

Julian Morein

Senior Thesis

Dr. Angela Kachuyeveski

3 May 2020

Murdoch Murdoch: A Case Study in Threats to Ontological Security in Far-Right Propaganda

I. Introduction

Far-right groups have seen an uptick in support across western democracies. From Donald Trump's victory in the United States, to France's National Front winning its highest vote share in the most recent presidential election,² to the VOX party's parliamentary breakthrough in Spain's most recent elections,³ the far-right is having a political resurgence after years of steady growth in support.⁴ These successes have also corresponded with an increase in widespread and well organized far-right propaganda, especially online. Far-right media employs several tactics to mainstream its ideas and to radicalize potential supporters. These include websites that spread disinformation presented as news,⁵ coordinated Twitter attacks,⁶ the incubation and dissemination of targeted memes,⁷ and the promulgation of far-right web series. These web

² "The Maps That Show How France Voted and Why," BBC News (BBC, May 12, 2017), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39870460>

³ Sohail Jannessari, "The Left Will Govern Spain, but the Far-Right Is the Real Winner," Foreign Policy, November 16, 2019, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/11/16/spain-election-vox-far-right-socialists-winner/>

⁴ "The Maps That Show How France Voted and Why," BBC News; Kristin Haltinner. "Paving the Way for Trump: The Tea Party's Invisible Influence on the 2016 Election" in *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019.

⁵ Jacob Davey, Erin Saltman, and Jonathan Birdwell, "The Mainstreaming of Far-Right Extremism Online and how to Counter It": *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019.

⁶ Caitlin E Lawson. 2018. "Platform Vulnerabilities: Harassment and Misogynoir in the Digital Attack on Leslie Jones." *Information, Communication & Society* 21 (6): 818–33.

⁷ Davey, et al. "The Mainstreaming of Far-Right Extremism Online"

series can be news or discussion based, such as videos created by white nationalist youtubers such as Stefan Molyneux, or narrative based propaganda. One example of narrative far-right propaganda, *Murdoch Murdoch (MM)*, a *South Park* inspired white nationalist series, has been cited by groups like the Southern Poverty Law Center as particularly potent propaganda.⁸ For the purposes of this paper the far-right consists of nationalist groups, including both ethno-nationalism and civic-nationalism. The former, often overtly fascist, advocate for a particular ethnic groups' supremacy. Civic-nationalists by contrast, distances themselves from more overt fascism and instead, at least rhetorically, support the democratic systems they exist in.⁹ Therefore, while many far-right groups openly advocate for authoritarianism, it is not the defining feature, but rather their support for nationalist policies. This thesis seeks to examine how such nationalist media attempts to radicalize viewers, using *MM* as a case study. Applying a critical discourse analysis to *MM*, this thesis argues that far-right media portrays any challenge to the status quo, be it demographic, political, cultural, or social, as threatening to ontological security by utilizing a Positive Self and Negative Other dichotomy.

II. Literature Review

Social scientists have proposed various theories and explanations to understand how the far-right radicalizes individuals since the fall of the Nazi regime in 1945. Some scholars focus on political psychology, positing that far-right groups utilized the talents of singular leaders to exploit psychological weaknesses in their followers. Other focus on how the far-right take advantage of existing political structures. Research centered on ontology and security argues that

⁸ Hatewatch Staff, "McInnes, Molyneux, and 4chan: Investigating Pathways to the Alt-Right," Southern Poverty Law Center, April 19, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/20180419/mcinnnes-molyneux-and-4chan-investigating-pathways-alt-right>

⁹ Daphne Halikiopoulou, "Far-right' Groups May Be Diverse – But Here's What They All Have in Common," The Conversation, January 21, 2019, <https://theconversation.com/far-right-groups-may-be-diverse-but-heres-what-they-all-have-in-common-101919>

the far-right utilizes cultural anxieties to recruit members of dominant cultures within a society who feel left behind in some way. Much of the literature complements each other rather than arguing against other theories, often working in tandem to provide multi-faceted explanations. However, while all these arguments do partially explain the sustainability of the far-right, the use of rhetoric and the exploitation of cultural anxieties can best explain the recent rise of the far-right. Overwhelming research demonstrates that the far-right not only influences political discourse, but that these groups effectively target cultural anxieties in their propaganda.

Psychological Arguments

Immediate post World War II analysis of far-right movements posited that far-right supporters have a pathology driving them to support charismatic leaders. These scholars, unsurprisingly, focused on Nazi Germany.¹⁰ Perhaps the most prominent advocate of this idea was Theodore Adorno whose 1950 book *The Authoritarian Personality* championed the idea that far-right support came from a more inherent psychological predisposition to support strong-man type leaders.¹¹ Many scholars writing during the 1950s and 1960s used *The Authoritarian Personality* as a jumping off point for their research.¹² Adorno also made a key distinction between traditional conservatism and the more fringe far-right, what he called “Pseudo-Conservatism.”¹³

More recent analysis on far-right authoritarianism argues that political environment also plays a key role in activating these predispositions. While some people may be more inclined to

¹⁰ Kathleen Blee, and Kimberly A. Creasap. "Conservative and Right-Wing Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (2010): 269-86. 271.

¹¹ Theodor W. Adorno, *The Authoritarian Personality: Studies in Prejudice*, ed. Max Horkheimer and Samuel H. Flowerman (N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1950).

¹² Douglas K Stewart., and Ted C. Smith. "Celebrity Structure of the Far-right." *The Western Political Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1964): 349-55. 349.

¹³ Adorno, *The Authoritarian Personality*

support authoritarian leaders, they need the right environment to activate such behavior.¹⁶ This trait also exists in some left wing individuals. However, it is far more common in on the political right.¹⁷ Fear around perceived threats can also motivate people to support far-right groups and policy.¹⁸ Applying Adorno's theories on authoritarianism to the election of Donald Trump, Trump supporters are more likely to be more predisposed authoritarian personality traits, are self-preservation oriented, show strong dislike for outside groups, and support isolation from outside groups.¹⁹

While a psychological predisposition to supporting authoritarianism provides a useful data point in determining how far-right parties and figures gain support, it does not explain how this predisposition came about if it also requires the right political environment. Because much of the research in political psychology maintains that even genetic components do not solely create leanings towards authoritarianism, and because not all far-right groups present as openly authoritarian, other factors must be explored in order to determine how far-right groups, radicalize new members.

The Alliance Between Economic and Cultural Conservatives

Others built on Adorno to create a framework for the distinction between traditional economic conservatism and ethnic or culturally based nationalism. Historian Richard Hofstadter described the pseudo-conservative as a uniquely American problem writing, "pseudo-conservatism is in good part a product of the rootlessness and heterogeneity of American life,

¹⁶ Steven G. Ludeke and Robert F. Krueger, "Authoritarianism as a Personality Trait: Evidence from a Longitudinal Behavior Genetic Study," *Personality and Individual Differences* 55, no. 5 (2013): pp. 480-484. 482-484.

¹⁷ J.D. Meloen. "The F scale as a predictor of fascism: An overview of 40 years of authoritarian research". In *Strength and Weakness: The Authoritarian Personality Today*. W. F. Stone, G. Lederer, & R. Christie (Eds.), New York: Springer, 1993. 47-69.

¹⁸ S Feldman & K Stenner. Perceived Threat and Authoritarianism. *Political Psychology*, 18 (4), 1997 741-770.

¹⁹ Thomas F. Pettigrew, "Social Psychological Perspectives on Trump Supporters," *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 5, no. 1 (February 2017). 107-116.

and above all, of its peculiar scramble for status and its peculiar search for secure identity”²⁰ Hofstadter then divided American political debates into two categories based on this distinction. These are “interest politics, the clash of material aims and needs among various groups and blocs; and status politics, the clash of various projective rationalizations arising from status aspirations.” He further argued that in years of economic hardship the former takes precedence, while in eras of prosperity the later does.²¹ Hofstadter’s work is emblematic of a shift in the literature on the far-right from Adorno’s work. His writing, while heavily inspired by Adorno, also presents the idea that far-right ideas are not always tied to economic ennui felt during crises. This idea became far more important in later literature.

More recent research has framed the dichotomy between economic and cultural conservatives as an alliance, bringing far-right ideas into the political mainstream. For instance, American historian Allan Lichtman explored these connections between the 1920s up to the Bush administration and concluded that American capitalism can at times promote moral sin and cultural pluralism that cultural conservatives often oppose. However, the American “anti-pluralist tradition is fundamentally pro-capitalist” and that “Anti-pluralist conservatives have largely exempted capitalism from cultural corruption”²² Lichtman proposes that two movements benefit from a symbiotic relationship. Anti-pluralists use the business class for their resources. Capitalists in turn use the anti-pluralists to gain an enthusiastic base of support and to perpetuate their wealth by preventing large swaths of voters from questioning these power structures.²³ Such

²⁰ Richard Hofstadter. "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt." *The American Scholar* 24, no. 1 (1954): 9-27. 16.

²¹ Hofstadter. "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt." 18.

²² Allan J Lichtman. *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*. (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press 2008). 4-5.

²³ Lichtman. *White Protestant Nation*. 4-5.

an alliance also helps explain the rise of the Tea Party and subsequently Donald Trump.²⁴

Sociologist Kirstin Haltinner builds directly on Hofstadter to discuss the prevalence of anti-intellectualism within the American conservative movement, arguing that both the Tea Party and Trump relied on both groups for electoral success.²⁵ The Tea Party, at first a fringe collection of groups, has also gained mainstream exposure through traditional conservative means such as wealthy donor support,²⁶ as well as media attention, particularly through Fox News.²⁷

This alliance, while not the only factor, helps explain how far-right ideas can gain more mainstream audiences than they might have otherwise. For instance, Fox News consistently earns the highest cable news network ratings in the United States, with an audience in the millions.²⁸ Founded by Rupert Murdoch, a more traditional business conservative the channel has hosted the likes of Tucker Carlson and Laura Ingraham both of whom have spoken about, in all but name, the Great Replacement; a far-right conspiracy theory about the eventual erasure of white people through immigration and higher birth rates among minority groups.²⁹

False Consciousness and Cultural Hegemony

Marxists theorists argue that the very structure of liberal democratic nations leads to both the alliance between fringe far-right groups and more traditional bastions of conservatism and a general rise of far-right ideology using the theory of false consciousness. Broadly, false

²⁴ Kristin Haltinner. "Paving the Way for Trump: The Tea Party's Invisible Influence on the 2016 Election": *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019.

²⁵ Haltinner. "Paving the Way for Trump": *Trumping the Mainstream*. 137

²⁶ Mayer, Jane. *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires behind the Rise of the Radical Right*. New York: Anchor Books, 2015.

²⁷ Skocpol, Theda, and Vanessa Williamson. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

²⁸ A.J. Katz, "October 2019 Ratings: Fox News Marks 40 Straight Months at the Top of the Basic Cable Heap," TVNewser (TVNewser, October 29, 2019), <https://www.adweek.com/tvnewser/october-2019-ratings-fox-news-marks-40-straight-months-at-the-top-of-the-basic-cable-heap/419280/>

²⁹ Courtney Hagle, "How Fox News Pushed the White Supremacist 'Great Replacement' Theory," Media Matters for America, May 8th 2019, <https://www.mediamatters.org/tucker-carlson/how-fox-news-pushed-white-supremacist-great-replacement-theory>

consciousness is “a relation between who one is (objectively) and what one thinks (subjectively).”³⁰ Originally Marx and Engels thought of false consciousness as solely false beliefs that intellectuals and the bourgeoisie held, relegated solely to the creators and perpetrators of the superstructure.³¹ However, later Marxist theorists expanded this to include the working class. Neo-Marxist Antonio Gramsci wrote that the superstructure, and the cultural institutions that perpetuate, create false consciousness in the working class.³² Building on this, Marxist Georg Lukacs wrote that a person operating under capitalist assumptions cannot fully understand their own class and therefore operate under a sort of class blindness.³³ Marxist thought therefore broadly holds that rather than an alliance, the capitalists use cultural conservatism to perpetuate their own power and status.

Cultural arguments

Horizontal Populism

Some scholars focus more broadly on populism but craft distinctions between left wing and right wing versions. Broadly, populism is the struggle between two groups, a large, seemingly pure, group and a smaller set of corrupt elites. There may be perceived special interests, but these often fall under the elite category.³⁹ In the political context populism at its core the assertion that the current government in question does not accurately reflect the will of the majority of citizens, and instead actively undermine that majority.⁴⁰ If a populist movement

³⁰ Ron Eyerman. “False Consciousness and Ideology in Marxist Theory.” *Acta Sociologica* 24, no. 1/2 (1981): 43-56. 44

³¹ Eyerman. “False Consciousness” 44.

³² Eyerman. “False Consciousness” 46.

³³ Eyerman. “False Consciousness” 50.

