

**“All you have to do is publicly execute a few women who have lied”¹:
Mapping the State of Online Misogyny and the Labor of Feminist Digital
Counterprotest Within the Post-Pandemic Landscape”**

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Abstract

This paper explores the intensification of online misogyny and the labor of feminist response in the volatile post-pandemic digital landscape. We argue that the concurrent exhaustion of femme bodies and the radicalization of men into alt-right manosphere discourse during the pandemic exacerbated existing gendered power dynamics, forming the bedrock of contemporary conservative political strategies. Anchored by pivotal moments such as Elon Musk’s incendiary tweets and political endorsements, Harrison Butker’s commencement speech, Jordan Peterson’s calls to “marry off” incels, and as our title indexes, a Texas pastor’s chilling proposal to execute women accused of false #MeToo claims (“[So The Rest May Stand in Fear](#),” 2024), this paper highlights the ideological currents fueling these dynamics. Through a content analysis of feminist digital responses, including memes, hashtags, and podcasts, this paper explores how these forms of affective labor navigate and resist the overwhelming tide of misogynist rhetoric. While pre-pandemic feminist rage dominated these spaces, the post-pandemic era reveals emergent affective modes characterized by exhaustion and a rejection of capitalist “grind” culture. These responses, embodied in keywords and visual motifs within memes, represent a shift in feminist affective strategies, signaling a critical departure from rage-driven activism towards more nuanced, fatigue-inflected forms of resistance. The paper situates these phenomena within the broader context of post-pandemic socio-political shifts, including the Dobbs Decision, Project 2025, Trump’s ongoing rhetoric, and tech bro culture. Overall, we argue that the pandemic’s gendered labor inequalities set the stage for the proliferation of manosphere discourse, linking these developments to the ascendance of conservative political tactics that capitalize on misogyny as a mobilizing force. By mapping these interrelations, the paper contributes to feminist media studies by interrogating the intersections of digital affect, labor, and the enduring struggles against systemic misogyny in an increasingly polarized online world.

Keywords: Misogyny; social media; digital culture; anti-gender; online hate; alt-right; women; labor

Introduction

The popularity and strengthening in contemporary politics of what have been colloquially termed “traditional gender norms” are, we argue, tied to both online misogyny and increased gendered violence offline. This continuum of gendered hate is informed by misogynist misinformation circulating within our media ecologies, which only increased during the global COVID-19 pandemic. Lockdowns saw an upswing in the use of the internet and social media platforms (Drouin et al., 2020), which, in some pockets, ensured the continued, growing radicalization of men into alt-right manosphere discourse. Within such pockets, including QAnon conspiracies and Incel discourse the supposed erosion of traditional gender norms is seen as the root cause of various social problems (Moskalenko et al., 2024). This discourse is part of a larger media ecosphere, which during the pandemic which saw a surge in the mass dissemination of gendered hate as well as racist, xenophobic, and ableist discourse (Bardall, 2022). This includes, the rise of the manosphere, a network of influencers that profit from men’s rights and anti-gender, anti-feminist discourse. The pandemic also found women and those bearing disproportionate amounts of care labor facing extreme levels of exhaustion and burnout. This was sometimes compounded by fatigue for those caregivers also engaged in feminist and social justice efforts against gender, racial, and medical inequities. Although the increasing forms of networked misogyny (Banet-Weiser & Miltner, 2016) and pandemic related caregiver burnout may seem distinct, they both intensified existing gendered power dynamics that are now increasingly central to current conservative political strategies in both Canada and the United States (Aggestam & True, 2021; Thomas 2023).

In what follows we examine the gender conservative values found within our increasingly toxic digital media ecology, guiding readers through key media events and flashpoints from 2024. We believe these reveal the fault lines of online misogyny that were established and solidified in the years of the pandemic. By mapping these ideological currents, we see how they touch upon issues of care labor, misogyny, and gender ideology. In this paper, we explore how the rise of the manosphere, particularly during the pandemic, has worsened gendered power imbalances and how these align with conservative political messaging found in the present. We also consider the affective labor demanded of women and LGBTQ+ activists with the rise in anti-gender sentiment online. In line with these questions, we argue that recent regressive conversations around gender did not emerge in a vacuum but are rooted in a long history of men publicly prescribing women’s roles in ways that require the minimization (and removal) of women and LGBTQ+ people from the public sphere. In this article, we focus on such examples of this misogynist rhetoric emerging from podcasts, memes, and social media posts to highlight a broader picture of gendered hate circulating just under the radar in our current media ecosystems. Our analysis reveals a loosely connected anti-gender dissemination campaign rooted in alt-right playbook tactics (Tripodi, 2022), that reflect many of Adolf Hitler’s propaganda principles in *Mein Kampf*. These include appealing to emotions like fear and hate (a dynamic the internet amplifies), repeating a limited set of ideas through stereotypes, offering a singular “correct” perspective, and vilifying targeted groups to justify violence against them (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2006). Our analysis of collected digital artifacts shows that even in the least harmful, most widespread, discourses from the manosphere, seeds of anti-gender ideology work to normalize hateful beliefs as cultural norms. Taken together, these examples reveal how the manosphere situates women’s role as limited to reproduction, domestic care labor, and support of men as leader and protector of family and community. These examples diminish the value of women’s participation in public life and disavows women as competent, knowledgeable, valuable

members of society. To counter this, we conclude with a series of feminist digital content that illustrates the forms of affective labor found in activist practices.

Context and Literature Review: Gendered Labor and Networked Misogyny in the Post-Pandemic Backlash

The COVID-19 pandemic marked a profound shift in the labor landscape, intensifying long-standing inequities in care work and disproportionately burdening women. Lockdowns exacerbated gendered disparities, with women assuming significantly more childcare, homeschooling, and eldercare responsibilities while also facing higher rates of job loss in vulnerable sectors such as retail, healthcare, and personal services (Women and COVID-19, 2021; Fabrizio et al., 2021). In Canada, women spent an average of 50 hours per week on childcare—more than double the time men contributed—while 64% of women bore primary responsibility for homeschooling, compared to just 19% of men (Women and COVID-19, 2021). Mothers, particularly single mothers and racialized women, confronted the dual pressures of unpaid care work and economic precarity, while 90% of frontline healthcare workers, predominantly women, experienced heightened mental health challenges and increased exposure to COVID-19 (Robson et al., 2022).

This disproportionately impacted women's workforce participation, which had reached historic highs before the crisis (Birchall, 2024; Howard, 2022; Greszler, 2021; McClain & Ahmed, 2024). The “she-session” saw women leaving the job market in staggering numbers and returning at lower rates than men (Miller, 2021), with many leaving because balancing domestic care and a career became untenable (Grose, 2021). Others, employed in precarious sectors that shut down in the pandemic's early years, were never rehired (Scott, 2024). By 2022, women held a significantly smaller share of jobs than they did pre-pandemic (Scott 2024). Those who remained in the workforce struggled to manage intensified work and care responsibilities, leading to widespread mental and physical health consequences, including rising anxiety and burnout (Bennett, 2021). In response, public discourse, particularly in women-centered media, grappled with the failures of “grind culture” and embraced alternative ways of living, prioritizing rest and self- and community-care over climbing a professional ladder that would not bring them anywhere (Hersey, 2022; Wiens & MacDonald, 2021). This shift, while necessary for addressing burnout, notably coincided with a growing embrace of traditional gender roles: a turn toward homemaking, slow living, and family-centered lifestyles. While some framed this as a radical rejection of capitalist excess, it also aligns, intentionally or not, with narratives reinforcing conservative, traditional gender roles—a cultural shift that was weaponized by the manosphere.

