

## Module 1: Right-wing Extremism

# CLIO

Challenging Hostile Views and Fostering Civic Competences

Co-funded by the  
Erasmus+ Programme  
of the European Union



Oct 2021

## Project information

Project Acronym:	CLIO
Project Title:	Challenging Hostile Views and Fostering Civic Competences
Project Number:	2019-1-DE02-KA202-006185
National Agency:	NaBibb
Project Website:	<a href="http://www.clio-project.eu">www.clio-project.eu</a>
Authoring Partner:	Institut für Didaktik der Demokratie, Leibniz University Hannover
Document Version:	1.00
Date of Preparation:	18.01.2022



*This project was funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the authors. The Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the content. Project number: 2019-1-DE02-KA202-006185*

## Consortium



Leibniz  
Universität  
Hannover

Institut für Didaktik der Demokratie  
Leibniz Universität Hannover,  
Deutschland

[www.idd.uni-hannover.de/en](http://www.idd.uni-hannover.de/en)



Institut für  
Didaktik der  
Demokratie



Technical school Nikola Tesla,  
Vukovar,  
Croatia

[www.ss-tehnicka-ntesla-vu.skole.hr](http://www.ss-tehnicka-ntesla-vu.skole.hr)



Zespół Szkół Poligraficznych,  
Warsaw,  
Poland

[www.www.zspoligraf.pl](http://www.www.zspoligraf.pl)



Warsaw Centre for Socio-Educational  
Innovation and Training,  
Warsaw,  
Poland

[www.wcies.edu.pl](http://www.wcies.edu.pl)



Nansen Dialogue Centre, Osijek,  
Croatia

[www.www.ndcosijek.hr](http://www.www.ndcosijek.hr)



Demokratiezentrum Wien,  
Österreich

[www.demokratiezentrum.org](http://www.demokratiezentrum.org)

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Clio Project.....	5
1. Overview .....	6
2. What does right-wing extremism mean?.....	6
3. Historical context: why and when does right-wing extremism gain importance in a society? .....	8
4. Excursus: individual reasons for the tendency towards a right-wing extremist mindset.....	10
5. Excursus: further key terms associated with right-wing extremism .....	11
6. How do i recognise right-wing extremists? (see app) .....	13
7. What strategies do right-wing extremist groups use? .....	20
Simple solutions to complex problems .....	21
Scapegoats.....	21
Engaging with highly emotionalised topics .....	21
Spamming .....	22
"We" and the "Others" – Ideologies of inequality .....	22
Anti-establishment rhetoric.....	23
Right-wing extremism in a new design .....	23
8. Why is right-wing extremism dangerous for democracies?.....	24
9. Exercises you can use when teaching about right-wing extremism .....	26
10. Where to turn to? NGOs & networks that can help you learn more .....	27
11. Literature .....	28
12. Further reading .....	30

## THE CLIO PROJECT

---

Clio is a project for the prevention and coping with right-wing extremism at vocational schools. Teachers and headmasters should be enabled to recognize and understand the corresponding positions among their students and to stand up for democratic values without fear. For this purpose, interdisciplinary experts from Austria, Poland, Croatia and Germany are developing various materials for vocational school teachers in close cooperation with the target group, such as an app, a blended learning training and a podcast. The main focus of this project is to build synergetic networks with other stakeholders in the individual countries in order to strengthen the schools and provide them with knowledge and professionally created material.



## 1. OVERVIEW

In this module you will learn...

- ... basic definitions of right-wing extremism
- ... the historic origin of right-wing extremism
- ... individual reasons for the tendency towards a right-wing extremist mindset
- ... further key terms associated with right-wing extremism
- ... how to recognise right-wing extremists
- ... what strategies right-wing extremists use to gather support
- ... why right-wing extremism is dangerous for democracies

At the end of the text, you will find exercises you can use while teaching about right-wing extremism. The Module also provides useful resources for further information, or help in concrete situations, as well as “further reading”, if you would like to learn more.

### Self-assessment questions

Answer the following questions for yourself:

- What does right-wing extremism mean to you? Come up with a definition in a few sentences.
- What experiences with right-wing extremism do you have?
- Why do you think right-wing extremism could be a threat to our societies?
- If you encountered right-wing extremism in the past: What feelings did you have in the situation?
- How did you deal with it? Are you satisfied in retrospect with how you reacted?

## 2. WHAT DOES RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM MEAN?

There is no generally accepted definition of right-wing extremism in science or in politics. Rather, there are many different definitions with different emphases. This section will give you a short overview over the most important characteristics of right-wing extremism.

The Austrian historian Willibald Holzer whose work on the subject is largely accepted among scholars advanced an extensive definition of right-wing extremism, including several ideological key factors and political demands. These are<sup>1</sup>:

- **Strong sense of and the desire of belonging to a national community (Volksgemeinschaft)**  
The mythologically romanticised idea of “the people” (Volk) and “the national community” (Volksgemeinschaft) are considered as the most important form of social community. The purity of this “völkisch”-national identity that is constructed as an allegedly “natural category” is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Holzer, Willibald (1993): Rechtsextremismus – Konturen, Definitionsmerkmale und Erklärungsansätze. In: DÖW (Hg.): Handbuch des österreichischen Rechtsextremismus, p. 11-96, p. 34-58.

perceived as threatened by a multicultural, open and pluralistic society and the modern globalised world.

- **Ethnocentrism, ethnopluralism, nationalism, and the exclusion of the “other”**  
The idea of superiority of the own “people” (ethnocentrism) creates a strong “We-feeling” that necessarily results in excluding “the others” and generally entails nationalism and racism. Even though ethnopluralism does not deny other “people” their right to exist, it is nevertheless racist as it demands to establish the allegedly original state of “ethnic purity” by opposing the “ethnic other”. It is also a political slogan of the New Right.
- **Rejection of democratic principles (anti-liberalism, anti-pluralism, minority rights)**  
The liberal, pluralistic concept of a democracy with the protection of minorities and equality is constructed as a threat to a “natural” society that is characterised by a fundamental and “natural” inequality of people.
- **Anti-socialism**  
Socialist endeavours that ultimately promote the support and emancipation of the socially deprived are strongly opposed as they undermine the “natural” inequality of people.
- **Authoritarianism**  
As an alternative to liberal and pluralistic democratic rule, authoritarian concepts of power, expressed by the call for a strong state with a strong leader and the undermining of parliamentary control, are demanded. Often, these authoritarian approaches are described as the “real democracy”. Direct-democratic procedures like referendums can be a popular and constitutionally legitimate political strategy as they reflect the will of “the people”. They also obscure anti-democratic purposes (democratic mimicry).<sup>2</sup>
- **Stereotyped construction of the “enemy” and scapegoats**  
The strong “We-feeling” inevitably results in the distinction of “the other” group, such as Jewish people, asylum-seekers, people of colour, feminists, etc. as a substitutable scapegoat and is depicted as the cause for various social problems. This entails the formation of conspiracy myths. (See Module 7)
- **Recourse to tradition and nationalising approach to history**  
The sense of belonging to an ethnically homogenous “people” is constructed as a historical continuity and serves as a model of orientation and identity. Selected parts of a national history are used to confirm this identity. Other parts are denied or reinterpreted in order to fit in the “only true historical truth” (historical revisionism) e.g., Holocaust denial and relativisation.

