

# POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND YOUNG MEN

BOYS AND THE CULTURE THAT CORRODES THEM

# KEY EXPERTS + SOURCES CONSULTED

Our study that follows was sourced and validated from a preponderance of evidence, and included, in addition to pulling together over 100 articles, books and published studies, interviews with top experts from a variety of fields all working with or around young men and/or on the issue of political violence in the United States. The top experts we interviewed included:

## **Brian Boland**

Co-Founder at [Delta Fund](#), Former Facebook

## **Dr. Robert Pape**

[University of Chicago](#)

## **Eric Ward, EVP**

[Race Forward](#)

## **Dr. Brian Strahine**

Founder of [Men's Sacred Liberation](#)

## **Alex Berrios**

Co-Founder of [Mi Vecino](#)

## **Steve Baskin**

Director of [Camp Champions](#)

## **Philip Agnew**

Founder of [Black Men Build](#)

## **Sarah Johnson**

Founder of [The Akin](#)

## **Aidan Louisell**

Student

## **Dr. Nick Carmody**

[JD, MS Psych Psychotherapist](#)

## **Mike German**

Former FBI and Current Fellow @  
[the Brennan Institute](#)

## **Patrick Riccards**

Executive Director of [Life After Hate](#)

## **John Della Volpe**

[Institute of Politics at Harvard](#)

## **Tom Bonier**

[ED the TARA Group](#)

## **Simon Rosenberg**

[Democratic Strategist](#),

Founder of New Democrat Network  
and the New Policy Institute

## **Michael Premo**

[Fimmaker](#), Homegrown

For a full list of the sources we leveraged to do this work, click here for a [Link to the Appendix](#)



# WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH YOUNG MEN + BOYS?

This is the question we were asked to investigate. It is one that many people are asking as incidents and threats of political violence rise in America and around the world. Frankly, it's the wrong question.

Boys are having trouble in our culture, sure, but **it's our culture, not our boys, that's the problem.**

“Boys’ problems, at the very root, are not related to their biology or psychology but to a culture that refuses to see boys (and men, girls, and women) as more than a set of gender and, in the case of boys of color, racial stereotypes. Given the nature of these stereotypes, the very social and emotional skills that are necessary for boys to thrive are not fostered.”

— *Niobe Way, Deep Secrets: Boys' Friendships and the Crisis of Connection, p.38*



“

Young men are constantly being policed or made to feel ashamed if [they]... like blowing shit up, right? **It's like for the longest time, you take a firecracker and you just want to see it explode. It's very basic. But you have to be ashamed of that now because that's violence and it's dangerous and you can't like those things.** Me, personally, I think about boxing. I enjoyed and I miss that unique feeling of leather when someone would hit me. It hits and it twists and it's a weird burn on your face, that leather, just the truth that's in that ring of getting hit by somebody and it's like, 'Oh, you got me and I feel that burn.'

But that sounds crazy when you say that to Democrats. **You sound like a crazy person who wants to get punched in the face, who wants to take part in a sport that I've literally been told is savage and for ignorant people.** But for people in poverty, it's a dream to cling to because you're not going to go to college, you're not going to have opportunities. You're going to be discriminated against. But if you can fight your way out — and I literally fought my way out — it gives you an option, an opportunity. And then you get to a place where, now, people are telling you your opportunities [are] ... the wrong ones; you should have done it some other way. But life doesn't give you ... that path. And so, if you're a young man, what do you do [when] on all sides you're told you're wrong?"

”

—Alex Berrios, *Mi Vecino* (a Democratic organization working to register, educate, empower and turnout their vecinos, their neighbors).



# I. THE KINDLING

How our culture is making boys and young men vulnerable to calls for violence

**“We got half of the country telling men, specifically white men, that you are the cause of all the problems in society. Then we have the other half of the country telling those same men that none of your personal problems are your fault.**

So on one side you're responsible for everything on a macroscale and the other side, they're telling them you're not responsible for anything on a microscale. So any personal problems or any lack of self-efficacy or the fact that you're watching 30 hours of porn and video games a week, 'It's not your fault, man. You're a victim.' And on the other side, they're being blamed for 240 years of oppression or discrimination or misogyny that they had nothing to fucking do with.

