

**Milk as Political Aesthetic:
Alt-Right Symbolism and Trolling to Culture Jam**

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Jonathan Bridenbaker

Communication Studies, B.A., the University of Southern Mississippi, 2018

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This Thesis, "Milk as Political Aesthetic," by Jonathan Bridenbaker, is approved by:

**Thesis
Committee
Chair**

DocuSigned by:

Deborah Robson

6/22/2021 | 10:52 AM EDT

ECE0CCD078E041A...

Deborah Robson, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Communication Arts

**Committee
Members**

DocuSigned by:

Jamie Landau

6/22/2021 | 1:24 PM EDT

86E526E70AD0403...

Jamie Landau, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Communication Arts

DocuSigned by:

David Nelson

6/23/2021 | 7:47 AM EDT

8039DCE0039241E...

David Nelson, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of Communication Arts

**Associate
Provost for
Graduate
Studies and
Research**

Becky K. da Cruz

Becky K. da Cruz, Ph.D., J.D.

Professor of Criminal Justice

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Abstract

In this thesis, I analyze the use of milk as a symbol for white supremacy and masculinity in four different case studies: the protest of Shia Lebouf's *He Will Not Divide Us* art installation, the 4chan thread "Enter the Milk Zone," Richard Spencer's 2017 Twitter bio, and PewDiePie's *S O Y B O Y S*. In this ideological criticism, I examine the use of milk as a means of culture jamming, the act of taking an entities' message/symbol and appropriating/changing it to level criticism. I first examine the arguments being made with milk appropriation to construct an ideology of the alt-right. Then, for milk appropriation, I argue that the alt-right is culture jamming the political left by muddying our understanding of the alt-right by the appropriation of normative symbols, utilizing superiority humor to differentiate themselves, and establishing an affective political identity of trolling that exists as a means of subverting the political and social order. Ultimately, I argue that this analysis is useful for developing further solutions in opposing and countering the alt-right's harmful rhetorical practices.

Keywords: Alt-Right, Culture Jamming, Political Aesthetic, Superiority Humor, milk

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Rationale for Study

In February of 2017, a group of protestors formed outside of Shia LeBeouf's anti-Trump art installation, "He Will Not Divide Us," that was meant to call for people to stay unified despite the newly elected President Donald Trump's divisive rhetoric. During the protest of this installation, there were several shirtless, white men carrying around half-gallons of milk (Freeman, 2017). Throughout the course of the protests, many of the young, white men chugging milk would yell internet lingo from the online message boards 4chan and Reddit, such as "my gains!" and "cuck" and "vegan agenda" (Tekajin, 2017). The centerpiece of this protest, though, was the milk that they chugged in solidarity. This choice of beverage appears puzzling on the surface, especially for someone who does not pay attention to the cultural development of these specific internet subcultures, the alt-right and manosphere. Symbols provides a language for groups to rally around and communicate with. Given milk's history of cultural and symbolic value, understanding its interpretation by the alt-right and the manosphere, groups that propagate white nationalism and hypermasculinity, can provide a window into their ideology.

We live in a culture inundated with online content, whether they be memes, tweets, or comments. In this sea of information, dog-whistles, coded language that only a specific group of people can recognize, become powerful weapons by organizing forces that are "meant to draw the attention of some, while going unnoticed by others," (Moshin, 2018). As certain actions and words move into the realm of unacceptability, hate groups find ways to speak to their audience through

coded language to avoid the repercussions of their speech. Dog-whistles have the very real consequence of allowing hateful terms and ideas to become normalized and are ways for communities to coalesce around common understanding.

With the rise of right-wing nationalist attacks, such as the planned kidnapping of Michigan Governor Gretchen Whitmer and the January 6 Insurrection at the United States Capitol, there is a pressing need to understand how the alt-right and other far right groups use both anonymous and non-anonymous online platforms to mainstream their ideology. Symbols and objects such as milk are ripe for analysis and can provide insight into the motivations and beliefs of the alt-right. The perspective presented in this analysis is coming from an acknowledgment of the danger that white nationalism poses in American politics, culture, and law. The Department of Homeland Security (2021) issued an advisory on January 27, 2021 that domestic extremism, fostered in communities such as the ones under study today, poses an imminent national security risk. The alt-right and their ideological factions and segments propose a society that is fundamentally at odds with belief in the equity of humankind. The alt-right correctly understands the power of the internet in shaping the very political and socio-economic systems that govern our lives.

Though, there also must be an acknowledgment that there is no quantifiable way to define the alt-right's membership because of how distributed their ideology is, how it exists at various crossroads with other ideologies, and how it is followed to different degrees among different people. Thus, Marantz (2019) argues that many rightwing and online movements from 2015 to 2018 were swept under the title "alt-right." Thus, this analysis will frequently use the terms "alt-right" and online right interchangeably to describe the cultural and social textures surrounding online right-wing movements, and the term "manosphere" will be reserved for specifically

discussing the anti-feminist and hypermasculine portion of the internet, keeping in mind that the crossover in membership of the manosphere and alt-right is significant (Lewis, 2019).

Woods & Hahner (2019) make the argument that many of the alt-right's beliefs, such as extreme perspectives on immigration and their desire for a white ethno-state, combined with their appreciation for ridiculously over-the-top internet trolls were brought from sites such as 4chan and Reddit to mainstream social media sites like Twitter and Facebook. The alt-right's worship of Donald Trump led many members to the alt-right to create and distribute pro-Trump memes and anti-Hillary cartoons/conspiracy theories. This online presence garnered the attention of the general public and put the term "alt-right" into the public consciousness and normalized their ideas for the realm of serious political discourse (Woods & Hahner, 2019). Their disregard for truth and tech-savviness are concerning on their own, but combined with a very real lack of information literacy among digital citizens, forces such as the alt-right become extremely dangerous in the 21st century. This analysis is not politically neutral and ought to provide greater strategies and methods to counter white nationalism and its related ideologies. Sparby (2017) advocates for studying 4chan and other gathering sites for abusive rhetoric as a call to counter messages of hate by understanding exactly how these sites develop collective identity and export their ideologies to other people.

I argue that understanding how the online right uses milk symbolism can illuminate their ideology, both in their spoken and unspoken arguments. To interrogate this phenomenon, I ask the following research questions:

RQ 1: How does the symbolic value of milk represent the ideology of the alt-right?

RQ 2: How does the alt-right use humor in the context of culture jamming to spread their ideology?

RQ3: How does the political aesthetic generated by culture jamming support alt-right ideology?

Ultimately, I argue that the alt-right culture jams liberalism¹ by re-appropriating the symbolism of milk as an ideology of white supremacy and masculinity. Specifically, this culture jam is achieved through the rhetoric of superiority humor and an affective political aesthetic of trolling. One main contribution of this study is showing how culture jamming, a form of resistance historically identified in anti-corporatism and feminism (Lasn, 1999), is not just used by left-wing activists but that it is also a rhetorical strategy leveraged by the alt-right, albeit with a different ideology and type of prankster. This has implications for understanding both how events like the Capitol Insurrection can effectively organize and how symbolic appropriation affects the stability of our digital public discourse.

Overview of Study

To answer these questions, I will conduct a review of relevant literature on both the online groups under analysis and the theoretical frameworks I plan to use in my analysis, namely culture jamming, superiority humor, and political aestheticization. I will then provide a description of my method of criticism and the following case studies under analysis: The protest of the #HWNDU art installation, Richard Spencer's Twitter bio in early 2017, the "Enter the Milk Zone" 4chan thread, and the Youtube star PewDiePie's video *S O Y B O Y S*. Then, for my analysis, I will situate the appropriation of milk through the theoretical lens of culture jamming. I will first examine the arguments that are being made in these texts to highlight how milk is imbued with the values of the alt-right and manosphere. Second, I will examine how superiority humor operates as a vehicle for carrying out this culture jam, specifically how humor functions in this appropriation and to what end it helps the alt-right and manosphere accomplish their goals. Third, I will establish the relationship between culture jamming and trolling in these texts and how they contribute to the

¹ Liberalism, as used here, will refer to culturally progressive ideas surrounding gender, race, social issues, etc., and not the specific political philosophy.

formation of a political aesthetic, one that I term the “Troll Ethos.” Finally, I will situate this analysis in the larger context of modern political extremism and the modern digital public screen.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The Alt-Right

The term “alt-right” was first coined by self-described white nationalist, Richard Spencer, who wanted to create an alternative vision for the political right in America. He saw that the good ol’ boy Texas Republican politics was not going far enough to achieve what he refers to as the goal of “Western cultural greatness.” Much of his conception of protecting Western society originated from Friedrich Nietzsche’s nihilism, specifically the idea that democracy has failed to fulfill the greatness of mankind because democracy asserts that people should be the decision makers in their own lives, whereas Nietzsche believed in the strength of the “ubermensch,” a man of superior intellect and strength that could lead the world into prosperity (Wood, 2017). Spencer views his mission as defending the cultural tradition of “his people,” i.e. those of Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, and Scandinavian descent, an ideology grounded in fascism. This fascist intellectual tradition, for Spencer, worked incredibly well on the internet, where this ideology existed on Neo-Nazi sites such as Stormfront (SPLC, 2021) but was also spreading to sites like 4chan and Reddit.

The history, composition, and major events of internet discourse can be understood as “a response to a response to a response,” (Nagle, 2017). Throughout the 2010s, culture wars prompted the creation and intensification of the online right to a degree that has not been seen before in the digital world. Nagle (2017) further argues that what is now known as the alt-right was cobbled together from anonymous messaging boards, where mostly young, white men threw their fists against the wall of cultural liberalism that had become prevalent on sites such as Tumblr. This

common attitude along with grievances about “political correctness” would unite white supremacists/nationalists, “edge lords,” and men’s rights activists under the banner of the alt-right. Not only did these groups unite under this title, but they were able to export this ideology to mainstream viewers on Twitter and Facebook through deliberately placed “fake news” and internet memes with missing context (Woods & Hahner, 2019). The website, 4chan, served as an important venue for the development of these groups and ideology.

4chan was created in 2005 by 15-year-old Christopher Poole, who created it as an off-shoot of the obscure online discussion board, Something Awful, which was a forum for discussions of video games and comics. There was a propensity for users on Something Awful to engage in humor that was not politically correct and often incredibly dark, fitting for a site called Something Awful (Beran, 2017). 4chan soon became a playground of sorts for adolescent boys to express taboo ideas and views behind a veil of ironic internet memes and insensitive rhetoric. Here the cloak of anonymity provided many of its users the ability to say anything they wanted without fear of social repercussions (Beran, 2017). The culture of 4chan was and, to a lesser degree, continues to be a space of free speech taken to the extreme, a space where users rely on “edgy” humor to derive satisfaction from being offensive for the sake of being offensive, of ruffling feathers.

Over the next several years, this forum attracted individuals from across the internet. Cyber libertarian minded young men took to the site in droves, many of them holding a disgust for the platitudes of cultural liberalism entering the mainstream fueled by a nihilistic philosophy of the world (Nagle, 2017). There were also the young, conservative men who grew a hatred for what they perceive to be the ridiculousness of liberal politics (third/fourth wave feminism, LGBTQIA+ movements, expanding categories of social identity). This community was also populated by those who created and propagated some of the original internet memes that rose to mainstream

popularity, such as the doge (a picture of a Shiba Inu dog often accompanied by misspelled text) and the forever alone memes that depicted depressed poorly drawn comics (Sparby, 2017). In this brand of humor, 4chan made its mark of being the worst place on the internet. An example of this type of humor can be seen in Lamont's (2019) analysis of the meme Pedobear, who is a fictional bear taken from the cover of a Fallout boy album that was used as a name for someone treading close or crossing over into pedophilic territory. Lamont (2019) describes a culture of 4chan that revels in transgressive and offensive content as a means of accomplishing a few goals. First, users on this platform take issues that are normally serious in nature such as pedophilia, racism, sexism, and terrorism to infuse them with humor in order to grab people's attention. Second, this transgressive humor allows for users of the board to establish a subcultural identity whose purpose Lamont (2019) traces back to punk and anti-establishment subcultures, that of subversive rebellion against normal standards of decency. The very spirit of subversion that inspired alternative punk cultures of the 1970s through the 1990s has entered into a much different ideological and digital sphere. Not only is this humor meant to transgress, though, but it also smooths over its rougher texture with the veneer of irony.

DeCook (2020) highlights that irony is often used as a defense for racism and sexism prevalent in the alt-right, even highlighting how the Youtuber, PewDiePie, had claimed irony as an excuse for the use of racist and anti-Semitic language. These taboo and offensive opinions are posted, as Woods & Hahner (2019) describe, "for the lulz" or the satisfaction of offending and transgressing as a means of bonding with others in the community and realizing one's place in this landscape of ideology. This veneer of irony imbued into alt-right rhetoric allows for what I will argue later as plausible deniability of transgression, a shield of sorts.

The ideological predisposition and character of 4chan made it the perfect venue for the alt-right and, subsequently, their favorite presidential candidate Donald Trump to thrive. Many of the users on the site supported and promoted Trump for a variety of reasons, from agreeing with his xenophobic rhetoric about immigrants to enjoying the chaos that Trump represented, doing it “for the lulz” or fulfilling a need to enjoy the most offensive and politically incorrect version of reality (Woods & Hahner, 2019). The alt-right encompasses many ideologies, but the primary significance of the alt-right has been in how influential they have become in American politics, from creating memes featuring Donald Trump to intentionally spreading fake news and hoaxes to increasingly sharpen political divisions (Woods & Hahner, 2019). This strategy is so effective that Russia used this very line of attack on public discourse to interfere in the 2016 election in a way that the alt-right and 4chan had been doing for years. The appropriation of scientific data that is present in the thread under analysis today is one more example of how 4chan and the alt-right were able to insert themselves into mainstream political discourse, through providing themselves the legitimacy of scientific inquiry.

Nagle (2017) contends that the alt-right’s disproportionate influence over the development of politics during the Trump era were derived from the theories of Antonio Gramsci, who stated “that political change follows from cultural and social change.” This philosophy of action and motivation frames the alt-right as a movement that does not try to convince those in positions of power to change their policies. Rather, it is a movement that aims to reframe people’s worldview through a normalization of transgressive rhetoric and politics. The political shift here is less about policy and becomes more about cultural and social identity (Mason, 2018). A good example of this form of politics are “triggered” memes. These memes are meant to make fun of people who utilize or call for trigger warnings, disclosures of content in media that can activate a trauma

response based on a person's past experiences. With mostly feminists calling for trigger warnings at the time of their increasing popularity (Halberstam, 2017), this practice invited derision from members of the alt-right who made fun of trigger warnings by saying someone who is uncomfortable with or disagrees with an offensive idea is "triggered." Thus, "triggering" someone, expressly violating a person's sensibilities is a form of Gramscian politics. The message is to defeat political correctness; you stand your ground in the culture war by offending those that wish to change you. This form of politics is abundant in our current political landscape, both online and offline. In order to understand how the alt-right has exacerbated this approach to politics, it is important to situate the alt-right, what many would claim to be a fringe political movement, into the broader context of white grievance and racial politics.

Over the last several decades, racial identity has come to shape many of our conversations surrounding politics and social issues. Ramos-Zayas (2020), in her analysis of whiteness studies literature, writes about this idea popularized by W.E.B. DuBois (1963) called "psychological wage," an affordance of economic, social, and political benefits afforded to white people for grounding their identity and their communities in the white race as opposed to economic class. Ramos-Zayas (2020) reviews various literature from contemporary whiteness studies that ground her work in this concept of the "psychological wage" that include subjects that are critical for the development of white identity politics grounded in affect and racial fear, which include: immigration, patriotism, economic anxiety, and the legacy (and continuity) of institutionalized racism.

Immigration has occupied an important place in racial politics, both in terms of policy and cultural mindsets. From the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 to the Trump administration's harsh detainment and deportation policies, immigrants have been situated in American life as marginal

others who exist at the fringes of society, never fully integrated (Witteborn, 2011). Cisneros (2008) identified a common trope of U.S. immigration coverage as situating immigrants metaphorically as pollutants. Even in Europe, this anti-immigrant rhetoric and metaphors of invasion and pollution have been extended to Syrian refugees (Stratfor Geopolitical Diary, 2013). Ramos-Zayas (2020) highlights that immigration intersects with many of the other factors of white identity and politics, such as how economic anxiety is often paired with anxieties over immigration, that the racial other will endanger the economic well-being of people in the United States, often understood to be white people. Though it is important to highlight that in the history of American anti-immigrant sentiment that there has been an unequal valuation of European immigrants compared to other immigrants during the 19th century, where many European immigrants congregated under white supremacy to take their place and privilege in white American Society (Zinn, 2015). Ramos-Zayas (2020) further discusses how a political economy of whiteness is generated through the legacy and continuation of institutionalized racism, particularly by highlighting how the Ku Klux Klan was not an aberrational organization that existed outside of mainstream society. Rather, the KKK occupied a prevalent role in communities throughout the United States. Even if small in membership, the KKK generated feelings of community pride and the integrity of a racial order that served many people living in predominately white areas, that “Klan was thoroughly American.”

Ramos-Zayas (2020) concludes her analysis by reflecting on how children are socialized into whiteness. Looking at the racial makeup of schools and neighborhoods, racial segregation is still incredibly prevalent American life (Blackwood, 2020). Parents move to communities that reflect their racial identities and socialize their kids into activities with people of similar racial backgrounds. While these barriers of diversity and multi-culturalism are being broken down by

activists and legislators, the chasm is still wide. At the same time, a denial of racism's existence as a systemic problem is built so heavily into whiteness as a cultural identity, where the fragility of white feelings and safety from cognitive dissonance is prized over addressing racism as a systemic issue (DiAngelo, 2018). This fragility generates a defensive position that the alt-right takes advantage of in its discourse. While politics of white identity generate a collective grievance against immigrants and black people, a simultaneous denial of this oppression is built into white identity politics. While the alt-right explicitly announces their white supremacy, many people are more hesitant or even morally opposed to blatant white supremacy, but the alt-right has learned how to traffic their ideology and target this white identity politics through their maneuvering on social media. As mentioned earlier, the usage of internet memes and targeted political messaging about immigration that mirrored Trump's approach to calling Mexicans "rapists and murderers" targeted this white identity politics (Woods & Hahner, 2019). Appealing to this particularly Gramscian version of politics allows for alt-right thought to enter the mainstream. Not only does this transgressive framework of political action center race in its discourse, specifically concerning milk appropriation, but masculinity and gender is also a critical component to understand.