It is crucial to understand that right-wing extremism is not a rigid and unchangeable phenomenon. The theoretical key factors and political demands listed above can be more or less significant in reality. This means that not all seven aspects have to be met in order to speak of right-wing extremism. The minimum is the interpretation of (social) differences in people as “natural” inequality.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, according to Holzer, “nature” can be identified as the underlying principle of the right-wing extremist ideology

---

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Peham, Andreas (o.J.) Rechtsextremismus als politische und pädagogische Herausforderung. ([https://www.doew.at/cms/download/5gm50/peham\\_rechtsextremismus\\_paedagogik.pdf](https://www.doew.at/cms/download/5gm50/peham_rechtsextremismus_paedagogik.pdf)), p. 4. Accessed: 16 September 2020.

and the resultant political demands. The “laws of nature” justify the fundamental inequality of people that is propagated by right-wing extremism.<sup>4</sup> Another key term regarding the principle of “nature” is Social Darwinism. This theory was popular from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the end of World War II. Social Darwinists pledged that the same law of natural selection shaped by Charles Darwin which explains the development of plants and animals can be applied to humans, i.e. the survival of the fittest.<sup>5</sup>

The German extremism researchers Quent and Schulz speak of right-wing extremism as an organised phenomenon that describes various forms of action and organisation based on **ideologies of inequality**. According to the two researchers, right-wing extremists pursue the goal of gaining supremacy in politics and culture. This goal is based on racism or nationalism. The subordination, suppression or even elimination of other ethnic, (sub-) cultural or political phenomena is included, intended or at least accepted.<sup>6</sup>

This definition reveals that **ideologies of inequality**, such as racism, sexism or antisemitism are used as strategies of right-wing extremists. These ideologies suppress certain groups on the basis of a supposed “natural” inequality and attribute certain (negative) and allegedly innate characteristics to them.

### Exercise: Comparison of definitions

Revisit the various definitions of right-wing extremism and answer the following questions:

- Where are the differences between these definitions?
- Where do you recognise overlaps?
- Which of the definitions do you think is more accurate in your opinion and why?
- Would you add something to the definition of right-wing extremism?
- Could you think of any examples of groups in your city/state/country that matches some of these criteria?

## 3. HISTORICAL CONTEXT: WHY AND WHEN DOES RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM GAIN IMPORTANCE IN A SOCIETY?

The reasons for the emergence of right-wing extremism in history are complex. Scholars suggest that various, mutually influential factors cause the rise of right-wing extremism. These include the particular political and economic system, the current appeal of right-wing extremism in political programmes,

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2008): Social Darwinism. (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-Darwinism>). Accessed: 16 September 2020.

<sup>6</sup> Quent/Schulz (2015), Rechtsextremismus in lokalen Kontexten. Vier vergleichende Fallstudien, p. 10.

the weight of remembered historical experiences (e.g., National Socialism in Germany) and also individual factors in a person that are described below.<sup>7</sup> Right-wing extremism is therefore a phenomenon that has dynamically evolved in history in different societies over longer periods of time.<sup>8</sup>

For this reason, it is difficult to determine the exact beginning of right-wing extremism. Scholars however agree that the initial emergence of right-wing extremist ideas is connected to the modernisation process in industrial societies in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Current right-wing extremism can also be seen as a reaction to structural changes in modern societies. This structural change due to modernisation in capitalist societies in the 19<sup>th</sup> century went along with the growing influence of competitive thinking, the weakening of solidarity structures and an increasing social isolation of the individual.<sup>9</sup> As a result, some people feel left behind and urge to reinstate familiar social structures that right-wing extremist ideas promote.<sup>10</sup>

Moreover, with the French civil rights movement at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of the nation state and thereby nationalist aspirations became more dominant in Europe within the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which ultimately led to the foundation of nation-states in Italy and Germany.<sup>11</sup> This created the basis for nationalism, which is a defining element of right-wing extremism. The emergence of right-wing extremist ideas is therefore also rooted in these historic nationalist aspirations that often called for a linguistically, culturally, and increasingly also for an ethnically homogenous political body.<sup>12</sup>

Well-known historical antecedents of modern right-wing extremism are the fascist regimes in Germany and Italy in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Regarding the occurrence of fascism in these countries, conservative elites played a major role in enabling fascist parties to become dominant political forces.<sup>13</sup>

After World War II and the defeat of the fascist regimes in Europe, right-wing extremist groups and parties appeared in many democratic countries. In the immediate post-war period in Germany and Austria, such groups tried to re-establish fascist or right-wing extremist agendas. This was inhibited by the Allied forces.<sup>14</sup> However, it can be stated that European right-wing parties have been particularly successful in elections since the 1980s.<sup>15</sup> We can conclusively state that the roots for right-wing extremism in Europe lead back to the structural change in modern societies due to industrialisation and capitalism on the one hand and the initial rise of nationalist movements in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century

---

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), p. 85.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), pp. 33, 92.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), pp. 85-90.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Scheuner, Ulrich (1974): Nationalstaatsprinzip und Staatenordnung seit dem Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts, in: Theodor Schieder (Hg.), Staatsgründungen und Nationalitätsprinzip, pp. 11-13; 20-21.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Scheuner (1974), pp. 23-29.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. von Beyme, Klaus (1988): Right-wing extremism in Post-war Europe, in Klaus von Beyme (ed.): Right-wing extremism in Post-war Europe, pp. 1-19, p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> Oscar W. Gabriel (1996): Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Europa: Struktur, Entwicklung und Verhaltensimplikationen, 344.

on the other hand. **Ideologies of inequality** however, like racism and antisemitism that are an integral element of right-wing extremism go back much further (see following Modules).

Nevertheless, right-wing extremism developed differently in European countries in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. And even though right-wing extremism historically emerged in Western Europe, it manifested itself also outside of (Western) Europe in movements and political parties. For example, the far-right and white supremacist movements in the United States such as the Ku-Klux Klan or the right-wing extremist MHP party in Turkey. Another example is the “Russian Imperial Movement”.

**Tipp:** In the section "Literature" you can find recommended literature on the various developments of right-wing extremism in different European countries.

## 4. EXCURSUS: INDIVIDUAL REASONS FOR THE TENDENCY TOWARDS A RIGHT-WING EXTREMIST MINDSET

Since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, social scientists have been repeatedly trying to determine the reasons why certain people are particularly receptive to right-wing extremist ideas. The concept of the “authoritarian personality”<sup>16</sup> (1950) for example, identifies the susceptibility for a right-wing extremist mindset as a weak character trait that impedes the ability to put up with ambiguous situations and conflicting external requirements. Right-wing extremism as an ideology with rather clear instructions<sup>17</sup> serves as an appealing orientation model that also offers the belonging to a collective identity.<sup>18</sup>

Another approach argues that not only “weak” characters feel drawn to right-wing extremism but that hubris and arrogance in a person can also lead to these mindsets.<sup>19</sup> By now, social scientists mostly agree over the fact that the susceptibility to right-wing extremist ideas does not necessarily have to be rooted in the early childhood socialisation of a person, as initially assumed, but can rather develop, emerge and be (re-) activated over a lifetime.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that right-wing extremist ideas can be found in the whole political spectrum and also in the so-called middle of a society.<sup>21</sup>

### Exercise: Association ABC

<sup>16</sup> See Adorno et al. (1950): The Authoritarian Personality.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Holzer, Willibald (1993): Rechtsextremismus – Konturen, Definitionsmerkmale und Erklärungsansätze. In: DÖW (Hg.): Handbuch des österreichischen Rechtsextremismus, pp. 11-96, p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), p. 77.

<sup>19</sup> See Heitmeyer, Wilhelm (1987): Rechtsextremistische Orientierungen bei Jugendlichen. Empirische Ergebnisse und Erklärungsmuster einer Untersuchung zur politischen Sozialisation.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), p. 79.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), pp. 25/26, 81/82.

Write the letters of the alphabet one below the other on a sheet of paper. Now enter terms that you associate with right-wing extremism in the list for each initial letter. This brainstorming method can help you to collect your ideas and to figure out your own level of knowledge.

