I think they must have been onto something.”⁹⁹ Here Mason frames sex as an act best confined to marriage and for the purpose of creating white children, thereby implicitly suggesting that sex that takes place outside these confines is contrary to the goal of continuing the white race. Within many NMA movements, feminism is regarded as dangerous and implicitly negative, stemming from a Jewish influence that encourages women to have casual sex outside the confines of marriage. Earnest refers to feminism in this context in his manifesto, in which he writes that as part of the “planned genocide of the European race”, Jewish people have had a “role in feminism which has enslaved women in sin”.¹⁰⁰

This hostility towards feminism as a byproduct of Cultural Marxism is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by Stephan Balliet, who in 2019 attempted a mass-casualty shooting at a synagogue in Halle, Germany. Balliet explicitly frames feminism as part of a wider antisemitic conspiracy by linking it to immigration dynamics. In a short monologue during his livestream of the attack, he stated:

“...feminism is the cause of [the] decline of birth rates in [the] West, which acts as a scapegoat for mass immigration. And the root of all these problems is the Jew.”¹⁰¹

In the first half of this statement, Balliet indicates that (white) women’s newly increased autonomy over their sexuality has led to women having fewer children and thus jeopardising the continuation of the white race. This line of argument has resonance with the opening lines of Tarrant’s manifesto: “it’s the birthrates, it’s the birthrates, it’s the birthrates”. Yet unlike Tarrant, Balliet specifically attributes this to Jewish influence in feminism.¹⁰² In the latter half of the speech, Balliet also alludes to ways in which Jewish elites are perceived to leverage

97 Julie Mostov, “Populism is Always Gendered and Dangerous”, *Frontiers in Sociology*, 11 January 2021, <https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fsoc.2020.625385/full>

98 Mudde, “Gender”, 148

99 James Mason, “Pornography”, *Siege Culture*, 2

100 Earnest, “An Open Letter”, 1

101 Stephan Balliet, Livestream, (2019)

102 Tarrant, “The Great Replacement”, 3

sexual politics as a tool of the Great Replacement. He suggests that the declining (white) birth rate means that gaps in the domestic population must be filled through immigration. A variation of this same message is present in a meme shared by Vorherrschaft Division (which frequently frames Jewish people as being in control of the media) that shows the headlines of multiple newspaper articles using white models as the cover picture about living a “childfree” life. The image is captioned: “Low birth rates, huh? This totally justifies non-White mass migration.”¹⁰³ Therefore, Balliet is echoing a sentiment that is common throughout NMA circles and is making visible the usually implicit links between (women’s) sexual activity, sexual politics and immigration as tactics utilised by a supposed Jewish elite to endanger the white race.

Feminism is also regarded as a threat to the rigid gender binary. NMA movements frame it as being a centrally important precursor to raising white families. Cartoonish depictions of feminists are common throughout NMA propaganda. One meme circulated by Vorherrschaft Division, for instance, shows traditionally feminine and demure women from “slavic”, “Asian” and “Hispanic” backgrounds carrying flags representing their nations. These idealised depictions are juxtaposed with the image of a Western woman who is pictured with typically male genitalia and wearing a t-shirt that reads “check your privilege”, a phrase associated with feminism and a number of other social movements, such as Black Lives Matter.¹⁰⁴ Heavy-handed depictions such as these suggest that truly nationalistic women are demure and traditionally feminine, whereas Western women have been ‘masculinised’ by the corrosive influence of such social movements as feminism and therefore constitute a threat to the nation.

Parallel fears surround the perceived ‘feminization’ of men.¹⁰⁵ A meme shared by Vorherrschaft Division depicts the perceived “decline of white masculinity”, suggesting that over time white men have evolved to become more stereotypically feminine and that, by 2040, the average white male will be short and physically weak and have started to develop typically female anatomy.¹⁰⁶ Balliet also potentially alludes to this ‘feminization’ in his manifesto, where he calls for men to “dedomesticate” themselves.¹⁰⁷ Such anxiety over gender binaries is nearly ubiquitous throughout extreme-right spaces and, as Abby Ferber and Michael Kimmel note, is reflective of white supremacists’ fears that the “natural gender order” and thus the heterosexual nuclear family are threatened by feminism.

