

genetically modified babies, and the growing currency of the field of sociogenomics, which offers up genetic determinism as an explanation for challenging social problems, a revamped brand of white nationalist eugenics can find multiple points of scientific inspiration.¹¹⁰

In *The Nature of Race*, her fascinating and sobering book on racial conceptions in American academia and public discourse, sociologist Ann Morning suggests that white phenotypical understandings of race are no longer popular, racial essentialism “is perfectly consistent with the claim that societal discrimination no longer exists, it is a helpful tool for explaining why race differentials still obtain in income, education, and just about any other measure of social status. In fact, it would be much harder to maintain that the U.S. is post racial if we did not have inherent biological difference to fall back on as an explanation for inequality.”¹¹¹ Disturbingly, this liberal line of reasoning is not that far afield from the precepts of “human biodiversity,” a pseudo-academic area popular among some alt-righters positing that if racial and population differences among humans are written in DNA, then it’s nature’s hand at work.¹¹² Moreover, if organisms are unique, they should be protected from endangerment, a policy that alt-righters think should be extended to whites. Racial and gender essentialism is more accepted than anathema in American society, potentially making it easier for alt-lighters, and alt-righters, to dispense red pills.

CHAPTER 5

LIVING THE TRADLIFE

Babies, Butter, and the Vanishing of Bre Fauchoux

For about one year the pseudonymous Bre Fauchoux was one of the most active and visible alt-right social media personalities. She ran her own channel, 27Crows Radio, cohosted the YouTube show *This Week on the Alt-Right*, and appeared on episodes of Red Ice TV and other white nationalist programs. She interviewed the biggest names in the movement—Richard Spencer, Greg Johnson, and Iana Lokteff—and regularly collaborated with British nationalist Mark Collett. Yet in early April 2018, she fled the scene, abandoning these projects and her Twitter account, which had five thousand followers. Then, in a dramatic turn, Fauchoux, her hairstyle changed and her appearance slightly altered, posted a grainy YouTube video from an undisclosed location announcing that she “had some personal things” to deal with and “wasn’t going to be home.”¹ Given these unforeseen circumstances, Fauchoux said she would no longer host *This Week on the Alt-Right*. Several comments across alt-right social media indicated that she had been doxed—her real name and home address divulged—in a news story and then hounded, most likely by the malicious misogynists associated with MGTOW (Men Going Their Own Way), who insist that women have no place in the alt-right.² A similar fate befell Tara McCarthy, who cohosted *This Week on the Alt-Right* before Fauchoux. McCarthy’s Twitter and YouTube feeds ended abruptly

in spring 2018, ostensibly due to both leftist trolling and “well-known Nazi” anti-woman, alt-right Trump cheerleaders.”³

Fauchoux’s farwell video has received over twenty-three thousand views and nearly six hundred comments, testament to the large fanbase she established in just one year online. YouTuber and sister traditionalist Lacey Lynn commented on this video, extolling Fauchoux and Collett because they had “red pill[ed] me and I owe y’all so much. I hope the alt right will stick together, we are a family.” Another regretted Fauchoux’s departure: “Noooooo, you’re supposed to be the gateway drug for other women!” One listener intuited that something unpleasant had happened: “Hm, this concerns me a lot because whatever the reason Bre is discontinuing her show it’s obviously a big negative from her expressions and attitude.” And finally, including a reference to Tara McCarthy, Fauchoux’s predecessor on *This Week on the Alt-Right*, one commenter exclaimed, “Oh no, two great AR women have now departed. All the best to you for red pill[ing] the masses. The bangs look good.”⁴

In December 2018, Fauchoux announced via Twitter and Gab that she would be returning to social media after the New Year with an original podcast and website.⁵ In her first appearance since the spring, Fauchoux showed off her wedding ring on Red Leo’s Yule Live Stream and gleamingly stated that in a year of many black pills, the biggest white pill for her was getting married. She also waxed about seeing the white nationalist tribe expand as alt-right couples in her real-life networks bred many babies. Although Fauchoux reiterated that “serious family stuff” had compelled her offline, Lokteff initiated the conversation by reminding viewers that “there were some attacks of some single women in our circle” last year, referring to what had transpired with Fauchoux. Clearly, for alt-right women, putting a ring on it can serve as a shield against doxing and MGTOW harassment.⁶

Fauchoux’s fleeing stardom, subsequent exile, and promised return reveals the complexities and ugliness of alt-right gender politics. Being an alt-right leader is next to impossible in a movement grounded in ultra-essentialist conceptions of women as breeders and helpmates, and populated in good measure by vitriolic and unrelenting misogynists who police women and do whatever they can to exclude them. Yet this incident also illustrates that the alt-right’s stage is the internet—where the drama unfolds, and social connections are forged and shredded. By alt-right

estimates, about 90 percent of the movement happens online, mediated through a cyberscape of interlinking programs and platforms like YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and, increasingly, the shadow sites of Gab and BitChute. These digital spaces are more than springboards for the dissemination of alt-right propaganda; they constitute what one scholar calls a “networked public,” a porous yet cohesive online community whose connectivity is enabled by posting, re-posting, sharing, and commenting.⁷ Some of the most trenchant analysis of the alt-right has tracked how it has capitalized giddily and strategically on the internet, to meme, troll, and confound.

