

**Extreme right images of radical authenticity: multimodal aesthetics of history, nature and gender
roles in social media**

Bernhard Forchtner (corresponding author)

Department of Media and Communication

University of Leicester

Bankfield House, 132 New Walk

Leicester LE1 7JA

United Kingdom

Email: bf79@le.ac.uk

Christoffer Kølvrå

School of Culture and Society - European Studies

Jens Chr. Skous Vej 5

8000 Aarhus C

Denmark

Email: eurock@cas.au.dk

Word count: 9988

Abstract

Over recent years, the German extreme right has undergone significant changes, including the appropriation of symbols, styles and action repertoires of contemporary (youth) cultures, sometimes even taken from the far left. In this article, we investigate extreme right visual communication through Facebook, focusing on their claims to truth and authentic Nazism in relation to 'history', 'nature' and 'gender roles'. These themes were central in National Socialism, but today need to be (re)negotiated vis-a-vis contemporary (youth) cultures. We show that while a traditional notion of ideological authority is enabled through their visuals, there is also a strand of imagery depicting and celebrating 'intimate' communion. While this simultaneity leads to tensions within the 'ideal extreme right subject', we argue that such dilemmas can be productive, allowing for the (re)negotiation of classic National Socialist doctrine in the context of contemporary (youth) cultures, and thus, potentially, for a revitalisation of its interpellation of followers.

Keywords: Autonome Nationalisten/ autonomous nationalists, Facebook, fascism, right-wing extremism, National Socialism, neo-Nazism

Introduction

We think that we know the far and extreme right; drunken skinheads or dubious looking men in bad suits insisting that the Holocaust has never happened. Of course, these stereotypes are, at least partly, stereotypes; and although these characters still populate the scene, the situation has fundamentally changed over the course of the past decades. This is not only the case concerning what is nowadays referred to as right-wing populism, a manifestation of the far right which has long modernised its appearance and rhetoric (Wodak 2015; Forchtner et al. 2013; Mudde 2007). The extreme right too has undergone its moments of modernisation (or post-modernisation). Since the early 2000s, the German extreme right in particular has appropriated elements of contemporary (youth) cultures, including symbols, individual styles (e.g. hairstyle and outfit) and action repertoires commonly associated with the extreme left (Schedler 2016; Pisoiu and Lang 2015; Schedler 2014; Häusler and Strum 2013; Schlembach 2013; Staud and Radke 2012; Schedler and Häusler 2011; Peters and Schulze 2009). This development, the ‘traveling’ of symbols, of bricolage, was initially linked to the rise of the self-styled ‘*Autonome Nationalisten*’ (*autonomous nationalists*, in the following simply AN) but has, by now, spread throughout the extreme right in Germany and beyond (Schedler and Fleisch 2011; Peters and Schulze 2009).

This (post-)modernisation has been analysed in considerable detail, and much reference has been made to changes in the visual aspects of their performance (e.g. their dress codes and banners at demonstrations) while, simultaneously, pointing to the extraordinary importance of the internet and social media for their politics (Pfeiffer 2016: 260; Schlembach 2013: 296). We contribute to this evolving body of knowledge by analysing actual visuals that the ‘new’ extreme right creates and disseminates, considering especially claims to (historical) truth and the authentic representation of a National Socialist lifestyle. Given the significance of the internet for the contemporary extreme right, we focus on their voices in an interrelated cluster of Facebook sites. Against this background, we ask how these images negotiate and communicate the connection between contemporary (youth)

cultures and National Socialist ideology and how the potential tensions between these are handled through the medium of images.

While European right-wing 'populist' parties have celebrated electoral successes in recent years, turning into a truly pan-European phenomenon, overt fascist and National Socialist actors too are poised and expecting a similar windfall. In this context, we agree with the aforementioned research that the potential of this 'new' extreme right lies in its apparent ability to unfold a wider (life)style which is recognizable and palatable to a larger section of the population and in particular contemporary youth. As a consequence, we focus less on their immediate political claims (such as their anti-European Union stance, their anti-Antifa politics and their anti-refugee agitation) but turn instead to a number of salient 'cultural' themes. The latter are significant not in relation to immediate political goals and grievances, but point to core elements in their conception and representation of an ideal for 'authentic extreme right subjectivity'.

The basic themes we singled out at are that of (a) history (the 'Third Reich'), (b) nature, and (c) gender roles. Of course, while we separate these themes analytically, they are, empirically, weaved together; indeed, they overlap and inform each other in a myriad of intertextual and interdiscursive ways. Nonetheless, we have chosen to separate and focus especially on these themes not only because they are salient in their self-representation, but also because the renegotiation of and tension between the ideological legacy and their contemporary, updated 'style' is especially visible here. In each, a classical National Socialist set of conceptions (of the 'Third Reich' and its leaders, of nature and 'natural' living, and of male and female identities) is creatively merged and morphed into a more contemporary form, while nonetheless retaining its ideological 'authenticity' (Holzer 1994).

Indeed, our analysis suggests, that the negotiation between classical National Socialism and contemporary (youth) culture is achieved by the extreme right through the production of images belonging to two very different and distinctive *imaginaries*; one of 'authority' and one of 'intimacy'. As such the different imaginaries, and their part in producing an (aesthetically) more 'youthful' and 'contemporary' National Socialism, concern the very core of how these actors represent themselves

and seek to interpellate (potential) followers. Interestingly, and we turn to this at the end of our article, this leads to a rejection of a widely held view in the literature on the AN, according to which internal contradiction or variety causes the weakening of the ideological position, the fragmentation of a subject.¹

We start by introducing our understanding of the extreme right, and of the importance of a wider ‘cultural’ focus when analysing it. Subsequently, we introduce data and methodology, and elaborate on our theoretical understanding of the ‘imaginaries’. Finally, we turn to the analysis, focussing on the coexistence of an imaginary of authority and one of intimacy in the investigated corpus and argue that these two imaginaries enable these actors to simultaneously affirm an authentic National Socialism and engage with contemporary (youth) cultures. We close our contribution with a summary and thoughts on the ideological limits of the analysed practices.

Introducing the Extreme Right

The rise of right-wing ‘populist’ parties has resulted in much research but has also provoked concern over a myriad of existing definitions and unclear boundaries (Mudde 2000: 176). There is indeed widespread confusion concerning what counts as far right, right-wing extremism, extreme right, fascism, neo-Nazism etc. something which has sometimes resulted in a conceptual overlap of right-wing ‘populist’ actors, fascist and even National Socialist ones. For example, Mudde’s (2007) seminal study on populist radical right parties (PRRP) offers a ‘minimal definition’ of PRRPs centred on nativism, authoritarianism, and populism. Based on this definition, he includes, among others, the British National Party which Richardson (2013), however, situates within the British tradition of National Socialism.