The Manosphere

Race is not the only social force that online rightwing movements organize around. Notions of masculinity and the hatred and harassment of women and feminism holds an important place in this discussion. Not only is online sexism important for understanding the online right, but milk is also appropriated in the case studies through the insult and concept of the "soy boy," an insult leveled at men who "lack all necessary masculine qualities," (Sommer, 2017). This came to represent any man on the cultural left, originating from findings that soy has phytoestrogens, or plant-based estrogens (Schaefer, 2015) that were claimed to increase estrogen levels in people that

consume it. Subsequently, as I will discuss later in my analysis, dairy milk is used as a masculine symbol. This use of milk can best be explained by understanding those inhabiting what is known as the manosphere.

The manosphere is a collection of online websites, pages, and groups that espouse misogynistic ideas under the guise of liberating men, that modern civilization has done irreparable damage to masculinity and that women have disempowered men in modern society (Cohen, 2015). The manosphere is comprised of Men's Rights Activists, Incels, and Pick-up Artists who all have a different reason for their distaste for femininity and women, but these groups inhabit similar spaces and share sets of memes and terminology. Men's Rights Activists believe that men are disadvantaged in society. Incel stands for "involuntary celibate" and describes a group of men that resent women because of their own lack of sexual activity. Pick-up Artists are men that view women as prizes to be won, and the act of doing so is both an artform and means of manipulating the "game." These groups embraced a philosophy of anti-feminism that became a very powerful political force on 4chan, Reddit, and certain parts of mainstream social media. The manosphere flocked to these sites over time to safeguard spaces that they considered belongs to them and that are being "threatened" by efforts of inclusion and diversity (Nagle, 2017).

No other event exemplified the character of the manosphere more than Gamergate, which was a collection of controversies centered around women video game journalists and critics, with two women in particular, Zoe Quinn and Anita Sarkeesian, being the center of the manosphere's hatred. Zoe Quinn, developer of the indie game, *Depression Quest*, was targeted by right-wing trolls as accusations of her sleeping with a game reviewer circulated the internet. Anita Sarkeesian, a feminist video game critic, had a series of videos on her channel, *Feminist Frequency*, where she applied feminist critique to video games. Online communities within 4chan and Reddit did

everything from calling them misogynistic names to sending them death threats to issuing bomb threats at their speaking events (Dewey, 2014). Gamergate represents the kind of group trolling that has come to characterize the manosphere. Lewis (2019) argues that the manosphere that rose to prominence during GamerGate, also laid the necessary groundwork for the alt-right to blossom. This was evident by both the presence of Replacement theory, a theory that the white male majority power holders are being replaced by women and racial minorities, and the fact that the alt-right and manosphere operate on the same sites and social media pages. (Lewis, 2019). During the period after GamerGate, a wealth of anti-feminist websites and pages arose in response to the growing fourth-wave feminism that is allowing women more agency to decide whom they have sex with as opposed to those decisions being “dictated by families, religion, or the state,” (Lewis, 2019). Groups of men flocked to the internet to vent their frustration with this status quo, that their sexual urges and rights as men are not being satisfied, spurring the rise of communities like incels and Men’s Rights Activists.

These anxieties, as I will show are present in the ideological textures of milk when it comes to the conceptualization of the “soy boy.” While both the alt-right and manosphere apply their own definitions to milk, understanding the history of milk symbolism is important to understanding where this appropriation fits into that history.

Milk and its symbolic history

Milk is referenced in the alt-right through many ideological frames, whether as a testament of racial superiority (Holt, 2018) or assertion of masculinity in the face of “soy boys,” (PewDiePie, 2018). Milk came to occupy the symbolic realities of the alt-right. Stanescu (2018) observed that milk being used in this white power construction is nothing new. Frequently, the ability to digest dairy and a people’s access to meat came to represent an idea of superiority in brain function and

stamina (Stanescu, 2018). This interpretation of the benefits associated with consumption of certain foods and beverages was formed by the biased interpretation of an economically and socially dominant group of people justifying their own domination over others. Genetic racism, the study of how different races are genetically and biologically distinct, was incredibly prevalent in the structure of American academic and cultural thought throughout the 19th and 20th centuries (Painter, 2011). Part of this cultural story is that the consumption of animal products was tied to a version of American exceptionalism, the dominant, masculine, and white men that led the nation into “greatness” and “expansion,” (Stanescu, 2018). This myth brings into question the significance of milk and its symbolic history in Europe and the United States.

Throughout history, milk was representative of different values that illuminated very distinct things about a culture. For instance, Aristotle thought of “milk as nature” or milk as a perfect window into the mysteries and potentials of life, transferring the essence and ability of one being into that of another, but many Grecians regarded drinking milk as a barbarous act, only acceptable when making cheese (Valenze, 2011). Attitudes changed during the Renaissance when milk started being viewed as a nourishing force. Many women in famous Greek tales would “nurse” a loved one back to health, often referencing both directly and indirectly breasts as the source of the nutrition (Valenze, 2011). Milk represented vastly different things to different cultures and eventually began to be shown in a more positive light by the 20th century.

After mass hunger and the accumulation of dietary research in the United States during World War I, the federal government invested heavily in the dairy industry to reduce the price of milk and encouraged the use of it in hunger alleviation campaigns. This move earned Americans the title of “great milk drinkers” as it eventually became an engrained part of the American diet (Valenze, 2011). Milk continued to dominate American dietary standards and cultural mindsets,

from the delivery of milk to households during the 1920s due to the lack of refrigeration technology to the “Got Milk” campaign of the 90s. In the focus group that eventually led to the generation of the iconic slogan, “Got Milk?” people described milk as a critical part of their diet, almost a ritualistic consumption, with one man who described going downstairs to pour a bowl of cereal as critical to his daily routine, signifying an emotional connection (Daddona, 2018). This campaign blew up into an iconic slogan that reverberated through pop culture, promoted by its numerous milk mustache commercials, especially ones featuring celebrities and cartoon characters.

Milk has come under great scrutiny over the last decade as research began to uncover certain health risks of milk and the prevalence of lactose intolerance in the population was made more apparent. Iftikhar (2020) lists health benefits versus risks, with the risk column being just as lengthy as the benefits. Several alternatives to dairy milk were listed in this analysis, such as almond milk, oat milk, and, most important for the alt-right, soy milk. For the alt-right, milk has come to symbolize two things in response to the research of milk and the growing popularity of milk alternatives: hypermasculinity and racial superiority. But these associations with milk did not start with the alt-right and manosphere. Milk has long been associated with whiteness, from early colonization to the present day.

Dupuis (2006) argues that the pressure on agricultural societies to produce “pure” milk actually resulted in a gatekeeping of material resources, the need to exclude racialized others in order to preserve its purity, even with milk production in colonized African countries like Zimbabwe (Hove & Swart, 2019). Gambert (2019) further elucidated that government officials and nutrition organizations throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries constantly linked milk as a “perfect, white drink” that provided Anglo-Saxons the necessary strength to build civil society. Pamphlets circulated by the U.S. National Dairy Council in the 1920s even stated that the

people that consumed lots of milk were the people who built civil society, those people being white (Gambert, 2019). The color of milk has also contributed to this association between milk and white supremacy, with descriptions of racial diversity measured by things like milk in coffee metaphors (Cornwell, 2011) and praises of the whiteness of milk as attributable to its goodness (Gambert, 2019). In order to understand how milk has developed its most recent connotations surrounding white supremacy and masculinity, it is important to understand the vehicle for that appropriation in the context of the alt-right, culture jamming.

Culture Jamming

Lasn (1999) describes culture jamming in a comprehensive fashion in her book *Culture Jam*, specifically from an anti-corporatist perspective. Culture jamming is the art of disrupting dominant ideology through a satirical depiction of it using its own structures or icons, a practice that Lasn (1999) identifies as a way to promote a consciousness about manipulation by corporations that consumers experience. Lasn (1999) describes culture jammers as “shock troopers” that are on the front lines of resisting the colonization of our minds by a variety of social forces. Lasn (1999) specifically describes culture jamming in the context of 90s American consumer culture, where corporate branding and the personification of brands took center stage. Economic prosperity brought with it high rates of personal connection to capitalism and what Lasn (1999) describes as an “ecology of mind” where rates of mental illness were on the rise (a story that is even more true today). These social conditions are, thus, the motivation to fight, the injustice to correct.

The ways in which culture jammers reject and challenge these dominant ideologies are numerous. The most classic example that Lasn (1999) uses is how ad jammers re-appropriated companies’ advertising to level criticism at them. For instance, Ron English produced

advertisements “for” tobacco companies that exposed the darker sides of their business models, by having a deceased body overlaid by the logo for the cigarette brand, Kool, and an ad for Camel cigarettes having “kids” written under it in colorful letters (Klein, 2009). These parodies take advantage of the existing corporate branding in order to engage in what Lekakis (2017) calls excorporation, “when activists use the logic of appropriation to carve new meaning out of the resources available.” Harzman (2015) states that culture jamming achieves its goal of subversion through three processes: Artifact, distortion, and awareness. First, culture jamming, as a practice, necessitates the existence of an artifact to parody/satirize and subvert meaning for. Second, the rhetor draws on the elements present within the existing symbol to distort the message and create new, critical meaning. Third, an alternative awareness is created in the audience of the original message, hopefully for culture jammers, one that is negative.

Much of the research on culture jamming is associated with anti-corporatism (Harold, 2007; Harzman, 2015; Klein, 2009; Lasn, 1999; & Wettergren, 2009) or understanding culture jamming as praxis (Harold, 2004; Milstein & Pulos, 2015). These traditions of culture jamming focus mostly on movements on the left. Historically, this kind of transgressive political praxis once characterized left-wing movements in the mid-20th century, from anti-war activists to feminists. Strikingly missing from the literature on culture jamming is its use by online rightwing movements whose dominant praxis is taking what is considered sacred or devoid of substantive meaning and twisting it. For the members of the alt-right, political correctness and “wokeness” are not only the perfect targets for satire, but they are necessarily enemies of their transgressive spaces.

Lasn (1999) states that culture jamming is not an isolated practice, but rather, it is a practice with a philosophical history in resistance movements. To understand the purpose of culture jamming, understanding the two philosophical underpinnings of this theory and praxis is

necessary, situationism and detournement. Situationism is the belief that life can be lived in two ways, one that is normal and expected under dominant social structures and one that is exploratory and daring, a genuine expression of human rebellion (Lasn, 1999). An example of situationism can be the difference between performing the gender identity a person is assigned at birth versus resisting the values of gender expression externally placed on them to discover their own unique gender expression. Hannah Arendt and Albert Camus recognize the danger of ideology and absolute structures of thought, and for them, the very practice of politics requires a rejection of absolute truth and an acceptance of an absurd world that is not strictly confined to human constructed ideology or structures (Isaac, 1992). Situationism operates as a rejection of essentialism, the argument that there are definable and essential natures of humanity that we can accurately represent and understand. The symbolic nature of our material world leaves open possibilities for subversion that people often take advantage of.

While situationism is a philosophy of the ways in which we live and organize our lives, detournement is defined as “rerouting spectacular images, environments, ambiances and events to reverse or subvert their meaning, thus reclaiming them,” (Lasn, 1999). Detournement takes the rejection of normative structures and uses performance to redefine those structures, whether it is Berkley students occupying their campus as a way of protesting university bureaucracy (Landau, 2008) or protestors taking the language given to them by their leader and turning that language into graffiti and internet memes (Kiziltunali, 2020). Detournement’s obsession with material rhetoric, a way of transforming our material reality into a statement or judgment of that reality, is inherently rebellious. By subverting the sanctity of spaces and symbols of power in a material fashion, the individual empowers themselves by showing the world that the powerful are not inherently powerful, that they derive power from our acknowledgment. By subverting that

acknowledgment, protestors, from Occupy Wall Street to the hacker collective, Anonymous, subvert structures of power. Both elements of situationism and detournement are present in culture jamming that Lasn (1999) describes as both a way to view and understand one's position in the world and do something about it.

In its most basic form, culture jamming is the appropriation of symbols as a means of disrupting narrative and power structures. This praxis is effective due to the enduring power of symbolisms on our collective social mindset. Lasn (1999) talks about "memes" as a source of power in cultural conflict. While memes at the time this theoretical text was written had a different meaning, being more closely aligned with Dawkin's original conception of memes as a unit of cultural information (Shifman, 2014), the essential principle of memes that Lasn (1999) discusses still very much relate to the production, replication, and distribution of cultural information on the internet. This essential principle lies in the normalizing power of memes, that Lasn (1999) describes as the ability of "a catchphrase, a concept, a tune, a notion of fashion, philosophy, or politics" to "leap from brain to brain to brain." Lasn (1999) states that while protests and direct forms of disruptive action can be influential to a degree, the real change is when cultural symbols and their meanings are taken and transformed to shape the way that people think about the world. Essentially, "whoever has the memes has the power," (Lasn, 1999). In the context of the internet, symbolism is constantly appropriated, and memes have become the language of the modern internet, where many jokes online are context-dependent, requiring a prior knowledge of the history of certain concepts, media, and other internet memes to find humor and solidarity.

The character of the culture jammer is also noteworthy. Lasn (1999) describes the culture jammer as motivated by rage, which is argued to be a good thing, a force of emotion that can be harnessed to affect revolutionary change. For Lasn (1999), the culture jammer not only must

harness rage and revolutionary purpose, but the culture jammer must also be confrontational, unafraid of shedding the façade of politeness in activism, and insistent on maintaining sovereignty and integrity. This attitudinal position places the culture jammer as a necessarily aggressive actor, one that requires anger and a direction to channel it in order to achieve its goals of subversion.

I argue that while culture jamming presents many benefits to change makers looking to reform the social order to be more equitable and freer of manipulation by consumer driven markets, there is also darker legacy to this practice that we have seen develop over the last few decades with the internet becoming our primary location of politics and culture. My contribution to this field of research is understanding that culture jamming does not just belong to the left, but that it is now also used by extreme rightwing forces to disrupt or “culture jam” social progress and cultural liberalism. Milk and its scientific and cultural history served as the venue for alt-right ideology to both reappropriate milk’s symbolism and level a criticism surrounding multiculturalism and masculinity.

Culture jamming, in its parodic capacity, is meant to reveal the practices that organizations and societal forces would rather stay quiet (Harold, 2007). Through this exposure of the inconsistencies and absurdities of prevailing structures, the culture jammer taps into an affective element, drawing from existing feelings and emotional dispositions present within the system. For instance, Wettergren (2009) highlights the affective character of culture jamming in the context of late-stage capitalism, where much of our emotional state is tied to the conditioning and mentally colonizing force of consumerism that we experience under capitalism. Culture jamming allows for a disruption of these normative spaces by not only exposing inconsistent practices but operating as a liberatory emotional space for the culture jammers themselves and those who consume their messages. Wettergren (2009) characterizes the emotional liberation of “fun and laughter” in

culture jamming as an expression of real emotion, a “utopian laughter” that rebukes the colonized affective order. Humor, specifically satire, operates as one of the most prominent pillars of culture jamming praxis.

Satire is the process by which the elements of a created work are used to either subvert expectations or level criticism toward an institution, while a parody entails an imitation to level criticism at the original work. Culture jamming can be either parody or satire, taking the template of an institution and/or ideology and using it as commentary either about the entity the message came from or about society writ large. Satire relies on the intertextuality of artifacts that build meaning over one another (Betruccelli Papi, 2019). Fichman and Dainas (2019) characterize trolling, the quintessential practice of those in the alt-right, as having satirical capacity, and in this satirical capacity, trolling even takes the subjects and institutions that we hold as sacred or normative and twists them to subvert their power. While satire is the structure of humor inherent to culture jamming, the form of humor being deployed in milk appropriation is superiority humor.

Superiority Humor

While the argument that white nationalists make with the symbolism of milk is dark and horridly offensive, the way they present their argument is intended to be humorous. Specifically, the culture of the alt-right often takes these serious and dangerous belief systems, transforming them into jokes that allow for a certain level of plausible deniability (DeCook, 2020). This type of joking is nothing new. Racial disparagement and sexism in humor is an incredibly effective tool of socializing individuals to believing negative stereotypes about others, whether they are Polish jokes (Barrick, 1997), jokes about black people and immigrants (Billig, 2001; Malmqvist, 2015), or jokes disparaging women (Parrot & Hopp, 2020). By making a joke at another’s expense, their

dehumanization is presented more lightheartedly. This highlights how impactful humor is as a sociological force.

Humor fulfills a variety of social functions, one of which we have seen is the process of differentiation, using laughter to reinforce social norms by connecting to those who think or look the same way that we do and marginalize those that do not resemble us. This explanation of humor is known as the superiority theory of humor (Meyer, 2000). Essentially, superiority humor theory outlines an argument that, due to our cognitive need to reinforce social norms, there are people who laugh and people who are laughed at. In this way, superiority humor utilizes the power of humor as a means of social cohesion and identification (Meyer, 2000), and this delineation between who and, what we laugh at creates power inequality. But this marginalization is done with a laugh and a smile and dismissed, just like when Billig (2001) highlights how superiority humor is utilized by the Ku Klux Klan, who, among other hate groups, utilize superiority humor to perpetuate their ideology and provide themselves plausible deniability.

Language is the primary mechanism upon which ideology is built. Jokes and humor are a form of language where social norms and reality are negotiated, replicated, and distributed (Salamon, 2007; Shifman & Lemish, 2011), and with ideology being the sum of a variety of social practices and beliefs (Morgan, 2018), one of humor's primary functions is engendering ideology. Meyer (1990) observes that humor is utilized by politicians not only for the functional aspect of relating to their audiences but also as a means of giving themselves and their ideas credibility. In facilitating that identification, audiences identify not only with the person or group of people utilizing humor but with the ideas and sentiments attached to those jokesters. This identification is constructed through a process of intertextuality.