**[O]n one end, the left is at their back pushing them towards authoritarian demagogues, and on the other end, the authoritarian demagogues are basically pulling them in. That's a huge problem.”**

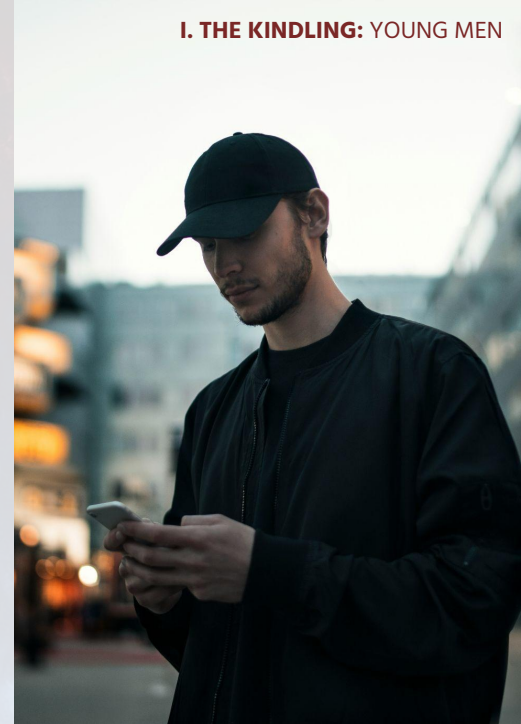
**—Nick Carmody, Psychotherapist**

# WHAT'S MADE MEN **VULNERABLE TO CALLS FOR VIOLENCE?**

Young men today face a unique challenge: **while the world around them has changed drastically, the traditional scripts of masculinity—centered on domination, aggression, and self-sufficiency—remain fixed.** These outdated ideals are often criticized as harmful, yet few new, meaningful alternatives offering belonging and purpose have emerged. This perspective is echoed across our research findings.

## WE HAVE A CULTURE THAT HAS:

- 1 Dismantled coming-of-age rituals of masculinity
- 2 “Group think” + siloes have further isolated men and boys in need of connection
- 3 Suppressed opportunities for men to feel like their contribution will be celebrated
- 4 Failed to delineate new, inspiring models of healthy masculinities
- 5 Elected leaders that fuel violent expressions of masculinity
- 6 Dehumanized men and encouraged men to dehumanize others
- 7 Been taken over by under-regulated technologies that thrive off division and anger







# 1

THE KINDLING: YOUNG MEN

## We've Dismantled Rituals in Our Society

Societal changes have dismantled supportive male development rituals like rites of passage and community traditions. Yet, men are still confined by rigid gender norms that suppress emotionality, strip away purpose, and leave them isolated and unsupported.

## 2

THE KINDLING: YOUNG MEN

# We've Siloed Ourselves and Further Isolated our Men

Modern shifts like social media, the pandemic, and gaming have deepened isolation caused by restrictive male norms that idolize self-sufficiency. With fewer in-person connections, communities often suppress open expression or fail to address extremes.







THE KINDLING: YOUNG MEN

3

## We've Suppressed Opportunities for Men to Feel Like They're Contributing

Shifting norms that criticize traditional masculinity have not been replaced by new models. The reality of economic inequality is especially challenging to men. We talk about men in disfavorable ways and we don't celebrate men's contributions or welcome male energy.



# 4

THE KINDLING: YOUNG MEN

## We're Not Intentional About Healthy Masculinity Models

A culture of male hypersexualization and dehumanization is still the norm, even as we criticize traditional masculinity. We're not offering comprehensive sex education and lack the kinds of positive role models men need.







THE KINDLING: YOUNG MEN

5

## We've Empowered Leaders Who Are Inciting Violence

Elected leaders are flauntingly promoting hostile sexism, aggression and endorsing violent behavior, harkening back to harmful models of masculinity, rather than modeling new ones.

“The part that you can't really predict in a national survey and really are not predictable much at all, are the triggers, which are these spontaneous acts like Donald Trump sending a tweet on December 19th, [2020], ‘to Washington. It will be wild.’ And then the second trigger is he gives that really incendiary speech and then just launches this whole stream off at the Capitol. Well, those events are really critical.”