³⁹ Joseph Lacey. “Populism, Nationalism, and Ontological Security” in *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019. 96

⁴⁰ Samir Gandesha. “Understanding Right and Left Populism.” In *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*, edited by Morelock Jeremiah, 49-70. London: University of Westminster Press, 2018.
www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv9hvtcf.7. 50

stays at this stage, i.e. a majority fighting against a corrupt set of people in power it is vertical populism, and is more closely associated with the political left.⁴¹ However, other scholars have built on this to add a new dimension, one that takes it out of the realm of purely economic motives. If at some point the majority sees the elites as protecting some non-elite group, often an ethnic, racial, or religious minority it becomes horizontal populism.⁴² This is the point at which populism becomes far-right in nature. Therefore, by presenting threats to the safety of the majority, and then connecting these threats to minority groups the far-right can co-opt otherwise purely economic driven movements or create movements based on nonexistent problems.⁴³

Threats to Security

Political Scientist Joseph Lacy molds the notions of populism and nationalism together by connecting the two through ontological security.⁴⁴ Under this theory a far-right movement needs “at least some part of the citizenry feeling insecure about their ability to maintain the material social and political conditions to continue their way of life.” This insecurity can come from current issues, or a perceived future threat.⁴⁵ Citizens see the nation-state as their source of security because norms, especially socio-political norms, all develop at least somewhat uniquely in each nation state and therefore “the nation-state provides a familiar and legitimate context for decision making.”⁴⁶ Threats to this familiar order “can provide strong grounds to resist ceding too much decision-making power to distinct international bodies whose norms and practices may

⁴¹ Lacey. “Populism, Nationalism, and Ontological Security” 98.

⁴² Lacey. “Populism, Nationalism, and Ontological Security” 98

⁴³ Jacob Davey, Erin Saltman, and Jonathan Birdwell, “The Mainstreaming of Far-Right Extremism Online and how to Counter It”: *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019.

⁴⁴ Lacey “Populism, Nationalism, and Ontological Security”

⁴⁵ Lacey “Populism, Nationalism, and Ontological Security” 98.

⁴⁶ Lacey “Populism, Nationalism, and Ontological Security” 98.

be more difficult to understand and engage with for ordinary citizens.”⁴⁷ While countries do have international obligations, citizens within that state see its role as protecting co-nationals within the state. Therefore, citizens reject certain public goods they perceive as benefiting non-nationals. This further actualizes into support for policies that curb demographic changes and immigration.⁴⁸ Cultural anxiety can therefore be defined as “a symptom of socially and institutionally privileged individuals feeling as though their rights to... government benefits, private sector jobs (and so on) are being redistributed to people who are ‘less deserving’”⁴⁹ Far-right groups can further capitalize on this by creating situations in which they can manipulate the media narrative and portray themselves both as a proxy for the dominant group and simultaneously under attack because of this identity.⁵⁰

Many point to the rise of globalization as a part of this loss of perceived security. For instance, the global rise in anti-Semitism has been tied to far-right promulgations of anti-Semitic tropes.⁵¹ However, one thing that has changed more recently is that this rise is now longer tied to economic downturns. Whereas historically anti-Semitism came as a result of economic downturns, in the twenty first century it has risen even during favorable economic periods. “Modern-day globalization-the opening of borders to the greater movement of ideas, people, and money-has stirred familiar anxieties about ill-defined ‘outside forces.’”⁵² as individuals perceive a lost sense of identity the nation state provided for them. Or as the historian Dan Dinar states “People are losing their compass...A worldwide stock market, a new form of money, no borders.

⁴⁷ Lacey “Populism, Nationalism, and Ontological Security” 98.

⁴⁸ Lacey “Populism, Nationalism, and Ontological Security” 98-99.

⁴⁹ Christopher Parker, Sebastian Mayer, and Nicole Buckley. “Left, Right, But No In-Between” in *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019. 114 .

⁵⁰ Lawson. “Platform Vulnerabilities”

⁵¹ M Strauss. “Anti-Globalism’s Jewish Problem” *Foreign Policy*, 139, (2003). 58-67.

⁵² Strauss. “Anti-Globalism’s Jewish Problem.” 60.

Concepts like country, nationality, everything is in doubt. They are looking for the ones who are guilty of this new situation and they find the Jews.”⁵³

Perceived threats to ontological security are key in understanding how the far-right radicalizes individuals. As discussed in the psychology-based literature, while there may be predispositions to supporting authoritarianism, especially among already right leaning people, they need a threat to activate it. Ontological security, and the perceived threats to it such as like globalization and demographic shifts, provide that activation.

Conclusion

While all the theoretical lenses discussed interconnect and provide at least some explanatory value, ontological security provides the most all-encompassing and powerful analytic framework. The psychological research has clearly demonstrated that support for far-right leaders does not come about solely on its own, it needs activation. This activation comes from propaganda that targets threats to security.

The far-right has long had success in taking advantage of popular media and mediums to push propaganda that exacerbates fears surrounding perceived threats to the status quo. From the use of the radio in the 1930s,⁵⁴ to the use of computer games by far-right Christian groups in the 1980s,⁵⁵ to the very early internet BBS boards,⁵⁶ advocates on the extreme right are always ready to take advantage of media and shape it to their own ideology. More recently researchers have demonstrated how the far-right uses the internet to use linguistic tactics as well as take advantage of cultural anxieties, often simultaneously. Far-right fake news sites often appropriate the

⁵³ Strauss. “Anti-Globalism’s Jewish Problem.” 60.

⁵⁴Kathleen M Blee, and Kimberly A. Creasap. "Conservative and Right-Wing Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (2010): 269-86. 271.

⁵⁵ Blee, and Creasap. "Conservative and Right-Wing Movements." 272.

⁵⁶ Chip Berlet and Carol Manson “Swastikas in Cyberspace: How Hate Went Viral”: *Digital Media Strategies of the Far-right in Europe and the United States*. Edited by Simpson, Patricia Anne, and Druexes, Helga. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central.

language and appearance of traditional news sources to seem objective while pushing for hard line anti-immigration platforms.⁵⁷ Others have found that far-right news sites frame themselves as agents of truth in a pan-western crusade against changing demographic trends.⁵⁸ Social media platforms often dominated by the far-right have been demonstrated to be breeding grounds and eventually disseminators of memes that make far-right ideas palatable to the general public.⁵⁹ Others have found far-right figures and political parties use social media to bypass traditional media gatekeepers and spread messages targeted at exacerbating fears related to demographic changes.⁶⁰ Lastly, researchers have found evidence that many far-right groups take advantage of backlash against liberal attempts at social reform and “political correctness”⁶¹ Far-right groups creating, or exacerbating perceived threats to security provides a key component of psychological research, it demonstrates the use of alliances with traditional conservatives for legitimacy, and explains more recent alternative media created by the far-right.

III. Analytic Framework

Ontological security provides a useful framework to examine how far-right views integrate themselves into political discourse. This paper will examine how far-right media takes advantage of, and creates, threats to security, using the web series *Murdoch Murdoch* as its case study. This paper will build on previous research that examines how far-right groups utilize people’s sense of ontological security and connect it to elements the far-right opposes such as minority groups and the political left. It will draw from research on the linguistic and narrative

⁵⁷ Silje Nygaard. “The Appearance of Objectivity: How Immigration-Critical Alternative Media Report the News”, 2019 *Journalism Practice*. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2019.1577697

⁵⁸ Davey et al. “The Mainstreaming of Far-Right Extremism”

⁵⁹ Davey et al. “The Mainstreaming of Far-Right Extremism”

⁶⁰ R Schroeder “Digital media and the rise of right-wing populism”: *Social Theory after the Internet: Media, Technology, and Globalization*. 2018 London: UCL Press.

⁶¹ Luigi Esposito, “The Alt-Right as a Revolt Against Neoliberalism and Political Correctness: The Role of Collective Action Frames,” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 18, no. 1-2 (2019): pp. 93-110. 93.

tactics far-right media uses including euphemism, redefining common terms, and portrayals of us versus them narratives.

Ontological Security and Rhetoric

Euphemism and redefinition serve to normalize far-right rhetoric. Far-right groups often use terms like ‘purify’ and ‘cleanse’ and refer to their ethnic group or nation as naturally pure organisms in need of such cleansing.⁶² Scholars have found that far-right groups often adapt the specific language they use over time, as older terms become known as extremist calling cards and new words become more common in everyday language. This shows a level of adaptability that has been noted since the beginning of Nazi propaganda. For instance, rather than focus on ideas of racial superiority new far-right groups use the language of ‘differentialism,’ meaning that different ethnic groups should attempt to achieve cultural hegemony within their own spheres. These far-right groups then argue that when multiculturalism or any attempts at equity corrupt the natural state of racial hegemony and therefore is true genocide.⁶³ This approach shows far-right groups both obscuring the logical conclusions of their ideology, mass murder, and redefining the use of words otherwise used in critiques of their own ideology. Thus, a key part of this paper’s analysis will be looking for and catalog these linguistic tools.

The Positive Self and Negative Other

Drawing further on the literature this paper will examine how far-right propaganda seeks frames itself and its opposition. Far-right propaganda utilizes an us versus them narrative reminiscent of horizontal populism. This creates an “ideological square” in which there exists “a Positive Self Presentation and a simultaneous Negative Other Presentation... the out-group is

⁶² Rodger Griffin. “‘Lingua Quarti Imperii’: The Euphemistic Tradition of the Extreme Right”: *Doublespeak: The Rhetoric of the Far-right since 1945*. Edited by Feldman, Matthew, and Jackson, Paul. New York: Ibidem Verlag, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central.

⁶³ Griffin. “‘Lingua Quarti Imperii’” 40-50.

represented in negative ways and the values of the in-group represented in positive ways.”⁶⁴

Further, far-right media presents the out group as not only opposed to the in group’s values but as directly threatening to them.⁶⁵ This paper will therefore examine how far-right propaganda places groups it sees as deviant as a “them” and attempts to frame the “us” around nationalism.

IV. Method

Ethnographic Critical Discourse Analysis

This analysis will apply Stanton Wortham and Angela Reyes’ method of ethnographic critical discourse analysis to analyze how *Murdoch Murdoch* presents changes to the status-quo as threats to viewers’ ontological security. Wortham and Reyes’ approach seeks to understand how people interact with language and what it communicates to them by focusing on the relevant indexicals in the event analyzed.⁶⁶ An indexical is any word or expression whose meaning is context dependent.⁶⁷ Wortham and Reyes’ approach to discourse analysis works in three phases. The first of which is mapping narrative events. To map the narrative a researcher must group events and dialogue by similar characteristics such as setting, or characters present, and analyze how these separate groupings of events and language interact with each other within the narrative. Mapping out the narrative consists of determining how the narrative portrays characters relative to each other and what key concepts that positioning communicates to the audience. The goal is to determine the narrated and narrating events. The narrated event is what

⁶⁴ Janet Wilson “Toxic Rhetoric: The Language of the Turner Diaries: A Novel”: *Doublespeak: The Rhetoric of the Far-right since 1945*. Edited by Feldman, Matthew, and Jackson, Paul. New York: Ibidem Verlag, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central. 69.

⁶⁵ Wilson “Toxic Rhetoric” 69.

⁶⁶ Stanton Wortham and Angela Reyes, *Discourse Analysis Beyond the Speech Event* (London: Routledge, 2015). 40

⁶⁷ David Braun. “Indexicals.” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. (Stanford University, January 16, 2015). <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/indexicals/>.

the discourse event seeks to communicate to its audience. The narrating event is how they communicate the narrated event⁶⁹

Phase two, divided into three subsections, involves determining the relevant indexicals and what those indexicals communicate to the audience across the poetic structure the narrative event creates. The first subsection is selecting the indexicals. To determine which indexicals one should examine a researcher should use the mapped-out narrative to select words that may carry significant weight in the narrative or clarify the context of the social action occurring. Wortham and Reyes point to three main indexical categories. The first is deictics. A deictic is an indexical that assumes or establishes a part of the narrative. Such words related to characters are person deictics, for example the word “I.” There are also temporal, spatial, and discourse deictics.⁷⁰ Reported speech is any language that does not happen within the real time context of the narrative, meaning a character referencing something they, or someone else, did or will do. This is key because it provides clear framing. Everything being reported is from a certain perspective with specific evaluations.⁷¹ Lastly, evaluative indexicals imply a presupposed evaluation or judgment of what the indexical is referencing. Evaluative indexicals are either created throughout the narrative by associating the indexical with a unique definition, known as emergent evaluative indexicals, or by borrowing from a recognizable definition that a social group has reference for, an enregistered evaluative indexical. When an evaluative indexical is associated with a person or group it is referred to as an “emblem.”⁷²

The second step in phase two is construing the indexicals. This is a metapragmatic process, meaning it refers to how the language used implies the actual meaning out of the many

⁶⁹ Wortham and Reyes, *Discourse Analysis* 44-46.

⁷⁰ Wortham and Reyes. *Discourse Analysis*. 46-47.

⁷¹ Wortham and Reyes. *Discourse Analysis*. 47.