Thus, we need to be clear on what we think characterises actors we focus on, i.e. actors who are not simply showing disdain for liberal-democratic politics (as in the case of right-wing ‘populists’), but take an anti-democratic stance. Given our focus on the German context, with its particular, National Socialist historical trajectory, we draw, first, on Willibald Holzer’s (1994) definition of extreme

right ideology which includes (a) an emphasis on the Volk and folkish ideals, i.e. the idea that the people are an organic unity, a true subject of history. It (b) identifies ethnocentrism, ethnopluralism and the exclusion of 'the other' as significant traits as well as (c) criticism of democracy, i.e. anti-liberalism, anti-pluralism and authoritarianism. Next, Holzer mentions (d) antisocialism as an essential characteristic, (e) the belief in the necessity of a strong state, (f) an idiosyncrasy for scapegoating and, (g), a particular concern for the historical past, such as post-war topics of Holocaust denial and war guilt. More precisely, our corpus (see below) is, second, comprised by parts of the extreme right which are not only 'extreme' in the general sense defined by Holzer, but regularly acknowledge and even celebrate National Socialism as their ideological legacy and inspiration. These actors are thus particularly rigorous in their, e.g., folkish thinking, their anti-democratic stance and their historical revisionism.

Against this background, we seek to capture the distinctive 'cultural' or 'aesthetic' developments of a spectrum of actors within the extreme right which have taken place more recently in Germany. The crackdown on organised neo-Nazi structures by the state in the 1990s led to the rise of loosely organised *Freie Kameradschaften* (Free Comradships), small groups and informal networks far more difficult to monitor and prosecute (Schedler 2011). Within the context of this *organisational innovation* emerged the subsection of the self-styled *Autonome Nationalisten* (AN) since the early 2000s. These have enabled the aforementioned *cultural innovation* which covers changes in the dimension of aesthetics (individual style and collective symbols, e.g. by using cartoons on their banners, hairstyles and outfit which are well-known from left-wing demonstrations and have, for this very reason, long been despised by the extreme right) and their action repertoires (e.g. by including a black block on demonstrations, an initially left-wing practice which has been recontextualised within an extreme right portfolio). Analysing the traveling of symbols between subcultures, Dick Hebdige (1989) has noted how changes in style are in fact responses to social changes and how, more specifically, the subversion of existing styles enables new meanings, new distinctions.

Significant in this respect is the use of bricolage championed initially by the AN (Pisoiu and Lang 2015: 73; Schedler 2014: 253). The notion of bricolage, initially outlined by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966: 16-36), denotes the creative re-assembling, the ad-hoc improvisation of basic elements in order to generate new meanings in and understandings of the world. While the extreme right's repertoire concerning forms of action, individual styles and symbolic resources has been traditionally determined by its National Socialist heritage, aesthetic and action related bricolage has led commentators to describe the AN as 'anything goes' (Schulze 2009: 12), 'Patchwork-Nazis' (Staud and Radke 2012: 75) or 'postmodern Nazis' (Häusler and Sturm 2013). Indeed, there have been incidences of affirming Che Guevara and, more widespread, an openness to different subcultures, visible in remarks such as this one: 'Whether you are a Hip-Hopper, a Rapper, whether you have a bald head or long hair – the main thing is that you are against the ruling system!' (ANM 2008: 4). This can be related to wider societal changes, such as the rise of consumer capitalism and the widespread decline of industrialism – implicating a move from skinhead culture to a more postmodern neo-Nazism (Häusler and Sturm 2012: 443; Raabe 2009).

While debates about the limits of 'anything goes' have taken place inside the scene and have led to greater ideological rigor, it is important to notice that overall, the boundaries between what could previously be clearly identified as AN and the broader movement of those situating themselves in a National Socialist tradition have become increasingly blurred. Indeed, their innovations have been diffused across the scene and are generally believed to have played a part in making this extreme right more attractive to potential newcomers (Schedler 2011: 32).

Elements of this (post-)modernisation show parallels with the fascist revolts between the World Wars (except for their actual political significance); revolts which also imagined themselves as being concerned with cultural change and a re-aestheticisation of life.² In concentrating our analysis on the image aesthetics of extreme right social media presence (for more on this presence, see Peters 2015; Ekman 2014), we draw on the turn towards a 'cultural' explanation of the rise of fascism in the interwar period within (classical) fascism studies (Griffin 2002). Such a cultural grounding understands

fascism as a (politico-ideological) form of modernism (Griffin 2007) based on palingenetic ultranationalism and the alleged need to revitalise society in the face of degenerative threats brought on by modernity. These might include the supposedly 'corrupt' nature of democratic/liberal politics, industrial and urban 'alienation' from nature and natural living, and the 'perversion' of modern gender roles. Sternhell et al. (1994: 29), in his study of the rise of fascism, views the aesthetic as key in this type of cultural rebellion, speaking of 'a new scale of values, a new vision of culture (...) the cult of energy, of dynamism and power, of the machine and speed, of instinct and intuition, of movement, will power, and youth'. This set of ideas seem to be equally relevant for the AN and those it has influenced. Thus, the promise of such a wider scope is to better understand the existential imaginary which drew people to fascism by looking beyond the latter's organizational forms, institutional structures or concrete aims and policies.

It is true that the linking of the politico-ideological sphere and the concrete life-world of the individual, i.e. the inclusion of leisure, (youth) cultures and personal life into a National Socialist 'culture', was a main ambition of classical National Socialism (Paxton 2004: 143f). In that sense, we are by no means claiming that the interest in (youth) cultures and mobilization is a distinguishing feature of *contemporary* National Socialists, but rather stress that it should be read and understood in and through the general 'youth cultural' style in which it is today seeking to embed itself. If classical fascism must be understood as part of the wider cultural strand of modernism, then contemporary fascism must likewise – at least in part – be approached as fundamentally intertwined with a 'post-modern' (youth) cultures expressing itself creatively, humorously and to some extent ironically, though this time in and through performances located in the social media.

Making Sense of Extreme Right Aesthetics: Data and Methodology

In order to deal with a manageable data pool, we focus on images posted in 2015 on Facebook profiles clearly adhering to German extreme right actors. In generating a cluster of extreme right Facebook profiles, we started from one of the most publicly visible actors in this 'new' extreme right: a group of

activists calling themselves *Balaclava Küche*, a self-styled 'national-socialist vegan cooking crew' which has attracted considerable national and international news coverage (for details, see Forchtner and Tominc forthcoming 2017). The group shows all signs of being a product of (post-)modernisation and we thus considered it to be pragmatic starting point. We subsequently mapped all Facebook pages whose content was shared by *Balaclava Küche* and repeated this process once more so that the network of extreme right Facebook pages extends for three generations, from the original seed node (i.e. *Balaclava Küche*) to those pages whose content was shared by *Balaclava Küche* ('2st generation') and sites ('3rd generation') whose content was shared by pages of the 2nd generation. The layout of Figure 1 and the terminology of 'generation' might suggest a real-world hierarchy of these profiles; however, the seeming hierarchy reflects only the necessity for choosing a starting point for this basic method of snowballing.

