



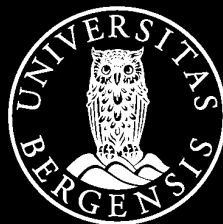
Among Us, Around Us, Against Us: The Alt-Right's Metaphoric Construction of Black, Muslim, Jewish, and Transgender Others as Monstrous in Anonymous Fora

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Sammendrag

Denne masteroppgaven tar for seg hvordan brukere av alt-right (ofte oversatt som 'alternativhøyre') nettfora bruker elementer av det monstrøse i beskrivelser av ulike grupper mennesker. Nærmere bestemt, ser jeg i denne oppgaven på hvordan Mørkhudede ('Black'), Muslimske, Jødiske, og transkjønnede personer fremstilles som monstre, både gjennom direkte metaforer og gjennom å bli tilskrevet trekk som kjennetegner det monstrøse. Alt-right er et relativt nytt fenomen som oppstod mellom ca 2014 og 2016, og kjennetegnes bl.a. av rasisme, antisemitisme, hvit overmakt, og patriarkalske holdninger, samt av å være et hovedsakelig digitalt fenomen. Tidligere forskning på høyreekstremer og fremmedfiendtlige diskurser har funnet at ulike grupper (f.eks. homofile og folk med andre hudfarger eller kulturelle tilhørigheter) konstrueres som en truende Andre; blant annet brukes monstermetaforer for å skape et narrativ om at den Andre utgjør en trussel som man må forsvare seg mot.

Å studere metaforer som konstruerer mennesker som den monstrøse Andre, kan hjelpe oss å forstå mer om strømninger i samfunnet, siden diskurser om monstre gjenspeiler samfunnets frykter og usikkerheter. Samtidig kan monstermetaforer bevisst brukes for å skape og opprettholde en maktubalanse. Lakoff og Johnsons kognitive metafor-teori hevder at vi forstår mye av livene våre gjennom metaforer. Abstrakte og/eller fremmede ting forstås og struktureres gjennom å bruke mer konkrete konsepter, og konseptene vi bruker som kilder i denne sammenheng, vil påvirke ikke bare hvordan vi tenker og snakker om ting, men også hvordan vi handler. Dermed kan språklige og kognitive monstermetaforer motivere fysiske handlinger mot 'monstrene.'

I denne oppgaven analyserer jeg språkdata fra tre nettfora med tilknytning til the alt-right, og kategoriserer beskrivelser av Mørkhudede, Muslimske, Jødiske, og transkjønnede personer ut ifra direkte monstermetaforer samt elementer av det monstrøse. Analysen viser at alle fire grupper beskrives som monstrøse, og at det er betydelige forskjeller i hva slags type monstre de omtales som, og hva slags monstrøse egenskaper eller trekk de tilskrives. I tillegg er det variasjoner mellom de tre foraene jeg ser på, både i forhold til hvilke grupper som omtales oftest, samt hvilke monstrøse trekk hver gruppe tilskrives.

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List of Abbreviations

/b/:	4Chan’s “random” forum
OP:	Original Post
/pol/:	4Chan’s “politically incorrect” forum
/pnd/:	8Kun’s “politics, news, & debate” forum
SJW:	Social Justice Warrior

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and Scope

In recent years, a new constellation of extreme right-wing individuals has emerged: the alt-right, whose starting point is normally set somewhere between 2014 and 2016. Othering practices are an important element of extreme-right discourse, including the alt-right as well. One of the most interesting forms of Othering, to me, is monsterisation – the metaphoric construction of individuals or groups of people as monsters. Metaphors are meanings carried over from a usually more concrete or experientially grounded source domain, into a more abstract target domain. Their source domain helps us understand elements of the target domain – monsters can be used to make sense of people by shaping and structuring some of the ways we think and talk about them. I selected four groups of ‘Others’ whose metaphoric monsterisation I wished to look at: Black, Muslim, Jewish, and transgender people.

Basing my theoretical framework heavily on the cognitive theory of metaphor developed by Lakoff and Johnson, I situate my thesis within the field of discourse analysis and, more specifically, metaphor studies. Through looking at the use of monsterising discourse, I aim to shed some light on how members of the alt-right make sense of, construct, and categorise their lived reality wherein various outgroups pose a perceived threat to them. As I am interested primarily in looking at language data in-depth, and trying to get a detailed understanding of the different and at times quite subtle ways of writing the Other as monstrous, this thesis uses primarily qualitative analysis, although supplemented by quantitative tables and diagrams.

For data collection I chose three anonymous and open-access fora (/b/ and /pol/ from 4Chan, and /pnd/ from 8Kun; these will be explained in section 3.2.1). Over a period of 40 days, I scraped these fora every eight days, five days in total, collecting a corpus of about 1,550,000 words. Based both on monstrous traits and creatures identified in the literature (chapter 2), and on my reading of the collected data itself, I developed 15 analytical categories built around a very wide definition of the monstrous, in order to see which ones are used most frequently, and compare their use in relation to the four Others.

1.2 Research Questions

In this thesis, I aim to illustrate how metaphoric monsters flourish among alt-right communities. My research questions can be stated as follows:

1. *How do alt-right discourse communities construct Black, Muslim, Jewish, and transgender Others as monstrous in anonymous fora?*
2. *Are there differences between these four Others in the ways they are monsterised?*

Answering these questions may help shed light on the kinds of threat that these monsterised people are thought to pose to members of the alt-right (and to elements of Western society more generally), and offer some insights into how violence against them is discursively sanctioned.

1.3 Structure

The remainder of this thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 discusses the theory underlying my thesis, in regards to discourse analysis and the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, the alt-right, forum discourse, and monster theory, as well as some potential research gaps. Chapter 3 lays out my methodology: data collection, qualitative and quantitative analysis, and research ethics. Chapter 4 presents and discusses my results pertaining to each of my four groups of Others, before looking at some similarities and differences between the three fora from which I gathered my data. Finally, chapter 5 offers a brief conclusion and some thoughts on potential future research.

1.4 A note on terminology and language

Any thesis analysing alt-right discourse must engage with both the language and social categories typical of it. Thus, social categories of ‘race,’ culture, and gender that are outdated (or outlandish), will be used in this thesis. Their inclusion is to me an uncomfortable but necessary choice in order to represent categorisations of Self and Other. Perhaps mostly for my own sake, I have chosen to capitalise racial concepts that are not universally capitalised (White, Black, etc.), akin to the standard capitalisation of Jewish and Muslim, to highlight their socially constructed nature. Furthermore, my data can be deeply offensive due to the use of slurs and violent language. I have attempted to minimise the reproduction of posts using the most egregious slurs; however, in cases where posts were deemed most representative or where no slur-free examples existed, I have included them. Except space-saving omissions, all data is unmodified for the sake of meaningful analysis.

2. THEORY

2.1 Chapter outline

This chapter is structured in the following way: First, I situate this thesis within discourse analysis and, specifically, Cognitive Linguistics and the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, as developed notably by Lakoff and Johnson (2003), Lakoff (1987), and Kövecses (2002). Second, I turn to the alt-right, its history and core traits, before considering the type of discourse that takes place in online fora, especially those tied to far-right communities. The third part of this chapter considers Othering and monsterification as a discursive and social practice, and delves into ways of reading monsters as *cultural symbols*, *tools* for policing the Self, and *justifications* for violence against the Other. I also briefly consider each of the four groups of Others selected for my analysis and their relation to the alt-right. Lastly, I outline what I deem to be fertile cracks within the ground covered by research on the above issues, thus justifying the focus of my thesis.

2.2 Discourse Analysis

Studying language in use and context means studying discourse. Discourse analysis is concerned with the interrelationship between language and our interactions with and views of the world; as Gee and Handford define it,

Discourse analysis involves studying language in the context of society, culture, history, institutions, identity formation, politics, power, and all the other things that language helps us to create and which, in turn, render language meaningful in certain ways and able to accomplish certain purposes. (Gee & Handford 2012: 5)

Yet in *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*, Winther Jørgensen and Philips begin their exploration of discourse and approaches to discourse analysis by stating that “there is no clear consensus as to what discourses are or how to analyse them” (Winther Jørgensen & Philips 2002: 1). Different theorists and disciplines invest the term with different meanings, and hence develop different modes of analysis. However, the authors offer as a tentative definition that discourse is “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (*ibid.*: 1). Discourses originate from particular angles, within particular communities, at particular historical times, and they are both shaped by, and in turn shape, our perceptions and experiences of reality. All discourse analytical approaches, no matter their theoretical angle, “take as their starting point [...] that our access to reality is always through language” (*ibid.*: 8). Multiple

discourses exist in relation to each other, and the authors refer to the “complex configuration of discourses and genres within the same social field or institution” as an *order of discourse*. This order of discourse “can be taken to denote different discourses that partly cover the same terrain, a terrain which each discourse competes to fill with meaning in its own way” (*ibid.*: 141). This highlights the competitive nature of discourses, with various groups and individuals challenging the hegemony of any one discourse within a field, and seeking to establish their own discourse(s) as hegemonic.

Some researched elements of discourse that influence our worldview, include the use of active vs passive *voice*, such as the difference between saying ‘Stacey abused Tom’ or saying that ‘Tom was abused by Stacey,’ the latter of which takes attention away from the abuser’s active role; or the use of *grammatical gender* (masculine and feminine pronouns), which, Johnstone (2018: 40) argues, “could encourage speakers to view biological sexes and cultural sex roles as categorical and binary.” Discourse analysis, then, is concerned with methods of shedding light on the patterned and competing ways we speak about, make sense of, and constitute the world through language. Within this field of study, this thesis uses Cognitive Linguistics and the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor as underlying theoretical approach to understanding monster metaphors as part of alt-right discourse.

2.3 Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive linguistics is the study of the way language and cognition intersect, and of the ties between language and worldview. In *Moral Politics* (2002), Lakoff defines cognitive linguistics as “the subfield [of cognitive science] most concerned with issues of worldview, that is, with everyday conceptualization, reasoning, and language,” explaining that cognitive linguists study “how we conceptualize our everyday lives and how we think and talk about them” (Lakoff 2002: 3). This definition bears similarities to that offered by Winther-Jørgensen and Philips of discourse analysis in general, though it introduces the central notion of “concepts” and “conceptualisation” – the ways cognition underlies discourse. Central findings of cognitive linguistics include that thought is primarily unconscious, embodied, and largely metaphorical, as well as being organised within conceptual categories (Lakoff 2002). Before going more into depth on the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, I shall briefly discuss two of the central tenets of Cognitive Linguistics as they are relevant to the understanding of metaphor: embodiment and categorisation.

2.3.1 Embodiment and Grounding

Lakoff's approach to Cognitive Linguistics states that our conceptual systems – and hence, our ways of expressing ourselves in language – grow out of our physical and cultural surroundings and the ways our bodies function within space. In *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things*, Lakoff writes that “human reason [...] grows out of the nature of the organism and all that contributes to its individual and collective experience” (Lakoff 1987: xv), hence, our thoughts and language depend in part on our social and cultural settings.

2.3.2 Categorisation

We categorise things into distinct mental groups, emphasising in-group similarity and inter-group difference. Our ability to categorise is both basic and essential to our functioning: “Without the ability to categorize, we could not function at all, either in the physical world or in our social and intellectual lives,” and indeed “there is nothing more basic than categorization to our thought, perception, action, and speech” (Lakoff 1987: 6, 5). Categories, being essential to the perception of our lives, take on a reality of their own (Lakoff 1987: 9). Our ability to categorise stems jointly from experience and imagination, whereof the latter is comprised of “metaphor, metonymy, and mental imagery” (Lakoff 1987: 8). Our metaphors thus help us create categories through which we make sense of our lived experience.

2.3.1 Cognitive Theory of Metaphor

2.3.1.1 A definition of “metaphor” – conceptual and linguistic

The cognitive theory of metaphor, developed largely by Lakoff and Johnson, delves into the ways that conceptual metaphors (divided into orientational, ontological, and structural metaphors) underlie our everyday thought and reasoning, at a largely subconscious level. George Lakoff's work within cognitive linguistics (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987) has become a foundational element in several decades of metaphor studies. This thesis' understanding of metaphor is primarily informed by Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, 2003), as well as Lakoff's *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind* (1987).

Metaphors are meanings that get carried over from a (more concrete) source domain into another (more abstract) target domain: “The essence of metaphor is understanding and

experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 5). The target domain of a metaphor tends to be more abstract (less physically tangible) than the source domain, which is employed to help us grasp (*metaphorically speaking*) elements of the abstract nature of the target domain. Conceptual metaphors have an experiential grounding for the source domain that is “either perceptual, biological, or cultural” in nature (Kövecses 2002: 69) – hence we find many source domains that are at least nearly universal across the globe, such as the human body, light and darkness, our body’s spatial orientation and boundedness, and animals. The systematic correspondences between elements of the source domain and corresponding elements of the target domain are usually referred to as “mappings” (*ibid.*: 6).

Importantly, this carrying-over of meaning and structure is only ever partial (Kövecses 2002: 84); if we were to carry over the full meaning-structure of the source onto the target, the two would be indistinguishable from each other. We select those elements of the source domain that help us comprehend the target; thus for the common conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS (Lakoff & Johnson 2003), we use the foundation, support beams, and strength of the building domain (“your arguments are *unfounded*; your claims *collapse* under scrutiny”) but we do not usually use windows, floors, or building material to talk about theories.

It is important to explicitly distinguish between metaphors as cognitive concepts (THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS), and metaphors as linguistic expressions (“your arguments are unfounded” etc). As Lakoff and Johnson write, “metaphor is not just a matter of language [...] on the contrary, human thought processes are largely metaphorical” (2003: 6) and metaphors are “only derivatively a matter of language” (*ibid.*: 153). They discuss how “literal expressions [are] structured by metaphorical concepts:” phrases that are not viewed as metaphorical, such as “the odds are against us,” that are part of everyday speech, do still entail that “your way of talking about, conceiving, and even experiencing your situation would be metaphorically structured” through them (*ibid.* 51). Several studies in cognitive science, e.g. Gibbs et al. (1997) and Boroditsky (2001), support the claim that even everyday expressions like the above still activate the mind’s source domain concepts. Linguistic metaphors are expressions of, and ways for researchers to study, the metaphorical concepts that, often unconsciously, structure our thoughts.

Direct linguistic metaphors, the classical equational sentence of “ $x=y$ ” (“Juliet *is* the sun) can be contrasted with indirect metaphors, wherein the subject or target domain may be unclear, or where the syntactic structure is not equational. (Williams and Prince similarly use the term

“buried metaphor” when the metaphor “is not structured as an equational sentence or when the metaphor is ‘unconventional’” (Williams & Prince 2019: 11), though I find the inclusion of unconventionality into the definition of buried metaphor not productive in the context of this thesis.) The previous examples of metaphorical linguistic expressions of the conceptual metaphor THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, are all of the covert type. For this thesis, I use a broad definition of linguistic metaphor where such instances, as well as similes, are included in order to capture as much as possible of the underlying cognitive metaphor(s).

2.3.1.2 Metaphor categorisation

Kövecses classifies metaphors along several features: their conventionality, function, nature, level of generality, and level of complexity (Kövecses 2002: 29). It is within the classification of metaphors according to their (cognitive) function that we find the typical categories used by both Kövecses and Lakoff and Johnson: orientational, ontological, and structural. Orientational metaphors orient and organise concepts in relation to each other, such as HAPPY IS UP (“this really *lifted* her spirits”). Ontological metaphors mainly serve to reify abstract concepts, such as IDEAS ARE OBJECTS: “this *gave* me a good idea.” Some conceptual metaphors like THE MIND IS A CONTAINER are both ontological and orientational (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 152). Lastly, structural metaphors are conceptual metaphors that “allow us [...] to use one highly structured and clearly delineated concept to structure another” (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 61), such as ARGUMENT IS WAR, or LIFE IS A JOURNEY. These are the conceptually richest metaphors, where multiple elements of the source domain are mapped onto the target domain, and they “allow us to do much more than just orient concepts, refer to them, quantify them, etc” (*ibid.*). Novel metaphors also tend to be structural rather than ontological/orientational, such as the example discussed by the authors: LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART, mentioned in section 2.3.1.5.

2.3.1.3 Metaphor scenarios or narratives

Explaining metaphors’ importance, Williams and Prince write that they, especially when occurring in political discourse and targeting an individual or group of people, “often constitut[e] a speech act, based solely on audience completion and acceptance of the mini-narrative of a metaphor” (Williams & Prince 2019: ix). The ‘completion and acceptance’ they refer to, is explained later: “by locating an implied narrative attached to one object, the source domain, and applying it to an entirely different object, the target domain, [they are] creating a mini-narrative”

(*ibid.* 1) that the audience may accept without much question. The equational function of metaphors, if unchallenged, allows the speaker to make “an entire argument [...] about an entity’s nature without having to go into details” (*ibid.* viii). By metaphorically reducing people to animals, for example, we take away their agency, humanity, and individuality, ascribing to them instead whatever traits are typically associated with the given animal, and also implicitly sanctioning actions towards these people befitting of their animal selves.

Similar to this “mini narrative,” Musolff, in referring to the complexly structured metaphors of FAMILY as applied to the nations within the EU, employs the term “metaphor scenario.” This concept of metaphor scenarios, as subdomain levels to conceptual structures, is based on Fillmore’s notion of conceptual scenes as “any kind of coherent segment of human beliefs, actions, experiences or imaginings” tied to a frame (Fillmore 1975 in Musolff 2006: 27). It also builds on Lakoff’s notion of scenarios as subtype of “idealized cognitive models” (ICMs) consisting “typically of people, things, properties, relations and propositions” (Lakoff 1987, in Musolff 2006: 27). In other words, metaphor scenarios are very rich cognitive structures that could be likened to a snapshot from a theatre play, featuring characters with specific traits, performing actions with the help of props, within a concrete narrative setting and in a certain relation to each other. Much like Williams and Prince’s conception of metaphors as audience-accepted mini-narratives, though in my opinion in a more precise fashion, metaphor scenarios explain how and why we may come to accept certain structural metaphors as accurate representations of reality, warranting certain actions from us.

2.3.1.4 Metaphor functions

Metaphors highlight and hide

Metaphorical structuring is always necessarily partial. By foregrounding some elements of the target via its source domain, the metaphor simultaneously obscures those elements that do not fit into the source domain’s concept. Which source domain we utilise will necessarily have profound implications for how we conceive of the target domain. Especially for complex target domains, we normally use several source domains to make sense of more dimensions. In those cases, “each source is associated with a particular meaning focus (or foci) that is (or are) mapped onto the target. This meaning focus is conventionally fixed and agreed-on within a speech community” (Kövecses 2002: 110). As an example, it is common to view a human life cycle in terms of

journeys, plants, fire, seasons, and days; we talk of “the road ahead” being bumpy, of a “maiden in bloom,” of someone only having “smouldering embers” left, and of someone who “nears winter” who might, poetically, “rage against the dying of the light” (Lakoff & Johnson: 2003). Each of these structural metaphors highlights certain aspects of life, while hiding others.

Metaphors shape thought, language, and action

Conceptual metaphor and its linguistic expressions shape, and are shaped by, ideology and worldview, and hence influence the way we interact with the world. Lakoff and Johnson refer to a metaphor’s ability to guide our actions as a “feedback effect,” which is especially likely to occur if the metaphor’s entailments are “the most important aspects of our [...] experiences” (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 142). A common example is the structural metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR which, by highlighting conflict and hiding cooperation, shapes the way we conceive of, talk about, and act out arguments. Cultures and values which conflict with each other, often utilise conflicting metaphors as well – Lakoff and Johnson use Trappist monks as an example (*ibid.* 24). Trappists value a simple, nonmaterialist mode of living, and Lakoff and Johnson claim that they metaphorically conceive of wealth and earthly possessions in a way that differs from the ‘mainstream’ cultural value of “MORE IS BETTER.” Where many mainstream cultures tend to apply this value to wealth, Trappists instead apply it to virtue, as they give utmost importance to the related value “VIRTUE IS UP.” Subcultures may – consciously or unconsciously – utilise different source domains or employ unconventional mappings in their ideologies.

2.3.1.5 Creation of “new” metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson define conventional metaphors as those that “structure the ordinary conceptual system of our culture, which is reflected in our everyday language” (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 139). Vis-à-vis conventional metaphors, the authors define novel metaphors as those that are “not used to structure part of our normal conceptual system but as a new way of thinking about something” (*ibid.*: 53); metaphors that “are imaginative and creative [...], capable of giving us a new understanding of our experience [and thus] can give new meaning to our pasts, to our daily activity, and to what we know and believe” (*ibid.*: 139). Using the example of LOVE IS A COLLABORATIVE WORK OF ART, Lakoff and Johnson explain their fondness for this novel metaphor, stating that it “makes [their] experiences of love coherent – it makes sense of them” (*ibid.*: 139). Dimensions of love, such as the collaboration, work, and creativity involved in

growing and maintaining it, may find expression via this conceptual metaphor in a way that other conceptual metaphors, like LOVE IS A JOURNEY or LOVE IS A BURNING FIRE, could not.

The discursive context also plays a role in creation of novel metaphors due to the pressure to appear coherent within our linguistic and extralinguistic contexts (Kövecses 2005: 237).

Kövecses identifies five discursive contexts that are especially important in the production of unconventional metaphors: the immediate linguistic context and its medium, the topic itself, our knowledge of other participants including the audience, and the physical, social, and cultural setting (*ibid.*).

Novel metaphors have, according to Lakoff and Johnson, the “power to create a new reality” – a process that begins when we use them to comprehend our experiences, but “becomes a deeper reality when we begin to act in terms of it.” The authors go so far as to argue that “much of cultural change arises from the introduction of new metaphorical concepts and the loss of old ones,” including an assertion that the global Westernization of cultures is partially caused by the introduction of the TIME IS MONEY metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 145). Hence, a mainstreaming and modification of the monster metaphor may well bear real-world consequences, as will be considered more in section 2.6. I will argue in chapter 5 that monster metaphors, while certainly not *new*, are novel in their prevalence and conventionality among the community I study, saturating much of the discourse about the racial/religious/gendered Other. The ability of novel metaphors to fill (newly developed) gaps in our understanding of target domains, combined with recent changes in the lived reality of this community, may go some way to explain the prevalence and creative usage of monster metaphors in these circles.

2.4 The alt-right

The Alt-Right is a modern extremist discursive-ideological-political formation characterised by digital and memetic perspicacity combined with elements from various earlier and contemporary right-wing oriented movements and ideologies. Its starting point is usually set between 2014 and 2016, gaining prominence surrounding Donald Trump’s election. Governments, NGOs, and think tanks are increasingly concerned about global increases in far-right extremism (Chazan, 2019; Guterres, 2018; Jones, 2018, all in Colley & Moore 2020: 1), and it has been reported that digital spaces, including both of the websites from which I gather my data, are influential in “cultivating” this phenomenon (Colley & Moore 2020: 1).

2.4.1 Features of the alt-right

Hawley opens the first chapter of *Making Sense of the Alt-Right* by asserting that “the Alt-Right can scarcely be called an organized movement” (Hawley 2017: 11). This community lacks not only any sort of universal manifesto, but also central leadership, internal structure, and a unified set of aims and beliefs (Hawley 2017). Salazar likewise refers to the term “alt-right” as “an all-inclusive signifier for a variety of new far-right movements in the US public sphere” (Salazar 2018: 2). The diffuse nature of any sort of belief system underlying the alt-right, and also far-right movements in general, poses both analytical and policy-level challenges (Holt, Freilich, & Chermak 2020: 2). Nonetheless, some ideological core traits are essentially universal among the alt-right: first and foremost, an obsession with White identity, ranging from neo-Nazism to strict anti-immigration advocacy; an essentialist view of race and gender; and a favouring of patriarchal structures both in the domestic and the social sphere (in other words, a focus on clearly-drawn, set-in-stone *boundaries*). In contrast to many other far-right groups, the alt-right also tends to be irreligious.

On a practical and discursive level, the alt-right sets itself apart from earlier extreme right movements by being largely online, well-versed in digital media, and characterised by meme culture, ironic distancing, and sarcasm. Massanari and Chess (2018) remark that “the ‘alt-right’ is often derided (or lauded, depending on the audience) for its technological acumen, especially when it comes to mobilizing the cultural logics of spaces such as 4chan and Reddit” (Massanari & Chess 2018: 1). Memes (both visual and verbal) function as tokens of group membership, in addition to being “a kind of lingua franca” (Milner 2016, cited in Massanari and Chess 2018: 1, see also Holt, Freilich, & Chermak 2020). Similarly, Salazar (2018) remarks upon the alt-right’s “unique combination of up-to-date cultural artefacts, intellectual agility and communicational skills” (Salazar 2018: 1). The alt-right has, he remarks, “embedded a “parole” within the “langue” of memes, a discourse within this language. A grammar has evolved that is respected by end users.” As examples he cites the (((echo))) to denote Jewish origin or influence, Pepe the frog, and terms such as “cuck” or “SJW” (social justice warrior; see also Massanari and Chess 2018) (Salazar 2018: 4).

Additionally, a discursive feature of the alt-right (though not exclusive to it) is its laying claims to victimhood (Bebout, 2019). In a phenomenon that Bebout traces back to “at least the 1960s and 1970s,” *weaponised victimhood* has been a dominant structure that “right-oriented

media, politicians, and cultural workers” have used in attempts to maintain their privilege, thus forming a discourse community around constructing themselves as victims and resistance fighters (Bebout 2019: 65, 73). The discursive maneuver of *weaponised victimhood* consists of four key moments: 1) the use of hyperbole, so that red Starbucks cups are seen as part of a ‘War on Christmas;’ or that international student exchange programs exemplify ‘White genocide,’ 2) an assertion of “a moment of crisis,” 3) a claim of victimhood; and 4) its appearance among the U.S. political right (Bebout 2019: 64). As I will return to later, something at least very close to weaponised victimhood has existed within monsterising discourses from the days of the Christian crusades, if not earlier. Uebel (1996) details the ways collective Christian identity emerged via the monsterification of the Saracens in the 11th and 12th centuries, but also traces some cases to the 800’s. This is a feature very much central within the alt-right’s construction of the Self-Other relationship and its justification of extremism and violence, and is essential also for understanding the prominence of conspiracy theories: Many such groups believe that they face conspiracies threatening their nation, self, and/or way of life (Holt, Freilich, & Chermak 2020: 4). In many cases, the conspirers are imagined to be Jewish, and the threat is often tied to multiculturalism, immigration, and changes in gender norms.

In light of this, my thesis’ focus on the Alt-Right’s monsterisation of Others is important and interesting considering two separate elements:

- 1) the various acts of extremist violence and terrorism committed by adherents of the alt-right, including manifestos published on 4chan and 8kun ahead of attacks, and
- 2) the rapid growth and entrance into the mainstream of far-right movements and parties throughout North America, Europe, and many other regions of the world.

2.4.2 Looking back and looking forward

Hawley (2017) traces down the central sources and influences of the alt-right, including paleoconservatism, identitarianism (as associated with the French Nouvelle Droite, and bearing resemblance to other continental European versions of the Right (Gray 2018: 146-147)), troll culture¹, and a reaction to social justice movements and political correctness, with researchers

¹ UrbanDictionary, which is perhaps both the best and the worst source for understanding internet culture terminology, offers this definition of trolling: *the deliberate act [...] of making random unsolicited and/or controversial comments on various internet forums with the intent to provoke an emotional knee jerk reaction from unsuspecting readers to engage in a fight or argument. Trolling on-line forums as described above is actually*

such as Angela Nagle suggesting that the Left is partially to blame for alienating white straight men, by painting them as predators or enemies to various marginalised groups. Gray likewise hypothesises that some individuals were driven to the alt-right seeing as “their rightist views would be ‘racist’ regardless of how near or far they are from the centre” (Gray 2018: 146). This perceived ‘victim status’ creates considerable overlap between previously disparate groups on the far Right, such as Men’s rights or anti-feminist movements and White Nationalist movements (Bebout 2019). Mainstream American conservatism shares some traits with the alt-right, such as its opposition to political correctness, trigger warnings, and “safe spaces.” However, the alt-right tends to advocate for some variant of fascism and other anti-democratic forms of governance, as well as isolationism and communalism rather than capitalist expansionism. (Of course none of this holds true for *all* members of the alt-right.)

The current status of the alt-right is ambiguous: On the one hand, the 2016-2020 Trump administration has indubitably shifted the Overton window² towards the extreme right, and media attention from 2014-15 till now has also drastically increased its visibility. On the other hand, the 2017 Charlottesville riots, including the murder of Heather Heyer, led to a crack in the community, and the storming of the US Capitol in January 2021, resulting in five deaths, has exacerbated disagreements (it should be noted that many adherents of the alt-right despised Donald Trump already, thus adding to the tensions). As of now it does not seem obvious whether the alt-right community has a future, or whether it will split up into several unique communities, perhaps along ideological lines. Certainly, though, the move away from open-access digital platforms will continue, considering the increased attention and crackdowns that its members have been facing there.

2.5 Forum discourse

Fora known for being frequented by adherents to the alt-right are a good way to study linguistic features of this community, by virtue of their form and function: They are accessible to everyone,

analogous to the fishing technique of “trolling” [...]. The trolling lures attract unsuspecting fish, intriguing them with the way they move through the water, thus enticing these foolish fish to “take the bait.” (Drog65 January 02, 2014 on <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Trolling>)

² The Overton window refers to the range of acceptable discourse within society at any given time. Extremist ideologies and discourses may ‘shift’ this window in the direction of the extremist claims, making some claims that would previously have been unacceptable now seem moderate by contrast.

may function as places of exposure, indoctrination (“redpilling”) and radicalisation, provide emotionally saturated, unfiltered language data, and the exchanges are conversational rather than monologic, hence they can allow insight into whether monster metaphors are continued, expanded upon, or challenged by other users.

Anonymous fora have certain communicative affordances, including democratic co-construction of discourse (due to lacking any central authority figure who can set the agenda or impose linguistic norms, unless the forum is strictly moderated); multimodality; anonymity or quasi-anonymity; rapid-paced, real-time communication; and ephemeral exchanges (unless archived versions exist, which is fairly rare). Owing especially to the anonymity and rapid forgetting of any particular thread, forum users will have to compete for salience and attention, e.g. by shocking or amusing their audience, and will often build upon and modify (elements of) earlier posts, resulting in a high turnover rate of memes. Anonymity removes the need for some features of ordinary speech such as politeness norms, hedging, or ‘political correctness,’ while opening up for novel ways of constructing and negotiating both individual and collective identity. Studying 4Chan’s /b/, Ludemann remarks how “the simple act of including a small flag signaling the country of origin” facilitates an anthropomorphising of “nationally circulating discourse and ideology,” where the users are “simultaneously performing [...] both an individualized and a nationally anthropomorphized self” (Ludemann 2018: 6, 1). This process of constructing and negotiating several forms of identity is furthered by highly localised and rapidly changing argot signalling in-group membership and status. Discourse analysts will always have to consider a certain degree of “performance” by some members (Cleland, Anderson, & Aldridge-Deacon 2017: 4).

Fora have been employed by the far right since the 1980s and 1990s, and perform several functions useful to any radical community, including the distribution of knowledge and the construction of a shared discourse world, and a fostering of a virtual community (Baumgarten 2017: 3). The fast-paced conversation and rapidly evolving language that characterise these forum discourses, has led to /pol/ gaining notoriety “for its unique and evolving language, with acronyms and slang used both seriously, ironically and as identity markers” (Colley & Moore 2020: 6). Not understanding the linguistic codes of a forum often results in the person being

labeled a “newfag” and “normie,”³ or alternatively a “glowie/glowfaggot” and “shill” (often assumed to work for the CIA or similar)– i.e., being cast as an outsider who is not allowed participation in the discourse. This helps to reaffirm a strong collective identity among the established forum users.

Colley and Moore refer to 4Chan and “similar and overlapping communities” like 8Kun (formerly 8Chan⁴) as “free-extremist communities” due to “emphasising extreme free speech” (Colley & Moore 2020: 1, 4). Going a few steps further than just facilitating extreme ‘speech,’ alt-right fora including 4Chan and 8Chan have been used by several killers who “reportedly discussed plans, posted manifestos, photographs or footage” of their murders (Colley & Moore 2020: 5). Alt-right fora have repeatedly been tied to radicalisation, and we know that terrorists including Behring Breivik frequented sites like Stormfront prolifically. As such it is both interesting and important to study the many different forms that extremism and radicalisation can take in forum-based discourse.

2.5.1 Previous research on far-right discourse and Othering on online fora

Several quantitative and some qualitative discourse analyses have been carried out on the discourse(s) of alt-right fora, some findings being summarised by Colley and Moore (2020: 5): Zannettou et al. (2018) found that users of 4Chan’s /pol/ “habitually discuss ethnicity, often using hate speech;” similarly 12% of the posts in Hine et al.’s (2017) data “contained a term defined in the Hatebase database as hate speech;” Nissenbaum and Shifman (2017) assess 4Chan’s /b/’s memes as having the double function of triggering conflict and generating a common culture and identity; and Salazar (2018: 4) analyses the digital alt-right’s efforts to “formalise a gamut of memes” whose meanings broach mainstream cultural prohibitions.

Cleland, Anderson, & Aldridge-Deacon carried out a discourse analysis of racism within an EDL (English Defence League) message board, tracing themes and conceptual categories. Their analysis “identified the construction and development of racial prejudice within three recurring themes: (1) the EDL as victims, (2) racist language and (3) the language of war” (2017:

³ The term normie refers, as the name implies, to a ‘normal’ person – someone who is deemed unaware of the true state of the world, whose knowledge of various issues (‘race,’ power, politics, sex and gender relations. etc.) is merely surface-level and who does not (yet) have access to any deeper and less mainstream-acceptable truths.

⁴ 8Chan was an earlier form of 8Kun, which was taken down at least in large part due to spawning one too many murderers. 8Kun is a small and low-activity version of it.