There is no denying that the frenzy of snarky re-tweeting and meme-ing dished out by alt-righters and fellow travelers in 2015 and 2016 helped pave the way for Trump’s ascension to the White House. However, there is another salient, less-explored dimension of alt-right social media, namely how, in the words of communications scholar Zizi Papacharissi, it can “enable expression and information sharing that liberate the individual and collective imagination.”⁸ Among networked publics, interactive social media facilitates a genre of affective and open-ended storytelling, and creates the conditions for the composition of personal and collective narratives. Thus, a red-pill[ing] journey narrated on someone’s vlog can be disseminated, spliced, repurposed, and textured as it moves through nodes and platforms in embedded and hyperlinked forms. These stories might at once live on their original platforms and travel far and wide, becoming interwoven into metanarratives with the potential to reshape discourse and what is knowable and expressible. Almost twenty years ago, when the World Wide Web was more rudimentary, Tara McPherson observed such networked publics at play in what she called Confederate cyberspace, where Southern secessionists and rebels found each other online in websites and chat rooms replete with “a desire for origin and place.”⁹ Alt-righters are using the same formula today, now with many more digital tools at their disposal.

Because the alt-right is marginal and “stalks the great taboos,” it sticks principally to the internet, where anonymity and plausible deniability are built-in features.¹⁰ After Charlottesville, which demonstrated that alt-righters had vastly overestimated both their sway and ability to handle themselves offline, the internet has become even more of a refuge. It is also the frontline for pitched battles over the alleged biases of algorithms

and search engine protocols that alt-righters decried as controlled by liberals. Indeed, 2018 was the year of the alt-right's incessant moaning about deplatforming. Yet digital studies scholarship shows that, if anything, the architecture of the internet has enabled, not limited, the reach of the purveyors of white nationalism.¹¹ As Jessie Daniels has pointed out, white nationalists were early adopters of these technologies, utilizing them in ways that were "innovative, sophisticated, and cunning."¹²

In this digital jungle, alt-right women have staked out a niche where they maintain an uneasy foothold. A cursory perusal of prominent alt-right websites and blogs like the Daily Stormer, *Counter-Corvents*, American Renaissance, and VDARE reveals barely any female contributors. Almost to a person, the alt-right is a world for men, by men, and of men—and straight white men. Women do not lead organizations or speak at nationalist gatherings. For instance, there were no female presenters and scant female attendance at the recent conferences held by Identity Evropa, American Renaissance, and the Scandata Forum in 2018.¹³ They do not write the books or signature essays that constitute the canon of the alt-right, and with few exceptions, no female authors are distributed by nationalist presses. Alt-right intellectual production is the bailiwick of white men writing from a decidedly masculinist perspective, no matter the topic at hand. This void reflects the alt-right's essentialist and retrograde division of labor and of gender possibilities, which presumes that only men possess rationality and creativity for true erudition and the "Faustian spirit" that can spearhead meaningful social transformation. Jared Taylor and Paul Kersey, in one of their weekly conversations on the American Renaissance podcast, responded to a question posed by a listener about the dearth of women in the alt-right. To them, this absence is a natural outcome of the fact that "men are always society's revolutionaries" above all in dissident movements. According to them, it's men, and seldom women, who can "build a new vision."¹⁴ Even though women have minimal representation in the alt-right, they are symbolically omnipresent. They are showcased in nostalgic ideas about an ethnonationalist future, since, after all, they will produce the babes, and become targets of belittlement and hostility when the deprivates of feminism are under discussion.

The boys' club of the alt-right engages with the Woman Question (WQ) from varying and shifting perspectives. Media coverage has probed

the manosphere, with its ricocheting cacophony of brutalizing hatred, and scholars have dubbed this environment a "toxic technoculture." This online realm is sustained by Pick Up Artists (PUA) like Roosh V (whose chosen tag is "super toxic masculinity") and unfolds 24/7 in a frenzy of comments on Reddit, 4chan, and 8chan.¹⁵ These online forums are spaces where men can post sexual-assault and rape fantasies, where "baddass" women are eviscerated, and where sarcastic bludgeons feminism.¹⁶ Gamergate encapsulates this misogynistic dynamic. It unfolded in 2014, when a female video-game producer became the target of nasty, relentless attacks that exposed and animated anti-woman activism on the internet. Gamergate occurred not just because men were behaving badly but because the design and functionalities of 4chan and Reddit, including the ease of creating anonymous user accounts and the rewarding of upvoted individual content (no matter how offensive), enabled hateful messages and memes to explode. The "extremely hands-off" moderation policies of these platforms means that only after enormous pressure from critics willing to register complaints about heinous content will a chat room be regulated or removed, often with negligible results, since users can migrate to another forum.¹⁷