Politically, many of the same influencers who spread anti-vaccine and pandemic disinformation pivoted toward anti-gender rhetoric, forging a direct pipeline between COVID-19 conspiracy theories and misogyny, homophobia, and transphobia. Figures like Andrew Tate, formerly banned from multiple online platforms for misogynist content, leveraged pandemic anxieties to build a massive following among young men, using his platform to espouse traditional gender roles while attacking feminism as a tool of social decay (Haslop et al., 2024; Roberts et al., 2025). Similarly, far-right influencers like Steve Bannon and Alex Jones, who initially focused on COVID-19 skepticism and vaccine misinformation, increasingly incorporated gender ideology panic into their messaging, framing feminism, trans rights, and queer activism as existential threats to Western civilization (Lemieux & Murray, 2020). Fueling these narratives, platforms such as 4chan, Telegram, and Rumble became key hubs for the spread

of both pandemic disinformation and gendered hate speech, often promoted by the same networks that fueled QAnon conspiracies (Daniels, 2018).

As feminists and queer activists focused on care labor and burnout as political issues, reactionary voices seized on pandemic instability to push an agenda of gendered control and resentment. This shift is evident in the post-pandemic rise of policies and rhetoric aimed at restricting gender and reproductive rights. The U.S. Supreme Court's decision to overturn *Roe v. Wade* in 2022 followed years of intensified anti-feminist discourse online, including claims that women's reproductive autonomy undermined family structures and national stability (Kale et al., 2022). Similarly, anti-LGBTQ+ legislation surged in the U.S. and Europe, with policies such as Florida's "Don't Say Gay" law and the US and UK's increasing restrictions on trans healthcare echoing the manosphere's framing of gender inclusivity as societal collapse (Choi, 2024; Peele 2023; The Associated Press, 2022). And, as we write in January 2025, we are witnessing Robert Kennedy Jr., a key figure in the anti-vaccine movement, continuing to capitalize on these anxieties by framing public health measures as authoritarian overreach while also promoting a vision of "natural" gender roles rooted in biological essentialism. His rhetoric, which blends conspiratorial thinking with nostalgic appeals to traditional family structures, has made him an influential figure among both wellness communities and far-right audiences, further bridging the gap between pandemic disinformation and reactionary gender politics and likely putting him in the White House (Malone, 2025). The result of such overlapping and overwhelming narratives is a landscape in which misogynist rhetoric has solidified into political talking points, fueling a renewed effort to curtail the rights of women and LGBTQ+ people at an alarming rate. The influence of the manosphere is now visible in mainstream politics, from the embrace of "traditional masculinity" by figures like Tucker Carlson and Ron DeSantis to the rebranding of anti-feminism as "pro-family" conservatism. The rapid spread of anti-gender narratives has also fueled extremist violence, including an increase in incel-related attacks and threats against feminist and LGBTQ+ activists (Tunney, 2024).

While this backlash may appear sudden, it is deeply rooted in historical efforts to restrict the public presence of women and LGBTQ+ people (Manne, 2017, 2020; Beard, 2017; Federici, 1975, 2004, 2018). As feminists noted in the 1980s, the US has before seen similar right-wing reactionary moments and the abandonment of liberalism (Petchesky, 1981). Since the early 2000s, online communities promoting Pick-Up Artist rhetoric, Men's Rights Activism (MRA), and Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW) forums have played a key role in shaping contemporary misogynist discourse (Ging, 2017). More recently, manosphere influencers have leveraged podcasts, YouTube, and social media algorithms to amplify these ideologies, normalizing them as common sense or a return to pre- or anti-"woke" values ("The Incelosphere," 2022; Haslop et al., 2024). This mainstreaming of misogyny, sexual violence, and queerphobia in far-right discourse contributes to an increasingly toxic media ecology (Brock & Askanius, 2024; MacDonald & Wiens, 2024), fueled by weakened content moderation, impunity for hate speech, and public defenses of free speech at the expense of marginalized communities (Phillips & Milner, 2021). Indeed, in their recent book, *Who's Afraid of Gender?* (2024), Judith Butler underscores this phenomenon, arguing that the moral panic around gender is not about individual identities but about preserving rigid social hierarchies. As Butler argues, contemporary attacks on gender diversity are fundamentally efforts to reassert control over public and private life, reinforcing a binary system that subordinates women and erases nonconforming identities. This logic underpins the growing alignment between manosphere influencers, conservative politicians, and far-right Christian movements, all of whom depict

gender nonconformity as a destabilizing threat to national order, and is reflected in the continued emboldening of the Christian far right and the goals of *Project 2025*. *Project 2025*, a 900-page policy blueprint for the current Republican administration, explicitly calls for repealing reproductive rights, dismantling LGBTQ+ protections, suppressing education, and expanding state control over marginalized communities (Baker, 2024). Despite aligning with many of its core ideas, Trump publicly distanced himself from *Project 2025* (Giles, 2024), a move widely seen as a strategic attempt to moderate his image while still appealing to its ultra-conservative base.

And yet, many in the manosphere echo *Project 2025*'s belief that the traditional family structure is the foundation of a strong nation—a belief that, in practice, justifies increased legislative control over women's bodies and reinforces the cultural expectation that women should center their lives around domestic labor (The Council for Global Equity, 2024). Alarming, the second Trump administration has demonstrated early on how aligned their agenda is with that of *Project 2025* despite their efforts to distance themselves from it during the 2024 Presidential campaign (Popli, 2025). As Butler (2024) suggests, this escalating attack on gender is not a reaction to social progress but a calculated effort to re-establish patriarchal dominance under the guise of tradition. The convergence of manosphere discourse, far-right politics, and religious fundamentalism makes clear that these regressive ideologies are not emerging in isolation. Rather, they are part of a broader campaign to erode hard-won rights and push women and LGBTQ+ people further to the margins of public life. Recognizing these connections is essential for understanding how gendered oppression operates today—and for resisting the forces seeking to entrench it.

Methods

Responding to this context we have gathered popular misogynist podcasts, social media posts, memes, and public speeches, as well as feminist counter-cultural responses found on activist social media accounts. We employ a mixed-methods approach that integrates big data analysis with purposive small data sampling to map online misogyny and feminist and responses in the post-pandemic digital landscape. This approach draws on our previous work that cautions against extractive logics of computational methods and argues, instead, for modes of dwelling with data that encourage close textual analysis (MacDonald et al., 2024). We see this as an ethical stance that effectively foregrounds the material and affective dimensions of digital culture. Dwelling maintains a reflexivity and attentiveness to context across both large and small datasets alike. We uphold a feminist ethics of care by centering the labor and lived experiences embedded within the digital artifacts we study (MacDonald et al., 2024; Wiens & MacDonald 2024; Wiens 2021). Drawing on Conley's (2021a) work on hashtag archiving, we examine digital traces and interpretive layers to uncover the socio-political contexts in which data circulates. To examine such traces, we engage Luka and Millette's (2018) emphasis on situated knowledges and feminist ethics of care when handling social media data, advocating for methods that activate participatory and reflexive practices in big (and small) data research. Here, we situated our collected data of hashtags, podcast metadata, and meme images as narrative forms of data that require both quantitative aggregation and qualitative contextual reading.

Over the course of six months, we collected over 11,000 episodes from 20 podcasts associated with the Intellectual Dark Web, conspiracy theories, QAnon, the Alt-Right, White Supremacist/Nationalist movements, and the Manosphere. We also isolated a commencement speech by Harrison Butker that became a media event across the political spectrum. For our close

analysis of the Butker speech we used keyword searches within our podcast collection including “Harrison Butker,” “Dobbs Decision,” “feminism,” and “tradwife,” and focused on episodes released between May 11, 2024 (the date of Butker’s speech at Benedictine College) and June 30, 2024. Key figures and podcasts analyzed include Nick Fuentes (episodes: May 17, 20, 21), Fresh & Fit (May 18), Russell Brand (May 21), and Ben Shapiro (May 16, 17, 20, 26). We corroborated and augmented our corpus transcripts with fight.fudgie.org (Simonsen, 2024). We reviewed the larger sample of podcasts manually and narrowed our analysis to Fuentes and Shapiro as they provided the most in-depth attention to Butker’s speech. Their content highlighted two distinct styles or brands and approaches to disseminating misogynist talking points to their audiences. The distinctions between them were instructive for our larger analysis.