These fears surrounding gender hierarchies create an acute anxiety surrounding transgender people, who are framed as violating “essential and unchanging” “gender differences”.¹⁰⁸ This attitude is particularly clearly expressed in an Iron March propaganda poster that claims to show “The Algorithm of Liberal/ Cultural Marxist Views”. The poster shows a flow chart connecting various ideological viewpoints to the concept of egalitarianism. It suggests that feminism leads to the belief that “gender is not biological”, which in turn leads to “trans rights”. If trans rights are accepted, the flowchart indicates that “bestiality rights”, “incest rights” and “pedophilia rights” will

¹⁰³ Vorherrschaft Division Telegram archive, 10 December 2019

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 23 August 2019

¹⁰⁵ Abby Ferber and Michael Kimmel, “The Gendered Face of Terrorism”, *Sociology Compass* Vol.2 No.3, (2008), 878

¹⁰⁶ Vorherrschaft Division Telegram archive, 23 August 2019

¹⁰⁷ Stephan Balliet, “マニフェスト [Manifesto]”, (2019), 1

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 880

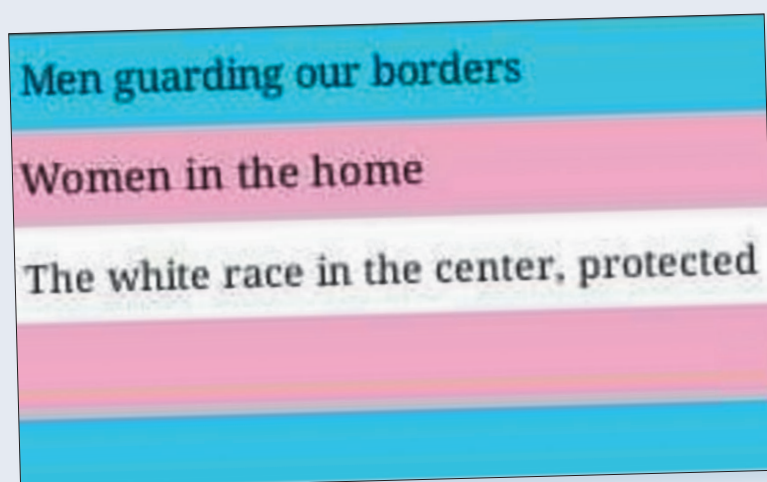


Figure Four: Propaganda shared by Feuerkrieg Division implying that trans people are a threat to the traditional gender roles that protect white families.

naturally follow.¹⁰⁹ The image therefore implies that any viewpoint that differentiates between sex and gender opens the floodgates to a wide array of social ills. A similar belief is reflected in a meme circulated by Feuerkrieg Division that bears the slogan “Men guarding our borders Women in the home The white race in the center, protected” written on the stripes of the transgender flag (Figure Four).¹¹⁰ The implication of the image is that trans people inherently threaten cis/heteronormative constructions of masculine and feminine gender roles and thus constitute a threat to the white race.

Pornography and Racial Replacement

Closely related to the disavowal of feminism is NMA movements’ acutely hostile relationship with pornography. Kerl provides an authoritative overview of extreme-right constructions of pornography as a Jewish-run industry with an “anti-white” agenda.¹¹¹ Mason takes this stance in his Siege Culture writings on pornography, stating “The masters of the media and most certainly the masters of pornography – the Jews – do not have at heart the best interests of our people”. He adds, pornography “must be ruled out of any decent, healthy and above all, White society”.¹¹² Similarly, Payton Gendron, the white supremacist Buffalo supermarket shooter, included multiple memes in his manifesto that frame Jewish people as controlling the pornography industry in order to target the white race. For example, one image shows the Happy Merchant figure, a cartoonish antisemitic portrayal of a stereotypical Jewish man, leering over the Wikipedia entry for the privately owned company ‘MindGeek’, which is the parent company for multiple pornography websites, including ‘PornHub’.¹¹³ The implication of the image is that MindGeek is an inherently Jewish

109 See: Bellingcat Investigation Team, “Massive White Supremacist Message Board Leak: How to Access and Interpret the Data”, *Bellingcat*, 6 November 2019, <https://www.bellingcat.com/resources/how-tos/2019/11/06/massive-white-supremacist-message-board-leak-how-to-access-and-interpret-the-data/>

110 Feuerkrieg Division Telegram archive, 5 December 2019

111 Kerl, ““Oppression by Orgasm”, 117

112 James Mason, “Pornography”, *Siege Culture*

113 Gendron, “Manifesto”, (2022), 53

company and thus that the pornography websites it owns are also controlled by Jewish people with malicious intent.