Understanding humor is also contingent on prior knowledge of those hearing or participating in the joke, relying on intertextuality, or the comprehensive understanding of the various “texts” that are interwoven (Tsakona, 2018). Some jokes have meaning that can relate to most people, such as knock-knock jokes, but others, such as political satire and internet memes, require a higher level of “in-group” knowledge. This aspect of humor provides it with unique social properties whose ramifications are wide-ranging, especially in the realm of superiority humor. In-group and out-group qualities of humor also apply to ideology, where members of one ideological group are more likely to cooperate with and relate to those in the same group (Balliet et al., 2018). Mason (2018) highlights this division, where not only is there massive disagreement between people of different identities but animosity toward one another. In 2021, we have seen the outbreak of political violence during the January 6 Insurrection, where in-group and out-group mentalities were taken to the extreme. While humor seems much less dire, the segmenting effects and reliance on intertextuality make humor a venue for generating biases about other people, and this is especially enabled with superiority humor. Different forms of humor and laughter have also brought with them different functional and ideological textures. At a biological level, Darwin (1872) identified laughter as a prosocial mechanism in mammals that indicates pleasurable meetings, social bonding, and social chastisement. Beyond biological function, cultural and social connotations become attached to humor and laughter. For example, Kjeldgaard-Christiansen (2018) identifies “evil laughter” as a way to inform those hearing it that the person or group laughing is inverting the pro-social nature of laughter. This inversion characterizes the ones laughing as devoid of human empathy, as antisocial beings. The ideological implication here is the vilification of the person or group that performs the “evil laugh.” Once this trope is utilized throughout popular media as a way to point villains out to the audience, these villains oftentimes

not only express the evil laugh but are often racialized. This can be seen in the case of many Disney and Pixar films such as Jafar from *Aladdin* and Scar in *The Lion King* that are either represented or coded as darker skinned Arab villains associated with Orientalism (Lugo-Lugo & Bloodsworth-Lugo, 2009), in order to tie villainous texture to identifying characteristics of specific racial groups. This portrayal of the evil laugh both draws from and reinforces existing stereotypes, but more consequential for this analysis, humor and laughter can signal ideological meaning in ways such as this.

Not only is the way that characters and people laugh imbued with value but also how humorous content is structured can indicate certain values. Gal (2019) identifies the participatory nature of humor on social media as boundary work, arguing that in these spaces, individuals and groups are setting and reinforcing social boundaries whenever they share or produce humorous content online. So sharing a pro-Trump or anti-Trump meme, for instance, creates and/or reinforces boundaries for political expression in certain digital social spaces. The existence of online racist humor is often thought of as aberrational and a problem of anonymity, that these sick individuals are engaging in unrestrained racial epithets despite mainstream morality (Malmqvist, 2015). While that undeniably happens on the internet, often both humor and the participatory nature of online communities provides the gateway for racist rhetoric to be deployed in an organized but indirect fashion (Topinka, 2018). As discussed earlier, there is a level of cover that facilitating ideology through humor affords. Billig (2001) highlights that even the KKK, in their hateful humor, covers themselves by claiming that they are “just joking.” On digital platforms, these types of abusive humor become even more elusive due to the algorithmic structure of social media sites that reward highly engaged content, which often tends to be controversial and bigoted content (Matamoros-Fernández, 2017). Consequentially, humor that draws both people that agree

and disagree with the premise of an offensive joke tends to be some of the most visible content on social media. With greater visibility, the distribution of these forms and styles of superiority humor become easier. Hoedemaekers (2011) even asserts that the offensiveness of a joke is a strength of offensive humor because it exposes the fragile sanctity of social morals and norms by creating a space where laughter can be permitted in cases typically prohibited by said morals and norms. This is apparent in the success of notoriously offensive comedy, whether it is the success of television shows like *South Park* and *Family Guy* or comedians such as Kat Williams and Dane Cook.

Furthermore, ironic humor, a prevalent form of humor and one that is frequently used by various digital social movements, creates an in-group network of those who get the joke. Those that do not “properly decode the message in such cases hold great potential for face damage, turning the failed addressee into the butt of the joke, and providing the addressor (and her successful addressees) with a sense of superiority,” (Gal, 2019). The creation of in-groups and out-groups is the most important feature of superiority humor (Meyer, 2000), where “sides” are constructed to indicate a moral versus immoral group. In its most extreme form, humor often galvanizes political animus toward people of different ideologies and political parties (Alzouma, 2019). Woods & Hahner (2019) characterize the political rise of Donald Trump as relying on the trolling and vilification of political opposition, such as how Hillary Clinton and Nancy Pelosi were personally attacked and made fun of as a way of cultivating both opposition to liberalism and congregation around a brand of social conservatism. By highlighting differences with others and making those differences a matter of ridicule and laughter, values are implicitly or explicitly stated and reinforced, constituting the ideology of the group laughing. Superiority humor operates as a means of taking power, where the construction of a superior position that is reinforced through mocking an opposing ideology, group, or individual provides the individual telling/agreeing with

the joke more relational power (Vallade et al., 2013). If enough people laugh at a stereotype and/or joke, then that joke becomes the dominant ideology that operates to marginalize and withhold power from the groups of people who are being laughed at or are left out of the joke (Malmqvist, 2015).

These ideologies constructed by superiority humor do not exist in isolation. Backlash to racist and sexist humor occur all the time. Bressler (2018), utilizing the superiority humor framework, identifies two types of humor: women's humor and feminist humor. Women's humor falls into traditional structures of power that have women telling jokes that perpetuate negative stereotypes about women being "air-headed" and materially obsessed. Feminist humor, on the other hand, formed as a backlash to negative stereotypes and jokes leveled toward women, functioning to point out the ludicrous nature of stereotypes and those that perpetuate them (Bressler, 2018). Humor can even be utilized as a tool of accountability and vigilance. Dynel (2020) conducted an analysis of a board on Reddit called r/IncelTears that aims to poke fun at incels, short for "involuntary celibates," who are men on the internet that direct their grievances about their celibacy at women, who they claim hold all of the power in society. These groups often engage in violent speech about women, and this violent speech has even resulted in mass violence, as in the case of Elliot Rodgers who killed seven sorority women in 2014 (Nagourney et al., 2014). On this forum, Dynel (2020) argues that users engage in "vigilante humor" where they not only deride incels to differentiate themselves, but also hold those comments accountable and highlighting the dangerous nature of the incel community. In these ways, humor is a reactionary process that responds to the social conditions that people are experiencing. Superiority humor does not necessarily indicate that the person engaging in it objectively has more power. Rather, superiority humor is a comparative analysis of at least two groups, positions, and values where the

espouser of the joke is socially desirable, and the target of the joke is deemed socially undesirable. Once this form of humor is systemized, ideologies can be effectively disseminated through making the joke tellers fear the social consequences of becoming the joke.

More recently, there has been massive pushback against “political correctness” and now “cancel culture” where standards of decency and the awareness surrounding how humor can be weaponized and harm people have come into focus. These rallying cries against political correctness celebrate a transgression of norms and decency standards, almost as if breaking them is revolutionary (Chow, 2016). This opposition to “political correctness” gave the right, especially the online right, the cultural framework it needed to gain influence in our cultural sphere (Woods & Hahner, 2019). Now, cancel culture has become the new buzz phrase of the political right, rallying against these standards of decency in a similar way that the crusade against political correctness had before. Kurtzleben (2021) claims that while these issues are of real concern in how we organize our society to make it more inclusive and observant of different points of view, these phrases are “easily weaponizable” to the point where the theme for CPAC, the annual conservative political conference attended by conservative politicians and activists, was “America Uncancelled,” (Montanaro, 2021). In this atmosphere, there exists fertile ground for the propagation of superiority humor, as there are many trolls that enjoy causing distress to others and to our social fabric, and there are people on the internet ready to engage trolls, unknowingly fueling their rhetorical mischief.

Political Aestheticization & Trolling

Politics is not just voting for the president every four years. Rather, political ideology lives and breathes through the lives of everyday people. People enact their political identity frequently, “from dumpster diving to skateboarding, from poetic manifestos to critical journalism, from an act

of assertion imposing your undesired presence near the subway station to growing kale on the sidewalk,” (Boudreau & Joëlle, forthcoming; Nadeau, 2019). With our performance and reinforcement of political identity occurring so frequently, ideology requires little consistency between social identity and policy preferences. Mason (2018) finds that our agreement with policy positions and what we label ourselves has a very weak positive relationship. In other words, social identification as a conservative or liberal is not bound by the nuances of policy, but rather, this political identification can be understood more like rooting for a football team. The reason to support and identify with a team is often a matter of loyalty and affective attachment. Affect is a key component of political identity, how one feels about themselves and their relationship to the outside world. Foucault (1992) describes political engagement as an “art of existence” in which people “not only set themselves rules of conduct, but seek to transform themselves, in their most singular being, and make their life into an oeuvre that carries certain values and meets certain stylistic criteria.” Essentially, political identity can be conceptualized as a web of interconnected performances, with each performance carrying symbolic value. Wearing a t-shirt branded with an anti-war logo is a political performance. Consciously making the effort to recycle is a political performance. Watching a movie about the Holocaust is a political performance. All of these activities, due to the justification provided for their value, create or reinforce worldviews that are the backbone of ideology.

This performance of identity has very real emotional consequences for people in public discourse. Simchon et al. (2020) observe higher rates of depression among liberal voters when discussing the effects of the 2016 election, and Pfefferbaum et al. (2019) observed higher rates of anxiety and depression in youth who are exposed to political violence. Clearly, there is a level of emotional resonance that is attached to politics, and with Americans increasingly attaching their

affective identity with politics and social issues (Mason, 2018), the more volatile political discourse becomes. Nekmat & Ismail (2019) found evidence supporting the idea that the degree of someone's expressive support for issue positions on social media (liking, commenting, and sharing) was positively correlated by their level of both opinion congruity, how much one feels as if their opinion is the same as the group they belong to, and their perceived efficacy of activism among their group. Both cognitive processes and metrics are distinctly social and emotional phenomena that centers group acceptance.

For extreme political identities like the alt-right, political identification is also grounded in performance of that identity. Political identity becomes more than a vision of the future that you hope and work for. Political identity is the clothes associated with the ideology, the marches that you attend, and what social needs political engagement satisfies. Nadeau (2019) describes this process as the "aestheticization" of everyday life, where our bodies and their orientation in the world is the primary locus of politics. Struggle and social needs propel our political identity. For example, Frank Meeink, a former skinhead neo-Nazi who now leads anti-hate talks, described his experience to Jody Roy (Meeink & Roy, 2017) of feeling disempowered throughout his childhood and witnessing/experiencing violence. Meeink felt a sense of self, safety, and control once he joined his cousin's band of neo-Nazis, translating feelings from his personal relationships into hardcore ideological devotion. This is mirrored in Nadeau's (2019) interviews with skinhead right-wing extremists in Ontario, who describe feelings of disempowerment throughout their lives and obtaining agency and purpose through joining white supremacist organizations. For them, this story of finding purpose is the aesthetic representation of their political belief, so whether it is marching in a parade or enacting violence against another person, this process of building political identity involves branding yourself with its symbolism, iconography, and language.

It is important to note that the study of political aesthetics extends beyond the scope of rightwing extremist movements, such as Nielsen's (2017) analysis of the use of socialist revolutionary aesthetic being utilized by local community organizations in Mozambique after the dissolution of socialism as a national political system. While the tension of sacrificing socialist beliefs and leading revolution are present in these town meetings, the "revolutionary aesthetic" or the performance of socialist revolutionary politics remained and transformed in response to the needs of the communities and country. Political aesthetics are more than the feeling of being in a group meeting. This approach to political action philosophically functions as an endeavor of ego, of satisfying the need to represent an identity or cause. This can take the form of maneuvering politics (Nielsen, 2017) and even utilizing one's own body to defiantly resist an authoritarian power (Ryan, 2019). For example, the famous 1989 Tiananmen Square protest where an unnamed man stood before a tank operated as an aesthetic performance of political protest and identity. Political aesthetics is a total style of politics that intersects individual and group identity, where individual action represents collective identity.

Tapping into this emotion is a critical component of alt-right discourse. For instance, #whitegenocide is a rallying cry for members of the alt-right and white nationalists who perform their identities through what Deem (2019) calls "affective economies of transgression." These affective economies of transgression, in this context, are the imagined spaces of whiteness constructed on the internet, where the pleasure of belonging to a group is bound with and even culminated through anxiety over the "imagined transgressions of racial outsiders" (Deem, 2019). Affect, or our set of outward emotional projections, is not only located within the individual, but it also operates as an "economy" of discourse where fear or pleasure "generates the surfaces of collective bodies," (Ahmed, 2004). Essentially, a group's collective emotional position resonates

to the individuals of that movement. Affect, and subsequently, the building of affective economies, depends on the performance of identity that people emotionally connect with. The alt-right has performed their identity through their use of symbols such as #whitegenocide (Deem, 2019), the O.K. sign (Swales, 2019), and, as I will show, milk. In order to understand how political aesthetic and the performance of political identity are as powerful as they are, it is important to understand this process in the context of the online and offline ecosystem of discourse that we inhabit.

The affective way that people engage in politics has been referred to increasingly as “culture war.” Whitham (2018) describes a culture war as an integration of our personal private lives with our public political lives. This infusion of public and private has been accelerated by the rise of social media and has resulted in a politics where the praxis of enacting change is “telling off” of the other side. Adamson (2019) argues that this practice by both racists and anti-racists has accelerated right-wing nationalism by centering moral outrage at the political other in how we think about politics. Adamson (2019) further argues that the rise of right-wing populism can also be attributed to the political left’s lack of imagination concerning how people are socially and materially situated to identify with right-wing parties. Thus, both “ends” of the political spectrum tie their politics with an “emotionalism” where emotional vindication in one’s belief trumps all else. This politics of outrage is evident in our current political and socio-cultural landscape, as concerns surrounding “cancel culture,” political segmentation, and the rise of domestic terrorism have become prominent themes in the last few years. The January 6 Capitol Insurrection provides us the best contemporary example of how a politics of grievance is like a powder keg, where pressure is constantly being applied in most spaces, online and offline, until it explodes into these events of violence and destruction.

This inclination toward outrage and conflict-oriented engagement provides fertile ground for right-wing trolls to prosper. As ideological divisions between people sharpen, right-wing trolls have the space to take advantage of people's worst inclinations, especially on the internet, whose very structure enables and incentivizes negative behavior. Stuart and Scott (2021) found that the greater amount of time individuals spent online, the higher what they term the "Measure of Online Disinhibition," essentially a scale that measures how likely someone on the internet is to not have the discipline or control to moderate their behavioral or cognitive responses, which resulted in more frequent positive (Self-disclosure online) and negative (cyberbullying, trolling, etc.) online behaviors. Even more concerning is that the experience of online abuse combined with these higher levels of online disinhibition has actually been found to coincide with an increase to perpetration of online hate (Wachs & Wright, 2019). This disinhibition has created a state of discourse vulnerable to actors with disruptive and transgressive intentions, utilizing the façade of the internet to carry out the kind of trolling endemic to the alt-right and manosphere.

Ultimately, political aestheticization is a constitutive theory of how individuals perform ideology, and culture jamming provides a praxis for social action that realizes this performance through a re-appropriation of symbols that subvert institutions and actors (Lasn, 1999). As Lasn (1999) describes the revolutionary potential of culture jamming, the aesthetic of political action and rebellion is intricately woven into the practice. Lasn (1999) describes as a spirit of the anti-establishment anger that creates a political identity determined to overturn the order of everyday life. For the alt-right, the kind of culture jamming that can disrupt a system and establish an affective connection to the alt-right's philosophy is trolling.

The ideology of the alt-right is often enacted and even defined through a tradition of online trolling, a range of behaviors from being intentionally offensive to leaving a disingenuous

comment in order to experience the thrill of getting a rise out of another person. What makes this practice so effective is that it simultaneously spreads the ideology but does so in such a ridiculous way that members of the group have plausible deniability of the sincerity of those beliefs. Trolling is such an effective vehicle for delivering the message of the alt-right because of its prankster tradition, allowing their ideas to ferment but fly under the radar as people dismiss them and their influence (Romano, 2017a). This same dismissal is what allowed Spencer access to university spaces where his ideas could be legitimized by having access to normative intellectual spaces, or spaces that enjoy public legitimacy, essentially contributing to normalizing alt-right ideology (Ramasubramanian & Miles, 2018). Marantz (2019) even argues that by broadcasting Spencer's speech at his think tank's conference after the 2016 Presidential Election, where he states "Hail Trump! Hail our people! Hail victory!" that is reminiscent of the Nazi salute "Sieg Heil," there is a level of popularity and normalization that was given to the alt-right in the mainstream media. Spencer's message would arguably have not gotten the traction that it had without the nature of contemporary internet discourse to spread and promote these divisive ideas.

Trolling is a deception of pleasure, one that gives the deceiver a sense of joy or entertainment at the expense of the deceived target (Dyner, 2016). Trolling takes many different overlapping forms that include posing as someone in need of help, taking controversial stances on issues, being overly insensitive about a topic, and making situations intentionally more aggressive (Hardaker, 2013). Dyner (2016) posits that the internet has uniquely allowed for trolling to be a more common phenomenon because of how easily manipulated our online personas are. Anonymous disinhibition, our tendency to act impulsively in online spaces due to the lack of personal and social consequences, provides the gateway for trolling to flourish online, giving trolls not only the architecture to exist, but an active incentive to do what they love (Dyner, 2016).

Davisson and Donovan (2019) state that trolling is a means of subversion that intends to disrupt normative spaces, much in the same way that culture jammers do. Typically, trolling relies on a distributive model of action, known as a participatory culture, where individuals act together for their own entertainment (Bowen, 2020). As a means of entertainment, Bowen (2020) goes further to explain that participatory culture encourages the creation and recreation of new content but that it does not require everybody to contribute.