Using `grep` we isolated specific podcast episodes that discussed Butker’s speech. On those transcripts we employed text classification, a subset of natural language processing (NLP), techniques to classify sentences in podcast transcripts as hate speech (Vidgen et al., 2021), misogyny (Attanasio et al., 2022), and emotions (Hartmann, 2022) combined with a close reading of the transcripts where hate speech and misogynist speech were detected to trace the spread and contextual framing of Harrison Butker’s speech within manosphere and alt-right discourse. Our visualizations were generated using Python libraries (e.g., Transformers, Plotly) (Ruest, ManoWhisper 2024) to visualize hate speech, misogyny, and emotions in podcast transcripts that engaged with Butker’s speech. This macro-level mapping allows us to see patterns of discourse diffusion across platforms.

Drawing from the contextualized analysis of Harrison Butker’s cultural uptake, we then conducted purposive sampling of memes circulated on Twitter, Reddit, and Telegram. These memes reference themes of conservative masculinity, anti-feminism, and traditional family roles. We collected data from both popular and lesser-known feminist social media accounts via the hashtags #Butker and #HarrisonButker in the month surrounding Butker’s commencement speech. We determined a smaller purposive sample of five memes from a larger set of over fifty posts that included video reels, memes, and paratextual commentary on these posts. We employed recursive analysis to identify affective themes through “retreading pathways” (Edwards, 2024, p. 7), a feminist iterative approach that uncovers layered meanings and affective resonances. Using semiotic and affective labor frameworks (Ahmed, 2004; Ticineto Clough, 2010; Poynton & Lee, 2011), we analyzed visual digital artifacts, emphasizing their role in negotiating embodiment, ideology, and discourse within digital publics (Conley, 2021b). Through digital dwelling, visual elements, textual overlays, and intertextual references were considered for how they both construct and respond to narratives of gender, labor, and power (Wiens & MacDonald, 2024). This dual-layered methodological framework enabled a robust analysis of the interplay between misogynistic rhetoric, digital cultural content, and feminist affective labor. By combining computational tools with feminist digital dwelling practices, we illustrate how post-pandemic digital landscapes exacerbate gendered power imbalances and how feminist activism navigates and responds to these emergent and troublingly misogynist spaces.

Our mixed-methods approach – integrating big data analysis of manosphere podcasts with purposive small data sampling of feminist memetic responses – illustrates that the conservative gendered beliefs circulating in the manosphere are rooted in the belief systems of misogyny and patriarchy. Through the platform affordances of the podcast genre, the manosphere amplifies various forms of sexism and violence against women and LGBTQ+ people (Özkula et al. 2024). These narratives about women’s roles in society are not just about control—they are about the domestic and reproductive labor that upholds heteronormative

structures. They define the work women are expected to perform in a gender-conservative system, while also highlighting the labor required from feminist activists to challenge gendered hate. Further, feminist memetic responses to the misogyny of the manosphere reflect intertwined forms of gendered labor and care work, that reflect an entirely different reality than the one being sold by male podcasters and influencers.

Analysis and Discussion

On September 11, 2024, in response to Taylor Swift's public endorsement of Kamala Harris² the previous evening, Elon Musk tweeted, as if in conversation with Swift:

@elonmusk: Fine Taylor...you win...I will give you a child and guard your cats with my life (September 11, 2024, 12:46 am).³

Swift's Instagram post, however, was more than just an endorsement—it was a stand for democracy, digital ethics, and women's voices. She not only condemned Trump's AI-generated misuse of her image but also urged voters to stay informed and explained her reasons for supporting Kamala Harris. Yet, the real punch came in her signature: "Childless Cat Lady." Holding her cat, Benjamin Button, Swift reclaimed JD Vance's recent misogynistic remark, turning it into a defiant statement on women's worth beyond motherhood (Looker 2024; Pangelli 2024; Treisman 2024). In a single post, Swift, despite her own political flaws, challenged AI deception, voter apathy, and outdated gender norms, speaking to the power of women's voices. And this was something that Musk could not abide by.

Musk's response on X embeds key elements of Manosphere discourse beneath its seemingly flippant tone. His remark, "Fine, Taylor... you win. I will give you a child," frames Swift as a petulant child making demands—demands she never actually voiced. Taken at face value, his words imply a willingness to impregnate Swift without her explicit desire or consent, a deeply unsettling assertion of power. Importantly, this subtle move serves two discursive purposes. First, it publicly diminishes Swift's agency, addressing her informally and condescendingly to assert dominance. No one invited Musk's input on her endorsement of Harris, let alone in a way that redirects focus from her message. More insidiously, his remark suggests that, despite Swift's deep cultural influence, she is nothing but a demanding, unfulfilled woman who Musk must direct back to the private sphere of the home and of children. In upholding manosphere appeals for men to act as the 'Alpha', Musk benevolently offers himself up as both the father of Swift's offspring and the protector of the family unit he has fictionally imagined into being. He thus asserts traditional gender values that place the man at the head of a family; a family that he suggests, needs protecting from the dangers of the world. In this single tweet, Musk thus subtly reinforces narratives that undermine women's bodily autonomy, consent, and public influence, while echoing familiar alt-right dog whistles about the protection of children. His message reduces Swift's political engagement to irrelevance, replacing it with a conservative vision of women as reproductive agents in need of male oversight. This rhetorical move aligns with sentiments expressed in a sermon by Texas pastor Josh Webbon, discussed below, which similarly devalues women's voices in public discourse and casts doubt on their ability to understand their own truths.

In October 2024, during a sermon delivered one month after Musk's tweet, Pastor Joel Webbon of Covenant, an independent Christian Nationalist church in Austin, Texas, spoke to his

² https://www.instagram.com/taylorswift/p/C_wtAOKOW1z/?hl=en

³ https://www.instagram.com/taylorswift/p/C_wtAOKOW1z/?hl=en

congregation on the best practices for speaking to survivors of sexual violence. Webbon, a well-known alt-right figure featured on People For's "Right Wing Watchlist," advocates that allegedly false reports of assault by women be met with Biblical sanctions of "an eye for an eye", by which he means through the public execution of women who come forward with such allegations. The sermon was recorded and distributed by many YouTube accounts and highlights a segment where Webbo proclaims: "False accusing, playing the victim when you're actually not; you know how to end that real fast? All you have to do is publicly execute a few women who have lied," so that "#MeToo would end real fast" (qtd in Mantayla, 2024). This statement builds upon a well-worn trope (and form of disinformation) of women's false accusations against male abusers and effectively sanctions forms of victim-blaming and the discrediting of sexual abuse survivors. By doing this, gendered fantasies (Butler 2024) of women as duplicitous and untrustworthy (Manne 2017, 2020; Beard 2017) are upheld. We also extends this to the level of violently punitive by simultaneously suggesting that the best course of defense against such threats is the public killing of those who gather the courage to speak out against their abuse. The statement suggests that the proposed death of a "few women" is of little consequence, or is a logical conclusion, in the move to protect men from accusations of assault. Women here are not to be trusted; they are disposable, unworthy of the dignity or respect we would pay to other human beings (read: men), and most troublingly, dispoable. While this did not get national or international attention, it did circulate widely in the spaces where it could conceivably make an impact; that of the alt-right manosphere. Notably, Webbon is closely monitored by human rights organizations and is also known for his explicit anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, racism, homophobia, and adherence to "general equity theonomy," which promotes a direct following of Biblical Old Testament law in the present (Mantayla, 2024). It is deeply troubling that a public figure like Webbon is platformed—without consequence—while advocating that the murder of women is a form of justice.