The ways in which pornography is thought to threaten the white race are multiple and far-reaching. However, one of the most common grievances held by NMA actors is that it promotes mixed-race relationships, which many in the far right refer to as “race mixing”. For instance, Mason claims that by repeatedly viewing the sexual relationships between white and non-white persons found on porn sites white people become “desensitised” to mixed-race relationships and to having children with non-white people, which he deems the “unforgivable sin [which] creates a new SATANIC line”.¹¹⁴ Therefore, Mason frames pornography as a tool of an imagined powerful Jewish elite who degrade the “racial purity” of white people by encouraging them to have mixed race children.¹¹⁵ This sentiment is often repeated through NMA propaganda. For example, Feuerkrieg Division has shared Telegram memes that state that “race-mixing is financed & led by Jews” and Earnest wrote that Jewish people are responsible “for causing many to fall into sin with their role in peddling pornography [and] for promoting race mixing”.^{116, 117} This extremely hostile attitude towards pornography is also reflected in Atomwaffen propaganda posters bearing the ‘Playboy’ logo that state that such “filth will be purged and destroyed” (Figure Five).¹¹⁸

Relatedly, other NMA extremists imply that pornography prevents white people from having relationships – and, thus, white children – at all. This view is expressed in Gendron’s manifesto, in which he writes: “[pornography] discourages actual relationships with actual people, which actively prevents births of the new generation ... This is only one of the reasons for the decay of the White race. This must be managed and controlled, or discouraged heavily.”¹¹⁹ Having explicitly framed the pornography industry as being controlled by Jewish people elsewhere in his manifesto, Gendron implies here that pornography is a tool used by Jewish people to prevent white men from having physical, romantic and sexual relationships and having white children. Thus pornography is framed as a Jewish-controlled force that threatens traditional family structures focusing on the production of white children and, by extension, the white race.

Pornography is also often regarded by NMA actors as a way in which Jewish people can corrupt the purity of white women and children. One meme shared by Feuerkrieg Division appears to show an online advertisement posted by a Jewish recruiter for the pornography industry. The advertisement is covered by the words “human trafficking” and “degeneracy” alongside the Happy Merchant meme. Another comment shown on the image in response to the advertisement reads “hi, I’m a part of a powerless group called the Jews and I want to molest your women and commit cultural violence against your people”.¹²⁰ The meme therefore frames pornography as a Jewish-run industry with the overall aim of harming vulnerable white women. In a similar vein, Mason also frames pornography as an instrument used by Jewish people to target and harm

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Kerl, “Oppression by Orgasm”, 118

¹¹⁶ Feuerkrieg Division Telegram archive, 17 February 2020

¹¹⁷ Earnest, “An Open Letter”, 1

¹¹⁸ Atomwaffen Division website archive, 2 February 2018. The address of the group’s website has been removed from the image by the author.

¹¹⁹ Gendron, “Manifesto”, 162

¹²⁰ Feuerkrieg Division Telegram archive, 25 September 2019



Figure Five: A poster produced by Atomwaffen Division framing pornography as “filth”.

children. Paradoxically, he claims that Jewish people, in league with governments and lawmakers, have attached heavy penalties to charges of possession of child sexual abuse material in order to make this content appear “mysterious, hot and alluring” and thus encourage people to seek it out.¹²¹ By positioning ‘helpless’ women and children as victims of pornography, these examples once again invoke stereotypes grounded in the sanctity of family and gender roles as a rallying cry for white, masculine men to rail against Jewish people who are seen to control the pornography industry.

Another particularly prominent reoccurring motif in NMA anti-porn narratives is that it is utilised in the strategic ‘demotivation’ of white men. Not only is pornography imagined to sow seeds of ‘anti-white sexual practices’ throughout society, but it is also seen as directly negatively impacting white men. In memes shared by

¹²¹ James Mason, “Pornography”



Figure Six: An image reshared by Exiled 393 framing pornography as created by Jewish people to stop white men from fighting against their perceived racial replacement. By positioning a masked white man with a firearm in the foreground of the image, it is implied that violence against Jewish people is justified in the perceived battle against the pornography industry. [The faces of two young women in the image have been obscured by the author.]