*- Robert A. Pape, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago*

# 6

THE KINDLING: YOUNG MEN

## We Dehumanize Each Other

Traditional notions of masculinity that dehumanize women for dominance are mirrored in our politics, fueling hostility and violence, while our culture continues to spread misogyny, antisemitism, and conspiracies.



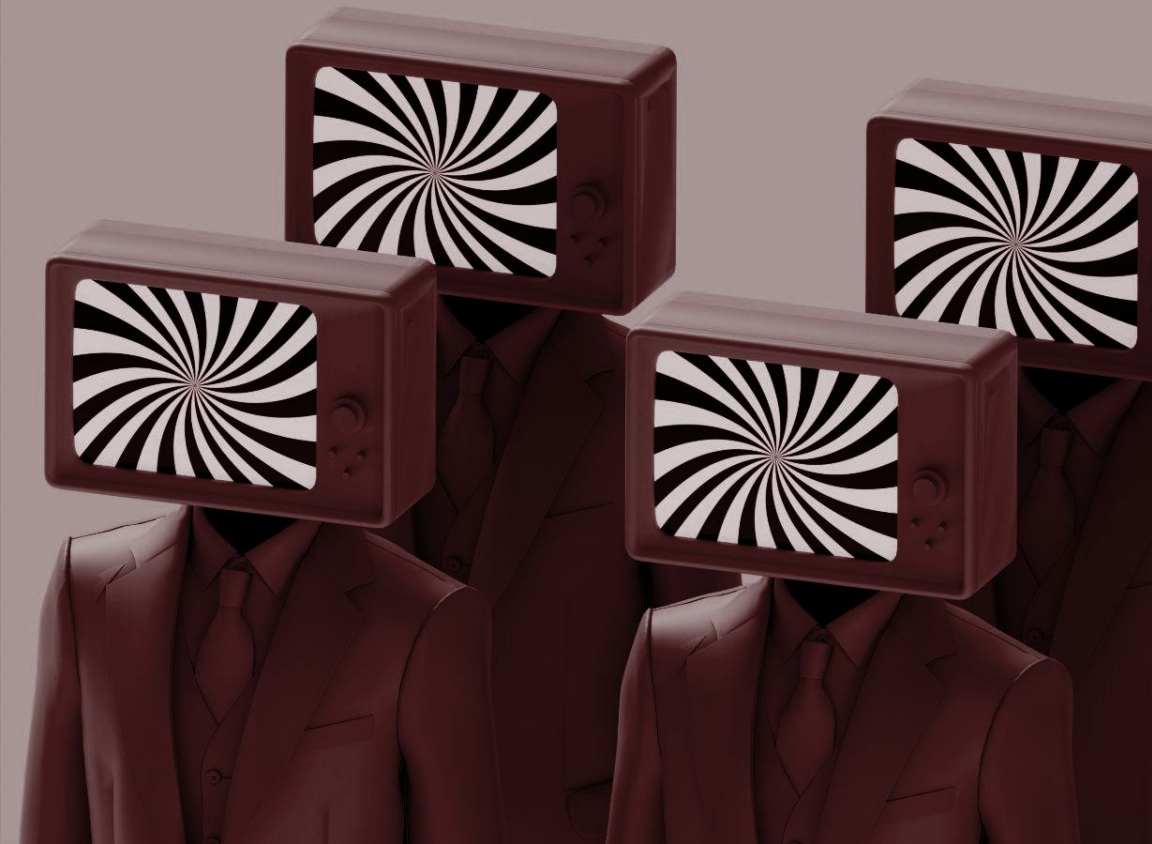


# 7

THE KINDLING: YOUNG MEN

## We Refuse to Meaningfully Regulate Tech

Our tech and media platforms are thriving off destructive emotions of anger, aggression and partisanship, accelerating us towards catastrophe by sending us more and more information, faster and faster. A lot of it is junk that's leveraging existing biases and feeding conspiracies.



## II. THE LIGHTNING

How White  
Supremacist  
movements come  
after young men

THE CLIMATE FOR POLITICAL VIOLENCE IS LIKE  
**A POTENTIAL WILDFIRE – DRY KINDLING  
AND A STORM ON THE HORIZON.**

“It’s a wildfire model. The way we know we’re in wildfire season is because we can measure the size of the dry wood combustible material. But that really is only a piece of the puzzle. The part that you can’t really predict are the triggers, which are these spontaneous acts.