⁷² Wortham and Reyes. *Discourse Analysis*. 52.

possible ways a statement could be interpreted. After examining what indexicals are used and the context they are used in, a discourse analyst then applies several possible ways the statement in question could be interpreted. This includes looking at both explicit and implicit implications of the signs in question and how they position the characters in narrative context.⁷⁴

The last subsection of phase two is configuring the indexicals. After a researcher has identified the key indexicals and how they illuminate the voicing present in the event they must examine how those indexicals come to reliably communicate a set meaning. This means determining the poetic structure of the discourse event. The poetic structure is the “back and forth...between indexical signs and metapragmatic construals.”⁷⁵ This implicit process wherein scattered events come to signify a consistent social action is entextualization and identifying the poetic structure indexicals take on is key to determining what social action the event entextulizes.⁷⁶

Lastly, a discourse analysis concludes with phase three, interpreting social action across discursive events, meaning demonstrating that the event in question is emblematic of broader patterns. To this a researcher must examine the broader context the narrative occurs in. Enregisterment broadly refers to when a sign, within a narrative or otherwise, implies a certain social action across many narratives and contexts. In another sense it is applying entextualization en mass, across other narratives and real-world events. This analysis reveals repeated pathways that social interactions occur in across multiple instances, and thus a broader implication emerges from the singular narrative originally analyzed. From this a researcher can at last make a likely conclusion to what meaning the narrative wishes to convey.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Wortham and Reyes. *Discourse Analysis*. 54-60.

⁷⁵ Wortham and Reyes. *Discourse Analysis*. 62.

⁷⁶ Wortham and Reyes. *Discourse Analysis* 60.

⁷⁷ Wortham and Reyes. *Discourse Analysis* 64-69.

Discourse Analysis Applied to Murdoch Murdoch

This analysis is limited to a set of seven episodes of *MM* titled “The Great Meme War.” While the series originally was hosted on YouTube the videos have been taken down due to violating YouTube’s hate speech guidelines.⁷⁸ Currently, the creators host all the episodes on their own website MurdochMurdoch.net. The episodes tell a continuous story and as such I will map out the entire narrative as a single discursive event. To select the indexicals I refer to what words what words the narrative uses to describe different grouping of characters. I then present key indexical groups into data sets demonstrating their use throughout the narrative. I focus on indexicals related to the framing characters in order to determine if the does indeed create a Positive Self and a Negative Other, and further if negative other is framed as a threat to the viewer’s sense of ontological security. I present construal and configuration in one section in order to avoid repetition when describing the relevant contextual events analyzed. To construe my indexicals I look at how the context in which these indexicals occur frames characters who use them and therefore what positioning the indexicals accomplish. Then for configuring I examine how these indexicals are presented across the narrative using a key scene by scene analysis to see how the narrative transformers these words into more concrete meanings. This will also reveal the social types common in far-right discourse that both the protagonists and those who threaten their ontological security fill. I will further point to the political context episodes occur in. Many episodes are based on topical issues, and therefore the real-word context of what the series comments on is immensely important to determining what the narrative seeks to say.

V. Data Analysis

⁷⁸ Murdoch Murdoch “The Murdoch Murdoch Show”

Overview

MM targets white American's ontological security by presenting an all-encompassing ideological square in which the Positive Self is white Americans whose identity is protected by ethno-nationalism. Conversely, the Negative Other is a monolithic opposition that *MM* frames as one that seeks to destroy white America. *MM* achieves this by using familial person dietetics to describe white characters, creating a sense of cohesion in which race and family are synonymous. By then tying this association together with temporal and spatial deictics that present the Negative Other as destructive to this family, *MM* frames any type of social or political position, even those only slightly more moderate such as civic-nationalism, as a threat to white American's ontological security. Further, *MM* enregisters the evaluative indexical "racist" by redefining it to mean someone honest and truthful. *MM* creates this association by repeatedly presenting ethno-nationalism as scientific and its supporters as honest and trustworthy while simultaneously presenting the Negative Other as deceitful and only motivated by power or money. By creating a sense of family tied to truthful racism and placing it as the sole opposition to a Negative Other that seeks to destroy white Americans *MM* targets its audience's ontological security.

Mapping the Narrative

Plot Summary

The *Great Meme War (GMW)* spans seven episodes of varying lengths, totaling in over two hours of content. The *GMW* tells the story of three members of the Alt-Right, a loose, largely online movement that advocates for far-right ideas, primarily white supremacy and anti-Semitism.⁸⁰ The three eponymous Murdochs are Murdoch, Murdoch-Chan, and Dr. Murdoch, all

⁸⁰ Viveca S Green. "'Deplorable' Satire: Alt-Right Memes, White Genocide Tweets, and Redpilling Normies." *Studies in American Humor* 5, no. 1 (2019): 31-69. 33.

of whom are open ethno-nationalists. The three, along with various other members of the Alt-Right fight throughout the series against the forces of ZOG, a Jewish controlled amalgamation of everything they present as threats to security including communists, progressives, classical liberals, etc. ZOG itself is common term in far-right discourse, standing for “Zionist Occupied Government. It is the long held conspiracy theory that governments across the world are controlled by Jewish influence.⁸¹ The story portrays online discourse as a fantasy-inspired world, borrowing visual cues from a wide array of niche media including *Star Wars*, *Lord of The Rings*, *Game of Thrones*, etc. Characters meant to represent real world figures are presented with loose accuracy to fit the series’ themes. The series’ crude cut and paste animation style lends itself to this direct manner of reference. As such, *MM* does not only create its own indexicals, but directly pulls from a wide swath of far-right ideas, language, and symbolism.

The Three Murdochs From Left to Right: Murdoch-chan, Murdoch, and Dr. Murdoch⁸²



Episode One: The Great Meme War of 2016

Episode one *The Great Meme War of 2016* portrays the 2016 election as a long and protracted battle sequence in which the forces of the far-right battle a cavalcade of enemies, all of which the show others in some form or another. For instance, the opposing force includes a

⁸¹ “ZOG,” Anti-Defamation League. <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/zog>.

⁸² Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016” Date Accessed: February 26th, 2020. <https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=The%20Great%20Meme%20War%20of%202016>

monstrous version of George Soros, a Jewish billionaire philanthropist and Democratic Party donor.⁸³ The protagonists, conversely fight alongside well known figures in the far-right such as Alex Jones, the founder of the far-right news website InfoWars, and host of the radio show the Alex Jones Show,⁸⁴ and Richard Spencer, founder of the ethno-nationalist National Policy Institute,⁸⁵ often credited with coining the term “Alt-Right.”⁸⁶ After the far-right army claims victory, one soldier identified as “R/TheDonald,” a reference to a SubReddit in which Trump supporters congregate.⁸⁷ asks if their side has really won. In response, one of our titular three protagonists, Murdoch, gives a speech outlining the conflict between the Alt-Right and ZOG.⁸⁸

Alex Jones fighting in *The Great Meme War of 2016*⁸⁹



Richard Spencer, along with two other Alt-Right Soldiers, Listening to Murdoch’s speech in *The Great Meme War of 2016*⁹⁰



⁸³ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

⁸⁴ “Contributors” InfoWars. <https://www.infowars.com/contributors/>

⁸⁵ “Richard Bertrand Spencer” Southern Poverty Law Center. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/richard-bertrand-spencer-0>

⁸⁶ Tom Pollard, “Alt-Right Transgressions in the Age of Trump,” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 17, no. 1-2 (2018): pp. 76-88. 76.

⁸⁷ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

⁸⁸ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

⁸⁹ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

⁹⁰ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

Episode Two: The Alt-Light Strikes Back

Episode two continues the story by introducing the audience to a new character, William Luther Pierce, author of the infamous far-right novel *The Turner Diaries*.⁹¹ Pierce as a mentor and leader for the Alt-Right. The series also introduces the concept of the “Alt-Light” members of the far-right who, according to *MM*, do not accept ethno-nationalism, instead advocating for the more moderate civic-nationalism. These characters betray the protagonists. One Alt-Light member Paul Joseph Watson, editor-at-large of InfoWars and host of his own far-right YouTube channel,⁹² kills Peirce while the two of them, along with Murdoch, are away from the rest of the Alt-Right. Simultaneously, former Brietbart writer Milo Yiannopoulos, disliked by many in the far-right for his sexuality and Jewish identity,⁹³ and Mike Cernovich, one of the main propagators of the far-right #PizzaGate conspiracy,⁹⁴ attack the other Alt-Right soldiers including Dr. Murdoch and Murdoch-chan.

Episode Three: Your Hero's Journey

Episode three picks up where the second ended off. Murdoch kills Watson in response to Peirce’s assassination. Pierce’s ghost then appears before Murdoch and tells him to seek training from George Lincoln Rockwell, the founder of the American Nazi Party.⁹⁵ After being imprisoned by the Alt-Light, Dr. Murdoch and Murdoch-Chan try to get R/TheDonald onto their

⁹¹ Wilson “Toxic Rhetoric “Far-right 69.

⁹² Paul Joseph Watson, “Contributor,” Alex Jones' InfoWars, <https://www.infowars.com/author/paul-joseph-watson/> ; PrisonPlanetLive. “Paul Joseph Watson.” YouTube. YouTube. Accessed April 18, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/user/PrisonPlanetLive/about>.

⁹³ Orit Arfa, “Milo Yiannopoulos Talks About His Jewish Identity, Trump and Zionism in Berlin,” Jewish Journal, July 3, 2019 <https://jewishjournal.com/commentary/analysis/301037/milo-yiannopoulos-talks-about-his-jewish-identity-trump-and-zionism-in-berlin/> ; Tom Pollard, “Alt-Right Transgressions in the Age of Trump,” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 17, no. 1-2 (2018): pp. 76-88. 80.

⁹⁴ “Mike Cernovich.” Southern Poverty Law Center. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/mike-cernovich>

⁹⁵ Lois Beckett. “George Lincoln Rockwell, Father of American Nazis, Still in Vogue for Some.” The Guardian. Guardian News and Media, August 27, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/27/george-lincoln-rockwell-american-nazi-party-alt-right-charlottesville>

side by educating him about ethno-nationalism. The episode culminates with R/TheDonald joining sides with the main characters.

Episode Four: The Last Stand of Implicit Whiteness

Murdoch begins to train with Rockwell who teaches him “the ways of National-Socialism.”⁹⁶ After leaving Rockwell, Murdoch goes to enlist the help of conservative Youtuber Steven Crowder,⁹⁷ reimagined as a sort of skin-head rough rider. Dr. Murdoch, Murdoch-chan, and R/TheDonald escape to “Castle Cracker Barrel”⁹⁸ where they meet Jared Taylor, a pseudo-academic eugenicist.⁹⁹ When Castle Cracker Barrel is besieged by the forces of ZOG, Murdoch, along with Crowder and his supporters, arrive and save the ethno-nationalist forces.

Episode Five: The Real Red Pill Blues

After defeating ZOG for the time being the trio split again to find more allies in their war. Murdoch finds a young black girl abandoned in the woods who refuses to leave his side of most of the episode until he teaches her national-socialism and instructs her to “teach [her] people”¹⁰⁰ the same. Dr. Murdoch and Murdoch-chan form an alliance with a group they refer to as “happas” who are half-white and half-Asian, claiming that they pose no threat to each other, but both stand to lose if ZOG wins.

Episode Six: Galaxy MM88

This episode moves the conflict into a science fiction setting, starting with another brigade of far-right figures reimagined as soldiers on a spaceship. The ship is eventually attacked by ZOG. To the characters’ shock the enemies are both capitalists and communists, supposed mutual enemies. Murdoch and Murdoch-chan escape to earth. Peirce, Dr. Murdoch, and

⁹⁶ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Last Stand of Implicit Whiteness.” Accessed February 26th, 2020.

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=The%20Last%20Stand%20of%20Implicit%20Whiteness>

⁹⁷ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Last Stand of Implicit Whiteness.”

⁹⁸ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Last Stand of Implicit Whiteness.”

⁹⁹ “Jared Taylor,” Southern Poverty Law Center.

¹⁰⁰ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Real Red Pill Blues” Date Accessed: February 26th, 2020.

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=The%20Real%20Red%20Pill%20Blues>

R/TheDonald hide in the ship. Peirce tells the other two that while capitalists and communists seem different at first they are the same because they ultimately are both beholden to money and therefore “serve the same master, ZOG.”¹⁰¹ ZOG forces then kill Murdoch-*chan* takes Murdoch prisoner.

Episode Seven: The Wanderer’s Choice

The last episode takes place several years after the first six episodes and shows a world where the Alt-Right lost and ZOG, redubbed “the night” wins. Murdoch wanders the dystopia alone in search of figures called the Oracles, mystical figures with the ability to change reality so that he can revive his friends who died in the conflict. He runs into two orphaned white children Jen and Zee, as well as Oswald Mosley, the leader of the World War Two era British Union of Fascists.¹⁰² The three join Murdoch on his journey. Murdoch eventually finds the Oracles who give him a choice between a world controlled by mainstream American conservatism and American liberalism. Murdoch rejects both instead killing the Oracles, reinstating white power across the world.