Feuerkrieg Division, for instance, a tongue-in-cheek advertisement by pornography company XHamster claiming that porn stops men from becoming violent was framed as an admission that “pornography is to keep White men docile”.¹²² Furthermore, the group has also shared posts encouraging its followers to stop “masturbating on Jewish porn, [and instead] go record n****r gore videos to radicalize your comrades”.¹²³ The framing of these posts indicates that pornography is regarded as a tool to distract white men from taking up arms against their racial replacement and to pacify them against violence. Similar posts by the NMA collective Exiled 393 describe pornography as a “[J]ewish tool to make you weaker”, again framing pornography as an invasive force that prevents white men from defending their race and families against replacement (Figure Six).¹²⁴ As NMA movements typically advocate that men should be the protectors of their family, pornography is regarded as a potentially corrupting force that weakens men and prevents them from being able to fulfil their duties to defend their family.¹²⁵ Kerl expands on this point, emphasising that “according to contemporary anti-porn campaigners, pornography is a technique of psychological warfare used by Jews to tranquilize the seemingly subjugated white people”.¹²⁶

¹²² Feuerkrieg Division Telegram archive, 30 October 2019

¹²³ Ibid., 13 December 2019. Asterisks inserted by the author.

¹²⁴ Exiled 393 Telegram archive, 16 June 2020. Image edited by author to obscure faces of two young women.

¹²⁵ Eviane Leidig, “From Love Jihad to Grooming Gangs: Tracing Flows of the Hypersexual Muslim Male through Far-Right Female Influencers”, *Religions* Vol.2 No.1083, (2021), 13

¹²⁶ Kerl, “Oppression by Orgasm”, 129

Homosexuality and Transness as a Threat to White Children

A pronounced intolerance to queerness is common between many NMA movements. A particularly comprehensive overview of many NMA actors' attitudes towards queerness in general is contained in Alexander Slavros's manuscript *The Fag Agenda*. Slavros, whose real name is Alisher Mukhitdinov, is the founder of the Iron March forum from which Atomwaffen originated. He has been a key "decision maker" within the movement and is a persistent influence within the extreme right and NMA sphere.¹²⁷ Several points are particularly salient within Slavros's argument. First, any sexuality or gender identity that falls outside cis-normative heterosexuality should be regarded as "degenerate sexual behaviour", which he terms "f*ggotry".¹²⁸ Second, the vast majority of queer people are not born queer; rather, queerness is the result of either "biological disorder, mental disorder, [or] sexual perversion" and fundamentally, being queer is regarded as a "choice" or "vice".¹²⁹ This construction implies therefore that someone can be 'made' or 'turned' queer through systems of coercion such as Cultural Marxism and that queerness is a disorder that can and should be "treated". Finally, Slavros argues that "Jewish influence in all of this is present", implying the Jewish people are responsible for spreading queerness and 'making' (young) people queer.¹³⁰ This doctrine, therefore, represents one of the clearest interpretations of non-heteronormative sexuality being considered as a deviant sexual practice influenced by Jewish people.

Importantly, as is clear from the title of the work, Slavros also envisages homosexuality and queerness as part of an 'agenda' with wider social aims. He frames homosexuality as a slippery slope, and its "acceptance leads to complete degradation of society and all norms, resulting in a free-for-all sexual jungle where everything is permissible, including pedophilia, incest and zoophilia".¹³¹ These behaviours, he argues, will ultimately "undermine anything that we [white people] strive for".¹³² Thus, just as with the perceived social ills of feminism and pornography, Slavros frames queerness as a threat orchestrated by Jewish people with the potential to undermine the societal structures of familial heteronormativity that lead to the continuation of the white race through reproduction. This framing is extremely common throughout NMA movements. For instance, the Feuerkrieg Division Telegram channel featured memes implying that the essence of being 'redpilled' was accepting "the fact that there is a Jewish elite using an army of sh*tskins, n****rs, feminists, lgbtq f*ggots, and other degenerates to destroy Western Civilisation and the European people".¹³³ Thus, these movements align on the Cultural Marxist notion that queerness and homosexuality are spread by Jewish people with the intention of undermining white families.

¹²⁷ Alexander Reid Ross, Emmi Bevenssee, and ZC, "Transnational White Terror: Exposing Atomwaffen and the Iron March Networks", *Bellingcat*, 19 December 2019, <https://www.bellingcat.com/news/2019/12/19/transnational-white-terror-exposing-atomwaffen-and-the-iron-march-networks/>

¹²⁸ Alexander Slavros, "The Fag Agenda", *Iron March*, (2020), 2. Asterisk inserted by the author.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2, 15

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 23

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 39

¹³² *Ibid.*, 33

¹³³ Feuerkrieg Division Telegram archive, 21 December 2019. Asterisks added by author.