Our concern with both Musk's tweet and Webbon's sermon lies in the depth and normalization of the extremism they covertly and overtly espouse. The extremist views of someone like Webbon can become so easily diffused and picked up on in online forums, eventually making their way back into mainstream conversations around gender dynamics and, through documents like *Project 2025*, into attempts at politics and policy. Ribeiro et al. (2021) highlight significant user migration within Manosphere communities, with older groups like MRA feeding into newer, more toxic and misogynistic spaces such as MGTOW, Incels, and TRP (the Red Pill)—over 50% of early MGTOW subreddit users had tied to MRA. These examples are not outliers but part of a broader, unregulated media ecosystem that amplifies misogynistic rhetoric. Studies show increasing radicalization in MRA, MGTOW, and incel forums, leading to more violent discourse targeting women, gender minorities, and other marginalized groups (Basu, 2020; Ribiero et al., 2021; Center for Countering Digital Hate, 2022). The key difference in these two examples we have outlined is the severity: Musk's remark normalizes non-consensual reproduction, while Webbon's rhetoric sanctions the silencing of women's accusations against abusers through threats of violence and public execution.

We situate these examples as part of what we are calling a continuum of misogyny that also includes football player Harrison Butker's 2024 commencement speech, and podcast episodes from Nick Fuentes and Ben Shapiro that responded to it. This continuum reinforces a vision of women's roles in society as reproductive and compliant to male authority in a variety of ways, some more extremist, others more mainstream. For instance, in our analysis of the misogynist statements above, with Webbon, this link is overt, while with Musk, it is more

implicit. Both however assert the potential of violent consequences for noncompliance including threads of non-consensual impregnation and death. In either form, the gender conservatism and outright gendered hate circulating online is having powerful impacts for women and gender non-conforming communities. To expand what's included in this continuum we review the Butker speech and how it was discussed in the manosphere podcast circuit, to map some of these emergent themes. We then as a counterpoint conclude with a look at feminist responses to the speech to consider the counter themes that arose in response to such conservative and anti-gender sentiment online.

Gendered Narratives: Control, Labor, and the Fight Against Gendered Hate

On May 11, 2024, Kansas City Chiefs kicker Harrison Butker delivered a polarizing commencement address to the graduating class of Benedictine College, a private liberal arts school in Kansas. Butker, is a devout Traditionalist Catholic, a form of Catholicism associated with overt antisemitism and a tendency toward extremism (Anti-Defamation League). He used the platform to share, in his words, “things that I believe wholeheartedly that I think will make this world a better place” (Butker qtd. in Derrick, 2024). Among those beliefs were his assessment of Joe Biden as a “bad leader,” his condemnation of Pride Month as sinful, and his assertion that masculinity must be restored in response to the “cultural emasculation of men” (Butker qtd. in Derrick, 2024). Rooting his speech in his Catholic faith, Butker criticized those who did not adhere to a rigorous practice and invoked the widely repudiated antisemitic claim that blames Jews for the death of Jesus. He urged those of faith to embrace tradition, stay in their lane, and commit to their true vocation. This idea of vocation became a rhetorical foundation for his later remarks directed specifically at the women graduates in the audience. He framed them as the primary victims of what he called “the most diabolical lies” of modern culture, namely, that women could find fulfillment in careers and professional achievements. Instead, he suggested that their true calling, and perhaps their greatest source of excitement, should be their future roles as wives and mothers. He did not present these as complementary possibilities but instead created a false dichotomy in which one must be privileged over the other. In his framing, the “right” choice—the proper lane—was stay-at-home motherhood.

Butker offered his wife as an example of this ideal, noting that “her life truly started when she began living her vocation as a wife and as a mother.” He emphasized that she had no regrets about abandoning her career aspirations to become a homemaker and manage their household (Benedictine College, 2024). He credited her for enabling his own success and expressed deep gratitude for her support. By centering his wife’s story as the model of ideal femininity, he left little room for alternative paths. This rhetorical choice was widely criticized, particularly given that his own mother is a well-regarded medical physicist at Emory University. The paternalistic tone of this section of his speech, which dismissed the achievements of the very women he was addressing, did not sit well with some graduates in the audience. Several later reported to news media that they were shocked and angered, with some choosing not to clap at the end of the speech and others openly booing (Stelloh and Burke, 2024).

Responses to Harrison Butker’s commencement speech were polarized, with figures across the manosphere celebrating it as a necessary defense of traditional gender roles and others condemning it for its antisemitic rhetoric, misogyny, and homophobic undertones. The NFL issued a statement distancing itself from his remarks (Cacciola and Hoffman, 2024). Nuns from the Sisters of Mount St. Scholastica, affiliated with Benedictine College, publicly refuted Butker’s claims as antithetical to the values of a liberal arts education (Helton, 2024). The

independent news source *National Catholic Reporter* highlighted the casual but dangerous antisemitism in his speech (Rubens, 2024). Butker’s remarks even resurfaced at the 2024 ESPYs less than two months later, where host Serena Williams addressed the topic of women in sports alongside her sister Venus and co-host Quinta Brunson—while Butker sat in the audience (Schilken, 2024). During the segment, Venus Williams declared, “So, go ahead and enjoy women’s sports like you would any other sports, because they are sports,” to which Serena Williams added pointedly, “Except you, Harrison Butker. We don’t need you” (Burke, 2024). Brunson followed up, confirming, “At all. Like, ever” (Burke, 2024).

Despite this media pushback, Butker’s speech found strong support within the manosphere. Some podcasts dedicated entire episodes to discussing it, with most reactions being positive, particularly regarding his stance on gender roles and his address of the women graduates. Our analysis revealed that each of the podcasts address the question of traditional gender roles taken up by Butker via their own brand of alt-right misogyny. Our look at specific podcast episodes compares the responses by Nick Fuentes, who represents the most extreme interpretation of the group, and Ben Shapiro, who is seen as the most “mainstream” and “palatable” of the group (although we find these podcast hosts neither mainstream nor palatable). Both utilize the speech to advance their own agendas, against in the case of Fuentes, an antisemitic, sexist, Catholic doctrine for American politics, and with Shapiro a confirmation of the need for gender traditionalism to fight the threats of a failing liberal society. In the episodes focused on Butker’s speech in our text classification computational analysis of the transcripts (Figures 1–4) we note a significantly higher prevalence of identified hate speech and misogynistic rhetoric in Fuentes’ episodes compared to Shapiro’s. However, beyond text classification, a close reading of Shapiro’s episode highlights how he strategically softens the sharpness of Fuentes’ rhetoric, delivering similar messaging in a way that is noticeably more palatable to broader audiences.

[Insert Figure 1]

[Insert Figure 2]

[Insert Figure 3]

[Insert Figure 4]

This makes sense as Fuentes, a more fringe voice in politics, praised Butker’s remarks for their alignment with Catholic traditionalism, framing them as an example of ideological strength lacking in modern political leadership. In episodes 1330 and 1331 of *America First*, Fuentes defends the antisemitic elements of Butker’s speech, asserting that, despite the broader outcry, he found it “totally uncontroversial” as a “far-right Catholic reactionary,” restating Butker’s position as “the truth” (Fuentes, 2024a, 00:23:45). He presents Butker as a symbol of Catholic conservatism, arguing that he is “more right-wing than all of the right-wing political people in America for the simple fact that he’s a traditional Catholic,” which, in Fuentes’ view, “makes him more correct and more right than almost everybody in politics.” For Fuentes, any ideology that places race, nationality, or other forms of identity above religion is “doomed to fail” (Fuentes, 2024a, 00:39:00). He concludes with the claim that the real problem with the American right wing is that its leaders are “not Catholic” or even Christian, but rather “atheists, Jews, liberals, homosexuals” (Fuentes, 2024b, 00:21:10). Fuentes initially frames his discussion around

Butker's speech as a debate on gender politics but ultimately uses it as a platform to spread antisemitic disinformation and promote a radical belief that an extreme, misogynistic form of Catholic conservatism is essential for right-wing politics. In doing so, he collapses his well-documented hostility toward women's rights and freedoms into a broader framework of hateful rhetoric.