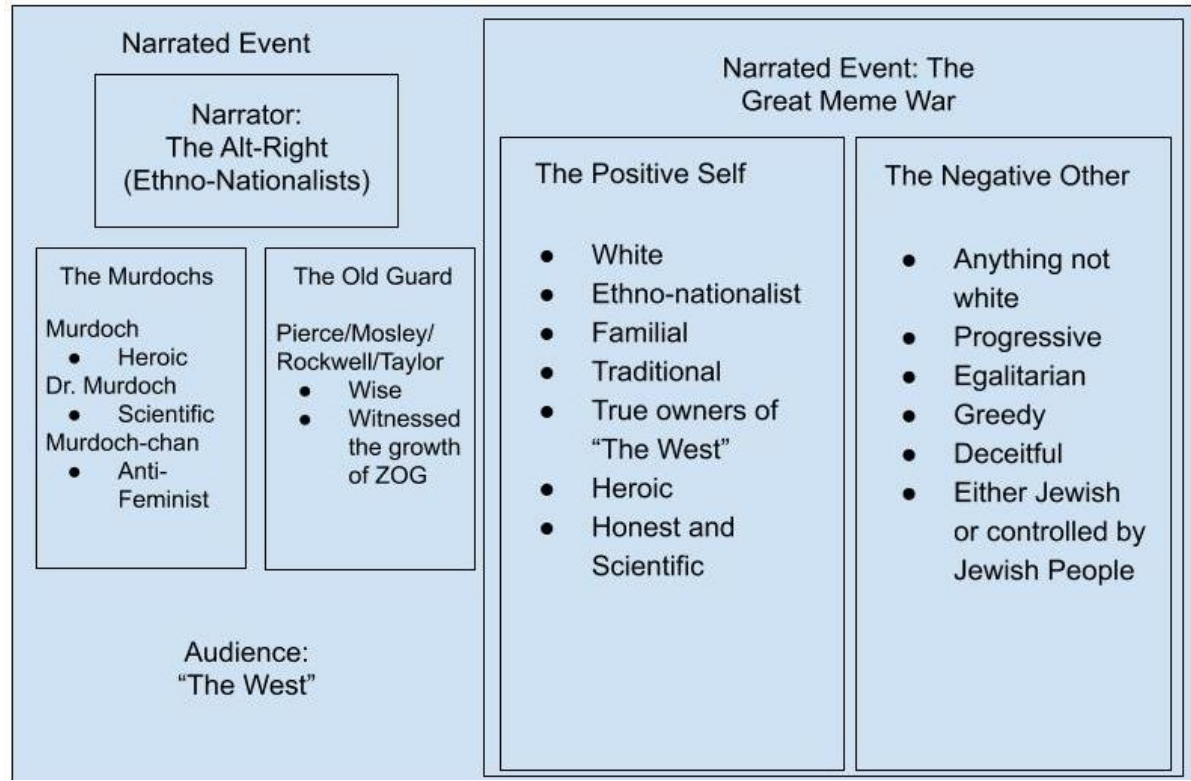
¹⁰¹ *Murdoch Murdoch*. “Galaxy MM88.” Date Accessed: February 26th, 2020.

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=Galaxy%20MM88>

¹⁰² “Who Was Sir Oswald Mosley?,” BBC News (BBC, August 26, 2019) <https://www.bbc.com/news/stories-49405924>

Narrated and Narrating Events

Data Table 1: Murdoch Murdoch's Narrative Map



The construction of the narrated and narrating events both serve to construct the Positive Self and Negative Other. The series' multiple white nationalist characters at various points explain how they classify and categorize the world and people constitutes the narrating event as they present who is the Positive Self and who is the Negative Other. Ethno-nationalists constitute the Positive Self, while everyone else is a monolithic Negative Other, classified as ZOG. *MM* positions its explicitly ethno-nationalist characters above any other group. This creates a rigid hierarchy between two solely opposed forces in what Murdoch refers to as "the Battle for America"¹⁰³ This battle, also referred to as "The Great Meme War"¹⁰⁴ constitutes the narrated event. Each episode presents an element that builds on the dichotomy between the two groups.

¹⁰³ Murdoch Murdoch. "The Great Meme War of 2016."

¹⁰⁴ Murdoch Murdoch. "The Great Meme War of 2016."

The ethno-nationalist narrators include the three Murdochs as well as the four representatives of the twentieth century far-right, Mosley, Peirce, Rockwell, and Taylor. These seven characters express their views both through traditional dialogue and through impassioned speeches.

The Positive Self

The ethno-nationalist characters represent highly positioned values within the narrative. Murdoch demonstrates his commitment to ethno-nationalism by inspiring others. He gives impassioned speeches before battles such as in episodes four and six. He also inspires others to become the ideal representation of white identity. He convinces Stephen Crowder and his supporters to join the fight against ZOG and cast off the negative perceptions ZOG has forced onto them.¹⁰⁵ Dr. Murdoch and Jarod Taylor both put a “scientific” spin on white supremacy, couching the series’ racism in a loose understanding of biology.¹⁰⁶ Murdoch-chan functions primarily as an anti-feminist. She repeatedly cites her desire to be nothing more than to be a mother,¹⁰⁷ and laments how modern society forced her to waste time in school, rather than have children.¹⁰⁸ Mosley, Peirce, Rockwell, and Taylor all serve as an old guard of the far-right, as all were prominent figures in 20th century fascist movements. They frame the conflict through a now and then lens. Each describes how in the past white people upheld western civilization including art, philosophy and science.

The Negative Other

The Negative Other, ZOG, always seeks to destroy white identity. The series also defines ZOG through its Jewish influence. *MM* identifies characters as Jewish through visual signifiers such as religious clothing and using the Happy Merchant meme, a common anti-Semitic image

¹⁰⁵ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Last Stand of Implicit Whiteness”

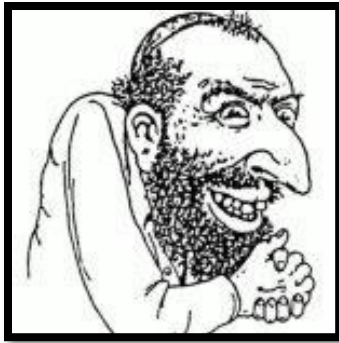
¹⁰⁶ See, Murdoch Murdoch. “The Real Red Pill Blues”

¹⁰⁷ See, Murdoch Murdoch. “The Real Red Pill Blues”; Murdoch Murdoch. “Galaxy MM88”

¹⁰⁸ Murdoch Murdoch. “Galaxy MM88”

depicting Jewish people as treacherous.¹⁰⁹ Almost all conflict in *MM* is the result of Jewish influence. Jewish characters corrupt a natural order that the Alt-Right wants to return to. ZOG pushes for ideas such as diversity and egalitarianism. Characters who value progress are always positioned as villainous, such as *MM*'s depiction of Angela Merkel, who imprisons Murdoch;¹¹⁰ greedy, such as the members of the Alt-Light who betray the movement for financial success;¹¹¹ or are otherwise demonized as naive or ignorant.¹¹² The one character to cross from the forces of ZOG to the Alt-Right is R/TheDonald, who, while eventually radicalized, is still often portrayed as child-like. In episode six Dr. Murdoch and Pierce find him asleep because “someone told [him] to take a nap.”¹¹³

The Happy Merchant.¹¹⁴



Selecting Indexicals

Deictics

To determine who *MM* classifies as the Negative Other this paper will examine the person deictics and descriptive words that refer to groups, individuals and ideologies that act in

¹⁰⁹ “The Happy Merchant” Anti-Defamation League. <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/the-happy-merchant>

¹¹⁰ *Murdoch Murdoch*. “Galaxy MM88.”

¹¹¹ *Murdoch Murdoch*. “The Alt-Light Strikes Back” Date Accessed: February 26th 2020 <https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=The%20Alt%20Light%20Strikes%20Back>

¹¹² This can be seen for instance when Murdoch asks a ZOG survivor from one battle who says, “I just wanted everyone to be equal.” *Murdoch Murdoch*. “The Real Red Pill Blues.”

¹¹³ *Murdoch Murdoch*. “Galaxy MM88.”

¹¹⁴ “The Happy Merchant” Anti-Defamation League

opposition to the protagonists. To examine how *MM* frames the Positive Self this paper will examine the person deictics that reference the Alt-Right. This paper will specifically focus on familial language, and language that describes what *MM* includes as part of white identity, also referred to a “western civilization,” or some variation thereof, throughout the show.

This paper also tracks the temporal and spatial deictics to see how it frames the sense of tradition it seeks to preserve versus the threats to tradition, and therefore the threats to ontological security. Specifically, this paper will track references to Alt-Right as upholding tradition and national sovereignty while the groups that constitute the Negative Other as newer, more modern, and other such similar descriptions. This analysis will also track spatial deictics that position the Negative Other as inhabiting places that symbolize modernity, primarily the presentation of cities in the series and what is positioned against them, primarily smaller communities, such as towns.

Lastly, this paper will track the entextualization of how *MM* redefines the term “racist” to signify qualities like honesty, truth, and adherence to science. By openly embracing the term “racist” and associating it with truth, *MM* gives the term a new definition set apart from more negative associations. *MM*’s story, steeped in anti-Semitism, positions its depictions of Jewish people as powerful and money obsessed. It thus further builds its monolithic Negative Other by indexing other negative groups, especially the Alt-Light, as similarly money obsessed.

Therefore, this analysis will track two patterns of discourse. How *MM*’s characters define the term “racist” by positive associations and by positioning it against discourse surrounding money.

Construing and Configuring Indexicals

The Positive Self Upholds America while the Negative Other Brings Change

MM uses familial person deictics in conjunction with temporal and spatial deictics to construct an imagined white America under threat from ZOG. Across the seven episodes ethno-nationalist characters use familial language to describe both their fellow soldiers as well as the white race as a whole. In doing so *MM* makes race synonymous with family. Further by portraying ZOG as destructive to that family *MM* presents progressivism as equally destructive. *MM* bolsters this by using temporal and spatial deictics to tie this familial terminology to a struggle for who control the United States. By associating the familial Alt-Right with an America created for any by white individuals and ZOG as an agent of change that would completely erase that white America, *MM* positions any social change as dangerous to its viewer's sense of security.

Below, Data Table One shows the familial language used to refer to white or Alt-Right characters throughout the seven episodes. Data Table Two shows all the groups, people, and ideologies that *MM* positions as part of ZOG and thus a monolithic Negative Other. Lastly, Data Table Three breaks down the numerous references to Jewish people as members of ZOG.

Data Table 2: Familial Language used to refer to the Alt-Right or White People as a whole.

Word/Phrase	Number of Occurrences	Word/Phrase	Number of Occurrences
Born	1	Grandchildren	1
Brother	6	Home	1
Brother's war	2	Homeland	1
Children	5	House	1
Cousins	1	Husbands	1
Daughter	1	Mother	3
Descendants	1	Posterity	1
Family	2	Son	1
Father	5	Wife	1

Fatherland	1	Wives	1
Forefather	2	Total	39

Data Table 3: Who Makes Up the Enemy (Groups/People/Ideologies)

Enemy	Number of Times Mentioned	Enemy	Number of Times Mentioned
Abraham Lincoln	1	Jewish People ¹¹⁷	30
African Americans	10	Mike Cernovich	1
Alt-Light ¹¹⁸	4	Liberals	1
Baby Boomers	2	The Left	1
Barack Obama	1	LGBTQ+	4
Buzzfeed	1	London	1
Capitalists ¹¹⁹	3	Mao Zedong	1
Civic Nationalism	2 ¹²⁰	Marxist/Marxism	5
Communists/ Communism	4	New World Order	1
Democrats	2	Open Society Foundation ¹²¹	1
Egalitarianism/ Ultra-Egalitarianism	1	Professors	1
Feminist/Feminism	2	Progressives/ Progressivism	1
[German] Government	1	Shia LeBeouf	1
Globalists/Globalism	4	SJWs ¹²²	2

¹¹⁷ See Data Table 4 for a full list of terms used to refer to Jewish people.

¹¹⁸ This is potentially under counted. See, Limitations section.

¹¹⁹ Unlike other ideologies and their supporters MM makes it clear it has made a distinction between capitalism and capitalists stating capitalism itself as “a great economic tool” but only as good “as the people using” ZOG. Murdoch Murdoch. “Galaxy MM88”

¹²⁰ This is potentially under counted. See, Limitations section.

¹²¹ “George Soros - Open Society Founder and Chair.” Open Society Foundations.