## 5. EXCURSUS: FURTHER KEY TERMS ASSOCIATED WITH RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

The information given above clearly shows that right-wing extremism is a highly complex and flexible phenomenon and that its historic emergence and modern manifestations are subject to scholarly debates. The fact that other terms are frequently used wrongly as synonyms for the term right-wing extremism complicates the matter even more. In the following, other terms that are associated with right-wing extremism are explained in order to highlight the differences.

### Right-wing radicalism

This term is often used as a synonym for right-wing extremism. It can express a “milder” form of right-wing extremism that is constitutional. As the concept is not clearly defined and overlaps with right-wing extremism, some social scientists advise not to use this term.<sup>22</sup>

### Neo-Nazism

Neo-Nazism is a legal term and means the effort to propagate the ideology of National Socialism or to defend, justify or deny Nazi-crimes. Often the Holocaust is denied or played down.<sup>23</sup>

### Xenophobia

This term derives from the Greek language and means “fear of the stranger”. The concept is problematic because the focus is on the feeling of fear. In fact, the negative attitude towards the “stranger” is not primarily influenced by fear, but rather by hate and stereotypes. Discriminatory behaviour is thereby excused, and xenophobic people adopt the victim’s role. The actual victims, namely the affected group of “strangers” (often refugees, migrants or people looking “differently”) and the effects

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Belltower News (2008): Was ist Rechtsradikalismus. (<https://www.belltower.news/was-ist-rechtsradikalismus-51030/>). Accessed: 17 September 2020.

<sup>23</sup> Stiftung Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes / Anti-Defamation League (ed.): Brigitte Bailer-Galanda / Wolfgang Neugebauer, Incorrigibly Right. Right-Wing Extremists, “Revisionists” and Anti-Semites in Austrian Politics Today (1996), p. 2.

of hostility and discrimination against them are hidden. Furthermore, the term reproduces the classification of who is seen as the “stranger” or “foreigner” in a society e.g., People of Colour, Muslims.<sup>24</sup>

## Racism (see Module 3)

Racism is often understood to mean the ideology that people are categorised into races based on supposedly heritable traits. These races are hierarchised in society. George M. Fredrickson, a US-American historian, and an important representative of the research on racism, formulated a widely accepted definition of racism: “To attempt a short formulation, we might say that racism exists when one ethnic group or historical collective dominates, excludes, or seeks to eliminate another on the basis of differences that it believes are hereditary and unalterable.”<sup>25</sup> This idea of human races has long been outdated. Today we know that there is only one human race. A division of people into races is neither morally-ethically nor biologically tenable. Nevertheless, the term “race” is still used, for example, in international treaties like the Convention of Geneva, which is the international legal basis for asylum systems. With the persistent use of the term “race” in official texts the idea of different races is further reproduced. But it is important to note that the word “race” sometimes has different meanings and connotations in different languages. For example, in German, “Rasse” clearly refers to the biological difference of ethnic groups. In Croatian and Polish language, the word has a similar meaning. Because of that, the German government decided in 2020 to remove the word “Rasse” from the German constitution.<sup>26</sup> In English, in contrast, “race” also includes social components of the concept of ethnic groups and therefore makes it clearer, that “race” is a social construct and not a genetic or biological “given”.

## Group-focused enmity

The term “group-focused enmity” was coined by the German sociologist Wilhelm Heitmeyer and is particularly used in Germany. It is described as a syndrome and serves as an umbrella concept including the following elements:

anti-immigrant attitudes, antisemitism (see Module 2), racism (see Module 3), anti-Muslim racism (see Module 4), sexism (see Module 5) and homophobia (see Module 5), antiziganism (see Module 6) and the devaluation of homeless, unemployed, and disabled people.

Heitmeyer and his team argue that these **ideologies of inequality** are linked as they were able to scientifically prove that people who devalue one group are very likely to also devalue the other groups.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Belltower News (2015): Fremdenfeindlichkeit. (<https://www.belltower.news/fremdenfeindlichkeit-nein-rassismus-39822/>). Accessed: 17 September 2020.

<sup>25</sup> George M. Fredrickson (2015): Racism: A Short History (Revised Edition), p. 170.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. ZDF (2020): Pläne der Bundesregierung - Grundgesetz: Begriff "Rasse" wird gestrichen. (<https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/grundgesetz-rasse-lambrecht-100.html>). Accessed: 12 February 2021.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Küpper, Beate/Zick, Andreas (2013): Prejudice and Group-Focused Enmity, in Küpper, Zick et al. (ed.) The EWC Statement Series, pp. 1-11, p. 10.

They also conducted a study in eight European countries and were able to confirm the links between the different **ideologies of inequality** while also discovering differences between the countries.<sup>28</sup>

## 6. HOW DO I RECOGNISE RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS? (SEE APP)

Many right-wing extremists look very differently from what we might imagine. The typical image of bald-headed men wearing combat boots is outdated. As a matter of fact, right-wing extremists might not be able to be recognised by their appearance at all as they often try to conceal their mindsets in order to be able to penetrate the so-called middle of the society. To agitate unnoticed, right-wing extremists may use particular codes and symbols. Another important distinguishing feature are bands and the organisation in certain right-wing extremist groups.

Regarding brands however, one has to be aware that some originate from the right-wing extremist scene and others have been “hijacked” by right-wing extremists. It is indeed a strategy among right-wing extremist groups to copy the aesthetics and forms of actions of the radical left in order to create a “hip” appearance and recruit young people e.g., Autonomous Nationalists, Identitarian Groups (see below).<sup>29</sup>

Some brands, symbols and bands are transnationally popular among right-wing extremists. Others are rather country specific. In the following spreadsheet some examples for distinguishing features of right-wing extremists are presented. Austria and Germany are listed in one single category as there are no major differences regarding these two countries.

Even if the following examples provide an initial overview and should help you to get an idea of how some right-wing extremists can be recognised, it is crucial to know that not everyone with a right-wing extremist mindset is clearly (visually) identifiable as such. In the end, the image of a typical right-wing extremist only remains a stereotype. You should rather focus on the words spoken and actions taken. Does your counterpart often make statements that are racist or anti-democratic? Are minorities often blamed for all kinds of problems? In the section “What strategies do right-wing extremists use?” (see page 13) you can learn more about how to recognise right-wing extremists by their rhetorical strategies and their appearance online.

To find out more about the distinguishing features and the respective country specifics, please use the app which enables acquiring knowledge via flip cards and a quiz!

Another interesting fact is that men clearly dominate the right-wing extremist scene. Women rather act in the background – also reflecting the right-wing extremist concept of womanhood. Even though

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Hövermann, Andreas/Küpper, Beate/Zick, Andreas (2011): Intolerance, Prejudice and Discrimination. A European Report. (<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/do/07908-20110311.pdf>). Accessed: 17 September 2020.

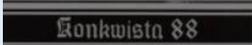
<sup>29</sup> Cf. Radke, Johannes/Staud, Toralf (2013): Turnschuhe statt Springerstiefel. (<https://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/165545/turnschuhe-statt-springerstiefel>) 8 September 2020.

there has been a development towards more women acting in public, e.g., Identitarians, the gender distribution is overly “traditional”.<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Der Tagesspiegel (2018): Rechte Schwestern ganz vorn. (<https://www.tagesspiegel.de/the-men/agenda/frauen-bei-der-identitaeren-bewegung-rechte-schwestern-ganz-vorn/21005940.html>). Accessed: 18 September 2020.