In episode 1966 of *The Ben Shapiro Show*, released on May 16, 2024, Shapiro draws a direct connection between Butker's "very traditional" stance on gender roles and his "Catholic theology," feigning disbelief that such a position "is apparently absolutely outrageous" (Shapiro, 2024, 00:01:22). By framing Butker's comments as a mere reflection of long-standing Catholic doctrine, Shapiro minimizes their impact on women and other audiences, remarking that "he's just saying the same stuff that Catholics have been saying for legitimately 2,000 years" (as if historical longevity equates to moral or factual correctness) (Shapiro, 2024, 00:01:44). In this first of two episodes on the topic, Shapiro chastises "the media" for treating Butker as "the root of all evil," portraying the backlash as emblematic of a broader political divide, one he claims is "undergirding so much of our ugly politics these days" (Shapiro, 2024, 00:01:59). He presents this divide in stark, absolutist terms, arguing that "we have a left that has embraced transgenderism as an absolute virtue and a right that is saying things like, hey, men and women exist and are different" (Shapiro, 2024, 00:02:06). This rhetorical framing not only vilifies the left without substantive support but also normalizes Butker's position by reducing it to a commonsense observation rather than a prescriptive and exclusionary view of gender roles. Shapiro further reinforces this normalization by asserting that Butker's statements about womanhood are widely accepted, claiming they are "agreed [upon] by a huge swath of Americans, Catholic and non-Catholic alike" (Shapiro, 2024, 00:02:28). He describes Butker's perspective as "wildly uncontroversial" because, in his view, it simply acknowledges "the role of females in society" that supposedly brings them "happiness" (Shapiro, 2024, 00:05:05). By framing the issue in this way, Shapiro shifts the burden onto critics, demanding that they justify "[w]hy in the world [this position] is controversial?" (Shapiro, 2024, 00:05:52). This rhetorical move is strategic; it positions opposition as irrational while sidestepping the actual concerns raised by Butker's remarks. Here, Shapiro's approach is a classic example of how conservative commentators frame backlash to traditionalist views as evidence of leftist overreach rather than a substantive critique of the views themselves. By dismissing objections as ideological extremism rather than engaging with the impact of such rhetoric on gender equality, he reinforces a narrative in which traditional gender roles are the default and any challenge to them is inherently radical.

Shapiro doubles down on his assertion that Butker's statements were "in no way controversial five seconds ago" and reinforces his own commitment to traditional gender roles, declaring that "the most important thing" in his life is "to be a father and a provider and a protector to my family" (Shapiro, 2024, 00:06:27). By framing his personal priorities as self-evident truths rather than individual choices, Shapiro subtly presents this model of masculinity as the ideal, implying that deviations from it are unnatural or inferior. He extends this logic to women, citing his wife—who is a doctor—as proof that even highly accomplished women "easily find the most fulfillment...being a mom, being a wife" (Shapiro, 2024, 00:06:42). The implication is clear: regardless of professional achievements, women's deepest satisfaction ultimately comes from motherhood and marriage. This anecdotal reasoning not only assumes that personal fulfillment is universal but also marginalizes those who find purpose outside of these roles. Shapiro then escalates his argument, warning that the "truly diabolical" lie being told

to women is that they should “forego the great joy of life in being a wife and being a mom,” a deception he claims has “led to the dissolution of society” (Shapiro, 2024, 00:07:32). Here, he shifts from describing gender roles as natural to portraying any challenge to them as a societal threat. By framing the choice to prioritize career, independence, or alternative life paths as not just misguided but actively destructive, he casts feminism and modern gender equality as existential dangers rather than ideological perspectives. He further asserts that valuing motherhood as women’s primary vocation is “not controversial in a healthy, functioning society” (Shapiro, 2024, 00:13:18). This rhetorical move is significant: rather than acknowledging ongoing debates about gender roles, he defines the mere existence of controversy as evidence that society itself is dysfunctional. He reinforces this claim by arguing that a society must “have more functioning families” or else be “bound to fail” (Shapiro 2024, 00:13:39). This statement relies on a narrow, prescriptive definition of what constitutes a “functioning family,” (Shapiro 2024, 00:13:52) implicitly excluding single-parent households, child-free marriages, and other non-traditional family structures.

Through these arguments, Shapiro continues to present traditional gender roles not as one possible framework but as the only legitimate foundation for a stable society. By casting deviations from this model as both unnatural and destructive, he positions himself, and Butker, as defenders of an embattled moral truth rather than participants in a broader cultural debate. This framing allows him to dismiss opposing viewpoints not as differing perspectives but as symptoms of societal decay. Further, both Shapiro and Fuentes use the terms “uncontroversial” and “truth” in their discussion of Butker’s speech to situate these ideas as common sense and not open to dissent. While Fuentes weaponizes Catholic traditionalism to push a theocratic political vision, Shapiro strategically presents the same gender ideology as common sense, masking its exclusionary nature under the guise of traditional values. To be sure, this Catholic doctrine upholds a similar belief on women's role in society to the one put forward by Butker and supported by Shapiro, but it takes a backseat to Fuentes' other agenda in his podcast. In short, the Butker commencement address allows for multiple extreme misogynist positions to be articulated and amplified through the touchstones and dog whistles peppered throughout. Taken in the context of the broader conversation within the Manosphere, these podcasts ultimately reinforce the continuum outlined above tied to an ideology rooted in beliefs linked with rape culture, forced reproduction, and the devaluation of women based on perceptions of their duplicity (such as false accusations), with its most extreme iterations invoking the threat of death.

Feminist Memes: The Gendered Care of Activist Labor

In this section, we consider a series of memes that we manually collected in the days and weeks following Butker’s speech to demonstrate what the feminist counter-responses to the speech looked like. This data, as outlined in the methods, emerges from digital spaces quite distinct from the manosphere, advancing an oppositional position to that of the traditional gender values advocated for by influencers like Shapiro and Fuentes. These memes, like feminist activist memes broadly, tactically build upon the earliest meme conventions including, in-group trolling vernaculars (Phillips, 2015), to disseminate important critiques of heteropatriarchal capitalist culture (MacDonald, forthcoming). Feminist memes include irreverent forms of digital refusal, indexing some of the possible ways digital activism can articulate the (il)logic of misogyny and its consequences. Through humour, these memes gather community and make space for women and LGBTQ+ populations directly harmed by anti-gender hate to gather and

push back. These countercultural meme spaces artfully embed meaningful critical discourse in visual and textual gags for social media subgroups who are both in on the joke and more than willing to recirculate its critiques (MacDonald, forthcoming). We argue that there is much to be learned from the visual memes, textual posts, and surrounding conversations that arise in response to misogynist media events; these spaces delimit the parameters of feminist conversations at a given moment, revealing what is at stake for those placed under scrutiny and expanding forms of control and how they understand their place in it. In these memes, the contours of social movements and resistance are revealed.

Take, for example, a meme from the Instagram account for the *Heaven In A Mini Skirt* podcast (Instagram: @heaveninaminiskirt) (Figure 5). The podcast is dedicated to deconstructing Baptist Christian doctrine and takes its name from a popular children's church song with the line "You can't get to heaven in a miniskirt cause God don't like the girls who flirt" (heaveninaminiskirt, 2023). The account posted an infographic style meme on May 19th, 2024, that has a cut-out image of Butker delivering the commencement speech. The text on the top of the image reads, "Actual diabolical lies" and, in circles surrounding Butker's image, are select phrases and ideas from the speech that the account remixes and situates as lies told to women. These include, "your life starts when you get married," "all women want the same thing," "your highest calling is being a homemaker," "being queer is sinful," "your genitals should determine your future," and in a direct dismissal of Butker's own career "kicking a ball is super important" (heaveninaminiskirt, 2023). The account usefully positions these ideas as lies or forms of disinformation told to women and in doing so throws into question the authority with which

[Figure 5]

Butker spoke to the women in the audience. It directly centers its feminist critique on conservative gender values including that the goal and desire of womanhood is mothering and homemaking. In doing so, it names and dismisses the push within many sites of misogynist media that encourages women to the place of the domestic and away from public discourse. The use of a public social media platform and via the popular use of memetic communication is another way in which the account pushes back against this desire for women to be seen upholding the homestead rather than being heard in the spaces of politics. The final "lie," that kicking balls is important, engaged in memetic tactics of trolling that also provide a punchline to the overall conceit or joke of the meme. The meme shared with many others around Butker's speech a use of popular culture events and figures in order to both engage audiences and leverage forms of affect that circulate within them.

