

VOLUME 2
ISSUE 2
DECEMBER 2024

WJRS

JOURNAL
OF RIGHT-WING
STUDIES

A PROJECT OF UC BERKELEY'S
Center for Right-Wing Studies

SPECIAL ISSUE: GENDER, SEXUALITY,
AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF THE FAR RIGHT

this page intentionally left blank

THE JOURNAL OF RIGHT-WING STUDIES

A PROJECT OF UC BERKELEY'S CENTER FOR RIGHT-WING STUDIES

EDITORS

Lawrence Rosenthal
Editor in Chief
Center for Right-Wing Studies

Elijah Bures
Managing Editor
Center for Right-Wing Studies

Kelly Jones
Associate Editor
University of California, San Diego

EDITORIAL BOARD

Martina Avanza
Université de Lausanne

Ângela Lucia Silva Figueiredo
*Universidade Federal do Recôncavo
da Bahia*

Margaret Amaka Ohia-Nowak
Marie Curie-Skłodowska University

Kathleen Blee
University of Pittsburgh

Arlie R. Hochschild
University of California, Berkeley

Rick Perlstein
Author and Historian

Teresa Córdova
University of Illinois at Chicago

Harry G. Levine
*Queens College, City University of
New York*

Craig Reinerman
University of California, Santa Cruz

Carol Mason
University of Kentucky

Joseph Lowndes
University of Oregon

Stephen A. Small
University of California, Berkeley

Maureen Eger
Umeå University

Elliot Y. Neaman
University of San Francisco

Vibeke Schou Tjalve
*Danish Institute for International
Studies*

Corey D. Fields
Georgetown University

Troy Duster
*University of California, Berkeley,
and New York University*

Fabian Virchow
*University of Applied Sciences, Düs-
seldorf*

Design by Katherine Booska, JRWS Editorial Assistant, and Jessica Jiang

Typeset in Didot and Adobe Caslon

*Correspond with us at jrwseditors@gmail.com
For submission information, see our website at jrws.berkeley.edu*

©2024 by authors and the UC Berkeley Center for Right-Wing Studies

Published in collaboration with eScholarship, the University of California's open access
publishing platform: <https://escholarship.org>

C O N T E N T S

Letter from the Editor <i>Lawrence Rosenthal</i>	1
<i>Introduction</i>	
Heroes and Hard Truths: Gender, Sexuality, and the Sociolinguistics of the Far Right <i>Catherine Tebaldi and Scott Burnett (guest editors)</i>	2
<i>Articles</i>	
The Science of Desire: Beauty, Masculinity, and Ideology on the Far Right <i>Catherine Tebaldi and Scott Burnett</i>	19
Hailing, Voicing, and Masturbation Abstinence: NoFap's Role in Socializing Young Men into the Right-Wing Politics of <i>Ressentiment</i> <i>Scott Burnett, Rodrigo Borba, and Mie Hiramoto</i>	47
Limbless Warriors and Foaming Liberals: The Allure of Post-Heroism in Far-Right Memes <i>Johanna Maj Schmidt</i>	79
Family Politics in Contemporary Fascist Propaganda: Multimodal Entanglements of National Socialist Ideals, Populist Rhetoric, and Image Bank Semiotics <i>Gustav Westberg and Henning Årman</i>	108
The Discursive Construction of "Truth" in the Email Newsletter of an Anti-Genderist Polish NGO <i>Dominika Baran</i>	136
Referentialism and Discursive Parallels between US "Alt-Right" and "Gender-Critical" Conspiracism <i>Maureen Kosse</i>	160
<i>Essays</i>	
From Pajama Boy to Pepe the Frog: Power, Essentialism, and the Nation-State in the Manosphere <i>Janet McIntosh</i>	188
Why Everybody Wants to Be a Fascist and Why We Should Study Language to Understand It <i>Tommaso M. Milani</i>	206