Building upon longstanding antisemitic tropes of Jewish people as child abusers, NMA movements have also often invoked the Cultural Marxism conspiracy theory to frame homosexuality as both influenced by Jewish people, and linked to paedophilia. This is evidenced, again, by memes shared by Feuerkrieg Division that capture NMA actors' celebratory reactions to the downfall of alt-right influencer Milo Yiannopoulos (Figure Seven). Yiannopoulos, a formerly popular anti-feminist alt-right internet personality, experienced a severe fall from grace in early 2017 after interview footage of him surfaced appearing to condone paedophilia by claiming consensual relationships could take place between adults and minors in romantic relationships.¹³⁴ These comments were celebrated by many NMA actors who made the argument that because Yiannopoulos himself is a gay, Jewish man, his comments about child abuse confirmed the existence of a Jewish conspiracy to brainwash children into homosexuality and thus into sexual abuse. Evelyn Schlatter and Robert Steinback outline that hateful

¹³⁴ BBC News, "Milo Yiannopoulos dropped over paedophilia comments", 21 February 2017, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-39037244>

narratives linking homosexuality to paedophilia are common within the “anti-gay” movement.¹³⁵ Such stereotypes are also common throughout NMA movements. For instance, one poster created by Exiled 393 depicts a pride flag being set on fire accompanied by the caption “LGBT Pride Month: Being 3% of the population, committing 40% of sex crimes against children”.¹³⁶ Statistics such as these feature prominently throughout NMA movements’ homophobic propaganda and explicitly link homosexuality with child sexual abuse.

Agnieszka Graff and Elżbieta Korolczuk note that in campaigns against homosexuality and queer identities such as these, the “central motif – both rhetorical and visual – has almost invariably been the child in danger and the traditional family in need of protection”.¹³⁷ Eviane Leidig expands upon this observation, stating: “children symbolise the nuclear family unit as the foundation for a nationalist myth for the far-right. The vulnerability of children places women’s roles as nurturers and men’s role as protectors.”¹³⁸ The prevalence of children in NMA movements’ anti-queer propaganda frames queerness as a particularly egregious threat to white families and acts as a rallying point for both men and women to protect white children by opposing supposedly ‘predatory’ queer identities. Birgit Sauer suggests that this framing of children being put at risk by non-heterosexual sexualities is a particularly effective narrative device because it engages the kind of “heroic masculinity” espoused by the “right wing”, where men are regarded as able to protect weak and vulnerable women and children.¹³⁹

Within the NMA sphere, Jewish people are often specifically constructed as a sexual threat to white children. For instance, in Gendron’s manifesto, there is a meme implying that Jewish men partake in the ritual sexual assault of young children as part of Jewish religious practices.¹⁴⁰ Another image suggests that Jewish men assault youths as part of a “child-rape assembly line”.¹⁴¹ A similar narrative is reflected in propaganda shared by Feuerkrieg Division featuring an article headline about an Jewish man who received no jail time for allegedly sharing indecent images of children.¹⁴² The meme implies that supposed Jewish elites are able to use their influence over the legal system to abuse children sexually without ramifications.

This framing of the white child in danger from Jewish people is prominent throughout NMA movements’ propaganda against homosexuality and, increasingly, in propaganda targeting trans people. Given the framing of queerness as a choice or something that can be influenced in others outlined by Slavros, much of this anxiety surrounds children being ‘turned’ homosexual or trans by

¹³⁵ Evelyn Schlatter and Robert Steinback, “10 Anti-Gay Myths Debunked”, *Southern Poverty Law Center*, 27 February 2011, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2011/10-anti-gay-myths-debunked>

¹³⁶ Exiled 393, Instagram, (2020)

¹³⁷ Agnieszka Graff and Elżbieta Korolczuk, “Mapping the anti-gender campaigns as a global movement: From religious trend to political struggle”, *Anti-Gender Politics in the Populist Moment*, (2022), 58