5). The authors found that posters were “very critical of the ways in which non-Muslims were represented in the media and added to the collective sense of victimization within the comments” (*ibid.* 7). Furthermore, identity and heritage were of central importance to the posters (*ibid.* 9) and hate speech was, according to the authors, used “as a way to feel like they are fighting against the “enemy”” (*ibid.* 12).

Baumgarten (2017) used positioning analysis and appraisal analysis to investigate “the linguistic-discursive construction of others,” showing “how reference to absent third parties is used to establish others as outgroups” (Baumgarten 2017: 1). Their analysis indicates that outgroups are primarily constructed via “claims about their difference from an assumed standard set of sanctioned social norms and their inherent lack of value,” and that Muslims and Jews are the most frequently targeted groups (*ibid.* 6, 7). Jews and gypsies in particular were seen as carrying over their Other-status onto third parties they were associated with (i.e. ‘contaminating’ them), and Jews were constructed discursively as behaving improperly and dishonestly, and “causing dissatisfaction and insecurity” to the in-group. Muslims were constructed in terms of behaviour that is “improper and typically unlawful or violent,” as well as “evoking dislike, dissatisfaction, and insecurity” in the in-group. Both of these groups were constructed as “pervasive others, responsible for a whole range of negative behaviours, social phenomena, and feelings adversely affecting the ingroup.” Furthermore, the author identifies Jews and Muslims as “super others” and being the forum posters’ main adversaries (Baumgarten 2017: 9).

Scrivens, Davies, & Frank (2018) analyse the posting behaviours of members of a Canadian Stormfront forum. The authors note “the high proportion of authors who discussed Jews and Blacks in the sample, in comparison with the number of authors who discussed LGBTQs:” 23.4%, 22.6%, and 13% respectively (*ibid.* 7). Interestingly, while Jews were the targets of the largest amount of negative and very negative posts, commenters discussing “LGBTQs” received the most negative sentiment score and the highest overall radical score (*ibid.* 8). The rapid increase of anti-LGBTQ sentiment that the authors observed within their data, is seen in the context of Canada’s sociopolitical setting, coinciding with “the rise of the LGBTQ movement” (*ibid.* 12). Furthermore, prior to analysis, the authors describe these three traditional Others of the extreme right in a historical light; how Jews are constructed as “‘the source of all evil,’ the spawn of the Devil himself,” bent on extinguishing White people; Black people as “‘mud races’ and the descendants of animals created before Adam and Eve” who are savage and

prone to raping white women in addition to being “foot soldiers” for the Jews; and non-heterosexuals as “contaminated and “impure,” “killers” of patriarchal White families, destroyers of White culture, and spreaders of disease (AIDS) (*ibid.* 3-4).⁵

Finally, one of the few articles among my literature to explicitly consider textual monster metaphors, Catalano and Fielder (2018) carried out a qualitative analysis of “metaphor, metonymy, deixis and epistemic modality” in online reader comments on a news website (not explicitly tied to any political or ideological group, and hence differing from the above articles). Their research was aimed at unpacking competing ideologies and showing how Eastern-European immigrants are categorised together with the “unwanted and marginalized” Roma following the opening-up of European borders (*ibid.* 2). They identified the following metaphoric source domains for immigrants: BURDEN, WAR, DANGEROUS WATER, CRIMINALS, CONTAMINATION, and ANIMALS. For the EU, these source domains were identified: PERSON, MONSTER/PARASITE, CONTAINER, CRIMINALS, USSR, and PLACE (*ibid.* 8-9). Interestingly, the monster/parasite metaphor, which did not at all occur in regards to immigrants as target domain, was used five times within the data pertaining to the EU, equating to 20% of all metaphor uses. This rendered it the secondmost common one, with EU AS PERSON being the most prevalent.

A picture within prior research emerges, then, of alt-right fora as having extensive and quickly-changing argot, which together with memes and hate speech is used to signal in-group membership, construct identity, and ward off outsiders. Alt-right forum posters (as well as anti-immigrant commenters in Catalano and Fielder’s material) build collective identity around victimhood and weaponise this victimhood to discursively attack Others. Jews, Muslims, and Black people recur as common Others – or “super others” to use Baumgarten’s term, with LGBTQ+ people also occasionally identified as a group of Others. Lastly, alt-right communities ascribe different negative traits and behaviours to the different groups – Muslims and Black people seeming to more often be associated with violence and animalistic behaviour, Jews being more intimately tied to biblical horror or evil and contagion, and LGBTQ+ people being viewed as tainted and diseased. WAR seems to be a common structural metaphor for making sense of contemporary multiculturalism and liberalised gender/sex norms, though DANGEROUS WATER,

⁵ The equation of “LGBTQ” with non-heterosexuals is peculiar, considering that neither transgender nor “genderqueer” people can be assumed to be non-heterosexual, though their gender expressions certainly challenge many of the stereotypical patriarchal family’s underlying assumptions about sex and gender.

CONTAMINATION, and CRIME were alternative metaphors for making sense of (Eastern European) immigration. Each of these metaphors construct scenarios and sanction racist or homo-/transphobic behaviours: WAR sanctions violent offense in the name of defense, while DANGEROUS WATER, CONTAMINATION, and (to some extent) CRIME warrant a bordering off or expulsion of the Other in the name of social health. While Catalano and Fielder’s research does not look at alt-right fora, it illuminates in detail how these themes and metaphors pervade open digital spaces in general.

2.6 Monstrous Others

Having briefly discussed some research on practices of Othering as they occur in forum discourse, let us consider in more theoretical depth what Othering is and how it relates to metaphors of the monstrous.

2.6.1 The Other

Othering is a sociopolitical and linguistic act that justifies policies and actions against certain groups of people, such as exclusion, persecution, violence, and extermination. Discursively, it can take many forms, some of which were previously discussed, such as stereotyping, racialisation (i.e. the reifying and naturalising of concepts of race) and objectification, as well as “drawing boundaries, distancing and rejection, stripping of personal identity, and the attribution of stigma” (Strani & Szczepaniak-Kozak, 2018: 6, 11). My understanding and use of the term “Other” rests primarily on Edward Said’s 1978 book *Orientalism*. Said illustrates how Western society and popular culture, academia, and politics draws an ontological and epistemological distinction between “the West” and “the Rest,” or between “Occident” and “Orient.” Furthermore, the West defines itself in opposition to all that it is not – ascribing traits seen as desirable to itself, and ascribing their opposites to the Orient. Where the Western Self is strong, masculine, rational, intelligent, and cultured (as well as sexually constrained and “decent”), the Oriental Other is weak, feminised, irrational, mentally ill or stunted, and barbaric, as well as sexually excessive (Said 1978). Othering practices as applied to other outgroups are discussed by many other researchers – e.g. Massanari and Chess (2018) analyse how women and people with ambiguous gender identities are Otherised in “anti-SJW” discourse.

Simultaneously as alien displays of the (Oriental) Other’s excessive sex and violence frightens the onlooker, it also allures and attracts. Erotic travel narratives as much as frenzied

discussions on 4Chan of “bush orgies” and oversized Black genitalia, both implicitly permit their audience to indulge in pornographic fantasies without having to face any moral stigma. After all, this rendition of the sexual Other is investigative, distanced, and morally judgmental. In order to denounce the Other’s disturbing excesses and indecencies, we first need to scrutinise them, over and over again. Similarly, the violence and disregard for societal codes of conduct that the Other exhibits, may allow us to entertain fantasies of doing the selfsame: The fantasies of having the freedom of being unshackled from the rational and morally rigid society of which we are a part, the god-like (or *monstrous*?) powers to do as we please without worry and consequence is facilitated just as well by observing the seemingly morally unrestrained Others as it is by watching the latest high-budget post-apocalyptic action films.

Another important aspect of Othering as described by Said, is that the Other is silent, spoken about, not afforded the agency to speak for itself. Circuses, exhibits, and freakshows serve as good examples of this. The removal of the Other’s voice and agency makes the divide between it and the (collective or individual) Self insurmountable, as we cannot understand that which cannot speak. Othering is fundamentally dehumanising: Anything that is not part of “us” becomes sub-/nonhuman. Thus the Other reaffirms what the human is, overlapping the Self-Other binary with the human-nonhuman binary. Othering marks cultural and social boundaries, both on the map and in our cognitive concepts. Lastly, this boundary-marking helps unify all that is within the boundary. By being ascribed common characteristics, we form a more cohesive cultural identity, feeling a stronger need to adhere to whichever norms of behaviour this includes.

2.6.2 Monstrous Traits

Much like practices of Othering, monster metaphors serve societal purposes (whether used strategically or not), in forming individual and collective identities juxtaposed to those of the “monster” while also sanctioning specific policies, politics, and actions towards the monster. A key difference between Othering and monsterification lies in the culturally salient *script*, or narrative form, that accompanies the monster metaphor: As the monster threatens to destroy what we value, we hunt it down and kill it in legitimate self-defense, often ritualistically (Ingebretsen 2003: 3, 156-157). People also have distinct *roles* as monster, victim, and hero (though victim and hero may be the same person). This gives monster metaphors a lot of complexity and cultural salience. Yet in many other ways, monsterification can be viewed as a more intense and

emotionally charged way of Othering, leaving the victim of this monsterification “textually undone” (Ingebretsen 2003: 52). Just like the Orientalist Others, our monsters dwell on the outskirts of our (social, cultural, geographical) maps; they are fundamentally different from us and have freedoms of (sexual, racial, class- etc.) transgression that we lack and envy (Cohen 16-17; Ingebretsen 4); they are strangely alluring at the same time as they frighten us; their difference is usually somehow marked – though some monsters may disguise themselves as human (Ingebretsen 2003: 72) – and they are most often voiceless. As Ingebretsen writes in *At Stake*: “The failure or absence of speech is, in fact, a conventional way to signal the inhuman;” “the monster exists in a verbal fog” (*ibid.*: 54, 55).

Monsters dwell in the margins and along the boundaries we have constructed: literal margins, of course, in the case of ancient maps, but also the margins of biological classification (as bestial hybrids, genetic impossibilities, fusions of male and female), and boundaries of the corporeal self (some monsters may shapeshift, others may carry their insides, i.e. their organs, on the outside, yet others may threaten to subject us to such a disemboweling and slicing-open). From zombies to bestial hybrids to vampires, monsters often are the “not-quite:” not-quite-human, not-quite-dead, not-quite-whole, not-quite-sentient, not-quite-tangible, not-quite-gendered (or not gendered the way we would expect). Uebel argues that monsters’ “heterogeneity and mobility” render them more “symbolic of displaced, hence threatening, matter.” We feel repulsed and threatened by objects and ideas “likely to confuse or contradict cherished classifications,” a category of reactions known as “pollution behavior” (Douglas 1966: 36, in Uebel 1996: 266). Tying into the deliberate employment of the monster metaphor to hold power over the Other, Cohen illuminates the fusion of gendered, sexual, spiritual, national, and ethnic ‘deviances:’ “the East becomes feminized (Said) and the soul of Africa grows dark (Gates). One kind of difference becomes another as [these] normative categories [...] slide together like the imbricated circles of a Venn diagram, abjecting from the center that which becomes the monster” (1996: 11). This polysemy of abjection allows the monsterised Other to appear more threatening along several axes of deviance at once.

2.6.2.1 Monsters as cultural signs or symbols

Monsters signal social collapse – announcing and dramatizing “the collapse of social boundaries” (Ingebretsen 2003: 203). Monsters in all their iterations are a product of the societies that beget

them, and an analysis of monster metaphors will always have to be understood through the contemporary social, political, economic, and cultural context and the anxieties it produces. But while specific societal conditions spark the creation of monsters, their fearsome traits are largely reused and recycled: The threat to sex and procreation (via castration, cuckolding, or indeed via the woman having a penis herself); the threat to species survival (via endangerment of children); the threats of illness and death; the threat of no longer knowing how to define oneself as human – as when man is mixed with beast or machine or woman; the threat to individual identity and selfhood via ingestion, absorption, or cloning - all ring familiar across time and target group. Cohen (1996) proposes seven theses for understanding the monster (and through it, culture):

- I. The monster's body is a cultural body
- II. The monster always escapes
- III. The Monster Is the Harbinger of Category Crisis
- IV. The Monster Dwells at the Gates of Difference
- V. The Monster Polices the Borders of the Possible
- VI. Fear of the Monster Is Really a Kind of Desire
- VII. The Monster Stands at the Threshold . . . of Becoming. (Cohen 1996: 4-20)

The monster dwelling along the borders and at the gates exemplifies crises of category (in-out, Self-Other, human-beast, alive-dead...) whose potential for collapse frighten us. And while we must hunt the monster down and kill it in order to restore normalcy and safety (Ingebretsen 8), the monster always returns again to point out the borders of our social categories: like infinite horror movie sequels, society never gets rid of its monsters for good, and they always return in slightly new forms, corresponding to new crises of sex, religion, politics, race, and more. Monster metaphors provide tangible entities to which we can fasten complex cultural as well as personal fears and anxieties; much like a scapegoat the monster functions as a vent for making sense of an imperfect world and the slights (we feel) we have suffered at the hands of a complex constellation of intangible causes and agents (capitalism and recurring economic crises, globalisation, climate instability, loss of social privileges and stability...). As such, studying monsters is akin to studying the cultures that needed to create them.

2.6.2.2 Monsters as tools for policing the Self

Both in its functions of policing the in-group (what I in this thesis refer to as the collective Self), and of justifying violence towards the out-group (the Other), “monsters are agents, often unwitting, of ideology” (Ingebretsen 2003: 6). By dwelling, as Cohen put it, at the gates of difference, and policing the borders of the possible, monsters “secure the normal” (*ibid.*: 20). When boundaries between communities become weakened or “frayed,” monsters – in showing what dreadful consequences the traversing of such boundaries would have – “help a community reinterpret itself” (*ibid.*: 5). Collective identity can only emerge by constriction and prohibition; the “monster of prohibition” (Cohen 1996: 13) polices borders of what is (culturally and socially) possible in order to either interdict or envalue actions and behaviours. The monstrous Other frightens us to stay within the borders of the “human,” as the line between human and monster is far more deadly to cross than the line between Self and Other. The monster metaphor is thus a conservative force of hierarchies of gender, race, and class, and a “social adhesive” at once: “the strident tones of revenge against the monster warn us away from testing boundaries we might otherwise think to try” (Ingebretsen 2003: 35, 97).

2.6.2.3 Monsters as justifications of violence against the Other

Ingebretsen refers to monsterising language as “violence, disowned into words;” a “tactical although unacknowledged bludgeon” (Ingebretsen 2003: 26). A core aim of his book *At Stake* is the exploration of how “the [monster] metaphor justifies a range of socially discounted but nonetheless tolerated behaviors - violences physical as well as rhetorical,” (2) and the paradoxical nature of this metaphor: The monster’s behaviour allegedly threatens society, yet it is precisely the monster that allows and justifies our own violent and threatening acts *towards* it. Writing the Other as fundamentally different and monstrous “in every way” (biologically, morally, racially, sexually etc.), effortlessly “naturalizes [its] subjugation” (*ibid.* 56). This “multiplicity of meanings” serves to construct the Other as even more threatening, as it is deviant across multiple axes of identity (Cohen 1996: 11).

In discussing the entailments of monster metaphors, Ingebretsen draws on Lakoff and Johnson’s *Metaphors We Live By*. The authors analyse Jimmy Carter’s use of the WAR metaphor to talk about the US energy crisis, as bringing with it a set of entailments: an *enemy*, and a *threat to national security* that could be addressed e.g via new *chains of command, intelligence*

gathering, *sacrifices*, etc. This, Lakoff and Johnson argue, is “not merely a way of viewing reality” but rather a “license” for action at the level of policy, politics, and the economy (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 156). Likewise, the monster metaphor functions as a tactic “used to demonize and to alienate” (Ingebretsen 2003: 8) and, in some cases, to physically harm and kill. This discursive sanctioning of violence becomes all the more potent the more it goes unquestioned by the members of a speech community, which is especially true of indirect or ‘buried’ monster metaphors (Williams & Prince 2019: 17).

In section 2.3.1, I discussed Musolff’s concept of metaphor scenarios, and how complex metaphoric representations of reality warrant certain actions from us via their entailments. Monsters are well-known as roles within structured narratives in diverse genres such as fairy tales, myths, holy texts, novels, theatre plays, and historical accounts. Hence monster metaphors easily function as a metaphoric scenario – they are contextually rich, with a plot and various roles and sometimes even artefacts. The usage of the monster metaphor, then, is inviting the audience (or discourse community) to complete the narrative of the monster, including the hunting-down and killing, whether discursively (i.e. symbolically) or physically. This invitation works so well because the monster narrative is so universal and coherent: as Ingebretsen writes, the audience desires the closure and coherence of the monster’s genre conventions (Ingebretsen 2003: 55). Movies, novels, historical accounts of witch trials, etc: The audience has ample experience with the monster and “our” ways of dealing with it.

2.6.3 History’s monsters

Monsters have been part of human society for thousands of years, serving as “weapon of mass pedagogy” and “ideological police” of the normal (Ingebretsen 23, 20). Ingebretsen begins his account of monsters in contemporary society by referencing John Black Friedman, who cites Roman law from 450 B.C.: “A father shall immediately put to death a son recently born, who is a monster, or has a form different from that of members of the human race” (Ingebretsen: 1). Yet periodically, the ground is particularly fertile for the growth of new monsters: times of social and political destabilisations, large-scale violence and insecurity, whether physical or psychological, or in sudden confrontations with the horror of everyday existence - in other words, monsters embody and help us work through a specific “cultural trauma” and recurrent bouts of “identity panic” (Ingebretsen 5, 26-28).

Of American “periodic campaigns of fear,” de Tocqueville observed: “When there is no authority in religion or in politics, men are soon frightened by the limitless independence with which they are faced. They are worried and worn out by the constant restlessness of everything” (Alexis de Tocqueville, 1969: 444, quoted in Ingebretsen 25). Today our “limitless independences” are perhaps of a different nature, in part stemming from the restlessness of economic and cultural globalisation, breakdowns of traditional hierarchies, the postmodern deconstructions of simple “Truths,” and a challenging of White Male privilege. Within online spaces, even physical distances and bodies become eroded, especially in anonymous spaces. A rejuvenation of tangible hierarchies *and* tangible monsters is to be expected in response to such diffuse, complex threats.

Let me now, briefly, consider the monstrous portrayals of those groups of people upon which my analysis focuses, namely Black, Jewish, Muslim, and Transgender people.

2.6.3.1 Fear of the dark: the Black monster

For a long time, Black people have been the targets of monsterising discourse in the West, to the point of the Black monster nearly being a cliché. Illustrating this, Ingebretsen discusses the 1994 news case of a woman named Susan Smith murdering her children: Initially claiming that her children had been abducted by a black man, she “knew that the horror of the black invading beast would have the immediate ring of truth, precisely because it was so obviously a horror formula” (Ingebretsen 2003: 102). Darkness in itself is a common metaphor for badness and evil (Lakoff & Johnson 2003), juxtaposed with the goodness and innocence of light. This abstract conceptual binarism undergirds the process of racial Othering and monsterification, and with centuries of fear of dark-skinned foreign “beasts” to draw on, modern monster-making of black people is as clichéd as it is harmful. Michael Uebel details how from the classical period on, “dark skin was associated with the fires of hell, and so signified in Christian mythology demonic provenance.” Furthermore, “the perverse and exaggerated sexual appetite of monsters generally was quickly affixed to the Ethiopian” (Uebel 1996: 10). Religious imagery and sexual perversions thus constitute part of the Black monster-figure.

2.6.3.2 “The monstrous instruments of Antichrist:” the Muslim monster

Monsterification of Muslims dates back to early medieval times and the Crusades when champions of the Crusades constructed Muslims as “demonic caricatures whose menacing lack of

humanity was readable from their bestial attributes” (Cohen 1996: 8), and Islam was believed “a sign of apocalypse, a foreshadowing of Antichrist, as early as [...] ca. 854” (Uebel 1996: 268). In more recent history, islamophobia has been on a dramatic rise following the 2001 terrorist attack on the USA. More contemporarily, studies show the prevalence of depictions of Muslims as sexually violent and transgressive, with Feldman et al. analysing online discourse “accusing Muslims of rape; paedophilia; incest; [and] interbreeding” in addition to being filthy and “being terrorists; and killing Jews” (Feldman et al., 2013, quoted in Awan 2014: 134). Part of the rapidity of the (re-)growth of a monstrous depiction of Muslims may be due to them filling the role of “external threat” – according to the predominant far-right narrative, after all, Jewish people are already in control of Western society, and Black people, while at times being seen as “invasive” by the far-right, have perhaps become too integrated into Western societies to retain their full invasive, besieging threat.

2.6.3.3 Favourite fright: the Jewish monster

Jews are perhaps the most common victims of Western antagonism, having been treated as enemies, pests, parasites, and monsters for centuries. Cohen describes them as “perennial favorites for xenophobic misrepresentation,” for their ability to live and function as an independent, “alien culture” amidst “vast communities dedicated to becoming homogeneous and monolithic.” His analysis also points to a repetition in monstrous themes: in the Middle Ages, just as today, Jews face(d) accusations including “the bringing of the plague” and “bleeding Christian children” to consume their blood (Cohen 1996: 8). Now, less than a century after the Holocaust, Western antisemitism appears to gain force in the political mainstream again, and especially right-wing corners of the internet entertain conspiracy theories drawing on well-established tropes, caricatures, and stereotypes: The Jews, being the economic elite, have ‘infiltrated’ and ‘infested’ not just the financial sector, but all mainstream institutions including the media. Their goals are some variant of enslavement or extermination of White people, and they are already well underway to achieve this.

2.6.3.4 “Gender, beset and undone:” the transgender monster

This phrase taken from Ingebretsen (2003: 5) in reference to gender anxieties surrounding homosexuality, is beautifully suited as a descriptor of anxieties pertaining to transgender and gender non-conforming people as well, who after all quite literally un- and re-do an assigned

gender role. Where the binarism (and hierarchy) of traditional gender roles offers stability in romance, sex, family life and indeed one's own heterosexual identity, the subversion of binaries of sex, gender, and sexuality also subverts all of the above. Cohen observes how "the difficult project of constructing and maintaining gender identities elicits an array of anxious responses throughout culture [...] 'Deviant' sexual identity is similarly susceptible to monsterization" (Cohen 1996: 9). In discussions of trans and gender non-conforming people, focus often lies almost exclusively on trans women, and others born with male sexual characteristics who fail to meet expectations of "manhood." This suggests that monsterification of transgender people is partially a continuation of the monsterification of homosexuals, what Clover terms a "male in gender distress" (Clover 1992: 27, in Ingebretsen 2003: 72). Since the 1950s, claims Ingebretsen, "gender violation or failure has been an implied component of national security discourses, civic polemic, as well as a common feature of commercial horror film" (Ingebretsen 72). Tying gender anxiety to anxieties around domesticity and its post-war discursive blending with the national, Ingebretsen writes that "like the [...] hidden communist, the "passing," hidden homosexual subverted American politics and its morals from within" (*ibid.* 73-74).

Recent developments in medicine, and the occasional legal and social advancements, have helped facilitate trans gender expression, rendering this group of Others more visible than in the past. Simultaneously, contemporary debates and court rulings such as Bell vs. Travistock⁶ only go to prove that in 'society at large,' too, trans-gender is still frequently monsterified, and perceived through a language of unnaturalness, deviancy from natural and religious law, sexual misconduct, and the threat to children. Mainstream transphobic discourses of the "unnatural" and "abnormal" barely manage to steer clear of the term "diseased," though it lingers close to the discursive surface.

2.7 Research gaps

While I have outlined several previous studies on Othering, metaphoric monsterification, online communities, and the alt-right, little research seems to combine the focus on the alt-right as a (discourse) community with the linguistic focus on monster metaphors. Indeed, while several of these articles contain tokens I consider to be metaphors of the monstrous within my own analysis,

⁶ Bell v. Travistock, <https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/Bell-v-Tavistock-Judgment.pdf>

they do not categorise them as such. Interestingly, Catalano and Fielder (2018), when analysing comments pertaining to the EU, finds “monster / parasite” metaphors (“sucking the life out of the UK”) to be the second-most common type within their data, though obviously here the monster metaphor applies to a target domain quite different from those I look at. Immigrants being metaphorically constructed as abject by being “contaminated” and/or “dangerous” water (“tide of human excrement) was also common, as were metaphors of war (“taking over”) and of animals (“cuckoos pushing out our own chicks”) (*ibid.* 8-9). Several of the most pervasive metaphors of Eastern European immigrants they identified in their 2017 chapter – “contamination, parasites, burden and war” (Catalano & Fielder 2017: 231) – are ones that I classify as metaphors of the abjected Other, hence, monstrous.

Strani and Szczepaniak-Kozak (2018) note how the Muslim Others in their data were viewed as (sexual) threat not to Polish *women*, but to *girls* – an attack on innocence, represented by children, that is characteristic of the monster (cf. Ingebretsen 2003). Scrivens, Davies, & Frank detail how the “extreme right” label Jews as, among other things, “‘the source of all evil,’ the spawn of the Devil himself,” Black people as “‘mud races’ and the descendants of animals created before Adam and Eve; ‘savages’ who viciously rape White women,” and non-heterosexuals as “contaminated” and “impure,” being “killers” of patriarchal White families, destroyers of White culture, and bringers of disease (by being “responsible for the contemporary AIDS endemic”) (2018: 3-4). Yet these are not categorised, or viewed through the analytic lens of, the abject or monstrous – rather, the authors carry out quantitative sentiment analyses to assess the radical scores of posters through “negative” and “very negative” scores associated with the above tokens. And lastly, several of Baumgarten’s (2017) examples depicting Jews and Muslims as fundamentally tied to violence, infiltration, and contagion of the Self / in-group, are ones that I would group within the abject, horrifying, and ‘monstrous.’

To clarify, I am not disputing the findings of these articles. However, considering similar tokens within the context of my own data – both in relation to each other and in relation to overt monster metaphors (“vampires,” “monsters,” “zombies” etc.) – an argument can be made that metaphors tied to large swarms, filth, animals, demons, violence, threats to children, and disease, serve to construct the Other as monstrous for two reasons: First, because conventional monsters possess several of these traits and behaviours. Zombies in popular culture, for example, usually appear in hordes, threatening to overtake the entire city/country/world; they are rotting, filthy,

and contagious. Werewolves are animalistic – or rather, hybrids of man and beast; they are violent and frenzied; and they are also contagious. Secondly, monsters are a culturally salient frame, being endlessly featured in popular media, games, and literature, hence may for some people be more accessible as a meaning-making device than metaphors of e.g. war and conquest. Thirdly, these metaphoric expressions can be argued to construct monsters because the amalgamation of several layers of abject and fearsome traits and behaviours, being layered on top of each other, is in itself monstrous – in a sense, this mirrors Baumgarten’s analysis of “clearly identifiable *super others*.” (2017: 9)

Holtz and Wagner (2009) do specifically analyse the attribution of monstrosity to Africans and Jews in a German neo-Nazi online forum (the NFD, tied to the NPD political party), but both neo-Nazis as a group and this forum in particular, are highly organised and more formally structured (the forum was moderated to remove any criticism and non-neo-Nazi content). On the other hand, the alt-right as a whole, while espousing neo-Nazi talking points, is disorganised and unstructured – as are the fora I analysed.

Lastly, throughout the research consulted, I have found little to no reference to transgender people as Other, out-group, or monster. Holt, Freilich, and Chermak’s analysis of far-right ideological sentiments has “anti-LGBTQ” as one of its categories (2020: 9), and Scrivens, Davies, and Frank remark that “historically, Jewish, Black, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) communities have borne the brunt of [right-wing extremist] anger” (2018: 1). Their analysis of online discussions showed that “on average, authors’ overall radical score was the highest when they discussed LGBTQs [...] relative to their discussions about Jews or Blacks” (8), but in neither of these studies, transgender people were treated as a unique target group – instead being classed as part of a much wider “community.” Based on my previous reasoning (in the section “Monstrous Others”), transgender people, especially trans women, are Othered and monsterised in distinct and seemingly rather recently-emerging ways, and indeed trans women pose a very different “threat” to cis-het (cisgender and heterosexual) men than do gay people or all those not aligning with the binary. Lastly, Scrivens, Davies, and Frank point to the fact that posts about “LGBTQ communities” were far more infrequent than those about Muslims, Jews, and Black people. Hence, it may be useful to systematically apply a reading of the monstrous to better illuminate the potentials for discursive (as well as physical and legal) violence inherent in the alt-right’s construction of various Others, including trans people.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Chapter Outline

This chapter begins with describing and justifying the methods of data selection and collection, and the specifics of when and how much data was gathered (3.2). Second, my qualitative analytical approach is explained, including methods for identifying conceptual and linguistic metaphors, and the analytical categories themselves (3.3). After a quick explanation of the supplementary quantitative analysis in section 3.4, I finish by considering research ethics in the study of alt-right fora (3.5).

3.2 Data collection

3.2.1 The Sources

Online fora are digital discussion sites, usually organised around a central topic, to which users can upload messages, often with the ability to use multiple media such as images and videos. 4Chan and 8Kun are two websites that provide a variety of fora; as per January 6th 2021, 4Chan has 75 boards, while 8Kun has 400 boards in total, of which 357 are public. Of those, 4Chan's /b/ ("random") and /pol/ ("politics") are the most active (and infamous) ones, whereas 8Kun's /pnd/ ("politics, news, debate") is its second-most populous forum. My reason for selecting /b/, /pol/, and /pnd/ for this thesis is first and foremost the notoriety of these fora for being tied to the digital alt-right and to real-life extremist violence. While researchers disagree on the role of these fora in terms of radicalisation and coordination of extremists, 4Chan in particular has been called one of the internet's darkest corners, its Freudian 'id', and the incubator of the alt-right. Secondly, all three fora have relatively high levels of activity, providing ample data. Considering also the fact that most alt-right subreddits have been forcefully shut down over the last year and that communication is increasingly moving towards private communities on Discord, Telegram, etc., this renders /b/, /pol/, and /pnd/ the best options for analysis.

A question that must be addressed at this point, is on what basis I can label these fora as "alt-right." My justifications are threefold:

- 1) Self-identification by the users of the fora as "alt-right."
- 2) Significant research literature identifying the alt-right with these fora.

- 3) A strong, sustained focus within these fora on central alt-right talking points. As detailed in section 2.4, the alt-right is usually defined as a) being a primarily digital movement, and b) espousing an extremist right-wing ideology focused on White superiority and antisemitism, often supplemented by hostility towards other groups such as women and the LGBTQ+ community. Digital fora featuring sustained focus on such values, can hence be loosely classified as alt-right fora.

4chan and 8kun fora are by default accessible to anyone, and it would be ridiculous to claim that *everyone* participating in these fora is, indeed, a self-professed member of the alt-right. Overly generalised, /b/ can feature any sort of content – memes, pornography, art, trolling, and ‘shitposting,’⁷ yet alt-right and other far-right viewpoints are still commonly expressed in the forum. /pol/, historically more anarchist in orientation, has since the 2010s begun gravitating more and more toward the alt-right. Lastly, /pnd/ is 8Kun’s approximation of the former 8Chan’s /pol/ forum. It is overtly fascist, racist, and antisemitic, with site banners featuring Nazi marches, Swastikas, fascist salutes, Mussolini, Varg Vikernes, and similar imagery. Thus, while the fora differ in their ideological saturation and in the ranges of ‘permissible’ content, I nonetheless view their classification as alt-right fora as fairly unproblematic, though this may of course change in the future.

As discussed in section 2.5, anonymous fora make various affordances for communication, and provide several advantages for discourse analysis thereof. Representing the outward, ‘public’ face of an extremist ideology, they require no sign-up or participation, which makes data collection both easy and safe. Fora also allow access to authentic discourse, and hence the occurrence of linguistic features such as metaphors is natural rather than prompted by the researcher. Analysing fora can also showcase how metaphor usage develops throughout a thread – i.e. whether an initial metaphor is picked up, challenged, expanded on, or ignored.

On the other hand, there are some serious drawbacks: Some fora – including those I look at in this thesis – do not keep most threads for more than a few days, which means data disappears quickly unless either the thread is archived or the researcher saves the data locally. Anonymity prohibits or greatly complicates certain types of analysis, such as tracking individual

⁷ Shitposting, while being hard to define, is essentially the act of low-effort posting that is either devoid of meaning and/or context, adding nothing of value to the ongoing conversation nor seeking to start a meaningful new conversation. It may be used to deliberately derail an ongoing conversation, or simply for the sake of the poster’s amusement. Shitposts may be humorous precisely due to their confusingly meaningless nature.

posters' discourse through time, or tying discursive features to posters' age, gender, sex, class, education, etc. While some fora, including two out of the three I look at, have anonymised IDs, such as "42b1fe" or "eCu3FsR2," which allow for some degree of tracking individuals, many if not most users use a VPN service and may frequently "IP hop," i.e. change their IP address and hence their ID as well. Another serious disadvantage is that one can never know for sure which comments are made seriously, ironically, or in jest. Claiming ironic intent is a common defence against allegations of hate speech and incitement to violence, and humour is a powerful tool for attracting and radicalising new members. A good example of this is an exchange in my material: posters were discussing how vegetarians are obnoxious people, and in response to the question "*Then why was Hitler a vegetarian?*" another poster responded "*Nobody's perfect.*" Whether this is merely dark and politically incorrect humour or a serious claim is impossible for both outsiders and insiders to know for sure; likewise I can never guarantee that any one monster metaphor is, indeed, intended as serious.⁸

However, even if some monster metaphors that were intended as humorous or ironic, are taken "at face value" by me, this does not fundamentally conflict with the aims of my thesis: not only does ironically-used content and terminology nevertheless reproduce and potentially normalise dangerous discourses (Lawrence and Keleher 2004, in Colley & Moore 2020: 14), but the discourse-world that users and visitors of alt-right fora are presented with, is virtually identical whether or not some of its content was intended to be ironic.