Trolling, though, is not strictly in the realm of the alt-right. Davisson and Donovan (2019) explore how John Oliver, the host of Last Week Tonight, regularly uses trolling to expose the fragility or abuses that occur within institutions. Pyo (2020) even highlights how young liberals in South Korea have taken to trolling as a means of having their voices and concerns heard, taking a practice that, on the surface, just seems like a way to have some antagonistic fun on the internet, and weaponizing it to place pressure on those in positions of authority. It is doubtful that the organizing forces of the internet really can inspire massive change through reputational damage (Banerjee & Case, 2020), but there are plenty of examples of participatory internet culture leading to the long-term rise of many social movements that have produced tangible changes, from fighting for Catalan independence to the prankster action of Anonymous (Anderson, 2019; Beyer, 2014; Odou et al., 2018). Trolling, and the larger sentiment of subversion permeate everything on the internet from getting into an argument with someone on Facebook to the hacktivist circles where people on the internet with rudimentary to advanced hacking capabilities use those skills to disrupt online spaces (Klein, 2015).

Trolling, in the ways this section outlines, reaches into argument, form, praxis, and attitude in building what I will call “The Troll Ethos.” Many of those who participate in the alt-right may not even adhere to most or all of the ideology but are representing the ideology to subvert

normative systems, an ideology that I will interrogate in the subsequent chapters through my methodology of ideological criticism, where I will not only describe the ideology of the groups under analysis in this project but also the ideological consequences of their methods of resistance and affective disposition.

Chapter 3: Methodology & Case Studies

Ideological Criticism

Milk's storied history of cultural significance, symbolism, and now reappropriation warrant understanding, especially in the context of its use by the alt-right. Milk has the potential to operate as a conduit into the psyche of the alt-right and white nationalists who have embraced the symbol. As discussed earlier, their propensity for trolling and intentional acts of transgression are exemplified through their use of milk in online forums and protests. In order to understand how milk is related to and demonstrates alt-right ideology, I will be utilizing ideological criticism. Ideology is not just something that a person or group believes. Ideology is a way of seeing the world, of making decisions that matter, of binding people together or driving them apart. Ideology can be thought of from the perspective of religion, strong in its convictions about reality and the truth of the world, and this can plainly be seen in the rise of figures such as Rousseau, Hegel, and Marx whose philosophical writings surrounding philosophy and history came about after the emergence of Enlightenment scientific and political theory and the lowering of religion in the centrality of people's understanding of the natural world (Niemeyer, 1992). Liberalism is an ideology. Nationalism is an ideology. Black Lives Matter is an ideology.

Ideology is ubiquitous, whether it be the spreading of political ideology (Pavel, 2019), attitudes surrounding language (Diaz & Hall, 2020; Lo Bianco, 2020), or even diaper commercials (Wells, 2016). For Slavoj Žižek, reality and ideology are linked to one another because "reality itself, mediated in and through socio-symbolic systems of order and meaning, is constituted by

ideology,” (Morgan, 2018). In this description of ideology, the symbols and language that we use build our understanding of reality, and these frames are socially constructed. For example, the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis claims that people who speak different languages actually perceive the world differently because of the different language structures. This can look like cultures with heavy gendered language reinforcing gender norms more or how color is perceived differently based on the variety of shades recognized by the dominant language (Lucy, 2001).

The acknowledgement of ideology as a human construct makes revolutionary thought and action more attainable, and it also highlights how power constrains and maintains itself, by controlling not only physical resources but also by establishing the guard rails that guide and limit our reality. Those that control the norms of language and symbols have the power to shape collective identity and establish an ideology. Thus, ideological criticism is not only a form of rhetorical criticism but of understanding how power is constructed.

Foss (2018) outlines four steps to ideological criticism. The first step is identifying the presented elements in the artifact, which concerns locating basic and observable features of the artifact. Second, suggested elements are identified, which are the unspoken features of the text that connect to the more obvious elements. Third, from these suggested elements that will serve as ideological tenets, I will formulate an ideology from them, identify unifying values and truths signified by the texts’ messages. The final and most pivotal point of analysis for this paper will concern identifying the functions served by the ideology. It is not enough to understand what milk means in the context of the alt-right. Understanding why and how milk appropriation by the alt-right perpetuated certain alt-right dialogic tendencies and behaviors provides a richer and more useful analysis.

Ideology has always been the focal point for movements of the far right, from Nazism to white nationalism. Ulver and Laurell (2020) identify a type of consumer activism called antiliberal consumer activism, which is defined as the use of anti-liberal sentiment by hyper-conservative activists to protest ads that embody or hint at multiculturalism. Ideology is the glue that holds these individuals' aspirations together. This ideological frame imagines the cultural left as an invasive and villainous group of people that are intending to "destroy culture." Thus, ideological criticism focuses on exposing ways that ideologies color our perspective of the world. For instance, Piper and Meyer (2020) utilized ideological criticism in their analysis of the TV series *Fixer Upper*. Here, they argue that the show's narrative surrounds an average couple that aims to fix up people's homes, with the assumption that doing so can elevate any person's social and economic class. The ideology represented here is one of economic mobility, the belief that with enough gumption and hard work, class structures and obstacles can be transcended. When it comes to symbolic communication, ideological criticism provides a method that can parse out how symbols form and represent ideologies. Ideological criticism not only aims to expose an ideology, but it also examines the functions that ideology serves in a given context. The alt-right, founded as an alternative political ideology, constructs it as an ideology of resistance. This understanding of the alt-right as an ideology of resistance illuminates a number of functions that the alt-right's appropriation of milk serves, but the following functions are ones that my analysis will focus on: a praxis for resistance, the form that resistance takes, and the goals of that resistance.

Engaging in ideological criticism is not just an academic activity but a political one as well. Andersen (1993) explains that ideological criticism is inherently tied to social and political activism because at its most basic level, "a discussion of ideology, politics, or power" initiates an ideological action, the creation of new analysis and understanding of an ideology that exerts power

and influence. Ideology encapsulates even actions such as paying taxes that we consider politically neutral, and even our musing about ideology, whether in academic writing or popular culture, leads to further actions both intellectual and material (Andersen, 1993).

Methods

In order to uncover the significance of milk symbolism for the alt-right and manosphere, I will examine four different case studies surrounding milk in the context of the alt-right: the protest of Shia LeBeouf's "He Will Not Divide Us" art exhibit denouncing Donald Trump, the original "Enter the Milk Zone" 4chan post on the Politically Incorrect board; the use of milk by famous white nationalist, Richard Spencer, on Twitter; and the video, "SOYBOYS", by famous Youtuber, PewdiePie. Each of these texts represent different but connected uses of milk in the alt-right and manosphere; thus it allows for a unified analysis of this appropriation of milk. After fully describing the case studies, I will move into three analysis chapters, focusing on different theories presented in the literature review, all contributing to the formation of alt-right ideology, with culture jamming operating as a primary guiding theory for each chapter of analysis. As I will argue, culture jamming operates as the praxis for resistance and appropriation, superiority humor is the form that resistance models itself after, and the establishment of a political aesthetic is the goal of resistance.

The first artifact under analysis is the 4chan thread that coined the phrase "Enter the Milk Zone," (Anonymous, 2017). The main claim in this 4chan thread comes from a report published by Leonardi et al. (2012) showing that only 1/3 of the global population is lactose tolerant. A large portion of the lactose tolerance was concentrated in the part of the world that many on the alt-right herald as the origins of Western, Anglo-Saxon, and Nordic greatness. An infographic based on this report was produced by Ferro (2013) at Popular Science that designates these lactose tolerance

areas as the Milk Zone. This infographic was posted on 4chan, specifically to the board Politically Incorrect, or /pol/ for short (Anonymous, 2017). This board is dedicated to being as politically insensitive as possible, oftentimes attracting white supremacists and other political extremist trolls. The post was titled “Enter the Milk Zone,” a play on the Milk Zone designated by Ferro (2013). In this thread, the posters celebrated European heritage and derided people who talked about their lactose intolerance, insinuating that such a trait makes them racially inferior. One user posted a picture of the gang from *A Clockwork Orange* sitting against the wall with milk in their hands, and the text accompanying the image states, “Droogies reporting in,” droogie being a slang term in *A Clockwork Orange* for ultra-violent gang members. When another user said that drinking plain milk triggers their gag reflex, that they are “the whitest 1% of the population,” and that they can only drink chocolate milk, another user replied to them with a picture of a black man holding a bottle of chocolate milk with the text “Whatever you say Jamal.” The insinuation here is that because the original poster (or OP for short) only drinks chocolate milk, then OP cannot truly be a white person. There are many similar racial epithets and stereotypes that pepper this forum. Along with racist musings, there are some in the thread aiming to contest the truthfulness of this claim, only to be rebuked by trolls hurling insults at them.

The protest of Shia LeBouf’s *He Will Not Divide Us* exhibit features young, white, and shirtless men that are holding milk jugs and yelling either white supremacist rhetoric or lingo from internet chat boards like 4chan and Reddit. This exhibit was set up with a camera on a wall with the words “he will not divide us” above it at the Museum of Moving Images. This camera fed to a livestream on the website. The purpose of this livestream was for people to congregate and display love for one another, but a group of trolls from the website 4chan organized a meet up in front of the camera after dark to chug milk without shirts on to signal their belief in white supremacy

(O’Neal, 2017). They jovially chugged milk, yelled coded 4chan lingo, and playfully flexed their muscles. Some quotes from the video include (Tekajin, 2017):

“Look at these ripped abs!” (gesturing to man lifting up his shirt) “This is masculine perfection!”

“If you don’t drink a gallon of this a day, you are leaving gains on the table.”

“This is how the Viking conquered Europe!”

“A nice cold glass of pure racism. Get it down here.”

The group was comprised of six to eight men on camera shirtless at any given time, with a group of twenty or so others watching the spectacle, with people coming and going during the duration of the performance. Throughout the video, they would spontaneously yell, lift each other off of the ground, and yell about milk making them strong and manly. Also present during this protest was an almost celebratory spirit, with many of them laughing and joking with one another for the duration, all with the goal of sabotaging the art project. This sabotage ended up being successful as the Museum of Moving Images shut down the project, which was moved a few more times due to this coordinated trolling effort by users from 4chan (Mumford, 2017; O’Neal, 2017). The footage used for this analysis was uploaded by Youtube user Tekajin (2017), who also uploaded other parts of the protest, but seeing as the other parts were either uneventful or repeated similar behaviors and statements, all relevant analysis for the present study was drawn from second part of their five video upload.

The third case study under analysis is the Twitter biography of Richard Spencer in 2017 at the height of this appropriation of milk symbolism. As discussed before, Spencer was the originator of the term “alt-right,” so his usage of milk in his Twitter bio represents an acknowledgment of this appropriation by a critical actor in the movement. In the profile, Spencer

has placed an emoji of milk between his first and last name, and the first line of his bio states “I’m very tolerant...lactose tolerant!” (Swerdloff, 2017). This is meant to evoke the irony that he is usually called a bigot and intolerant because many of his beliefs center around white nationalism.

In order to examine how milk is used by the online right in derision of “soy boys,” I examine a [video](#) published by PewDiePie, a famous gaming Youtuber that has a current following of 109 million subscribers, entitled “S O Y B O Y S.” PewDiePie, whose real name is Felix Kjellberg, is a particularly interesting person for this study because he appeals to many adolescents and is very connected into this sphere of the online right because of his proximity to the gaming world. In Roose’s (2019) analysis of PewDiePie as a cultural figure, there is an acknowledgment that his popularity and place in internet culture is wrapped up in a brand of “edgelord” humor, humor that relies on the breaking of taboos and political correctness. This was especially revealed when he made anti-Semitic jokes and even said “death to all Jews” in a stream that he claimed was ironic humor (Romano, 2017b). This inclination by many in the gamer community that he was a part of bled into the broader alt-right and manosphere (Nagle, 2017).

In this video, PewDiePie opens by playing videos of men talking about the benefits of soymilk and interrupting their monologues with a loud siren while he yells “SOYBOY!” In the video, PewDiePie spends most of the video insulting these archetypal “soy boys” by making fun of what are considered non-masculine behaviors. He points out that soy boys have apparent feminine characteristics such as getting overly excited and fawning over a gaming console, the Nintendo Switch, that he characterizes as a “kid’s console.” He further shares memes that insinuate soy boys are also cucks, men whose girlfriends sleep with other men, and how being a cuck is emasculating. He also makes the argument, very prominently, that consuming soy makes men weak, “like a woman.” (PewDiePie, 2018). Near the end of the video, he spends a minute admitting

that there is no scientific link between drinking soy and feminization, but this section is tinged with insincerity, with him even saying the following:

“It’s just a meme that has spiraled out of control, and I feel like I have to be responsible here and call it out so that people stop using “soy boy” as some sort of insult. Because it’s not just mean, it’s also extremely hurtful. I just can’t understand why anyone would call someone else a soy boy to prove some fact that just because they are less a man and enjoy watching someone else have sex with their wife, that somehow makes them less,” (PewDiePie, 2018).

In finishing this monologue, PewDiePie cracks up laughing and then returns to joking about soy boys and says that it is “all about the onion” and that onions make men produce testosterone, even taking the time to reference the DreamWorks movie Shrek, who is included in many memes in online communities. The entire video is tinged with these questions of sincerity on his part, whether he subscribes to the ideas of deriding feminine men as soy boys or if he really stands against it. This ambiguity serves to make it hard to decipher his real feelings on the matter. The video ends with a purple filter over a still image of PewDiePie, with the text “Don’t be soy. Be Alpha,” referencing the 4chan lingo of beta males versus alpha males, weak men versus strong men.

Chapter 4: Analysis – Culture Jamming the Left with White Supremacist & Masculine

“Milk”

The way that milk is utilized by both the alt-right and manosphere is to signal aspects of group identity that they wish to communicate with others. Specifically, there are two dominant interpretations of milk's significance in the alt-right, as a positive indicator of racial superiority and masculinity. While the expressions of milk as racial superiority and masculinity are based on two different arguments, they both signal an ideology based on transgression and opposition to cultural liberalism.


Milk as White Supremacy

The way in which milk is utilized by white nationalists online is similar to the way in which medical research was manipulated to fit racial biases throughout the initial inception of institutional medical research (Painter, 2011). As discussed earlier, milk's long history of representing a healthy and full diet was heavily baked into the structure of nutrition in the United States, and not without merit. While recent research has found negative effects of milk, there are still plenty of advantages for children that exist (Iftikhar, 2020), but lactose intolerance presents a minimal to severe barrier for many to access these benefits. And the findings surrounding the historical distribution of lactose tolerance combined with its symbolism of life and strength, along with the creepy connotations surrounding how milk is used as a device in movies to denote sinister individuals (Killingsworth, 2016) make it ripe for appropriation. This uncomfortable association of grown men drinking milk along with the already existing racialized texture of milk discussed

earlier gives these trolls a way to channel and express their ideology. Milk has the ability to perform white supremacy in the following ways: both appropriating innocuous cultural symbols and scientific posture.

As has been discussed, symbols carry significant power. They can help group members identify with one another. They can even stand in as arguments for a group of people. But hate symbols are presented with a unique challenge, how to signify their power but also not drive away sympathetic people who may or may not adhere to a white supremacist ideology. Kovalski et al. (2016) argue that the hyper-villanization of the swastika has actually narrowed the conversation on white supremacist symbolism, so much so that the alt-right abandoned the swastika as a symbol and has adopted other lesser-known symbols like the pre-Roman Othala Rune used by Nazi Germany and the O.K. symbol (Willingham, 2019). This is an old tactic commonly used by hate groups. In appropriating innocuous cultural symbols, hate groups are able to connect their ideology to a wider and more mainstream set of cultural symbols. Milk operates under this objective but in a unique way. Unlike the Othala Rune and, to a degree, the O.K. sign, milk is an incredibly common beverage and presence in American and European life, with 21.2 million metric tons of fluid milk being consumed in the United States in 2020 (Shahbandeh, 2021). The common nature of milk makes this appropriation particularly troubling.


This appropriation of milk from the study surrounding lactose hotspots (Ferro, 2013) is reminiscent of the appropriation of evolutionary sciences to promote and justify white supremacy (Painter, 2011). Specifically, in the case of how the alt-right utilizes milk, they often talk about race and lactose tolerance in either quantified measurements or with a scientific ethos. In the “Enter the Milk Zone” 4chan thread (Anonymous, 2017), we can see examples of this presentation of white supremacist ideology as “genuine” inquiry, with this comment and subsequent replies:

Anonymous ID: sps8t+Un Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:53:00 No.111582078  [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111582601 >>111582853 >>111588261 >>111591477


>>111581590

What's up with Slavs? Is this why they are so shit?

Anonymous ID: s17TRu85 Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:56:04 No.111582601  [Report](#)

>>111582078

They are a color between White people and Asians.

Anonymous ID: jdLn/8/e Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:57:37 No.111582853  [Report](#)

>>111582078

<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF02239264>

<http://s1.zetaboards.com/anthroscape/topic/1023151/1/>

According to these two it should only be 15-25% of slavs are intolerant. hmmm

Here, instead of just accepting a singular narrative, there is a back and forth of presenting evidence and making arguments about the racial composition of others. These types of interactions lend an air of normalization for white supremacist ideology. By linking scientific articles and using approximate percentages, this discussion of milk portrays racial animosity through the lens of pseudo-scientific reasoning, and I argue that this is endemic of the types of arguments utilized by the alt right.