As this 'snowballing' resulted in an exponentially growing database and in order to maintain a relatively uniform and manageable data pool, we excluded, firstly, bands and musicians which, although a core element in the extreme right, have been extensively studied (Bülow 2014; Maiwald 2014). Secondly, we excluded sites with a narrow commercial focus such as shops or concert venues. Thirdly, and given that we are not concerned with links between the extreme right and other (right-wing) actors, we excluded links to pages which are external to the extreme right (while right-wing 'populists' are not always easily demarcated from the extreme right at the level of political ideas and statements, our aforementioned definition provided sufficient means to do so; especially given the fact that extreme right groups focused on here, signal their ideology by mobilising imagery and coded language which invokes Nazism). Finally, given our focus on the 'groupuscule' section of the extreme right, we have disregarded parties and groups explicitly affiliated with parties. The resulting 'network' of actors whose images we downloaded (522 in total, see <Table 1) is summarised in <Figure 1.

<Figure 1>

As mentioned, we chose to focus on three 'cultural' themes which organise much of the collected images and echo recognizable topics in classical fascism through which the 'new' extreme right raise claims to truth and authenticity.

The first theme (188 images), dealing with references to the 'Third Reich', includes archival and historical photos, images from Nazi propaganda material and, perhaps most interestingly, creative bricolages in which text or new graphic elements have been added, while persons (e.g. Nazi leaders) or symbols (e.g. the swastika) depicted still refer to classical Nazism. Although the extreme right clearly raises claims concerning their authenticity by signalling their political-ideological legacy and continued adherence to National Socialism, such references serve primarily as a vehicle for a much wider ('cultural') indictment of contemporary society and political systems.

The second theme (197 images) of nature and 'naturalness' (e.g. health and diet) also has close links to classical fascism (indicated, e.g., in the anti-modern cultural critique embedded in notions of the 'healthy body' and the modern degenerating effect of urban life). In addition, its contemporary form creatively links up with ideas of animal rights and veganism (see Staud and Radke 2012: 106; Virchow 2011: 99; Forchtner and Tominc forthcoming 2017). What is, however, missing are images related to key environmental issues of our time, first and foremost transnational environmental crises such as climate change. As it has been frequently noted (Hansen and Machin 2013) that these issues, their causes and effects, are difficult to depict visually – but this particular lack might also due to deeper ideological tensions (Forchtner and Kølvråa 2015).

The final theme (137 images) of gender roles and family life is likewise both a classical and a contemporary core issue for the extreme right. There has been much writing on contemporary right-wing populist views on gender (see Wodak 2015: 151-176 on the 'politics of patriarchy' and Mudde 2007: 90-118 on *Männerparteien*). Adding to this, our data illustrates both the classical fascist concern with the loss of male virility and the dissolution of the (reproductive) family unit as well as the creative and often contradictory integration of reality of a contemporary youth cultures in which women are (more or less) active and equal participants.

The complexity of this negotiation between past and present, between National Socialist ideology and (youth) cultures, involves more than simply reintroducing classical fascist styles (of discourse and of appearance) into a present setting. Rather, and as we have already noted above, we find that this re-embedding is partly accomplished by a shifting between what we call different imaginaries of authority and intimacy respectively.

The notion of *imaginaries* employed here has been extensively theorised in both psychoanalysis (Lacan 1994), political theory and philosophy (Castoriadis 1987, Laclau 1990) and sociology (Taylor 2004). Although there are substantive differences between these approaches, one common denominator is that the imaginary is the realm of the idealised, the desired and even the utopian. As ‘social imaginaries’, the concept thus signifies forms and means through which a society comes to (selectively and positively) imagine and envisage its ideal constitution and functioning, while, on the level of the individual, it points to the way in which the subject’s desires to construct an identity worthy of recognition or admiration. Thus, in speaking of imaginaries we are dealing with not just ‘imagined’ subjects (represented in the images) but with the idealisation of certain kinds of socialities both represented in and communicated by the image. In analysing images, i.e. in identifying the imaginary they articulate, we point to how a certain image either in the interaction between represented subjects or in the more direct interpellation and addressing of the viewer, evokes, sustains and communicates certain kind of social relationship (across all three content related themes).

This understanding of imaginaries therefore draws directly on Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) who point out exactly that images construct different kind of imaginary social relationships: even if our actual (social) position might be untouched, we are invited – through the image – to imagine ourselves in another position (as addressee, follower, partner or consumer). Kress and van Leeuwen suggest three types of imaginary relationships to be taken into account. Firstly, images entail an imagined relationship between their producer and their receiver; this is true simply by the fact of images being a semiotic element of communication. But furthermore they can also establish such a

relationship between the viewer and the represented subject (most obviously when the viewer is seemingly directly addressed (e.g. through eye-contact) by the subject represented). Finally images where several actors are represented also involve the construction of imaginary relationships between the represented subjects; relationships which as such does not directly involve the viewer, but which he/she is observing as an 'invisible onlooker'.

Against this background, our analysis shows, first, the existence of what we call an authoritative imaginary (293 images). The latter entails the representation of a social verticality in which imperative semiotics or explicitly ideologically doctrinaire language addresses the viewer in a voice of unquestioned authority. In Freudian terms, this imaginary would be the one which aligns with the authoritative and repressive ideological superego (as encountered in psychoanalytic approaches to fascism (Adorno 1980). Thus the kind the social relationship elicited in these images is one of demanded duty and obligation; one in which the subject is called on to 'fall into line', to respect and to conform to the ideological dictums articulated through the authoritative voice (see van Leeuwen 2007 for a discussion of the linguistic aspect of this mode of legitimation). This is, e.g., illustrated by Althusser (1971: 174) when he uses the image of a policeman hailing an individual in the street as indicative of the ideological interpellation of the subject.

If the authoritative imaginary articulates an imperative duty, then, second, the imaginary of the 'intimate' (229 images) evokes a realm of emotional relationality. In conceptualising this, we draw on recent discussions of 'the intimate' within feminist scholarship. The notion of 'the intimate' or intimate spaces initially invoked a rigid public/political distinction and as such connoted a space 'off stage' or private as opposed to performances, discourses and self-presentations delivered in the clear consciousness that one is 'on display' (Shryock 2004: 10-14). More recent scholarship however has sought to move beyond such dichotomies and insist that a notion of intimacy is not per definition tied to the realm of the private/personal. Rather, and following Michael Herzfeld's (1997) notion of *cultural intimacy*, the intimate is a sphere which sometimes entail entire national communities. Intimacy is exactly to be understood as an 'imaginary' which can introduce a framing of 'close' relations through

'an aesthetic of attachment' (Berlant 1998: 285). This can take different forms and emotive stances from representations of romantic love and friendly silliness to the invocation of feelings of communion with nature and cosmos. The analytical employment of the imaginary of 'the intimate' is thus not about separating a truly private, 'hidden' or 'behind the scenes' realm in opposition to public and political communication. What interests us instead is how intimacy becomes a vehicle in the public delivery and display of political identity. As such, the intimate imaginary stands in a certain opposition to the authoritarian imaginary by invoking a horizontal social relationality, expressed in affectively invested interpersonal attachment. Rather than the imperative voice of authority, the articulations here are aligned with a 'personal voice' (Pratt and Rosner 2012: 8-10). These are pervaded by elements of emotional warmth, humour and irony, informality and unseriousness, centering on fun, pleasure and off-stage relaxed composure. This representation of the extreme right subject, is thus all about the informal feeling and emotional closeness of spaces of intimacy.