<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/george-soros>

¹²² Short for “Social Justice Warrior,” SJW gained widespread in online discourse during “GamerGate” a conservative backlash to an increase in feminist theory-based criticism of the video game industry. See, Abby Ohlheiser, “Why ‘Social Justice Warrior,’ a Gamergate Insult, Is Now a Dictionary Entry,” The Washington Post (WP Company, October 7, 2015). <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2015/10/07/why-social-justice-warrior-a-gamergate-insult-is-now-a-dictionary-entry/>

Haiti	1	Society	1
Hippies	3	Television	1
Hollywood	2	The Vatican	1
The International Finance System	3	The Welfare State	1
		Total	106

Data Table 4: Discursive Negative References to Jewish People

Phrase	Number of Occurrences	Phrase	Number of Occurrences
Based Jew	1	Satanic Kike	1
High IQ Individuals	1	Skipes	1
Israel	1	Synagogue of Satan	1
Jew/Jews	2	(((They/Them))) ¹²³	4
Jewish Stuff	1	They (without ((())) but explicitly made clear to be Jewish)	1
JQ	3	ZOG	3
Jewy Celeb	1	Zionists	1
The Jew Karl Marx	1	Those who control both [Capitalists and Communists]	1
Kike	6	Total	30

Alt-Right characters occasionally use familial person deictics literally, such as when Murdoch instructs “wives” to “kiss [their] husbands goodbye.”¹²⁴ However more often it serves as a metaphor, showing unity among white people. For instance, at one point Dr. Murdoch tells

¹²³ The placement of ((())) around a word has become a symbol in far-right discourse to indicate a person is Jewish or under Jewish influence See, “Echo.” Anti-Defamation League. <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/echo>

¹²⁴ *Murdoch Murdoch*. “The Real Red Pill Blues.”

Murdoch “I know we’re not brothers, but we’re brothers,”¹²⁵ implying a deeper sense of community that literal familial ties. What follows is an analysis of key scenes that provide context and meaning to these data tables, specifically how Murdoch ties race to family and how the series creates its key conflict with ZOG. The series first establishes the parameters of the conflict in episode one during Murdoch’s speech to the Alt-Right soldiers. A transcript of the relevant parts of that speech is presented below.

Section of Murdoch’s Speech in The Great Meme War of 2016.¹²⁶

2:34-2:56 Murdoch: Ugh Marxism, Feminism, Ultra-Egalitarianism, They’re all the same. We face an enemy that can never be fully defeated. You can salt the fields, poison the wells, but they always come back.
2:56-3:06 <i>R/TheDonald crying. Murdoch looks sympathetic and places his arm on him</i>
3:06-3:59 Murdoch: Take heart brother for today we’ve claimed a great victory. One that the cucks and liberals said couldn’t be made. They said it’d take a miracle. That our people would willingly dispossess themselves of their own home and that we would forfeit our posterity to an alien identity. That our children should be made minorities in the lands of their forefathers. But through our unity of purpose, our refusal to surrender and our faith in one another we have overcome the all but impossible odds that were arrayed against us. We’ve said “not this time, not this day, not on our watch. We men of the West.” I’ve seen strangers become friends, and I’ve seen friends die for each other.
3:59-4:02 <i>More mid shots of Alt-Right figures as well as Murdoch-Chan</i>
4:02-5:09 Murdoch: You of the 14th battalion and you of the 88th meme brigade I saw you there when Pennsylvania was wrested from the control of the enemy. I watched the cavalry charge the enemy flanks in Wisconsin. I gazed in awe at the endless shelling that lit up the skies of Michigan. Someday you’ll tell your grandchildren about the Great Meme War of 2016 and how you were part of a movement that fought for America. Not the America of Obama and the progressives and the globalists, but the America of your fathers. So, while we here today celebrate let us not forget the long road ahead. It was you who dared to dream the memes of our forefathers and let us ensure that our struggle will have not been in vain. And so, we will fight on as soldiers, as brothers, as friends.

In this speech Murdoch positions both the Alt-Right and ZOG, and uses temporal, spatial, and person deictics to establish an imagined America that the Alt-Right fights for. Murdoch immediately establishes ZOG’s component groups as the Negative Other, listing out several groups, “Marxism, feminism, [and] ultra-egalitarianism” later adding in progressives, Barack Obama, and globalism.¹²⁷ He says the Alt-Right should make no distinction between these

¹²⁵ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Alt-Right Strikes Back”

¹²⁶ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

¹²⁷ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

groups, telling his followers “[t]hey’re all the same...an enemy.”¹²⁸ By contrast, Murdoch constructs the Alt-Right, through familial language. He calls R/TheDonald “brother”¹²⁹ which he later repeats, expanding the label to all of the Alt-Right saying they all will fight on “as soldiers, as brothers, as friends.”¹³⁰ These familial descriptors establish a sense of unity tied to white identity.

That unity is further constructed through an imagined shared heritage. Using the familial deictics in conjunction with spatial deictics Murdoch calls the United States “the America of your forefathers.”¹³¹ By contrast there also exists a possible “America of Obama and the progressives and the globalists.” Which directly threatens the current America because it seeks to make the true Americans “minorities” and bring an “alien” group to power.¹³² This framing demonstrates Murdoch constructing an imagined all white community. An imagined community is a false presentation of a nation-state that constructs an often-homogenous legitimate membership and excludes all other groups. Therefore, to have national belonging one must first be a member of the imagined community.¹³³ By saying that there is an America created by the Alt-Right’s forefathers, and one that exists in opposition to it, housing groups that are categorically not within the Positive Self, Murdoch constructs his imagined America as a white ethno-state. This white America cannot, according to Murdoch, exist at the same time as any other.

¹²⁸ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

¹²⁹ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

¹³⁰ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

¹³¹ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

¹³² Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

¹³³ Hilary Parsons Dick. *Words of Passage: National Longing and the Imagined Lives of Mexican Migrants*. University of Texas Press, 2018. 46-47.

Murdoch also uses temporal deictics to add a facet to the conflict that pits progress against tradition facet to the conflict over which imagined America exists. “Forefathers”¹³⁴ implies that the imagined white America has a more legitimate claim. Their ancestors created America, whereas ZOG seeks to change who already controls it, replacing its founders with new groups. By including globalism Murdoch also taps into longstanding far-right propaganda that argues globalism replaces the rightful owners of a country with outside forces.¹³⁶ In this speech Murdoch establishes a dichotomy wherein the Alt-Right protects the imagined white America. By contrast, the Negative Other bring new groups into power, destroying the original America.

MM further builds on metaphorical white family in how it describes war, separating wars between western nations apart from other conflicts. When Dr. Murdoch and Murdoch-chan go to seek help from a “tribe” of “happas,” their slur for half-Asian, half-white individuals, their leader asks if their “children will be forced into camps, recognized as sub-human.”¹⁴⁰ Dr. Murdoch refutes this assessment of genocide by saying “history is a litany of war and conquest for resources” distinct from “brothers’ wars.”¹⁴¹ *MM* repeats this when Oswald Mosley gives his interpretation of World War Two calling it a “brothers’ war, a needless thing” that “cost the pride of [his] nation.”¹⁴² Alt-Right characters further reinforce the idea of “brothers’ wars” with temporal deictics categorizing racial groups as parts of unique homes. Murdoch-chan says to the leader of the half Asian group that ZOG will create a “blight” on “both [their] houses.”¹⁴³ The choice of the words “both” and the plural version of house implies mutual exclusivity. The

¹³⁴ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War of 2016.”

¹³⁶ Strauss. “Anti-Globalism’s Jewish Problem.” 60.

¹⁴⁰ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Real Red Pill Blues.” The Far-right has a complicated relationship with its views on Asian people with many members fetishize Asian women. See, Audrea Lim, “The Alt-Right’s Asian Fetish,” The New York Times (The New York Times, January 6, 2018).

<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/06/opinion/sunday/alt-right-asian-fetish.html>.

¹⁴¹ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Real Red Pill Blues.”

¹⁴² Murdoch Murdoch. “The Wanderer’s Choice.”

¹⁴³ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Real Red Pill Blues”

repetition of war between what *MM* sees as white nations as pointless and unnatural because they go against the family is further reinforced by temporal deictics that present it as a violating tradition.

Episode seven shows what happens when white America loses tradition using spatial deictics to establish the city as a center of the ills ZOG creates. Murdoch and the two children who end up joining him, Jen and Zee first discover Mosley in a stockade with two white children throwing tomatoes at him. The children labeled Mosley a “filthy racist.”¹⁴⁴ Murdoch asks Mosley how he could have wound up in a stockade for being a “racist” by inquiring about the state of the families in the town:

Murdoch’s question to Mosely.¹⁴⁵

4:52-4:54 Murdoch: Where are all the adults in this town?

4:54-5:10 Oswald Mosley: They grew bored with being parents. They all decided to run far away to the cities so they could live forever. Now everything is falling apart.
--

MM uses “racist” as an evaluative indexical to positively index the far-right (demonstrated in the next section of this analysis) and its members as associated with truthfulness. Punishing Mosley for his racism demonstrates that these children, cut off from their lineage, have consequently rejected the tradition that *MM* ascribes as values of the far-right and ethno-nationalism. *MM* here employs spatial deictics to position the city as part of the Negative Other positioning with regards to the town versus the city. Murdoch refers to their location, named Mayfair, as a “town,” as opposed to the “cities” another spatial deictic.¹⁴⁶ Mosley also uses the temporal deictic “now” to say that the “falling apart” happened both after and because

¹⁴⁴ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Wanderer’s Choice.”

¹⁴⁵ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Wanderer’s Choice.”

¹⁴⁶ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Wanderer’s Choice.”

the parents ran to the cities. *MM* thus states that the cities caused the parents to abandon their proper role.

The depiction of the city in episode seven, dubbed Neo-Babylon, also shows a monolithic, modern, enemy that is destructive to tradition and the family. The name itself indexes modernity with the temporal deictic “neo” as its prefix. The group gets separated and Murdoch finds Jen covered in makeup in a strip club called “Mao’s Place” explaining she signed a contract with Jewish Hollywood producer who has a Happy Merchant face. Jen tells Murdoch the producer will make her a movie star. Murdoch, and the narrative by extension, conflates this with the sex workers in the strip club. Murdoch tells her “there will always be whores. You should not strive to be one.”¹⁴⁷ The visual and linguistic signs show that the city, like it did to the parents of Mayfair, corrupts Jen.

Jen before making a Hollywood contract.¹⁴⁸



Jen after making a Hollywood contract.¹⁴⁹



¹⁴⁷ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Wanderer’s Choice.”

¹⁴⁸ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Wanderer’s Choice.”

¹⁴⁹ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Wanderer’s Choice.”

The Hollywood produce with a Happy Merchant Face.¹⁵⁰



The Positive Self as Truth and the Negative Other as Greedy

MM crafts the truthful racist as an emergent emblem. *MM* goes to great lengths to associate racism with qualities such as honesty and truthfulness. The show both wants its audience to believe that racists ideas are accurate and that its heroic protagonists embody racism. By contrast, members of ZOG often operate in bad faith, driven solely by desires for money and power. *MM* further uses this dichotomy to present its anti-Semitism. This is done through associations of racism with science, absolute dichotomies, false analogy and utilizing the familial, temporal and spatial deictics discussed above. This association emerges throughout the narrative and is outlined below in data table five. By presenting money as the Alt-Light’s only motivation and then associating Jewish people in control of money *MM* adds another layer to its Negative Other.

Data Table 5: How *MM* enregisters the truthful racist indexical¹⁵³

Positive Self Member	Association	Versus	Negative Other Member	Association
Murdoch	Believing in evolution synonymous with racism	Versus	Paul Joseph Watson	Believes racism is wrong
Murdoch	Refuses to renounce the truth: race realism and the JQ	Versus	Paul Joseph Watson	Believes abandoning race realism is the only way “forward”
Murdoch	Refuses to renounce the	Versus	Paul Joseph Watson	Only concerned with

¹⁵⁰ *Murdoch Murdoch*. “The Wanderer’s Choice.”

¹⁵³ This Data table only presents the key scenes described within this paper. However more pairings exist in the narrative. See limitations section.

	truth for financial gain			selling product
Dr. Murdoch	“We” are the racists	Versus	R/TheDonald	Falsely believes racism is part of Negative Other
Murdoch-chan	Racism is equal to keeping paint colors separate	Versus	R/The Donald	Falsely believes racism is part of Negative Other
Alt-Right Forces	Fight for truth above all else	Versus	Milo Yiannopoulos, Mike Cernovich	Leave the movement for profit
William Luther Pierce	Believes class struggles is false racial infighting	Versus	Capitalists and Communists	Pit brother against brother with false class war
William Luther Pierce	Recognizes Jewish influence over modern capitalism	Versus	ZOG	Controls those concerned with money
Oswald Mosley	Laments the white race fighting itself	Versus	The Oracles	Control perception of reality
Murdoch	Heroic, refuses to accept false choices	Versus	The Oracles	Present false choices that leave them in power

This dichotomy first occurs in episode two when Murdoch discusses the concept of racism with Paul Joseph Watson, who by the end of the episode is revealed to be a member of the Alt-Light.