Richard Spencer's usage of milk in his profile signals a duality of vision between what milk came to represent and what Spencer represents. Richard Spencer was a new kind of white supremacist. His professional appearance and reasoning for his beliefs are carefully articulated, citing philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche and Carl Schmitt as inspirations for his belief in white nationalism (Wood, 2017). White supremacy with Spencer at the helm entered into a newer, more intellectual, yet also more playful age. Spencer picking up the milk symbolism and the accompanying words "I'm very tolerant... lactose tolerant," makes sense when you look at his

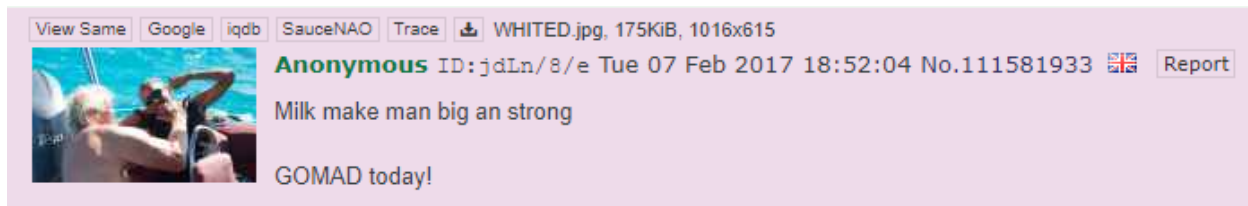
belief system, that white people have unique cultural and genetic advantages. When placing Spencer's belief system alongside this claim of lactose tolerance explaining cultural and genetic strength, the latter seems like evidence for the prior's belief. This kind of confirmation bias is exactly what geneticists fear. In Harmon's (2018) interviews with members of the American Society of Human Genetics, fears of misrepresentations of genetics research were expressed as a considerable risk. With studies that examine the relationships between ethnic background and disease predisposition or prediction of behaviors based on genetic background, the potential for misrepresentation by white supremacists is great. One of the common genetics arguments used by those in the alt-right is that because of the harsh winter conditions, northern Europeans developed to be genetically superior (Harmon, 2018). In these case studies, a scientific posture is combined with racist humor.

Milk as masculine juxtaposition

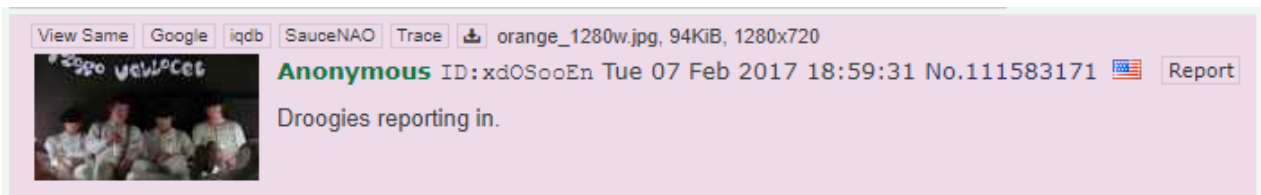
Milk not only operates in online rightwing circles as a symbol for white supremacy, but it was also tied to a vision of masculinity due to two forces, transgressive politics and juxtaposition. First, milk is seen increasingly as not being as healthy as we previously thought in scientific consensus (Iftikhar, 2020). With the push toward veganism in popular media that expresses health and environmental concerns over factory farming and the popularity of meat alternatives, celebrating the consumption of animal products is thumbing one's nose at what they perceive to be an "establishment opinion." Nagle's (2017) description of the alt-right's engagement in "transgressive politics" applies here, where consuming meat becomes counter to what is seen as the popular cultural establishment that has distanced itself from meat consumption, just as masculinity is being critiqued in the culture wars. Holding on to animal product consumption, milk in this case, is a way to oppose both vegans and feminism, which are inextricably linked in the alt-

right's depiction of the cultural left (Gambert & Linne, 2018). Drinking milk is akin to fighting feminism.

At first glance in the “Enter the Milk Zone,” the following reply to the thread may seem innocuous and off-topic, but it reveals another aspect of milk in the alt-right and manosphere:



This reply features two older men bumping fists alongside the caption “Milk make man bigan strong / GOMAD today!” (Anonymous, 2017). GOMAD is a reference to the “Gallon of Milk a day” diet that prescribes drinking a gallon of milk per day for the purpose of building muscle (Bellati, 2018). Here and among other circles of the alt-right and manosphere, milk came to also encapsulate a parodic example of exaggerated masculinity, one whose expression and purpose is to troll feminists. Another reply on the post echoed a darker message:



The picture posted on the reply is of the Droogs, a gang from the movie “A Clockwork Orange” led by main character, Alex DeLarge (Kubrick, 1972). In this particular scene, the camera shot starts at Alex’s face, deadpan and staring directly at the camera with an almost murderous intent. As the shot pans out, he and his fellow gang members are sipping on milk in a rooms filled with female mannequins set up either as tables or statues. This section of the movie is set to this group of men enacting random and indiscriminate violence upon others, including sexually assaulting women. In this reply, “droogies” or members of this gang are evoked and identified with. The

connection with the thread is their choice of beverage in this shot, milk. As discussed earlier, the thematic uses of milk in film when consumed by adults is to signal some oddity of behavior in the main character (Killingsworth, 2016), but this oddity, in the context of the alt-right, becomes an admirable trait of transgressive politics, of bucking “political correctness” for a freedom of thought. Milk transcends beliefs surrounding the strength producing aspects of milk and reaches into an emotional connection with violent ideation, especially in an anonymous environment where disinhibition is strong.

Secondly, Anti-vegans not only tie the consumption of animal products to a brand of hegemonic masculinity, but Greenbaum & Dexter (2018) state that they also fuel the derision of vegan men as feminine and unworthy. This link is the original reasoning behind the term “soy boy” that serves as a juxtaposition between weak men and who the trolls of the manosphere believe themselves to be. In the “He Will Not Divide Us” protest, the group is joking around and flexing their muscles as they drink milk. At one point, one individual begins to sing a song that goes “I’m a lumberjack and that’s okay, and I drink my milk and I work all day!” which is immediately followed by someone saying, “down with the vegan agenda,” (Tekajin, 2017). There is a veneration of milk drinking as not only a masculine activity, but as a rallying cry for a masculinity that this group of trolls feels is under attack. Having to justify that being a lumberjack is okay implies that there is some sort of stigma attached to it. The argument, thus, is that milk is not only a masculine drink but one that represents a “marginalized way of life,” threatened by the presence of soymilk drinking men. This orients masculinity and those in the manosphere as the victims of cultural liberalism, arguing through this celebration of milk for a resistance to a perceived colonizing order.

In PewDiePie's video, he first shows pictures of incredibly buff men talking about drinking soymilk, where he yells "soy boy" as an alarm is sounding in the background of the video, the humor here playing on the notions of soy boys and our traditional conceptions of masculinity. Then, into the video, PewDiePie begins showing both memes about soy boys and differentiating a "high testosterone" face with a "soy boy" face, which he describes as "balding or completely bald and an awkward smile." He even describes soy boys as cucks, men who watch their partner engaging sexually with other men, as a way of deriding their sexuality. Ideologically, soy milk operates as the description of an undesirable position in life. Superiority humor works particularly well here because these attacks against soy boys are functionally differentiating "real" masculinity and the cultural tides that have been trying to escape traditional notions of masculinity. But upholding traditional masculinity is not the ultimate goal of this ideological appropriation of milk.

There are many hyperbolic displays and assertions of masculinity made in these case studies. In the above example where the commenter stated "GOMAD," the picture featured two older men in a pool, not the imagined peak of masculine strength. In PewDiePie's (2018) video, he is what he often describes as "trolling" (DeCook, 2020) and not earnestly buying into this scientific myth of soy milk as a feminizing drink. And in the #HWNDU protest, the men there yell about how "If you can't squat 315, then you're worthless," (Tekajin, 2017). While these are obviously exaggerated displays of masculinity, they still place masculinity and, more importantly, anti-feminism at the forefront of their messaging. This appropriation of milk to marginalize "feminine men" and, ultimately communicates the values of masculinity in online spaces populated by the alt-right. This highlights how appropriation makes more than a surface level claim. The appropriation of milk in these case studies points to the culture jamming potential of

milk appropriation, namely in how this application of new meaning is throwing a wrench into our cultural discourse surrounding social equity and hate movements.

Applying New Meaning

These transformations of milk's meaning do far more than just allow for the alt-right to traffic their ideology. Lasn (1999) describes culture jamming as a means of clogging a system with appropriated symbols. This intentional jamming, the wrench in the system, paves the way for alternative meaning to arise from the ashes of appropriation. As discussed previously, milk has had a myriad of meanings throughout our cultural history, from nutrition to life to infancy but in recent history, with a tinge of abnormality when grown men drink milk, the uncomfortable association between adulthood and infancy (Killingsworth, 2016). With all of these mixed associations, milk has inhabited a complicated symbolism. This ideological appropriation by the alt-right and manosphere adds to that complication in a very interesting way. Namely, this takeover of meaning accomplishes three goals: jams left-wing understanding of the alt-right, generates recognition power for the alt-right, and reinforces a mode of reasoning in the alt-right.

How political extremism is talked about is important. Often, our conversations surrounding rightwing extremism are overly simplified, where comparisons to Nazis are abundant in popular discourse. There is even a term known as Godwin's Law that states that the bigger an internet comment section becomes, the greater likelihood that a comparison to Nazi Germany will occur, which is something that Michael Godwin himself finds problematic and unhelpful (Hoffman, 2017). The oversimplification of the extreme political right makes our conversations surrounding how people are drawn into these movements simultaneously helpful and harmful, depending on how the conversations are framed. At their best, Holocaust comparisons can illuminate factors of social and political structures that can allow for people to be persecuted and harmed, much like

Snyder's *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (2016). Outside of these rigorously researched texts, comparisons of the modern far right to Nazi Germany obscure the unique character and methods of modern political extremism, especially when it comes to social media and our digital environment. Even in these well-researched analyses, the ability to arrive at a well-rounded understanding of fascism, political extremism, and our social and material conditions are dependent on special access to education and knowledge. Most people do not encounter these texts, though. Media is often the lens through which our understanding of social and political movements occur, and this appropriation of milk generated a fair bit of buzz in the media from editorials to talk show hosts (Gambert & Linne, 2018; Harmon, 2018; Holt, 2018; & Resnick, 2018). Through this appropriation, an additional complicated layer is added to the alt-right, and this unusual symbolism complicates people's understanding of the alt-right. Whether this is intentional or not, the alt-right is shifting the conversation in a way that provides more exposure for their ideology.

As Lasn (1999) explains, living in a media-saturated environment provides a unique power to memes, understood in her work as individual units of cultural information. These "memes" shape the very social reality that we inhabit. The interpretation of a particular cultural symbol means that the individual is framing their interpretation based on their own personal background, the groups that are associated with that symbol, the cultural values surrounding that symbol, and any number of other frames. For Lasn (1999), controlling these "memes" is a form of power and taking control of "memes" is thus a rebuke to the dominant institutions. By appropriating milk, the alt-right is taking over meaning as a means of resistance. For example, a protestor yelling "down with the vegan agenda," (Tekajin, 2017) while chugging milk politicizes and assigns new meaning to milk consumption while also tying it to the historic antagonism against veganism. This hijacking of meaning and significance gave the alt-right a means of creating these associations that are not

just harmless fun. Through this re-appropriation, every day consumers of dairy milk are forced to confront whether or not they share a complicity in promoting a symbol of hate, or, even more consequentially, the alt-right now has symbolic claim to this food item that has such significance in American cultural life, from the importance of it in the Food Pyramid to the “Got Milk” campaign (Valenze, 2011). By stealing this symbol of nutrition and assigning an explicitly white supremacist and sexist definition to it, the alt-right is subverting the power that cultural liberalism has had over modern American culture by claiming its own spot at the table.

Chapter 5: Analysis – Culture Jamming the Left through Superiority Humor

I argue that the use of milk by the online right is a culture jam that relies on humor. While I have explored what the alt-right and manosphere say with milk and how this is intended to jam our conversations surrounding equity, it is also important to understand how this message is effectively communicated and propagated. Considering that exclusion and marginalization are intrinsic properties of superiority humor, the presence of this humor in the alt-right and manosphere extends farther than milk. Milk provides a unique opportunity to analyze not only how superiority humor operates in content but also in style. I argue that the way milk was venerated among the alt-right and manosphere was intentionally humorous and functioned in the following ways: as a means of deflecting serious engagement and providing themselves plausible deniability. These functions of humor are integral to propagating the ideology of these digital spaces. By establishing how humor is weaponized and used to promote a nihilistic approach to political engagement, I can then construct and understand the heart of the ideology of the alt-right and manosphere.

Superiority Humor in the Alt-right

As Meyer (2000) outlined, superiority humor is a type of humor that not only positions one group as superior and one group as inferior, but superiority humor also provides a group the means to differentiate between values that are good and bad. In the alt-right, the way in which milk appropriation is performed is through a humorous lens that aims to place whiteness and masculinity as superior qualities. In this analysis, I have discussed how milk has been used to

symbolize the beliefs of the alt-right, but how is this appropriation used as a joke? There are a few ways that this superiority humor is deployed: through the deployment of hyperbolic masculinity and racial disparagement.

First, the way in which milk is used in these case studies is heavily saturated with displays of a hyperbolic, almost caricatured, masculinity. In the #HWNDU protest, members of the group were constantly reinforcing the notion that masculine men drink milk. In one part of the video two of the men in the crowd said:

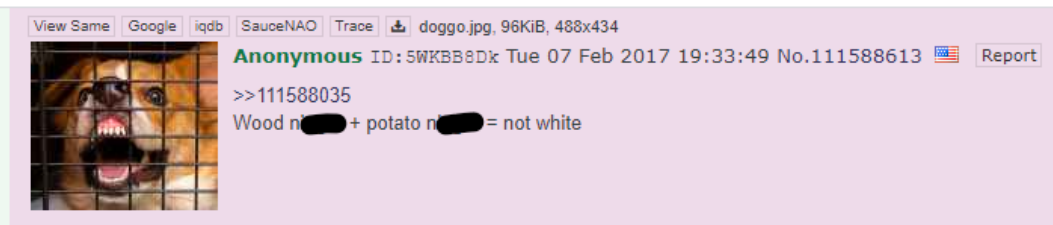
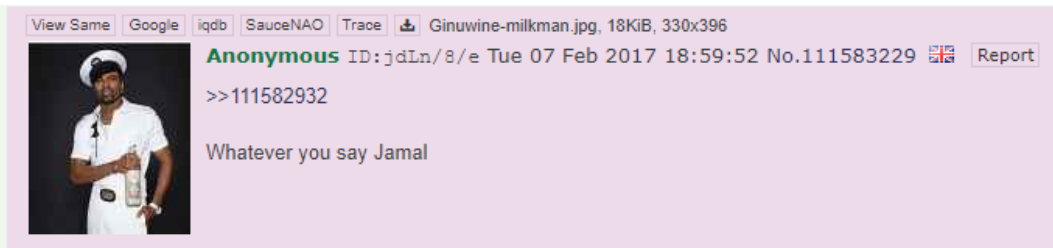
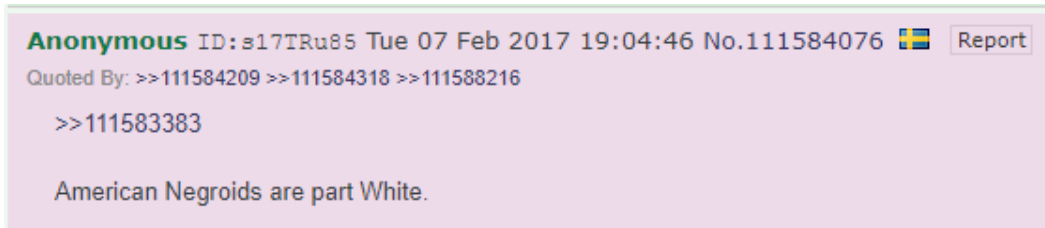
“If you’re not doing neck workouts, you’re a cuck. If you have a neck harness, you’re a f***ot.”

“If you can’t squat 315, then you’re worthless,” (Tekajin, 2017).

These seem like ridiculous standards to hold men to, especially when considering that most of the men in this video probably do not measure up to these ridiculously high standards of strength. The joke inherent in this display can be understood by considering a few contextual features. As discussed earlier, the alt-right and especially 4chan (who were responsible for organizing this trolling event) are notorious for their insincerity and ironic style. To “own the libs,” a phrase used often in rightwing circles to signal offending liberals, these types of exaggerated displays deploy offensive language that is homophobic, sexist, and racist. Even if the display is insincere, though, as Billig (2001) argued, the ideas and basis for the joke is still internalized as truth for this group. While they may not believe that squatting with three hundred and fifteen pounds of weight is necessary to be a man, the idea of masculinity and the superiority of those that adhere to it is still communicated and reinforced. PewDiePie’s (2018) proclamations and joking about how soy boys are weak and unmanly, while cut through with humor and an acknowledgment of the lack of evidence to prove this to be true, reinforces the idea that masculinity is of great importance, even if the claims about milk’s masculine providing character is proven false. This appropriation, thus,

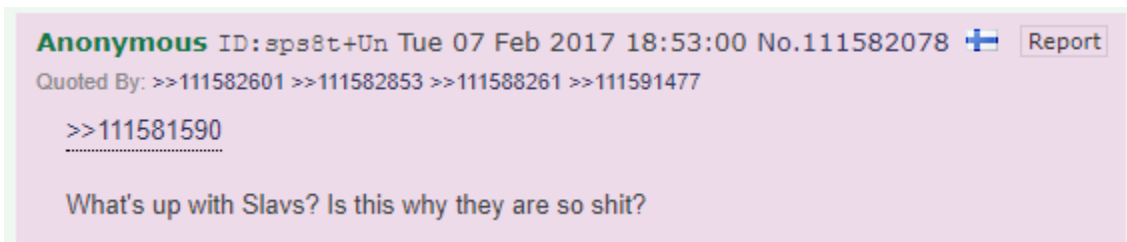
is less about proving that milk scientifically makes men more masculine and more about the opposition to femininity that it represents and symbolizes.


Second, the individuals in these case studies also utilize racist humor. On the “Enter the Milk Zone” 4chan thread, there are numerous examples of racist humor against black people:



These racist proclamations and generalizations are imbued with the structure of transgressive humor that have been discussed as endemic to the identity of the alt-right and 4chan in particular.