3.2.2 Methods of collection

Difficulties pertaining to easy data preservation has been noted by Colley and Moore in the context of 4Chan /pol/ (2020: 2), as data that is not downloaded very soon after being posted, slides off the forum, and thread archiving by forum users tends to be limited at best. Local storage of data is hence crucial. Using a simple web scraper script⁹ built for this purpose by my friend Audun Wolden, I manually extracted and saved between 25 and 45 threads from each forum on each of these dates. The threads were selected by "bump order," a term that refers to the

⁸ This is also a serious problem for identifying potential violent extremists in these communities: The researcher's subjective interpretation of whether threats of violence should be taken "at face value" or regarded as "shitposting" will influence the entire research process. Hence, one needs to be reflexive about one's own assumptions underlying the data interpretation (Colley & Moore 2020: 9).

⁹ More specifically, it is a non-generic web scraper written in python, which extracts text posts, customised to fit each of the two websites in question.

current activity in the thread. Users posting a reply to a thread will “bump” the thread, preventing it from sliding off the forum, so high levels of activity keep the thread around for longer. In addition, some threads may be (semi-) permanently stickied to the forum’s front page – threads explicating the forum’s rules, reporting site issues, or amassing resources that are viewed as important for the forum community as a whole. Scraping the threads from the front page, sorted by bump order, thus catches more of the threads deemed to be ‘interesting’ and worthy of participation by the forum users.

Another method of collection would be a deliberate search for threads whereof the original post appears directly related to my thesis’ topic (either mentioning one of the four groups of Others, or employing monster metaphors). However, I deem my method of random selection more suitable for the following two interrelated reasons: First, as Holt, Freilich, & Chermak (2020: 2) point out in their analysis of far-right communities, “it is vital to document when ideological expressions occur in offtopic discussions to understand the extent to which these sentiments permeate all aspects of communication.” Second, any thread may develop, or momentarily feature, monster metaphors. Omitting threads with original posts not directly related to my group of “Others” or their monsterification, would mean omitting threads that illustrate a progression from innocuous discussions to profoundly problematic ones. These changes may occur as a gradual shift in topic or tone, or may be brought on virtually ‘out of the blue,’ such as when a thread that had been dealing with the supposed societal benefits of fathering many white children, was commented on likening this to the production of new *punching bags* and *fuck holes* for mobs of Black and Hispanic people to *direct their anger* at.

The web scraper script did not allow for the download of files, such as images and videos, keeping only the text (and the titles of uploaded files). The analysis of images and videos falls outside the scope of this thesis anyway, for practical reasons. If images and videos were included in the data, I would have to pay attention to nonverbal elements of discourse as well, and such a broadening of scope would reduce the potential for depth (given the limitations of time and thesis length). Additionally, a significant amount of the text included in images is not written in English.

However, there are some disadvantages to not including image- and video-files as well: first, by omitting all files, some relevant linguistic tokens will also be omitted, especially considering that screenshots of earlier discussions sometimes get shared. Second, images and

videos are often an important part of the context surrounding my data, and image- and video data is important for understanding more of each forum's discursive nuances (Colley & Moore 2020: 8). A few posts could not be deciphered adequately without being able to view the attached files, especially when the post was referring to a specific individual, hence a small handful of monster metaphors had to be excluded as the target domain was only depicted in images or videos. Third, images can and do of course function metaphorically, as Massanari and Chess' (2018) analysis of monstrous representations of "social justice warriors" shows. Future analyses of the ways online communities construct their monsters could benefit from a multimodal analysis.

3.2.3 Timeframe and volume of data

Data was collected from these fora over a five-week period from October 19th 2020 till November 20th 2020, with collection taking place on a different weekday for each week (Monday through Friday). This was done in order to reduce the chance of any weekday-based events or discussion themes influencing data representativeness. Generally speaking, the data collected would be posts written on the day of collection, although 8Kun had some threads appear on its front page several times throughout collection. In those cases, I included the repeating threads each time, but trimmed off all comments up to but excluding the last comment from the previous data collection round. In total I gathered datasets of around 350,000 words from /b/, 500,000 from /pol/, and 700,000 from /pnd/ (including timestamps, file names, and IDs where applicable). The discrepancy in data volume is due to each thread being saved as its own file, making word count estimates prior to gathering-up into a 'master' file tricky, and due to a handful of threads being deleted or inaccessible via the websites as I was downloading them, hence "empty" in my savefile – an issue that was only discovered after collection. The choice of data volume was based on the need to strike a balance between enough data to observe broader trends, and the practical limitations of time and thesis length.

3.2.4 Challenges to data collection

As just mentioned, a couple of threads became corrupted or inaccessible as I was scraping them. Hence, due to not double-checking whether each thread's data had been saved correctly, I ended up with slightly less data than intended. Additionally, during the last day of data collection, it

became evident that 8Kun had recently set up ddos¹⁰ protection. Unfortunately, the web scraper script triggered this protection, resulting in the need to set up an ‘emergency’ secondary script that allowed extracting data from a saved .html file of the threads instead.

3.3 Qualitative Analysis

The analysis of my data is based on close reading of forum entries, using - and continually developing - a classification scheme for various overt and covert metaphors, as well as separately including thematically relevant nonmetaphoric tokens (such as “rape” being used in a nonmetaphoric sense, though still functioning as constructing the Other as sexually deviant and transgressive). Qualitative discourse analysis centred around close reading and manual coding was chosen as a primary method, given that quantitative analysis based on software is complicated both by the rapidly evolving terminology (e.g. Black people being referred to as *joggers*, *biggers*, and *dindus* (from *didn't do nothing wrong*), or White people being *huwhite* or *wypipo*), and by nonstandard spelling – if the software is not up-to-date on forum-specific spelling and terminology. Unconventional spellings may at times be consciously employed to prevent the post being picked up by analytic tools (such as the term fascist being spelled *faxixt*), and at other times are most likely a matter of limited spelling proficiency and typos (such as bestiality being spelled *beastislity*, or faggot spelled *fagott*). Gröndahl et al. (2018, cited in Colley & Moore 2020: 7) point out that research has shown the relative ease with which communities can avoid detection via intentional typos, nonstandard word boundaries, or synonyms. Furthermore, Colley and Moore (2020: 17) illustrate the harmful metaphors that “would [...] almost certainly have been missed by quantitative analyses of hate speech” by pointing to a commenter mimicking the language of a nature show to ascribe animalistic traits to Black people. Software-based discourse analysis should thus at the very least be accompanied by a manual analysis of a stretch of text, and for my own analysis, an almost purely qualitative manual approach seems more suitable.

¹⁰ distributed denial-of-service attacks, these are attacks upon a service from several different sources, essentially “crowding” the service and bombarding it with requests, making it impossible for legitimate users to access the service.

3.3.1 Identifying Metaphors

One way of systematically identifying metaphors in real discourse, is the MIP (metaphor identification procedure) developed by the Pragglejaz Group. In a 2007 paper, the Pragglejaz Group outlined four steps for identifying metaphors, paraphrased here: First, read the entire text-discourse, identifying all lexical units. Secondly, for each lexical unit, determine its situated meaning in the text; thirdly determine whether it has “a more basic contemporary meaning” outside its current context; and lastly, if so, determine whether the lexical unit’s contextual meaning can be contrasted with, “but understood in comparison with,” this more basic meaning. If it can, then the unit should be marked as metaphorical. These more basic meanings that lexical units may have, tend to be more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise, or historically older (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 3). This echoes Lakoff’s analysis of metaphor source domains as being more tangible than the more abstract target domains. The group’s fixed set of identification criteria is valuable not just for individual research projects, but also for “evaluation of theoretical claims about the frequency of metaphor, its organization in discourse, and possible relations between metaphoric language and metaphoric thought” (*ibid*: 2), which has been complicated by the earlier lack of common metaphor identification criteria.

This paper uses a significantly simplified approach, as only monster metaphors are considered; hence there is no need to look for every type of (structural, orientational, and ontological) metaphor. Additionally, I am not primarily interested in quantifying metaphor prevalence, especially at the level of lexical units. As the MIP is explicitly based on a low level of analysis (i.e., lexeme- or word-level), the authors explain that “the MIP is not designed to identify similes as metaphoric [...]. At a higher level of analysis, [certain] comparisons may be construed as metaphorical, but in terms of this procedure, the individual words themselves [...] are not metaphorically used” (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 32). Since my analysis differs markedly in terms of analytical level, being situated more around the level of clauses or at times even entire posts, I deviate markedly from the Pragglejaz method with regard to the metaphors I identify. I do, however, use the metaphor identification criteria laid out for determining whether the meaning of relevant lexemes is distinct from, and can be contrasted with, a more “basic” one (i.e. one that is more concrete, related to bodily action, more precise, or historically older). For this purpose, the Cambridge Dictionary (cambridge.org) and the Oxford English Dictionary (oed.com) are consulted when in doubt.

3.3.2 Challenges with metaphor identification

As the Pragglejaz Group highlights, “metaphorical concepts can be found without metaphorical language, as with allegory and symbol, just as metaphorical language can be found without metaphorical concepts when a metaphorical expression is not processed metaphorically by either producer or receiver” (Pragglejaz Group 2007: 24-25). This greatly complicates the analysis of monster metaphors, especially the second part of the claim. It is not entirely evident how the authors treat such suspected cases, however for my analysis of monsters – highly emotional, culturally salient, structural metaphors – it seems highly unlikely that metaphoric language would not be processed as just that.¹¹

More relevant to my method of analysis is the claim that allegory and symbol (and other linguistic features like simile) constitute and activate metaphorical concepts. As such, I have structured my analysis of semantic categories of the monstrous as employing both clearly metaphoric language, but also instances that can be considered to allegorically, symbolically, or thematically fall within the same conceptual category. Hence the category SEXUAL THREATS includes both metaphorical uses of the term *rape* referring to nonconsensual “intrusion” into one’s mind, and nonmetaphorical depictions of sexual violence.

The other challenge lies in the fact that target domain identification of metaphors was not always possible: Oftentimes, a generic ‘they’ is used when talking about Others that supposedly threaten, brutalise, exterminate, rape, etc. (members of) the collective Self. Occasionally the replies to such comments will make explicit reference to a target domain Other, in which case I assign this Other as the target domain for the original post. Otherwise, posts with unspecified target domains will be omitted from analysis.

3.3.3 The Analytical Categories

Fusing literature discussed in section 2.6 with some of the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) definitions of monstrosity, I roughly define a monster (for the purpose of my thesis) as being

“A threatening being which is repulsively unnatural in its physical form and/or character, evades full understanding and classification, may be wicked and cruel, and is outrageously or offensively wrong.”

¹¹ Furthermore, as mentioned in section 2.3, some cognitive research suggests that even highly standard orientational and ontological metaphors are processed via activation of the source domain.

The data analysis started with a highly simplistic *a priori* table of categories based on this definition. Traits shown to commonly be ascribed to a threatening and/or monstrous Other by various far-right movements, include being: parasites or agents of disease; demonic or devillish; bestial; transgressively sexual; out-of-control; violent; unnatural; and threatening children in particular. Through the initial part of data analysis, I inductively developed and refined my *a priori* categories, adding new ones, fusing some together, and also omitting two categories.

Categories are divided into subcategories comprised of individual tokens or groups of such tokens; e.g. the category BESTIAL MONSTERS features “ape, monkey, primate,” “feral,” “locust” and others. Some subcategories or expressions, as we shall see in more depth in chapter 4, pose challenges regarding clear demarcation. A good illustration of this is the word “infest,” which is defined in the OED as follows:

To trouble (a country or place) with hostile attacks; to visit persistently or in *large numbers* for purposes of destruction or plunder; to haunt with evil intent, [...] to swarm in or about [...] Said of persons (e.g. robbers, pirates), *animals* (e.g. wolves, vermin, insects), *diseases* or other *evils* (OED n.d., my italics).

Infestations can, then, be understood in terms of animals, diseases, general evil, and also in the sense of overwhelmingly large numbers. I have chosen to treat it as an example of large numbers in this analysis, but other classifications are equally possible. This illustrates that categorisation will always be heavily coloured by the researcher’s own perspective. Throughout this thesis, I attempt to be as transparent as possible regarding my choices to include or exclude certain tokens and (sub)categories. Let us now consider each category in turn:

3.3.3.1 Explicit monsters

GENERIC MONSTER METAPHORS

This category is fairly self-explanatory, including all instances of referring to the Other using the terms *monster*, *monstrous*, and *beast*. I chose to count *beast* as another term for *monster* despite dictionaries primarily defining the word as referring to animals, due to my own observations of its usage, both in the relevant fora and online in general. Search engine image results for *beast* also suggested that the term is used to refer to monstrous creatures.

MYTHICAL MONSTER METAPHORS

This category includes all specific ‘types’ of monsters found in popular narratives: Frankenstein’s monster, vampires, orcs, ghosts, goblins, etc.

BIBLICAL MONSTER METAPHORS

This was counted as its own metaphor subcategory, rather than together with monsters of myth and popular fiction, to see whether these two are used differently or about different Others.

Biblical monsters include demons, devils, hellish creatures, and the like.

3.3.3.2 Monstrous Traits

BESTIAL METAPHORS

Based partially on Kövecses’ (2002: 125) analysis of the conceptual metaphors

OBJECTIONABLE BEHAVIOR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOR and OBJECTIONABLE PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, this category includes all animals, as well as animal behaviour such as *breeding*, and references to habitats such as jungles that connote apes and monkeys. This category also includes comments referring to interracial unions as bestiality.

THE ABJECT

The abject includes all that which evokes repulsion, especially in the way it reminds us of our own mortal, failing bodies, such as decay and bodily excretions. Ingebretsen also argues that horror and the Gothic often centre around the wound, the torn and undone body (Ingebretsen 2002: 37, 125) – this justifies my inclusion of the wound as part of the abject, which can almost-but-not-quite be equated with ‘body horror’. Other abject elements include *pus*, *rot*, *shitskin*, and *filth*.

DISEASE AND PARASITISM

Metaphorically constructing people as disease or parasite is a common tactic in right-wing extremist discourse. Musolff (2010) explains in great detail the workings of Nazi metaphors of disease and parasitism in relation to the “body politic.” A salient illustration is this translated excerpt from *Mein Kampf*:

This contamination of our people is carried on systematically by the Jew today.

Systematically these black parasites of the nation defile our inexperienced young blonde girls and thereby destroy something that can no longer be replaced in this world. (Musolff 2010: 14, quoting from Bosmajian 1983)

Lakoff (2002: 101) also more generally analyses the “logic of disease” implied in “moral health,” and the implication that association with immoral people poses the threat of contagion, hence warranting their removal. Tokens such as *parasite*, *tumour*, and *infect* are included, whereas tokens like *diseased* are naturally part of the abject category – a diseased person is someone from whom we keep our distance; a disease itself is something we seek to eradicate.

SEXUAL THREATS

Sexual domination, abuse, and simple excessiveness are, as discussed in section 2.6, popular markers of the Other as well as the monster, highlighting sexual as well as reproductive anxieties. This category includes tokens pertaining to rape, sexual abuse and domination, bestiality and other forms of sexual deviancy, genital mutilation, and cuckoldry.

THREATS TOWARDS CHILDREN

Children represent innocence, domesticity, genetic and cultural propagation, but also fragility; as Ingebretsen (102) writes, they “signify the primary reason for the existence of culture and family.” Representing civil danger thus tends to rely on a child as victim, especially of sexual abuse (Ingebretsen 51). Attacking children may metaphorically be equated to assailing “the future of the nation” (Delouis 2014: 10), or of one’s community.

LARGE NUMBERS

Monsters, both historically and in popular fiction, are often all the more fearful for their sheer numbers (e.g. zombies, orcs). Uebel analyses how threats of some intrusive menace “assume many ideological representations — [including] as the threatening possibility [...] of invasion by vast numbers” (Uebel 1996: 277). Tokens include *overrun* and *outbreed*.

LACK OF THOUGHT AND REASON

As discussed in section 2.6, monsters often frighten (and entice) with their uninhibited behaviour – they are instinct-driven and often lack all sense of ‘reason.’ As Massanari and Chess argued of

the “SJW”-monsters they identified in their study, a presumed trait that allowed further monsterification, was that “the brain of the SJW is different from a “normal” person’s. They are emotional rather than rational” (2018: 7). Mental illnesses, as well as brain tumours and lobotomy, are (understood as) contributing to this lack of reason and ‘deranged’ mind, and hence are counted as tokens.

INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL

Occasionally, monsters are cunning and sly rather than instinct-driven: Especially demonic entities and devils may lure, ensnare, and control, operating without the victim’s awareness. In this category, tokens such as *control*, *pawn*, and *script*, and qualities such as *evil* and *insidious* are counted.

ARTIFICE

Some of our most famous monsters are ‘artificial,’ such as ‘killer bots’ or genetically engineered superhumans. A particularly scary form of artifice is the fully-disguised monster, that tricks a community into accepting it as one of its own. Tokens include *unnatural*, *artificial*, or *man-made*.

VIOLENCE AND DESTRUCTION

A fairly self-evident category, this includes all ascriptions of physical violence, ruin, and destruction, including *murder*, *maim*, and *ruin*.

CONSUMPTION

This category included tokens such as *devour*, *drink the blood of*, and similar – all instances wherein the Other is portrayed as consuming either individuals or even entire nations.

NON-/SUBHUMAN

The NON-/SUBHUMAN category was created due to the high prevalence of *subhuman*, *less than human*, and similar phrases that were not clearly related to e.g. BESTIAL metaphors.

3.4 Quantitative Analysis

Following the qualitative analysis, I counted all occurrences of each category and subcategory, as they were used on each forum for each of the four Others. This quantification, and the following

visualisation using pie charts, allows for comparison between the four target domains in regards to what monstrous traits and metaphors were ascribed to them. The quantitative analysis shows how some of the Others were constructed as monstrous far more often than others, and likewise, how certain categories dominated (either in one specific forum, or in the total data). Diagrams breaking down each Other's monster-image by category, will be presented in chapter 4.

3.5 Research Ethics

Colley and Moore (2020) discuss at length the moral implications of researching alt- and extreme-right fora, dividing issues into three main areas: a) privacy and informed consent, b) the analyst's own mental wellbeing, and c) the potential to "oxygenate" discursive or real-life violence. The general consensus among the extremist forum research I consulted, seems to be that open-access fora pose minimal ethical challenges regarding informed consent, at least as long as usernames are omitted or anonymised, and direct quotations are only included as far as necessary to meet the thesis' or paper's aims. In addition to these guidelines, the fact that 4Chan and 8Kun threads almost always get deleted a few days after creation, I believe that users' privacy is respected sufficiently. Secondly, the issue of the analyst's own mental health owes to the at times highly disturbing content. I do not deem this a concern for myself, as not only did I omit images and videos (which tend to be the most haunting content), but I am also fairly desensitised to much of the typical content.

The one ethical concern that *is*, however, fairly troublesome and requires careful consideration, concerns restating hate. When and to what extent is reiterating hateful, phobic, and at times incredibly graphic language and ideology not just acceptable, but actually useful in an academic context? Rather than just having naturalised slurs and violent language, 4Chan and 8Kun posters also occasionally post deliberately offensive content in order to gain publicity (Colley & Moore 2020: 20). Certainly, the hundreds of iterations of the n-word in my categorised material, need not be featured in this thesis beyond some few illustrative examples, where no other examples fulfil the same functions. The more complex expressions of hatred and calls for violence warrant a similarly careful consideration regarding whether or not they should be shared with readers. A lucky and unintended side-effect of omitting image and video data, though, is that I need not be concerned with the spreading of extremist content in the form of offensive visual memes, as Colley & Moore (2020: 18) remarked on accidentally having done.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter is divided into four main sections, corresponding to each of the four groups of Others – Black (4.1), Muslim (4.2), Jewish (4.3), and Transgender people (4.4). Each of these four sections is structured identically: Quantitative results are presented and briefly discussed first, and then each of the 15 analytical categories I developed (cf. section 3.3.3) is discussed in turn, by use of a selection of textual examples from all three fora (so far as they occurred for the relevant target group). Section 4.5 ends the chapter with a summarising discussion of the overall monsterising discourse employed on these fora, looking at some trends within each individual forum.

For the examples from my data, I have tried to strike a balance between comments that appear fairly ‘typical’ of their respective dataset, and those that are interesting for various reasons, including creativity, expressing above-average extreme views, or having a high density of monstrous metaphor and imagery. Some examples were also selected due to being more easily understood outside of the threads’ surrounding context. Italics are used to indicate quotation from the data, both in-text and for full standalone quotes.

Before looking more closely at individual categories and examples, a table of the total number of occurrences counted for each Other and each forum, may serve as a useful handle. As a brief reminder of what my data sources were (cf section 3.2.1), /b/ is 4Chan’s “random” board, /pol/ is 4Chan’s “politically incorrect” board, and /pnd/ is 8Kun’s “politics, news, and debate” board.

Table 4.1 Total number of tokens for all Others and all fora

Other	/b/	/pol/	/pnd/	Total Other
Black	209	177	360	746
Muslim	33	172	81	286
Jew	15	169	794	978
Transgender	89	120	42	251
Total per Forum	335	614	1198	2,261
Approx. total word number per Forum	350,000	500,000	700,000	

As shown in table 4.1, more than 2,200 instances of monsterising discourse that fit within my categories were identified. This is naturally not the same as 2.261 individual posts, as many posts

either targeted several groups of people, used several (sub-)categories of monsterising language, or both. As we can see, comments monsterising Jewish people were by far the most frequent overall, despite being the smallest group in the /b/ dataset, and the second-smallest on /pol/. Transgender and Muslim people received the least attention overall, with fewer than 300 occurrences each. It is interesting to observe how much the fora varied in regards to the number of occurrences for each group.

4.1 The Black Other

4.1.1 Quantitative Findings

For each forum's dataset, as well as for all three combined, all examples within each category were counted to offer a quantitative representation of the data. The resulting pie charts for the Black Other are shown below.

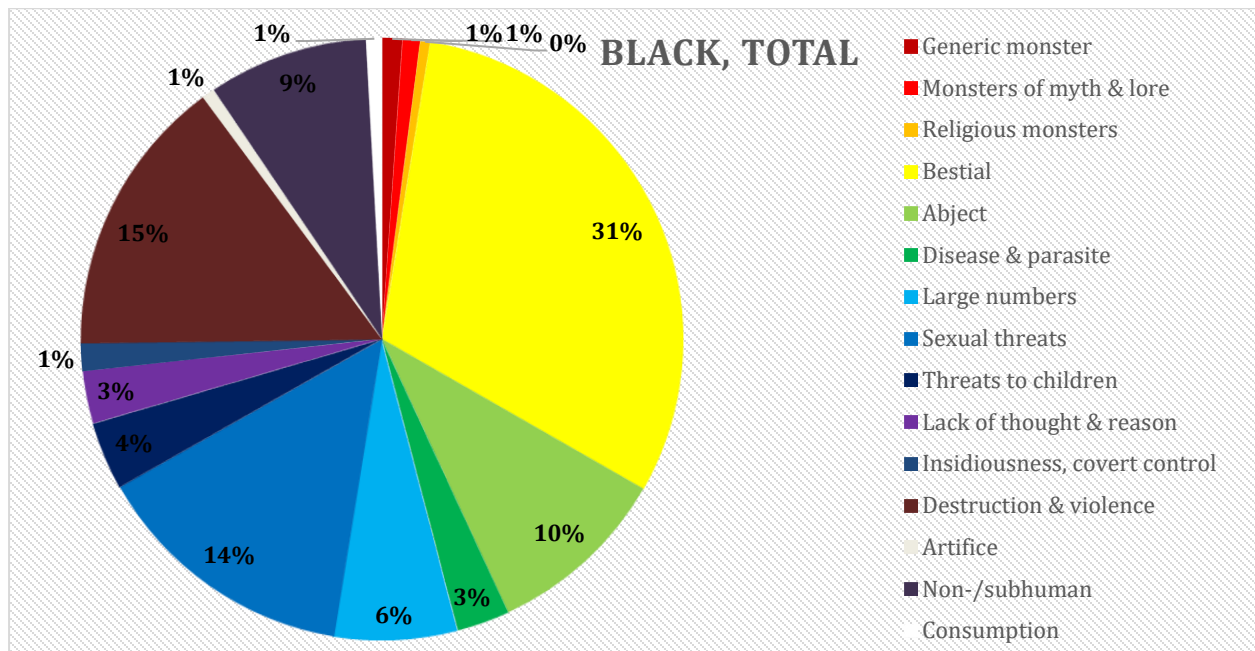


Fig. 4.1: Monsterising the Black Other, frequency of categories for all data combined

As shown in figure 4.1, when combining all three fora, Black people were most often depicted as BESTIAL Others, with this category making up nearly a third of all counted instances. DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE and SEXUAL THREATS were also very prominent traits, and together with ABJECT and NONHUMAN, these categories made up 79% of all instances. The datasets from the three fora were remarkably similar in their category breakdown, as seen below.

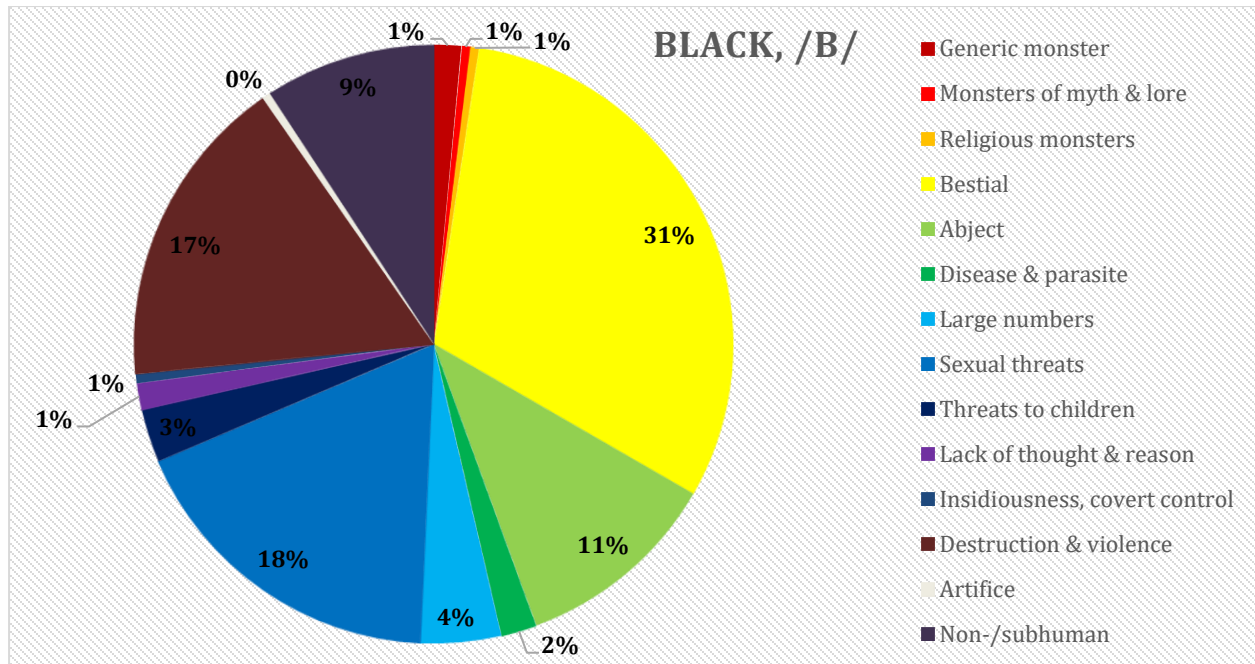


Fig. 4.2: *Monsterising the Black Other, frequency of categories on /b/*

As shown in figure 4.2, on /b/, almost a third of all counted tokens belonged to the BESTIAL category, making this by far the most prominent category. SEXUAL THREATS and DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE are the second- and third biggest categories, at 18% and 17% respectively. ABJECT and NONHUMAN were also fairly prominent. Out of the 15 categories I had developed, all but one (CONSUMPTION) occurred at least once – ARTIFICE and BIBLICAL MONSTERS each had a singular token to their names and hence show up as 0% in the diagram. We can see that many categories were rather insignificant for the Black Other: In addition to ARTIFICE and BIBLICAL MONSTERS; GENERIC MONSTERS; MYTHICAL MONSTERS; DISEASE & PARASITE; LACK OF THOUGHT & REASON; AND INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE & COVERT CONTROL each had less than 3% of the total tokens, and 87% of all instances fall within just five categories.

The /pol/ dataset shown below (figure 4.3), shows remarkably little difference compared to /b/, with BESTIAL metaphors accounting for 29%, SEXUAL THREATS for 15%, and DESTRUCTION & VIOLENCE for 17%. Together with the same two other categories as for /b/, NONHUMAN and ABJECT, they make up 79% of all tokens, with the smallest categories having minimally more tokens than on /b/: apart from CONSUMPTION, every category has at least 1%.

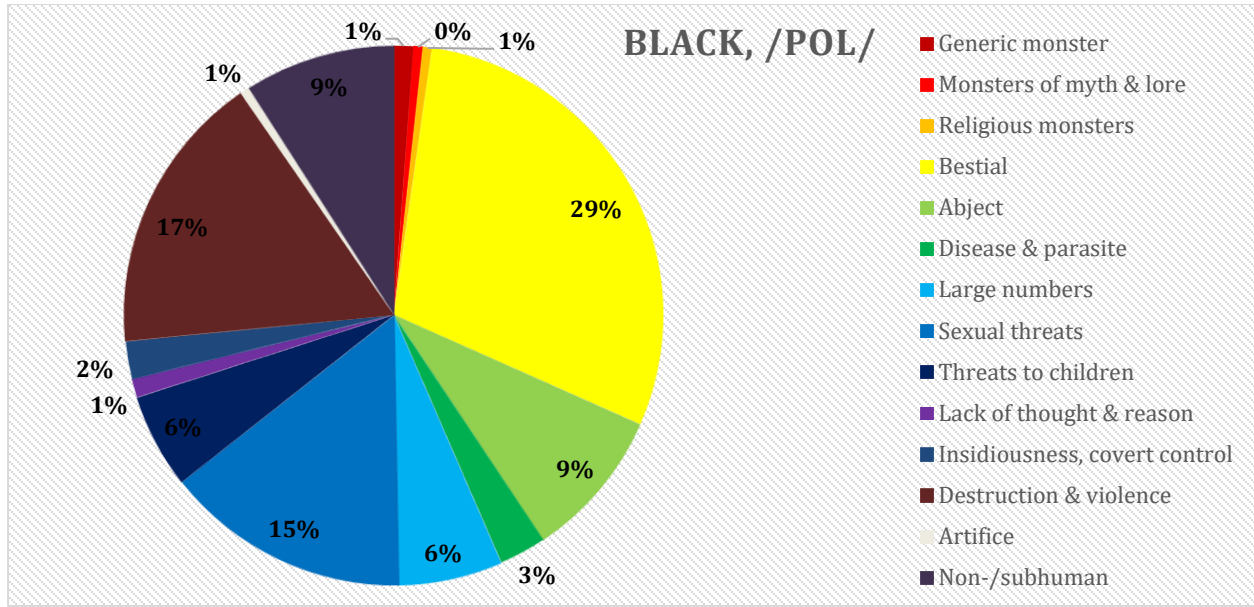


Fig. 4.3: *Monsterising the Black Other, frequency of categories on /pol/*

Lastly, figure 4.4 illustrates the category breakdown for /pnd/'s depiction of the Black Other.

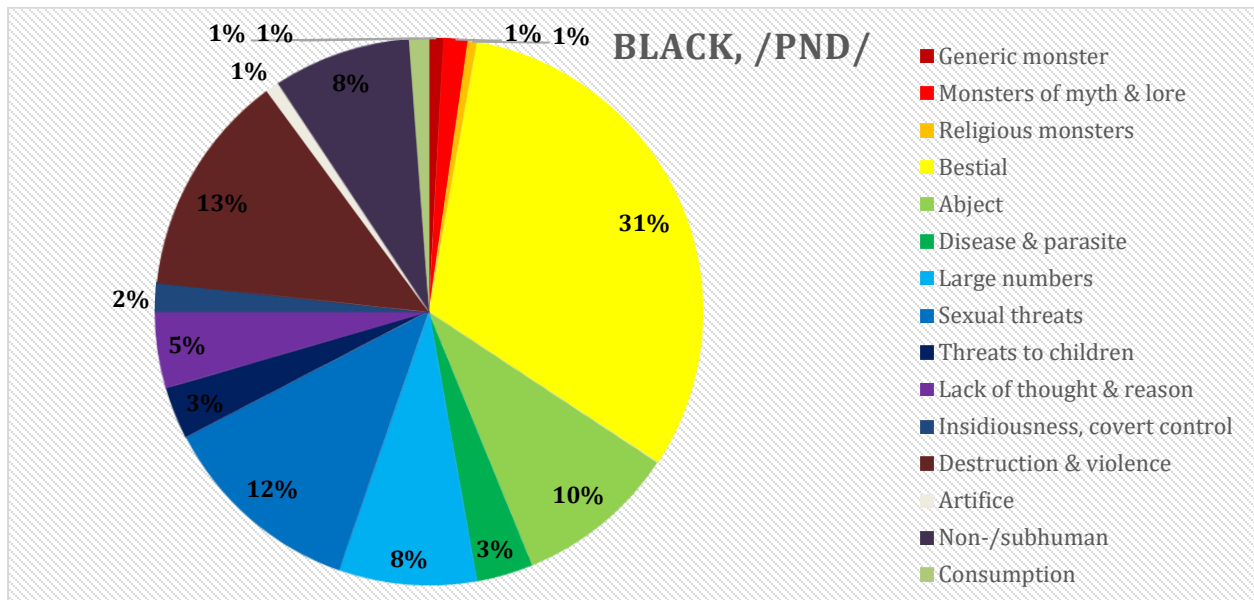


Fig. 4.4: *Monsterising the Black Other, frequency of categories on /pnd/*

The /pnd/ dataset ended up being significantly larger than the /b/ and /pol/ ones, as discussed in section 3.2.3. However, this of course has no bearing on the percentage breakdown, which is also remarkably similar to the two other fora. BESTIAL metaphors, SEXUAL THREATS, and DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE still remain the largest, although with a smaller margin between them and other categories. Slightly more often, the overwhelmingly LARGE NUMBERS of Black

Others were emphasised as a threat, as well as their supposedly mentally diseased or unthinking character. Four instances - 1% - of CONSUMPTION, i.e. of the Black Other threatening to consume the White individual or society, occurred, meaning every category was represented in this dataset.