Here, we were particularly interested in the memetic collapse between feminist memes about Butker's speech and the viral Man vs. Bear trend from the spring of 2024. For context, the TikTok account SCREENSHOT (@screenshotq) posted a video on April 10, 2024, that interviewed people on the street with the question, "Would you rather be alone in the woods with a man or a bear?" (screenshot, 2024). The post became viral, with many social media users weighing in on the question across TikTok, Instagram, and X. Notable was how readily women and other marginalized genders noted they would rather be alone with a bear. The responses used humour, sarcasm, and irony, but it was also, for those aware of the scope of gendered violence, a clear critique of rape culture. As noted in our other work (Wiens et al., forthcoming), many social media users detailed why they chose the bear in ways that resonated greatly with other social media users who identified as women. The Butker speech and resulting feminist discourse around it occurred right around the time the Man vs. Bear trend was widely circulated; the ways in which some meme creators linked Butker's sentiments to larger issues of misogyny in culture

spoke to the very critiques of gendered violence and rape that emerged in Man vs. Bear discourse.

Trends from personal and feminist meme accounts expanded the Man vs. Bear trend, connecting Butker to other known publicly named misogynists and convicted rapists, including Sean Combs, Andrew Tate, and Harvey Weinstein. In a post by @birdsandbees, a tweet by @emotionalabusecoach is reposted on a blue watery background (Figure 6). It asks “Are we still wondering why women would choose a bear? Or did Puff Daddy and Butker explain it for everyone?” (birdsandbeesask.me, 2024).

[Figure 6]

A meme along similar lines reposted by popular Instagram account The Cult (@t.h.e.c.u.l.t) splits the frame into four quarters, with images of Sean Combs, Andrew Tate, Harrison Butker, and Harvey Weinstein in each of the quarters. The tagline reads, “the four horseman (sic) of why she chose the bear last week” (t.h.e.c.u.l.t, 2024) (Figure 7).

[Figure 7]

What should stand out here is that Butker is placed in the company of accused serial sexual predators Combs, Tate, and Weinstein, naming them the four horsemen, alluding to the level of violence they bring as equivalent to the four Horsemen of the Apocalypse. Their roles in the meme as looming figures of misogyny merges with the discourse around “why she chose the bear,” collectively explaining why many women might opt against choosing men in this scenario. Butker’s addition to this group of men suggests that his speech is being considered by many in a misogynist trajectory with those accused of violence and sexual assault. The labor this meme does is to make clear that rape culture and conservative gender values exists on a continuum and are considered together in contemporary critiques of misogyny online.

Similarly, the Instagram account for the ERA Coalition (@eracoalition), an advocacy organization for the Equal Rights Amendment, posted a slide deck that starts with side-by-side images of Butker from the commencement and a bear in the wood (Figure 8). The text below reads, “A bear wouldn’t give a misogynistic speech at a college in 2024” (eracoalition, 2024). Their comment attached to the post reads, “You may have heard about Harrison Butker’s misogynist and backwards-thinking remarks this week. Publishing the ERA would explicitly prohibit discrimination based on sex and gender, discrimination that reinforces absurd stereotypes like the ones Butker asserted” with a follower noting just below “This is why we need the ERA” (eracoalition, 2024).

[Figure 8]

The second slide in the post is a cut out picture of Butker at the podium and a quote from the speech around the diabolical lies women have been told and their desire to be mothers. The third slide counters Butker’s position with the following statement “We advocate for women’s autonomy in determining their life paths whether it involves thriving careers or choosing to be stay-at-home mothers. This is the essence of the ERA.” (eracoalition, 2024). This carefully constructed slide deck draws users’ attention with the viral meme trend for the opening slide and employs the platform affordance of carousel decks to critique Butker’s sexism and advocate the value of the ERA. This feminist digital labour recalls advocacy work from earlier decades of feminist organizing. In the present, it is couched in a humorous style, the lingua franca of memes, observing that we don’t see many bears giving misogynist speeches at all, let alone to women graduating college. This humour is purposefully absurd, revealing the absurdity of the speech itself (something the post notes on a later slide in the carousel deck).

Among the cited images in the thread is a list of powerful female characters, including

Arya Stark in full attack mode from *Game of Thrones*, Leticia Lewis from *Lovecraft Country* swinging a bat while charging at someone with a house burning in the background, the Scarlet Witch from the Marvel Cinematic Universe casting spells while exiting a building, and an image of Swift herself clapping at the memes and comments being shared. Additional text comments include a running joke after the speech calling Butker “the smallest man who ever kicked” and a quote from Swift’s lyric: “Someone’s afraid of little old me. He should be” (sbellelauren, 2024). Another comment encapsulates the thread’s theme: “This picture is worth a thousand words.... for every angry woman with a point to make. I’m here for it” (sbellelauren, 2024). There is a stark contrast between Butker’s vision of womanhood and the responses from women-identifying social media users. Both are emotionally charged but in different ways. Butker presents, with great certainty, a vision of womanhood as a vocation and calling tied implicitly to domesticity and motherhood, requiring women to step away from public life to support their male partner’s presence and their children instead. He frames this role as fulfilling, though it positions women as background players. In response, women counter this vision with public performances of anger and defiance, using images of powerful real and fictional women who lead highly visible, successful lives. The affective labor of feminist content demands recognition and naming.

In addition to these artifacts within this media event, there were many other instances where feminist responses to the commencement speech drew on popular culture to advance a critique against Butker. Returning to the (seemingly threatening to men) public persona of Swift, comedian Lauren Ashley Bishop (@sbellelauren) started a thread on May 15, 2024 with a picture of Taylor Swift performing on stage in a white Vivienne Westwood dress with lyrics from her song *Fortnight*, with a massive white flag billowing behind her as she holds the flagstaff and leans into her microphone (Figure 9). The photo is from Swift’s *Eras Tour* where she is performing her song “Who’s Afraid of Little Old Me?” from her most recent album, *The Tortured Poets Department* (notably, this song is a response to her own public scrutiny). Bishop memeifies the image adding text above it to read, “when a kicker on the chiefs tells me to stay in the kitchen” (sbellelauren, 2024). The meme operationalizes Swift’s image to evoke the kinds of politics Swift is known to articulate as part of her persona (whether those are feminist, post-feminist, apolitical pop princess, or something in between), but also to push against Butker’s subtle nod to Swift. In his speech, Butler quotes a proverb that Swift sings in her song *Bejeweled*, “familiarity breeds contempt,” while only referring to Swift as “my teammate’s girlfriend” (Benedictine College, 2024). Most interesting, for us, is the way other users responded to Bishop’s initial post: there were over 100 comments on the post with many of them either affirming the sentiment of the post or extending it by adding other iconic images of powerful women. Comments of support include, “Or when Taylor Swift’s boyfriend’s teammate tells me to stay in the kitchen” and “More like, when the kicker for the Chiefs uses my own lyrics to tell me and other women to stay in the kitchen.” These effectively reverse the way Swift was addressed by Butker in his speech to leave him nameless, the way that Butker left Swift unworthy of naming.