Yet some of the most high-profile men in the alt-right are dismayed by the manosphere's hostility, worried that it has become rife with young men who have been black pillled, turned into angry nihilists who might become homicidal or suicidal incels. Algorithms and chat rooms have served as the fueling stations for flesh-and-blood violence, as in the case of Elliott Rodger, an incel who uploaded his "Retribution" salvo onto YouTube before going on a shooting rampage at the University of California at Santa Barbara in 2014, targeting sorority girls who symbolized taunting rejection. There is a realpolitik subset of alt-right men who realize that if white nationalism wants to sustain a viable patriarchy, and build up their people, they need to change their tune around women and turn down the hate. Without white women on board as breeders to turn the tide of the "Great Replacement," there will be no White Republic, ethnostate, or supermajority.

After Trump's election, the expansion of the metapolitical realm of online social media brought in women like Tara McCarthy and Bre Faucheux.¹⁸ Their presence buoyed the alt-right by lending it telegraphic charm and helping to normalize anti-egalitarian beliefs such as diversity equals

racism and white extinction is underway. Inhabiting a virtual space that is simultaneously public and homebound, alt-right female social media personalities are educated and forthright, and embody traditionalism and revere patriarchy. They echo their male counterparts as they unabashedly espouse white identitarianism, anti-feminism, heterosexual monogamy, the imperative to procreate, and the sanctity of wife and mother.¹⁹ Alt-right women can be more stridently anti-LGBTQ than their male counterparts, whose hypermasculinism sometimes allows a space for homosocial solidarity and a don't ask, don't tell attitude toward gay people. Alt-right women esteem *TradLife*, but they are not passive playthings. These media-savvy women debunk caricatures of alt-right women as servants who spend all day cleaning, cooking, and changing diapers. Instead, they see themselves as purveyors of a distinct feminine message and as superb managers of a patriarchal subculture. They are cogent narrators of the epic tale of white men's victimization and champion white self-determination.

Male and female alt-righters alike reinscribe rigid gender roles, contending that the sexes are biologically and spiritually unequal by design.²⁰ They concur that feminism is the fulcrum of contemporary social chaos and impending societal collapse. Of course, patriarchal norms are not new to right-leaning political ideologies and movements; they have been ideologically central from the John Birch Society of the 1960s to the neo-conservatives and Christian Right of the 1990s.²¹ And white women have been instrumental in conservative causes, from the anti-abortion crusade to the full-throated contestation of civil rights gains. For instance, the "massive resistance" waged by white Southerners against desegregation and to uphold white supremacy, which used slogans of states' rights and anti-busing, had a sizable female flank.²² Southern women associated with the White Citizens' Council organized bake sales to raise funds for their efforts and galvanized political support through their networks. Similarly, the emergence of modern political conservatism in Southern California in the 1960s was inextricably tied to female "suburban warriors" who linked patriotism, motherhood, and family in a vision of a traditionalist white America opposed to communism and liberalism.²³ As author Kathleen Bewle shows, for white power militants in the 1970s and 1980s, women often served as the glue that held the extended family together and fortified networks behind the scenes.²⁴

"WHITE BABY CHALLENGE"

If the alt-right is galvanized by one overarching narrative, it is that demographic change will reduce whites to a hated minority and eventually lead to white extinction. The alt-right frequently expounds on and alludes to the declining white birth rate and refers to concerning numbers of suicide among middle-aged white men, as well as the devastating opioid epidemic and its impact on white families.²⁵ Recent surveys do show that American women of all backgrounds are having fewer babies, less than the replacement level of 2.1, mainly due to deep economic concerns like the high costs of child care.²⁶ Depending on how race and ethnicity data in the US Census is interpreted, non-Hispanic whites will constitute less than 50 percent of the population around 2050. Alt-righters weaponize census projections relying on the narrowest percentages to count whites (as non-Hispanic whites with no mixed race identity), and thereby hype their claims of impending white genocide. These problematic projections serve the alt-right well in whipping up demographic fear, which is propagated by mainstream right-wing pundits like Laura Ingraham, Ann Coulter, and Tucker Carlson. The alt-right twists these fertility and mortality statistics away from questions of health disparities and income equality to prima facie evidence of a nearly conspiratorial campaign of white extinction.