	Austria & Germany	Croatia	Poland	Transnational
<b>Codes</b>	<p><b>18</b> Adolf Hitler (first and eight letter of the alphabet give the initials of Adolf Hitler)</p>	<p><b>Ready for home / ZDS</b> Ustasha military salute that glorifies Ustasha ideology. It became an official salute in the NDH (1941-1945), and is considered the equivalent of the Nazi "Seig Heil".</p>	<p><b>B&amp;H</b> Blood &amp; Honor (blood and honor) – a neo-Nazi slogan and the name of the racist organization</p>	<p><b>RaHoWa</b> "Racial Holy War"</p>
	<p><b>88</b> "Heil Hitler"</p>		<p><b>C18</b> The codes for Combat18, a Neo-fascist organization. Combat means fight, the number 18 is the first A and eighth H letters of the alphabet, Adolf Hitler's initials; C18 may be translated as Adolf Hitler's Battle Group. C18 is also replaced with 318, where 3 is C (the third letter of the alphabet)</p>	<p><b>14</b> (or 14 words) Quote of the US-American right-wing extremist David Lane: "We must secure the existence of our race and a future for white children."</p>
<b>Fashion brands</b>	<p><b>Thor Steinar</b></p>  <p>German brand with clear connection to the right-wing extremist scene</p>		<p><b>Ultra Patriot</b></p>  <p>Polish brand popular among right-wing extremist scene</p>	<p><b>Lonsdale</b></p>  <p>"Hijacked" British brand that distances itself from the right-wing extremist scene</p>
	<p><b>Ansgar Aryan</b></p>		<p><b>Red is Bad</b></p> 	<p><b>Fred Perry</b></p>

	 <p>German brand with clear connection to the right-wing extremist scene</p>		<p>A brand calling itself patriotic, with clear connections to the football hooligan scene</p>	 <p>“Hijacked” British brand that distances itself from the right-wing extremist scene</p>
			<p><b>Polska Walcząca (by Born Patriots – Urodzeni patrioci)</b></p>  <p>The most recognisable and common design, hijacking the ideals of Poles fighting for Polish independence especially during WWII</p>	
<p><b>Bands</b></p>	<p><b>Landser</b></p>  <p>German right-wing extremist cult band from Berlin that was declared illegal in 2003 and was dissolved thereupon</p>	<p><b>Marko Perković Thompson</b></p>  <p>A Croatian musician who glorifies Ustasha fascism and Croatian nationalism in his songs. His fans are mostly members of right-wing extremism and often use his songs at their gatherings.</p>	<p><b>Konkwista 88</b></p>  <p>A Polish neo-Nazi star band in 80s and 90s. In 2005 the band suspended its activities. However, its leader has continued to create under different names in neo-Nazi bands (<b>Obłąd</b>). The formation is on the Anti-Defamation League list listing bands that perform music of hate.</p>	<p><b>Blood and Honour</b></p>  <p>Transnational network of right-wing extremist bands (illegal in Germany)</p>
	<p><b>T[error]sphära</b></p>		<p><b>Obłąd</b></p> 	<p><b>Skrewdriver</b></p> 

	 <p>Originally Austrian band from Tirol with by now mostly German members</p>		<p>Leading Polish band on the Nazi-skin scene. In 2013, Oblęd was one of the stars of the London "Adolf Hitler birthday bash"</p>	<p>Former British right-wing extremist band around singer Ian Stuart Donaldson who is celebrated as a hero</p>
<p><b>Groups and parties</b></p>	<p><b>Arbeitsgemeinschaft für demokratische Politik (AFP)</b></p>  <p><i>Right-wing extremist political party in Austria</i></p>	<p><b>In the name of family</b></p>  <p>A right-wing organization that advocates intolerance and restriction of minority rights, primarily based on sexuality. Every year, the organization organizes a "Walk for Life" which encourages the ban on abortion.</p>	<p><b>Konfederacja</b></p>  <p>A political party gaining popularity in Poland, 'freedom and independence' being its motto. Antiliberal, typically right-wing extremist party. <b>The Independence March</b> Konfederacja is the main organiser of the annual march on the 11<sup>th</sup> November (Independence Day)</p>	<p><b>Identitarians</b></p>  <p><i>Right-wing extremist group founded in France in 2012 expanded into various European countries, especially present in Austria (leading figure: Martin Sellner)</i></p>
	<p><b>Sturmvogel</b></p>  <p><i>Right-wing extremist youth organisation in Germany</i></p>		<p><b>Ordo Iuris</b></p>  <p>An organisation presently pushing for banning abortion in Poland, it is said the next step is to ban divorce. They have a large web of influence, many lawyers and wealthy influential people, which makes it possible for them to act</p>	<p><b>Autonomous Nationalists</b></p>  <p>Neo-Nazi groups that are active inter alia in Germany, United Kingdom, Belgium and in the Netherlands. They copy the aesthetics and forms of actions of the radical left in order to become more appealing for young people.</p>

			<p><b>National Rebirth of Poland (NOP)</b></p>  <p>Polish national radical and nationalist political party. The NOP is part of the International Third Position</p>	
			<p><b>Front Rex</b></p>  <p>A radical far-right movement that describes itself as anti-system, anti-capitalist, anti-communist, anti-Zionist, anti-masonic, anti-democratic, anti-revolution, anti-liberal, anti-cosmopolitan and anti-global. Their aim is to change the political system in radically and permanently.</p>	
<b>Symbols</b>	<p><b>Celtic Cross</b></p>  <p>Symbol for the supremacy of the white "race". It is punishable in Germany and Austria. It is also broadly used in other countries, especially in the USA.</p>	<p><b>Ustasha U</b></p>  <p>The most common symbol of hatred in Croatia is the symbol of the Ustasas and the Ustasha movement - the letter "U" was used during</p>	<p><b>The White Eagle</b></p>  <p>The central element of the Polish crest hijacked by the extremists for their causes.</p>	<p><b>Remigration</b></p>  <p>Symbol used by Identitarians that alludes to the conspiracy myth (see <a href="#">Module 7</a>) of the "Great Replacement" according to which allegedly ethnic homogenous European populations are replaced by (Muslim) migrants.</p>

		<p>the fascist Independent State of Croatia</p>		
	<p><b>Badge of the SA (Sturm-Abteilung)</b></p> <p>Symbol for the paramilitary wing of the NSDAP. It is punishable in Germany and Austria.</p>	<p><b>HOS</b></p> <p>HOS stands for Croatian Defense Forces, a paramilitary unit during the Homeland War in Croatia (1991-1995). HOS takes over the characteristics of the Independent State of Croatia and uses the Ustasha military salute "Ready for home!" Today, it is often highlighted by retired veterans, but also by members of right-wing extremist groups.</p>	<p><b>Polska Walcząca (Fighting Poland)</b></p> <p>The symbol of Warsaw Uprising during the World War II has been recently used (stolen) by extremist groups. Survivors of Warsaw Uprising openly oppose the use of their symbol by the extremist groups spreading hate and discrimination</p>	<p><b>White-Power Fist</b></p> <p>Symbol for the supremacy of the white "race".</p>
			<p><b>Falange (Phalanx)</b></p> <p>The so-called "FALANGA", "HAND WITH A SWORD" - a symbol of ONR "Falanga", a pre-war fascist organisation, and nowadays the National Revival of Poland, commonly</p>	

			<p>recognised as neo-fascist. The National-Radical Camp (ONR) and other national organisations also refer to it.</p> <p>The symbol was banned before UEFA Euro 2008 by the Football Against Racism in Europe.</p>	
			<p><b>Chrobry sword - Szczerbiec</b></p>  <p>Before World War II, it was a symbol of a banned organisation - the fascist Camp of Great Poland (OWP). Nowadays, it is used by organisations referring to pre-war nationalist traditions, e.g., All-Polish Youth (MW), National-Radical Camp (ONR) and National Movement (RN). The symbol was banned before UEFA Euro 2008 by the Football Against Racism in Europe organisation, together with the symbol of Falanga and Toporzeł.</p>	

## 7. WHAT STRATEGIES DO RIGHT-WING EXTREMIST GROUPS USE?

Most right-wing extremist groups strategically try to influence people who do not have a sound democratic foundation yet, such as young people, in order to recruit new adherents and gain importance in the so-called middle of the society. Often, the very emotional and complex topic of asylum and migration is used to gain new adherents. However, the right-wing extremist mindset might not always be that obvious at first sight. For this reason, it is important to recognise the (rhetoric) strategies right-

wing extremists use. Because even though some right-wing extremist groups pretend to be harmless protest groups, they are still deeply anti-democratic and disseminate inhuman **ideologies of inequality** like racism and homophobia.<sup>31</sup> In the following, some of the main right-wing extremist strategies which overlap in some regards are presented. The strategies are used online as well as offline in public, e.g., demonstrations. and in private contexts, e.g., as argumentation patterns in discussions.