“Political violence is something that can happen more quickly than people might really realize. Because the matches or the triggers or the lightning strikes, those things can touch ‘em off more quickly, just like in a wildfire. And then it’s boom: ‘Oh my goodness, if only I had known it was going to get so big.’”

*- Robert A. Pape, Professor of Political Science,  
University of Chicago*



# WHAT DOES POLITICAL VIOLENCE LOOK LIKE TODAY?

- Most recently, it looks like Jan. 6, 2021, when over 2,000 insurrectionists stormed The Capitol to halt the certification of a democratic election, 716 of whom have been charged, a quarter of whom were armed.
- Since the 2017 “Unite The Right” rally, there have been over 150 politically-motivated car rammings across the United States.
- Between 2016 and 2022, **white supremacist attack plots targeting energy systems dramatically increased in frequency**
- Threats against members of Congress rose tenfold from 2016 to 2021
- A third of local elected officials report being harassed in the previous three months, one fifth threatened
- Despite all of this, we’re not tracking domestic white supremacy violence at the same rate as international terrorism.



# WHITE SUPREMACY MOVEMENTS ARE LEVERAGING VULNERABILITIES AND BIASES

White supremacy movements exploit biases to draw potential supporters further into their ideology.

According to researchers, the number one predictor for support for political violence is hostile sexism.

“So when we talk about far right, it's not political, it's white supremacy. But what if you look at every violent far right organization in the United States today? They are rooted in two things and, surprisingly, one of them is not hating on the Black race or anything like that. **They are, one, anti-Semitic and two, misogynistic.** Those are the two commonalities every violent far-right extremist group in the United States holds today.”

– Patrick Riccards, CEO of Life After Hate

2X

## PESSIMISM, VIOLENCE AND NEWS

Americans who believe the country has changed for the worse since the 1950s are **more than twice as likely to agree that true American patriots may have to resort to violence to save the country.**

89%

## PESSIMISM IS TIED TO MASS NEWS CONSUMPTION

Nine in ten Americans who most trust far-right news (89%) and,

Seven in ten Americans who most trust Fox news (71%) believe:

71%

**American culture and way of life have mostly changed for the worse.**



# A VULNERABLE POPULATION: SOME ILLUSTRATIVE STATS

## ISOLATION AND PESSIMISM

- Men aged 18 to 23 have the least optimism for their futures and the lowest levels of social support (44% meet screening standards for depression; 49% report suicide ideation in past fortnight)
- 65% of men aged 18 to 23 say that “no one really knows me well.”

## TRUST (OR LACK THEREOF)

- Trust in public figures is low. **Young men 18-23 trust Andrew Tate (20%) more than they trust Joe Biden (15%)** - but Donald Trump the most - even if not resoundingly (24%)
- **46% of men 18-23 report trusting manosphere/red pill online venues generally** (highest trust levels among all age groups), even if smaller percentages report trusting them specifically (8% Proud Boys; 10% Jordan Peterson; 16% a voice for men)
- The most trusted government institutions, including among young men 18-23 is the US military

## RESTRICTIVE VIEWS IN GENDER ROLES GROWING

- Restrictive ideas about gender and masculinity are **on the rise** among young men 18 to 30
- 51% of 18-30 year-olds agreed that “if a guy has a girlfriend or a wife, he deserves to know where she is at all time” (compared to 46% in 2017)
- 41% 18-30 year-olds agreed that “a man should always have the final say about decisions in his relationship or marriage” (compared to 34% in 2017)
- 36% 18-30 year-olds agreed that “a gay guy is not a “real man”” (29% in 2017)
- 18-23 year-olds **least likely** of all male age groups to agree that “feminism has made America a better place” (47% agree)
- Adhering to the “man box” (restrictive views of masculinity) gave men the most sense of purpose in life

*[note that restrictive ideas about gender are widespread across ages, but are currently most popular in men 24-37]*

# AND FRINGE IDEAS ARE BEING MAINSTREAMED AND FEEL MORE ACCEPTABLE

A swarm of conspiracy theories now mix with racist tropes, circulating widely among influential right-wing figures and within the Republican party, lending them legitimacy and allowing them to influence policy:

“Black men are inherently criminal, immigrants are ‘invading’ the country, LGBTQ people are ‘grooming’ children, nefarious actors are throwing our elections, leftists are working through schools and libraries to undermine ‘traditional’ gender roles, young people of color are engaging in voter fraud, and multiculturalism is an ideal designed to replace and eliminate white people.”