One response to looming "white extinction anxiety" is to produce white babies—many more white babies—principally of Northern and Western European ancestry.²⁷ Unlike immigration or refugee bans, forced deportations, or the reintroduction of racial segregation, which require heavy-handed policies, white nationalism can grow through procreative means, boosted by pronatalist programs. As one contributor to *Counter-Currents* proposes: "Having three—or five or eight—White children is probably the most 'pro-White' thing a person can do—and the most resistant to any charge of 'racism.' How about that?"²⁸ Propagating wildly does mean that alt-right men will need to convince themselves that procreation and coupling—and a likely future of vanilla sex with a wife—are enticing. This tamed path of husband and father is far afield from the erotic conquests and hook-ups prioritized in the manosphere. Greg Johnson of Counter-Currents broaches the difficulties of convincing horny and entitled twenty- and thirtysomethings to bite the bullet and breed. The smackdown he gives this audience focuses on the urgency of perpetuating ancestral white bloodlines: "If you are worried about having kids,

or you're not sure if it's a good idea, or you're not sure if you're up to it, or you're afraid that you're bringing them into a terrible world, just think about all of the ancestors that you had going back to the very beginning of our race. Every one of these people probably had it harder than you." He asks them the berating question: "Are you going to be the whiny little maggot who brings all of their striving and struggles to oblivion because you just can't get your act together and decide to go off the goddamn pill or stop using condoms or whatever and just take the plunge and carry the race forward one more generation?"²⁹

Appeals to ancestry abound in the alt-right, and nationalist women express some of the loudest calls for white-baby making. In 2017, Wife with a Purpose, the alt-right social media activist who chronicles her life as a proud nationalist and Mormon mother, was taken with a tweet posted by Iowa representative Steve King. Itself riffing off a tweet from the acerbic right-wing Dutch politician Geert Wilders about the threat of Muslims to the Netherlands and the foreseen demographic disappearance of whites, King aped, "We can't restore our civilization with somebody else's babies."³⁰ This resulted in swift condemnation and ridicule in many quarters of the mainstream media, and King himself received bemused and angry tweets from congressional colleagues, some posting photos of their smiling multiracial children. Wife with a Purpose, who asserts that "her primary duty is having children and supporting her husband," issued a "white baby challenge," throwing down the breeding gauntlet: "As a mother of 6, I challenge families to have as many white babies as I have contributed."³¹ Once her challenge went viral on social media, Wife with a Purpose received much censure. Telling, however, were the thousands of comments praising and defending her on her YouTube channel: "I stand in solidarity with Ayla," "Love This Woman!," "She is 100% right," and "Make White Babies Great Again!"³²

Red Ice's *Radio 3Fourteen*, hosted by Lana Lokteff, is the most visible online arena for discussions of nationalism from a female alt-right perspective. Lokteff's interviews and vlogs receive ten thousand to two hundred thousand views, depending on the topics, which range from the benefits of New Age herbs to the wonders of being a traditional wife, and from criticisms of the positive depictions of interracial couples on the mainstream media to the hazards of "migrant invasions." Lokteff and Red Ice TV provide the online base camp for a networked public

of alt-right women, who act as a chorus to demand preservation of the exalted Western civilization that their white men built.³³ In her vlog *They Want You Dead White Man!* Lokteff delivers an impassioned commentary as a cascade of sensationalistic headlines flash across the screen and paint a frenzied picture of relentless attacks on white men in Europe and the United States. Lokteff reminds her viewers that straight white men are the world's great inventors and creators and, moreover, that these tolerant and kind souls always are the ones to come to rescue the less fortunate. What would the world be like without these saviors? It would be "hell on earth," she proclaims, behind a backdrop of film clips of brown and black people rioting and rickety boats of North African refugees. In a not-so-veiled threat, Lokteff warns that SJWs are taking political correctness and diversity campaigns "way too far, too fast," and are "waking a sleeping giant."³⁴ Once roused, this mighty force of white saviors will take control, restore order, and reclaim Western civilization. The video weaves white male victimhood with racism through scaremongering and foregrounding the themes of imminent white genocide, the bias of the liberal media, and the fortification of the tribe. Lana praises alt-right men as "fighting for a future for women and children." In her words, they are not "fags" but want to have sex and procreate with women.³⁵

As a home for the small but active alt-right sisterhood, *Radio 3Fourteen* brings together female alt-righters with their followers on social media. Regulars include Wife with a Purpose (Ayla Stewart), Bre Fauchaux (before and after her online departure), Canadian white nationalists Lauren Southern and Faith Goldy, Lacey Lynn, and Blonde in the Belly of the Beast, who shares her experiences as a red-pilled anti-feminist living in the liberal bastion of Seattle.³⁶ Also in the mix is TheBlondeButterMaker, who vlogs about organic recipes designed to nourish her family, including butter with pesto and bone broth, while endorsing a brand of white European paganism.³⁷ The power of these alt-right women to push the Overton window and move alt-right discourse into the mainstream should not be underestimated. These are not just amicable Google chats with women with conservative leanings but virtual salons that make scorching and simplistic critiques of feminism, globalism, diversity, and multiculturalism sound urgent, sexy, and like plain old common sense to some ears. These women position themselves as the new counterculture, pitting themselves against a more backward Left. According to Lokteff, "A lot of these liberal

women, they're not risk-takers, even though they have piercings or blue hair. . . . What we do, the things we talk about, I don't think it can get any more high-risk."³⁸ They fancy themselves alt-right handmaidens of a reinvented white culture and spokeswomen for their ostensibly beleaguered male defenders.