Conclusion

The range of responses that we explore here underscore the deep divide between traditionalist-misogynist and feminist perspectives on gender, highlighting the influence digital spaces hold in shaping and contesting cultural narratives. As this divide perpetuates and unfolds, it becomes clear that viral moments of gender discourse serve as both a battleground and a

rallying point, reinforcing the ongoing struggle over women's autonomy and visibility in public life. Ultimately, as we have argued, this debate reflects broader societal tensions about gender, power, and representation—tensions that will continue to surface if competing visions of womanhood remain in conflict. Indeed, the findings of this study reveal a troubling landscape, wherein the COVID-19 pandemic worsened gendered power imbalances, significantly intensifying online misogyny while also catalyzing feminist digital resistance. Through the analysis of manosphere podcasts and feminist digital responses, we have sought to narrativize how the pandemic-related isolation and economic challenges led to the radicalization of men into misogynistic discourse, which now influences mainstream conservative politics. Looking at key manosphere figures like Elon Musk, Harrison Butker, Nick Fuentes, and Ben Shapiro, we illustrated how these figures contribute to the popularization of misogynistic narratives, demonstrating how their statements and actions reinforce traditional gender norms that (de)limit women's roles and undermine gender equity. Simultaneously, we highlighted the burden placed on feminist activist content creators and media users who, already stretched thin by care work and burnout, were forced to combat the growing tide of networked misogyny. This activism driven by exhaustion represents a shift from anger-fueled responses to a more nuanced form of resistance that critiques both capitalist exploitation and patriarchy. As we have demonstrated, these discourses do not exist in isolation; they align with larger reactionary projects like *Project 2025*, the Dobbs decision, and the broader assault on gender and reproductive rights in North America. In response to these conservative narratives, we have argued that feminist digital counter protests use affective labor through memes, hashtags, and conversations creating a space for solidarity and critique within online communities. These digital artifacts are not just reactions; they are powerful acts of resistance against the normalization of misogyny and crucial tools in the ongoing fight for gender equity. Memetic interventions responding to Butker's commencement speech exist within the broader "Man vs. Bear" discourse, exposing how deeply critiques of rape culture are woven into society's consciousness; moreover, they demonstrate the unwavering resistance of women and LGBTQ+ communities against the reimposition of restrictive gender roles. While the manosphere strategically exploits digital platforms to reinforce misogynistic ideologies, feminist counter-narratives actively disrupt and dismantle these narratives. By refusing to allow women to be reduced to reproductive and domestic roles, these interventions reclaim digital spaces as battlegrounds for equity, proving that resistance is not only possible but necessary in the face of reactionary backlash.

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Figures

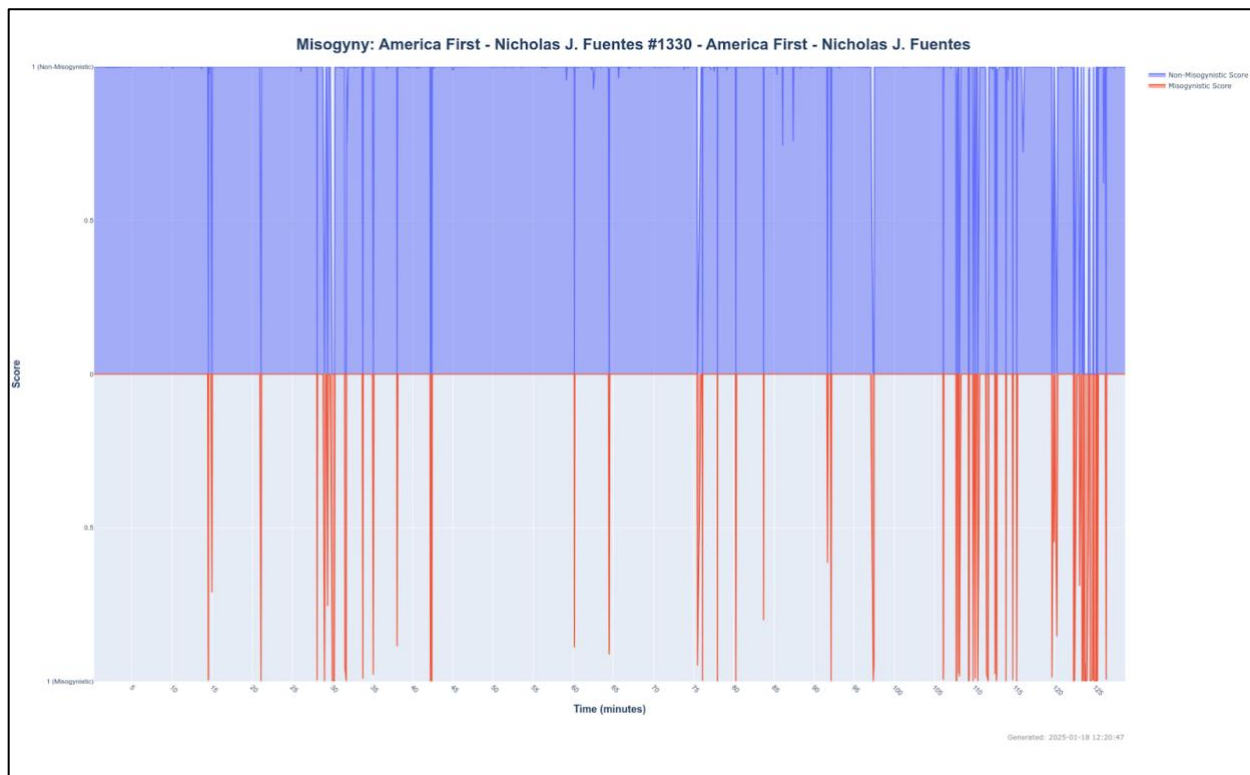


Figure 1 Temporal Distribution of Misogynistic Speech Rhetoric in Nicholas J. Fuentes' Podcast Episode (#1330)

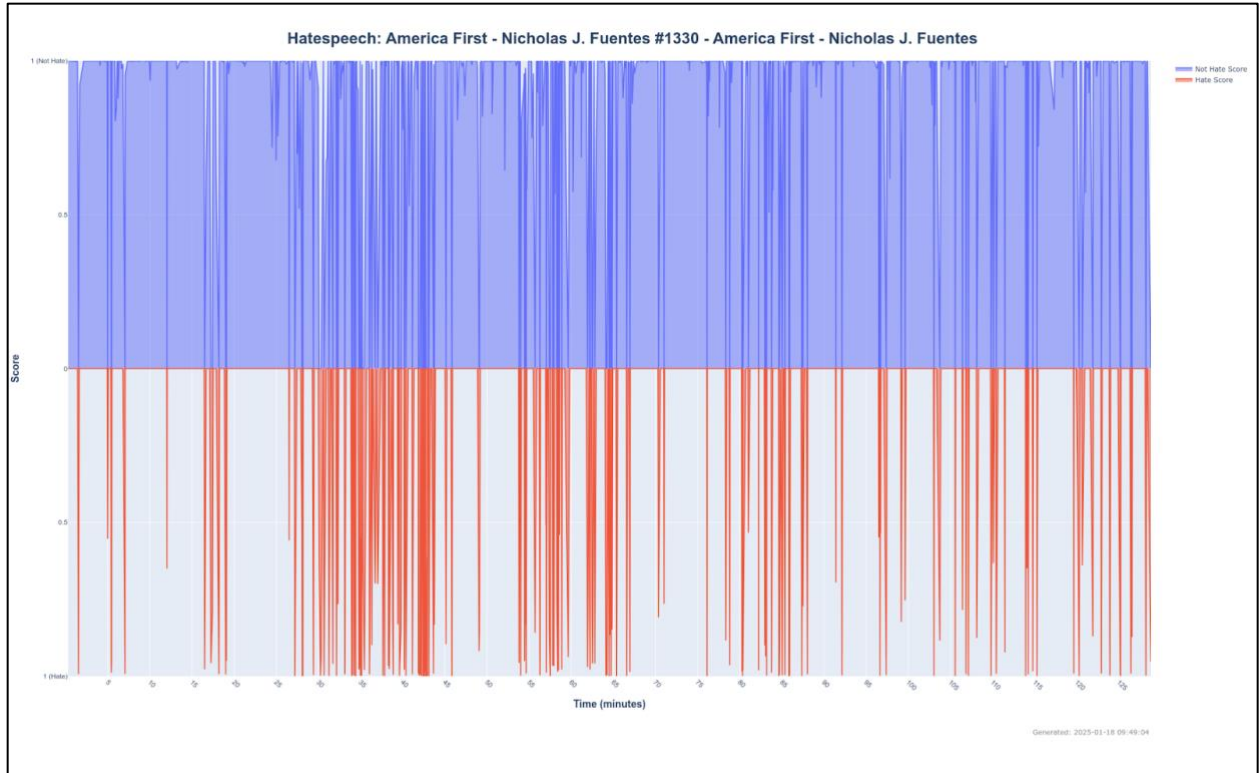


Figure 2 Temporal Distribution of Hate Speech Rhetoric in Nicholas J. Fuentes' Podcast Episode (#1330)