<Table 1>

In actually analysing the different images we have drawn on Critical Discourse Analysis and its multimodal branch (Machin 2013; Machin and Mayr 2012; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996) in order to 'read images'. This speaks to the growing trend in the analysis of discourses to consider visuals as key sites of semiosis, all due to wider cultural trends towards visualisations; a trend also visible when it comes to the analysis of far right images (Wodak and Forchtner 2014; Richardson and Wodak 2009). We furthermore agree with Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 17-19), when they point out that Barthes' understanding of image-text semiotics and visual communication, contain crucial points. Although the authors stress that images are semiotic objects which can be analysed as such, they nonetheless accept Barthes' (1977) point that written texts which (in some instances) accompany or surround images, often serve to 'anchor' the latter's meaning. This, importantly here, implies that images are an often more ambiguous, multivalent form of communication than speech and written text. As such,

visuals can be a particularly useful medium in order to convey intended and unintended ambivalence, such as would be necessary in order to raise claims to truth and authenticity while, at the same time, open a space of playfulness and irony. What our above and below claims concerning the meaning of extreme right imagery do, however, not imply is the dimension of reception. We are fully aware that our approach is not able to cover this but, within the context of this article, insist on benefits of the proposed methodology.

Here, we furthermore want to focus on several concrete taxonomies for analysing images offered by Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996). One of such is their aforementioned suggestion that images (a) either entail a demand (mediated by direct eye contact between represented subject and viewer) or an offer (the viewer is constructed as an 'invisible onlooker'). But equally useful are their arguments linking (b) frame size to the represented 'closeness' of a social bond, (c) vertical camera angle to hierarchies of authority, and (d) horizontal camera angle to degrees of invited 'involvement' in the image subject matter. Establishing such 'ground rules' for image semiotics by constructing a set of fairly rigid distinctions, they nevertheless allow for the fact that rules are 'broken' or unorthodoxly combined. This is especially true for our material where many of the aforementioned conventions are easily detectable, but also often combined or neglected in surprising ways. Nonetheless there is (as shown below) a general trend that images in the authoritative imaginary tend toward privileging the constitution of the imaginary relationship between viewer and represented subject, in the form of an (ideologically doctrinaire) demand. Conversely, images in the intimate imaginary tend to represent social relationships between represented subjects (e.g. a romantically involved couple) with the viewer as 'invisible' or external onlooker. Here, there is no 'demand' but rather an implicit offer (e.g. of such romance).

These imaginary relationships are also realised through more specific, semiotic choices (see Machin and Mayr 2012: 49-56 for the following), such as concerning 'setting' (in what context are some practices 'naturally' situated - are these settings, systematically, referring to intimacy, or not?) and 'salience'. The latter concerns the fact that some features of an image will usually stand out, such

as in the many cases of bricolage where it is the ‘added value’ which sticks out and creates the particular character. This is done through the use of potent cultural symbols, the size of elements, their colour (what sticks out, what not; see e.g. in the analysis of comics by Wodak and Forchtner 2014), tone (brightness, possibly to attract the eye), focus (different levels of focus give or deny salience to elements of the visual), foregrounding (thus creating importance) and overlapping (that element which is placed in front of another is foregrounded).

Having introduced the tool kit through which we approach our data, we now turn to the analysis of the aesthetics of the ‘new’ extreme right. Here, we introduce the three cultural themes as they appear in the two imaginaries (from history/authority, nature/authority, gender/authority to gender/intimacy, nature/intimacy and history/intimacy). We do so by, first, reflecting on the respective general characteristics before illustrating these through a discussion of one exemplary image. While not every image in the respective category will be as clear-cut as the one we chose, the aim of this detailed analysis is not to claim a strict sense of ‘representativity’ but, indeed, to present an informative example.

Articulating Authority: Leaders, Wolves and Mothers

We encounter the strongest expression of traditional, extreme right positioning – what one might expect to see when approaching neo-Nazi material – when the theme of the ‘Third Reich’ is represented in the authoritarian imaginary. The typical content of such images includes authorities of the ‘Third Reich’, that is, famous leaders in either ceremonial or otherwise ideologically loaded settings. In many cases, these depictions include superimposed text of some kind of ideological relevance, a quote or doctrinaire extolment. As such, this category not only admits and valorises the connection to the ideological heritage and legacy of classical Nazism, but also controls the ‘message’ of the given image most forcefully. Any ambiguity of the images is as such often forcefully ‘anchored’ by textual overlays or very conventional compositional and content choices. Apart from a plethora of

Nazi leaders, common content includes Nazi recruitment posters, patriotic drawings or photos of heroic frontline soldiers.

Focussing on the images of Nazi leaders, we find an indication of a 'demand' inscribed towards the viewer. This is part of a marking of authoritative power also evident from the imperative language textually superimposed on images, from the general low angle shots signalling the superiority of the subject represented, and the cut usually framing the represented subject from the waist up, thus indicating far personal distance of involvement and interest, but not intimacy (Kress and van Leeuwen 1999: 114-153). The major indicator of an image 'demand' is, according to Kress and van Leeuwen, eye contact which is the case in a number of images. Yet, in several cases the photos neglect eye contact in favour of depicting leaders as gazing over the top of the head of the viewer. Indeed, the angle puts the viewer almost inside a crowd listening to the leader. Clearly, this does not diminish the authoritative stance and demand represented, but renders it in a different way, linking the viewer to an imagined crowd and to the leader.

An extreme example is offered by an image of Goebbels, bearing the quote 'We think with our blood' (Image 1) in which the unconventional cut eliminates any possibility of eye contact. Yet, what remains is by no means less authoritative. Instead, the exclusion of the eyes shifts the viewer's focal point to other elements, thus superseding, expanding and supplementing the imperative. What becomes foregrounded is the mouth, the fist and the leather jacket collar, i.e. references to the force of the leader's rhetoric, the violent vitalism of the doctrine, and the celebration of a certain style which connotes activism and self-awareness. In addition, it is notable that the central term, blood, is, first, put in the colour red (given the colour of the referent, this might not surprise; red, however, is also a colour which draws our immediate attention and thus carries a semiotic surplus against the background of the traditional black and white photo - another claim to authenticity) and, second, written in a particular font type publically associated with National Socialism. The meaning of blood (essence, that which is timeless and of ultimate authority) in combination with this font type (the

political project built on and supposed to defend 'our blood'), thus support the very manifest interpellation of an ideal right subject present in such authoritative image composition.