"CHECK YOUR GENDER EQUALITY AT THE DOOR"

Alt-right women with a visible media presence are the tip of the white nationalist iceberg. Lurking below them is a much vaster anonymous online space where anti-feminism and gender essentialism reign supreme. While the most toxic varieties of anti-feminism exist in the manosphere, women mirror these digital domains with a seemingly more sensible style. Foremost among these mirrors is Reddit's Red Pill Women, with its hot-pink banner, where women aligned with the gender politics of the alt-right can find their kind.³⁹ RPWV appears to have started in 2013, founded by women who felt that the "venting" and "locker room atmosphere" of the male-controlled Reddit forum Red Pill was off-putting and vulgar.⁴⁰ Although RPWV's core moderators agreed with the basic gender tenets of the original Red Pill, they wanted to make these meaningful to women. RPWV is not organized primarily around white nationalism, or questions of race or immigration, but rather around sexual strategy, gender roles, and relationships. It is based on a set of axioms, including "women are gatekeepers of sex, while men are gatekeepers of commitment," and "relationships generally work better if the man is in charge" due "to the inherent dominant nature of men and submissive nature of women."⁴¹ Goals include self-improvement and awareness of one's own desires and the biological realities of gender and sexual differences.

RPWV includes threads that would be quite at home in magazines like *Cosmopolitan* or *Woman's Day*, such as how to maintain a long-term relationship or be a winning party hostess. But other RPWV threads lunge toward the alt-right and act as forums where women can share their stories of conversion, told as blue-to-red-pill metamorphoses. Common are accounts of women red pillled after watching Jordan Peterson videos explaining why feminism doesn't make women happy or why leftism is the great scourge of modern society. For others, red pilling occurred while reading books like *The Surrendered Wife*, which tout the virtues of

traditional women's roles; others stumbled onto RPWV after searching for like-minded communities on Tumblr.⁴²

RPWV foregrounds the "reality" of hard-wired differences and the distinct evolutionary sexual strategies of women and men. The site prioritizes long-term commitments with men that result in matrimony, children, and the realization of gender-complementary unions. New arrivals are reminded that "strategies for securing no-commitment sex from men will not be discussed. This is not only incongruent with the desires of the vast majority of women, it is also so easy to do that no 'strategy' is required."⁴³ Perhaps the most important principle of "Red Pill 101" is female hypergamy, or the idea that women marry up because they are more discriminating than men when it comes to choosing a mate; women want good genes and a protector. Men, conversely, are driven by sexual desires and urges to "spread seed far and wide," and will tend toward polygamy.⁴⁴ Rebuttals to these and any other guiding RPWV maxims have included "this is an anti-feminist community, and as such, we are not interested in being 'saved' by feminism," and users are counseled to "check your gender equality at the door."⁴⁵

The RPWV forum is typical of chat rooms, where people post questions or experiences, looking for advice or insights. One contributor, for example, went on a mountain hike with her husband but was unable to keep up with his faster pace. Soon after this outing he chastised her for being the "slowest person on the mountain," a criticism that left her crestfallen because she cherishes hiking with him. Instead of trying to come to a compromise with her husband to accommodate each other's different paces, she stated that her plan was to "eat far less so that I will be thinner and lighter (and maybe faster)" and "train every day to walk and hike faster."⁴⁶ Someone offered her three tips to enjoy "sports with your man": "admire his manly sports abilities," "don't try to excel him at the sport and rub it in his face," and, lastly, "be sure to mention frequently how much fun it is to be active/do sports with him."⁴⁷

The particular alt-right dimensions of RPWV are apparent in conversations that explore outright rejections or retreats from feminism and liberalism; these are key elements of stories about brainwashed SJWs who finally see the light. One young woman, for instance, after being led astray by lefty and liberal values at a small high school was introduced to RPWV by her parents. She reminded the group that "r/RedPillWomen doesn't

just help us get an Alpha man. It allows us to be our feminine selves without hesitation."⁴⁸ Her insights are applauded, as commenters identify with her experience, offer more examples of how Jordan Peterson convinced them of the evils of feminist consumer culture, of how trans people should learn to take gender pronoun jokes in stride, and of the hypocrisy of political correctness, which falsely purports to be open-minded. Stories of indoctrination at liberal universities abound. The usual scenario involves the inculcation of college women by leftist professors, who turn them into deluded diversity proponents programmed to uphold the status quo: "You're just one more cog in the feminist/Marxist/socialist machine that is modern US liberal progressivism."⁴⁹ Once exposed to RPW, members have been primed at the alt-light pump; ultra-traditionalism might be the springboard from which to leap to the alt-right.