Racism in this thread extends to other races/cultures as well, such as in this exchange:



Anonymous ID:s17TRu85 Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:56:04 No.111582601  Report

>>111582078

They are a color between White people and Asians.

The use of racial humor is both used as the basis for interactions and arguments on the site and is encoded with a particular style unique to 4chan. This is especially true in the “green text” that accompanies the original post:

> roses are red

> barack is half-black

> if you can't drink milk

> you have to go back

This “green text,” a style of posting and storytelling unique to 4chan, is imbued with racist ideas and sentiments presented in a way that is playful and engages users on the platform to further engage in this transgressive form of humor and entertainment.

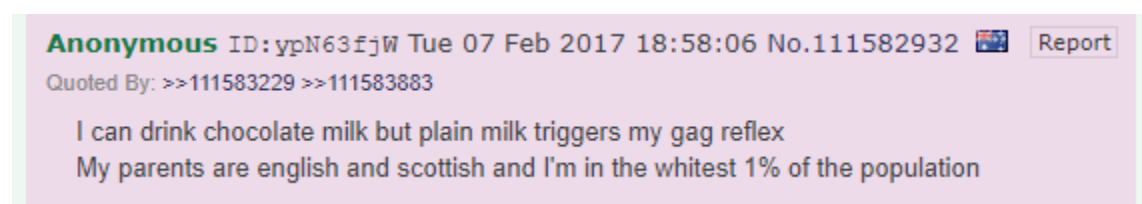
This utilization of racist humor operates as a means of superiority humor. The users of the platform that proclaim their whiteness repeatedly throughout the thread differentiate themselves from those that they position as racially inferior. Milk consumption, in these posts, becomes a placeholder for other more engrained ideas of the racial order. Painter (2011) describes how genetic racism in science and history utilized the evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin as a way of explaining socially constructed notions of inferiority. Milk appropriation and the racial humor attached to it take this new form. For example, saying, “What’s up with Slavs? Is this why they are so shit?” (Anonymous, 2017) indicates a previous bias that this user utilized the presented map of lactose tolerance to confirm. While this humor indicates functions of ideological belief, it is also

functions at a less textual level to afford the alt-right the means to shield themselves inside and outside of their ideological spaces.

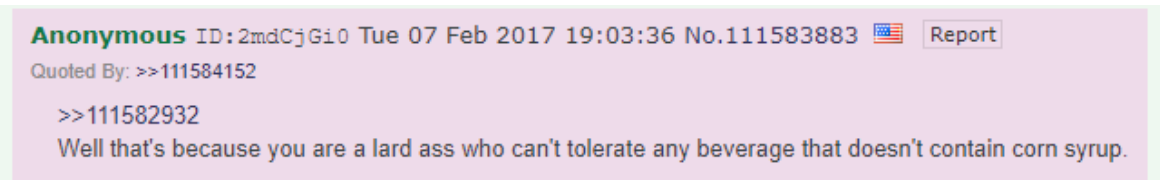
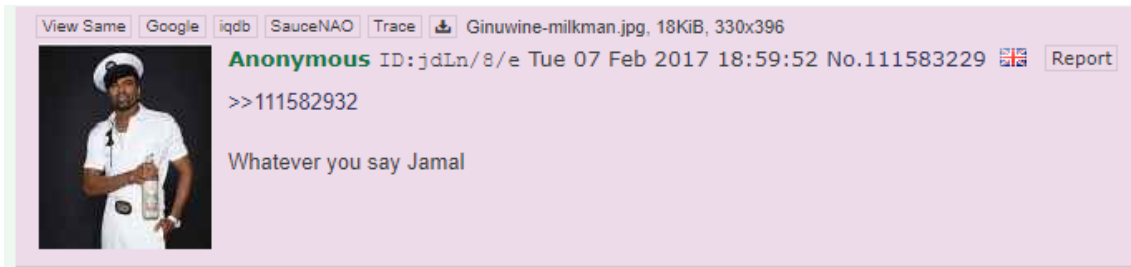
Humor as a Shield

Superiority humor is not only deployed to differentiate themselves from cultural liberalism and political correctness, but it is also deployed to provide a level of cover to their ideology whose explicit and serious proclamation is stigmatized in the public square. By wrapping their expressions of identity in humor, members of the alt-right are able to both deflect serious engagement with their ideas and provide themselves plausible deniability.

First, the humor present here also serves as a way of deflecting and mocking serious engagement. The artifacts under analysis represent spaces that primarily engage with an ironically coded language and attitude. Superiority humor marginalizes one group as not acceptably fitting into some mold or values held by the rhetor (Meyer, 2000), so through mockery, a subject's power is taken away, in this case their reservation or argument against the person making the joke. For example, one user on the "Enter the Milk Zone" thread challenges the assumption that white people have a predisposition to digesting milk better:



This argument bases itself on the merit of whiteness of the individual while also challenging the truthfulness of the post based on their personal experience, but two other users replied with:

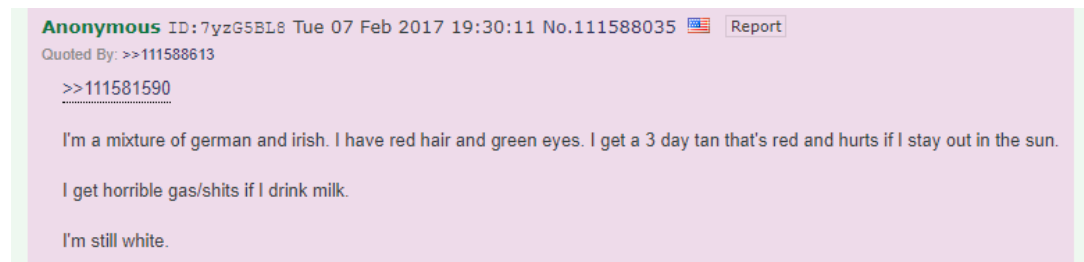


There is no further elaboration on this point. The argument that a user was making was met with a reply that was both incredibly hateful and casual, but in the specific jovial fashion that 4chan engages in and has increasingly been adopted by the online right. By shutting down another user with both racist and fat phobic comments, they are effectively shut down from the conversation. Although the method in which they are shut down is mean-spirited, it is the type of mean-spirited humor that provides a cover for those engaging in it. In this way, the users on the platform do not need to entertain serious challenges to their mindset and ideology.

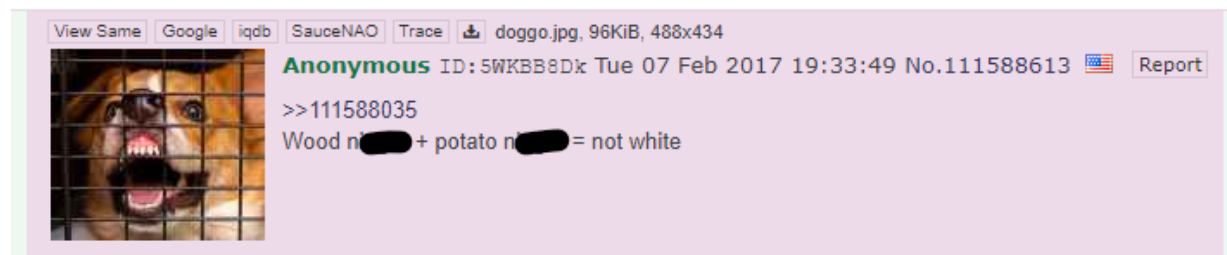
Second, attempts among the alt-right and manosphere to associate racism/sexism with milk provides these communities the cover to express taboo or openly bigoted ideas through a symbol with a texture of ridiculousness. By jokingly expressing support for milk drinking as white supremacy, whether they genuinely believe lactose tolerance indicates racial superiority or not, these individuals are given the space to express sentiment unacceptable in the public square. In the “He Will Not Divide Us” protest, one of the white shirtless men yelled “We fit now, n****!” (Tekajin, 2017). The n-word has a long and painful history being used by white people to denigrate and subordinate black people in American society. When looking at the usage here, though, there are layers to this usage that make it difficult to categorize. On one hand, it is a white person

inappropriately using a term meant to cause emotional harm to black people, but it is also presented as a joke, with 4chan's classic veneer of irony. By positioning the usage of the word as part of the comedic interaction and performance, members of these rightwing subcultures are attempting to create a shield of plausible deniability, where they can say and do racist things but not suffer the repercussions of said racism.

Milk as superiority humor operates in the same fashion. By placing milk as the focal point for jokes, a food item that is extremely common in diets around the world, holding particular cultural significance in the U.S. and Europe, all other racist and sexist ideas can be presented with a level of protection on the part of the jokester. As Billig (2001) argued, by giving themselves this level of plausible deniability, hate groups can spread their ideology more effectively. If their character, their ethos is not compromised by their racism, then their credibility as rhetors increases. For example, the below interaction from "Enter the Milk Zone" elucidates this concept well. One commenter, in response to the thread, stated the following.



In response to this comment, another user stated:



The denigration of German and Irish people through the utilization of the n-word is reprehensible by most normative moral standards, but the way in which this comment is presented, using what would be considered a funny picture of a dog along with the formulaic formation of the response, this reply is imbued with the character of humor that Lamont (2019) identified as a transgressive subcultural performance, one that can claim both seriousness and non-seriousness. Through this transgressive joking, this type of abusive and racist language can become normalized in the public square. 4chan was engaging in this type of humor before the emergence of the alt-right and Donald Trump as a political figure, with Beran (2017) even arguing that 4chan gave Trump the space to become the political figure that he did.

PewDiePie dispenses superiority humor in the same way in his video, where he rants about how soy boys are weak, using several examples of men exhibiting feminine characteristics online, stating that the feminization of men through drinking soy milk is endemic. As discussed earlier, PewDiePie breaks into chuckles throughout the entire video and even has a section where he states that there is no meaningful link between increased estrogen levels in men who consume soy, but after this monologue, he immediately dives back into this joking. This break gives him the cover to engage in ironic joking, where shocking ideology and viewpoints are both played for laughs and, either intentionally or unintentionally, spread and normalized. Regardless of the sincerity of his belief in the feminization of soy milk, Felix spreads the soy boy trope in order to generate views on his channel, drawing on the people who inhabit the alt-right and manosphere.

Given the elusive nature of alt-right humor, attempts to counteract the ideology seem doomed to fail. By engaging with the trolls, their antics are legitimized in the public square, but if they remain disengaged, then what are the ways in which this culture jam can be counteracted. While Lasn (1999) discusses at length the character, mission, and methods of culture jammers, not

much was written about counteracting their influence because the method was presented as a way of countering the corporate establishment. While generating solutions is outside the scope of this analysis, it is critical to understand how laughter generated by this culture jam is utilized by the alt-right to generate power if solutions are to be constructed to counteract it.

Laughter is their Jam

In avoiding serious engagement and providing plausible deniability, the normalizing power of superiority humor (Meyer, 2000) lessens the severity of these racist and sexist transgressions in the digital public square, where an individual that wants to make racist and sexist jokes online not only is provided the cover to do so, but in making that joke, this insensitivity is reframed as a service to community. This is what Wettergren's (2009) description of the "utopian laughter" in culture jamming makes clear. For members of the alt-right, they are laughing at both "normies," a form of the word normal used to describe people outside of the sphere of the online right and cultural liberalism. As discussed earlier in this chapter, cultural liberalism is the intended target of the joke, the politically correct "establishment" as imagined by the alt-right. By unifying laughter against this target, the alt-right uses humor and laughter to culture jam the left through the establishment of in-group and out-group identity developed by the creation of a community language.

Culture jamming is a confrontational practice. For culture jamming to occur, there must be an in-group of culture jammers and an out-group that is targeted. As discussed earlier, this creation of in-group and out-group is also a function of superiority humor made possible through the exclusion of certain behaviors, groups, and ideas through humor (Meyer, 2000). The in-group and out-group are created through a variety of methods, but especially relevant to this discussion on humor is the satirical capacity of culture jamming and the intertextuality inherent to it.

Intertextuality, to reiterate, is the connection between several works or ideas that are present in an artifact or case study (Betruccelli Papi, 2019). These can also be understood as “references” in popular media, like when a television show or movie places an easter egg or homage to another work, or it could be an internet meme format that requires the user to have prior knowledge of the format in order to understand the joke. In milk appropriation, this intertextuality that helps the group coalesce around this meaning comes in the form of deploying references and jokes that individuals within the alt-right and greater internet community would understand, even if they have no direct connection with this argument that milk stands for white supremacy and masculinity.

As seen in the protest of the #HWNDU art installment, many of the shirtless men on video celebrated the “strength-producing” aspects of milk, using language from online message boards like “gains” in their jovial celebration, gains being defined as strength in a measured and quantified form. For example, one of the men aggressively compares not finishing your milk to “leaving gains on the table,” (Tekajin, 2017). This is not only performative, but this “joke” is also encoding the language of these anonymous board sites into the protest. For example, these individuals crashed a feed being live streamed by Shia LeBeouf, a celebrity whose art project rallies against Donald Trump, a person that these online trolls venerate, even worship as is apparent by the rise of the Q-anon conspiracy theory. At one point, one of the men yells “JUST DO IT!” a reference to Shia Lebeouf’s famous and thoroughly meme’d personal motivation video. Referencing a widely circulated internet meme operates to construct commonality and group identity. Then, there are comments sprinkled throughout the videos by both the men and members of the crowd like:

“This is the greatest beach episode of an anime ever.”

““Alex Jones here! If you don’t take my hyper masculinity man pill for male vitality, you look exactly like me, Alex Jones!”

These are references to popular internet culture and memes that were signaled to indicate their belonging to this group of internet culture immersed individuals.

PewDiePie (2018) spends almost the entirety of his video compiling jokes about soy boys, interjecting internet memes such as a frequently used video of Cloud Strife from the video game, *Final Fantasy VII*, laughing, in order to imbue the video with the same brand of humor used on platforms like Reddit and 4chan. There are even a few versions of the chad/virgin comparison meme presented that is popular in the manosphere to describe the perfectly masculine man and the weak feminine man (Lewis, 2019). Richard Spencer deploys intertextuality in his bio in a few different ways. For one, Spencer includes the phrase “I’m very tolerant... lactose tolerant,” a joke that plays on the criticism that his ideas receive for their nationalistic and racist premises, turning that into a reference to milk as a symbol of racial superiority (Swerdloff, 2017). He also includes an emoji of milk in between his first and last name as a way of signaling to his followers a further acknowledgment of the appropriation of milk. Both of these are intertextual nods that connect milk appropriation with other ideas relevant to the movement.

As Gal (2019) outlined, those who get the humor place themselves in a higher position of power at the expense of those who just do not get it. At some level, there is an acknowledgment of the ridiculousness of this appropriation, a non-seriousness inherent to the character of milk appropriation. As those who “get the joke” and even join in on the joke increase in number, so does the alt-right’s ideology. As Žižek had posited, language and our symbolic communication beget the development and adherence of ideology (Morgan, 2018). Through the adoptions of this superiority humor, the values of the alt-right are actively being performed through humor that

serves as a way to socialize individuals into the movement. Billig's (2001) argument has significant resonance here. Just as the Klan utilize racist humor to make their ideology more palatable for those in their community, the alt-right is using humor in a new way to accomplish the same goal. Just as superiority humor is meant to marginalize those that do not fit in the jokester's acceptable version of reality, milk appropriation and alt-right humor overall is imbued with an aesthetic of political engagement with digital textures, what I term the troll ethos.

Chapter 6: Analysis – Culture Jamming the Left through an Affective Political

Aesthetic of Trolling

Trolling is an action that is paradoxically sincere and insincere. How so? Trolling is sincere in the sense that it is the genuine expression of the troll's worldview, one that views the taboo parts of the world as a playground of sorts. Trolling is insincere as well, though, because it relies on tricking or baiting one or more people into reacting in a certain way. Thus far, I have outlined what the alt-right is saying with milk appropriation and how humor is utilized against cultural liberalism and perceived inferior others. In this chapter, I argue that the character of the alt-right and their political aesthetic can best be understood through understanding the power of trolling as a method of culture jamming.

Disruption and critique through trolling

Trolling the digital age is a relatively new phenomenon. While people have always tried to play tricks on one another for various reasons, the internet has empowered people to engage in a form of trickery performed on a mass scale for the sake of internal satisfaction. Trolling and subsequently, the alt-right, is a chaotic ideology. The goal is not to unify under a single endearing and established set of immutable principles. Rather the goal of these efforts is to generate chaos “for the lulz,” (Woods & Hahner, 2019). The ideological consequences of this is that the troll ethos, the character and credibility of the internet troll is inextricably tied with undermining the power of a target (Fichman & Dainas, 2019). Now, to reiterate, trolling is not a practice only utilized by white supremacists, but all sorts subcultural and countercultural groups utilize trolling

to target and delegitimize groups that they deem worthy of ridicule or opposition. But, its use by white supremacists and the manosphere combined with milk symbolism operate in very interesting ways, particularly in their culture jamming capacity.

Culture jamming and the art of trolling, in the case of the alt-right, are also linked but not necessarily equivalent. For a culture jam to occur, a sign or symbol from the targeted entity must be appropriated with an intent to satirize. Thus, not all trolling would fit under this definition, such as intentionally using racial slurs in a joking fashion or gathering a group of internet users to constantly report a page to have it taken down. How does using milk as a symbol, though, qualify as culture jamming? As discussed earlier, milk has come to represent an array of ideas and values, from giving life to youth to American nutritional exceptionalism. They are taking milk, a beverage venerated historically for its health benefits, and twisting it to stand for white supremacy and masculinity, but this resignification is only half of the story.