4.1.2 GENERIC MONSTER Metaphors

The /b/ data contained three GENERIC MONSTER metaphors, all of which used the term *beast*, including a video-file being titled *rapebeasts.webm*. On /pol/, two comments, both in the same thread discussing the supposed decline in IQ in Western nations, referred to Black people as GENERIC MONSTERS: One poster complained how White women would enter relationships with Black men,

[1] *who look like hideous monsters. Even the children are ugly.* [p20-18 c]

and the other was offended at being grouped together with people with Somali ancestry:

[2] *Shame on you for including somalis in >we. We dont get dumber, our countries get polluted with nigger monsters* [p20-18 c]

Example 2 excludes Somali people from the collective Self, and reinforces this by constructing Black people as polluting agents and monsters. A problem of supposed population-wide IQ decline gets re-written as a problem of swarms of monsters *polluting* one's lands – a far more tangible and solvable issue that also lies outside of the individual or collective Self's responsibility.

The /pnd/ dataset likewise contained a handful of generic monster metaphors. One thread that was quite interesting in this regard, developed around the OP asking:

[3] *How do you guys feel about objectively highly intelligent black people? I'm curious because while ive read and agree with a lot of the positions you guys take regarding a large percentage of them - i have found for me, in my life, i've met a good few that were actually pretty intelligent and agreeable.* [d19-15 c]

One poster responded that they had met some that were *perfectly nice*, while others were *violent rapist monsters unlike anything I've ever seen*. While the stance (that some Black people are, in fact, *nice*) was controversial, the metaphor of the violent sexual monster illustrates the way even 'moderate'-seeming alt-right viewpoints may use highly dehumanising and dangerous language. Another poster in the same thread seemingly deemed the OP too uncritical of Black people, and responded with an edited version:

[4] *>How do you guys feel about objectively highly intelligent NIGGER BEASTS? I'm curious because while ive read and agree with a lot of the positions you guys take regarding a large*

percentage of them - i have found for me, in my life, i've met a good few BEASTS that were actually pretty intelligent and agreeable [d27-37 c]

Re-writing all Black people, even those specified in the OP to be *pretty intelligent and agreeable*, as *beasts*, denies other posters any expressions of sympathy or camaraderie – who, after all, would dare to admit to being friends with monsters?

Those few instances of direct, overt monster metaphors were mostly accompanied by other monstrous or horrifying traits, like sexual violence and pollution.

4.1.3 MYTHICAL MONSTER Metaphors

In the /b/ data, MYTHICAL MONSTER metaphors were absent except a singular comment drawing on werewolf imagery:

[5] *“why are horse dicks all black like what the fuck are you trying to tell me that niggers shapeshift into horses under the full moon or some shit???” [b12-13 c]*

which, apart from being highly racist in its use of slurs, might create a disturbing mental image of some more-than-well endowed Black were-horse creature, but was promptly ridiculed even by other commenters. /pol/, too, contained only one comment using mythical monster metaphors in reference to Black people, which equated Black and Muslim immigrants with the orcs from Lord of the Rings. Both a brutish character and an overwhelmingly large number of the Black Other is suggested – they are many enough to *fill* an entire area akin to Middle Earth.

/pnd/ contained three instances of Black Others being referred to as *orcs*, and two as *golems*. As noted in 4.1.2, direct monster metaphors often occurred together with tokens from other monstrous categories - one poster, again, equated Black people to the orcs from Lord of the Rings, and included an image file titled *black_is_cancer.jpg*; a poster calling the Black people engaged in protests over police violence *golems* controlled by Jews, referred to these Black protests as *rot*. Another thread saw *the overwhelming number of* Black people monsterised as *golems*, this time modified by the adjective *semi-sentient*. Black monsters warranted violence as a form of defence, such as *the right* needing to *seriously form an organized militia to counter Antifa/BLM orcs*.

4.1.4 BIBLICAL MONSTER Metaphors

On /b/, BIBLICAL MONSTER metaphors (demons, devils, Satan, etc.) were absent, with one exception:

[6] *fat ugly and a nigger
add some jew and you'll get a satan's combo* [b27-34 c]

Even in this example, it seems like Black Others on their own are not equatable to biblical demons, and only in combination with a Jewish Other do they become some hellish hybrid. Again, the /pol/ data also contained only one comment using biblical terminology, equating Black and Jewish people to *a curse* and *satans puppets* respectively, and calling for both of them to be *purged*. The /pnd/ material had a few occurrences of BIBLICAL MONSTER metaphors, which inserted themselves into previously innocuous threads, such as the following example, responding to a poster asking whether it would be possible to contact Hitler's spirit via some form of necromancy:

[7] *I can't help but wonder if the Tanin'iver's product is influenced by the DNA of the female donor and to what extent? [...] What sort of demonic terror would be incurred from using nigger DNA I wonder...* [d12-9 c]

This demonic monster would be unleashed by using Black people as some kind of genetic material source for channelling spirits – a thought probably as horrifying as it is bizarre. Another commenter remarked upon both liberals and conservatives trying to achieve a *niggerkike hellscape* via their policies. The element of fusion or hybridisation of Black and Jewish people is also interesting here, as hybridisation is a classic element of monstrosity.

4.1.5 BESTIAL Metaphors

On all three fora, BESTIAL metaphors were part and parcel of writing Black people as monstrous, especially referring to Black people as apes or monkeys, though there were also a small handful of instances of them being referred to as other animals: cockroaches, rats, pigs, or bulls, and references to *belonging*, or being *kept*, on farms or in zoos. Traits often implied by ape metaphors in particular were violence, untempered rage, and lack of rational thought. Thus, a /b/ thread primarily dedicated to sharing videos of Black people engaging in violence claimed this was *the state of chimp outside of their natural jungle habitat*. The violence often associated with chimpanzees was thus used to 'explain' some Black individuals' violent behaviour, while simultaneously removing them from their place in society. "Naturally" belonging in another habitat means that living and participating in American or European societies is "unnatural" and something that should be prevented lest these individuals continue acting violently and out of control.

In another thread, titled *Should niggers be kept in zoos? Why or why not?*, a poster claimed that Black people are *not human, they are apes. And the least intelligent species of apes at that*. Here the low-intelligence element of bestial metaphor mappings is highlighted to argue for the exclusion (and/or public exhibition) of Black people. Some BESTIAL metaphors were more creative, such as the following example, wherein the first question refers to endangered gorillas using Koko the gorilla as an example:

[8] *How is Koko independent and able to survive for himself and at same time critically endangered?* [b19-18 c]

[9] *because lack of education, powerty, racism and poor access to opportunities* [b19-18 c]

The response imitates typical progressive arguments for Black people and other ethnic minorities struggling to get by due to systemic challenges, mockingly applying it to endangered gorillas instead, hence reversing the “normal” metaphor by referring to gorillas as Black people. Instances like this, admittedly quite rare, would fall through the gaps of discourse analysis software, since the source domain (Black people) is covert and expressed in a very unconventional way. An interesting variation on the ‘standard’ BESTIAL metaphor can be found in a few /pol/ comments fusing bestial metaphors with those of natural catastrophes or extreme weather events, such as referring to a protest as *a category 5 chimpout*. While most comments using BESTIAL metaphors were short, a few were more fleshed-out:

[10] *If You like ass over booba you are not White. THERE IS no if ands or buts. Big baboon asses are meant to attract bbc. Its crypto beastislity. Fucking a ass that Big feels like your fucking a Wild animal or some pig cow human hybrid. Its trashy, low class and gross. Its mostly trailer Park trash or poor fat Whores who eat a fuckton. Can you imagine the poops they make with those huge asses? Sick.on the other hand even z cup tits are classy, sexier and more high class then a Big baboon ass. Your not a negro are you? Booba is for the white man.* [p27-9 c]

Notably, the OP itself had identified the Black Other as monstrous, claiming that (primarily Black) people who like women with big behinds are *subhuman*, and calling big-bottomed Black women *sheboons*. Example 10 develops this dehumanisation via terms such as *beastislity* (bestiality), *wild animal*, *pig cow human hybrid*, as well as ABJECT references to excretion, and adjectives like *gross* and *sick*. One OP mapped out the source- and target domains remarkably clearly in stating Black people were *aggressive, dumb, and violent*, and – like *wild gorillas* – should not be approached. Another poster characterised the Black animal as a ‘lesser’ creature to keep chained up:

[11] *Qfaggots¹² aren't allowed to post here. They are banned on sight, set on fire, and their burnt corpses raped by the feral niggers we have chained up in the basement.* [d04-7 c]

While the Black Other is constructed as threatening, a feral animal that needs to be chained up so as not to rape others, it is also obviously a lesser creature, held in captivity by the White Self.

Another poster argued that they do not *hate* Black people nor *rattlesnakes*, however, despite their usefulness, neither of them should be around one's children, as they may *snap* and *kill and maim the friendly owner that they've had for years*. This sphere of the abnormal and monstrous that is at once threatening but also inferior, has been typical across all three datasets. Violence was frequently normalised via BESTIAL imagery, such as:

[12] *Do you think if and when the time comes the FWS¹³ will issue Nigger Hunting Permits or just say fuck it, it's open season all year and no bag limit so a permit is pointless? Just in case, it's probably not a bad idea to give them some samples. Don't let me down, /pol.* [p19-8 c]

This comment draws upon a repertoire of animal hunting terminology, and without directly equating Black people with animals, the detail and matter-of-fact tone of the comment normalises the systematic murder of the Black Other.

4.1.6 ABJECT Traits

The /b/ data contained a couple of comments using ABJECT imagery, like the following:

[13] *I will enjoy watching useless subhuman parasites like you starve to death, after you filth destroy what you parasite from.* [b20-65 c],

which constructed Black people as abject and repulsive, including being *filth*, *rotten*, *stinking*, a *shitskin*, or being generally disgusting. A couple of comments portrayed Black people as inherently diseased, and hence suggested that any interaction with them would risk contagion. In both the /pol/ and the /pnd/ dataset, ABJECT terms referring to faecal matter, like *shitskin*, were often used casually and off-hand, or as low-effort insults, including a user remarking *no wonder they look like poo*. One /pnd/ commenter claimed that Black immigration had turned the U.S. into a *shithole* and a *shameful country full of subhuman trash*. One poster felt *nauseous* from 'interracial' sex scenes, others depicted Black people as *vile*, traumatising, or, as a commenter in 20-10 stated, they had become *more and more disgusted* by Black, trans, and gay people due to their supposedly dislikeable behaviour, claiming that *You're breeding your own oppressors*. It

¹² This term refers to the Qanon conspiracy cult, which has been largely disavowed by the collective in my dataset as being a "Jewish psy-op" or similar.

¹³ U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service

was rare for posters to consider themselves to be oppressors rather than victims, so it is interesting to see that even when one's own oppressive actions are acknowledged, the blame for them is still assigned to the Other, whose disgusting nature warrants and *breeds* oppression.

Yet ABJECT descriptors were also employed more casually:

[14] *Do you want me to believe you don't know what a rollcake is? Are you a nigger or something? Or some sorta kike? What kinda filthy race does not produce rollcakes?* [d27-33 c]

Evidently, no grave offense has to be caused by Black (and Jewish) people for them to be considered *filth*, as ABJECT descriptors and similar Otherising language become banal everyday phenomena.

4.1.7 DISEASE AND PARASITISM Metaphors

Metaphors of DISEASE AND PARASITISM on /b/ were only found within a single thread, all nearly identical in style, and forming part of a longer exchange – hence reasonably seeming to all be authored by a single user. Two of the cases are included below:

[15] *You subhuman low IQ niggers, spics, and other assorted affirmative action trash should enjoy parasiting off the remains of western civilization... the civilization white men built. Soon enough your system of theft and parasitism will be over, and I hope I am still alive to see you suffer and die.* [b20-65 c]

[16] *>canada, norway, uk, denmark, germany, sweden LMAO leftist/ fascist shitholes, where people cannot afford to have children, quality of life is diminishing, and those are being overran by low IQ thrid world muzrats, niggers, etc subhuman welfare parasites.* [b20-65 c]

This metaphoric density was unusual for the /b/ dataset. /pol/ contained similar metaphors of DISEASE AND PARASITISM, such as one user sarcastically claiming that White people should be forced to *celebrate* Black Others' *invasive parasitism*. One forum poster marvels at how *the negroid mindset [...] has infected even the bastions of society that stand opposed to them*, while another commenter claimed that Black people were *a societal plague*. In the /pnd/ material, one poster used the term *pathological altruism* to creatively reinforce the notion of disease and parasitism, claiming that Black and Jewish people

[17] *exist only at the expense of white men and their pathological altruism. The day you can pull the trigger on a nigger or kike in cold blood is the day I know white people have become immunized.* [d04-7 c]

The Black and Jewish creatures incapable of life without White men are parasitic; simultaneously, one can become *immunized* to them. In the same thread, another comment

predicts that Black people *will wash over white people like a wave of black death*, combining the flood of polluted water metaphor noted in section 2.5.1 with disease (i.e. the bubonic plague). Lastly, perhaps the single most evocative comment in this dataset explicitly targets all non-White *racial groups*. This comment, included in full in Appendix A, writes Black (and other ‘racial’ groups) as

[18] *different bacteria cultures just starting to take root. Starting to create spores to feed off the corpse. Festering in its belly.* [d27-54 c]

Metaphors of illnesses and parasites have a long and proud history in extreme-right Othering practices (as mentioned in section 2.6.3.3). Illnesses and parasites require certain actions in the populace to protect themselves, such as isolating, exterminating, sterilising, or building up immunity. While the Other as diseased still sanctions banishment or isolation, the Other as disease or parasite necessitates extermination or similar violence to restore the Self’s health and hygiene, and can definitionally never be allowed to (re-)enter society.

4.1.8 LARGE NUMBERS

All three fora contained examples of the LARGE NUMBERS category. Black Others were seen as an *infestation* by one poster, and another commenter recommended people to not live in the U.S., which was *overrun* by *crazy* Black people. Western Europe was being *filled with Moors*; France was *turning browner and blacker by the day*, Portugal had morphed into *moortugal*, and Britain as a whole was no longer “White.” Three comments on /pol/ utilised huge blocks of repetitive written text as a way to communicate the supposed overwhelming number of Black people (and other ethnic groups, in one case) and the total cultural erasure or destruction of all aspects of Western society, that the Black Other supposedly brought with it. These cospasta¹⁴ comments, consisting of 284, 286, and 249 words, have been included in Appendix A.

On /pnd/, Black people were deemed a threat by sheer force of their numbers far more than any other group of people, and their presence would inevitably *ruin* anything. An exchange study program was deemed *doomed from the start* due to being *in a poor area ridden with* Black people, and a school climate marked by violence was considered a *typical symptom of a nigger infestation*. Even fast food joints were ranked according to which demographic they are said to

¹⁴ a text that is intended to be copied and pasted many times across different threads and/or boards

belong to, with KFC and Popeyes being unpopular due to existing solely in Black *infested urban areas*. Black Others were seen as *hordes*, or as *replacement population* for White people.

4.1.9 SEXUAL THREATS

On all three fora, Black men were often depicted as oversexed and full of primal, uncontrolled urges (to the extent of sexual violence being a prime identifying characteristic of the Black Other), such as a video depicting a Black man engaged in sexual acts being titled and addressed as “*rapebeasts.webm*” (mentioned in 4.1.2.). The threat of Black sexuality, both in terms of sexual violence, deviancy such as necrophilia and bestiality, and cuckoldry, permeated a wide range of threads: from an unexperienced poster asking how to sexually satisfy a potential partner so she would not *go and fuck a bbc*¹⁵, to a poster in a thread for sharing sexual images of one’s partners, repeatedly and crudely imitating AAVE to assume the character of some sort of sexually violent Black monster:

[19] *Dam she fine. im finna cut dis wite bitch throat afta she suck dis nigga dik. big nigga dik gon make blood splash on dem wite titties. imma use ma steak knife up in dat wite pussy. cut dat clitoris off. bitch gimme yo money befor i get out yo wife pussy white boy. imma keel yo ass. i guess i cut yo ass up too. black lives matta white boy. fuk dat [b04-10 c]*

The threats of mutilation, torture, murder, rape, and cuckoldry are all condensed into a few lines. Additionally, the white male presumed to be the husband of the victim is addressed as “boy,” reducing his strength, authority, and masculinity vis-à-vis the Black Other.

As discussed in section 2.6.1, both the Other’s and the monster’s sexual freedoms may titillate as much as they frighten; accordingly, many posters on /b/ appear to revel in discussing the supposed sexually unhinged behaviour of Black Others, such as in thread b20-56, where the OP asked posters to submit a prompt, which an AI software would turn into a pornographic short story. A lengthy story which was developed through several prompts detailed the gangrape of a male first-person narrator by a group of Black men, while another similar story was about a group of Black men raping and torturing a young climate activist. Both the original prompts and the AI-generated text depicted Black people as BESTIAL, ABJECT, VIOLENT creatures with a total disregard for human life, one prompt being:

[20] *Niggers. Everywhere I look, niggers. Something that is, but simultaneously isn't, bestiality. My puckered anus gives off a smell that there large nigger noses cannot help but notice. They*

¹⁵ an acronym for “big black cock,” not the British Broadcasting Corporation

beat upon their chests, and their nigger cocks engorge. Some as large as in videos, most small things. All covered in herpes. Cum in me, leave your seed in my anus. [b20-56 c]

Especially noteworthy is the phrase *something that is, but simultaneously isn't, bestiality*, indicating that to this poster, Black people may inhabit some liminal space between animal and human. And much like other comments talking about society at large being *overrun* by Black Others, this fictional scenario too involves them being *everywhere I look*.

Sexual violence as Black characteristic was something abjected from the collective White Self. Hence, a poster who expressed desires to rape women without repercussions, was promptly identified by other posters as clearly Black, and a commenter who stated that an enraged White man depicted in a video-file was *acting like* a Black person, was met with the response that he did not seem to *rape* another person in the video (hence, he could not be Black).

The threat of cuckolding was at times more metaphorical on /pol/ and /pnd/, with nations, states, or White people in general being *cucked* by the Black Other:

[21] *you're nation is so cucked that one black man overdosing on fentanyl makes you change your history* [p19-16 c]

remarks one commenter; others lament getting *cucked by our own slaves*, or how *there arent any more un-cucked states, only states that havent been cucked yet*.

4.1.10 THREATS TO CHILDREN

All three fora contained examples of the Black Other posing a THREAT specifically TO CHILDREN – who, as detailed in section 3.3.3, are often used as a stand-in for innocence and the future.

Some commenters would refer to White women as *girls* falling victim to Black *men*; in other cases, Black people were seen as child-abusers or even someone *who will kill your children*. A section from one of /pol/'s more evocative depictions of Black people's supposed threat to children is quoted below:

[22] *>if a nigger-mexican hybrid spic rapes and kills your blonde 7 year old daughter, don't kill him, just turn the other cheek... oh now he's repented and turned to jeebus, nice you can spend eternity with your daughter's pedophile rapist murderer that ate her pussy in heaven* [p20-22 c]

The commenter argued against the Christian principle of forgiveness and repentance, seemingly attempting to cast the Other as the most hostile and repulsive creature imaginable, while the victim's (racial) purity was highlighted: the *blonde* hair as marker of Whiteness, her young age as sign of innocence.

The /pnd/ material was, again, very similar in its examples, although one thread deserves mention; thread d12-33 was dedicated by its original poster to sharing their self-made infographics and ‘case reports’ of violent crime committed by Black people. Formal-looking in their design, each ‘case’ specified the attackers, victims, and course of events. One of their videos, detailing specifically the murders or tortures of White children, was, according to the OP, *a good video to show people*. Cases included a 12-year-old boy being raped, brutalised, and set on fire, succumbing to his injuries in the hospital. These ‘cases,’ written to arouse righteous anger within the thread’s readership (and the wider audience with whom people were encouraged to share this content), were graphic in their detail while distanced in their tone, giving legitimacy to depictions of the Black Other as a threat to White children, and to White people in general.

4.1.11 LACK OF THOUGHT OR REASON

A category with few tokens, the Black Other’s supposed LACK OF THOUGHT OR REASON mostly found expressions via terms like *brainless*, *savage*, or *lacking impulse control*. In the /pol/ material, only two instances were identified: The first argued that Black people are

[23] *Aggressive because they haven't evolved to a human impulse control.
Time to bring back the whips and chains.* [p27-16 c],

where the lack of *human impulse control* justified a return to traditional forms of slavery. The second comment wondered if Black people *never wonder why sane people hate them* for their supposedly insane behaviour.

In the /pnd/ dataset, almost all posts in the LACK OF THOUGHT OR REASON category were targeting Black people. The golem metaphor mentioned in 4.1.3 may serve as an illustration:

[24] *Some intelligent blacks do of course exist, but as many posters have pointed out, the overwhelming number of them are semi-sentient golems.* [d19-15 c]

The instinct-driven existence of the Black Other is depicted by several comments, one referring to Black and Middle-Eastern people as easily angered or sexually aroused, being *just an insect with those urges*. Another comment layered an element of sexual boundary blurring on top of the emotion-driven Black *savage*:

[25] *Niggers have very high levels of estrogen and testosterone. You mix those two together at extreme levels and you get a very emotional feminine savage.* [d27-14 c]

4.1.12 INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL

Posts belonging to this category were very rare. The /b/ data contained but one example: an instruction to a Black forum user on how to ‘get laid’ by enslaving a *White girl* via blackmail and public accusations of racism, and the /pol/ data contained four cases. One commenter explained Black people’s ulterior motives, which were somehow influenced by *jewish culture*:

[26] *They want to do to us what their stupid monkey brains and jewish culture have led them to believe we are doing to them. Enslavement and torture.* [p19-8 c]

The commenter offers an inversion of Western power relations: White people did not (and do not) enslave and torture Black people, but rather it is Black people who threaten to enslave and torture White people if the latter are naïve enough to *relax*. The /pnd/ dataset contained six comments that constructed the Black Other as domineering slavemaster, including the following:

[27] *A mere two or three centuries ago these subhumans were our slaves, and now we have been turned into their financial slaves.
How do we fight back?* [d12-25 c]

The ‘enslavement’ they referred to, was the perceived theft of college spots from White men, and the educational and economic imbalance this supposedly created. Another commenter described a (presumably White) commenter as *NIGGERCATTLE* for wishing to not be associated with a White man who was recorded throwing a temper tantrum and yelling racist slurs.

4.1.13 DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE

A couple of threads’ OPs were devoted to the topic of the supposed violent nature of Black people, though most comments depicting Black DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE occurred in more benign threads, such as a prediction that *once democrats abandon them they’ll be attacking and killing libs too*, or example 13 from section 4.1.6, which described Black and Muslim people as *parasitic filth destroying* White civilisation. On /pol/, users claimed that Black people *attack for no reason*, that they would *kill every single White person in the world if they thought they could get away with it*, and that they *have smaller brains and still inherit an ancient primordial instinct to maim or kill*. A quite evocative comment stated:

[28] *By having kids you’re just adding another punching bag or fuck hole for the mob of niggers and spics to direct their anger for a bit.* [p27-6 c]

Seemingly to disprove the truthfulness of the above prediction, another poster responded that

[29] *I will raise my children to regard niggers, kikes, and mestizos as nothing more than bullet fodder* [p27-6 c],

a behaviour that appears justified within example 28's frame. One of the most evocative and elaborate comments in the dataset depicted a Black person's predictions of the future:

[30] *With every step I take, a wh*Te skull cracks and shatters underneath my steel BLACK feet. I look upon the lampposts and savor the wh*Te corpses hanging from them. [...] I salute my BLACK brothers, their giant, muscular bodies, adorned with trophies, decapitated heads of wh*Tes who resisted the conquest. With every passing moment, I savor the cries of the last wh*Te women as they are raped, as they watch their children and husbands murdered. [...] I open my eyes, and my day has been restored. Even if I won't experience this, my BLACK children, my BLACK brothers will [p20-15 c]*

This comment was made in response to a thread's OP asking *Can you be far-right without being racist and homophobic?*, seemingly as an argument that racism towards Black people is fully justified given the Black first person narrator's delight in violence, rape, conquest and genocide, which is portrayed as the inevitable future. Amidst the detailed descriptions of carnage and suffering, the monstrous Black beings are emphasized; the word "Black" always being fully capitalised; the Black bodies described as "giant" vis-à-vis the White victims who are obscured and reduced even on a linguistic level via censoring the "i." Another poster claimed Black people

[31] *are reactionary, just proves they are animals who cannot think, only react they cannot even react in a clever way, they just get violent i will never believe that any nigger has agency [d27-56 c]*

The comment first posits that Black people are *animals* and hence unthinking, second that they are inherently *violent*, and finally concludes that they are universally devoid of agency, a claim that is at times used to justify a wide range of discriminatory and violent actions against stigmatised groups. The Black Other lacking agency, i.e. the ability to think, choose, and act, while simultaneously being nonhuman and violent, suggests that any measures of control over them is a valid tool to ensure both their own and the White Self's safety.

4.1.14 CONSUMPTION

Within the /b/ material, I could not identify any instances of this category sans one 'grey-area' case: one of the AI-generated stories discussed in 4.1.9 detailed a Black man *attacking* his victim with *a hunger that belied his years*. The /pol/ data contained no examples, while the /pnd/ material had four cases. One of these, featured as Example 4 in Appendix A, describes all non-White racial Others as *different bacteria cultures [...] starting to create spores to feed off the corpse*. Another comment used the parasite metaphor in a similar fashion to argue that *the*

fucking parasites keep devouring us down. But also outside of the frame of DISEASE AND PARASITISM metaphors, the Black Other could still devour:

[32] *You will need the social media to spread the vids of blm eating cucks and hebrews alive*
[d12-38 c]

While the context for this latter example was not transparent, it appears that those Whites who *cuck* to Black people are more at risk of being *eaten alive* than those who, like the commenter, put up a fight.

4.1.15 ARTIFICE

Another rare category for the Black Other, ARTIFICE had a total of five posts across all three fora. /b/ contained only a singular instance:

[33] *quantum mechanics have to be the reason sub humans like you exist* [b20-4 c], suggesting that Black *sub humans* would not be capable of life outside of artificial means. On /pnd/, a commenter claimed that transgender Black people are *unnatural*; another commenter lamented how humanity was *over farming land to mass produce chinks and niggers who won't stop breeding*; the term *mass production* bringing to mind sweatshops and factory assembly lines, an inorganic image somewhat at odds with the animalistic term *breeding*.

Most disturbing was a lengthy comment depicting American Black people as *hybrids* operating on *stolen DNA*:

[34] *They have created hybrids. Understand that they show us blacks which are some 50% white genes - that can operate in society, that can hold a job. [...] Then, (((they))) say "look the blacks can function in society". But only with STOLEN DNA can the operate in society. [...] Now, some of the ones with the stolen DNA, it is a fair question, what of these hybrids? [...] The slave traders were intentionally destroying America by bringing negroes. [...] Since blacks are a weapon. Any reparations should be to us, for stealing our functional DNA and implanting it into non-functional species.* [d04-25 c]

While it is not entirely clear who the creators of these monstrous hybrids are, the echo brackets used in the third sentence to signal that the speakers - likewise only referred to as *they* - are Jewish, suggests that the creators of these almost Frankensteinian hybrids, too, are Jewish. No matter their creator, these Black *hybrids* operate on a mixture of *non-functional species'* DNA and *stolen, implanted* material – artificial creatures that violate natural order.

4.1.16 NON-/SUBHUMAN

Aside from frequently being termed *animals*, Black people were also often called nonhuman without further specification, a stable trend across all three fora:

[35] *Black people ... Human beings.... Choose one* [b19-18 c]

[36] *they get to take your money and you have to put in a smile and pretend you think they're human.* [b19-1 c]

A commenter on /pnd/ claimed Black Others were not human *and never will be*; another stated that *high-cognition* Black people usually had *a lot of admixture from one of the human races*. Rather than by way of metaphor ascribing certain qualities to Black people, these comments simply serve to thoroughly separate Black people from the rest of humanity. Additionally, a certain ominous air may be added: We do not know who or what these Others are, all we know is that they are fundamentally different from ourselves. A few examples of this category were more indirect:

[37] *To witness the beginning of adaptation in a species is a wonderful thing.* [d27-2 c]

Referring to the supposed ‘learning process’ of a Black video-maker arguing against the use of violence, the phrase *the beginning of adaptation in a species* sounds like a line from a nature documentary maker or a scientist poring over a petri dish, and clearly establishes the Black Other as nonhuman. Miscegenation is also discouraged by directly pointing to the threat of creating hybrid creatures if one were to mate with them: One poster claimed that Black people

[38] *(and other subhumans) are the 'replacement population' for Whites. [...] Interracial babies are simply an abomination [...] they are always classified as their lesser species (nigger, spicnigger etc) rather than White* [d12-20 c]

The bestial terms *breed* and *lesser species* mark the progeny of White and Black unions as monstrously hybridic; half man and half animal, *abomination* identifies them as repulsive.

4.1.18 The case of thread d12-8

One thread offered unique insight into the concepts underlying the monsterisation of Black people, and deserves to be discussed separately: d12-8, which was started by the creator of a videogame that can perhaps best be described as ‘alt-right murder porn.’ The game’s goal was to run over as many Black characters as possible, and its creator was looking for input on all elements of the game as they were developing it from its earliest stages through to a nearly finalised version with several fan-made trailers. The comments generated by this show how

forum posters conceptualise, talk about, and visualise their own racist ideologies, and how they very deliberately make use of monster imagery to draw on common anxieties and thus radicalise ‘normies.’ Normalisation of (in-game) violence is proposed to be achieved via multiple elements, including bestial metaphors, *hordes* or *swarms* of Black people (the only four instances in the /pnd/ dataset for *swarm* were all within this thread), violence, murder, sexual defilement, rape, and abject bodily products. Some examples include:

[39] *Come on, add she-boons spawning more niggers if you don't splatter them.* [d12-8 c]

This highlights the urgency of violence: unless the Black Other is murdered fast enough, more of its kind will *spawn*, rapidly outnumbering the White Self. At least four clear examples of the threat of rapid replication occurred, of which another comment (example 121) will be detailed in section 4.3.12.

Defilement of White women, and their offspring’s bestial nature, was suggested as a theme in [40] *>nigger-defiled pregnant coal burner with or without niglets in tow.* [d12-8 c]; and the game’s creator was lauded for including bestial metaphors in the game’s dialogue:

[41] *>"Ooops looks like I have hit a wild animal..."
OP is going to go far in life.* [d12-8 c]

The sexual dominance of the Black Other was likewise highlighted by commenters:

[42] *Should be extra points for killing white guilt liberal men kissing boots of the black man while their girl friends worship the bbc.* [d12-8 c]

The kissing of boots by the ‘cucked’ men along with the penile worship paints the Black Other as sexually powerful and domineering, a trait which is deemed offensive enough to warrant the murder of not just the Black male, but the White one too for submitting to the former.

Violence and murder was deemed a natural and *realistic* part of Black people’s behaviour: [43] *they need to actively doing this, holding signs, throwing rocks etc, burning buildings, they also need to react to the world around them because right now they are not realistic in behavior. Ideally, they should try to swarm your vehicle [...] they should hurl objects and try smashing your windows and if you don't drive they will pull you out of the car and kill you* [d12-8 c]

while also, of course, being useful traits for radicalising the player. Another commenter made this latter function as explicit as can be:

[44] *if you want this to be anything more than "omg alt right murder porn ebil nadzees!" then it has to be grounded and gritty, it has to portray reality and not some fantasy scape [...] In addition, why is the city itself in such good shape? No trash on the streets, no bloodstains, no shitfilled alleyways, no burned down buildings [...]*

We're trying to move the overton window and show people that if you swarm a fucking car attacking it and people are violent and want to pull you out and beat the shit out of you, that even the most precious of snowflake SJWs would hit the fucking gas pedal rather than die - or maybe not, maybe cucks would just get killed over and over and do it for solidarity, fuck if I know [d12-8 c]

This, in conjunction with the thread's other comments, illustrates an at times astounding awareness of how the monstrous traits that these posters apply to Black people (the abject, sexual predation and cuckoldry, violence, animalism, large numbers, and swarm-like behaviour) are part of a narrative that can serve to radicalise, to *move the overton window*, yet this monstrous narrative is still seen as true and accurate. In a sense, thread d12-8 serves as meta-commentary of how the alt-right community on /pnd/ radicalises itself and potentially others who come into contact with it, and how it discursively reinforces some of its own metaphors and imagery.

4.2 The Muslim Other

4.2.1 Quantitative Findings

For the Muslim Other's representation, 13 of the 15 categories were used, as seen below.