<Image 1>

We find many of the same elements, embedded in a relationship of 'demand', when the theme of nature and gender is framed by an authoritative imaginary. Especially the propensity to anchor the images with superimposed text is widespread. Nature, e.g., becomes either the majesty of the Fatherland (e.g. spectacular landmarks, landscapes or monumental settings) or a metaphorical shell of an authoritative ideological message: wolves, bears and owls, each in their way, serve as metaphors for various ideal typical elements in this kind of representation of 'extreme right subjectivity'. <Image 2 illustrates this (a black and white image, connoting the archaic) by showing a wolf in a harsh environment, ready to fight (showing its teeth), accompanied by the text 'Tame like a wolf'. The quality of demand in this image is realised by the direct eye contact, and the viewer's involvement with the image is further enhanced by the frontal angle of the shot. However, an unconventional element is still present as the text is also ironic given that the wolf's demand is not to be 'tame'. Neither the wolf nor nature in a wider sense are 'tame' – or will ever be; and neither should the individuals following the extreme right be.

<Image 2>

Besides animals, also forests reappear continuously – and not just due to their beauty, but as a privileged, authority-laden 'home ground' or safe-zone (in one image, the forest is claimed for the extreme right by photographically connecting it to a sign saying 'NS-Zone'). In line with this, propagandistic posters warn that 'The enemy is listening' and couples this with the advice to go to the forest if speaking about important matters. This ideological use of and attitude towards nature is

perhaps best condensed in a kaleidoscopic image of a winding forest trail, textually supplemented by the claim (in English) 'Nature is the ultimate fascist'. Although the image in itself reveals no features which would bring us closer to what exactly supposed to justify such a claim, its implication is clear: nature, for the extreme right, is to be regarded as an authoritative model for their ideal society. Nature is that which is stable and resists the *zeitgeist*, that which *embodies* the long-term and the power of 'the natural'. This notion of the 'the natural' further connects to a strict idea of health and healthy consumption visible in, e.g., numerous DIY images celebrating a vegan and straight edge lifestyle which are supposed keep the individual pure and fit for National Socialism.

In terms of the theme of gender roles, it becomes clear that while parts of the literature on the (post-)modernised extreme right stress the latter's slightly more relaxed relation to gender and sexual activity (Staud and Radke 2012; Sanders and Jentsch 2011), this actor cannot fully escape its ideological roots, which ultimately call the (gendered) subject to conform with traditional positionalities of meaning. Cultural expectations of what it means to be an authentic extreme right man or woman, which gender roles are legitimate and which are not, do regularly return to well-known stereotypes. As such, it is no surprise that most images we encounter in this dimension of gender representation deal with celebrations of 'natural families' and the heteronormative imperative. This happens through images which clearly position masculine and feminine activities, of pregnant women as well as demonstrations against 'gender mainstreaming' and attacks on homosexuality. A slightly more interesting example is given in Image 3, which demands that: 'A German women must be a mother...'. This image has circulated in the online universe of the extreme right and is sometimes accompanied by a caption text which tells us of the origins of this quote (supposedly by 'Elfriede G.' in 1940). This is not only a way of mobilising an authentic voice but, in addition, connects well with traditional views on women in the German *Volksgemeinschaft* and is indeed authoritatively demanded through an imperative ('must'). However, there is arguably more to this image and the way it conveys such a demand. Beyond the text, there is little direct address to the viewer, no eye contact. In addition, the woman's posture, her back half turned, further distances her

from the viewer. Indeed, the close personal distance of the cut combined with the externality and dis-involvement of the 'from the back' angle, positions the viewer as external from the crucial mother-child relationship. This does not in other words present itself as a straight forward interpellation of the viewer in the female role of a 'potential' German mother. Rather it situates the viewer as the subject of a male gaze, or rather: the gaze of the ultimate National Socialist authority, the *Volk*, beholding this ideal German mother. The viewer thus becomes the subject, rather than the object, of the imperative statement and is invited to make such a demand of female counterparts in the collective. Therefore, the ideological interpellation played out in this image goes as much to the representation and construction of a male extreme right subject as to a female.

<Image 3>

That this ideal of woman as mother was core to gender roles in the 'Third Reich' is well known, even if the Aryan women of 1930's found some space in Nazism and was by no means a sheer passive 'bystander' of Nazi atrocities (Lower 2013). However, even more so today, a reductive image of extreme right women as tied to a reproductive function and role is problematic as it corresponds poorly with the relatively active and equal position achieved for women over the course of the latter half of the 20th century. This is in fact no less true when it comes to young women involved with the extreme right. Indeed, even male ideals of (contemporary) women, which emerge in this subculture, are not reducible to this classic Nazi image of the women as mother. Instead, there is space for women as 'warriors' – something which reveals a tension at the heart of femininity in the extreme right. This tension, however, is one handled through shifts to an imaginary of the intimate.

'Intimate Nazis': Girlfriends, Trees and Idolising Hitler

As Sanders and Jentsch (2011: 136ff) too have argued, gender roles in the 'new' extreme right are, though certainly far from emancipatory, not simply mirroring stereotypes. Thus, a specific challenge

is to capture (conceptually) in what sense women play a different, a more significant role in contemporary, (post-)modernised neo-Nazi aesthetics. Indeed, it is noticeable in this context that while the overall percentage of women in the extreme right is significantly lower than that of men (in 2010, the *Office for the Protection of the Constitution Baden-Wuerttemberg* suggested that the percentage of women is 18.7%), the traditional party-wing of German neo-Nazism, the NPD (including its youth wing), unites even fewer (15.8%) while in those parts which include the AN, it stands at 23.2% (Essen 2016: 296).

This need to transcend the classical National Socialist conception of women as reduced to a reproductive role, is supported by our observation that the authoritative framing of women and gender relations (as described above) need to be supplemented with a much more intimate and often romantic imaginary. In some instances, this new framing of women is achieved through inserting a female body in what is a typical 'male' role; i.e. young women in balaclavas seemingly 'ready for street-violence' or in an image of a girl in the woods, wearing a white balaclava and carrying an axe. However, the integration of women in this imaginary is similarly achieved by depicting them in more or less romantic mutuality with young men. What emerges, are images which, in a highly recognizable 'youth cultural' style, depict images of attraction, flirtation, romantic relation or appreciation. The image semiotics here is no longer clearly making a demand of the viewer. Rather, the viewer is often situated as the invisible onlooker and therefore, the image takes the form of an 'offer'. In <Image 4, the primary relation depicted is between the two represented characters who face each other, the male, in a 'caring' and gentle posture, fixing the balaclava of the female one. While a certain power hierarchy might be read into the fact that it is the male figure who is active, there is little in the image to support a reading of it as signifying male dominance or authority. Rather, it depicts a gesture of inclusion; a moment of personal connection within the wider political project. What the reader is 'offered' then is not actually an ideological dictum (there is no superimposed text anchoring this image to National Socialism and it could equally well depict actors on the extreme left). The female figure is less the mother of National Socialism, and more the idealised 'girlfriend' of contemporary (youth) cultures.

This is the transition from an imaginary of authority to one of intimacy. It is the move from a focus on socio-political performativity ('do your duty') to one of personal moments of affection and felling. This might be connected to the point made by Schedler (2014: 248-250 see also ANM 2008) that even if conformativity is ultimately retained (everybody wears balaclavas), the form of National Socialism embodied by the AN and, by now, beyond does allow for a greater notion of individuality and personal freedom characteristic of contemporary (youth) cultures.