## Simple solutions to complex problems

The news continuously report about problems and challenges that inevitably occur in the highly complex societies we live in. Often, these cannot be presented in their full complexity, which leaves many questions unanswered. We are also confronted in our everyday lives with complex developments, changes and problems that are often difficult to understand or to deal with. These problems never can be fixed “right-away” or easily, as they often touch questions of how society (as a whole) is structured and how it is functioning. Right-wing extremist groups take advantage of this and present simple solutions to complex problems that easily gain great popularity even if they are for example racist or anti-Semitic.<sup>32</sup>

## Scapegoats

Very frequently scapegoats are presented as cause for these problems, e.g., migrants and refugees, Muslim and Jewish people, feminists etc. This scapegoating is also an expression of different **ideologies of inequality** that are addressed in the following modules.

## Engaging with highly emotionalised topics

Right-wing extremists often exploit highly emotionalised issues while acting inconspicuously at first and revealing their true mindset at a later stage. The commitment against child abuse is among one of the main subjects of right-wing extremist campaigning. Because of the cruelty of the crimes, many people share, for example, the demand for severe punishments of child abusers and thus accidentally agree with right-wing extremists who often are the administrators of the respective groups on social media such as Facebook or Telegram. The right-wing extremist mindset is further exposed when, for example, only people with a so-called migration background are presented as child molesters.<sup>33</sup> Other “hijacked” subjects can be animal protection, environmental protection and women’s rights. It is of utmost importance to understand that right-wing extremists only instrumentalise these subjects for their propaganda, to gain new adherents and to penetrate the so-called middle of the society. Constructive proposals to address these topics are not presented.

### Exercise: Examples of “hijacked” topics

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Klicksafe (2017): Rechtsextremismus hat viele Gesichter. Wie man Rechtsextreme im Netz erkennt – und was man gegen Hass tun kann. ([https://www.klicksafe.de/fileadmin/media/documents/pdf/klicksafe\\_Materialien/Lehrer\\_LH\\_Zusatzmodule/LH\\_Zusatzmodul\\_Rechtsextremismus\\_klicksafe\\_neu.pdf](https://www.klicksafe.de/fileadmin/media/documents/pdf/klicksafe_Materialien/Lehrer_LH_Zusatzmodule/LH_Zusatzmodul_Rechtsextremismus_klicksafe_neu.pdf)). Accessed: 21 September 2020, p. 4. And cf.: Amadeu Antonio Stiftung (2011): Zwischen Propaganda und Mimikry. Neonazi-Strategien in Sozialen Netzwerken. ([https://www.klicksafe.de/fileadmin/media/documents/pdf/Themen/Prob-lematische\\_Inhalte/Rechtsextremismus/Netz\\_gegen\\_Nazis2.0\\_Internet.pdf](https://www.klicksafe.de/fileadmin/media/documents/pdf/Themen/Prob-lematische_Inhalte/Rechtsextremismus/Netz_gegen_Nazis2.0_Internet.pdf)). Accessed: 21 September 2020, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Amadeu Antonio Stiftung (2011), p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Amadeu Antonio Stiftung (2011), p. 24/25.

Pick a group in the table above (or use the app) from your country and research what topics these groups hijacked e.g., climate change, family policy. Look for examples, posters, slogans etc.

## Spamming

Spamming means the unsolicited, extensive sharing of irrelevant content online in groups, fora and via private messages. Right-wing extremists purposefully spam social media with their propaganda for several reasons. First, spamming allows the mass distribution of right-wing extremist contents and ideas. Second, potentially fruitful discussions are disrupted and the efforts of persons and organisations that dedicate themselves to the strengthening of civil society and respectful, open, democratic discourse are impeded. Third, spamming is used to discourage and intimidate these dedicated persons and organisations.<sup>34</sup> It is therefore an effective and relatively simple method to widely disseminate right-wing extremist ideas and consequently shift the societal discourse to the right. On social media, algorithms support the spreading of these messages, as the algorithm recognises that there are many messages and interactions around these topics, therefore ranking it higher in the newsfeeds of many users. It also makes right-wing extremist groups and agendas seem bigger and more influential as they truly are. Alarming, research also shows that discourses which are widely disseminated, displace other discourses.<sup>35</sup> Thus, when right-wing extremist groups succeed in dominating a discourse with their agenda the discourse changes as a whole. The public discourse on immigration and asylum for example has been influenced substantially by right-wing (extremist) agendas. The result is that the discourse is dominated by polemic and fear and that constructive solutions are not discussed any longer. This strategy can also be referred to as rhetoric expansion strategy. You can learn more about some strategies to dominate and alter public discourse (mainly on social media) in **Module 7** (Right-Wing Extremism, Hate Speech, Fake News & Conspiracy Theories).

## "We" and the "Others" – Ideologies of inequality

This strategy was already mentioned earlier in this module as an ideological key factor of right-wing extremism. Like the strategy "Simple solutions to complex problems", this strategy also entails the expression of different ideologies of inequality.

Right-wing extremist groups tend to see the world in sharp black and white pictures. Someone is either for or against something, but there are no nuances or alternatives accepted. This is a mechanism that tries to simplify life, questions of politics and society and to form a strong sense of belonging to a certain, sharply defined group. Therefore, a strong feeling of belonging to a "we", an "in-group" of "good persons" who share some specific physical characteristics, language, religion, "culture" and opinions, etc. is characteristic of right-wing extremist rhetoric. This presupposes that they understand nations as homogeneous units. Anyone who does not correspond to a certain picture due to religion, skin colour, "culture" etc. cannot be part of this "we" – regardless of whether they live in the same country or for how long they have lived there or if they have been born there. Thus, it is the "others"

<sup>34</sup> [Cf. Amadeu Antonio Stiftung \(2011\), p. 19/20.](#)

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Wodak, p. 47.

or the “out-group” who are always subordinated to the “we”. This view is very problematic and unsustainable, because even the people who are assigned to the “we” are very diverse and heterogeneous. There is no such thing as “a people’s will”, because the people consist of very different individuals with very different opinions, life experiences, necessities, interests etc. With this categorisation, the “others” are often presented as a threat or a burden with which the “we” is confronted. This creates fear of and hate against minorities. The systematical “othering” of people who do not seem to fit in the construction of the “we-group” inevitably leads to discrimination and devaluation of the other group. Historically, this “othering”, which entails the dehumanisation of language, has also been the first step to violent behaviour. Since the other group is constructed as unequal to the “we-group”, it does not deserve the same treatment. Often, the “others” are even compared to diseases or animals, which legitimises discrimination and even violence against these groups. Additionally, conspiracy myths are used to further consolidate the polarity between the constructed “we-group” and the “others” (see **Module 7**).