Implicit in these artifacts is both a self-awareness and celebration surrounding the ridiculousness of milk appropriation. Just as the humorous nature of their interactions allows them to deflect serious engagement and insulate themselves from serious criticism, this appropriation of milk critiques people's sensibilities to issues like racism and sexism. For example, the proclamation of the O.K. being a symbol white power was begun as a way of seeing if people would be gullible enough to believe in the sincerity of this symbolism. This ended up working because entities such as the Anti-Defamation League and Southern Poverty Law Center designated it as a white power symbol (Swales, 2019), and that interpretation of the O.K. sign to this day is associated with white power. This is an example of how 4chan used trolling and irony to appropriate an innocuous and common hand sign into a white supremacist dog whistle. Lewis (2019) further argues that the alt-right has engaged in this process with the intention of making the

cultural left seem ridiculous in its alarmism over this activity. This can be categorized as “bait,” or information that is intended to activate negative reactions from a group of people. One of the men drinking milk at the #HWNDU protest sarcastically yells: “This is fascism, shirtless men drinking milk,” (Tekajin, 2017). Obviously, given the tone and history of deriding political correctness, this is anticipating a response from the media and the online left. By proclaiming that shirtless men drinking milk is fascism, a statement used to signal simultaneous sincerity and insincerity, those who buy into this symbolism in a negative way are derided and trolled.

To understand the significance of this trolling, understanding the critique that it is crafting is critical. The humor of the alt-right and manosphere, that shock humor that has little regard for personal sensitivity and moral norms, does more than upset for the sake of upsetting. Both deception and trolling, in their performance, critique the durability of a person’s emotional resilience, exploiting the defensive strategies that people implement in online spaces when faced with impoliteness (Ismail et al., 2020). This critique of sensibility argues for the abridgment of sanctity in our public discourse to disrupt and weaken the legitimacy of the targeted entity. The jovial disposition of the troll who is unbothered and the provocative nature of the trolling defy and juxtapose the troll with the perceived fragility of people that the trolling targets. For example, one of the #HWNDU protestors said, “you may not like it, but this is the face of white nationalism,” (Tekajin, 2017). This is a very pointed jab at our aversion to white supremacy, an implicit acknowledgment of the inflammatory nature of this performance. In Richard Spencer’s Twitter bio at this time, the line, “I’m very tolerant.... lactose tolerant,” refers to the broad history of Richard Spencer being derided for his white supremacist rhetoric and ideas (Swerdloff, 2017). By this turn of phrase, Spencer plays with this intolerant perception of himself to critique his “haters” and their sensitivities. Through this process, the troll disempowers its target through representing

them as too sensitive, emotional, or reactive. By giving the troll the reaction that they want, their mission and enjoyment are accomplished. This revelry and disregard reveal important aspects of the troll's character.

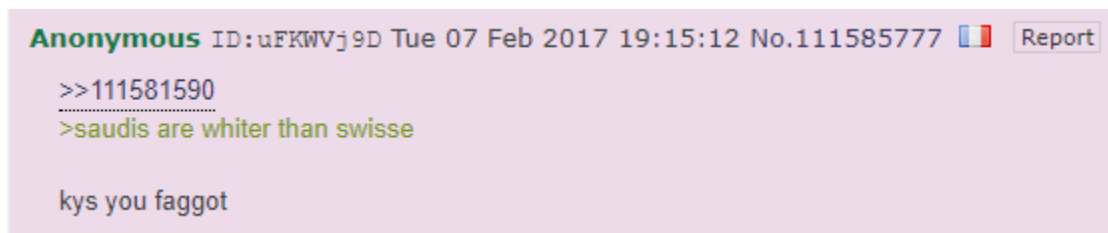
The Troll Ethos

Trolling operates not only as the culture jamming modus operandi but also as a means of establishing style, character, and especially political aesthetic. Per Nadeau's (2019) description of political aesthetic, the very action of joining this group of people trolling cultural liberalism and political correctness emits an aesthetic that both encompasses and transforms their ideology. By building community in this way, the alt-right and manosphere are manufacturing what I call the "troll ethos," or the character of the troll in public discourse that serves the aesthetic purposes of trolling. The troll is not only defined by what they do, but who they want themselves to be. Thus, the "troll ethos" can be understood as encapsulating three roles: rebellious prankster, oppositional digital citizen, and edge lord.

As discussed previously, the prankster tradition of trolling, from Anonymous hacktivism to 4chan coordinated protest, compose the first part of the troll ethos. Insincerity and non-seriousness are weaponized to discredit and delegitimize serious discussions. In doing so, the troll is establishing a prankster aesthetic, an affective identity that prizes chaos as a means of rebellion. In this chaos, laughter is the unifying force drawing these trolls and those that support them together for enjoyment at the expense of others. For example, by crashing Shia Leboief's #HWNDU art exhibit that was being live streamed, the trolls in this case were subverting the hopeful message of the project. The point of this art project was to inspire unity and resilience despite the election of Donald Trump. By crashing this live stream with displays of white supremacist dog whistles and symbolism with one of the trolls even wearing a Make America

Great Again hat, these trolls are upholding a prankster tradition. This humorous disposition meant to target others not only provides these communities with the bonding power of prankster politics but also instills an oppositional attitude in its character as well.

Another part of the troll ethos is its oppositional style. Trolls inherently juxtapose themselves to those that they are trolling. Whether it is a difference in ideology, belief, goals, or, in the case of how milk is utilized, sensitivity, trolling is an oppositional practice, so the character of those that practice it have an oppositional component to themselves. The #HWNDU protestors (Tekajin, 2017) and PewDiePie (2018) identify individuals who are worth derision because of physical and genetic inferiority due to the presence of (or lack thereof) milk drinking. Even with those that agree with the troll or are in the same digital spaces are subject to this level of opposition and aggression, as we see in this reply to the “Enter the Milk Zone” 4chan thread:



This person uses the acronym “kys” which stands for “kill yourself,” a very charged oppositional comment that is made in the spirit of the board and character of the troll’s no holds barred attitude. In their oppositional nature, an inclination toward edgy humor is also present. Lasn (1999) talks about the character of the culture jammer as incessantly oppositional, as “shock troopers” on the front line taking on others. Lasn (1999) clearly outlines this mode of action here:

“Culture jamming is, at root, just a metaphor for stopping the flow of spectacle long enough to adjust your set. Stopping the flow relies on an element of surprise.”

“Stopping the flow” with “an element of surprise” represents this oppositional disposition of the troll ethos very well. For opposition, the goal to rebut and/or grind the other to a halt. For the trolls

at the #HWNDU installation or those on 4chan or even Richard Spencer smugly co-opting language used to deride him, milk appropriation serves as a venue of opposition, where this normative symbol of nutrition becomes the sword to attack the racial or de-masculinized other.

The final part of the troll ethos is the enjoyment of edginess as an aesthetic. As Hoedemaekers (2011) discussed, offensive humor provides psychological relief by cutting through the serious nature of social issues. Now, edgy humor can operate as a source of real moral and cultural critique, to challenge established and assumed norms. The emancipatory potential of the offensive joke and even that of the troll ethos can and has been harnessed for thoughtful social critique. Unfortunately, that legitimate social critique is often overshadowed by the white supremacist and manosphere troll, who harnesses this aspect of the troll ethos to rally against moral sensibilities through celebrating transgression, not solely because it has a problem with any one value or set of values concerning race and gender, but because the veneration of edgy humor gives the troll a countercultural position, one opposed to elite standards and criticism.

The prankster attitude, oppositional disposition, and edgy humor provide the troll ethos an outward expression of character that is not just present in the individual person. The diffuse nature of trolling, how this character does not define any individual person but a collective identity is significant because cultural identities and attitudes spread and evolve, and we have seen this ethos evolve from the domains of the alt-right and manosphere into our broader network. The participation in this mass trolling engages people in an affective fashion, connecting them not only through organized activity, but by having them feel a sense of belonging through their performance of political identity. For instance, as the trolls at the #HWNDU art installation did not just utter the words found in the script. They generated an air of fun for themselves, where they connected through revelry and emotionally attached themselves to this troll aesthetic.

Disingenuous Engagement as Expectation

This development of the troll ethos is meant to inspire a chaotic and disorganized character of digital discourse that muddies the waters surrounding genuine expression. As a consequence of the aforementioned character of the troll, who uses humor to deflect serious inquiry and engagement, whose use of humor can sanction individuals that take the troll too seriously, not only is the alt-right culture jamming the left through muddying the waters of what the alt-right represents and harnessing laughter as a tool for disruption, they are also inserting doubt and disbelief into our understanding of genuineness. This “troll ethos” not only subverts those that are ideologically opposed to them but it subverts the assumption of genuine engagement itself.

In the #HWNDU protest, one of the men yells, “This is the champion. You don’t want abs? You don’t want to hurt animals? F*** you,” (Tekajin, 2017). This statement references the need to drink cow milk in order to achieve strength and vitality. The interesting quote here, though, is “you don’t want to hurt animals?” because this idea of bringing animals active harm is typically a rhetorical tool of animal rights activists that wish to end the horrid conditions of factory farming. Not only is this person acknowledging that fact, they are celebrating it. On its face, this statement can be taken seriously, that this individual enjoys the idea of animals being harmed and that they genuinely believe in these ideas. But there is no guarantee if this speech is the genuine expression of the person saying it or a transgressive subversion of normal moral standards to get a rise out of vegans or animal rights activists who would seriously disagree with this sentiment. Likewise, PewDiePie is constantly in troll mode that makes it difficult to determine the legitimacy and truthfulness of his belief system. He constantly states, “Why would I make this up?” and “I am not even memeing right now,” in talking about soy boys. And more likely than not, he probably does not believe that drinking soy milk will cause “man boobs” as he puts it. But the extent to which he

believes in anti-feminism and all of the other values wrapped up in this appropriation of milk is unclear. Leaving the audience guessing and without definitive answers is the point. In creating doubt in the genuineness of one's expression, the "troll ethos" allows for a person to don a cloak of irony to enjoy transgression in digital spaces.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

While it may be easy to dismiss the appropriation of milk as a trivial matter of some obscure circle of rightwing trolls, there are very real implications for this style of politics, namely a politics of outrage and provocation. Our news cycle relies on a series of inflammatory and controversial content to sustain itself, and these types of cultural landmines obscure and satirize conversations surrounding systemic inequality and violence. While this specific type of symbolism is not the sole culprit for this phenomenon, I have established a significant link through my analysis between the style of politics milk appropriation represents and these wide-ranging implications, namely providing an ecosystem for the extreme online right to blossom and legitimizing a brand of transgressive spectacle politics. In another sense, I believe that it is useful to consider the analysis presented here in the context of what Deluca and Peeples (2002) call the public screen.

Deluca & Peeples (2002) analyze the public sphere, the foundational social theory that is defined as a “social space wherein private citizens gather as a public body with the rights of assembly, association, and expression in order to form public opinion.” In their analysis, they identify several problems with the public sphere as a totalizing explanation of public communication because it prioritizes dialogue and physical space as necessary to the process of developing and constructing public opinion. While Deluca & Peeples (2002) recognize the importance of the public sphere as an explanatory social theory, they state that the presence of mass media necessitates an updated conception of the public sphere, that they identify as the public screen, an iteration of the public sphere centered on the idea of mass media consumption that still

operates to shape and respond to public opinion. The public screen encompasses the methods of mass media like television, movies, and the internet that simultaneously shrink the distance between people/ideas and expand our interaction with the world. People are not gathering in coffee shops and town halls as the primary venue for their political development. But rather, their interactions with mass media become the “public square” where we not only discuss issues in a new way, but mass media, particularly the internet, have introduced a “new way of being,” or forging our civic identities in a mass distributed fashion (Deluca & Peeples, 2002).

The January 6 Capitol insurrection was more than just an event that signaled the increasing presence of polarization present in our country. It was also an event, upon further examination, that indicates the frightening power of the public screen as a center of political discourse, where these politically extreme rightwing movements have been able to build a following to inspire terroristic opposition. The FBI has uncovered an intricate level of organization among many people who participated, from several events across social media (mainly Facebook) to having earpieces and walkie talkies to coordinate movement (Cheney & Gerstein, 2021). The diffuse nature of social media combined with the inflammatory politics that motivated this kind of action provided a space for groups like Q-anon and Proud Boys to plan and spread word of this event. Milk appropriation and that type of performative bait politics, while it no longer holds the same kind of cultural relevance or influence now, gave way for the alt-right and manosphere to translate their goals and ideology into movements with broader support like Q-Anon and the Proud Boys. While the intersection of people in these groups is not perfect, the style and mission of all these subcultural groups intersect at multiple points, in mission and style so much so that analyzing one without considering the other leaves us with an incomplete understanding. While Deluca & Peeples (2002) description of a participatory politics through the intersection of media and people

is presented with hope for democratic politics, much like Lasn's (1999) presentation of culture jamming, these same principles can be understood as threatening democracy, just as much as they can support and promote democracy. Analyzing the evolution of these cultural contours and style are imperative to understanding how the online right has gone from threatening feminist video game critics and sharing racist memes to plotting insurrectionary action against U.S. democratic processes.

There is also the normalization of transgressive politics. By normalizing egregiously racist and sexist beliefs through humor that aims to discredit anti-racism and feminist praxis, most problematic systems of beliefs can be legitimized under the guise of opposition to cultural liberalism. The troll ethos, as I have described, operates best when it is seen as an anti-establishment force, one that rejects the cultural norms that it claims is restricting its expression and destroying its cultural foundation. This argument has historically led to a rise in the amount of hate activity. Whenever progress is made on issues of racial equality, there is backlash by rightwing movements, just as was seen after the Civil Rights movement and the election of Barack Obama (Johnson & Urquhart, 2020). What makes this current backlash to Black Lives Matter and current racial awareness/progress so endemic and even more dangerous is how the internet and a lack of digital literacy among U.S. adults (Feldman, 2019) facilitates misinformation and the outrage that accompanies it. Members of these extreme rightwing online communities operate as bad faith actors, and the more that our information ecosystem is filled with these hate symbols and brand of cynical humor, the more that transgression is not only normalized but celebrated. The valorization of "cancelled" figures by the Republican Party stands as evidence for this normalization of transgressive politics, where a culture of "own the libs" or beating the political left through ridicule and internet memes has now entered normative politics.

Future Research

Understanding this cultural evolution better equips us to deal with this rising tide of political extremism. While this present analysis sets forth the problem, solutions are the next primary step that must be taken to counter this type of symbolic appropriation and its cultural consequences. By finding ways to improve our information literacy, draw attention away from spectacle performances of identity, and critically examine the significance of humor as a tool of radicalization; we can effectively change our discursive culture and shut off the way for extremism to infect our political discourse.

Appendix: Artifacts

1) Transcript of protest at Shia Lebouf's #HWNDU art exhibit

“Don’t let your memes be dreams, take a f***ing chance.”

“JUST DO IT!”

“Alex Jones here! If you don’t take my hyper masculinity man pill for male vitality, you look exactly like me, Alex Jones!”

“Look at these ripped abs!” (gesturing to man lifting up his shirt) “This is masculine perfection!”

“Check it!” (flexing)

“Full Masculinity” (pointing to people flexing)

“We fit now, n****”

“Stop masturbating” (yelled at someone in the crowd surrounding them repeatedly.

[A few minutes go by of them laughing and showing each other things on their phones]

“Ban this, mods”

[at this point, the start picking up milk and drinking it]

“Got milk, motherf***er”

“Got f***ing milk, look at these proteins.”

“It’s all white”

“You may not like it, but this is the face of white nationalism.”

“Now with six grams of protein.”

“Right f***ing here, I drink a gallon of this. F***ing learn. F***ing learn.”

“If you don’t drink a gallon of this a day, you are leaving gains on the table.”

“This is fascism, shirtless men drinking milk.”

[Takes a big gulp of milk] “Woooo!”

“This is how the Vikings conquered Europe!”

“With milk!”

“Whole milk. None of that 2% shit.”

“2% is a subversive lie. Whole milk, whole milk is the way!”

[Everyone stands back for one of the men to spit milk out, which landed on the camera]

“Got milk, motherf***er!”

[observer of the group coming up to the camera] “This is the greatest beach episode of an anime ever.”

“You wanna be here? I’ll carry you right now.”

“You got testosterone here.”

“WHOLE MILK!!”

A person is picked up, and the entire crowd begins to chant: “MILK BUILDS GAINS!” repeatedly, and then at the end, a few people change it to “KILL BILL GATES”

Person who was being carried comes up to the camera with a gallon of milk and says,

“Cheers. Got milk.”

“There you have it, all of the milkmen. The party’s all here. F***ing dream team, man.”

[one guy comes up to the camera to simulate boxing]

“Admire these f***ing gains.”

“I’m a lumberjack and that’s okay. I drink my milk and I work all day.”

“Down with the vegan agenda.”

“A nice cold glass of pure racism. Get it down here.”

“You think I got this from veganism? F*** no. [unintelligible] This (holds up milk)

Protein. Pint shit? What do you think, we're a p***y. (yells to crowd) Are we p***ies?"

"NO!"

"EXACTLY!!!"

[Lots of flexing and screaming]

"If you're not doing neck workouts, you're a cuck. If you have a neck harness, you're a f***ot."

"If you can't squat 315, then you're worthless."

"You may not like it, but this is peak masculinity right now." [man starts flexing with the group of men hyping up his masculinity]

"This is the champion. You don't want abs? You don't want to hurt animals? F*** you."

The crowd begins chanting "CHUG THAT MILK!" as one of the group is held up in the air with a gallon of milk.

"This is for you, Milk Viking, Milk man, I love you."

"I just want my milk mama. I just want my milk. I just want my milk. I just want my milk."