<Image 4>

While it might not seem overly surprising that an imaginary of the intimate is brought to the fore in depictions of what is the most traditional form of 'intimate relations' (i.e. romantic connections between gendered subjects), the fact is that this imaginary likewise comes to 'supplement' the authoritarian inscription of both nature and even the 'Third Reich'.

In what might be termed the intimate depiction of nature, we see a similar choice not to superimpose ideological text on the images, but to prioritise the wider and more ambiguous depiction of an 'affective' experience or intensity. What is thematically highlighted in these images is not the imposing grandeur of the Fatherland's landscape, monuments or landmarks, neither is it the instrumentalisation of natural elements, e.g. animals as metaphors for extreme right virtues. Rather, nature or 'the natural' becomes more intimate. Sometimes, this even relates to fun relaxation, such as the reframing of the ideological demands of political veganism embedded in a tableau of images depicting leisure time, cooking with friends and consumption in and of nature which should benefit one's health. Thereby, nature, and above all the forest, are no longer simply ideological 'safe zones' where political enemies are not listening, but becomes a 'milieu' in which the human can be affectively immersed, emotionally overwhelmed and spiritually embraced. Nature, and in particular forests, are thus turned into fantasies of 'returning' or 'retreating' to a site of the most profound and intimate communion with nature. This situating of nature in an intimate imaginary is hardly a novel invention

of the contemporary extreme right. Indeed, what plays out in these images is an anti-urban romanticism at the heart of nationalist thinking about nature almost from its inception (Forchtner and Kølvrå 2015). And yet, this idea of a 'spiritual' return to nature is given new force in the contemporary context because its basic anti-technological stance might paradoxically appeal all the stronger to a youth-generation whose media and entertainment consumption has, with the aid of smartphone technology etc., expanded exponentially. Several images thus combine familiar smartphone iconography with images of nature, thereby signifying that the emersion in nature is the ultimate 'offline' experience – something that would have made less sense to earlier generations.

This idea of nature as an anti-technological, anti-urban and supremely spiritual space of experience is particularly visible in <Image 5 which is accompanied by a quote from Nietzsche in which trees and humans are claimed to share a deep communion in that both, while striving upwards, also need deep roots. Although a clear distinction is present in the image, here as elsewhere often realised in terms of angle and composition, between the 'little' human being and the towering greatness of the woods, there is no clear indication of an authoritative demand being made. It is, in equivalence with the above treated depictions of relationships, rather an offer made to the 'invisibly observing' viewer, that such symbiotic emersion in the natural is still possible. The image offers the viewer a highly aesthetic rendering of a moment of connection, indeed contemplation; but not one which immediately includes the viewer. Instead the bond of intimacy here represented is one between the woman in the front and the forest completely surrounding her. With her back turned to us, and because of her diminutive size, in a frame which would signal 'far social' if not 'public' distance, she is not positioned as the focal point of the viewer's relation to the image content. Rather, she serves – because of her head raised looking upwards and the stance of literary having been 'stopped in her tracks' – only as a means of directing the viewer's gaze to the image's primary subject: the forest which in fact faces us head-on, filling and overflowing the frame. The distance which matters here is as such not that between the viewer and the woman, but rather the non-distance of the embrace between human-subject and nature; the total intimacy of the 'little' human's total immersement in the woods.

<Image 5>

Turning, finally, to intimacy/'Third Reich', we encounter what is maybe the most stunning, i.e. playful and self-ironic, attitude characterising this new generation of neo-Nazis. It is through these characteristics that highly complex, affective relationships with authorities become possible in the first place. While authoritative references to leaders (as shown above) are still common, what we find here is also a subtle move towards a more horizontal and intimate bond with Nazism. These images deal with what is enjoyable and funny in particular 'Third Reich' lifeworld contexts; they include showing Wehrmacht soldiers not fighting the Soviet archenemy, but in a relaxed atmosphere of, e.g., eating ice cream or having fun with their comrades. Indeed 'the intimate' is achieved by seeking out historical images of 'the private lives of soldiers'; kissing their girlfriends on leave, laughing and 'goofing around' with friends behind the lines, balancing on cannons or making silly faces and postures for the camera. But even the authoritative figures of classical National Socialism are not exempted from this intimacy of silliness, fun and a more straight forward 'friendly' emotionality. For example, and in addition to the above, an image circulated by FSN.tv employs a self-ironic element when stating that 'We know who the Babo is', with a close up of Hitler in the background. Significantly, the notion of 'Babo' has entered German language (it became the official 'youth word of the year 2013') through its Turkish-Kurdish migrant community, meaning 'boss', and was popularised by one of its rappers. The irony here is, however, not only due to the intimacy between *us* and *our* Babo, but the implication that *this* Babo is going to 'deal' with those who got the word into the German language.

A similarly relaxed, almost coy, relationship with the leader is visible in <Image 6 in which Hitler, at the centre of the stage, sees his status as the authoritative leader moved into the sphere of the intimate through hearts added (very much like stereotypical ideas of schoolgirls drawing hearts on a poster showing their pop star idols). The energetic leader does not simply lead the way (against what seems to be headwind), but is turned into, literally, the 'poster-boy' of totalitarian authority.

Here too, the image is posted along a comment, exclaiming 'Who the fuck is Clark Kent?!'; thereby intertextually offering Hitler as the 'real' superman, an intertextuality established through the object of a cape which is not graphically added. Importantly, the image does not provide us with a close-up, a natural way of inviting intimacy. Yet, the frontal angle of the shot, the being positioned on the same level as *der Führer*, and, most importantly, the painting of red hearts inscribes Hitler in a form of bricolage, where one would expect to find boybands or other pop stars. The consequence is a shift of the focus from the ideological imperative that this man embodies, to the much more intimate, private, individualistic and unthreatening realm of the adoration and emotional connection between a 'fan' and his/her idol.

<Image 6>

What we have illustrated in the above analysis of images and the imaginary relationships they enable, is a complex simultaneity in and through which the ideal extreme right subject is constructed and represented. While authoritarian demands persist, we have pointed to an additional dimension of this 'new' representation of subjectivity, a dimension more intimately, more post-modernly linking the political ideology to its contemporary, 'youthful' enactment.

Conclusion

The internet in its current configuration is in fact to a large extent a medium of images, rather than simply of text. What we hope to have shown is that the 'new' extreme right is utterly at home in such a medium, and that their composition of images is many faceted. As we have seen, the imaginary social relationships these images make available are complex: they include authoritarian ones in which the subject is supposed to accept claims to truth based on what is presented as authentic demands by the ideology. Yet, the evoked relationships also include intimate moments, intimacy both with fellow 'soldiers' of the extreme right, with 'the ideological leader-figure', with the other sex as well as with

that which offers ultimate stability: nature. While differences between the authoritarian and the intimate imaginary might seem to reveal a deep and ultimately unsustainable contradiction in the online communication of the extreme right, this is not necessarily the case. In fact the ease with which the communication shifts between the two, and the fact that all and any (cultural) theme can seemingly be represented in both, does not indicate that differences between them are perceived as a problem or as constraining these actors. In fact, we would claim that it is exactly because they can make use of, or 'play' with, these different imaginaries, that the otherwise perilous connection between a contemporary 'post-modern' youth culture and an ideology with its original context in the interwar period, can be constructed without debilitating anachronism. As such, Hitler is lifted into the present by re-representing him in the framework of a 'fan-culture' that is eminently contemporary; the ideological bio-politics of German Motherhood is retained, but interwoven with the intimate idealisation of the balaclava-wearing, axe-wielding girlfriend as a contemporary fellow extreme right fighter; and though wolves and the likes are still employed as metaphors for desirable qualities, a more intimate nature is used to articulate contemporary concern with environmentalism and the anti-urbanity of the dream of a deed communion with the woods of the Fatherland.