¹³⁸ Leidig, “From Love Jihad to Grooming Gangs”, 13

¹³⁹ Sauer, “Authoritarian Right-Wing Populism”, 26

¹⁴⁰ Gendron, “Manifesto”, 38

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 46

¹⁴² Feuerkrieg Division Telegram archive, 12 November 2019

exposure at schools or through the media, institutions seen to be controlled by Jewish people. For instance, in messages shared by Feuerkrieg Division, the group stated: “saying you’re another gender when they [the Gods] made a path for your future is disgusting, and unnatural. This, is the word of the k*ke... for example cultural Marxists at school”.¹⁴³ Other memes shared by the movement echo this theme of a creeping indoctrination of young children, again linking transness with paedophilia, suggesting that the current gay rights movement wants to “indoctrinate your kids, mutilate their genitals and f*ck them”.¹⁴⁴ The latter meme, in particular, demonstrates that Jewish people are often framed as wanting to ‘turn’ white children trans not only as a threat to the white race but also for their own sexual gratification.

The fixation on trans youth is particularly clearly evidenced within Gendron’s manifesto, which contains memes implying Jewish people are turning white children transgender. One displays the tagline: “Who is Behind the Rise in Transgenderism?” above three pictures of white trans children alongside clippings of news headlines that note that the number of young people identifying as transgender has recently increased. Beneath these pictures of children, the names of various transgender-rights charities are displayed alongside pictures of their founders, each with a Star of David attached to them. The implication of the image is clear: Jewish people are seen to be encouraging young white children to identify as transgender under the guise of charities set up to help trans people.¹⁴⁵ A second meme shows a clipping from a 2013 news story featuring an interview with the Jewish founder of an American summer camp for transgender and gender-variant youth. The clipping is juxtaposed with the Happy Merchant meme and the caption: “yes white goyim give your [male] children to me and I’ll make them think they’re girls... thus they’ll all either kill themselves or become genetic dead ends”.¹⁴⁶ Again, the meme implies that Jewish people, as represented by the Happy Merchant meme, are deliberately ‘turning’ white children trans. It also states that the reason Jewish people wish to turn white children trans is to make them “genetic dead ends”, unable to have white children and therefore endangering the genetic survival of the white race. Although this rationale is grounded in a prejudiced misunderstanding – many trans people are able to have their own biological children – the image nonetheless clearly implies that Jewish people are encouraging white children to ‘become transgender’ in order to stop them having their own children at a later date and therefore continuing the biological lineage of the white race.

Propaganda shared by Vorherrschaft Division echoes these themes, suggesting that modern NMA actors are being radicalised as a consequence of modern society, which is enacting the “replacement” of white nations partly by convincing white parents that their “sons need hormone therapy, and [their] daughters need

¹⁴³ Ibid., 2 November 2019. Asterisk inserted by author.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 3 November 2019. Asterisk inserted by author.

¹⁴⁵ Payton Gendron, “Yeah”, (2022), 44

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 45

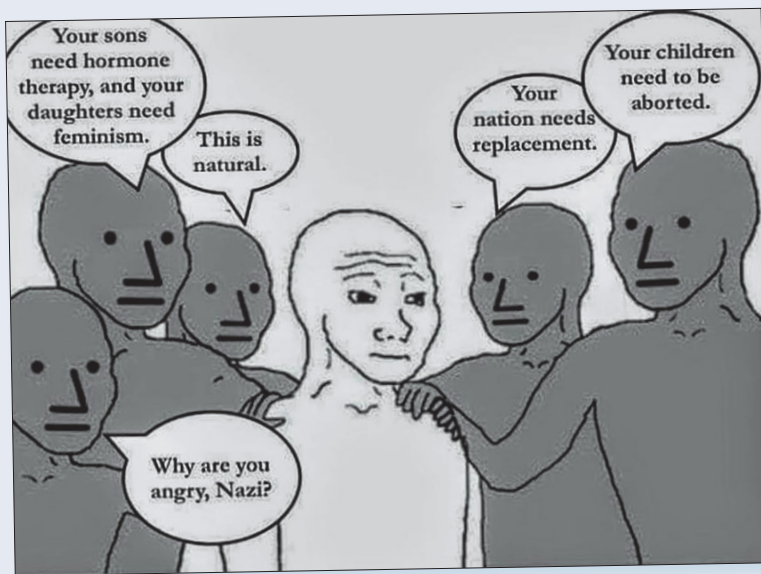


Figure Eight: An image shared by Vorherrschaft Division implying that men are radicalised into Nazism because of societal forces, such as a presumed compulsion of children to gender transition.

feminism" (Figure Eight). In this propaganda, paranoia surrounding inverted gender roles is again echoed as a threat to the continuation of the nation. In later posts, the movement explicitly links these concerns to the perceived influence of Jewish people, stating that followers could radicalise their co-workers by bringing up the perceived influence of Jewish people in turning children trans.¹⁴⁷ This anxiety surrounding queer and trans children is a continuation of antisemitic discourses that frame Jewish people as predatory. By centring homophobic and anti-trans propaganda around the protection of (white) children, NMA movements again frame queerness as a threat to white families.