ANCESTRY, HERITAGE, PEOPLE

On *Radio 3Fourteen*, red pilling is overtly linked to white nationalism through discussions presided over by a clique of fetching white women who are forcefully racist and xenophobic. Beyond celebrations of "red pill love and friendships" and TradLife, guests discuss how they awoke to the "sham we call post-modern society," deplore the menace of immigration, and ridicule notions of diversity and multiculturalism.⁵⁰ Like men, these women found the alt-right along different pathways. Lacey Lynn, for example, was unwittingly red pillled while watching *Leanne It to Bawer*: it dawned on her that the white-bread image of 1950s America was her utopia. Notably, in her first vlog on YouTube, "In Defense of June Cleaver," Lynn cheerily justifies doing housework in pearls and high heels and narrates her transformation. After watching McCarty, Faucheu, Collett, and Molyneux, Lynn, who was raised to worship God, country, and family in rural Texas, felt assured in her conviction that "biological differences dictate different roles" for men and women and for racial groups. These ideas were the stepping-stones that led her to a firm stance in favor of white nationalism. Notably, Lynn emphatically concludes her "Red Pill 1965" video with the declaration that she is "not a civic nationalist."⁵¹ Another guest on *Radio 3Fourteen* found the alt-right during the lead-up to the 2016 presidential election, as she started to listen to Richard Spencer and Millennial Woes and read Kevin MacDonald and

Jared Taylor, soon grasping that she shared their convictions.⁵² Faucheu explains on her (now defunct) website that she launched 27Crows Radio, named after an Irish legend, after realizing that feminism and liberalism were lies and that the mantra of diversity and equality was a bankrupt "excuse for dispossessing the white race of their history, heritage, culture, and countries." She began to call herself an identitarian and started her podcast in an effort to "red pill many people on these issues."⁵³

Reading the comments suggests that shows like *Radio 3Fourteen* allow for the construction and reinforcement of narratives of self- and collective discovery, of red pilling, which are directly connected to gender norms, to endorsing biological essentialism and embodying traditional gender roles. This alt-right brand of feminization, moreover, is tinged with the emotional pull of white tribalism and calls to preserve Western civilization. As Lynn tells her home-schooled children, the "West was built, and . . . the white men did it, and there is nothing to be ashamed about that."⁵⁴ Through this gendered networked public, alt-right women build an affective community—a virtual family—held together by reinforcing bonds and beliefs of nationalism and traditionalism. Such sentiments of belonging and connection are captured in the comments on Lynn's "1965 Red Pill" vlog, which include "Come join your family the Alt-Right!" and "A beautiful white woman who will make beautiful white babies. Loving it!!!!"⁵⁵

In a *Radio 3Fourteen* roundtable with the host and four nationalist women, the group sets out to debunk a *Harper's* article contending "that nationalism is hostile towards women."⁵⁶ They begin by clarifying that those who hate women exist only on the fringes of the movement: "you are not going to gain any ground as a nationalist by promoting hatred of half your race." Moreover, they claim that obnoxious fringe has never caused them any headaches; they have never been doxed by MGTOW folks, only by leftist journalists, although Faucheu's experience several months after the roundtable broadcast certainly indicates otherwise. For these women, the alt-right movement is "what's most in line with reality. It's a movement that's willing to discuss things like demographics, and human biodiversity, and gender roles, and traditionalism . . . because it's about going after things that are in balance with the world." For women, egalitarianism is a lie because advanced societies would not exist if their white men had not built them in the first place. Like their men, these

nationalist women want to see the “restoration and preservation of traditional values” and of their bloodlines, and, by extension, the closure of national borders; they don’t want their homelands invaded or to pay high taxes for welfare programs for undesirables. For these alt-right women, their idealized world is one defined by nationalism, safety, order, peace, family, beauty, spirituality, and the pursuit of truth, where “white men are the protectors and providers [sic] of women.” Furthermore, this rigid gender arrangement carries a heavy dose of Islamophobia, as white nationalist women stereotype Muslim and African men as the bona fide brutal misogynists.⁵⁷