### Anti-establishment rhetoric

Right-wing extremists also frequently use anti-establishment rhetoric. The goal is to distance themselves from the established parties in a political system which they often refer to as “old parties” and to gain the votes of those who are disappointed by these established political parties. Right-wing extremists present themselves as the “true democrats” who stand up for the “average man in the street” and fight against the corrupt “political elite” that is unable to act, is dishonest and deceitful. Popular points of attack are furthermore the system of the EU that is described as elitist and corrupt and “the media” e.g., “Lügenpresse” in German that disseminates “fake news” (see **Module 7**). The rhetoric is often aggressive, polemic and also very vague. As already mentioned earlier in this module, the call for more direct democracy as only true expression of the “people’s will” is frequently made in this context.<sup>36</sup> Other democratic procedures and minority rights are often devalued.

### Exercise: “This is fake news!”

Can you think of politicians who often use the term “fake news” when speaking about journalists or the media in general?

What do you think is the motivation behind it?

Why can that be problematic for a democratic society?

### Right-wing extremism in a new design

Many right-wing extremist groups try to shed their image as the “ones living in the past” and concentrate on a modern online appearance e.g., Identitarians, Autonomous Nationalists. They often share apparently harmless content that is linked to radical offers. Extremist content is often just a click away.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Kreisjugendring München-Land (2019): Heute schon gehetzt? Rechtspopulismus erkennen – verstehen – begegnen. Ein Handbuch für die Jugend(sozial)arbeit. (<https://kjr-ml.de/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Handbuch-Rechtspopulismus-erkennen-verstehen-begegnen.pdf>). Accessed: 23 September 2020, pp. 41/42.

In order to appeal to young people, right-wing extremist groups have built up an online presence that is oriented towards the (social) media use of younger users. Therefore, memes, gifs and hashtags and topics that are captivating for young people are used. Some groups use topics like environmental protection, healthy eating and sport as a way to reach young people.<sup>37</sup>

The strategies described above represent a limited selection of the strategies that right-wing extremist groups use to gather support. Some of them can be subsumed as populist methods such as simple solutions to complex problems, “We” and the “others”, anti-establishment rhetoric. Right-wing populism is often presented as a less extreme form of right-wing extremism. A political party for example can be described as “just” right-wing populist when its adherents do not actively incite violence and hatred. In fact, the willingness to use violence is often referred to as the key distinction between right-wing populists and right-wing extremists. A lot of scholars however agree that there are a lot of similarities between these two phenomena and that they do often overlap in reality.<sup>38</sup> Political parties that are described as right-wing populist often have organisational and personal ties to the organised right-wing extremist scene.

Another important aspect when it comes to right-wing extremist strategies is the fact that these strategies are increasingly used in the so-called middle of society. Regarding right-wing populism and extremism, it is often stated that these political forces successfully shift the societal discourse to the right and therefore also centrist forces adopt these discourses. In this argumentation, the narrative of the “neutral” middle of the society is reproduced according to which extremist mindsets are only to be found at the margins of the society. **Ideologies of inequality** like racism however are firmly established in the societies we live in. Right-wing extremist agendas therefore do not establish **ideologies of inequality** in the “middle” of the society, they rather build on the prevailing conditions and enhance them. Right-wing extremism cannot be understood, tackled and overcome without focusing on the attitudes and views of the so-called middle of the society and the whole system we live in.<sup>39</sup>

If you want to find out more about how to tackle right-wing extremism and which counterstrategies you can use to push back right-wing extremist ideas, take a look at **Module 8**.

## 8. WHY IS RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM DANGEROUS FOR DEMOCRACIES?

### Exercise: Thought experiment

Think about the basic characteristics of the democracies we live in: Liberalism, pluralism and the protection of human rights. Research the human rights that are enshrined in your country's constitution. These are also called fundamental rights.

<sup>37</sup> Klicksafe (2017), p. 38.

<sup>38</sup> Klicksafe (2017), p. 14.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Holzer (1993), pp. 80-84, 94-96.

Now imagine that right-wing extremist groups were able to implement some of their ideas further in the society. What would change? Which fundamental and human rights would be violated? How would this world differ from the society we currently live in? Who would have a place in this society? And who would not?

Write a short text.

The democracies we live in are shaped by liberal and pluralistic ideas. This means that these democracies must ensure free elections, the separation of powers, the rule of law etc. as well as human and civil rights that guarantee the equal treatment of all people while acknowledging the diversity in the political body at the same time. This also entails the protection of minorities. The very foundation of the democracies we live in is the belief in and the institutionalisation of the equality of all people.

Right-wing extremism undermines all these principles. Right-wing extremist agendas aim to eliminate the liberal and pluralistic foundation of the societies we live in. The democratic principles are aimed to be replaced by an authoritarian state with a strong leader and a weak parliament. Right-wing extremists demand the implementation of the “people’s will”, but they actually aim to eliminate and weaken the representation of the people which is the parliament. The concept of who belongs to this “people” is very narrow, referring only to the “ethnically pure” national community.

In addition, right-wing extremist agendas fundamentally reject the idea of equality of all people. They originate from the exact opposite perspective. The belief in the fundamental and “natural” inequality of people is propagated. The vulnerable members of our society like chronically sick people are regarded as a threat to the otherwise “pure” national community. Furthermore, the protection of minorities is aimed to be weakened or removed. When right-wing extremist forces gain more power in a political system, people who do not fit in this constructed image of the national community, like Jewish, Muslim and non-heterosexual people, have to fear for their rights. Eventually, right-wing extremist agendas aim to undermine the constitutional state we live in and abolish the liberal and pluralistic democracy, the freedom of expression, the freedom of the press and ultimately the human rights and therewith also human dignity. When right-wing extremists therefore gain power in a society and successfully implement their ideas, every person living in this society would be in danger of losing their rights.

### Exercise: Analyse postings

Check out the comments posted in the commentary section of videos which are made from key persons of right-wing extremist groups.

What strategy are they pursuing? Are groups of people specifically denounced? If so, what prejudices could be behind it?

Then think about how you could react to such comments on the Internet. What options do you have as a user?

## 9. EXERCISES YOU CAN USE WHEN TEACHING ABOUT RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM

1. The students form groups of 4 people. Each group receives a sheet of paper. The students divide the sheet into four equal parts by lines. A term is written in each corner:

- xenophobia
- racism
- right-wing extremism
- nation/people

Each student is assigned a topic and writes down his/her associations with the respective term. Key questions: What does the term mean? What experience do you have on the subject?

After a few minutes, the sheet of paper is turned. Now everyone gets a new term and writes down his/her associations. They can refer to what the previous person wrote on the subject. This continues until everyone has written something about each term.

The group then considers together what overlaps and differences there are between the topics.

2. The students read the text of the chapter “Characteristics: There are different right-wing extremist groups, but what do they have in common?”. They write three words on single sheets they do not understand, or which are very important. In the meantime, the teacher places 26 sheets with the letters of the alphabet side by side on the floor. The students put the terms for the corresponding initial letter on the floor. Now the teacher and the class discuss together what the words mean and why certain terms were chosen as key words.

The teacher can give input through this method.

3. The teacher gives input on right-wing extremist groups and their anti-democratic tendencies. The students write an interview with “democracy” as a conversation partner. Possible questions could be: What is particularly important to you as democracy? What are the requirements for you to live/persist? Who are your greatest enemies? What do you wish for the future? Do you feel comfortable in our country?

This reflects important features and dangers for democracy in a creative text.

4. The teacher writes a right-wing extremist statement on the board. Students are now considering how they would respond if they saw statements like this on the Internet. The students now write their answers one after the other on the board. The teacher can also reply in writing. Together they then reflect on the fears, prejudices, attitudes and strategies that are addressed in the original post.