Murdoch’s views on evolution.¹⁵⁴

2:24-2:30 <i>William Luther Pierce sleeps, snoring loudly</i>
2:31-2:35 PJW: Christ, He’s just as unbearable sleeping as he is awake!
2:35-2:47 Murdoch: Go easy on him Paul Joseph. I know he’s a hard ass but imagine how you would feel if your theories on aliens were as ridiculed as his political ideas are
2:47-2:50 PJW: He’s a racist, bigot, xenophobe
2:50-2:54 Murdoch: Do you believe in evolution or not Paul Joseph?
2:54-2:58 PJW: E-Evolution? What’s that have to do with it?
2:58-3:19 Murdoch: It has everything to do with it. These days they keep pushing this concept that everybody’s the same. That all races of men should live in the same home. But what if we’re not all the same? What if our

¹⁵⁴ *Murdoch Murdoch*. “The Alt-Light Strikes Back”

insistence on egalitarianism does more harm to people than good?

Here, *MM* begins to redefine racism. Redefinition itself is a long used far-right tool to reframe extreme views as logical and beneficial.¹⁵⁵ In this scene Watson describes Pierce as “a racist, bigot, [and] xenophobe.”¹⁵⁶ Murdoch retorts with an absolutist dichotomy, asking “[d]o you believe in evolution or not?”¹⁵⁷ This frames the two concepts, racism and believing in evolution as interconnected and therefore believing in one necessitates believing in the other. Watson is either a racist, and therefore a believer in evolution, or he is not a racist, and rejects science. Murdoch also associates rejecting science with progressivism. Murdoch begins his pontification with the phrase “these days”¹⁵⁸ a temporal deictic inferring the issues as new and in opposition to the era of *MM*’s aforementioned forefathers. While when “these days” began is nebulous, Murdoch constructs the “these days” as synonymous with the growth in left leaning groups. Murdoch continues that “they keep pushing this concept that everybody’s the same.” “Concept” implies a lack of factual basis, unlike “racist” which is associated with the scientific term “evolution.” He further solidifies the shakiness of egalitarianism using the word “pushing,” implying a degree of unnaturalness. If equality were innate there would be no need for the yet unidentified “they” to push it. Murdoch further uses the familial term “home.” Since *MM* has already associated the idea that race equals family in the previous episode the viewer here can infer that these two concepts, “all races of men” and “the same home” cannot exist at once. Thus, Murdoch concludes with the question: “What if our insistence on egalitarianism does more harm

¹⁵⁵ Griffin. “Lingua Quarti Imperii”: 40-50

¹⁵⁶ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Alt-Light Strikes Back”

¹⁵⁷ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Alt-Light Strikes Back”

¹⁵⁸ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Alt-Light Strikes Back”

to people than good?”¹⁵⁹ By this point in the narrative M had made it’s answer clear.

Egalitarianism is unnatural, forced on white America by an unidentified “they.”

The next positive association between racism and truth comes in episode three when Dr. Murdoch and Murdoch-Chan attempt to teach R/TheDonald about ethno-nationalism. After the Civic-Nationalists have imprisoned Dr. Murdoch and Murdoch-chen, Dr. Murdoch asks R/TheDonald, assigned to guard the two, “do you like science?”¹⁶⁰ R/TheDonald responds by saying “I don’t speak to racists.”¹⁶¹ to which Dr. Murdoch says “Don’t be so closed minded. Science can be fun, even if it is kind of racist.”¹⁶² Here the narrative builds on the positioning between racism and egalitarianism presented in Murdoch’s discussion with Watson. Dr. Murdoch uses the term “science” and R/TheDonald refers to him as a “racist.”¹⁶³ In the scene R/TheDonald’s use of term becomes a deictic of discourse, it “stand[s] in”¹⁶⁴ for the term science, positioning the two as synonymous which is reinforced when Dr. Murdoch affirms that science is, according to him, racist. Further he describes R/TheDonald’s opposition to hearing racist views as “close minded”¹⁶⁵ suggesting it is inaccurate. The term “racist” is then directly tied to the protagonists in the following section from the same scene.

Dr. Murdoch trying to “educate” R/TheDonald.¹⁶⁶

2:40-2:44 Dr. Murdoch: So, you see R/TheDonald Civic Nationalism is destined to failure because of biological- [cut off by R/TheDonald]
2:44-2:52 R/The Donald: Whoa! Check out this based black guy with a Trump hat. The Democrats are the real racists.
2:52- Dr. Murdoch: No God damnit! We are! Murdoch-Chan it’s impossible. He’s functionally retarded.

¹⁵⁹ *Murdoch Murdoch*. “The Alt-Light Strikes Back.”

¹⁶⁰ *Murdoch Murdoch* “Your Hero’s Journey.” Date Accessed: February 26th, 2020.

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=Your%20Heroes%20Journey>

¹⁶¹ *Murdoch Murdoch* “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁶² *Murdoch Murdoch* “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁶³ *Murdoch Murdoch* “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁶⁴ Wortham and Reyes. *Discourse Analysis*. 48.

¹⁶⁵ *Murdoch Murdoch* “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁶⁶ *Murdoch Murdoch* “Your Hero’s Journey.”

Dr. Murdoch uses the person deictic “we”¹⁶⁷ to identify who the racists are. The audience can infer from the context of the scene that Dr. Murdoch means both himself and the Alt-Right as a whole since the two were imprisoned for refusing to renounce ethno-nationalism.¹⁶⁸ Democrats, by contrast, cannot be racists according to *MM*. The series has so far positioned them as harbingers of diversity which exists within the Negative Other. The emblem of racism is reserved for the constructed “we” that value science and truth.

Murdoch-chan then builds on this enregisterment through euphemism and analogy. After Dr. Murdoch fails to convince R/TheDonald, framed as childish for his beliefs, Murdoch-chan uses paint colors as a metaphor for her racist beliefs.

Murdoch-chan’s color analogy.¹⁶⁹

3:35-3:39 Murdoch-chan: Oh R/TheDonald. Be careful you don’t want to mix them all [the colors] together.
3:39-3:41 R/TheDonald: Well why not?
3:41-3:55 Murdoch-chan: Well then you wouldn’t have any colors but one. You have to keep the colors separate if you want to keep the colors. You know, a lot of people hate me because I think each color has to have its own place on the pallet.
3:55-3:57 R/TheDonald: Well why would someone hate you for that?
4:00-4:02 Murdoch-chan: What’s your favorite color R/TheDonald?
4:02-4:03 R/TheDonald: Red white and blue
4:04-4:14 Murdoch-chan: Well don’t you know that those can’t be made by mixing other colors together? So, if you mix them all you can’t get them back

By using paint as her euphemism Murdoch-chan reduces different people groups to one characteristic that she and, by extension, the narrative, has deemed essential: Their skin color. Murdoch-chan entangles the two ideas so thoroughly that when she says “a lot of people hate me because I think each color has to have its own place on the pallet.”¹⁷⁰ The audience can infer that

¹⁶⁷ Murdoch Murdoch. “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁶⁸ Murdoch Murdoch “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁶⁹ Murdoch Murdoch “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁷⁰ Murdoch Murdoch. “Your Hero’s Journey.”

she is not only referring to paint. She is talking about her advocacy for ethno-nationalism. By using color as a euphemism Murdoch-chan paints this opposition as nonsensical because, as she says, if one mixed all the colors on a pallet “then you wouldn’t have any colors but one.”¹⁷¹ This is true for the object of her literal dialogue, i.e. the colors on a painter's pallet, but because she is indexing through her metaphor opposition to racial diversity as well she indexes that her second supposition is just as obvious. This sense of obviousness leads R/TheDonald to ask, “why would someone hate you for that?”¹⁷² *MM* conveys that opposing racial purity is just as absurd as hating someone for not wanting only one color left on a pallet.

This event concludes with a direct connection to ontological security. R/TheDonald state’s his favorite color is “red, white, and blue.”¹⁷³ In doing so he uses a deictic of discourse that indexes the American flag, made clear due to his association with civic-nationalism. R/TheDonald often he drapes himself in an American flag at almost all points in the series. When Murdoch-chan responds by pointing out that these are primary colors that cannot be created through mixing other colors *MM* implies that this is true of the United States. If one cannot create the United States from mixing races, then it must belong to whichever group founded it, white people in *MM*’s framing, and mixing that group with other races would erase it.

R/TheDonald (far-right) wearing an American flag shirt¹⁷⁴



¹⁷¹ Murdoch Murdoch “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁷² Murdoch Murdoch “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁷³ Murdoch Murdoch “Your Hero’s Journey.”

¹⁷⁴ Murdoch Murdoch “The Last Stand of Implicit Whiteness”

MM explains ZOG’s opposition to racism as purely motivated by greed. Watson for instance responds to Murdoch’s speech on evolution by trying to sell him Brain Force, a line of energy pills InfoWars sells.¹⁷⁵ *MM* creates a binary between the two forces’ goals. Watson does not respond to Murdoch’s view that egalitarianism harms people with any argument, but rather ignores it entirely and replaces discourse with product because ZOG does not care about the truth.

Paul Joseph Watson attempting to sell Murdoch Brain Force.¹⁷⁶

4:42-4:52 PJW: <i>Pause.</i> Huh, Oh Murdoch, you’re not thinking, straight are you? I know what you need. You need some Brain Force. <i>Pulls out bottle.</i>
4:52-4:54 Murdoch looks dismayed

Later, when Murdoch and Watson engage in a battle after Watson assassinates Peirce, Watson again tries to entice Murdoch with product, and adds on the additional possibility of Murdoch himself making a similar profit. *MM* further reinforces its constructed binary choice through more person and temporal deictics.

Paul Joseph Watson attempting to convince Murdoch to join the Alt-Light.¹⁷⁷

9:15-9:30 PJW: Forget about the old man Murdoch. Imagine how many T-Shirts you could sell to an audience like mine. You could, dare I say it, even have your own supplement line.
9:30-9:33 Murdoch: Paul Joseph you did this?
9:34-9:41 PJW: Ethno-nationalism must be destroyed. civic nationalism is the true way forward, to real progress.
9:44-9:48 Murdoch: Progress? Paul Joseph, only an SJW, speaks in such terms.
9:48-9:58 PJW: You have one opportunity to join us. Renounce race realism and never speak of the JQ again or I will destroy you here and now.
9:58-10:00 Murdoch: I’ll never join you!

¹⁷⁵ “Brain Force Plus.” Infowars Store. <https://www.infowarsstore.com/brain-force>.

¹⁷⁶ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Alt-Light Strikes Back”

¹⁷⁷ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Alt-Light Strikes Back”

Watson makes a direct appeal to Murdoch's potential financial benefit. He references both *MM*'s own line of T-Shirts,¹⁷⁸ and the chance to expand their market by selling supplements as he does. *MM*'s choice to use InfoWars' line of supplements should also be noted, as many have cited Brain Force as ineffective.¹⁷⁹ By using Brain Force as an example of how the Alt-Light profits by "selling out" *MM* portrays moderation as fraudulent. Watson uses temporal and spatial deictics, telling Murdoch to abandon the "old" and move "forward" to "progress."¹⁸⁰ Both characters also employ absolute terms that allow for no middle ground between either position. Watson refers to civic nationalism as "the true way" and that ethno-nationalism "must be destroyed."¹⁸¹

This scene also identifies anti-Semitism as logical. Watson says that to leave the Alt-Right and ethno-nationalism Murdoch must renounce race realism and the JQ.¹⁸² Race realism is the belief in supposed scientific evidence for differences among racial groups.¹⁸³ The JQ, short for the "Jewish Question," is a common refrain in far-right discourse dating back to the 19th century. The question supposes that there must be a sinister connection between the number of Jewish people in positions of authority and a global Jewish conspiracy.¹⁸⁴ By following Murdoch's positioning of racism as a truth pushed back against by an unidentified "they" this scene places the enregistered indexical, race realism, as that truth and beings the process of solidifying the "they" as Jewish people, more specifically ZOG. ZOG is therefore *MM*'s answer

¹⁷⁸ Viralstyle. "MM Merch" <https://viralstyle.com/store/mmmmerch/mmmmerchstore>.

¹⁷⁹ Charlie Warzel, "We Sent Alex Jones' Infowars Supplements to A Lab. Here's What's in Them.," BuzzFeed News (BuzzFeed News, August 9, 2017). <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/charliewarzel/we-sent-alex-jones-infowars-supplements-to-a-lab-here>.

¹⁸⁰ *Murdoch Murdoch*. "The Alt-Light Strikes Back"

¹⁸¹ *Murdoch Murdoch*. "The Alt-Light Strikes Back"

¹⁸² *Murdoch Murdoch*. "The Alt-Light Strikes Back"

¹⁸³ J. Philippe Rushton and Arthur R. Jensen "Wanted: More Race Realism, Less Moralistic Fallacy" *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 11. No. 2, (2005) 328–336.

¹⁸⁴ Al Jazeera, "A Brief Dictionary to Help Understand the US Far-right," Racism | Al Jazeera (Al Jazeera, October 8, 2017), <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/10/dictionary-understand-171002123412523.html>.

to the JQ. *MM* here begins to suggest that the answer to why they see Jewish people as holding some sort of disproportionate level of influence is because Jewish people control the government.