- SPLC, *The Year in Hate and Extremism 2022* “*Extremism Comes to Mainstreet*”

## THE STATS BEHIND TWO KEY RHETORICS

66%

### The Big Lie:

A majority (66%) of Republicans still believe the 2020 election was stolen.

Per PRRI survey in 2023

7/10

### The Great Replacement Theory:

Nearly 7 in 10 Republicans surveyed agree to at least some extent that demographic changes in the United States are deliberately driven by liberal and progressive politicians attempting to gain political power by “replacing more conservative white voters.”

Per PRRI survey in 2022



# WHITE SUPREMACIST MOVEMENTS ARE ATTRACTING YOUNG MEN BECAUSE THEY LEGITIMIZE THEIR CONCERNS

Eric Ward tells an old joke about a woman who goes to the doctor because she thinks there's something wrong with her arm. It hurts. The doctor insists there's nothing wrong with it. On her way home, she stops at the butcher's shop and mentions her arm and tells him it hurts. This happens a few times, and, eventually, the butcher, tired of hearing about her arm and suggests he could cut it off, having read a book on arm surgery.

“That's the kind of cultural moment we're in right now. It's not about, yes, not all of everyone's anxieties are valid, but it doesn't matter whether you're really falling or if you feel like you're falling, your body and your brain are going to respond in the same way. And we are not willing to kind of grapple with the perception or give any space on the perception in order to hold and keep safe that middle constituency. And that's why ultimately authoritarians continue to rise.” - *Eric Ward, EVP of Race Forward*

ON POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND WHITE SUPREMACY -  
THE LIGHTNING



# FIXING OUR VULNERABILITIES

What's made men vulnerable to calls for violence?	To fix these vulnerabilities, we need a culture in which:
1. We've dismantled rituals in our society	1. We create <b>new rituals to celebrate the passage from boyhood to manhood</b> , centering community and consent
2. We've siloed ourselves and further isolated our men	2. We cultivate <b>healthy, safe, vulnerable, and loving community</b> for boys and men
3. We've dismantled rituals in our society	3. We create <b>opportunities for men to contribute</b> and be celebrated
4. We're not intentional about healthy masculinity models	4. We cast <b>connection and emotionality as central to all humans</b> , including boys and men
5. We've empowered leaders who are inciting violence	5. We celebrate leaders and role models that <b>exhibit strength through collaboration and de-escalation</b>
6. We dehumanize each other	6. We foster and celebrate <b>a less othering world where we recognize each other's humanity</b>
7. We refuse to meaningfully regulate tech	7. We stand up <b>against technologies that further create siloes and divides</b>



### III. FIRE PREVENTION

How we can reduce  
risks for boys and  
young men

“If you want to understand or be at the places these boys are at, you have to be there. You have to be in the Twitch and the Discord and be on these channels and hire people of the right age to actually navigate it for you.”

*- Sarah Johnson, Founder, The Akin*

# MISOGYNY & ANTISEMITISM HIGHLY LINKED

(BOTH NEED TO BE ADDRESSED)

CLICK TO WATCH VIDEO



**GLORIA STEINEM**  
 JOURNALIST AND ACTIVIST WHO BECAME NATIONALLY RECOGNIZED AS A LEADER AND SPOKESPERSON FOR THE AMERICAN FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN THE 1960S AND 70S



**BETTY FRIEDAN**  
 AUTHOR OF 'THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE' THE BOOK CREATED WITH SPARKING THE SECOND WAVE OF FEMINISM IN AMERICA. SHE ALSO WROTE THE SECOND STAGE ON WOMENS ROLES.



**SHULAMITH FIRESTONE**  
 A RADICAL FEMINIST WRITER AND ACTIVIST. SHE IS A CENTRAL FIGURE IN THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF RADICAL FEMINISM AND SECOND WAVE FEMINISM. WROTE THE DIALECTIC OF SEX.