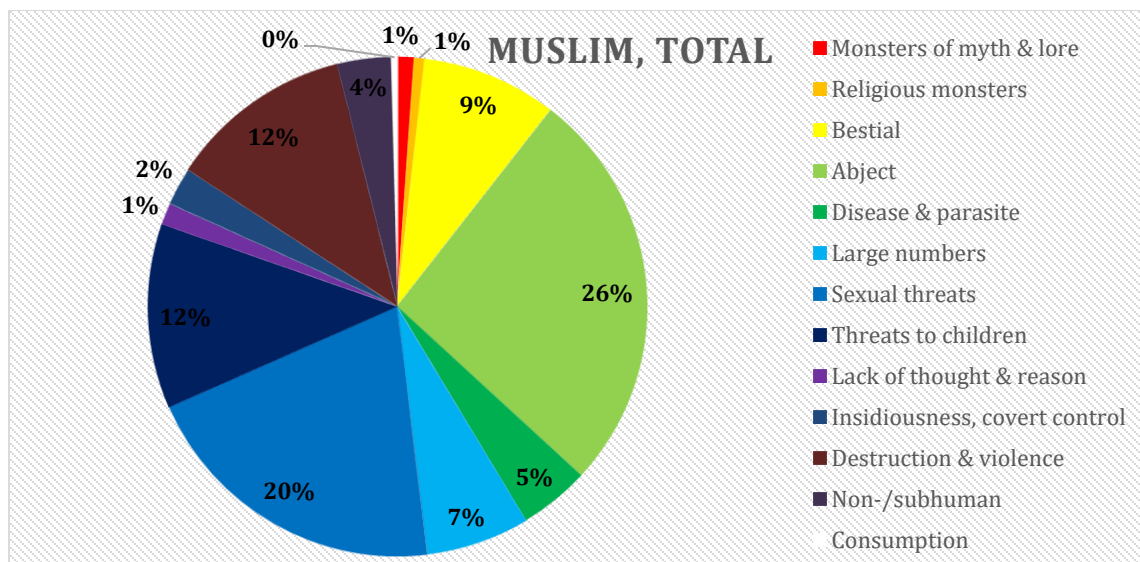


Fig. 4.5: *Monsterising the Muslim Other, frequency of categories for all data combined*

The Muslim Other was primarily described via ABJECT traits, with its supposed SEXUAL THREATS also being a central element. THREATS TO CHILDREN and a propensity for DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE were also salient features, each making up 12% of the total instances. MYTHICAL and BIBLICAL MONSTER METAPHORS were, again, rare, as were depictions of LACK OF THOUGHT AND

REASON; INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL; and CONSUMPTION. GENERIC MONSTER METAPHORS and ARTIFICE were not found in any of the data.

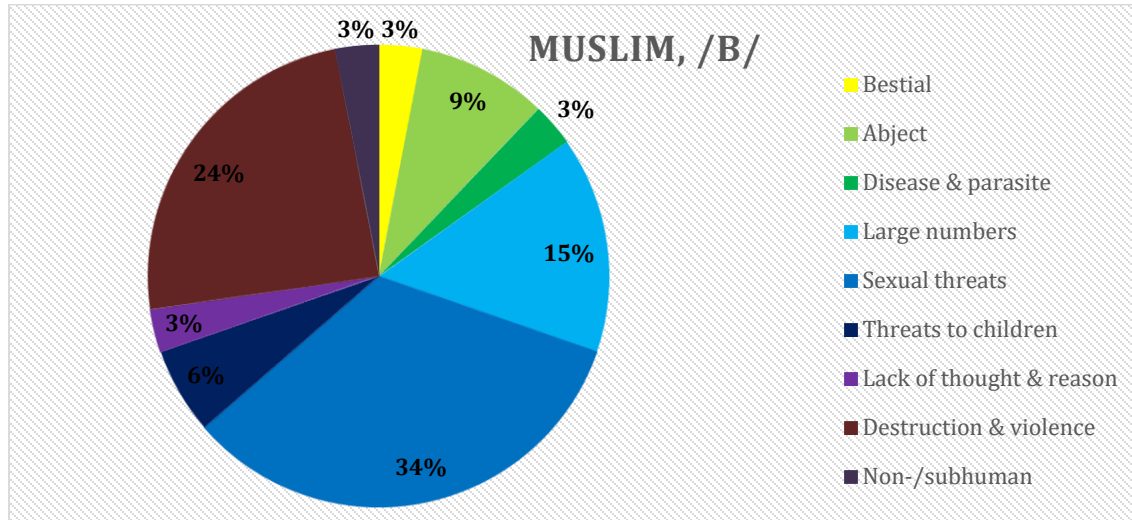


Fig. 4.6: *Monsterising the Muslim Other, frequency of categories on /b/*

As shown in figure 4.6, depictions of the Muslim Other showed far more variation than we saw for the Black Other: On /b/, SEXUAL THREATS made up more than a third of all counted instances, and DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE made up just shy of a quarter. ABJECT traits, the combined data's largest category, made up only 9% here, surpassed by LARGE NUMBERS. Some other categories were absent: GENERIC; MYTHICAL; and BIBLICAL MONSTER METAPHORS; INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL; ARTIFICE; and CONSUMPTION.

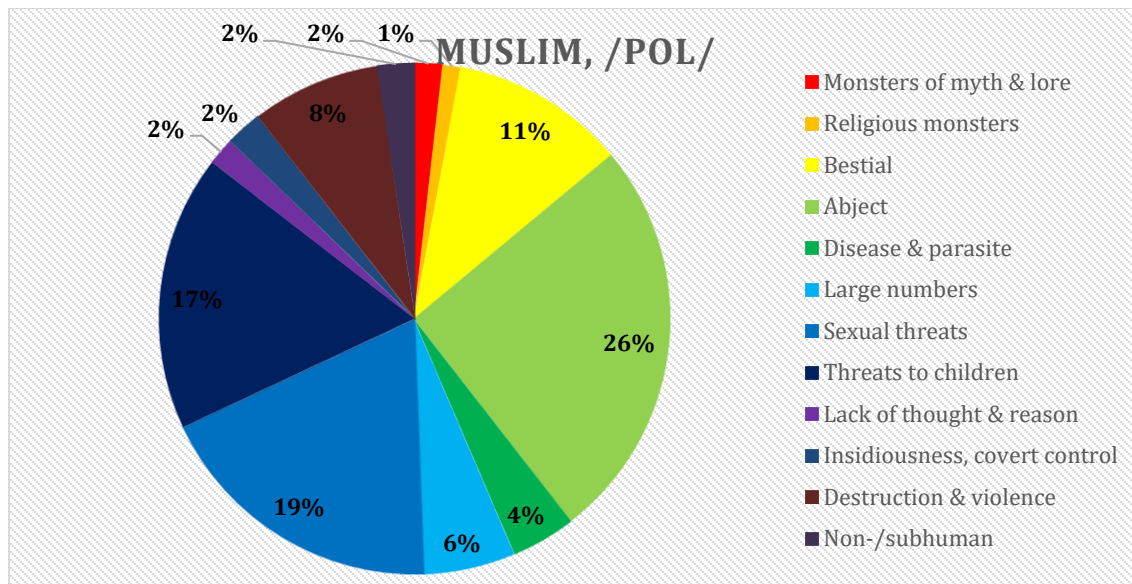


Fig. 4.7: *Monsterising the Muslim Other, frequency of categories on /pol/*

As seen in figure 4.7, in the /pol/ data, the distribution was quite different: ABJECT was the most common category, followed by SEXUAL THREATS and THREATS TO CHILDREN. BESTIAL metaphors were rather common, while DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE and LARGE NUMBERS were a lot rarer than in the /b/ data. GENERIC MONSTER METAPHORS; ARTIFICE; and CONSUMPTION were absent.

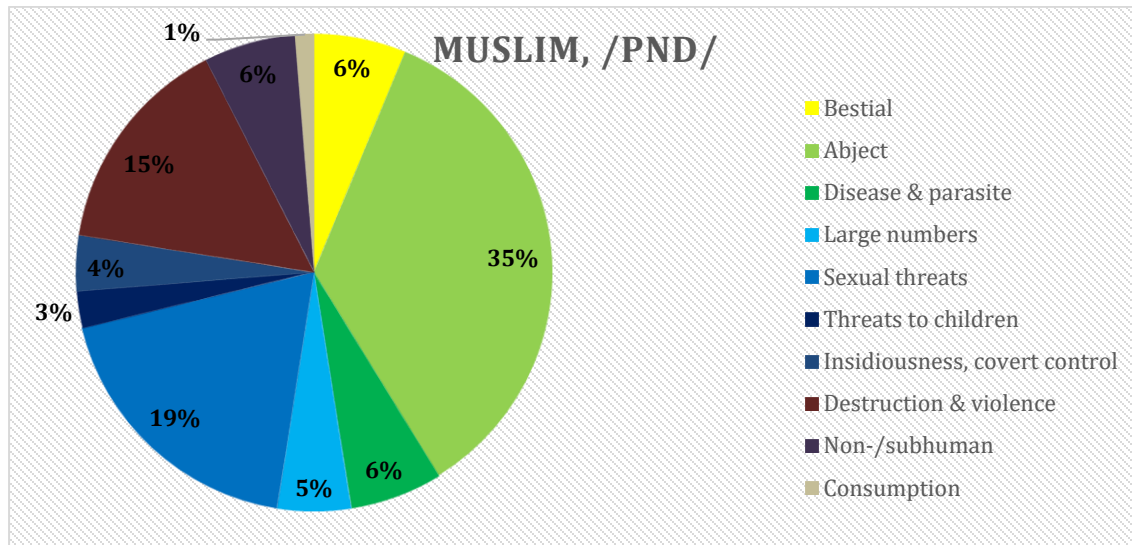


Fig. 4.8: *Monsterising the Muslim Other, frequency of categories on /pnd/*

Lastly, as we see in figure 4.8, /pnd/ saw several categories absent: GENERIC MONSTER METAPHORS and ARTIFICE, of course, but also MYTHICAL and BIBLICAL MONSTER METAPHORS; and LACK OF THOUGHT AND REASON. The biggest category, ABJECT, made up more than one third of all cases, and together with SEXUAL THREATS and DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE, comprised 69% of all instances. The NONHUMAN category was more prominent than on the other fora, and THREATS TO CHILDREN were more rarely associated with the Muslim Other.

4.2.2 GENERIC MONSTER Metaphors

GENERIC MONSTER metaphors targeting Muslims did not occur in the data from any of the three fora.

4.2.3 MYTHICAL MONSTER Metaphors

MYTHICAL MONSTER metaphors did not occur on /b/, nor on /pnd/. /pol/ contained three examples, of which one already mentioned in 4.1.3, which likened Black and Muslim immigrants to *orcs* used to *fill* Middle Earth in the Lord of the Rings novels. The two other instances likened

Muslims to *zombies* and Islam as a whole to a *golem* raised up by Jewish interests to lure Western people into their own demise:

[45] *Building more and more mosques for no good reason. All that's going to do is get more zombies to pray to a god that doesn't exist and will do nothing for you.* [p12-5 c]

and

[46] *>jump to my golem*

Westerners are just sobering up from the rabbi Yeshua drunkenness and are still disoriented, and you fucking retarf scum want to sink them again. [p12-5 c]

In all three instances, then, the mythical monsters to which Muslims (and Islam) are likened, are typically unthinking and brute-ish, and both the *orcs* and *golem* are seen as raised or used by some other, more nefarious, force.

4.2.4 BIBLICAL MONSTER Metaphors

Biblical monster metaphors targeting Muslims people did not occur on /b/ nor on /pnd/. /pol/ contained a few instances, such as stating that Islam is *Satanic* and that converting to Islam is akin to *bowing to Satan*. However, it seemed to be the religion as a collective, more abstract whole, rather than the Muslims who adhere to it, that was deemed to be controlled by *Satan*. None of the instances were particularly remarkable in terms of detail or imagery.

4.2.5 BESTIAL Metaphors

Only one bestial metaphor occurred in the /b/ material: example 16 discussed in 4.1.7, which used the term *muzrats* (Muslim + rat) in claiming that several Western nations are *overrun* by Black and Muslim *subhuman welfare parasites*. In contrast, /pol/ contained quite a few examples, including several ape and monkey metaphors, one occurrence of the term *chimping out*, some general animalistic terms like *breeding*, and several pig metaphors – the latter presumably to add religious insult to injury. Many of the bestial metaphors were combined with tokens from other categories, including these two examples:

[47] *How many muzzie monkeys are living in your apartment Hans? How does it feel knowing you will never have a woman in Germany that wasnt groomed and broken in by a muzzie monkey?* [p12-10 c]

[48] *this is why all islamic countries are shitholes full of brown septic water and argumentative hairy baboons clambering for 4 wives and cutting each others heads because they misinterpreted a sentence in a book.* [p19-5 c]

Example 47, responding to a German commenter, suggests that Muslim Others exist in such large numbers in Germany that several of them even dwell within his domestic sphere; furthermore they represent a threat to German children by *grooming* all girls, and lastly they have a monopoly on German women (or at least, on their virginities), not to mention their *monkey* nature. The second comment draws heavily on ABJECT imagery of faecal matter, while also highlighting the unnecessary violence of the *hairy baboons*. Other comments combined bestial metaphors with metaphors of disease, and one commenter combined the ABJECT *mudskin* and *trash* with the Arabic term *khinzir*, meaning pig:

[49] *You mudskinned khinzir are trash* [p12-5 c]

Where /pol/ posters were quite generous with their BESTIAL metaphor usage, /pnd/ contained only five such metaphors, whereof three were applied to other non-White people too, like claiming that in comparison, *Whites are the most logical and least animal-like*, and one single comment used the term *chimping* in reference to Muslim people.

4.2.6 ABJECT Traits

On /b/, which we may recall from the beginning of the chapter to have quite few monsterial depictions of Muslims, I counted two instances of the term *mudslime*, which inserted themselves into mundane conversations, such as this one, wherein the posters' conversation spanned several topics at once:

[50] *because that makes the depictions shitty too, it'll piss off more mudslimes eating 2 eggs a day is actually pretty healthy work at McDonald* [b04-13 c]

the commenter here remarked upon some new depictions of the prophet Muhammad, another commenter's diet, and easy ways to earn some extra money – hence the term *mudslime* seemed to be simply their standard term for Muslim people, deserving no particular context or further remark. One singular comment on /b/ did use more disturbing imagery and had a more concerted focus on the ABJECT, VIOLENT AND DESTRUCTIVE, and SEXUALLY THREATENING qualities of the Muslim Other:

[51] *Because Muslim filth is like radioactive waste.They destroy everything their filthy hands touch.How is the beheadings and gang rapes going up there?* [b19-2 c]

The abject terms *filth* and *filthy* combine with the images of *destruction* and of decay induced by *radioactive waste*; the last sentence warns of murder and sexual violence as well. In the version of the thread which I scraped from 4Chan, no subsequent comments acknowledged or responded

to this comment, so unfortunately I cannot say whether any of this imagery was successful in influencing further comments.

In contrast to /b/, ABJECT terms like *mudslime*, *pisslam*, and *shitskin* were very common on /pol/, as were references to faecal matter. One commenter conceived of Muslims as both *shitskins* and a *plague* that was spreading across the community:

[52] *Meanwhile the case litteraly show the shitskin plague and that all of them must go, one way or the other. It started from a shitskin teen to another shitskin teen to this shitskin family to the local mosque and the internet and then to a fucking chechen. [p19-24 c]*

This *case* was the recent beheading of a teacher in France, with the poster here apparently tracking how elements of this Muslim *plague* spread within the French community. Other comments referred to Arab countries as *mudslime cancerholes*, and Muslims as *fragile pisslamists*. Another /pol/ poster explained the geopolitical situation:

[53] *muslims are like this really big dysfunctional family who kill and argue with one another while trying to keep their neighbours from noticing, its like 1 big pile of shit whose smell just wafts everywhere. [...] as long as the shit doesn't boil over to non-muslims the world only needs to deal with this tumor so long as fossil fuels remain relevant to the global economy. [p19-24 c]*

Again, faecal matter and disease (*this tumor*) are used as descriptors of the Muslim Other.

Interestingly, on /pnd/, ABJECT imagery was rather frequent, but many of the posts were not really negative in sentiment: A Muslim terror attack in Vienna, which was at first assumed to target a local Synagogue, received words of praise:

[54] *Mudslimes did good work [d04-16 c]*

The same conversation also discussed Muslims more generally:

[55] *Jews are obviously a bigger threat, since they are behind all the anti-white shit going on. That doesn't mean we have to form an alliance with the mudslimes. [d04-16 c]*

[56] *And for now we do not insult them for no reason. There's literally no reason to insult their religion/prophet or to call them mudslimes. [d04-16 c]*

Example 54, while still hostile towards Muslims, at least opens up discursive space for considering an *alliance with the mudslimes*; and example 55 affords them some basic respect, calling on other forum posters to discontinue the use of the term *mudslimes*. Other threads continued this uneasy fusion of abject terminology and respect for certain supposed elements of Muslim culture:

[57] *When a muslim hears about someone disrespecting his faith, he finds a sword and cuts their head off. This is barbaric, but at least a mudshit shows devotion. [d27-20 c]*

[58] *Is this what /pnd/ stands for? A strong woman kicking out Muslims? I'm fucking tired of liberated women. As much as I hate shitskins, Islam at least puts women in their rightful subjugated position, although much of the Muslim world is very liberal.* [d19-4 c]

The latter of these referred to a banner image on the forum, depicting a blonde-haired woman literally *kicking out* a pig-human hybrid Muslim; for reference, this image is included in Appendix B. The hierarchy of various out-groups seems at times to be contested, with some forum posters deeming the hated *shit*-skinned Muslim Other still preferable to independent women.

Not all cases within the ABJECT category were this ‘positive’ towards Muslims: Thread 12-8, discussed in part in 4.1.18, also featured the suggestion that the alt-right ‘murder porn’ game should feature *progression* between different enemies/targets, including

[59] *the "flooder" , with the ability to spawn waves of exploding shitskins.* [d12-8 c]

The Muslim characters are likened to masses of water (“*flooder*”; *waves*) – together with the term *shitskins* creating an image of polluted or septic water. This metaphor occurred several times; once also in song lyrics referring to Muslim Others as a *sea of mud* coming to *rape your daughter*. One commenter talked about *mudslime jizzhads* who face no repercussions for rape and murder; another lamented pollution (in the sense of greenhouse gases and climate catastrophe) and tied it to the metaphorical *pollution* of Europe and the U.S. caused by *brown shithole people* who cause nations to become *dirtier*:

[60] *Not only this but all Western European nations are the only peoples on the planet who have made any changes at all in lowering their emissions. All the other nations on the planet have raised their emissions and pollution. The USA is dirtier now because it has too many brown people in it....European nations will become more polluted as well now that they have more brown shithole people in them.* [d12-1 c]

Comments like these show that while certain users of alt-right fora may reject ABJECT depictions of Muslims, others revel in fairly elaborate images of the Muslim Other as repulsive filth or excrement.

4.2.7 DISEASE AND PARASITISM Metaphors

Example 16 (discussed in sections 4.1.7 and 4.2.5), which depicted Muslim and Black people as *subhuman parasites*, was the only instance of DISEASE AND PARASITISM metaphors on /b/. The /pol/ dataset contained several instances, though:

[61] *I was just commenting how little muslim piggies are a tumor on the civilized modern world* [p19-5 c],

says one commenter, another voices his disagreement with a Muslim poster by calling them a *parasite*. In other comments, Islam is *a symptom* of the Middle-East being *a shithole*, or alternatively,

[62] *islam is a sickness, an ancient evil perverse pseudo religion of the stupid and easily influenced*

Islam must be destroyed and all m0slems genocided [p12-5 c]

Only five DISEASE AND PARASITISM metaphors were identified in the /pnd/ data, including a commenter lamenting immigration:

[63] *the great crisis for Arctic nations is that their genius is so great for creating immense surpluses and beautiful utopian paradises on earth that they've become magnets for shitskin retards and brown slimeball parasites that are incapable of even comprehending the complexity of the logistical structures of such societies and see them simply as a feast to gorge themselves at.[d27-47 c]*

Muslim Others, referred to as *slimeball parasites*, are drawn to these Arctic *paradises on earth* which they threaten to *gorge themselves at*, parasiting off White societies' accomplishments.

Another commenter who primarily addressed Turkish people, referred to them as

[64] *an absolute fucking blight upon Europe and not even comparable to the levels of cancer of any other migrant group. Only people similarly worse are arab muslims. [d12-28 c]*

This disease metaphor more indirectly targeting Muslims, likens both them and Turkish people to a *blight* (aka., a plant disease causing rapid yellowing and die-off), and claims that these people are incomparably much worse than the *cancer* of other migrants. The diseased body is identified as *Europe*, who, it follows, will need to rid themselves of the disease and its causative agents in order to recover.

4.2.8 LARGE NUMBERS

Similar to both traditional and contemporary popular anti-Muslim discourse, /b/ posters too expressed fear over the *invasive Other overrunning* one's homelands.

As discussed in 4.1.7, example 16 conceived of Muslim and Black Others as *overrunning* Western nations; another commenter claimed Muslims were *conquering* Europe, and several commenters lamented how their *spoils of war* were *replacing* them. An OP written by a Finnish user inviting other posters to ask questions pertaining to themselves and Finland, generated the following exchange:

[65] *How many muslim immigrants are there [b19-2 c]*

[66] *Too many. I hope they almost everyone die [b19-2 c]*

[67] *We Americans are very scared of the Muslim immigrants in Finland thousands of miles away. How many of them do you have?* [b19-2 c]

[68] *70 000. And it is so fucking much, 'cause there is 5 million finnish* [b19-2 c]

On both /b/ and /pol/, the Muslim Other's threateningly large numbers were sometimes emphasised by re-writing a nation's name to indicate that the entire nation had been taken over, as in *Germanstan* and *Swedistan*.

A /pol/ poster reminded people that *God doesn't like weak-willed >men>, christians,* and that refusing to *pack your sword* meant one deserved to get one's *country overrun by invaders*.

One of the long cypastas included as Example 3 in Appendix A, concluded quite evocatively:

[69] *Your noble people? On their knees
Your invaders? Victorious.
The call to prayer, five times a day.
Your proud nation, gone* [p19-16 c]

On /pnd/, this category was almost non-existent, having only four counted cases, such as Britain being referred to as the *Bongistani Caliphate*, or Muslims' *sheer numbers* being capable of inflicting *severe damage* onto Western nations.

4.2.9 SEXUAL THREATS

Example 51 in 4.2.6 illustrated the sexual threat posed by the Muslim Other, which was by far the biggest category in the /b/ data. Rape and sexual violence were frequently deemed essential elements of the Muslim Other. The Finnish poster who was quoted in the previous section (examples 66 and 68) characterised the Muslim threat thusly:

[70] *Finns have not moved away terribly. but immigrants rape women and children, and cut off their heads and receive a lot of financial support* [b19-2 c]

The general term *immigrants* was used in the context of the discussion of Muslim immigrants specifically, following the earlier comment exchange about the number of Muslim immigrants in Finland. Sexual violence and murder appear to be the essential attributes of Muslim people, and remarks like this one are accepted as true without any need for sources or evidence. While the majority of this category's comments on /b/ were such straightforward statements, one case especially stood out:

[71] *Stfu foreigner before I report you to your local muslim polizei for another round of radical dick in your castrated boy pussy.* [b04-11 c]

This comment, responding to a German poster, develops the Muslim Other's sexual threats significantly further: rape, castration, and emasculation (*boy pussy* being a term for a male's anus,

which both reduces an adult male to a *boy* and simultaneously blurs traditional boundaries of sex).

While the /b/ dataset contained no instances of the Muslim Other threatening to cuckold the White Self, /pol/ had a couple, such as Sweden being awarded the *#1 cuck country title* (due to their share of Muslim citizens). Similarly, politically progressive people were characterised as offering their bodies to *angry muslims* at the behest of the government – immigration being conceived of as sexual penetration.

Especially the angry or dissatisfied Muslim was seen as sexually threatening, with another poster claiming that

[72] *>They're happy in France*

No they are not. They keep breaking our balls and slicing people up. [p12-5 c]

Sexual deviancy, such as incest, pedophilia, or bestiality, were considered typical of Muslim people. One commenter explained that they would never convert to Islam since

[73] *I'm not attracted to my relatives, children, or my relatives children* [p12-5 c],

a sentiment shared by several posters. On /pnd/, sexual deviancy was likewise a common attribute, and the threat of immigration rewritten as penetration was also evident, as in a comment talking about *Islamic fucking the USA*.

4.2.10 THREATS TO CHILDREN

Both the /b/ and the /pnd/ forum data contained only two cases each of this category. In the previous section, we saw one of them: Example 70 claimed that Muslim immigrants *rape women and children*. Similarly, another post argued that if *the Morals and Values of Islam* are adapted, both rape and *child sexual abuse sky rockets*. One of the two /pnd/ cases actually targeted three of my four groups of ‘Others’:

[74] *you want violent pedos, go find some jews, muslims or niggers* [d19-5 c]

One category that had far more tokens on /pol/ than on both /b/ and /pnd/, was the (primarily sexual) threat that Muslim Others posed to children. Example 47 in 4.2.5 depicted *muzzie monkeys* as *grooming* and *breaking in* every German girl; other posters shared similar views:

[75] *The eternally seething muslim raped anglo. I don't see kid grooming muslim gangs roaming russia. Fucking subhuman* [p27-7 c]

[76] *Gangraping kids is the most islamic thing you can do.* [p12-5 c]

Child sexual abuse, much like sexual violence in general, is again depicted as a defining characteristic of the Muslim Other, who, by virtue of this, may cease to be considered human.

4.2.11 LACK OF THOUGHT OR REASON

Tokens for this category were almost fully absent from my total data: /b/ had one instance, /pol/ three, and /pnd/ none at all. The singular comment on /b/ depicted the Muslim Other as being out of control in how they *can't stop themselves* from *beheading school teachers*; /pol/ drew on mental illness more directly:

[77] *Islam makes the people by giving them bad advice. People are already insane, Islam makes them more insane.* [p12-5 c]

sees Muslim people are being *insane* and the Islamic faith as *making them* into what they are – in other words, in order to *make people more insane*, one would have to eliminate Islam as a whole, and presumably medicate or rehabilitate those ‘afflicted’ by it.

4.2.12 INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL

There were no instances on /b/ belonging to this category.

Despite this being a very wide category, I found no tokens for it being applied to Muslims in the /b/ data – and also /pnd/ and /pol/ had barely any tokens (respectively 4% and 2% of all cases, as was shown in 4.2.1).

One poster on /pol/ feared that Muslim people were leading White people along by *playing the long game of demography*; another comment depicted Muslim people as enslaving White and Black people *for centuries*, which was used to justify contemporary enslavement of Uyghur Muslims (and more thread-specifically, their children) in China:

[78] *muslims have been doing it to whites people and black people for centuries. its only natural and God's will that the same is done to muslims in such a God-less place like China* [p19-5 c]

/pnd/ comments, too, claimed that every non-Muslim was at risk of being

[79] *conquered enslaved and fucked over, this is what their own sources says about you [...]* *you'll have to be an idiot not to think islam isn't a threat either.* [d04-16 c],

and that Muslims actively *want you to die and would celebrate your death*.

4.2.13 DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE

Several posts depicting the Muslim Other as destructive and violent have already been featured in previous subsections, such as example 51 in section 4.2.6 likening the Muslim Other to

radioactive waste, saying they *destroy everything their filthy hands touch*. Other commenters claimed Muslim people move away from countries marred by violence *to cause the same violence in the new country*, that they *attack Americans on sight* and hence ought to be avoided, that they *keep slicing people up*, and that they have essentially destroyed the entirety of Europe:
 [80] *Just another reason why I'll never go to Europe. What's the point now? To witness black muslims destroy and blight?* [p19-16 c]

Another commenter saw the *import* of Muslim people as *suicidal* for nations, with Europe having been turned into *a powder keg and a single spark can set it off*.

On /pnd/, commenters warned that Muslims bring only *death and destruction* lest their *fascist* demands are met, and predict European collapse due to Muslim people seeking refuge:

[81] *just watch how Europe gets destroyed with in 5 years because of terrorism and chaos.*[d04-20 c]

4.2.14 CONSUMPTION

There were no occurrences of this category on /b/, nor on /pol/. The /pnd/ material contained the post already discussed in 4.1.7 and 4.1.14, included in Appendix A, imagining racial groups including Muslims as being *different bacteria cultures* taking root in America's corpse, *starting to create spores to feed off the corpse*. This was the only instance of the CONSUMPTION category across all data collected.

4.2.15 ARTIFICE

There were no occurrences of this category on any forum.

4.2.16 NON-/SUBHUMAN

A small category overall (4% averaged across all three fora), the NON-/SUBHUMAN posts were all very direct and straightforward, most of them simply referring to Muslim people as *these subhumans*, *sunni subhumans*, or as in example 16 in section 4.1.7, *subhuman welfare parasites*. One comment on /pol/ commented on the reactions among Muslim and non-Muslim French people to the Notre Dame fires by comparing how *Pig fuckers cheered in the streets* while *the actual human beings didn't react to the hate*. On /pnd/, a commenter described how the genetic fusion of Muslim and Black people had led to the former no longer being human:

[82] *since the time of the Crusades the sandniggers have raped enough nigger DNA into their people that they are totally irrelevant now. They might have been something fierce back then but 100 million raped niggers later and they are basically not human anymore.* [d12-24 c]

Interesting here is how the ascribed lack of humanity renders the Muslim Other less of a threat (less *fierce* and less *relevant*). Other posters did not share that same view, with one using the SUBHUMAN quality of Jewish and Muslim people to justify their *extermination*:

[83] *There is only one way to deal with the world anymore and that is total global extermination of non-White subhumans. We will have a White world that is quiet peaceful and productive if we DO THE RIGHT THING.* [d04-37 c]

4.3 The Jewish Other

4.3.1 Quantitative Findings

The third Other whose monsterisation I have tried to analyse, is perhaps the most complex and variable one, as both the charts and the textual examples will show.

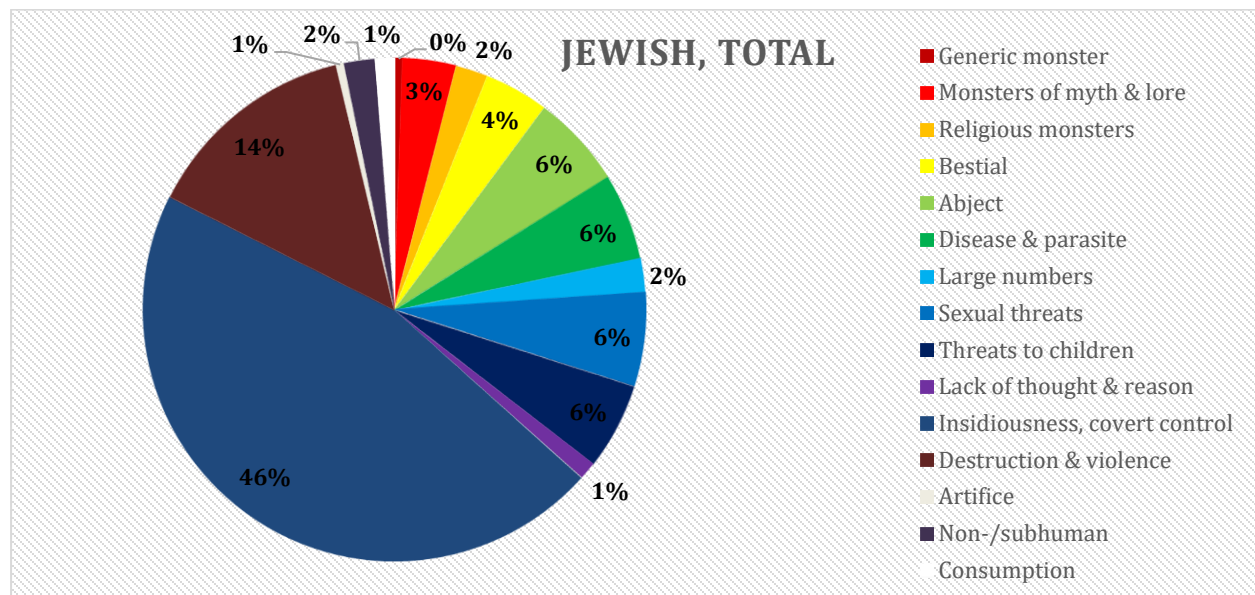


Fig. 4.9: *Monsterising the Jewish Other, frequency of categories for all data combined*

Figure 4.9 shows how the combined data from all three fora contained tokens from every one of my 15 categories of monsterising discourse, with INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL making up a remarkable 46% of all instances. Apart from DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE,

all remaining categories contained well below 10% of the total instances each. CONSUMPTION; ARTIFICE; and LACK OF THOUGHT AND REASON were especially rare, each making up only 1% of all instances. Almost certainly, many monsterising depictions of Jewish people, especially from the /pnd/ dataset, have been omitted in my analysis, due to there being no textual or contextual evidence that beyond all doubt identified them as target group. Many references to the *NWO* (New World Order), *globalists*, *elites*, *bankers*, *certain interests*, etc. were almost definitely intended and interpreted by forum users to be about Jews, but including such cases in this thesis, I believe, would not be in line with attempts at analytical rigor. Such comments were mainly focusing around concepts of control (economic, political, social, mind-, knowledge, etc.) and general evil intent.

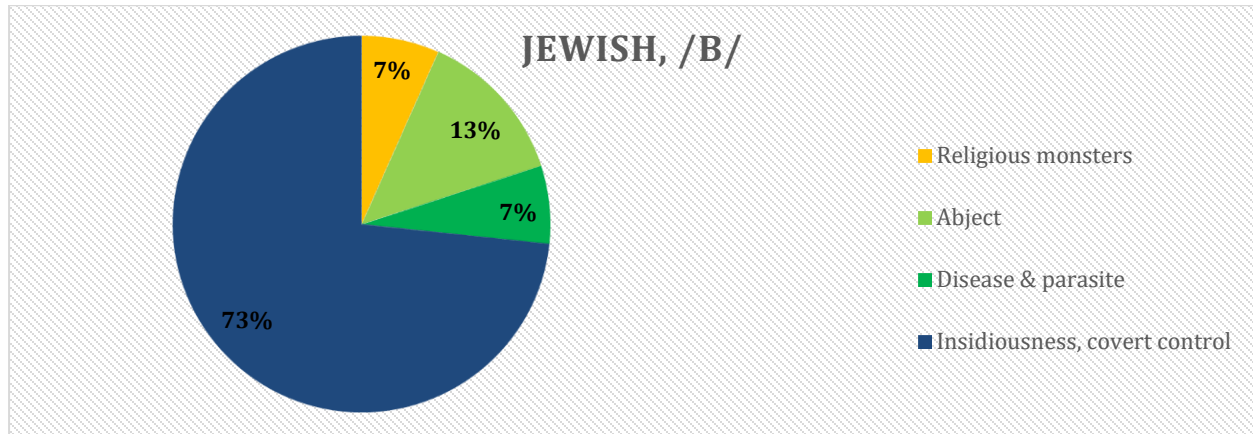


Fig. 4.10: *Monsterising the Jewish Other, frequency of categories on /b/*

Figure 4.10 looks rather less colourful: With a total of 15 counted tokens, the /b/ dataset had remarkably little to offer in terms of depictions of the monstrous Jewish figure. Initially, this came as quite a surprise to me – antisemitism, after all, is a central element of the alt-right, and my previous experiences of /b/ were certainly quite in line with alt-right discourse. The category breakdown was also somewhat surprising: INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL made up nearly three quarters of the cases, and outside of that, only BIBLICAL MONSTERS, ABJECT TRAITS, and DISEASE AND PARASITE metaphors were identified.