MM builds on this dichotomy a few scenes later when Milo Yiannopolous gives Dr. Murdoch, Murdoch-chan and the the Alt-Right forces the same choice as Murdoch, almost word for word. Milo Yiannopolous attacks the group with a number of monstrous creatures, all with the Happy Merchant face. He also reveals that on Alt-Right members, Mike Cernovich, betrayed the movement for financial gain. When Cernovich says that ethno-nationalism will never have as far as reach as he will by leaving the movement Dr. Murdoch reinforces the notion that the Alt-Right is based in truth.¹⁸⁶ This once again presents an absolute binary. Characters either support ZOG for financial gain or uphold the truth.

Dr. Murdoch arguing with Milo Yiannopolous.¹⁸⁷

7:19-7:21 Dr. Murdoch: It's not about the audience. It's about the truth.
7:22-7:31 Milo Yiannopoulos: I will give you one chance to join us. All you have to do is renounce race realism and never speak again of the JQ
7:31-7:33 Unnamed Alt-Right Soldier: Never you Commie scum!

Milo Yiannopoulos with two Happy Merchant monsters¹⁸⁸



¹⁸⁶ *Murdoch Murdoch*. "The Alt-Light Strikes Back."

¹⁸⁷ *Murdoch Murdoch*. "The Alt-Light Strikes Back"

¹⁸⁸ *Murdoch Murdoch*. "The Alt-Light Strikes Back"

Mike Cernovich holding a bag of money in front of the Happy Merchant monsters¹⁸⁹



MM's most explicit connection between Jewish people and control comes when Peirce conflates capitalism and communism because, according to him, both create false conflict among people of the same race. In episode six Peirce explains the connection.

William Luther Peirce's discussion on Communism and Capitalism with R/The Donald and Dr. Murdoch.¹⁹⁰

11:28-11:36 Dr. Murdoch: Peirce, it looked like capitalists were working with the communists back there. They're mortal enemies. Why would they be working together?

11:35-11:40 WLP: Because those who control both desire the same thing

11:40-11:43 R/TheDonald: But I thought capitalism was the greatest gift of mankind.

11:45-11:49 Dr. Murdoch: It's a great economic tool R/TheDonald, but tools are only as good as the people using them

11:50-11:59 WLP: The new world order schemers are absolutely determined to have their way. They have been able to go a long way toward their goal by using subterfuge and depict

12:00-12:02 Dr. Murdoch: What do you mean they desire the same thing?

12:02-12:15 WLP: Both foment class struggle setting rich against poor and brother against brother. One strikes from the upper class, the other from the lower class, but they both serve the same master: ZOG.

Later Pierce adds:

12:23-12:35 WLP: Was it not the Jew Karl Marx who coined the term capitalism, reducing the complexity of our system of productive enterprise to merely one of its component parts: money?

By arguing that two seemingly opposite groups are actually the same because they create artificial division among white people the show builds on the show's familial deictics to further portray all non-ethno-nationalist groups as equally dangerous. Peirce builds on Dr. Murdoch's

¹⁸⁹ Murdoch Murdoch. "The Alt-Light Strikes Back"

¹⁹⁰ Murdoch Murdoch. "Galaxy MM88"

previous distinction between different wars by rejecting that conflict over resources can ever be class based. Instead he defines the participants in a class struggle with the familial deictics to highlight their unnaturalness in the same way Mosely will in episode seven and Dr. Murdoch did in episode five. Pierce also identifies ZOG as the creator of this unnatural conflict. *MM* frames ZOG's goals as unnatural and dishonest and therefore incompatible with the goals of the ethno-nationalists. Peirce uses the person deictic "their" twice in describing what ZOG is after. ZOG pursues "their goal" and what "they seek," framing is as opposite of the Alt-Right's goals. He further states ZOG acts in bad faith by using "subterfuge and depict." Lastly, by identifying Karl Marx as "the Jew" and stating that he coined the term capitalism Pierce not only blames Jewish people for perpetuating this false division, he blames them for creating the divisions as well.

The association between Judaism, money, and control culminates with the introduction of the Oracles. Mosley first describes the Oracles as those who control "all matters of our reality... they can alter what is perceived as good and evil... they can influence the minds of kings and nations."¹⁹² This description begins to imply to the viewer that the Oracles are themselves Jewish due both to ZOG's nature as a conspiracy theory surrounding Jewish control over governments and *MM*'s emergent presentation of Jewish control up to this point. The series makes the implication even clearer when Murdoch travels to their location the sign above the entrance says "Welcome Zionists" with a Star of David. The main oracle as well wears a tallit, a Jewish prayer shawl and a wide brimmed hat reminiscent of a Hasidic Jewish person might wear. Further the Oracles require Murdoch to both sign a contract, just as the Hollywood producer made Jen do, and pay for the opportunity to answer their question.

¹⁹² *Murdoch Murdoch*. "The Wanderer's Choice."

The Oracles' question itself is the culmination of all the evaluation Murdoch has presented throughout the narrative presenting Jewish people as the masterminds behind all other forces of the Negative Other. The Oracles tell Murdoch he must choose between two options. The left, visualized by a statue of a donkey, which will fill him with "compassion and love" but will lead his people "to be dominated, destined to watch [their] women raped and [their] fathers' graves desiccated."¹⁹³ The right, visualized by a statute of an elephant, by contrast will give him "the greatest military man has ever seen" but will cause his people to "always fight wars for nothing" and that his "children will die in ditches in lands far away for no more for a few coins to a handful of rich men."¹⁹⁴ Murdoch's choice to instead kill the Oracles causes the world return to a pre-ZOG state of being including Jen and Zee's parents returning to normal and the sun rising with the Sonnenrad, a Nazi symbol,¹⁹⁵ placed over it. To do so he uses his sword which Mosley previously had imbued with the "power of fascism."¹⁹⁶ By killing the Oracles, Murdoch rejects ZOG's false dichotomy, that his people must pay some sort of price for a benefit while still ultimately der ZOG's control, and instead uses the strength of fascism to rebuild the old word of tradition and the imagined white America.

Gates to the Oracles¹⁹⁷



¹⁹³ Murdoch Murdoch. "The Wanderer's Choice."

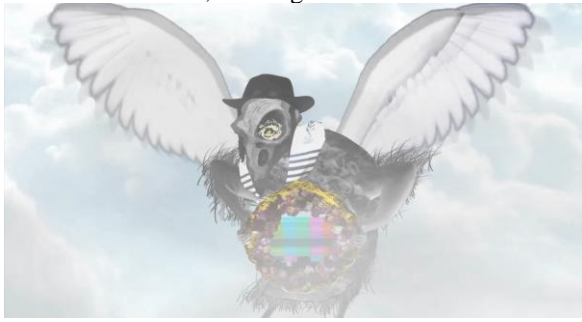
¹⁹⁴ Murdoch Murdoch. "The Wanderer's Choice."

¹⁹⁵ "Sonnenrad" Anti-Defamation League. <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/sonnenrad>

¹⁹⁶ Murdoch Murdoch. "The Wanderer's Choice."

¹⁹⁷ Murdoch Murdoch. "The Wanderer's Choice."

One of the Oracles, wearing a wide brimmed hat and Tallit¹⁹⁸



Conclusions and Interpreting Cross Event Interpretations

Through the use of deictics and the racist emblem *MM* creates a narrative wherein the heroic Alt-Right defeat ZOG, the manifestation of change that threatens white identity. *MM* portrays any agent of change, or even more moderate movements within the far-right, as inherently destructive to what they see as the natural order and their imagined America. The Alt-Right in the narrative protects white identity and tradition, which it constructs through cohesive familial language. It does so because the Alt-Right fights truth and for the preservation of its imagined America. ZOG according to *MM* is a destructive force that upends the political order the series frames as both natural and just, erasing the familial identity the show constructs around race. Thus, *MM* seeks to create fear in its audience through their sense of security by constructing a world where change threatens the “material, social, and political resources perceived as necessary to sustain their basic values and ways of life”¹⁹⁹ *MM* creates an absolute dichotomy between the truthful racist, the Positive Self, and the greedy and egalitarian Negative Other which threatens the viewer's ontological security.

MM's approach to radicalization is not unique. their method of radicalization fits within a wider history of far-right media's discursive approaches to present ethno-nationalism as the sole

¹⁹⁸ Murdoch Murdoch. “The Wanderer’s Choice.”

¹⁹⁹ Lacey “Populism, Nationalism, and Ontological Security” 95

protector of white security. The far-right has long employed euphemistic language and absolutist dichotomies to present a world wherein white people are under attack from those seeking social change or from demographic changes that threaten white status. Research has consistently demonstrated that the far-right seeks to radicalize individuals through this threatened sense of security by means of a Positive Self and a Negative Other. For instance, in Europe far-right parties have increased their electoral success by positioning themselves as “protec[ors] of - seemingly homogeneous- national identities.”²⁰⁰ The parties employ a “rhetoric of exclusion” that creates an us versus them narrative around migration and groups such as Jewish people and Roma.²⁰¹ This can especially be seen with anti-Semitism. Jewish people have long been scapegoated as the source for economic ennui, especially with the rise in globalization, one of the many facets of *MM*’s Negative Other. As nation states become more embedded in a global market people searching for a scapegoat for their lost sense of security land on blaming Jewish people.²⁰² Far-right propaganda has responded to this by presenting tropes rooted in anti-Semitism. For instance, the ((())) placed around the word “they” at various points in *MM* emerged to imply that Jewish influence in governments the world over, in other words ZOG, “echoes down the ages.”²⁰³

Far-right media has also often dehumanized the Negative Other, especially when that other is Jewish. An example of this would be the much-maligned Neo-Nazi novel *The Turner Diaries*, written by the real-world version of *MM*’s William Luther Peirce, and often described as the bible of the modern far-right. *The Turner Diaries* portrays Jewish characters as directly

²⁰⁰ Wodak, Ruth “Anything Goes!” The Haiderization of Europe.” in *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*. Edited by Wodak, Ruth; KhosraviNik and Brigitte Mral. London: Bloomsbury, 2014. 25.

²⁰¹ Wodak, Ruth “Anything Goes!” The Haiderization of Europe.” 29.

²⁰² Strauss. “Anti-Globalism’s Jewish Problem.” 60.

²⁰³ Pollard, “Alt-Right Transgressions in the Age of Trump,” 78

threatening to white Americans doing things such as selling white women into slavery and even disemboweling them.²⁰⁴

Racist groups and individuals have also long presented themselves as a lone source of honesty instead of more traditional sources of information, just as *MM* has. Jarrod Taylor’s magazine *American Renaissance* has long published inaccurate articles that advocate for race realism using pseudo-science and flawed statistics.²⁰⁵ One such article stating “[t]here is a difference between blacks and whites — analogous to the difference in intelligence — in psychopathic personality considered as a personality trait.”²⁰⁶ It is not surprising therefore that *MM* chooses Taylor as one of its most highly positioned characters. Far-right media framing of a truthful right and deceitful other has only grown more widespread in the digital age. In one study of the incubation and dissemination of far-right talking points and memes online researchers determined that one network of ten far-right alternative news sites were able to widely disseminate anti-Islamic media that presented Muslim immigrants and refugees as destructive to western nations with article titles such as “Militant Christians prepare to defend their homeland.”²⁰⁷ Other researchers have found that far-right alternative media sites appropriate the aesthetics and styling of traditional media platforms to give the appearance of legitimacy.²⁰⁸ Research of far-right alternative media in Norway found that it presented traditional news sources as “inherently biased, deceitful and distanced from the concerns of ordinary people and

²⁰⁴ Wilson “Toxic Rhetoric”: Doublespeak: The Rhetoric of the Far-right since 1945. 69

²⁰⁵“Jared Taylor.” Southern Poverty Law Center.; “American Renaissance” Southern Poverty Law Center.” <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/american-renaissance>

²⁰⁶ “American Renaissance” Southern Poverty Law Center.”

²⁰⁷ Davey et al. “The Mainstreaming of Far-Right Extremism” 28-29.

²⁰⁸ Silje Nygaard. “The Appearance of Objectivity: How Immigration-Critical Alternative Media Report the News”, 2019 *Journalism Practice*.

as failing fundamentally.”²⁰⁹ Thus far-right often positions the Positive Self as the real bearer of truth, and the Negative Other as maliciously deceitful.

MM represents a continuation in the far-right’s ability to adapt to new platforms and mold its message to the issues of the day. *MM* employs common tactics used in far-right propaganda, and applies them to modern internet discourse in order to present diversity, social progress, and virtually any group not explicitly advocating for white power as destructive to the United States and its white citizens. Non ethno-nationalist characters are presented as monolithic enemy categorized under the conspiracy theory ZOG, even when they share extremely similar viewpoints such as the civic nationalists. The show positions unbridled ethno-nationalism as the only solution to preserve the audience’s security. By presenting political discourse as a binary between a dishonest Negative Other that will destroy the imagined white America and a truthful Positive Self that will maintain it *MM* target’s its audience’s sense of ontological security in order to radicalize viewers to support ethno-nationalism.