**ELLEN WILLIS**  
 A WRITER AND ACTIVIST WHO WAS A MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK RADICAL WOMEN. CO-FOUNDED THE RADICAL FEMINIST GROUP "RESTOCKING" WITH SHULAMITH FIRESTONE IN 1969.



**HEATHER BOOTH**  
 A CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST AND FEMINIST WHO BEFORE ABORTION WAS LEGAL, RAN AN UNDERGROUND ABORTION SERVICE CALLED THE 'JANE COLLECTIVE'.



**ERNESTINE ROSE**  
 CALLED THE FIRST JEWISH FEMINIST. DAUGHTER OF A WEALTHY RABBI. SHE WAS A PIONEER IN WOMENS RIGHTS MOVEMENTS FROM THE 1830S- 1870S. FIRST WAVE FEMINIST.



**BELLA ABZUG**  
 AN AMERICAN CONGRESSWOMAN, LAWYER AND LEADER IN THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT. KNOWN AS A LEADING FIGURE IN '100 FEMINISM'.



**ANDREA DWORKIN**  
 A RADICAL FEMINIST ACTIVIST AND WRITER. DESCRIBED A 'MALE SUPREMACIST' IDEOLOGY MANIFESTING IN SEXUAL VIOLENCE AND PROSTITUTION.



**SUSAN BROWNMILLER**  
 AUTHOR OF 'AGAINST OUR WILL: MEN, WOMEN AND RAPE' WHICH WAS SELECTED BY NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY AS ONE OF THE MOST 100 IMPORTANT BOOKS OF THE 20TH CENTURY.



**REBEKAH BETTELHEIM KOHUT**  
 CALLED 'AMERICAN JEWIS FIRST LADY' ALSO THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF 'THE WORLD CONGRESS FOR JEWISH WOMEN' PIONEER OF FEMINISM.



**BILLY GREENBERG**  
 A WRITER WHO SPECIALIZES IN JUDAISM AND WOMENS RIGHTS. KNOWN FOR HER WORK TO BRIDGE JUDAISM AND FEMINISM.



**JUDITH BUTLER**  
 PHILOSOPHER AND GENDER THEORIST WHO'S WORK HAS BEEN HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL ON THIRD WAVE FEMINISM AND QUEER THEORY.



**RUTH BADER GINSBURG**  
 ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT. SPENT MOST OF HER LEGAL CAREER ON WOMENS RIGHTS.



**NAOMI WOLF**  
 PROMINENT FEMINIST AUTHOR WHO WROTE 'THE BEAUTY MYTH'. A HIGHLY INFLUENTIAL FEMINIST BOOK ON HOW BEAUTY STANDARDS ARE USED TO OPPRESS WOMEN.



**PHYLLIS CHESLER**  
 WRITER AND PSYCHOTHERAPIST KNOWN AS A 'FEMININE PSYCHOLOGIST'. AUTHOR OF '18 BOOKS MOSTLY CONCERNING FEMINISM'. IN HER YOUTH SHE WAS A MEMBER OF HUSBANDER WITKINER.



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 www.goyimtv.com



EPH. 5:23



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# FINDING MASCULINITY BEYOND MISOGYNY



A lot of the narratives seeking to help men and boys do not include dismantling misogyny at their heart.

Our research suggests that ignoring misogyny comes at our peril. We've learned reliably that antisemitism and misogyny go hand-in-hand in anti-democratic movements. It enables successful recruitment of men and acts as a lynchpin to consolidate a sense of identity and purpose.

But while men with more misogynistic views do report a higher sense of purpose, men with more misogynistic views also report a higher sense of isolation, depression and suicidal ideation.

Must purpose come at the expense of the safety of men *and* women?

We do not think so. Tackling misogyny is crucial for anyone who cares about the existence, fulfillment and outcomes of women and men.

We need to better understand how we can ways to create, communicate and internalize purpose for men. We need a new vision of masculinity that does not include oppression of women or marginalized groups.

# 1

**FIRE PREVENTION:** REDUCING RISKS

## Restoring Rituals of Manhood

Creating inclusive rituals for the transition to manhood is vital. By focusing on community involvement and consent, we can replace harmful traditions like hazing with celebrations that honor individuality and respect. These rituals empower men to define masculinity on their own terms, fostering support and breaking harmful stereotypes.