One episode of *Radio 3 Fourteen* underscores the trans-Atlantic aspects of the alt-right and the power of stories of racial roots and communion to alt-right women. The woman on this episode shares her red-pilling experience—which took her full circle from North Dakota, to Boston, to Heidelberg, and then back home to the Plains, peopled with hard-working Scandinavian and German stock. “How the Migrant Invasion Made Me Become a Trad Wife?” features a native North Dakotan from a fourth-generation Norwegian farming family. She recounts her move from rural America to study voice at a Boston conservatory, where she felt completely alienated. She tried to fit in with the “Jeffies,” even protesting US wars in the Middle East and dating a “mixed race” guy who talked about being an “illegal alien”—all part of what she now refers to as “Marxist indoctrination.”⁵⁸ In the early 2000s, she moved to Heidelberg, Germany, to study and perform classical music. There she witnessed firsthand the ravages of liberalism, globalism, and multiculturalism. She recalls that the city she initially moved to was a safe place where she could bike carefreely at 3 a.m. But it morphed, seemingly overnight, into a danger zone teeming with North African and Muslim migrants. She started fearing for her safety as a “blond, blue-eyed, Scandinavian woman.” However, it was verboten to talk about the “invaders” among her music circles, as most were devout “Jeffies.” These factors prompted her to return to her North Dakota homeland, where she got married and is raising a white family. Reflecting on her time in Germany, she recollects being an assistant at an integrative health clinic for a doctor who identified himself as a proud descendant of a physician active in the Third Reich. Her boss did not hesitate to air his views about foreigners and changes afoot in German society. At the time she silently branded him a Nazi, but she later

remembered their conversations and decided he was right all along about the imperative to preserve white European racial purity against black and brown migrants. In retrospect, this right-wing physician handed her the red pill, which she later swallowed, enabling her to envision, in her words, a “brave new world” of white nationalist possibilities.

Once back in North Dakota, this singer embraced the white settler colonialist tradition of the American West. From her perspective, her ancestors fought, struggled, and tamed the Plains West, triumphs that should prompt celebration, not induce white guilt. According to her, the multicultural agenda makes white people rootless, with no knowledge of their family history or ancestral lines. She closed the conversation by fretting about the increasing number of Somalis and North Africans being placed in Fargo by Lutheran Social Services and touting the aesthetic superiority of her blue-eyed Scandinavian husband and similarly “gorgeous” son. She and Lokteff both assert that “ideal beauty” is Northern European; since the majority of the world has brown eyes, blond hair and blue eyes are rare and exceptional—even more reason to fight against white genocide.⁵⁹

As observers have noted, *Radio 3 Fourteen* offers a combination of “fervent racial nationalism, anti-political correctness, and opposition to feminism.”⁶⁰ Relying on the foundational ideas of the alt-right, Lokteff and her female ensemble are doing metapolitical work. Though the alt-right professes dislike of globalism, the ladies who make the rounds on Red Ice TV have formed their worldviews through cosmopolitan lifestyles and inhabit transnational media circuits, through which they exchange jubilation over Brexit and thoughts on strict border enforcement against refugees and “illegals.” Asking her viewers for financial support at the close of one show, Lokteff exclaims, “Every day I receive moving messages from people sharing their story of how they found Red Ice and the alt-right, even from housewives in North Dakota who grasp the current reality better than anyone on mainstream media. We are a rapidly growing demographic, and no amount of anti-white propaganda is going to stop it. We may not get that border wall, but in our hearts and minds, it exists. Protecting what we hold dear: our ancestry, our heritage, and our people.”⁶¹

A broader historical lens shows that narratives of red pill awakening are characteristic of right-wing movements and tend to be expressed in particular ways by women. In her research on women in American neo-Nazi organizations, Kathleen Blee found that women’s membership

often was “the outgrowth of dramatic personal transformation.”⁶² Frequently these involved a major bodily event, where women felt threatened by invasion, attack, or trauma; such incidents acquired a racial dimension. In her prescient early 2000s scholarship on the surge of white nationalism in America, Carol Swain interviewed Lisa Turner, the coordinator of Women’s Information at the World Church of the Creator. A self-labeled Nazi who believed that “whites have both a right and a moral imperative to preserve themselves and to expand their influence around the globe,” Turner transformed her liberal perspective into racial animus when she was living in Southern California in the 1990s. As she describes it, an influx of “Mexican aliens” came into the neighborhood and destroyed it almost overnight.⁶³ Eventually Turner’s anti-Mexican sentiment was augmented by a more extreme anti-Semitism.

Before her 2018 online exit, Bre Fauchoux wrote one of two essays by women in the alt-right anthology *A Fair Hearing*, seeking to disabuse readers of the implication “that women who do join the alt-right or hold alt-right ideas are psychologically defective, and worse still, they enjoy being abused and dominated by men who are also psychologically defective.”⁶⁴ The actual problem, she said, is that white women have been deceived by feminism; they are slaving away at futile careers during their childbearing years, ultimately becoming barren and bitter. This not only deprives women of their essential womanhood; it presages white genocide: “The additional and more ominous problem, is that these women are accelerating a demographic shift that will eventually cancel out many of the liberties Western women have traditionally enjoyed.” The solution, she claims, is a return to gender complementarity, of men as protectors and women as homemakers, that has existed since time immemorial. According to Fauchoux, the alt-right bottom line is that “women desire to be cherished, men desire to be respected.” Fauchoux, Lokteff, and their white nationalist sorority convey at full volume that now is the time for a course correction, before it’s too late.