VI. Limitations

Due to the scale of the project versus the time constraints allowed, this analysis faced several limitations. Further study is needed to fully examine *MM* and similar digital far-right propaganda. First, it is probable that the usage of some individual indexicals presented in the data tables are even greater than observed. In particular, the terminology used to describe the Alt-Light. Since a discourse analysis cannot examine every word in each discursive event, they must select which salient indexicals point to the inferred meaning. Wortham and Reyes make the selecting process a separate step of phase two requiring a degree of back and forth with the construal stage. They state that a one-time selection will likely not capture all relevant

²⁰⁹ Tine Ustad Figenschou, and Karoline Andrea Ihlebæk. “Challenging Journalistic Authority.” *Journalism Studies* 20, no. 9 (April 2018): 1221–37. 1222.

indexicals.²¹⁰ While the indexicals counted do demonstrate the formation of meaningful pathways as Wortham and Reyes described, further analysis is needed to identify a more robust count of these terms missed. Second, the cut and paste nature of *MM*'s animation means that the shows uses the likenesses of many real-world figures. While I could identify the most relevant figures for the pathways analyzed in this paper, I did not have the time to identify all such references. As such *MM* could have further context and commentary not discussed in this analysis. Lastly, while this analysis eludes to the myriad of niche references the series makes, further research would undoubtedly reveal more to build upon.

Work Cited

“14 Words.” Anti-Defamation League. <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/14-words>.

Adorno, Theodor W. *The Authoritarian Personality: Studies in Prejudice*. Edited by Max Horkheimer and Samuel H. Flowerman. N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1950.

Al Jazeera. “A Brief Dictionary to Help Understand the US Far-right.” Racism | Al Jazeera. Al Jazeera, October 8, 2017.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2017/10/dictionary-understand-171002123412523.html>.

“American Renaissance” Southern Poverty Law Center.” <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/american-renaissance>

Arfa, Orit. “Milo Yiannopoulos Talks About His Jewish Identity, Trump and Zionism in Berlin.” Jewish Journal, July 3, 2019.

²¹⁰ Wortham and Reyes. *Discourse Analysis*. 53

<https://jewishjournal.com/commentary/analysis/301037/milo-yiannopoulos-talks-about-his-jewish-identity-trump-and-zionism-in-berlin/>.

Beckett, Lois. "George Lincoln Rockwell, Father of American Nazis, Still in Vogue for Some." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, August 27, 2017.

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/aug/27/george-lincoln-rockwell-american-nazi-party-alt-right-charlottesville>.

Berlet, Chip, and Carol Manson "Swastikas in Cyberspace: How Hate Went Viral" in *Digital Media Strategies of the Far-right in Europe and the United States*. Edited by Simpson, Patricia Anne, and Druxes, Helga. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Blee, Kathleen M., and Kimberly A. Creasap. "Conservative and Right-Wing Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 36 (2010): 269-86.

Blommaert, Jan, and Chris Bulcaen. "Critical Discourse Analysis." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29 (n.d.): 447–66. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.29.1.447>.

"Brain Force Plus." Infowars Store. <https://www.infowarsstore.com/brain-force>.

Braun, David. "Indexicals." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Stanford University, January 16, 2015. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/indexicals/>.

"Contributors" InfoWars. <https://www.infowars.com/contributors/>

Davey, Jacob, Erin Saltman, and Jonathan Birdwell, "The Mainstreaming of Far-Right Extremism Online and how to Counter It" in *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019.

Dick, Hilary Parsons. *Words of Passage: National Longing and the Imagined Lives of Mexican Migrants*. University of Texas Press, 2018.

“Echo.” Anti-Defamation League

<https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/echo>

Esposito, Luigi. “The Alt-Right as a Revolt against Neoliberalism and Political Correctness: The Role of Collective Action Frames.” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 18, no. 1-2 (2019): 93–110. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15691497-12341507>.

Eyerman, Ron. “False Consciousness and Ideology in Marxist Theory.” *Acta Sociologica* 24, no. 1/2 (1981): 43-56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4194332>.

Feldman, Stanley, and Karen Stenner. “Perceived Threat and Authoritarianism.” *Political Psychology* 18, no. 4 (1997): 741-70. www.jstor.org/stable/3792208.

Figenschou, Tine Ustad, and Karoline Andrea Ihlebæk. “Challenging Journalistic Authority.” *Journalism Studies* 20, no. 9 (April 2018): 1221–37. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670x.2018.1500868>.

Gandesha, Samir. “Understanding Right and Left Populism.” In *Critical Theory and Authoritarian Populism*, edited by Morelock Jeremiah, 49-70. London: University of Westminster Press, 2018. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv9hvtcf.7.

“George Soros - Open Society Founder and Chair.” Open Society Foundations. <https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/george-soros>.

Greene, Viveca S. “‘Deplorable’ Satire: Alt-Right Memes, White Genocide Tweets, and Redpilling Normies.” *Studies in American Humor* 5, no. 1 (2019): 31-69. <https://doi.org/10.5325/studamerhumor.5.1.0031>.

Griffin, Roger “‘Lingua Quarti Imperii’: The Euphemistic Tradition of the Extreme Right” in *Doublespeak: The Rhetoric of the Far-right since 1945*. Edited by Feldman, Matthew, and Jackson, Paul. New York: Ibidem Verlag, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Hagle, Courtney. “How Fox News Pushed the White Supremacist ‘Great Replacement’ Theory.” Media Matters for America, May 8th, 2019. <https://www.mediamatters.org/tucker-carlson/how-fox-news-pushed-white-supremacist-great-replacement-theory>.

Halikiopoulou, Daphne. “‘Far-right’ Groups May Be Diverse – But Here’s What They All Have in Common.” The Conversation, January 21, 2019. <https://theconversation.com/far-right-groups-may-be-diverse-but-heres-what-they-all-have-in-common-101919>.

Haltinner, Kristin. “Paving the Way for Trump: The Tea Party’s Invisible Influence on the 2016 Election” in *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019.

Hatewatch Staff. “McInnes, Molyneux, and 4chan: Investigating Pathways to the Alt-Right.” Southern Poverty Law Center, April 19, 2018. <https://www.splcenter.org/20180419/mcinnnes-molyneux-and-4chan-investigating-pathways-alt-right>.

Hofstadter, Richard. "The Pseudo-Conservative Revolt." *The American Scholar* 24, no. 1 (1954): 9-27. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.is.ed.ac.uk/stable/41207907>.

Jannessari, Sohail. “The Left Will Govern Spain, but the Far-Right Is the Real Winner.” Foreign Policy, November 16, 2019. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/11/16/spain-election-vox-far-right-socialists-winner/>

“Jared Taylor.” Southern Poverty Law Center. <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/jared-taylor>.

Katz, A.J. “October 2019 Ratings: Fox News Marks 40 Straight Months at the Top of the Basic Cable Heap.” TVNewser. TVNewser, October 29, 2019. <https://www.adweek.com/tvnewser/october-2019-ratings-fox-news-marks-40-straight-months-at-the-top-of-the-basic-cable-heap/419280/>.

Lacey, Joseph “Populiasim, Nationalism, and Ontological Security” in *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019.

Lawson, Caitlin E. 2018. “Platform Vulnerabilities: Harassment and Misogynoir in the Digital Attack on Leslie Jones.” *Information, Communication & Society* 21 (6): 818–33. doi:10.1080/1369118X.2018.1437203.

Lichtman, Allan J. *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008.

Lim, Audrea. “The Alt-Right's Asian Fetish.” The New York Times. The New York Times, January 6, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/06/opinion/sunday/alt-right-asian-fetish.html>.

Ludeke, Steven G., and Robert F. Krueger. “Authoritarianism as a Personality Trait: Evidence from a Longitudinal Behavior Genetic Study.” *Personality and Individual Differences* 55, no. 5 (2013): 480–84. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.paid.2013.04.015>.

Mayer, Jane. *Dark Money: The Hidden History of the Billionaires behind the Rise of the Radical Right*. New York: Anchor Books, 2017.

Meloan, J. D. The F scale as a Predictor of Fascism: An overview of 40 years of Authoritarian Research. In *Strength and Weakness: The Authoritarian Personality Today*. W. F. Stone, G. Lederer, & R. Christie (Eds.), New York: Springer, 1993. 47-69

“Mike Cernovich.” Southern Poverty Law Center.

<https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/mike-cernovich>

Murdoch Murdoch. “The Great Meme War.” Date Accessed: February 26th, 2020.

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=The%20Great%20Meme%20War%20of%202021>

6

Murdoch Murdoch. “The Alt-Light Strikes Back.” Date Accessed: February 26th 2020

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=The%20Alt%20Light%20Strikes%20Back>

Murdoch Murdoch. “Your Hero’s Journey.” Date Accessed: February 26th, 2020

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=Your%20Heroes%20Journey>

Murdoch Murdoch. “The Last Stand of Implicit Whiteness.” Accessed February 26th, 2020.

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=The%20Last%20Stand%20of%20Implicit%20Whiteness>

Murdoch Murdoch. “The Real Red Pill Blues.” Date Accessed: February 26th 2020

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=The%20Real%20Red%20Pill%20Blues>

Murdoch Murdoch. “Galaxy MM88.” Date Accessed: February 26th, 2020.

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=Galaxy%20MM88>

Murdoch Murdoch. “The Wanderer’s Choice.” Date Accessed: February 26th, 2020.

<https://www.murdochmurdoch.net/video/?play=The%20Wanderer%27s%20Choice>

Nygaard, Silje (2019) “The Appearance of Objectivity: How Immigration-Critical Alternative Media Report the News.” *Journalism Practice*, DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2019.1577697

Ohlheiser, Abby. “Why 'Social Justice Warrior,' a Gamergate Insult, Is Now a Dictionary Entry.” *The Washington Post*. WP Company, October 7, 2015.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-intersect/wp/2015/10/07/why-social-justice-warrior-a-gamergate-insult-is-now-a-dictionary-entry/>.

Parker, Christopher, Sebastian Mayer, and Nicole Buckley. “Left, Right, But No In-Between” in *Trumping the Mainstream: The Conquest of Mainstream Democratic Politics by the Populist Radical Right*. Edited by Herman, Lise Esther, and James Muldoon. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor et Francis Group, 2019.

Pettigrew, Thomas F. “Social Psychological Perspectives on Trump Supporters.” *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 5, no. 1 (February 2017): 107–16.
<https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v5i1.750>.

Pollard, Tom. “Alt-Right Transgressions in the Age of Trump.” *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 17, no. 1-2 (2018): 76–88. <https://doi.org/10.1163/15691497-12341467>.

PrisonPlanetLive. “Paul Joseph Watson.” YouTube. YouTube. Accessed April 18, 2020.
<https://www.youtube.com/user/PrisonPlanetLive/about>.

Reisigl, Martin and Ruth Wodak, *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetorics of Racism and Anti-Semitism* (London: Routledge, 2001).

“Richard Bertrand Spencer” Southern Poverty Law Center.
<https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/richard-bertrand-spencer-0>

Rushton, J. Philippe and Arthur R. Jensen “Wanted: More Race Realism, Less Moralistic Fallacy” *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law* 11. No. 2, (2005) 328 –336.

Schroeder, R. (2018). Digital media and the rise of right-wing populism. In *Social Theory after the Internet: Media, Technology, and Globalization* (pp. 60-81). London: UCL Press. doi: 10.2307/j.ctt20krxdr.6

Skocpol, Theda, and Vanessa Williamson. *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

“Sonnenrad” Anti-Defamation League. <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/sonnenrad>

Strauss, M. (2003). “Anti-Globalism’s Jewish Problem.” *Foreign Policy*, (139), 58-67. doi:10.2307/3183738

“The Happy Merchant” Anti-Defamation League. <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/the-happy-merchant>

“The Maps That Show How France Voted and Why.” BBC News. BBC, May 12, 2017. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39870460>.

Warzel, Charlie. “We Sent Alex Jones' Infowars Supplements to A Lab. Here's What's in Them.” BuzzFeed News. BuzzFeed News, August 9, 2017. <https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/charliwarzel/we-sent-alex-jones-infowars-supplements-to-a-lab-heres>.

Watson, Paul Joseph. “Contributor.” Alex Jones' InfoWars, <https://www.infowars.com/author/paul-joseph-watson/>.

“Who Was Sir Oswald Mosley?” BBC News. BBC, August 26, 2019. <https://www.bbc.com/news/stories-49405924>.

Wilson, Janet “Toxic Rhetoric: The Language of the Turner Diaries: A Novel” in *Doublespeak: The Rhetoric of the Far-right since 1945*. Edited by Feldman, Matthew, and Jackson, Paul. New York: Ibidem Verlag, 2015. ProQuest Ebook Central.

Wodak, Ruth “Anything Goes!” The Haiderization of Europe” in *Right-Wing Populism in Europe: Politics and Discourse*. Edited by Wodak, Ruth; KhosraviNik and Brigitte Mral. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.

Wortham, Stanton Emerson Fisher, and Angela Reyes. *Discourse Analysis beyond the Speech Event*. London: Routledge, 2015.

Viralstyle. “MM Merch” <https://viralstyle.com/store/mmerch/mmerchstore>.

“ZOG.” Anti-Defamation League. <https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/zog>.