### Self-assessment questions

- **How can this module help me in the school environment?**
- **What should I pay attention to in class?**

- Which aspects are particularly sensitive?

## 10. WHERE TO TURN TO? NGOs & NETWORKS THAT CAN HELP YOU LEARN

### MORE

---

#### Austria

- ZARA: Initiative that offers anti-racism trainings (<https://www.zara.or.at/de>)
- Beratungsstelle Extremismus (<https://www.beratungsstelleextremismus.at/>)
- Mauthausen Komitee Österreich (<https://www.mkoe.at/ueber-uns/mauthausen-komitee-oesterreich>)
- Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes (<https://www.doew.at/erkennen/rechtsextremismus>)

#### Germany

- Mobile Beratung gegen Rechtsextremismus (<https://www.bundesverband-mobile-beratung.de/>)
- ARUG-ZDB (Arbeitsstelle Rechtsextremismus und Gewalt & Zentrum Demokratische Bildung) (<https://www.arug-zdb.de/home/>)
- IDA (Informations- und Dokumentationszentrum für Antirassismusbearbeitung) (<https://www.idaev.de/startseite>)
- Aktion Courage e.V. (<https://www.aktioncourage.org/startseite/>)

#### Croatia

- Centar za LGBT ravnopravnost/ Centre for LGBT equality (Queer Zagreb, Zagreb Pride i LORI) [www.ravnopravnost.hr](http://www.ravnopravnost.hr)
- Udruga GONG <https://www.gong.hr/hr/o-gong-u/edukacijski-centar/>
- <https://www.dostajemrznje.org/>
- Savez antifašističkih boraca i antifašista Republike Hrvatske/ Alliance of Anti-Fascist Fighters and Anti-Fascists of the Republic of Croatia (<https://www.facebook.com/saba.hrvatska/>)

#### Poland

- Nigdy Więcej Association (<https://www.nigdywiecej.org/de/>)
- Instytut Bezpieczeństwa Społecznego (<https://www.fundacjaibs.pl/>)
- Ośrodek Monitorowania Zachowań Rasistowskich i Ksenofobicznych (<https://omzrik.pl/>)

## 11. LITERATURE

---

Amadeu Antonio Stiftung (2011): Zwischen Propaganda und Mimikry. Neonazi-Strategien in Sozialen Netzwerken. ([https://www.klicksafe.de/fileadmin/media/documents/pdf/Themen/Problematische\\_Inhalte/Rechtsextremismus/Netz\\_gegen\\_Nazis2.0\\_Internet.pdf](https://www.klicksafe.de/fileadmin/media/documents/pdf/Themen/Problematische_Inhalte/Rechtsextremismus/Netz_gegen_Nazis2.0_Internet.pdf)). Accessed: 21 September 2020.

Belltower News (2008): Was ist Rechtsradikalismus. (<https://www.belltower.news/was-ist-rechtsradikalismus-51030/>). Accessed: 17 September 2020.

Belltower News (2015): Fremdenfeindlichkeit. (<https://www.belltower.news/fremdenfeindlichkeit-nein-rassismus-39822/>). Accessed: 17 September 2020.

Bötticher, Astrid (2017) Towards Academic Consensus Definitions of Radicalism and Extremism. In Perspectives on Terrorism, Vol. 11, No. 4 (August 2017), pp.73-77, p. 75. (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/26297896?seq=1 - metadata info tab contents>) Accessed: 13 August 2020.

Carter, Elisabeth (2018), Right-wing extremism/radicalism: reconstructing the concept. In Journal of Political Ideologies, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 157-182. (<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13569317.2018.1451227>) Accessed: 13 August 2020.

Der Tagesspiegel (2018): Rechte Schwestern ganz vorn. (<https://www.tagesspiegel.de/the-men/agenda/frauen-bei-der-identitaeren-bewegung-rechte-schwestern-ganz-vorn/21005940.html>). Accessed: 18 September 2020.

Deutsche Welle (2020): Rassismusdebatte. Kontroverse um den Begriff "Rasse" im Grundgesetz. (<https://www.dw.com/de/kontroverse-um-den-begriff-rasse-im-grundgesetz/a-53784397>). Accessed: 23 September 2020.

Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2008): Social Darwinism. (<https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-Darwinism>) Accessed: 6 September 2020.

Foitzik, Andreas/Lukas Hezel (Hrsg.): Diskriminierungskritische Schule. Einführung in theoretische Grundlagen.

Fredrickson, George M. (2015) Racism: A Short History (Revised Edition).

Hövermann, Andreas/Küpper, Beate/Zick, Andreas (2011): Intolerance, Prejudice and Discrimination. A European Report. (<http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/do/07908-20110311.pdf>). Accessed: 17 September 2020.

Holzer, Willibald (1993): Rechtsextremismus – Konturen, Definitionsmerkmale und Erklärungsansätze. In: DÖW (Hg.): Handbuch des österreichischen Rechtsextremismus, S. 11-96.

Klicksafe (2017): Rechtsextremismus hat viele Gesichter. Wie man Rechtsextreme im Netz erkennt - und was man gegen Hass tun kann. ([https://www.klicksafe.de/fileadmin/media/documents/pdf/klicksafe\\_Materialien/Lehrer\\_LH\\_Zusatzmodule/LH\\_Zusatzmodul\\_Rechtsextremismus\\_klicksafe\\_neu.pdf](https://www.klicksafe.de/fileadmin/media/documents/pdf/klicksafe_Materialien/Lehrer_LH_Zusatzmodule/LH_Zusatzmodul_Rechtsextremismus_klicksafe_neu.pdf)). Accessed: 21 September 2020.

Kreisjugendring München-Land (2019): Heute schon gehetzt? Rechtspopulismus erkennen – verstehen – begegnen. Ein Handbuch für die Jugend(sozial)arbeit. (<https://kjr-ml.de/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Handbuch-Rechtspopulismus-erkennen-verstehen-begegnen.pdf>). Accessed: 23 September 2020.

Küpper, Beate/Zick, Andreas (2013): Prejudice and Group-Focused Enmity, in Küpper, Zick et al. (ed.) *The EWC Statement Series*, pp. 1-11.

Mudde, Cas (1995), 'Right-wing extremism analyzed: a comparative analysis of the ideologies of three alleged right-wing extremist parties (NPD, NDP, CP'86)', *European Journal of Political Research*, 27(2), pp. 203–224.

Peham, Andreas (o.J.) Rechtsextremismus als politische und pädagogische Herausforderung. ([https://www.doew.at/cms/download/5gm50/peham\\_rechtsextremismus\\_paedagogik.pdf](https://www.doew.at/cms/download/5gm50/peham_rechtsextremismus_paedagogik.pdf)). Accessed: 16 September 2020.

Quent/Schulz (2015), Rechtsextremismus in lokalen Kontexten  
Vier vergleichende Fallstudien.

Radke, Johannes/Staud, Toralf (2013): Turnschuhe statt Springerstiefel. (<https://www.bpb.de/politik/extremismus/rechtsextremismus/165545/turnschuhe-statt-springerstiefel>). Accessed: 18 September 2020.

Schedler, Jan/Sabine Achour/Gabi Elverich/Annemarie Jordan (Hrsg.): *Rechtsextremismus in Schule, Unterricht und Lehrkräftebildung*.

Scheuner, Ulrich (1974): Nationalstaatsprinzip und Staatenordnung seit dem Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts, in: Theodor Schieder (Hg.), *Staatsgründungen und Nationalitätsprinzip*.