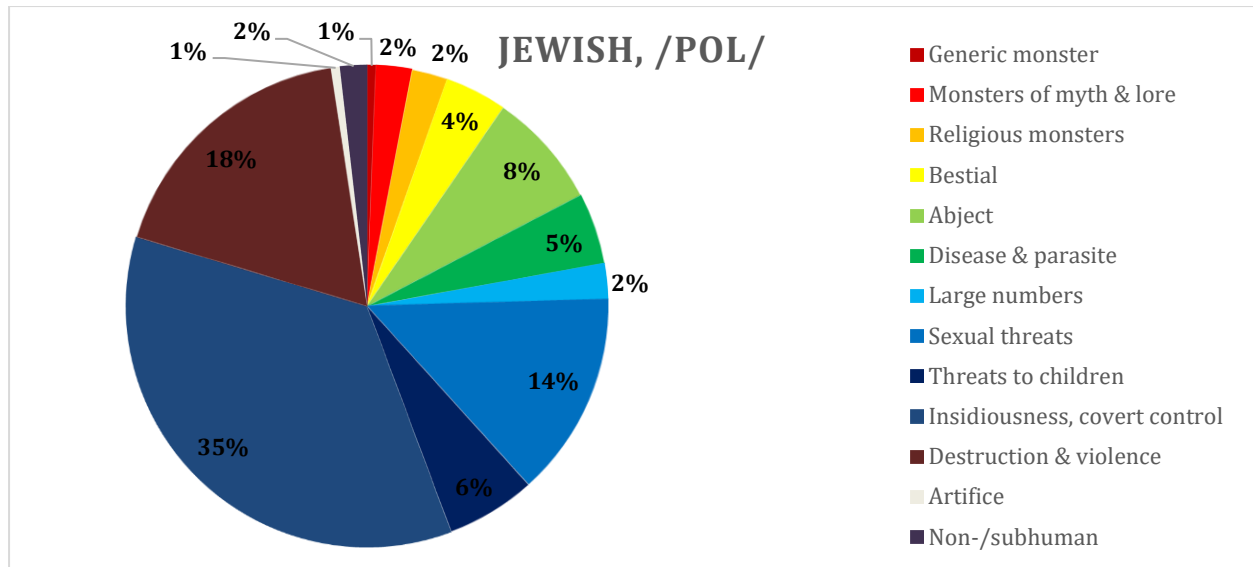


Fig. 4.11: *Monsterising the Jewish Other, frequency of categories on /pol/*

The /pol/ data, as shown in figure 4.11, had almost all categories of monsterising discourse represented; absent were LACK OF THOUGHT AND REASON and CONSUMPTION. INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE AND COVERT CONTROL was still by far the largest, making up more than a third of the total, with DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE and SEXUAL THREATS forming the two next-biggest categories (18% and 14% respectively). ABJECT traits also made up quite a notable share, comprising 8%.

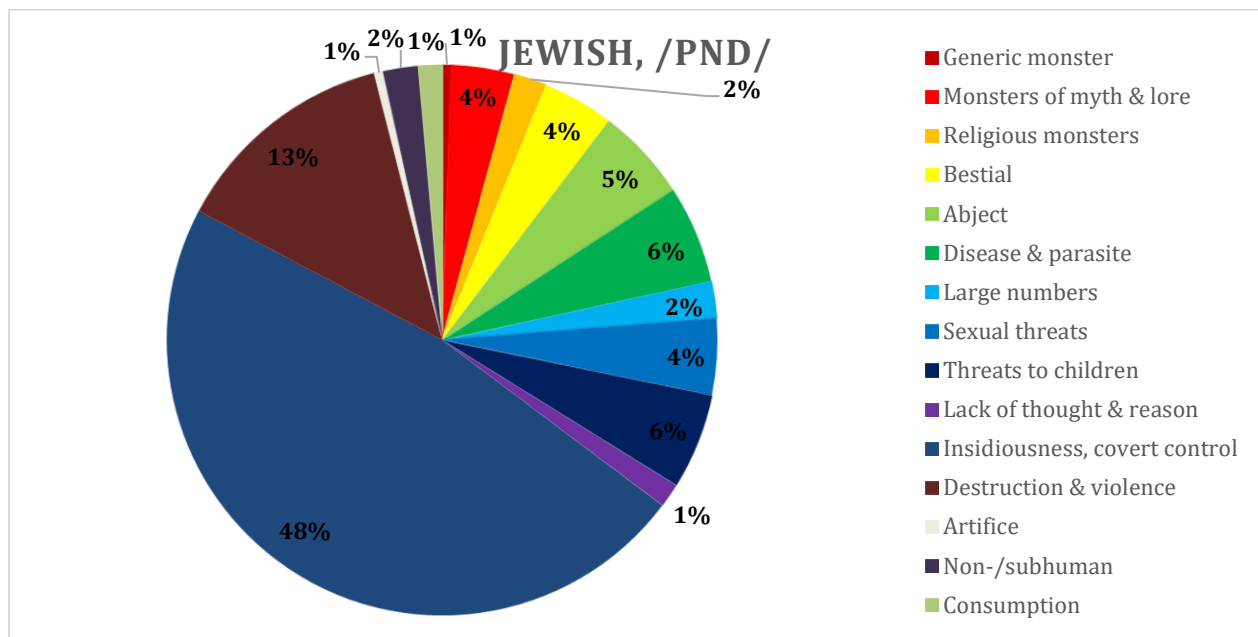


Fig. 4.12: *Monsterising the Jewish Other, frequency of categories on /pnd/*

Lastly, figure 4.12 illustrates the data from /pnd/. INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE AND COVERT CONTROL was by far the biggest category across all three fora, and on /pnd/ it stood for almost half of all categorised posts. DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE comprised 13% of the total, with all other categories ranging between 1% and 6%. Every category of monsterising discourse was present in the /pnd/ data.

4.3.2 GENERIC MONSTER Metaphors

There were no instances of this category on /b/, and only one case on /pol/:

[84] *you can count on those foreskin eating beasts to ruin everything* [p12-23 c],

which illustrates how many commenters constructed Jewish monstrosity in relation to circumcision. The /pnd/ dataset was notably richer in regards to this category. One post which encouraged fellow forum users to adapt the same ‘techniques’ supposedly used by Jewish people to gain control of the world and all its economic and political institutions, received the following response:

[85] > "*Since we're chasing monsters, we should totes BECOME the monsters!*"
Okay, Nietzsche. [d27-50 c]

The monster metaphor did not go to waste, with the original poster responding:

[86] *Never said that. But if one must be a monster to defat monsters then I will become one.* [d27-50 c]

The implied narrative of monster metaphors of *chasing* and *defeating* monsters, as well as the potential for *becoming* one, is drawn upon more clearly in this exchange than in almost any other post within my data. One comment claimed that the entire modern world has become *monstrous* by way of Jewish control over it, and another likened Jewish people to the monsters in the film *monsters inc*, which supposedly exhibits the Jewish elite’s consumption of *adrenochrome*, a wonder drug contained in *youthful blood*:

[87] *this is why kikes suck the blood from a circumcised baby's dick. now adrenochrome takes it to another level. instead of just harvesting children's blood like vampires, they torture the child first* [d12-9 c]

The Jewish monster, depicted as a creature more wicked than *vampires* for its deadly torture of young children, attains some supernatural abilities from children’s blood via brutal torture.

4.3.3 MYTHICAL MONSTER Metaphors

There were no instances of this category on /b/. /pol/ contained a couple, such as the following:

[88] *The city you once knew and loved is dead. It is a zombified husk of its former self. The best thing we can do for that city is to aim for (((the head))) and put it out of its misery.* [p04-19 c]

The Jewish monster is, more precisely, the *head* of a monster: its controlling and most essential part. Take out the Jewish Other, the comment suggests, and the rest of the *zombified* body crumbles, too. One vampire metaphor was also present; a comment addressing another user as *Jew blood sucker*.

The /pnd/ material contained various Jewish monsters: *golems, trolls, goblins, witches, vampires, aliens*, and even Godzilla – re-written as *kikezilla*. Mentions of golems were the most frequent. Most depicted the Jewish Other as golem-master who could *use jewish gematria to invoke jewish demons and raise up a shabbos goyim*, or raise up entire nations *as another golem to destroy us*, but several also saw the Jewish people themselves as golems controlled by some god, demon, or other malevolent entity, *golems distributing the mind of the same "god."* One forum poster argued that the Jewish Other was in fact an alien, claiming that *they aren't actually 'jews'. They aren't even from this planet.* And that there was no ‘safe space’ to go to escape our enemies; in another comment the same poster wrote that

[89] *The battle is for the crown of jewels that is the Western European empire against the semitic hidden empire. This raping of what is moral and worthy seems to produce the psychic slime essence that the jew thrives in. Perhaps that is its method of reproduction and only means of 'producing an egg' for its next generation... who knows.* [d12-9 c]

The Jewish Other, here, is depicted as some egg-laying extraterrestrial being; something clearly not human (given the pronoun *it*), a *hidden enemy* that either metaphorically or literally *rapes* all that is moral.

Many of the mythical monster metaphors occurring on /pnd/ were thoroughly fleshed-out, often repeating the same source domain throughout the post, using a very complex and overt metaphor mapping, and often adding a multitude of other monstrous elements as well. Two excerpts may serve as illustrations of this:

[90] *Every alien is our enemy in this historic struggle [...] All aliens by virtue of their birth and their race are part of an international conspiracy. The aliens must be removed from the American/European community, for they endanger our national unity. [...] The aliens are a parasitic race that feeds like a foul fungus on the cultures of healthy but ignorant peoples. There is only one effective measure: cut them out. The aliens cause us targeted individuals pain and destruction everyday. And you and your progeny are next* [d12-24 c]

[91] *They're like cockroaches in numbers and survival skills. [...] Not all of them look like withered goblins, either. They're hidden in places you would never expect. Not only will they survive your purge, they'll make your grandchildren feel guilty about it. No, the ONLY way to protect from them is to teach the younger generations not to listen to the serpents offering forbidden fruit.* [d27-9 c]

Example 90 strengthens the alien metaphor through frequent repetition, while also tying in PARASITIC fungi, ABJECT terminology, CONSUMPTION, and DESTRUCTION. Drawing on the metaphor of parasitic fungi especially, allows the proposed solution of *cutting them out* to appear scientifically justified. Example 91, in using various source domains at once, constructs the Jewish Other as simultaneously a *goblin*, *cockroach*, and the biblical *serpent offering forbidden fruit*. This monstrous figure is hidden and well-disguised, and threatens future generations.

The bar for using Jewish monster metaphors seemed lower on /pnd/ than the other fora, with one disgruntled poster addressing another poster as *vampire kike jew* for not adding *anything useful* to the thread, although other posters seemed aware of the extremist nature of such metaphor use, remarking:

[92] *But I can tell you from personal experience that you'll never convince anyone by saying fag instead of gay, nigger instead of black, soul-vampire instead of jew, etc. Autistically screaming about fags all the time just causes the normals to back away. They need to be gently given their red-suppositories.*¹⁶ [d20-17 c]

Slurs and monster metaphors are considered by the poster to be part of being enlightened about the true faces of these Others, but also something one has to ease others into.

4.3.4 BIBLICAL MONSTER Metaphors

There was only one instance of this category on /b/, which was a grey-area case: example 6 in section 4.1.4 referring to a fusion of being Black, Jewish, and *ugly* as a *satan's combo*. The /pol/ data contained a couple of BIBLICAL MONSTER tokens, mostly referring to Jewish religious and cultural practices as *Satanic*, Jews being *satans puppets*, or being the progeny of *the Devil*. One /pol/ poster, condemning *all Jewish War Machine apparatus*, formulated a prayer to *Saint Michael the Archangel*, asking to be protected *against the wickedness and snares of the devil* and for *Satan and all evil spirits who wander through the world for the ruin of souls* to be thrust into hell.

¹⁶ The *red-suppositories* the comment refers to, are more standardly known as *redpills*, a 'meme' so to speak based on the cult classic film *The Matrix*, wherein the main character is given the option between a blue pill and a red one. The red pill is supposed to allow him to see 'how deep the rabbit hole goes,' i.e., see the world for what it really is.

Jewish people were the target domain for 15 out of 19 biblical monster metaphors on /pnd/. Jews were considered *a demonic group*, their religious influence a *daemon that needs a solid exorcism from western consciousness*, the *pawns of Lucifer*, or co-conspirers of *Satan bent on destroying the White race*. In section 4.1.4, I quoted another commenter who claimed that both conservatives and liberals want to achieve a *niggerkike hellscape*, and Israel, seen as the source and seat of Jewish power, was repeatedly referred to as *hell: Israhell* or alternatively *Pissrahell*. Other posters seemed to take a more ‘humorous’ approach to demon metaphors:

[93] *now, BEGONE KIKE! I banish you with the power of the porkstika!* [d04-22 c]

The banishment phrase, echoing mainstream horror movies’ demon exorcisms, is not accompanied by the holy water or cross, but by those two items that exorcise the Jewish demon: pig meat and swastikas.

4.3.5 BESTIAL Metaphors

There were no instances of BESTIAL metaphors on /b/, while /pol/ and /pnd/ were fairly similar in which animalistic imagery was employed. *Rats, insects* (especially *cockroaches* and *locusts*), and *vermin* (including *kikenvermin*) were most often used as source domains: the small, resilient, destructive, and often wall-dwelling pests that infiltrate and destroy. The /pol/ posters were also somewhat fond of pig metaphors, especially as a low-effort insult directed at supposedly Jewish-interest-aligned forum posters:

[94] *Fuck you ziopig!* [p20-22 c]

[95] *oh yes, I am the ziopig. not the israel worshipping christcucks.* [p20-22 c]

One comment deserves quoting for its explicit outline of the metaphor mappings:

[96] *And to compare the nigger to the jew is like comparing jellyfish to locusts. The nigger jellyfish can ruin a day easily, but if you stay away from them you're fine. The jew locust is not deadly as immediately but they're always together and they come for the crops. Both are nuisances but they're not the same. Also niggers are just dumb most of the time, jews be more sinister I spose.* [p12-2 c]

The qualities of locusts that get mapped onto the Jewish Other, here, are the swarming numbers and the long-term threat: by *coming for the crops*, they threaten the wider populace’s long-term survival, and their attack is hard to counter. On /pnd/, some posts drew on both BESTIAL and DISEASE AND PARASITISM metaphors at the same time:

[97] *Locusts and viruses are both self-terminating to a degree.* [d19-4 c]

A good example of less direct metaphor uses and calls for violence, that discourse analysis software might not pick up on, is the following, in a thread about Wolf protection:

[98] *Trump needs to end federal protection for jews, niggers and spices next* [d04-22 c]

In conclusion, data from all fora shows BESTIAL metaphors used to highlight swarming, infiltrating, repulsive, pest-like traits in the Jewish Other, and also to justify violence.

4.3.6 ABJECT Traits

The /b/ dataset contained two instances of ABJECT traits: one commenter claimed to have identified another forum user as *mutilated jew with scar tissue*, and another referred to Jewish people as *slimy parasites*. These short monsterising comments, often fairly devoid of contextualisation, were typical for the /b/ data, although the other fora contained some similar posts too. Thus, the /pol/ data contained terms like *recycled jewshit* or, in one case, *shitskin*. Longer comments include Jews insisting on *bathing in their degeneracy and filth* instead of being saved by Jesus, and more contemporarily,

[99] *they muzzled the planet, put soiled diapers on your face, crashed every single economy, closed or destroyed everything you have ever loved or enjoyed and sent you to your homes to let it all soak in too.* [p19-6 c]

This interpretation of covid-19 related mask and lockdown orders draws on images of excrement which the Jewish overlords have forced onto one's face and left to *soak in*; this pollution or soiling of the Self's face was echoed by other posts as well:

[100] *Imagine lying in bed when suddenly Larry Silverstein enters your room through the open window and proceeds to climb onto your bed, sticking his big kike nose into your mouth [...]Then before departing back out the window, he snuffs a gigantic amount of mucus and bogies into your mouth, leaving you gagging as you cough it out into your sheets.* [p27-22 c]

The disturbing ABJECT and SEXUALLY THREATENING image of the Jewish Other's phallic and ejaculating nose being forced into one's mouth (in a setting reminiscent of horror stories wherein the monster enters through the window at night) may have been intended as a troll post to disrupt the thread in which this comment appeared, but none of the subsequent comments seemed to pick up on its imagery in any way.

In the /pnd/ data, the Jewish Other was imagined as *filthy, parasitic refuse*, and *rotten* (or simply *rot*). Faecal matter and urine were also associated with the Jewish Other, both in terms like *Pissrael* and in more fleshed-out posts:

[101] *In closing: you were born a piece of ratfucking kike shit, you'll die a piece of ratfucking kike shit, and only your fleas and tapeworms will mourn you.* [d04-22 c]

4.3.7 DISEASE AND PARASITISM Metaphors

The only occurrence of this category on /b/ was discussed in the previous section: a commenter referring to Jews as *slimy parasites*. The /pol/ data contained several instances of the Jewish Other as *cancer* and *parasite*, some of which combined with other categories:

[102] *jews are parasites and have no problem harvesting flesh from infants* [p27-18 c]

[103] *Cut off from higher consciousness and a slave to his own cybernetic biology, the parasitical Jewish organism resorts again and again to the same subversive patterns of behaviour.* [p12-13 c]

Example 102 constructs the Jewish Other as threatening young children in particular, apparently parasiting off their flesh, while example 103 sees them as an artificial life-form, an *organism* built on *cybernetic biology*, observed here as through a scientist's microscope.

Jewish *cancer* appeared to be widespread: The U.S. had morphed into the *Jewnited States of Cancer*, and both transgender and Christian people were referred to as a product or site of its metastasis.

The /pol/ dataset contained many PARASITE narratives that were developed, fleshed out, and repeated over several paragraphs; one such case has been included as Example 5 in Appendix A. Often, the Jewish *parasites* had *enslaved* humankind; furthermore, they desired to *murder* or *exterminate* their host (nations) at any given point. Again, some groups of Others, including homosexual or politically progressive people, were seen as either manifestations or victims of this Jewish *parasitism*:

[104] *The parasites want a slave system where the people who are gay do not contribute their genetics but are slaves their whole life. [...] Eventually they will be grown in pods and enslaved forever and will think that homosexuality is the way things always was, rather than a deviant sexual agenda that allows them to be used and abused and enslaved.* [d27-9]

One OP examines how Jewish people are *a parasitic race, an anti-race if you will, that have infected the European genepool*, and how they are *actively posing and camouflaging themselves as a European specimen when convenient for survival*. Furthermore, the poster argues, *they are not only a biological parasite in the way they infect a host tribe and destroy it from within, but also a social parasite*. Having such *parasitic imposters* dwell within one's societies and actively try to get different *races* to destroy each other, makes it necessary to develop a *keen "jewdar"*, and the OP lists various facial features to help identify *kike blood infected* people. Several posts

would also cite supposedly Jewish (antisemitic) authors as evidence that the Jewish *parasites* were aware of their own parasitism. Naturally, viruses and parasites require *extermination* to preserve the host species, if *immunization* is not possible:

[105] *If every white man is immunized to the jew, then exterminations are not necessary, but Norway once had it baked in their fucking constitution that jews were not allowed in their country, and ~40 years later they managed to get the removed. If you don't want jews to be exterminated, then you better work harder to get white men immunized to the jew.* [12-27 c]

One conversation on /pnd/ was highly illustrative of the potential for monsterising discourse to spread and ‘infect’ other participants of the discourse community. Below, I include two comments from the same user. First, a brief note on the format: In this context, the “>” signs indicate that their respective lines are quotes from another post. Hence, lines that are not prefaced by a “>” sign are in response to those who begin with this sign:

[106] >*Jews naturally evolved to be a parasitic race.*

I'm not experienced with to what degree/ratio that is true, but if it is then it's all the more reason to support the few jews who can conceive of NatSoc. [...]

>*Israel cannot sustain itself, it leeches off the assistance of other white countries. They cannot conceive of national socialism.*

As far as Israel, aren't they more preferable than the islamists/arabs/Turks who were there before them? [d12-27 c]

The commenter expresses a lack of knowledge and eagerness to learn more about the Jewish Other, while also not being overly critical towards them – in fact, they voice their *support* for national socialist (*NatSoc*) Jews. Repeatedly, the poster to whom this comment responds, uses DISEASE AND PARASITISM metaphors, and as the conversation progresses (i.e., the above comment is responded to by the original author), we can notice the change - the poster comes to adopt more of the parasitism metaphor as the exchange goes on:

[107] >*the same way a parasite doesn't coexist with other organisms.*

Doesn't that imply jews would die under a jewish NatSoc governance, since a parasite can't survive without a host?

Or maybe the less parasitic jews would survive and their race might evolve in a better direction?

>*they migrated to, leeches off of, and were kicked out of 109 countries.*

Again I'm not experienced on to what degree/ratio their parasitic racial characteristics manifest itself in their volk, and you may be right, but I always associated most of their expulsions due to their leadership's reputation for having orchestrated the killing of Jesus.

[d12-27 c]

The poster’s first comment did not employ any of this metaphoric language, despite responding to a comment that was drawing heavily on this metaphor. However, their second response used *parasite* or *parasitism* a total of three times, having ‘learned’ more about this Jewish Other.

4.3.8 LARGE NUMBERS

The LARGE NUMBERS category comprised merely 2% of the total counted posts, and there were no instances of this category in the /b/ dataset. On /pol/, examples of the Jewish *takeover* include reconfiguring the U.S. as the *Jewnited States of Cancer*, and on /pnd/ the notion of *taking over* was likewise the dominant subcategory of LARGE NUMBERS. Several posters claimed *that society is kiked forever* or that *the world is kiked and its impossible to drag people into reality*. One commenter explained their journey from 4Chan to 8Kun as coinciding with the time they [108] *got through the identity crisis/rebirth that follows realization that your society and nation are not your own*. [d19-4 c]

4.3.9 SEXUAL THREATS

Again, no instances belonging to this category were found in the /b/ data, while it was one of the biggest categories on /pol/ (14%) and a small but notable one on /pnd/ (4%). Example 100 in section 4.3.6, depicting the Jewish home-invader as an ABJECT and SEXUALLY THREATENING violator, serves as a good example, as does

[109] *Excuse me anon plz report to closest jewducation centre in order to have your natural instincts properly rapefucked thankye* [p27-9 c],

wherein the penetration into the White victim's mind is reconfigured as a sexual (and nonconsensual) penetration instead: Jewish 'propaganda' rewritten as *rapefucking*.

Most sexual threats on /pol/ and /pnd/ were metaphoric applications of cuckoldry:

[110] *also we're not nazis, we're just real rightwing conservatives who dont cuck to kikery like all the rest of you submissive whores do* [p12-3 c],

and *submitting* to Jewish interests was often imagined as receiving sexual fluids or as being sexually penetrated. One poster remarked that

[111] *Once you accept Christianity you have the Jewish dildo already halfway up your arse*. [d27-8 c]

Likewise we saw examples of *rape* used in a similar context in section 4.3.3., where example 89 depicted the Jewish *alien* as *raping what is moral and worthy*, and the comment below again conceives of propaganda or mind-control as *rape*:

[112] *The only reason you think you are gay is because the kikes have taken advantage of the evolutionary adaption that when a human is raped (male or female) it is more beneficial to accept the rape and live than to fight the rape and die. You have been mentally raped with images of a faggot kike nigger nature your whole life to confuse you. Your enemy wants you to forget the fundamentals of nature. They can't win. The jewish plan will always fail because it is against nature. You know deep in your soul what you are and why you are here. Don't give into kike propaganda*. [d12-5 c]

The /pnd/ data also contained some song lyrics and other creative expressions of alt-right imagery, including lyrics about how consuming supposedly Jewish-controlled media is comparable in effect to receiving *facials* (i.e., the sexual act of one's face being ejaculated on) where the ejaculate has been exchanged with *infant foreskins*.

4.3.10 THREATS TO CHILDREN

The /b/ dataset contained no instances of the Jewish Other being a THREAT TO CHILDREN specifically; on the two other fora this category made up 6% of the counted posts. Jewish Others were addressed as *pedo sodomites* or *pedokikes*, or as marked by *deviant pedophilia*, and most instances in this category were sexual in nature:

[113] *Thanks to leftist kikes our children now are confused about their sex and pedophilia is being normalized.* [p27-4 c]

Another commenter was clearly haunted by the sexual violence they imagined to be brought on by Jewish interests:

[114] *Are we in ZOGs endgame? [...] Our children? Will they end up raped like the German citizens during the Siege of Berlin? Will our sons and daughters be forced to sexualize themselves for some degenerates to use them as cumdumpsters just to make money? I can't sleep anymore, thinking about this. I need answers.* [d12-2 c]

However, Jewish threats to children also encompassed other forms of danger, including the comment about Jewish *parasites harvesting flesh from infants* (example 102, in section 4.3.7), or *murder and enslavement*.

4.3.11 LACK OF THOUGHT OR REASON

No tokens for this category were found on /b/ nor /pol/. In the /pnd/ dataset however, 11 cases were counted, including the Jewish Other being *neurotic*, *insane*, *schizo*, *sick*, *psycho*, and *senseless*; their practices being *bullshit that no sane white person has ever accepted*. These rare comments mostly depicted the Jewish Other as a risk to its surroundings, a mentally diseased danger that cannot be allowed to exist unfettered.

4.3.12 INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL

As discussed in section 4.3.1, the category of INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL was the largest category across all three fora by a very wide margin. It is challenging to sum up this admittedly fairly broad category within the limits of this thesis; contained within it are

depictions of the Jewish Other as a *puppetmaster* pulling the *strings* behind the scene on which White (and other) people *act out* the *script* they have written; as a *chess player* using other people as unwilling *pawns* and *winning the game*, as *masters* or *overlords* having *enslaved* the rest of humanity and *controlling* every aspect of their lives and societies, as *evil*, *insidious*, and *wicked*; as being the *animal handlers* or farmers to the (non-Jewish) human *cattle*, *pets*, or *harvest*; as *concealed*, *disguised*, or *masked impostor*; and as all-around *deceiver* leading humanity to its downfall. While a large number of posts simply depict the Jewish Other as illegitimately *controlling* large sectors of society or as being *deceitful*, others imagine the Jewish Other as a figure seemingly taken from Lovecraftian horror: something so fundamentally and incomprehensively powerful and evil as to boggle the mind; a cosmic horror which is hidden behind a layer of normalcy, carrying on its evil deeds in obscurity just below the surface of ordinary life.

The /b/ dataset, which contained only 15 total posts that were categorised as monsterising Jewish people, was unsurprisingly the ‘mildest’ in its depictions of their supposed INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL. One poster remarked that all institutions are controlled by *Das Juden*; another indicated that *jewish kikes* merely *believe* to be *masters* over White people, while another proclaimed they would prefer Jewish *reign* over /pol/ users’ right-wing extremism because *anything is better than you faggots*. Lastly, not all /b/ posters saw the Jewish Other as a serious, actual threat, with a commenter rather using it as material for a “your mum” joke by proclaiming that *there is a secret jewish organization for the sole purpose of getting you mother laid with a black man*.

On /pol/, 59 out of the 66 cases of this category targeted the Jewish Other, and its sub-categories were quite well represented. The image of the Jewish Other as game-master *playing* with other people as *pawns* was illustrated in comments such as [115] *That's why niggers are the pawn of choice for the Jews*. [p04-19 c], and the coronavirus pandemic was likewise said to be a game that the *whole planet* was forced to play at Jewish behest. Rulership and enslavement was a frequent topic as well; Jews were said to be *breeding the perfect consumer slaves and promoting communism for total control* and to be killing off the White *race* so that they *will rule supreme over the entire planet*. Another commenter explained Jewish goals as wishing to turn White people into *unconscious slaves*, *feeding off our suffering for eternity*. Almost supernatural elements intermingle with the threat of

CONSUMPTION in this dystopian image of Jewish mastery, from which there is no relief – once the Jewish Other manages to enslave *us all*, the suffering will never end.

In the /pnd/ data, this category made up almost 50% of all counted cases of monsterisations of the Jewish Other, and Jewish people were the target of 372 out of the category's 382 total cases. Many of these posts were very complex and lengthy, and often contained multiple tokens belonging to several subcategories.

In section 4.1.18 I looked at thread d12-8, which centred around an alt-right videogame developed by one of the forum users. One suggestion there illustrates not just the DISGUISE AND COVERT CONTROL category but the Jewish monster more broadly:

[116] *Final boss is moloch worshiping child sacrificing Jews/ Illuminati. The game level underground in their occult secret dungeon, you have to dodge the things they throw at you. The floor is moving so you have to driving at speed to reach them. Maybe items could come down the moving surface you need to pick up like holly water. You have to throw it a them and it burns off their masks. When their identities have been revealed they stop attacking you. [d12-8 c]*

The Jewish Other lies hidden in its *secret* lair, it is masked so its identity is concealed, and much of its strength comes from this disguise. Furthermore, the Jewish Other is the *final boss*, the ultimate enemy to which every other enemy was a build-up. Compared to all other enemies, the Jewish *final boss* is also harder to reach and to attack, in addition to being monstrous according to several other categories. This hiddenness and disguise of the Jewish Other was a common theme, which some posters clearly had dwelt on considerably:

[117] *It makes no sense to keep Jews in our country. But we have to define Jews. [...] a Jew can always manage to get himself over-represented in anything, including a person. 4% Jewish and he'll wind up in 20% of his professional and high value faculties. Outrageous. [...] Perhaps then 1/16th Jewish? 5/16ths Jewish in effect shouldn't be too bad. [...] I believe expelling the 100 - 11% Jewish individuals would be wise. This would prevent "Jew moments" and "Jewing out". This would prevent rat nests, but of course the micro-Jews would find each other and become buddy buddy, though it would be much more harmless. [...]*
This seems reasonable, no?
Now for the evil Jews of notoriety - hang them. [d12-27 c]

A classical feature of monster figures is the challenge in defining their boundaries and ‘mapping out’ their physical forms – shapeshifters, phantoms, ghosts, etc – and so the *micro-Jew*, too, threatens with its disregard for boundaries, *over-representing* itself in the human body and mind. Similarly, other commenters asked whether a person was *white or (((white)))*, or mused how both American presidential candidates were *cryptokikes*.

Themes of Jewish total control and White disempowerment were developed through metaphors of theatre, wherein both White people and many of their ‘adversaries’ were *puppets* on whose strings the Jewish masters pull:

[118] *Everything you see is political theater. It's a script. It's a state play. It's a puppet show. All of it is a hoax. They are all controlled. They are all lying to you. You need to be grounded in this, otherwise you'll continue to be enslaved forever. [...] It is only because jews control Western media, banks, education, companies, and governments that the myth of the holocaust is repeated today and that whites feel guilty for something they did not do. [...] You need to tell yourself, every time anything happens at any level of ZOG puppetry [d12-24 c]*

The amount of theatre terminology in this comment is quite remarkable, and most comments were not as excessive. Another commenter explained the U.S. political climate:

[119] *this is all planned, all of it, to provide you with the 'drama' and 'backstory' you will need for the open hunting and killing of European Whites who are not (((cooperative))) with the new AI/jew overlords. [d12-1 c]*

The *hunting* of the White victim, reconfigured as defenseless prey, was also echoed in other comments. Perhaps the most interesting one occurred in the context of the alt-right ‘murder porn’ videogame discussed above: A poster argued that the game’s creator ought not to try publishing it on mainstream game stores like Steam, because the creator *did this for his brothers appreciation not the juden to hunt him*. Seeing as the aim of this game was to run over and kill various groups of Others, including Jewish people, the reversal of the hunter-and-prey relationship is quite fascinating. Animal husbandry and slaughtering imagery was also common; the Jewish Other controlled *the human herd*, comprised of individuals *staying in their cages*, and White people were Jewish *cattle* ready for *slaughter* and waiting for the *stun gun*.

/pnd/ had a strong and sustained focus on the imagined narrative of Jewish Others committing *White genocide* by a wide variety of means. Many posters seemed to believe that this *White genocide* was currently taking place, though *naïve* people were not aware of it, yet the cruelty and desire for control of the Jewish Other knows no bounds and has not yet reached its full potential. One commenter explains:

[120] *They will ‘experience’ immortality as nothing more than a pathetic totally controlled slave. I feel very sorry for them. I saw their future and it was worse than anything the human mind can currently conceive of, it was a pure product of the jewish mind that they will never ever escape from and never know rest from. When you are ‘used up’ you are recycled and resurrected to repeat the worst slavery the human mind could conceive all over... for eternity. This was the goal, divergent from any reasonable or desirable form of Life. [d12-9 c]*

Jewish Others are seen as the ultimate evil, with comments describing them using many monstrous categories at once, as seen above. Furthermore, controlling other Others, Jews are imagined as the true evil underlying other enemies or monsters, such as Black or Muslim people (and one self-proclaimed female poster on /pnd/ even stated that *at this point I have decided that all men are actually jews lol*). One comment likened *deleting Jews* to *shutting off the gasoline pouring around the fire*. Posters in thread d12-8, too, considered ways of expressing this visually:

[121] *Make some of the rioters (((white))) looking, [...] However, left alone too long these units actually "multiply" the size of the congregation - or incite "over-chimping" in the noggs double damage/faster attackspeed etc.* [d12-8 c]

The disguised Jewish Other, here, is responsible for not only inflating the sheer numbers of threatening groups, but also for increasing their violent potential and animalistic behaviour.