2) 4chan Enter the Milk zone

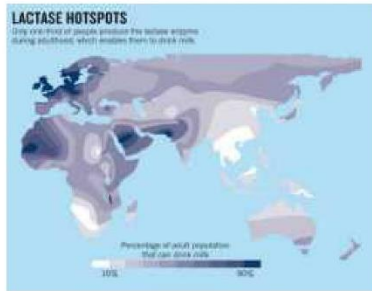
4/29/2021

/pol/ - Politically Incorrect » Thread #111581590

Archives: [[adv](#) / [f](#) / [hr](#) / [o](#) / [pol](#) / [s4s](#) / [sp](#) / [tg](#) / [trv](#) / [tv](#) / [x](#)] Boards: [[plebs](#)]

/pol/ - Politically Incorrect ▾ 4chan 🗄 Index ▾ NSFW Ghost Gallery ▾ Random Stats

Search or insert post number



58KiB, 1000x773, themilkzone.jpg

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [📄](#)

Enter The Milk Zone Anonymous ID:jdLn/8/e Tue [49 / 15]

07 Feb 2017 18:50:16 No.111581590

[View](#) [Reply](#) [Original](#) [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111582078 >>111584206 >>111584294
>>111584485 >>111584778 >>111585777 >>111587087
>>111588035 >>111588862 >>111590764 >>111591477
>>111591597 >>111592744

> roses are red
> barack is half-black
> if you can't drink milk
> you have to go back

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [📄](#) milkpride.jpg, 55KiB, 889x458



Anonymous ID:jdLn/8/e Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:51:03

No.111581747

[Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111588312

Anonymous ID:rYHKuKvi Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:51:12 No.111581766

[Report](#)

why is that map so much better than usual

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [📄](#) WHITED.jpg, 175KiB, 1016x615



Anonymous ID:jdLn/8/e Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:52:04 No.111581933

[Report](#)

Milk make man big an strong

GOMAD today!

Anonymous ID:sps8t+Un Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:53:00 No.111582078

[Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111582601 >>111582853 >>111588261 >>111591477

>>111581590

What's up with Slavs? Is this why they are so shit?

Anonymous ID:s17TRu85 Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:56:04 No.111582601

[Report](#)

>>111582078

They are a color between White people and Asians.

Anonymous ID:y1KMySeP Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:56:06 No.111582606

[Report](#)

<https://archive.4plebs.org/pol/thread/111581590/#111581590>

1/7

>the importation of foreigners is actually a giant conspiracy launched to bankrupt milk producers

Anonymous ID:jdLn/8/e Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:57:37 No.111582853 [Report](#)

>>111582078

<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF02239264>

<http://s1.zetaboards.com/anthroscape/topic/1023151/1/>

According to these two it should only be 15-25% of slavs are intolerant. hmmm

Anonymous ID:ypN63fjW Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:58:06 No.111582932 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111583229 >>111583883

I can drink chocolate milk but plain milk triggers my gag reflex
My parents are english and scottish and I'm in the whitest 1% of the population

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [orange_1280w.jpg](#), 94KiB, 1280x720



Anonymous ID:xdOSooEn Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:59:31 No.111583171 [Report](#)

Droogies reporting in.

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [Ginuwine-milkman.jpg](#), 18KiB, 330x396



Anonymous ID:jdLn/8/e Tue 07 Feb 2017 18:59:52 No.111583229 [Report](#)

>>111582932

Whatever you say Jamal

Anonymous ID:93T7uAil Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:00:44 No.111583383 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111584076

I'm black and I can drink milk just fine.

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [Cow_female_black_white.jpg](#), 887KiB, 2700x1803



Anonymous ID:2mdCjGi0 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:01:59 No.111583606 [Report](#)

Nom nom nom nom gimme dem cow tiddies.

Anonymous ID:Xly9NWpg Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:02:12 No.111583632 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111585759 >>111588529

unoriginal material. I'll do ya one better:

you're not white if:

>your eyes aren't blue
>your nips not pink
>your skin can tan
>you can't milk drink

Anonymous ID:2mdCjGi0 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:03:36 No.111583883 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111584152

>>111582932

Well that's because you are a lard ass who can't tolerate any beverage that doesn't contain corn syrup.

Anonymous ID:s17TRu85 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:04:46 No.111584076 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111584209 >>111584318 >>111588216

>>111583383

American Negroids are part White.

Anonymous ID:ypN63fjW Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:05:16 No.111584152 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111584287 >>111584664

>>111583883

I'm 59 kilos anon

Anonymous ID:qT8GLsU8 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:05:33 No.111584206 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111593726

>>111581590

Your own map kinda defeats your point.

>hotspot in africa

>and in saudi arabia

>and in pakistan

Anonymous ID:93T7uAil Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:05:34 No.111584209 [Report](#)

>>111584076

Yeah makes sense since my mom is white

Anonymous ID:Xly9NWpg Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:06:01 No.111584287 [Report](#)

>>111584152

>t. 3'11" midget

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [6gpy.jpg, 115KIB, 800x545](#)



Anonymous ID:j8/jInoh Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:06:02 No.111584294 [Report](#)

>>111581590

this is fucking stupid all romanians drink milk, that shit should be 150% in the area

Anonymous ID:2mdCjGi0 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:06:09 No.111584318 [Report](#)

>>111584076

And even then a lot of West Africans were herded goats for a very long time. They domesticated them. That's why West Africa has so much lactose tolerance.

Anonymous ID:N8Ezt5QR Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:07:15 No.111584485 [Report](#)

>>111581590

>tfw hapa

>can drink milk just fine

Yes thank you white spaniard genes. I wish I were white.

Anonymous ID:2mdCjGi0 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:08:20 No.111584664 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111584754

>>111584152
I'M TOO DUMB FOR YOUR WIERD BASE 10 UNITS!

Anonymous ID: X1y9NWpg Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:09:01 No.111584754 [Report](#)

>>111584664
He said he's about 130 lbs

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [1485985041846.png, 15KiB, 299x200](#)

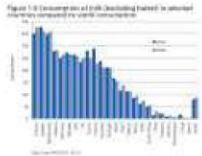


Anonymous ID: LRR+RZ2E Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:09:13 No.111584778 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111586001 >>111588709

>>111581590
>drinking the white jew
I thought /pol/ was better than this.

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [White-Lies-report-fig-1.jpg, 368KiB, 1521x1182](#)



Anonymous ID: GdxUzXMu Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:13:26 No.111585478 [Report](#)

I love organic milk. It tastes so much better than regular.

Anonymous ID: DaHhB654 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:15:04 No.111585759 [Report](#)

>>111583632
Any ones skin can tan if you are in the sun long enough

Anonymous ID: uFKWVj9D Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:15:12 No.111585777 [Report](#)

>>111581590
>saudis are whiter than swisse

kys you faggot

Anonymous ID: jRUwO79Z Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:16:39 No.111586001 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111587384

>>111584778
>moortugal

Anonymous ID: 1W2n6kpx Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:23:41 No.111587087 [Report](#)

>>111581590
I can have it with cereal or in something, but milk just tastes like something alien to me alone.

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [1486430552980.jpg, 117KiB, 667x659](#)



Anonymous ID: LRR+RZ2E Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:25:45 No.111587384 [Report](#)

>>111586001
>Israel's best bud jumps straight at you for telling the truth
DELET THIS

Anonymous ID: 7yzG5BL8 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:30:11 No.111588035 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111588613

>>111581590

I'm a mixture of german and irish. I have red hair and green eyes. I get a 3 day tan that's red and hurts if I stay out in the sun.

I get horrible gas/shits if I drink milk.

I'm still white.

Anonymous ID:aB72KtOz Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:31:20 No.111588216 [Report](#)

>>111584076

I'm Caribbean Black, I chug milk.

We have alot of goats in the caribbean

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [1447169971760.jpg](#), 85KiB, 499x374



Anonymous ID:JGr1Gykb Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:31:35 No.111588261 [Report](#)

>>111582078

I drink milk every day! Delet this or apologize.

Anonymous ID:6mw0HTcT Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:31:51 No.111588312 [Report](#)

>>111581747

could 'Milk Pride' become a new meme?

Anonymous ID:JGr1Gykb Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:33:17 No.111588529 [Report](#)

>>111583632

Wtf? I'm not white? Why didn't anybody tell me before?

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [doggo.jpg](#), 96KiB, 488x434



Anonymous ID:5WKBB8Dk Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:33:49 No.111588613 [Report](#)

>>111588035

Wood n[redacted] + potato n[redacted] = not white

Anonymous ID:JGr1Gykb Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:34:32 No.111588709 [Report](#)

>>111584778

In some way you may be correct, my Slavic brother. Milk does contain a lot of environmental estrogens due to bioaccumulation. I think they are also added to stimulate lactation, but I don't know if this is legal or done in Europe.

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [1482797328790.jpg](#), 29KiB, 685x275



Anonymous ID:fpQI5tIa Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:35:52 No.111588862 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111589755

>>111581590

i drink milk, everyone i know drinks milk, this is fucking stupid

Anonymous ID:umD8+V/v Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:42:26 No.111589755 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111590467

>>111588862
how white are you?

Anonymous ID:fpQI5tIa Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:47:17 No.111590467 [Report](#)

>>111589755
around 75-80%

Anonymous ID:3tS3J5M9 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:49:11 No.111590764 [Report](#)

>>111581590
Your map proves that plenty of non whites can digest lactose too, moron.

Anonymous ID:Mhi0OGVr Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:53:02 No.111591333 [Report](#)

>tfw when Saudi and drink delicious camel milk

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [1378209710321.jpg](#), 174KiB, 800x578



Anonymous ID:E53xwP45 Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:53:57 No.111591477 [Report](#)

>>111581590
>>111582078
>that central European tongue, perfectly corresponding to the borders of the Czech Republic
W H I T E
DOWN WITH VEGAN AGENDA

Anonymous ID:6WBaSSRr Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:54:47 No.111591597 [Report](#)

Quoted By: >>111592365

>>111581590
70% of Americans can't point out USA on a standard map such as this one. Can you?

[View Same](#) [Google](#) [iqdb](#) [SauceNAO](#) [Trace](#) [1466627266418.gif](#), 1MiB, 212x212



Anonymous ID:JGr1Gykb Tue 07 Feb 2017 19:59:57 No.111592365 [Report](#)

>>111591597

Anonymous ID:MbzciP+l Tue 07 Feb 2017 20:02:28 No.111592744 [Report](#)

>>111581590
sheet where should i go mongolia or kazakstan????

Anonymous ID:vn5fzKWl Tue 07 Feb 2017 20:09:21 No.111593726 [Report](#)

>>111584206
sips camel milk

3) Richard Spencer Twitter bio



4) Transcript of 's video S O Y B O Y S

Opening with man in white tank top: "All right guys, we're coming at you with another crazy analogy for something that people really have a misconception of when it comes to just myths and fitness related things that we believe because somebody said something and then I heard Joe Shmoe say it and now I believe it, alright? So, here's what we're talking about today. We're talkinga bout soy milk. Now, I drink soy milk."

PewDiePie: SOOOOOY BOOOOOY

Cuts to another video of a man in a maroon shirt and bandana: "I did sort of buy into the myth that, you know, soy was going to affect my testosterone levels and it might cause me to, I don't know make less muscle gains."

PewDiePie: Soy boy! Soy boy. What an absolute soy boy.

Cuts to a video of a man in a blue shirt: "Marc Lobliner, tigerfitness.com. Bitch tits. And soy. I remember it hit, like, in 2004. A crappy little website decided to put out an article on how soy increases estrogen. You might as well be taking your girl's birth control pills."

PewDiePie: Soy boys: These pathetic beta males. Just look how weak they are. Weaklings, pathetic. Absolute scumbags. Social and physical degenerates. It's laughable.

cuts to clip of Cloud Strife from Final Fantasy VII laughing

PewDiePie: But it's not just laughable. It is also harmful. Soy Boys are reproducing. They are creating beta males from left to right causing the destruction of western civilization. Needs to be stopped! I am NOT even memeing right now. This is not meme review. This is a very serious

topic of discussion that needs to be brought up. Don't believe the dangers of soy? Just look at the Soy Prince himself, Will Wheaton.

Cuts to clip of Wil Wheaton tweet

PewDiePie: Glug glug glug glug glug glug more soy milk bring me the bottle and leave it. He's telling people to consume more soy. Soy has estrogen in it so that means if you consume soy, you might as well be a woman, you know that right?

Cuts to definition of gynaecomastia

Gynaecomastia. Man boobs, that's right. If you consume soy, you might as well flaunt your – Wear a bra like a little (laughs). If you consume soy, you might as well put on a bra right now and then wait for the man boobs to come. This is after and before soy. Do you understand?

Inserts meme of virgin soy boy and Chad Onionman

PewDiePie: Virgin Soy boy? Has actual brain tumor. That's right. Soy causes all kinds of (laughs). This is not me spreading misinformation. This is just proven scientific facts. It causes male breast cancer. Nowhere hairy but on his feet. Carrot calves. Moving on to Chad. Perfect eyesight 20/20. Pee is white like milk. Soy boy is causing the destruction of western civilization. The dis-demasculinization of man has caused all these pathetic beta males to just multiply as an army. They're taking over. What are we going to do? But I'm here to fight back. Finally someone that dares to stand up against these issues of the sort. Just look at jacksepticeye himself. This is before and after soy by the way. Absolute alpha from a pathetic youtuber beta male. Disgusting. I know it hurts to see my friends become a victim of soy. But how can we spot a soy boy Felix? Oh, don't worry. I will tell you.

*Picture of man with caption "HIGH TESTOSTERONE FACE"

PewDiePie: Here's a high testosterone face, very defined facial structure just as mine of course. I would say mine is probably even a couple level of alpha more than this man. It's probably my Viking Swedish genes. Eehh...

Switch to picture of bald man with beard and mouth open

PewDiePie: And here you have a classic, the quintessential soy face. Balding head or fully bald, awkward beard, glasses, and overly excited face. I can't. I can't even. I can't even recreate this. It is truly truly despicable stuff that we're seeing here.

*Shows meme of mem with their mouths open smiling with caption "is this the male version of duck face."

PewDiePie: It's basically the male version of duck face. Soy boys just can't help themselves. They get too excited about their Nintendo Switch. I understand. A video game console designed for little children. Why wouldn't they be excited about it? What's next? They're gonna start building cardboard? Oh, they already do that. Oh look at PJ, my own friend, suffering from (laughs). Jack, PJ, who are they going to take next? Brad? Oh?

Cuts to long haired man shirtless with lipstick on

PewDiePie: Oh, it's already happening. I can't even tell them apart from my own girlfriend these days. Do you understand how hard this is? They are working together. This is not just me making some stuff up. This is a real conspiracy if you want to spot a Soy Boy, just dangle a Nintendo switch controller in front of them. They'll start jumping up and down excitedly. Immediately, and that's how you know you need to euthanize them at the spot. It is it is our duty for mankind, for our kind. Sorry. I don't want to discriminate against women on this channel.

Cuts to Reddit post of man holding Nintendo Switch

PewDiePie: I had a vasectomy yesterday, and when I woke up my wife's boyfriend surprised me with. How nice of the boyfriend. There is just too many examples for this to not be fact. You think I'm just making things. It writes itself I came to open your eyes sheeple to the Soy Boy conspiracy. You want to know why I didn't play God of War on my channel because they might as well call it god of soy. Why is he bald and have a beard? There's no way. Why do you think I even shaved my beard? Soy.. to... to protect myself from soy. Do you think this is just made up huh? They have been feeding soy to kids since we were children. Soy bean crayon. You ever wonder why soy- the crayons are so delicious. That's because they've been feeding it to children. They've even created purely soy-based meals called something Soylent who just by the way sponsoring this video, thank you very much Soylent I appreciate.

Cuts to Twitter post of a man standing in front of a Soylent truck

PewDiePie: Walking down the street, spot the soylent truck, now I'm drinking sweet chai breakfast- Jesse Cox, I'm worried about you. I've already lost PJ. I've already lost Jack. I've already lost Brad one. Not Jesse Cox. What's next? Is he gonna tweet about Barron Trump?

Cuts to Twitter post by Jesse Cox

PewDiePie: I am gonna say it. I hate Barron T- 0.0 JESSE COX! You've taking two steps too far right now. Soylent has turned people so weak they can't even open the bottle themselves, but it's so easy.

Cuts to tweet about difficulty opening soylent

PewDiePie: "I bench 350 and I cannot open a goddamn bottle of Soylent." Well, maybe because you consume soy. Maybe it's because you're turning into a WOmAn.

Cuts to tweet about difficulty opening soylent

PewDiePie: "I find myself unable to open the drink." Maybe that's why everyone is just posing with it instead of actually drinking it because people just can't help themselves. Posing with their Soylent bottle nothing like a selfie with your beverage. Wait isn't that? Isn't that the host of bully hunters? How far does this conspiracy go? Yeah look it says here.

Cuts to Nati Casanova Twitter, host of bully hunters

PewDiePie: "Sponsored by Soylent," but she tweeted, very recently, "no soy." She tweeted "no soy gringo corrado" which is Spanish for "no more, Soylent, please. It's turning me into a deformed creature." And look at that she lost her Soylent sponsor. How far does the Soylent conspiracy go? You think I'm just making this up? Who you think is calling you a soy boy. Who is actually calling you a soy boy. Don't listen to this fake meme propaganda. This is not true. The left side is always correct.

Okay for real. No jokes aside. It showed that estrogen is in soy, but it's not the same estrogen that your body produces so--So consuming soy shouldn't actually have any cause on your body or make you more feminine or make you produce less sperm. That's all just a- that just all a meme that's just spiralled out of control. And I feel like I have to be responsible here and call it out so that people stop using soy boy as some sort of insult. Cause it's not just mean, it's also extremely hurtful, I just can't understand why anyone would call someone else a soy to prove some fact that just because there are lesser man, and enjoy watching someone else have sex with their wife that somehow makes them less. I just- We need to- We need to reduce this stigma. Because it's all about the onion! That's right. If you're not an onion man, and consume at least six raw onions a

day, which is the only scientific proven way to increase your sperm count by the way huh don't believe this year you heard about this. Onions are the opposite of soyo. Not even meming. You know who else like onions That's right. The most masculine man of mankind

Cuts to picture of Shrek

Shrek. If you don't eat onion at least once a day, then you're part of the problem. You think I'm just making this up? Onions help keep your heart healthy, helps you control diabetes, improves immunity lower stress helps protect cancer keeps your skin healthy, and look at that, boosts your sperm count. Doesn't matter if you're a woman or a man you need to consume onions. You may not like it, but this is what peak performance look like.

Cuts to picture showing two men

onion man vs. soy boy. Okay, that was a video. Hey.. of course there's one way to very quickly and effectively cure your soy boy, and it's by purchasing one of the Сука Блять merch. Limited time only. Check out link in the description to prove that you're a real alpha. That's right, I'm using memes to sell me merch. got a problem? Well, you must be full of soy, boy.

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