Stiftung Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes / Anti-Defamation League (ed.): Brigitte Bailer-Galanda / Wolfgang Neugebauer, *Incorrigibly Right. Right-Wing Extremists, "Revisionists" and Anti-Semites in Austrian Politics Today*, Vienna–New York 1996, pp. 5-21.

([https://www.doew.at/cms/download/2288n/1\\_bailer\\_neugebauer\\_right\\_wing\\_extremism.pdf](https://www.doew.at/cms/download/2288n/1_bailer_neugebauer_right_wing_extremism.pdf)) Accessed: 13 August 2020.

von Beyme, Klaus (1988): Right-wing extremism in Post-war Europe, in Klaus von Beyme (ed.): *Right-wing extremism in Post-war Europe*, pp. 1-19.

Wodak, R. (2015): Protecting borders and the people: the politics of exclusion. In *The politics of fear* (pp. 46-69). 55 City Road, London: SAGE Publications Ltd

ZDF (2020): Pläne der Bundesregierung - Grundgesetz: Begriff "Rasse" wird gestrichen. (<https://www.zdf.de/nachrichten/politik/grundgesetz-rasse-lambrecht-100.html>). Accessed: 12 February 2021.

## 12. FURTHER READING

---

### Austria and Germany:

Stiftung Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes / Anti-Defamation League (ed.): Brigitte Bailer-Galanda / Wolfgang Neugebauer, Incorrigibly Right. Right-Wing Extremists, "Revisionists" and Anti-Semites in Austrian Politics Today, Vienna–New York 1996, pp. 5-21.

([https://www.doew.at/cms/download/2288n/1\\_bailer\\_neugebauer\\_right\\_wing\\_extremism.pdf](https://www.doew.at/cms/download/2288n/1_bailer_neugebauer_right_wing_extremism.pdf) Accessed: August 2020.

Adorno et al. (1950): The Authoritarian Personality.

Bailer-Galanda, B.: Zum Begriff des Rechtsextremismus, (<https://www.doew.at/erkennen/rechtsextremismus/rechtsextreme-organisationen/zum-begriff-des-rechtsextremismus>)

Borstel, D. (2009): Wann beginnt eigentlich Rechtsextremismus? (<https://www.bellto-ber.news/wann-beginnt-eigentlich-rechtsextremismus-30656/>).

Fischer Sebastian (2013): Rechtsextremismus – Was denken Schüler darüber? Untersuchung von Schülervorstellungen als Grundlage nachhaltiger Bildung. Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag.

Fischer, Sebastian: Rechtsextremismus als Herausforderung für den Unterricht. Empirische Zugänge und didaktische Perspektiven. In: Achour, Sabine/ Schedler, Jan/ Elverich, Gabi: Rechtsextremismus in Schule, Unterricht und Lehrkräftebildung, Wiesbaden 2019, S.111-120. August 2020. FIPU (2018): Der Nazis neue Töne. Neuere Entwicklungen im österreichischen Rechtsrock. Blogbeitrag.

Heitmeyer, Wilhelm (1987): Rechtsextremistische Orientierungen bei Jugendlichen. Empirische Ergebnisse und Erklärungsmuster einer Untersuchung zur politischen Sozialisation.

Jaschke, Hans-Gerd (Hg.): Rechtsextremismus und Fremdenfeindlichkeit. Begriffe, Positionen, Praxisfelder, Westdeutscher Verlag GmbH, Wiesbaden, 2001.

Voigt J./Sturzbecher D.: Entwicklung von Gewalt und Rechtsextremismus bei brandenburgischen Jugendlichen und Folgerungen für eine nachhaltige Kriminalprävention, S. 161-182. in Wilfried Schubarth (Hrsg.) Nachhaltige Prävention von Kriminalität, Gewalt und Rechtsextremismus Beiträge aus Wissenschaft und Praxis (2014).

### Croatia:

Velički, Damir (2013.); GLOBALIZACIJA I MEĐUNARODNA POVEZANOST DESNIH EKSTREMISTA/ GLOBALIZATION AND THE INTERNATIONAL NETWORK OF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS; Polemos : časopis za interdisciplinarna istraživanja rata i mira, Vol. XVI No. 31, 2013.; <https://hrcak.srce.hr/112876>.

Velički, Damir (2010.); Desni ekstremizam, radikalizam i zapadnoeuropska Nova desnica/ RIGHT-WING EXTREMISM, RADICALISM AND THE WEST EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT; Politička misao : časopis za politologiju, Vol. 47 No. 2, 2010.; [https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id\\_clanak\\_jezik=94356](https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=94356).

Vukobratović, Nikola; Šimunković, Mario (2012.); DESNI EKSTREMIZAM, Savez antifašističkih boraca i antifašista Republike Hrvatske, Alerta - Centar za praćenje desnog ekstremizma i protudemokratskih tendencija; [https://www.sabh.hr/dokumenti/brosure/desni\\_ekstremizam.pdf](https://www.sabh.hr/dokumenti/brosure/desni_ekstremizam.pdf).

#### **Poland:**

Adorno, Theodor: Nowy prawicowy radykalizm, Znak, 2020

Adorno T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik E., Levinson D.J., Sanford R.N., Osobowość autorytarna, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa, 2010

Europejski Instytut Demokracji oraz Fundacja im.Friedricha Eberta - Przedstawicielstwo w Polsce: Prawicowy ekstremizm na poziomie lokalnym - Jak mu przeciwdziałać? Wrocław 2014

Kasprowicz, Dominika, Populistyczna radykalna prawica jako obszar badawczy, Instytut Dziennikarstwa, Mediów i Komunikacji Społecznej, Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków, 2017, <https://media.uj.edu.pl/documents/1384650/134373778/Kasprowicz-Dominika-Radykalna-prawica-jako-obaszar-badawczy.pdf/2d49865e-e982-4c31-8236-83fb7d09c27c> - access: 12 January 2021

Krzywiec, Grzegorz: Wokół genezy polskiego nacjonalizmu integralnego. Przypadek Romana Dmowskiego, w: Roczniki dziejów społecznych i gospodarczych, tom LXVII 2007, Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Warszawa [http://rdsg-ihpan.edu.pl/images/RDSG\\_pdfy/2007\\_67/RDSG\\_2007\\_03-Krzywiec.pdf](http://rdsg-ihpan.edu.pl/images/RDSG_pdfy/2007_67/RDSG_2007_03-Krzywiec.pdf) - access: 29 December 2020

Le Bon G., Psychologia tłumu, PWN, Warszawa, 1994

Lubiewski Paweł, Pływaczewski Wiesław, red.: Współczesne ekstremizmy. Geneza, przejawy, przeciwdziałanie, Katedra Kryminologii i Polityki Kryminalnej, Wydział Prawa i Administracji, Uniwersytet Warmińsko-Mazurski w Olsztynie, 2013

Marszałek, Wiktor: Nazi muzyka PL Export-Import, Nigdy Więcej nr 21. Wiosna-Lato 2014

Momro, Jakub: Prawica jako symptom, <https://www.dwutygodnik.com/arttykul/8865-prawica-jako-symptom.html> - access: 22 January 2021

Plessner H., Granice wspólnoty. Krytyka radykalizmu społecznego, Oficyna Naukowa, Warszawa, 2008



Rakusa-Suszczewski, Mikołaj: Trzy nurty badania radykalizmu społecznego, Zoon Politikon 7, 2016-  
[https://www.civitas.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Zoon\\_Politikon\\_07\\_2016\\_013\\_033.pdf](https://www.civitas.edu.pl/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Zoon_Politikon_07_2016_013_033.pdf) -  
access: 22 January 2021

Wytyczne dla delegatów meczowych PZPN, Polski Związek Piłki Nożnej,  
<http://www.pzpn.pl/federacja/dokumenty> - access: 6 December 2020