## 2

**FIRE PREVENTION:** REDUCING RISKS

## Prioritizing healthy community for young men

Building safe, supportive communities for boys and men is vital for their well-being. Research shows strong social connections improve mental health and happiness. Initiatives like men's groups and safe spaces encourage emotional expression, challenge harmful masculine norms, and promote healthier relationships.



# 3

**FIRE PREVENTION:** REDUCING RISKS

## Creating opportunities for contribution and celebration

Creating opportunities for men to contribute and be celebrated fosters purpose and validates their role in the community. Recognizing achievements boosts self-esteem and well-being. Initiatives like leadership programs, mentorship, community service, and inclusive ceremonies empower men while reinforcing appreciation. Policies enhancing economic opportunities further support their ability to thrive and provide.





# 4

FIRE PREVENTION: REDUCING RISKS

## Teaching + modeling healthy masculinity



Reintroducing emotionality, connection, and vulnerability as integral aspects of masculinity is crucial for the holistic well-being of boys and men. Research suggests that emotional expression, connection and a [need for belonging](#) are fundamental human needs and suppressing these aspects can lead to adverse mental health outcomes. By challenging the stereotype that equates masculinity with emotional stoicism, societies can create more inclusive environments where boys and men feel comfortable expressing their feelings and forming meaningful connections.

# 5

## FIRE PREVENTION: REDUCING RISKS

### Getting better leaders who won't incite violence

A Stanford study entitled [Strengthening Democracy](#), found that leaders telling a population to not commit political violence, is one of the two effective ways to stop political violence. Celebrating leaders and role models who exemplify strength through collaboration and de-escalation can significantly impact societal perceptions of masculinity. In fact, by highlighting leaders who prioritize [dialogue and compromise over aggression](#), societies can challenge traditional notions of masculinity rooted in dominance and control.







## 6

**FIRE PREVENTION:** REDUCING RISKS

### Humanizing the other side

Fostering and celebrating a less othering world, where we acknowledge and respect each other's humanity, is essential for building inclusive and peaceful societies. Research underscores the detrimental effects of demonizing or dehumanizing others, as it can escalate conflicts and contribute to violence. Addressing deep-rooted prejudices, such as misogyny, anti-semitism, and belief in conspiracies, requires concerted efforts at the cultural level.

# 7

**FIRE PREVENTION:** REDUCING RISKS

## Regulating Technology

Expanding tech regulation is crucial to preventing political violence, as unregulated platforms can be breeding grounds for extremism and misinformation. Social media platforms play a significant role in the radicalization of individuals involved in political violence incidents. A lack of regulation allows hate speech and extremist content to proliferate unchecked, contributing to the polarization of societies and inciting violence. The Capitol riots in January 2021 highlighted the real-world consequences of unchecked online activity, with many organizing through social media platforms.

Implementing stricter regulations on tech companies can help curb the spread of extremist content and disinformation, thereby reducing the risk of political violence. Transparency measures and oversight mechanisms can ensure accountability and protect democratic values in the digital age. Social media platforms are currently protected by so-called Section 230 — in clear need for scrutiny and reform.





# A NATION ON A PRECIPICE?

“For men to plunge headlong into an undertaking of vast change, they must be intensely discontented yet not destitute, and they must have the feeling that by the possession of some potent doctrine, infallible leader or some new technique they have access to a source of irresistible power. They must also have an extravagant conception of the prospects and potentialities of the future. Finally, they must be wholly ignorant of the difficulties involved in their vast undertaking. Experience is a handicap.”

*- Eric Hoffer, The True Believer, Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements. P 11*

“**I just go to what I think is the worst problem in political violence in the world. And that unfortunately right now is the United States.** So I've been focusing on the United States for the last four years, actually. So even before the George Floyd protest, even before January 6th, I became very concerned that the pandemic led to the federal government dropping the ball that would lead to mass deaths in the United States. And 1.2 million dead due to covid is mass deaths. That's both at the hands of the Trump administration and the Biden administration. And then you end up, once you connect that with my work on political violence, you start to worry as not very many people did, that this would lead to a rise in political violence in the United States that we haven't seen before. **And it's because when people come to lose confidence that their government will protect them, that's what tends to move people toward political violence. It's trying to solve political problems by other means when the government is not really working in a serious way.**” - *Dr. Robert Pape*