Thus, while it is true that the (life)style adopted by these extreme right actors is a (life)style which not only originated in the far left but is also intrinsically linked to many elements of its ideology, such as decentralisation and participation, we should indeed be careful not to assume that this necessarily leads to a debilitating contradiction between lifeworld practices and ideological rigour. While many (Schedler 2014: 253ff; Häusler and Sturm 2013: 447; Schlembach 2013: 313; Puls 2011: 130f; Häusler and Schedler 2011: 316, 321) have argued that such a contradiction might lead to the erosion of extreme right virtues (order, a heroic, soldier like ethos etc.) and, ultimately, the collapse of this (post-)modernisation, 'ideological dilemmas' (Billig et al. 1988) are nothing specific to the extreme right. We all live our lives in contradictory manners, something which only becomes a problem if life (and ideology) is viewed as a complete, unifying system of beliefs. Furthermore, contradictions can be enabling, not limiting; productive, not repressive. This is because such a

‘contradiction between possessing a theoretical ideology and at the same time living within a society whose everyday life seems to negate that ideology’ (ibid.: 27) might provoke creativity, experimentation and development, rather than simply fragmentation and decay. This seems to describe the contemporary extreme right and the way these actors have succeeded in (re)-negotiating its existence in an environment, i.e. vis-à-vis (youth) cultures, which do not ‘naturally’ conform to the original ideological dictums and ideal of National Socialism.

Our analysis thus points to a possible way in which these dilemmas and contradictions can be lived and balanced – without leading necessarily to the demise of this revival of Nationalist Socialist activism and thought. As such, this ‘new’ extreme right might well be able to maintain an apparently ‘authentic’ relation to the major totalitarian ideology of modernity, while nonetheless dressing, acting and aesthetically representing itself in ways recognizable and even attractive within the much more irrelevant, ironic and humorous language of contemporary ‘post-modern’ (youth) cultures.

References

- Adorno, Theodor W. (1980). *The Authoritarian Personality*. New York: Norton & Co.
- Althusser, Louis (1971). *Lenin and Philosophy*. London: Monthly Review Press.
- ANM (2008). *an.schlag. Das Handbuch der Autonomen Nationalisten*.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail M. (1984). *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Barthes, Roland (1977). *Image, Music, Text*. London: Fontana Press.
- Berlant, Lauren (1998). Intimacy: A Special Issue, in: *Critical Inquiry*, 24(2): 281-288.
- Billig, Michael, Condor, Susan, Edwards, Derek, Gane, Mike, Middleton, David and Radley, Alan (1988). *Ideological Dilemmas. A Social Psychology of Everyday Thinking*. London: Sage.
- Bülow, Florian Pascal (2014): „Bis an die Zähne bewaffnet mit Schlagzeug und E-Gitarren ...“ - Der Wandel rechter Musik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, in: *Journal Exit-Deutschland*.

- Zeitschrift für Deradikalisierung und demokratische Kultur. Special Issue: Music and Radicalism*, 2014: 179-328.
- Castoriadis, Cornelius (1987). *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Ekman, Mattias (2014): The dark side of online activism: Swedish right-wing extremist video activism on YouTube, in: *MedieKultur*, 56: 79-99.
- Esen, Ellen (2016): Rechtsextremistinnen heute – Aktuelle Entwicklungen und Fallbeispiele, in: S. Braun, A. Geisler and M. Gerster (eds). *Strategien der extremen Rechten. Hintergründe – Analysen – Antworten*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. 287-318.
- Forchtner, Bernhard, Krzyżanowski, Michał and Wodak, Ruth (2013): Mediatisation, right-wing populism and political campaigning: the case of the *Austrian Freedom Party* (FPÖ), in: A. Tolson and M. Ekström (eds). *Media Talk and Political Elections in Europe and America*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 205-228.
- Forchtner, Bernhard and Kølvrå, Christoffer (2015): The nature of nationalism: populist radical right parties on countryside and climate, in: *Nature & Culture*, 10(2): 199–224.
- Forchtner, Bernhard and Tominc, Ana (forthcoming 2017): Kalashnikov and cooking-spoon: neo-Nazism, veganism and lifestyle on YouTube, in: *Food, Culture & Society*, 20(3).
- Griffin, Roger (2002): The primacy of culture: the current growth (or manufacture) of consensus within fascist studies, in: *Journal of Contemporary History*, 37(1): 21-43.
- Griffin, Roger (2007). *Modernism and Fascism*. London: Palgrave Macmillan
- Hansen, Anders and Maching, David (2013). *Visual Environmental Communication*. London: Routledge.
- Häusler, Alexander and Sturm, Michael (2013): Postmoderne Nazis. Die ‘Autonomen Nationalisten’ zwischen ‘radical chic’ und SA-Nostalgie, in: Yves Mueller and Reiner Zilkenat (eds). *Bürgerkriegsarmee. Forschung zur nationalsozialistischen Sturmabteilung (SA)*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang. 433-451.
- Hebdige, Dick (1989). *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Routledge.

- Herzfeld, Michael (1997). *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. New York: Routledge.
- Holzer, Willibald I. (1994): Rechtsextremismus – Konturen, Definitionsmerkmale und Erklärungsansätze, in: Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstands (eds). *Handbuch des österreichischen Rechtsextremismus. Aktualisierte und erweiterte Neuauflage*. Wien: Deuticke. 12-96.
- Kress, Gunther and van Leeuwen, Theo (1996) *Reading Images. The Grammar of Visual Design*. London: Routledge.
- Lacan, Jacques (1994): The Mirror-phase as formative of the function of the I, in: Slavoj Žižek (ed). *Mapping Ideology*. London: Verso. 93-99.
- Laclau, Ernesto (1990). *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*. London: Verso.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1966). *The Savage Mind*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Lower, Wendy (2013). *Hitler's Furies: German Women in the Nazi Killing Fields*. London: Chatto & Windus.
- Machin, David (2013): What is multimodal critical discourse studies?, in: *Critical Discourse Studies*, 10(4): 347-355.
- Machin, David and Mayr, Andrea (2012). *How To Do Critical Discourse Analysis. A Multimodal Introduction*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Maiwald, Gerda (2014): Zwischen Ideologie und Mainstream – Musik im rechtsextremen Alltag, in: *Journal Exit-Deutschland. Zeitschrift für Deradikalisierung und demokratische Kultur. Special Issue: Music and Radicalism*, 2014: 125-178.
- Mudde, C. (2000). *The Ideology of the Extreme Right*. Manchester University Press.
- Paxton, Robert (2004). *The Anatomy of Fascism*. London: Penguin Press.
- Peters, Jürgen and Schulze, Christoph (eds) (2009). *„Autonome Nationalisten“. Die Modernisierung neofaschistischer Jugendkultur*. Münster: Unrast.
- Peters, Rikke (2015): Become immortal! Mediatization and mediation processes of extreme right protest, in: *Conjunctions: transdisciplinary journal of cultural participation*, 2(1): 132-152.