4.3.13 DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE

Again, I could not identify any instances of this category on /b/, whereas on /pol/ and /pnd/, the *murderous* and *destructive* Jewish Other is an *anti-human* whose presence spells out society's *ruin*, made up 18% and 13% of total cases respectively. Example 99 in section 4.3.6 expressed how the Jewish Other had *closed or destroyed everything you have ever loved*, and this sense of destroying everything, including *the government, the whole country, us, or the entire planet* was pervasive in the /pol/ material. One commenter remarked that *the Judengeist is driving us to our destruction*, while another saw this *destruction* as caused by the Jewish parasitic and *defective organism's misguided attempts at self preservation*.

Other commenters saw Jewish VIOLENCE as a way to recruit more people to the alt-right cause, or alternatively as justification for their own necessary violence:

[122] *Don't think that they are not going to genocide us quietly one by one if we don't act. [...] Quietly they will slaughter all of European humanity. [...] Do you honestly think that they are going to 'let someone like me live' just because I didn't stand up for myself and my people? [...] You can't save me by telling me to 'let my people die'. It is not 'honorable' to watch them being killed in front of me and do nothing. [...] Life [...] is for continuation, which means BY DEFAULT I am in violation of natural principles if I watch while my people, my family and those I love are slaughtered by a china/israel alliance who is going to murder the planet in favor of their own people? they kill those who will not submit to their ideology.* [19-4 c]

The Jewish Other's violence – *slaughter, genocide, murder of the planet* – necessitates swift counter-action, not just to preserve one's own life, but those of one's clan and kin as well. One commenter appreciated a post about Jewish DISGUISE and infiltration:

[123] *Thank you for a superb post of infinite value. They love impersonating Sicilians much of the "Italian" mafia are really murderous jews.* [d04-27 c]

This comment illustrates the Jew's function as abjected parts of the (collective) White Self, being Otherised to protect the group's positive sense of self-worth: If the White members of mafias are not actually White, but rather *murderous Jews* in disguise, there is no need to feel a sense of collective shame or responsibility for the crimes committed by them.

4.3.14 CONSUMPTION

Consumption was all-around a very small, albeit interesting, category. No cases of it were identified on /b/, and /pol/ contained but one case: The Jewish Other was said to be *endeavoring to feed off our suffering for eternity*. On /pnd/, 11 instances were identified, including comments claiming that everyone who is not capable of *rejecting* Jewish values and influences, *will get devoured by them sooner or later*. Some comments depict this CONSUMPTION as more of a parasitic act, whereas others echoed vampiricism more heavily, and yet other cases were more vague in their image of the Jewish Other:

[124] *People think Israel is just leeching off the US, but they're sucking it dry so that they can finally collapse it for the sake of the East.* [d12-28 c]

[125] *Damn catholics gave europe to jews on a silver platter.* [d27-20 c]

The threat of being consumed is, in a way, more grotesque and serious than simply the threat of destruction and murder, for the act of consumption also includes an absorption of the victim into the body of its consumer, and the breakdown of the Self's being into nourishment sustaining the (Jewish) Other's life and activity, before being abjected from its body as faecal matter.

Additionally, there is a sense of helplessness and inevitability conveyed in the description of being served to hostile beings *on a silver platter*.

4.3.15 ARTIFICE

Again, no cases were identified on /b/, and the /pol/ data contained one example, discussed in 4.3.7: Example 103 referred to the Jewish *parasite as a slave to his own cybernetic biology*. On /pnd/ this category likewise made up only 1% of the total. One comment which we saw in section 4.3.2 claimed that by Jewish machinations, the entire *world* had been turned *unnatural and monstrous*, while another comment repeatedly depicted Jewish people as *unnatural* and even *anti-nature*:

[126] *they have developed a perverted, unnatural, destructive, evil lifestyle. [...] Jews hate nature and the natural order, because it's pure and beautiful, and also because it's bigger and stronger than they are [...] By the act of circumcision, the Jew shows his hatred towards nature and the natural order [...] Jews are truly anti-human and anti-nature* [d12-1 c]

Nature itself being *pure and beautiful* and *bigger and stronger* than Jewish people, implies an image of Jewish Others as something synthetic, artificial, lifeless, tainted and devoid of beauty – almost pathetic, although threatening nonetheless. Lastly, one /pnd/ poster constructed the Jewish Other as a *created* and *programmed bioweapon*, endowed with only *insect*-levels of intellect:

[127] *Maybe that god is not really theirs as you say... Imagine being created as a bioweapon by intelligence far beyond your insect comprehension only to be discarded once you are no longer useful. They are programmed to self-destruct in the end, it's that which should be survived.* [d19-4 c]

Ultimately, the ARTIFICIAL Jewish Other does not pose too terrible a threat: it is a weapon that *should be survived* by the White Self.

4.3.16 NON-/SUBHUMAN

Once more, the /b/ data contained no tokens of this category; /pol/ and /pnd/ however contained three and 16 cases respectively. A usually straightforward category, it includes comments like

[128] *They're not people, they're jews* Anon [p04-19 c]

and the following, relevant in its dehumanisation of both Transgender and Jewish people at once:

[129] *That entity is the jew, Dr. Richard Levine, a sex pervert who gets off on having people call him Rachael.* [p19-22 c]

The Jewish Other's INHUMANITY could also be contagious; merely *liking* them was deemed enough to turn into a *subhuman*. On /pnd/, a commenter referred to the Jewish Other as *subhuman animals* whom one is *identical to on the exterior*, suggesting that the *subhuman* Jewish Other is, to the untrained eye, indistinguishable from true humans. Another comment was a little more covert in labelling the Jewish Other as nonhuman:

[130] *They legitimately don't appear to know what's believable to human beings.* [d27-56 c]

The context of this remark was denial of the Holocaust and a claim that Jewish refugees were not actual *human beings*, struggling to even grasp the workings of a human mind.

4.4 The Transgender Other

4.4.1 Quantitative Findings

The fourth and final of my four ‘target’ groups, is the trans Other, to whose analysis we now turn.

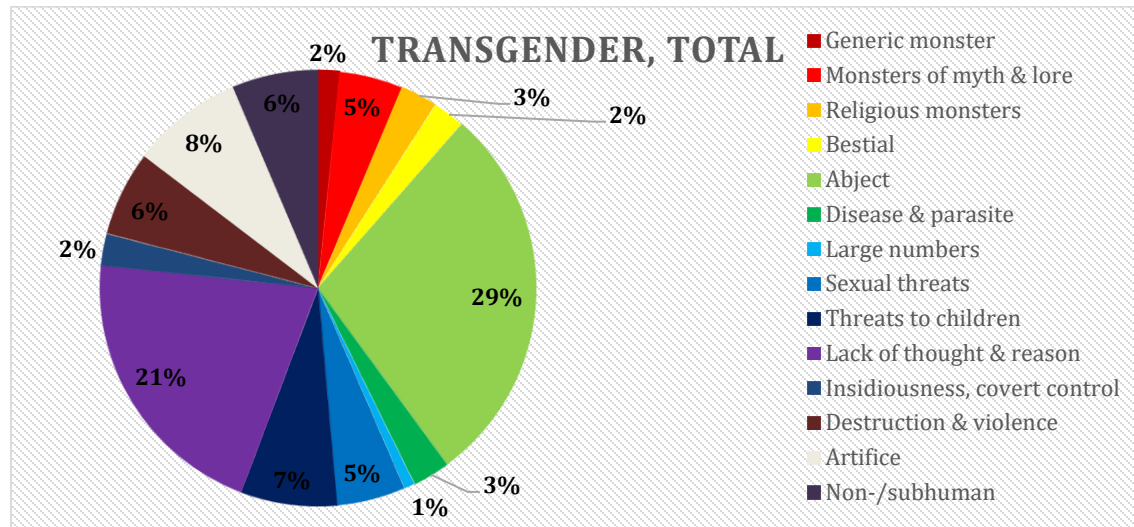


Fig. 4.13: *Monsterising the Trans Other, frequency of categories for all data combined*

Figure 4.13 shows the category distribution for the trans Other using the aggregate data from all three fora. Overall, the trans Other made up the smallest group of cases in my data. Nevertheless, 14 out of the 15 categories of monsterising discourse which I developed, were applied to them. For the data from all three fora combined, ABJECT traits are the biggest category, comprising 29% of the total, with LACK OF THOUGHT AND REASON being the second-biggest category at 21%. Compared to other Others, the ARTIFICE category was used more frequently, and CONSUMPTION was the only category for which I identified no tokens across all three fora.

In the /b/ dataset, illustrated in figure 4.14 below, LACK OF THOUGHT AND REASON was the biggest category (30%), with ABJECT containing 14% of all cases. ARTIFICE made up 10%, as did THREATS TO CHILDREN, with all remaining categories making up less than 10% each. Every category except CONSUMPTION was represented, although RELIGIOUS MONSTER metaphors, BESTIAL metaphors, DISEASE AND PARASITISM, and LARGE NUMBERS only made up 1% each.

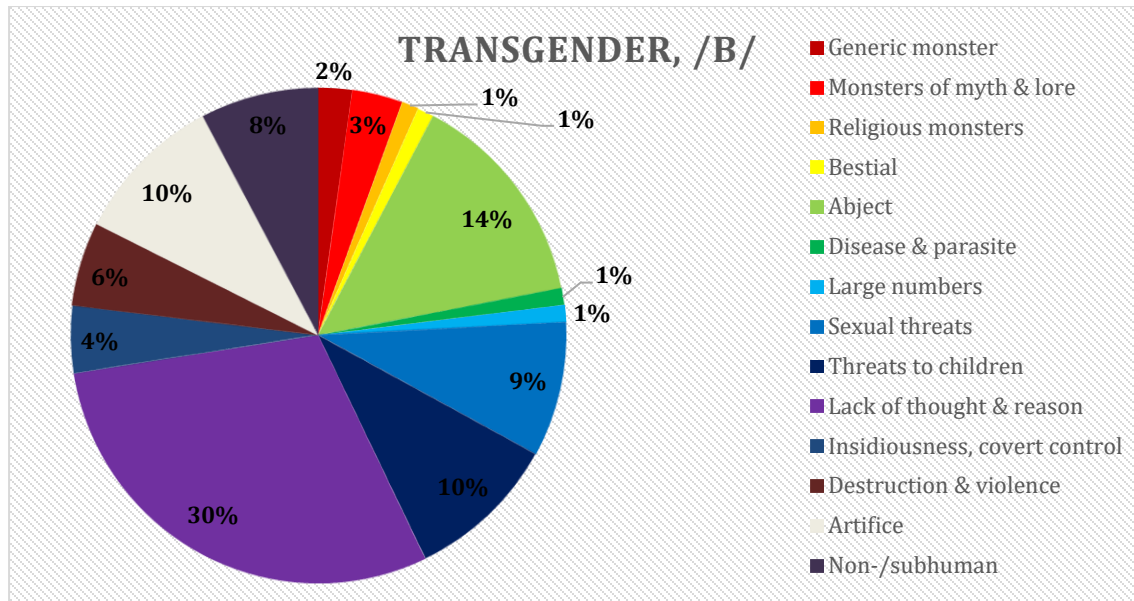


Fig. 4.14: *Monsterising the Trans Other, frequency of categories on /b/*

The /pol/ data, shown below in figure 4.15, had the most tokens for trans people of all three fora.

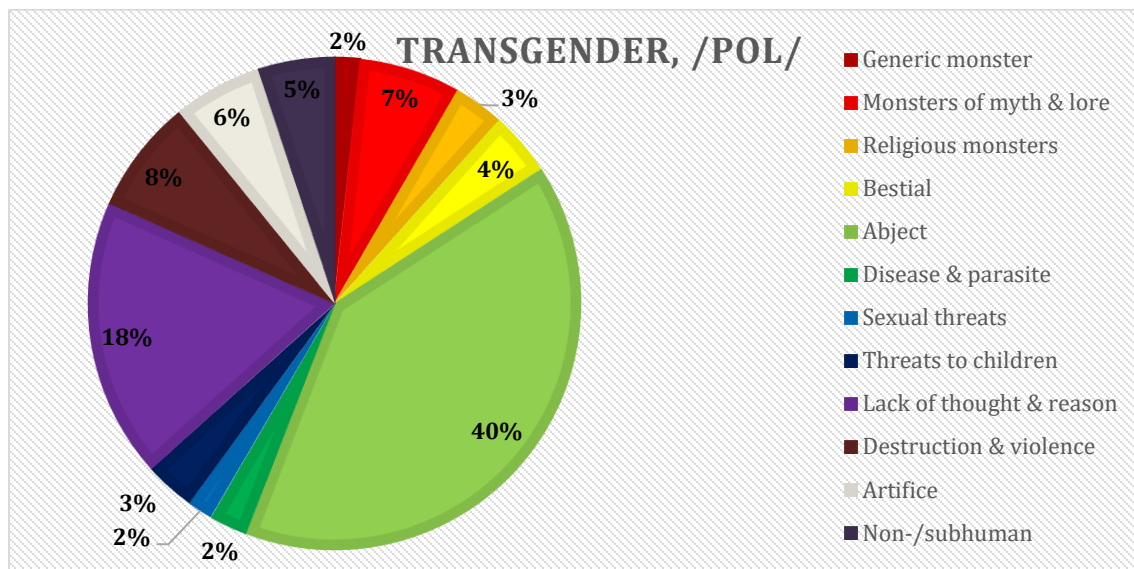


Fig. 4.15: *Monsterising the Trans Other, frequency of categories on /pol/*

The /pol/ data had ABJECT traits as the most frequently employed category, constituting 40% - significantly more than on the two other fora. LACK OF THOUGHT AND REASON was still the second-biggest category. Interesting is how MYTHICAL MONSTERS made up 7% of all cases – this category tended to be very small across all fora and all Others. DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE was also somewhat more prominent than in the other datasets. LARGE NUMBERS and INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL were absent from this data.

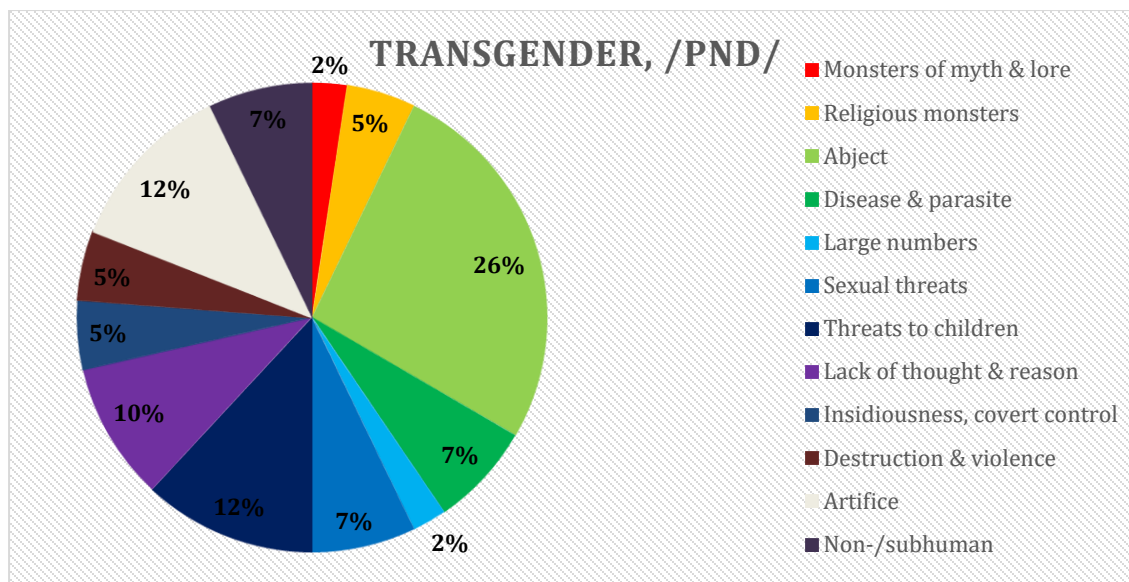


Fig. 4.16: *Monsterising the Trans Other, frequency of categories on /pnd/*

The /pnd/ dataset, depicted in figure 4.16, contained very few instances – only 42 in total, less than half as many as were identified on /b/, despite the dataset being approximately twice as big. Again, as we can see, ABJECT traits dominated, and ARTIFICE and THREATS TO CHILDREN shared the second place, making up 12% each. Apart from CONSUMPTION, the /pnd/ data also contained no occurrences of GENERIC MONSTER metaphors, BESTIAL metaphors, and LARGE NUMBERS.

4.4.2 GENERIC MONSTER Metaphors

Two generic monster metaphors were identified on /b/: One comment referred to a particular trans woman as a *fat beast* with *awful manboobs* – i.e., her body was considered both monstrous and male. The second comment referred only to a trans woman’s genitalia as monstrous:

[131] *Isn't this the trap¹⁷ with the 9" monster cock?* [b19-20 c]

The /pol/ dataset likewise contained two instances, one addressing transgender people as *mutilated unlovable monsters*, and the other drew on the monster’s typical attempt at disguising or hiding itself:

[132] *>NOOOOOOO I'M A WOMAN NOOOOOOOOOOOO
these ugly monsters are so fucking revealed haha* [p12-9 c]

¹⁷ The term ‘trap’ originates from Japanese manga and anime, referring to a character with male-typical physiology, who pretends to be female to lure and ‘trap’ a partner who would not have been attracted to their true sex. However, it is often used derogatorily, and there is a lot of overlap between the use of terms like trap, femboy, and trans girl/woman, especially in the form of trans women being deliberately and incorrectly referred to as ‘trap’ or ‘femboy.’

In claiming their gender, transwomen are seen as outing themselves as being monstrous – their disguise being broken by asserting their gender identity. Seemingly, the only way for a trans person not to become monstrous, then, would be to not assert their gender at all, i.e. to live and act according to the gender they were assigned at birth.

No GENERIC MONSTER metaphors were found in the /pnd/ data.

4.4.3 MYTHICAL MONSTER Metaphors

All fora contained instances of the MYTHICAL MONSTER metaphor. On /b/, one transwoman was depicted as a *goblin*, one commenter claimed that trans people were *haunting* to look at, and the two others compared trans people to *ghouls*:

[133] *man i don't care if the adult wants to dress like a ghouel and call themselves a woman, but when they bring fucking children into that shit it fucks me up hard. nobody deserves death more than the degens sexualizing fucking kids* [b04-40 c]

[134] *Your parents are disgusted and ashamed of you, your "friends" laugh at your ghoulish appearance behind closed doors.* [b20-23 c]

Example 133 makes the *ghoul*-like trans woman all the more frightening by threatening the innocence of children. Example 134 is taken from a cospasta which became quite popular, especially on /pol/, during the last 3 weeks of data collection: a lengthy text aiming to ridicule and break down the confidence of other forum posters, whose posting behaviour made them suspect of being trans. Bearing some difference from example 134, this version is from /pol/:

[135] *your "friends" laugh at your ghoulish appearance behind closed doors, and strangers try not to make eye contact with what their genetics tell them is an abomination (you).* [p20-1 c]

Another /pol/ poster offered helpful advice:

[136] *You are too ugly to be a man, never mind a woman, you should try transitioning first from troll to human male then human male to human female. You MIGHT be able to pull off human male.* [p12-1 c]

The trans Other falls outside the borders of humanity due to its ugliness, being instead referred to as a *troll* who would struggle to ever ‘pass’ as a human being. A few other comments constructed the monstrous trans person as *a disgusting frankenstein axe wound victim* or *a man with your most important part chopped off, the sickening result of a immoral doctor's mad experiment* – both using one of the most ‘iconic’ monster metaphors for trans people, that of Mary Shelley’s creature’s artificial, man-made, patchwork body whose parts do not naturally belong together and who cannot come to exist by natural means. Seeing how *Frankenstein's monster* is a classic in trans depictions both among transphobes and among some trans people themselves, e.g. Susan

Stryker's "My Words to Victor Frankenstein Above the Village of Chamounix" (2006), this monster was one I expected to find, perhaps even in more iterations than I did.

Another comment on /pol/ created a more fleshed-out image of the monstrous trans body, which, it was argued, was an imitation of some girl that the trans woman must invariably have had a crush on, and whose rejection caused the trans woman to decide they must *become* her instead:

[137] *And now you wear her like a corpse, a puppet, and your entire life is lived wearing a mask that you dangle in the faces of others, your only redeeming features are entirely sexual, you're a living, walking, artificial, whore with a shrunk cock, and a damaged chimera body stuck between a man and a woman that will start falling apart when you reach your late 30s (if you don't neck yourself first that is). Accept it, you will never be a girl, you will never be a WhiNat, you will never again be human, you will never be one of us, faggot* [p12-6 c]

The *corpse*-wearing, masked, *artificial chimera* who falls outside any established categories is cast aside, abjected from the ranks: not only does she fail to be *human* altogether, she will also never be a White nationalist or part of the alt-right forum's community (which apparently are comparable in desirability). In the /pnd/ data there was only one instance of MYTHICAL MONSTER metaphors, and the comment in question was a copy-pasta taken from 4Chan, an iteration of the one that was partially quoted in examples 134 and 135, comparing the transgender Other to a *ghoul*. Common themes for the MYTHICAL MONSTERS then, are hideousness and physical *repulsiveness*, and being *artificial* and *unnatural*.

4.4.4 BIBLICAL MONSTER Metaphors

The only occurrence of BIBLICAL MONSTER metaphors on /b/ pertained to a named transgender individual rather than some generic transgender Other, making it somewhat of a 'grey-area' case:

[138] *She's a soulless demon. Fake smile...dead eyes.* [b19-20 c]

/pol/ comments, too, imagined the trans Other as *demonic*:

[139] *You're fucking Satanic. I'm not gonna sit around in this thread & allow myself to get homosexualized by these demons any more* [p20-28 c]

Example 139 was posted in response to a thread dedicated to sexual content depicting trans women, who here are seen as *Satanic* and *demons* threatening the heterosexuality of the commenter. Others saw trans people as seeking to drag *lost souls* into their own *hellish pits* of misery. Lastly, /pnd/ contained two instances, one of them referring to trans people as *something unholy* and the other stating that all "lgbt" people were *demons*.

4.4.5 BESTIAL Metaphors

Only one case of BESTIAL metaphor usage was identified in reference to trans people on /b/, likening a trans woman to a *FUKIN PIG in appearance*. /pnd/ had no instances of BESTIAL metaphors, whereas the /pol/ data contained five, including:

[140] *you're going to spend the rest of your, likely short, life as a chemically imbalanced, biologically endangered creature, who doesn't fit in, and no longer has a serious prospect of being a parent.* [p20-10 c]

This poster constructs the trans Other as both animal and outsider (as well as biologically abnormal due to a *chemical imbalance* and the inability to produce genetic offspring by standard means). Another poster likened trans people to *bees* for *attacking* others *over nothing* and then killing themselves. Overall, there seemed to be no cohesive theme or image created via BESTIAL metaphors.

4.4.6 ABJECT Traits

As may be recalled from section 4.4.1, ABJECT traits were by far the largest category of monstrosity, making up 29% of all categorised posts, and being especially salient on /b/ and /pol/. One sub-category within this was especially salient: *mutilated, rotting* bodies. Excrement, foul smells, and *diseased* bodies were also seen as marking the trans Other. The trans monster as *mutilated* being becomes a creature outside of any category of sex (or gender). Female sex reassignment surgery was in almost all cases understood not as a medical procedure but as a crude castration: *chopping off* the reproductive organ. Trans women fell outside of categories of gender (and sometimes even of species) as their wilful self-mutilation and self-castration rendered their bodies unclassifiable. Commenters referred to trans women as *sub par mutilated freaks, fags with mangled genitalia and breast implants*, or as *mentally ill men cutting off their dick* – surgery reconfigured as self-mutilation and -castration. Referring to a post-op trans woman, one poster remarked

[141] *looks like he cut it off.* [p20-28 c]

Images of rot and infection were common and often vivid, with post-op trans women being defined by having *pus-leaking, infected wounds*. The copy-pasta mentioned in 4.4.3 also draws on this ABJECT imagery:

[142] *And even if you manage to get a drunk guy home with you, he'll turn tail and bolt the second he gets a whiff of your diseased, infected axe wound.* [b20-23 c]

Trans women were said to be *unable to hide their sexuality, hideous as they are more often than not*, and were *repulsive for infecting minds incomplete in their development* with trans-positive knowledge. A thread devoted to highlighting the abject and disturbing nature of the trans Other, received the following comment:

[143] *Wow. That was a real education, trannies are officially the most disgusting thing I have ever seen* [b04-40 c]

The sense of smell was also occasionally drawn upon, especially on /pol/:

[144] *And even if you manage to get a drunk guy home with you, he'll turn tail and bolt the second he gets a whiff of your diseased, infected orifice that's filled with rotting flesh, dried cum, infection puss and old blood that you try to pass off as a sex organ.* [p20-1 c]

[145] *What's that putrid smell festering this thread? Like a rotten open wound? Oh yeah it's you OP. You'll never be a woman.* [p20-3 c]

[146] *Serious question: do they smell like feces, given how often they destroy their butthole? Does shit water leak all the time and stink up the place? Honest question* [p12-9 c]

In contrast, /pnd/ contained 11 cases of the ABJECT category, however, many of them were neither particularly disturbing nor strongly negative in sentiment. The video-game thread d12-8 suggested adding in *some LGBBQ* characters who could throw *HIV-laced syringes* at the player, i.e. marking them as diseased. Another commenter referred to trans and crossdressing people as *vile degeneracy*, and all such *filth that has infected our great culture* ought to be *cleansed* by fire. The infected, mangled body was a common trait for some posts – trans women were said to have *a plus size pus sack between their legs* – but most comments discussing this *self-mutilation* were not very negative in sentiment, rather arguing that people should *stop trying to take people's freedoms to cut off their body parts away*.

4.4.7 DISEASE AND PARASITISM Metaphors

The only instance of the DISEASE AND PARASITISM metaphor on /b/ was mentioned in the previous section; trans people were said to be *infecting minds incomplete in their development* with harmful topics. /pol/ had three cases, two of which called *tranny and femboi shit*, and LGBT people in general, *cancer*. The third comment started off calling transgender a *mental disease*, arguing that the poster wanted to stop trans people being *afflicted* by it. However, the disease then took on a different nature:

[147] *They do not want to stop, and actively spread their mental disease. As if this werent bad enough, this disease is far more deadly than even COVID, as trannyism has a 40% death rate.* [p20-3 c]

Transgender is thus a contagious disease, with the individuals themselves acting as agents of it. Furthermore, the (slightly outdated) statistics of American trans people's rates of attempted suicide are reconfigured as the disease's mortality rate – and at 40%, this disease would surely warrant a cure or else its eradication.

/pnd/ contained a comment looking down on a supposedly trans poster for *cancerposting* in the forum, and another which was mentioned in section 4.4.6 saw transgender people as *filth that has infected our great culture and society*.

Notably, for all fora, *parasite* metaphors were absent, and furthermore, none of this category's posts called overtly for the cutting-out of the tumour, eradication of the illness, and similar, which stands in contrast to the way DISEASE AND PARASITISM metaphors were employed against Jewish, Black, and Muslim people (cf. sections 4.1.7, 4.2.7, and 4.3.7).

4.4.8 LARGE NUMBERS

LARGE NUMBERS was an all-around very small category; /b/ contained one case of a commenter lamenting how *trannies* used to *stay off* 4Chan, but had come to *infest* every single forum on the website. The /pol/ data contained no cases, and /pnd/ too had only a singular one, part of which was quoted in example 114 in section 4.3.10:

[148] *Are we in ZOGs endgame? [...] Devaluing our currency, degeneracy rampant, trannies, niggers, spics everywhere.* [d12-2 c]

The overwhelming presence of transgender (and Black and Muslim) Others was, ultimately, to be blamed on the Jewish Other who stood behind everything, and for whom the large numbers of trans Others was part of the *endgame* spelling out White males' loss.

4.4.9 SEXUAL THREATS

SEXUAL THREATS made up between 2% and 9% of each forum's total. On /b/, examples included a pornographic story prompt featuring a transgender Black person raping and brutalising their victim, and two OPs (both by the same user ID) tying cuckoldry to trans people. The threat of sexual failure and of the collapse of traditional boundaries of sex and gender was highlighted by several comments, including

[149] *This thing is a fucking man. Everybody can see it, everybody knows it. [...] The ones like this are doing it for attention. They must be. Either that or they're men who have failed at being men and decided to give being a >woman> a go instead.* [b04-40 c]

and another commenter identifying themselves as *a failed male*. One poster advised another on how to improve their ‘meme’ drawing of a trans woman:

[150] *You should add some small amounts of shit/piss running down the leg too, kek
Maybe some prickly hair on the legs as well* [b04-40 c]

This, of course, plays both into the blurring of sexual boundaries by deliberately choosing to depict a woman with more male-typical features, but also into the ABJECT category (urine and faeces).

A small number of the comments on both /b/ and /pol/ not only perceived of sex reassignment surgery as *mutilation* or *castration*, as discussed in 4.4.6, but also extended this process to a societal, rather than individual, castration: a pervasive anxiety that ‘trans women are going to steal your penis,’ so to speak.

Trans people are thus *brainwashed* into thinking that *cutting off dicks* is *normal*, and *civil rights* struggles including *the idea that black people had federal rights to >equality> had led to, in 2020, chopping off dicks*. These comments suggest that rather than changing their own sex, trans people desire to normalise or even universalise castration.

Outside of that, trans people were not really perceived as a sexual threat on /pol/, with one commenter calming down a worried Trump supporter:

[151] *Wow, calm down man. No tranny is going to hang you up in the middle of the street and light up fire to your genitals while while screaming: >BIDEN BIDEN BIDEN BIDEN> with negroes dancing around your burning body like it is an african ritual.* [p04-20 c]

This comment, however, still carries a certain threatening image within it, even as it claims that trans people will not castrate and immolate the White Self. Lastly, /pnd/’s thread about the alt-right video game development included the suggestion to feature LGBTQ+ characters:

[152] *they could throw HIV laced syringes at you, attempt to rape your car or something like that.* [d12-8 c]

4.4.10 THREATS TO CHILDREN

This category made up 7% of total cases across all three fora, and depicted the trans Other as both a sexual and nonsexual threat. Several posters claimed that all trans people were *pedos* who were *sexualising kids* or, more specifically, *degenerate, fetishist, pedophilic trash*. Others were perturbed at the thought of *a little girl seeing a woman's penis in the changing room*, which surely would cause trauma:

[153] *Imagine being that poor little girl and being exposed to grown men with their dicks hanging out. That type of shit affects children when they grow up.* [p19-31 c]

One commenter on /pnd/ predicted that the future would involve that

[154] *our trannie overlords dictate that there shall be no meat and that children must be sexually educated in special anal sex summer camps on pain of imprisonment of their parents.* [d12-24 c]

Outside of the threat of sexual violence towards children, the transgender Other also threatened to *infect minds incomplete in their development*, or to force *their propaganda onto children, putting the idea in their heads that chopping off body parts and being >gender fluid> is somehow okay.*

4.4.11 LACK OF THOUGHT OR REASON

In the /b/ data, transgender people were the target of this category 27 out of 31 times (Black people had three occurrences, and Muslims one). On /pol/, likewise, trans people were targeted by 22 out of 27 total instances. However, on /pnd/, trans people were depicted as LACKING THOUGHT OR REASON only four times (out of 31 instances). Common for virtually every post within this category was the equation of trans-gender with mental disease, usually generic (*mentally ill faggots, severely mentally ill, et cetera*), or specifically as *insane* or *psychotic*. A small number of posters also referred to trans people as *mentally deformed*, having a *mental defect* that should not be treated as a *natural state of being*, or having smiles that look *like the laughter of a lobotomy patient or the unrestrained smile of an absolute medical retard.*

One commenter made it clear that the trans Other's mental illness was not enough to render them nonhuman:

[155] *Well they are people. But they are mentally ill people.* [b04-1 c],

while another commenter was less kind in their verdict:

[156] *Well it is a mental illness, yes, but at the same time there's an entire agenda behind it pushing it into normalization. [...] trannies killing themselves in response to it is just collateral yet necessary damage in order to remove their degeneracy from society. [...] If the only way to remove them is to make the troons completely off themselves, then so be it. You might not see it now, but they are leading the future into a chaotic downfall.* [b04-40 c]

Trans-gender, here, is seen as a disease posing a prominent enough threat to humanity that every trans Other needs extermination by being driven to *off themselves* (i.e., commit suicide). This sense of emergency bears some similarity to another comment in this category, example 147 in section 4.4.7, portraying trans-gender as a contagious disease with a 40% death rate.

Lastly, one /pnd/ commenter was positive towards sex corrective surgery, reasoning that

[157] *But what's wrong with letting the mentally ill castrate themselves? It would have been the first thing any sane eugenics program would have implemented anyways* [d04-30 c], a somewhat surprising take on how to 'deal with' a *mentally diseased* Other.

4.4.12 INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL

This category contained very few posts, and none at all in the /pol/ data. All posts except one fell into the 'disguise' subcategory, rather than depicting the trans Other as an insidious force controlling humanity from the shadows, as was usually the case for the Jewish Other (cf. 4.4.12). Some posters discussed anatomical features that were said to *usually give away* transgender people, or viewed their gender presentation as an *illusion* to be *shattered*. Likewise, the cypypasta found on both /pol/ and /pnd/, which has been referenced repeatedly (see 4.4.3, 4.4.6), and is quoted in full below in section 4.4.15, described the trans Other as a *fraud* to be *sniffed out*.

4.4.13 DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE

Much like trans people's choice to undergo sex corrective surgery was sometimes imagined as the SEXUAL THREAT of castrating the entire populace, so, too, it was sometimes seen as a desire to *maim, destroy, or chop off body parts* of the people around them. Both /b/ and /pol/ contained several instances of this, including one depiction of the general trans person as *destroyer who wants people to destroy their reproductive capability and mental stability*.