¹⁴⁷ Vorherrschaft Division Telegram archive, 20 August 2019

5 Conclusion and Future Directions

This paper has examined the interactions between anti-gender narratives surrounding sex and sexuality and antisemitism within NMA movements. It has demonstrated that various aspects of sexual politics are constructed as being anti-family by NMA actors and thus as being anti-white. Cultural Marxism frames Jewish people as being responsible for spreading these sexual practices with the ultimate goal of exterminating the white race. This outlook therefore combines prejudices surrounding gender, sexuality and race with antisemitism in a framework of intersectional hate.

This analysis is important for a number of reasons. All of the NMA movements studied here have advocated for the use of violence against LGBTQ+ persons; many have done so against feminists. In the United Kingdom, hate crimes targeted against gay and trans people reportedly soared since 2019, with the charity Stop Hate UK highlighting that transgender people were more likely to experience threats of physical or sexual violence compared with the LGBTQ+ community as a whole.^{148, 149} Given the grave nature of these statistics, it is of the utmost importance to understand hateful narratives directed at these protected groups from NMA movements and the broader extreme right.

Erik Ward also warns that extreme hatred does not exist in a vacuum. He states “what is explicit on the margins is implicit in the center, in ways we have not yet begun to unpack”.¹⁵⁰ This sentiment is particularly poignant in relation to anti-gender campaigns. Agnieszka Graff and Elżbieta Korolczuk warn that anti-gender discourse can act as a mainstreaming strategy for the extreme right. They note that “by focusing on the ‘natural family’ and combining it with welfare-chauvinist positions, the extreme right attracts mainstream audiences, while side-stepping explicit racism and ethno-nationalism”.¹⁵¹ This is particularly concerning given the prevalence of anti-gender talking points and trans-rights discussions within the mainstream, political so-called ‘culture wars’.^{152, 153} A much clearer understanding of the interplay between these discourses and the extreme right is required.

Similarly, further work is needed to examine the overlap and differences between the framing of sexual politics within other extremist movements. Various adherents of the QAnon movement, for example, have echoed anti-trans conspiracies linking trans children to paedophile

148 Léonie Chao-Fong, “Recorded homophobic hate crimes soared in pandemic, figures show”, *The Guardian*, 3 December 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/dec/03/recorded-homophobic-hate-crimes-soared-in-pandemic-figures-show>

149 Stop Hate UK, “Transgender Hate”, (2021), <https://www.stophateuk.org/about-hate-crime/transgender-hate/>

150 Ward, “Skin in the Game”

151 Graff, “Anti-Gender Politics”, 27

152 Janeen Hayat, “The culture war over ‘LGBT lessons’ is based on distortion. Here are the facts”, *The Guardian*, 12 April 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/apr/12/culture-war-lgbt-lessons-relationship-education>

153 Heather Stewart and Jessica Elgot, “Gay and trans rights issues divide both Tories and Labour”, *The Guardian*, 1 April 2022, <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2022/apr/01/gay-and-trans-rights-issues-divide-both-tories-and-labour>

“cabals”.¹⁵⁴ Further examinations could help to elucidate the nexus between anti-gender narratives and antisemitism within this space. The prevalence of Cultural Marxism narratives within other movements and the frequency with which they are linked to overt antisemitism would also provide a useful case study.

In all, NMA hatred towards Jewish people and any individual seen to violate its rigid constructions of normative gender or sexuality is longstanding. However, further work is needed to understand how these concepts intersect and, ultimately, how further hatred and violence towards these groups can be prevented.

¹⁵⁴ Blyth Crawford and Marc-André Argentino, “QAnon Women in Politics Part One: The QAnon Candidates”, *Global Network on Extremism and Technology*, 28 April 2021, <https://gnet-research.org/2021/04/28/qanon-women-in-politics-part-one-the-qanon-candidates/>



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