- Pfeiffer, Thomas (2016): Gegenöffentlichkeit und Aufbruch im Netz. Welche strategischen Funktionen erfüllen Websites und Angebote im Web 2.0 für den deutschen Rechtsextremismus?, in: S. Braun, A. Geisler and M. Gerster (eds). *Strategien der extremen Rechten. Hintergründe – Analysen – Antworten*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. 259-286.
- Pisoiu, Daniela and Lang, Felix (2015): The porous borders of extremism: Autonomous Nationalists at the crossroad with the extreme left, in: *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 7(1): 69-83.
- Pratt, Geraldine and Roner, Victoria (2012): Introduction: the global and the intimate, in: Geraldine Pratt and Victoria Rosner (eds): *The Global and the Intimate; Feminism in our Time*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1-27
- ReBelle.blog (2015a): Image shared on 25 October 2015. Online at: <https://www.facebook.com/866299813448901/photos/a.866303166781899.1073741828.866299813448901/896566830422199/?type=3&theater> [14.03.2016].
- ReBelle.blog (2015b): Image posted on 6 September 2015. Online at: <https://www.facebook.com/858103454259520/photos/pb.858103454259520.-2207520000.1457623650./874956592574206/?type=3&theater> [14.03.2013].
- Reinigung des Geistes (2015): Image posted on 27 May 2015. Online at: <https://www.facebook.com/1007334825949675/photos/pb.1007334825949675.-2207520000.1457623998./1130135673669589/?type=3&theater> [14.03.2016].
- Revolutionistmachbar.blog (2015): Image posted on 19 October 2015. Online at: <https://www.facebook.com/Revolutionistmachbar.blog/photos/pb.658161427577422.-2207520000.1457622905./967145476679014/?type=3&theater> [14.03.2016].
- Richardson, John (2013): Ploughing the same furrow? Continuity and change on Britain's extreme-right fringe, in: Ruth Wodak, Majid Khosravi-Nik and Brigitte Mral (eds). *Right-Wing Populism in Europe. Politics and Discourse*. London: Bloomsbury. 104-119.

- Richardson, John and Wodak, Ruth (2009): The impact of visual racism: visual arguments in political leaflets of Austrian and British far-right parties, in: *Controversia*, 6(2): 45-77.
- Ruth Wodak, Majid KhosraviNik and Brigitte Mral (eds). *Right-Wing Populism in Europe. Politics and Discourse*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Schedler, Jan (2011): Style matters: Inszenierungspraxen ‚Autonomer Nationalisten‘, in: Jan Schedler and Alexander Häusler (eds). *‘Autonome Nationalisten’. Neonazisms in Bewegung*. Wiesbaden: VS. 67-89.
- Schedler, Jan (2014): The devil in disguise: action repertoire, visual performance and collective identity of the Autonomous Nationalists. *Nations and Nationalism*, 20(2): 239-258.
- Schedler, Jan (2016): Stilbruch: Jugend(kultureller Lifestyle, Symbolik aund Aktionsformen des Neonazismus im Wandel, in: S. Braun, A. Geisler and M. Gerster (eds). *Strategien der extremen Rechten. Hintergründe Hintergruende – Analysen – Antworten*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS. 345-364.
- Schedler, Jan and Fleisch, Daniel (2011): Vorbild Deutschland: Rezeption der AN in Europa, in: Jan Schedler and Alexander Häusler (eds). *‘Autonome Nationalisten’. Neonazisms in Bewegung*. Wiesbaden: VS. 241-248.
- Schedler, Jan and Häusler, Alexander (2011). *‘Autonome Nationalisten’. Neonazisms in Bewegung*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS.
- Schlembach, Raphael (2013): The ‘Autonomous Nationalists’: new developments and contradictions in the German neo-Nazi movement, in: *Interface: a journal for and about social movements*, 5(2): 295-318.
- Shryock, Andrew (2004): Other conscious/self aware: first thoughts on cultural intimacy and mass mediation, in: Andrew Shryock (ed). *Off Stage – On Display*. Stanford: Stanford University Press
- Staud, Toralf and Radke, Johannes (2012). *Neue Nazis. Jenseits der NPD: Populisten, Autonome Nationalisten und der Terror von rechts*. Köln: KiWi.
- Sternhell, Zeev, Sznaider, Mario and Asheri, Maia (1994). *The Birth of Fascist Ideology. From Cultural Rebellion to Political Revolution*. Princeton University Press.

Taylor, Charles (2004). *Modern Social Imaginaries*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Theweleit, Klaus (1987). *Male Fantasies. Volume 1*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Traditionsrebell (2015): Image posted on 8 October 2015. Online at:

<https://www.facebook.com/traditionsrebell/photos/pb.1697699270463242.-2207520000.1457623835./1708273519405817/?type=3&theater> [14.03.2016].

Van Leeuwen, Theo (2007): Legitimation in discourse and communication, in: *Discourse and Communication*, 1(1): 91-112.

Virchow, Fabian (2011): „Deutschland wird funkeln wie der junge Tau am Morgen“. Selbstbilder und Weltanschauungen der ‚Autonomen Nationalisten‘, in: Jan Schedler and Alexander Häusler (eds). *‘Autonome Nationalisten’. Neonazisms in Bewegung*. Wiesbaden: VS. 90-103.

Werwolf (2015): Image posted on 6 October 2015. Online at:

<https://www.facebook.com/14werwolf/photos/pb.946387402101011.-2207520000.1457623249./947578708648547/?type=3&theater> [14.03.2016].

Wodak, Ruth (2015). *The Politics of Fear. What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean*. Sage: London.

Wodak, Ruth and Forchtner, Bernhard (2014): Embattled Vienna 1683/2010: right-wing populism, collective memory and the fictionalisation of politics, in: *Visual Communication*, 13(2): 231-255.

¹ As remarked by one anonymous reviewer, this argument has a Marxist form. Indeed, we agree that the Marxist logic is marginalized here by a Bakhtian (Bakhtin 1984) one entailing dialogism and polyphony of discourses and subject constitution. This, of course, combines well with our focus on this ‘new’ extreme right as one thoroughly post-modern.

² While fascism should not simply be confused with National Socialism, there are large overlaps concerning their shared revolt against rationalism and materialism (i.e., their organic nationalism, anti-liberalism, anti-individualism; see Sternhell et al. 1994: 6).