On /b/, the only two other examples were a pornographic story prompt and the AI response thereto, detailing a Black trans character brutalising their victim. A /pol/ commenter equated porn featuring trans-supportive messages to movies flashing messages such as *Kill your parents!!*, and another stated that

[158] *The goal of this entire homosexual push, is to destroy.* [p20-10 c]

Likewise, a /pnd/ commenter saw the presence of transgender people as mark that humanity had reached *the eve of destruction*, and another warned that

[159] *This scum needs to be crushed utterly before they can do real structural damage to society.* [d12-1 c]

What seems to be at risk of destruction, at least to several of these posters, is maleness and masculinity:

[160] *Best friends would take photos that today would seem homosexual and it's exactly the reason why faggots and trannies must be executed, they've ruined everything!* [p19-31 c],

laments one poster; another poster responds to the question of *What ruined the Internet:*
 [161] *It was entirely white male dominated, now it's full of tranies and faggots* [p27-27 c]

4.4.14 CONSUMPTION

There were no instances of this category in any of the three fora's data.

4.4.15 ARTIFICE

ARTIFICE was a category primarily used about trans people: Nine of ten instances on /b/, seven of nine on /pol/, and five of 11 on /pnd/ referred to the trans Other.

Some comments simply referred to trans people as *fake* and as not *real*. Other commenters construed the trans Other as unnatural or *a biological joke*:

[162] *Trannies need extinction. Nature itself, demands it.* [b04-40 c]

This comment posits the trans Other as essentially anti-nature or in violation of natural laws, using this as justification for murder. Another commenter on /pol/ saw the *unnatural* state of transitioning as *working against your own body*, and the cypypasta featured twice on /b/, once on /pol/, and once on /pnd/ (with some variation) detailed the unnatural and synthetic state of the trans Other:

[163] *You will never be a real woman. You have no womb, you have no ovaries, you have no eggs. You are a homosexual man twisted by drugs and surgery into a crude mockery of nature's perfection. All the "validation" you get is two-faced and half-hearted. Behind your back people mock you. Your parents are disgusted and ashamed of you, your "friends" laugh at your ghoulish appearance behind closed doors. Men are utterly repulsed by you. Thousands of years of evolution have allowed men to sniff out frauds with incredible efficiency. Even trannies who "pass" look uncanny and unnatural to a man. Your bone structure is a dead giveaway. And even if you manage to get a drunk guy home with you, he'll turn tail and bolt the second he gets a whiff of your diseased, infected axe wound.* [b20-23 c]

Again, the trans woman is not *real* – she is *unnatural*, a *fraud*, and *twisted* to become a *crude mockery of nature's perfection*. Example 137 in section 4.4.3, depicting the trans Other as a corpse-wearing nonhuman *chimera*, also depicted them as a *living, walking, artificial, whore* – a synthetic and masked lifeform. Lastly, one commenter on /pnd/ overtly blamed the Jewish Other for creating trans people, who were part of turning humanity into something as unnatural, *synthetic and cataloged as possible*.

4.4.16 NON-/SUBHUMAN

We already saw some examples in previous sections of the trans Other being referred to as nonhuman: Examples 129 in section 4.3.16, and 137 in 4.4.3. Most instances in this category used the pronoun *it* in referring to trans individuals. One poster corrected another poster's comment:

[164] >*her stare.*

are you aware that it does have s dick, aight? [b20-52 c]

And another commenter remarked:

[165] *It's gaze tells me it is a skilled tumbler warrior. Without a lost moment he is able to simultaneously read/respond to threads on two different monitors* [b04-40 c]

The switching between pronouns from the dehumanising and sexually neutral *it* to the masculine *he*, may suggest that the poster deliberately used *it* in order to depict the trans woman as monstrous, before reverting back to the (nevertheless still incorrect and offensive) *he*. One comment referred to a trans congresswoman as a *thing* to be *removed from office*, another challenged the use of the word “people” in referring to the trans Other. Trans people were described as *lesser beings*, having *lost all humanity*, and as being *beyond saving, far less than humans and less than animals*.

4.5 Comparing the three Fora

Between the fora, there was considerable variation in terms of how frequently each target group was depicted as monstrous, as well as regarding what categories of monstrosity were employed. One group of monsterised Others that showed remarkable stability across all three fora was Black people, whereas the depiction of Jewish people had the biggest variation between fora. All three fora contained ample cases of justifying violence towards the Other by drawing upon their fearsome and monstrous traits – although /b/ appeared somewhat more moderate in this regard. Additionally, albeit rarely, people deemed sympathetic to these monstrous Others would themselves be stamped as outcasts, such as one /b/ commenter who was seen as sympathetic of trans people, receiving the following advice: *defending them in any shape or form indirectly makes you an SJW, have fun being put into the mental illness category with them faggot*. Likewise, suspected Jew-sympathisers would be told that other forum users could *see their kike nose*. In-group membership was thus strongly policed, as the fora's anonymity meant that monsters could lurk around every corner. Any potential border-crossing between Self and Other

would not be tolerated. Hardly any monsterisation of the Other was ever challenged, and neither were any of the forum users' calls for violence against this monstrous Other.

Below, I highlight and visualise some of the trends within each forum, in the ways its users monsterise my four Others.

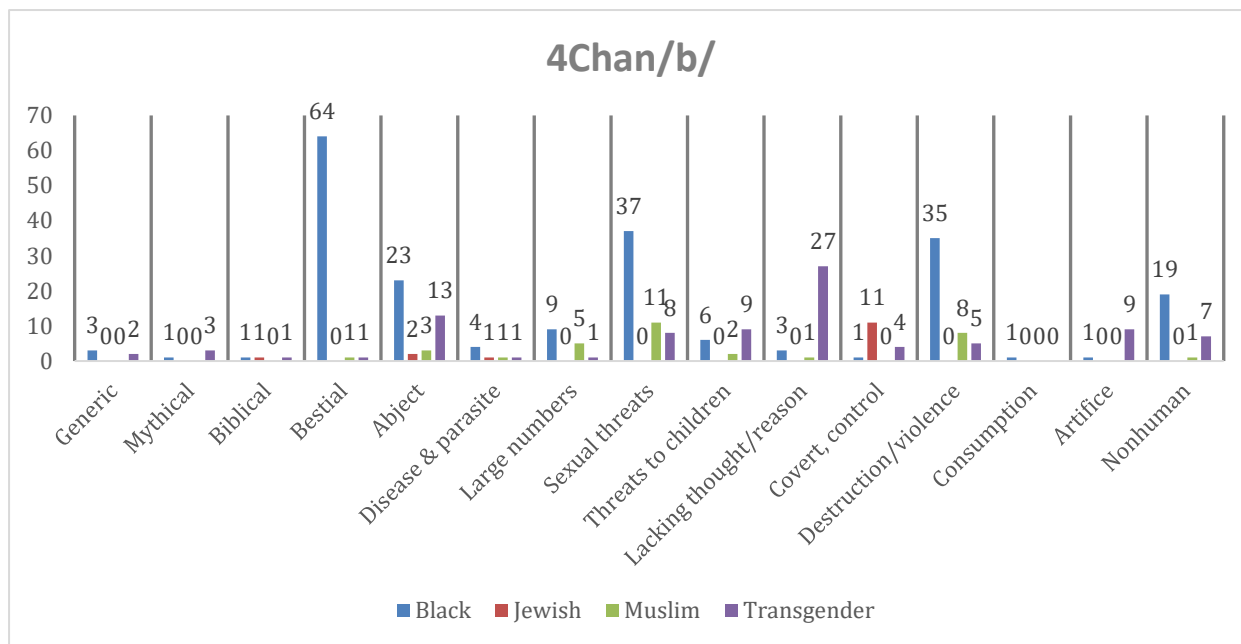


Fig. 4.17: Aggregate data from 4Chan/b/

In figure 4.17, we can see how BESTIAL metaphors, along with SEXUAL THREATS and DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE, all three in relation to the Black Other, dominated on /b/; LACK OF THOUGHT AND REASON as applied to trans Others was also a very common category, but apart from that, the Black Other was the target of all the larger categories. Muslim and Jewish people were rarely constructed as monstrous. Most depictions of the monstrous Other would appear in a previously innocuous thread rather than in the OP, occasionally succeeding in swaying the following discussion. Muslims were rarely talked about on /b/, as seen in Table 4.1, and all of the identified tokens belonged to a total of eight different threads. Nonetheless, most of the comments expressed a strongly negative sentiment and portrayed Muslims as dangerous and invasive. Abject terms that were very common on /pol/ and even /pnd/, like *mudslime*, *shitskin*, and *pisslam*, were not part of the standard discourse, and there were no instances whatsoever of GENERIC, MYTHICAL, or BIBLICAL MONSTER metaphors. Jewish monstrous figures were almost absent (15 tokens in total). Many thereof were not particularly negative in sentiment, and two

even overtly contested the claim that Jewish people were some covert world-controlling force. Some comments about trans people were neutral in sentiment, and a few were even positive and supportive. Negative and monsterising comments focused on trans people as LACKING THOUGHT OR REASON or as ABJECT, and a few used monsterising discourse to justify violence and *extermination*.

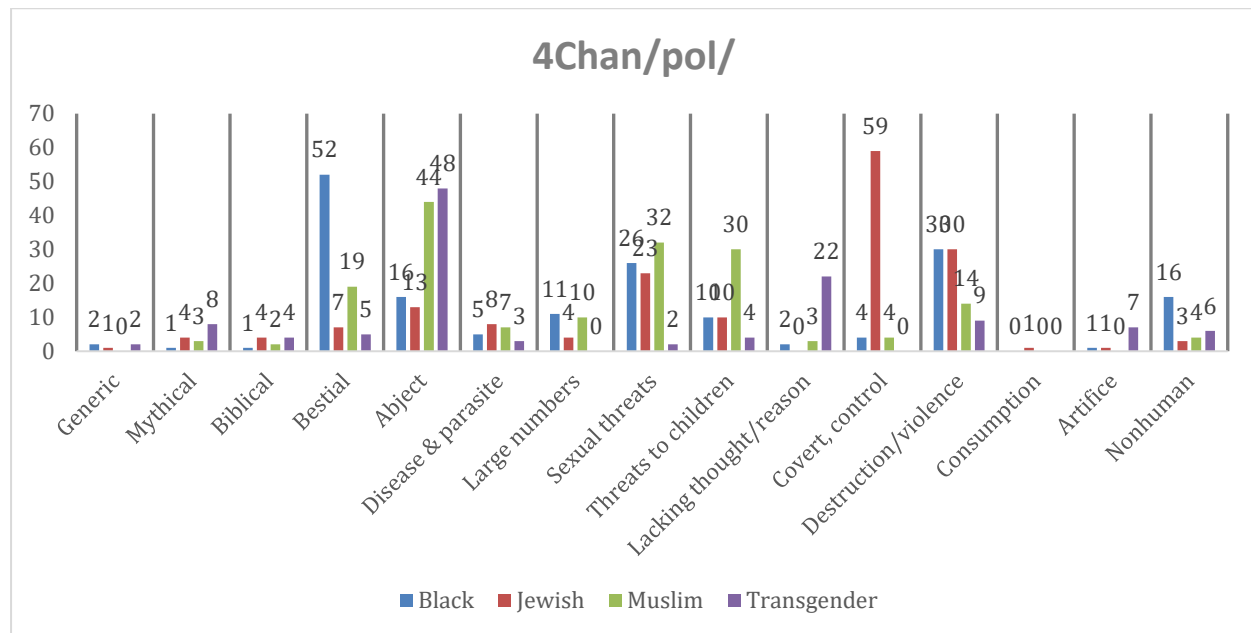


Fig. 4.18: Aggregate data from 4Chan/pol/

As shown in figure 4.18, in the /pol/ data, the four Others were represented more evenly than on /b/: the four biggest bars in the chart correspond to all four Others. Jewish INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL was the biggest category; BESTIAL metaphors pertaining to Black people was the second-biggest, and ABJECT depictions of trans people and of Muslim people made up the third and fourth biggest bar. Both Muslim and Jewish Others were far more frequently depicted compared to /b/. The weight of most categories vis-à-vis each other was surprisingly similar overall, although THREATS TO CHILDREN and ABJECT figured much more prominently. Monsterising language was at times more graphic and also more often accompanied by calls for violence than on /b/, especially pertaining to the Black Other. Muslim Others were more often monsterised than on both other fora, and Jewish Others were monsterised much more than on /b/, often accompanied by calls for violence. While the sentiment toward trans people was very negative, there was profound variation as to how much of a threat the trans Other was

thought to pose: one comment equated their right to marry with *the corruption of humanity*, while another commenter more soberly proclaimed:

[166] *Nobody thinks you as the boogeyman or the final boss. People considers you just as annoying faggot.* [p20-10 c]

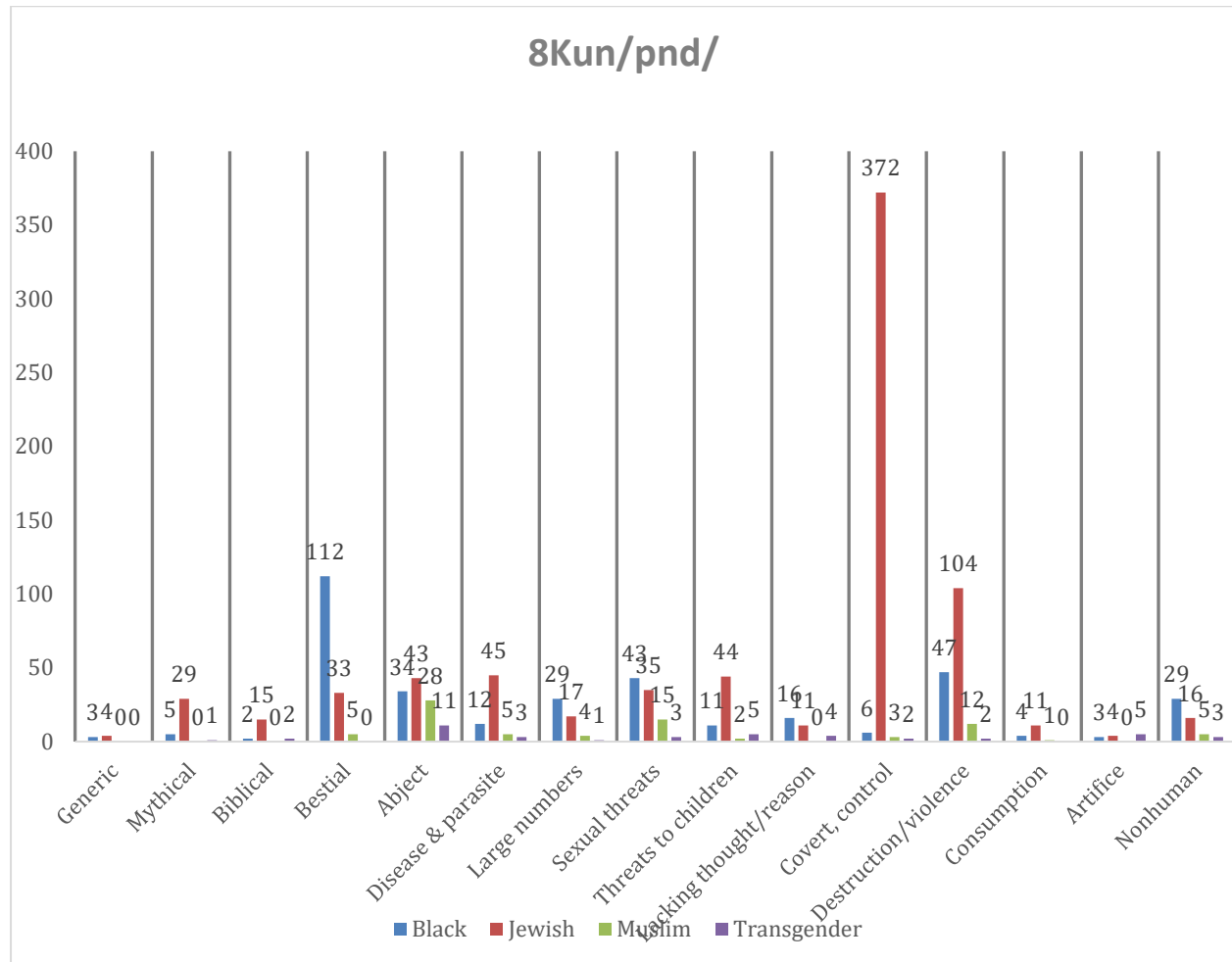


Fig. 4.19: Aggregate data from 8Kun/pnd/

As we see in figure 4.19, the category INSIDIOUSNESS, DISGUISE, AND COVERT CONTROL as applied to the Jewish Other was so prominent on /pnd/ that every other category and targeted Other pales in comparison. The forum community's focus on Jewish Others was sustained, with many comments discussing this Jewish threat spanning between 400 and 800 words, containing a combination of various monstrous tokens. The two next-biggest bars are the BESTIAL metaphor applied to Black Others, and the Jewish Other's threat of DESTRUCTION AND VIOLENCE. Muslims

were hardly ever the subject of monsterising discourse, indeed they were at times even seen as allies:

[167] *being outbred in your own country by shitskins is a legitimate issue, but on all other aspects they are our ideological (religious, patriarchal, nominally anti-degeneracy etc.) and anti-Zionist allies, or at least strategic assets.* [d20-5 c]

Comments like these lend credence to my observation that overlap in values among fundamentalist Islamists¹⁸ and members of the alt-right (as outlined by the above commenters themselves) can in some cases lead to mutual respect. It is fascinating to see how different alt-right forum communities vary so noticeably in the extent to which they treat Muslim people as monsters or allies. Trans people were rarely talked about, and hence also rarely monsterised. Contra the two 4Chan fora, the culture of using trans-gender as a generic insult towards other users (comparable to the earlier ‘faggot’) had not (yet) caught on here either, though this may of course already have changed at the time of writing.

This section, I hope, has helped to visualise and quantify both the similarities, and also the at times substantial differences, within a community that largely defines its identity in juxtaposition to the people it Otherises and at times monsterises.

¹⁸ terminology surrounding extremely conservative Muslims is a tricky and touchy subject; I here use the term ‘fundamentalist Islamist’ to refer to self-ascribed adherents to strict Shariah law and highly socially conservative practices.

5. CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary and comparison with prior research

Revisiting my research questions, which asked how alt-right discourse communities construct Black, Muslim, Jewish, and transgender Others as monstrous, and whether there are any notable differences between these four Others in the monstrous forms they assume, I have shown that alt-right discourse communities on the /b/, /pol/, and /pnd/ fora construct these Others as monsters via a combination of direct monster metaphors and an assignment of monstrous traits. Posts employing any one of my 15 categories of the monstrous (save GENERIC, MYTHICAL, and BIBLICAL MONSTER metaphors) would, in isolation, often not be seen as constructing their target group as a monster. But in combination with other monstrous categories, either in the post itself or within the wider discursive context, they create a rather complex monstrous figure.

Furthermore, these four groups of racial, religious, and gendered Others are monsterised in different ways. Based on my quantitative data, I found that Black people were most often constructed as violent, sexually threatening, abject animals, a finding that aligned very well with Scrivens et al.'s (2020) findings from Stormfront that Black people were considered 'mud races,' animals, and savage rapists, and with Ingebretsen's (2003) observation of popular narratives of the Black invading murderous beast.

Muslims were most often depicted as sexually threatening, abject nonhumans that threatened White children. Like Strani and Szczepaniak-Kozak (2018), I too found the threat of Muslim male sexual violence to often be viewed as targeting *girls*, not *women*, and in addition, many posts overtly identified the Muslim Other as a child sexual predator. Much like Catalano and Fielder's (2018) findings that Eastern Europeans were often metaphorically constructed as contaminated water, so, too, were Muslim (and sometimes Black) Others in my data portrayed as a *sea of mud* or similar polluted water or sewage. Perhaps the most unexpected finding was the way in which Muslim people inhabited a dual role of monster and ally to the alt-right – yet even then, they were still often referred to as *mudskins*.

Jews were largely portrayed along the lines of Cohens's (1996) analysis of the historic construction of Jewish people as alien cultures who bring disease and drink Christian children's blood, although in my data the Jewish Other usually was the disease (or agent thereof, i.e. parasite, virus, etc.) rather than carrying it. Jewish people were also seen as an ancient shadowy

ruling class marked by unlimited power and cruelty. Especially on /pnd/, Jewish Others took on a more Lovecraftian character of an eternal evil lurking just below the surface of normality. Scrivens et al.'s (2020) finding that Stormfront users imagined Jewish people as the ultimate evil from which all other evil sprung forth, was mirrored in my data; all other Others were at times understood as pawns in the Jewish plan to destroy and enslave.

The trans Other was in my data most often imagined as an abject and artificial nonhuman that was mentally deranged and unreasonable. Massanari and Chess' (2018) analysis of the monstrous "SJW" highlighted the attribution of blurred sex and gender boundaries, the abject (such as faecal matter), mental anomalies, and metaphors of viruses (agents of disease). These traits were likewise found in my data, but applied to trans people – although the DISEASE AND PARASITISM category was rare. The monsterisation of trans people by alt-right communities has, to my knowledge, received little attention among researchers so far, perhaps due to the recent nature of developments of surgical and pharmaceutical treatments. Male-to-female sex corrective surgery provides an image of trans women centred around the supposed abject open wound – a staple of horror and Gothic imagery. Posters on these fora fixated upon this *festering wound* as site of trans monstrosity, an image somewhat related to the contaminated and diseased nature of LGBTQ+ Others identified by Scrivens et al. (2020), yet markedly different from it. While images of the Frankensteinian trans person often draw upon a sense of ARTIFICE, I found no prior research discussing ARTIFICE as a monstrous category independent of overt identification with MYTHICAL (or other) monsters.

In addition to these monstrous characteristics, all four groups were sometimes referred to as specific MYTHICAL and BIBLICAL monsters, such as orcs, ghouls, demons, golems, hellish beasts, or Frankenstein's monster. The Jewish Other's vampire figure has been observed by many researchers, such as Halberstam (1995), as has the trans person's Frankensteinian patchwork existence, e.g. self-referentially and positively by Stryker (2006). Outside of this, however, I am not aware of any prior studies investigating direct (BIBLICAL or MYTHICAL) monster metaphors as applied to different Others. Lastly, I found no instances within my data of a commenter directly challenging another's use of monster metaphors or monstrous traits, which suggests that the narrative of the (Black, Muslim, Jewish, and trans) Other as monster has obtained general acceptance within these fora.

5.2 Contributions

With this thesis I hope to have added some more qualitative examination of alt-right discourse, which has previously mostly been analysed by quantitative means, and to have shown the variation and creativity of monsterising discourse employed by certain alt-right online fora. While none of the monster metaphors I found appeared truly novel, I have tried to highlight the unusual pervasiveness of monstrous imagery within alt-right discourse. In addition, my list of categories of monstrous characteristics may be useful for identifying subtler monster metaphors in discourse, or at least offer an alternative frame through which one can view alt-right characterisations of various groups of people. Lastly, my analysis has shown some notable variations between the three fora regarding how posters monsterise various Others, and which Others they focus on. While previous studies of far- and alt-right discourses typically only analyse one forum or community, focusing at times on differences between individual posters, this thesis has shown how similar yet separate fora tied to the alt-right vary in their discursive constructions of the monstrous Other.

5.3 Further research

Further studies on monster metaphors could benefit from combining visual and textual analysis. As remarked in section 3.2.2, visual media can function as conveyor of metaphor in the same way as written text, and can offer important insights into the posts in which they appear. Memetic images in particular, designed to be modified and shared, can offer interesting material for analysis (cf. Massanari and Chess 2018), especially in combination with their surrounding text. Second, a systematic analysis of which terms, metaphors etc. are most successful in changing a thread's theme or tone, would be interesting. Chapter 4 showed a few cases where one poster's monstrous imagery impacted other posters' language, but systematic content analyses would be needed to find potential patterns. Lastly, as more alt-right platforms get shut down, users move to more decentralised and less anonymous communication channels, like Discord or Telegram. These communities are harder for researchers (or students) to track. They also fulfil different communicative functions, no longer being geared toward radicalising 'normies.' It would be interesting to see whether and how these communities continue to employ monster metaphors.

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Title page image: The image used as background for my title page is a close imitation of an image that, unfortunately, was impossible to track down to credit its original artist. I re-drew and slightly modified it.

Appendix

Appendix A: Textual Examples

Example 1

American culture is centered around niggers. They have holidays for niggers. They killed hundreds of thousands of white men to free niggers. They listen to nigger music. They elect a nigger as their president. They dress and act like niggers. They draw the entirety of their modern culture from niggers. They post sassy gifs about niggers. They watch sportsball in worship of niggers. Their biggest event of the year involves throwing parties in honor of niggers playing sports. They use nigger slang like >bruh> and >thot>. When you say >Martin Luther> they're not thinking of the father of protestantism. They're thinking of the nigger. Their cities are completely overrun with niggers. They worship their ZOGbot police force disproportionately filled with niggers and their global police force of soldiers filled with niggers. Their men sit around watching nigger ball while their women sit around watching nigger talk shows. They worship niggers like Muhammad Ali and Michael Jordan and Michael Jackson and the late Mike Tyson while attacking the whites who actually built their country before niggers took over. Their movies are filled with niggers and their music charts are topped by niggers. They send niggers to the Olympics and celebrate when the niggers win because those niggers are true red blooded american niggers. They watch nigger porn to a point where >BBC> does not make them think of an international media company but about nigger penises instead. They will tell you how much they hate niggers and how the mutt's law meme is a stale joke and they are just pretending to love niggers but the evidence speaks for itself in that America has always been and will be a nation of nigger loving niggers [p19-5 c]

Example 2

Imagine having a culture centered around niggers. You have holidays for niggers. You killed hundreds of thousands of white men to free niggers. You listen to nigger music. You elect a nigger as your president. You dress and act like a nigger. You draw the entirety of your modern culture from niggers. You post sassy gifs about niggers. You watch sportsball in worship of niggers. Your biggest event of the year involves throwing parties in honor of niggers playing sports. You use nigger slang like >bruh> and >thot>. When you say >Martin Luther> you're not

thinking of the father of protestantism. You're thinking of the nigger. Your cities are completely overrun with niggers. You worship your ZOGbot police force disproportionately filled with niggers and your global police force of soldiers filled with niggers. Your men sit around watching nigger ball while your women sit around watching nigger talk shows. You worship niggers like Muhammad Ali and Michael Jordan and Michael Jackson and the late Mike Tyson while attacking the whites who actually built your country before niggers took over. Your movies are filled with niggers and your music charts are topped by niggers. You send niggers to the Olympics and celebrate when the niggers win because those niggers are true red blooded american niggers. You watch nigger porn to a point where >BBC< does not make you think of an international media company but about nigger penises instead. You will tell us how much you hate niggers and how the mutt's law meme is a stale joke and you are just pretending to love niggers but the evidence speaks for itself in that America has always been and will be a nation of nigger loving niggers. [p12-19 c]

Example 3

Your butchers? Halal

Your greengrocers? Pakistani

Your barbers? Turkish

Your fishmonger? African

Your electrical shop? Amazon

Your post office? Closed

Your church? Converted to Mosque

Your local pub? Boarded Up

Your phone shop? Indian

Your haberdashery? Ahmed's Fried Chicken

Your craft and hobbies shop? Polski Sklep

Your fields? Deanoboxed

Your fish and tackle shop? An Islamic bookstore

Your pet shop? An Arabic patisserie

Your dozy dormouse? Decimated.

Your wild cats? Crushed.

Your busy beaver? Buried.
Your beautiful bats? Blasted.
Your homely pubs? Closed for good.
Your language? Multicultural London English
Your virtuous philanthropists? Trashed
Your triumphant tyrants? Toppled
Your red squirrel? Screwed.
Your royal racists? Ruined.
Your legendary leaders? Boarded up.
Your precious hens? Halal.
Your glorious statues? Destroyed
Your national monuments? Defaced
Your population? 100 million
Your ancient streets? Renamed
Your prestigious cities? Unrecognisable.
Your vital organs? Harvested
Your local woods? Paved over.
Your charismatic wildlife? Wiped out
Your grooming gang reports? Covered up
Your enlightened history? Rewritten
Your strong men? Feminised
Your shopping trips? Stifled
Your pints? Pinched.
Your scratchings? Scrapped.
Your fruit machines? Flummoxed.
Your 'pub grub'? Snubbed
Your darts? Done for
Your billiards? Binned
Your merry mates? Morose
Your drinking culture? Curtailed.
Your last local? Lost.

Your union flag? Torched
 Your lordly London? Lawless
 Your dissent? Stifled.
 Your hedgehog? Harried.
 Your white lives? No longer matter.
 Your movement? Tracked and Traced
 Your dinner? Bugs
 Your noble people? On their knees
 Your invaders? Victorious.
 The call to prayer, five times a day.
 Your proud nation, gone [p19-16 c]

Example 4

America's pulse has already stopped, I believe. The racial groups are There's only one way to go now, unless some occultist figures out a spell to reanimate her. It's kinda sad,I know. A lot of nostalgia here. But nostalgia just reminds you of what's not. Can't get stuck in the past. Gotta keep moving forward. Fantasize about the future nostalgia you get to create for someone else. Some little blue eyed kid, just as innocent as you were. Yes, that's it. That's The goal. [d27-54 c]

Example 5

Why the fuck do you think men are becoming twigs and females walrus? Vaccines and almost all food is being flooded with hormones that are switching the sexes. Jews do not want, under any circumstance, slaves to feel love and attraction to a CIS person of the other sex. That is natural and to move on to the jewish golden age everything must be as synthetic and cataloged as possible! [d12-15 c]

Example 6

It makes no sense to keep Jews in our country. But we have to define Jews. If you had a Jewish grandmother, are you now a Jew? Even if you're defined as just "dangerously jewish", the question really is whether we expel you or not. Do we expel these quarter Jews? I say yes. A quarter Jew can be a vengeful Jew, outraged by the expulsion of his grandmother and parents.

Then say we permit the seniors to stay? Can the quarter Jews remain? I say a quarter is too much Jew. 12.5% Jewish or less is much more acceptable, but a Jew can always manage to get himself over-represented in anything, including a person. 4% Jewish and he'll wind up in 20% of his professional and high value faculties. Outrageous.

A 1/8th Jew is basically 5/8ths Jewish. Perhaps then 1/16th Jewish? 5/16ths Jewish in effect shouldn't be too bad. The limit being at 1/10th Jewish, as that would be in effect half Jewish. I believe expelling the 100 - 11% Jewish individuals would be wise. This would prevent "Jew moments" and "Jewing out". This would prevent rat nests, but of course the micro-Jews would find each other and become buddy buddy, though it would be much more harmless. We would not expel those over 60 years of age, and we would give a scaling #amount of time for individuals to leave based on the amount of Jewish blood they have. 11 - 25% Jewish individuals might get 9 months, 25 - 40% getting 6 months, 40 - 66% getting 3 months, 66 - 75% getting 1 month, 75 - 100% getting 2 weeks.

No more than 1 piece of land may be transferred or sold to any given Jew in this time.

This seems reasonable, no?

Now for the evil Jews of notoriety - hang them. For any evil fuckers at all - hang them. Actually, electric chair. Simple. [d12-27 c]

Example 7

Some inbred NIGGER JEW mod keeps deleting this thread! Clearly they dont want anyone to look beyond blackpill bullshit here. This place is clearly glow niggered.

I am sure a good portion of anons here might be aware of this already, but for lurkers and others I figure it might be worth going over in a bit of detail.

As many of you already know kikes are in-fact a parasitic race, an anti-race if you will, that have infected the European genepool through miscegenation over centuries. They actively pose and camouflage themselves as a European specimen when convenient for survival, whilst simultaneously throwing us under the bus politically, socially, and culturally. And when others attack them for their "Whiteness" they pull out the "jew" card to deflect blame and escape criticism. They are not only a biological parasite in the way they infect a host tribe and destroy it from within, but also a social parasite in the way they behave and act on almost every level, that inserts itself into movements, institutions, culture etc to fracture, re-route, divide, and destroy.

This being said I think it is IMPERITIVE for our survival and our ability to form alliances with other groups that anons understand that this has not only affected our own race, but also the other races. As such it is IMPERITIVE that we not only learn to identify jew features among our own race, but also among the other races too. Developing a keen “jewdar” so to speak.

Certain jew traits are very easy to spot once you understand what to look for the obvious being the hook-nose, but the teacup or big ears, thin oddly colored lips, narrow face shape, and even freakishly big, puffy eyes can be identifying factors aswell. I’ve only recently started to be able to identify jewy characteristics in certain Indian and East Asian faces. And it is clear as day what a normal Chinaman looks like versus a kike blood infected one when you can decipher it.

Henry Ford spoke of a similar thing in his book *The International Jew*, where he exclaimed Jews pretending to be German as German Businessmen. And as Americans as American Businessmen and how these parasitic imposters are able to fool the general public into forming opinions and assertions on said countries and groups based on the actions of jewy shekel stealers pretending to be the nationality of XYZ country. Likewise I would wager the same is the case regarding our impeding racial conflict. Jews pretending to be Black, Asian, Latin, Indian etc and coercing the natives of the groups to fight each other, or band together to target Whites. I believe this is the key to being able to break down the tensions and be able to work with other groups to accomplish the same goal by pointing out the the actions the jew is taking not only harms Europeans, but also Blacks, Asians, etc. and that a jew-free world would result in a better place for all groups. This is how the jew is molding these other groups (including us) into working for him as his pawns.

Pointing out that even if Whites are wiped out that Asians will be next to be enriched with Blacks, or that the destruction of the Black family was the work of jews. I believe the only way we can succeed is to break through this and work with groups who are jew-aware and intelligent enough to understand that this is a global war that affects the cohesiveness of all groups and ultimately cannot be won without cooperation. A Global Liberation Front; if you will.

Look closely at the pic attached for an example; that man is not a Black man! Look at the hook nose. [d04-27 OP]

Example 8

Muslims are fucking based, shariah law in Europe would cleanse all degeneracy

>no queers, for they get hanged

- >no whores, for adultery and extramarital sex are haram
 - >no robbers, for their hands are chopped off
 - >ghettos would be filled with handless niggers
 - >women can't dress like whores anymore, no more nigger fashion
 - >rape leads to execution
- Convert [d12-35 c]

Appendix B: Images



Screenshot from <https://8kun.top/index.html>, 16.09.2020