As adept media personalities, they assure listeners, many of them men, that many white women are committed to traditional life, gender essentialism, and the restoration of primordial patriarchy. Some even go so far as to suggest that women should relinquish voting rights. Lokteff, for example, has alluded to an arrangement where households, led by patri-archs, vote as a unit.⁶⁵ Adulated is the woman who embodies the “nation-

alist housewife extraordinaire” and devotes herself to being a full-time mother. These alt-right pioneers implement anti-liberalism and anti-feminism through quotidian life: they homeschool their kids; incorporate “heritage, race, culture,” and nation into learning plans; and spend time sewing, cleaning, and canning. TheBlondeButterMaker, for example, combines white nationalism with organic food preparation techniques. Her YouTube channel features DIY videos on lacto-fermentation and how to make nut milk and beef jerky.⁶⁶ Their picturesque domestic life might replicate the 1950s’ *Leave It to Beaver* or it might harken back to a fantasy medieval past. Whichever the imagined reference, the house runs smoothly and is well managed—an ordered, self-sufficient nuclear family that can serve as a building block for the White Republic.

The alt-right is replete with male egos trying to upstage one another and a tendency to devour their own. It remains to be seen if the misogynists will be kept at bay. Alt-right women have staked a shaky claim rooted largely in their loyalty to patriarchy and tradition, and have the potential to grow the movement through teaching their female kin that homeschooling and butter churning are exciting and fun. Alt-right women with the largest followings, such as Lokteff and Goldy, seem to have found a way to walk that fine line between provocative and informed, and outgunning and demure. Goldy, in an interview with Mark Collett, said she recognizes that the “dissident right is a boys’ club” and believes that “a woman’s role in the public space is a bit more nuanced.” In that conversation Goldy says she would like “nationalist, traditionalist women” to “read books that will help make us more serious in our debates.”⁶⁷ It looks like she took her own advice to heart, having run a failed bid for mayor of Toronto on a nationalist, anti-immigrant, and pro-safety platform. Although Goldy was ignored by mainstream news outlets and not invited to join the other candidates in debates, she maintained a lively social media presence and ultimately finished third, winning 3.4% of the vote (25,667).⁶⁸ She received a tweeted endorsement from US Republican congressman Steve King, who called her “an excellent candidate for Toronto mayor,” who is “pro Rule of Law, pro Make Canada Safe Again, pro balanced budget, & . . . BEST of all, Pro Western Civilization and a fighter for our values.”⁶⁹ As with his previous tweets pushing white nationalism, King was criticized, but that is unlikely to stop him from posting another message about white extinction and the superiority of white babies sometime soon.⁷⁰

Alt-right women are traversing a tightrope, and they seem to believe it's a sturdy one gripped firmly by their white male heroes. Yet the experiences of women like Fauchoux, who unwittingly left social media under clouded circumstances and now, only with the protection of a wedding ring, can plot her return, reveals the precariousness of this balancing act. Nevertheless, any examination of the alt-right must explore the networked and affective domains of white nationalist women. As wobbly as their position may be, they inarguably are one of the movement's greatest assets.

NORMALIZING NATIONALISM

Alt-Right Creep

CHAPTER 6

In the late 2010s, the alt-right's mantra is normalization. The movement strives to earn a badge of respectability, an effort that has been redoubled by the perceived need to carve out distance from the "bad optics" associated with Charlottesville.¹ The more restrained alt-righters know that they cannot grow the movement without an image makeover. These days the alt-right fathers try with exasperation to rein in their hormonally driven angry sons, who breathe energy into the movement but also end up setting things ablaze and shipping with such exaggeration that they threaten to sink the entire ship. The benevolent patriarchs would prefer that less airtime was granted to race baiters like Christopher Cantwell, who was arrested for three felony assaults at the 2017 Unite the Right rally and hosts the rabid *Radical Agenda*, and more attention paid to suit-and-tie spokesmen and well-groomed foot soldiers. Such upstanding white nationalists carry a big alt-right stick, but they do not shout, salute, or scuffle.² Yet it is nearly impossible to enforce the boundaries between neo-Nazism and the alt-right when they coexist in a Venn diagram of overlapping individuals and groups that are hyperlinked online, and when white power references brim under the surface.

This concerted push to rebrand brings to mind white nationalists in the early 2000s who realized that hoods and swastikas were alienating