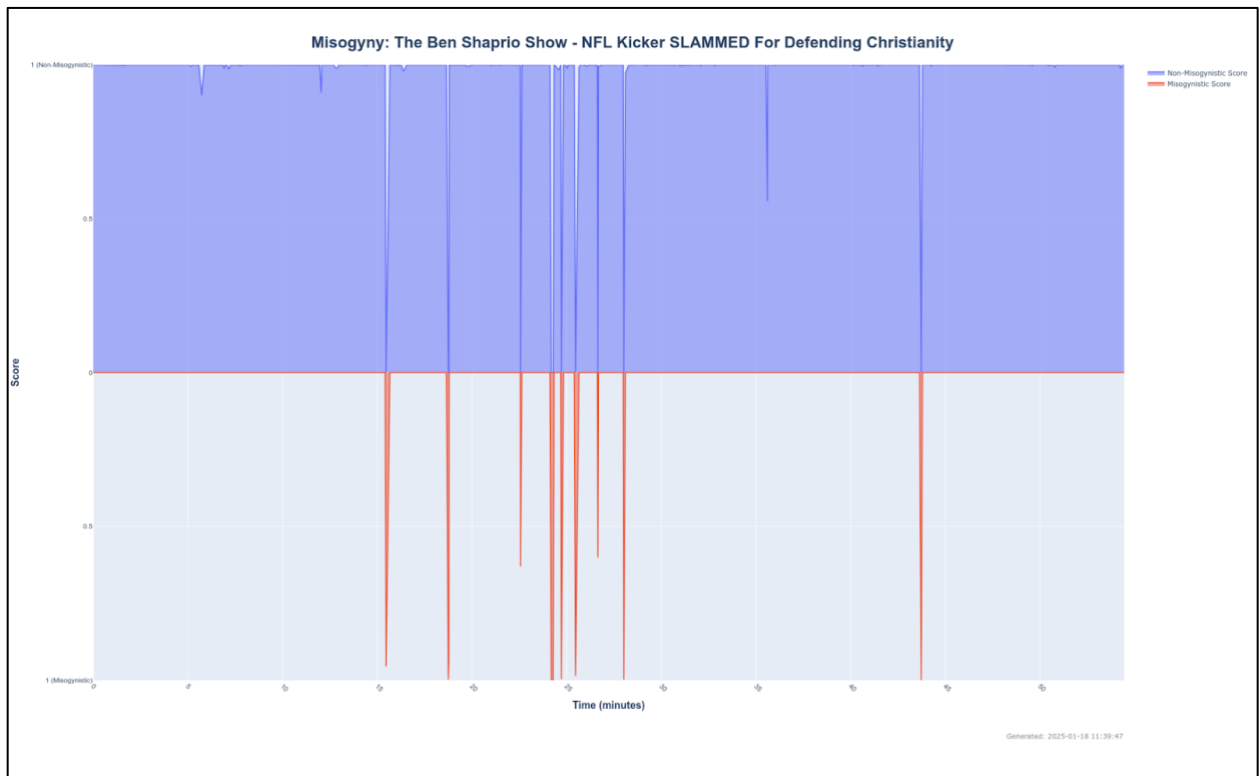


Figure 3 Temporal Distribution of Misogynistic Rhetoric in Ben Shapiro's Podcast Episode on Harrison Butker

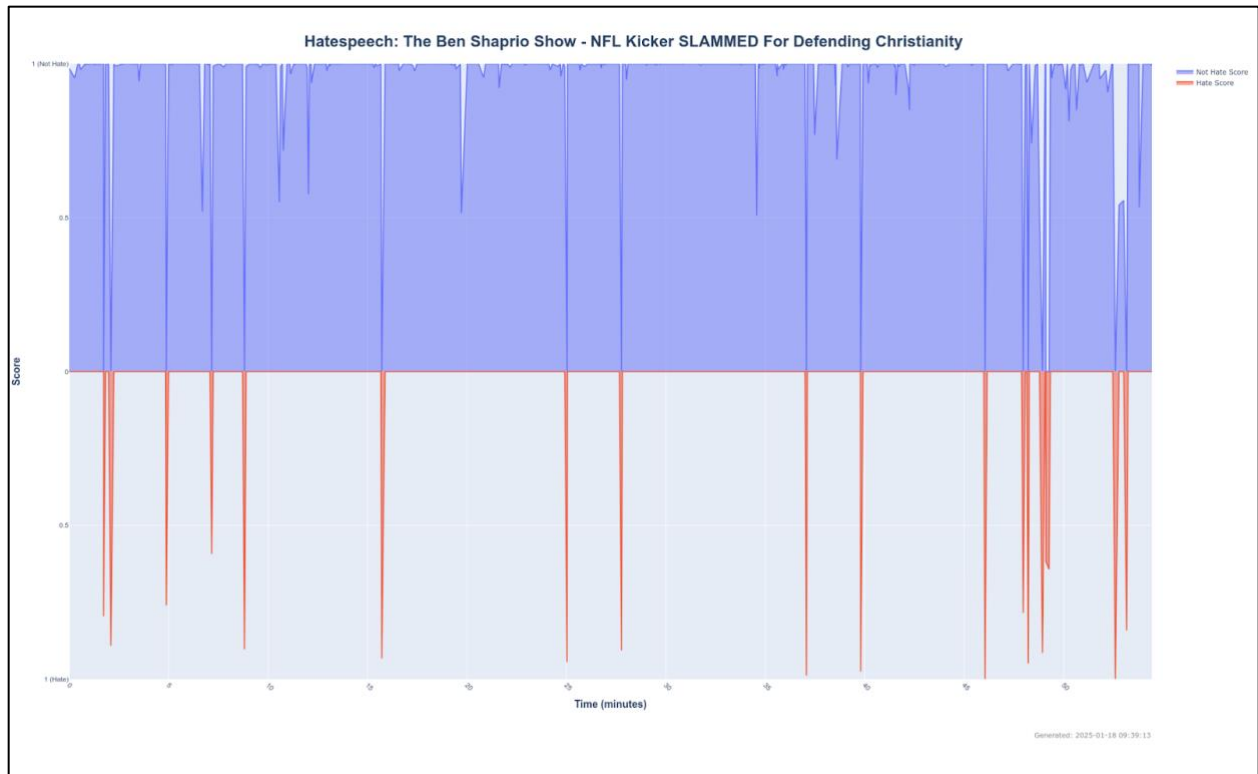


Figure 4 Temporal Distribution of Hate Speech Rhetoric in Ben Shapiro's Podcast Episode on Harrison Butker



Figure 5 “Actual Diabolical Lies” – Feminist Infographic Meme Responding to Harrison Butker’s Speech

⁴ Source: Heaven In A Mini Skirt [@heaveninaminiskirt]. (2024, May 19). Actual diabolical lies [Image]. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/p/C7J1huWOK8f/>

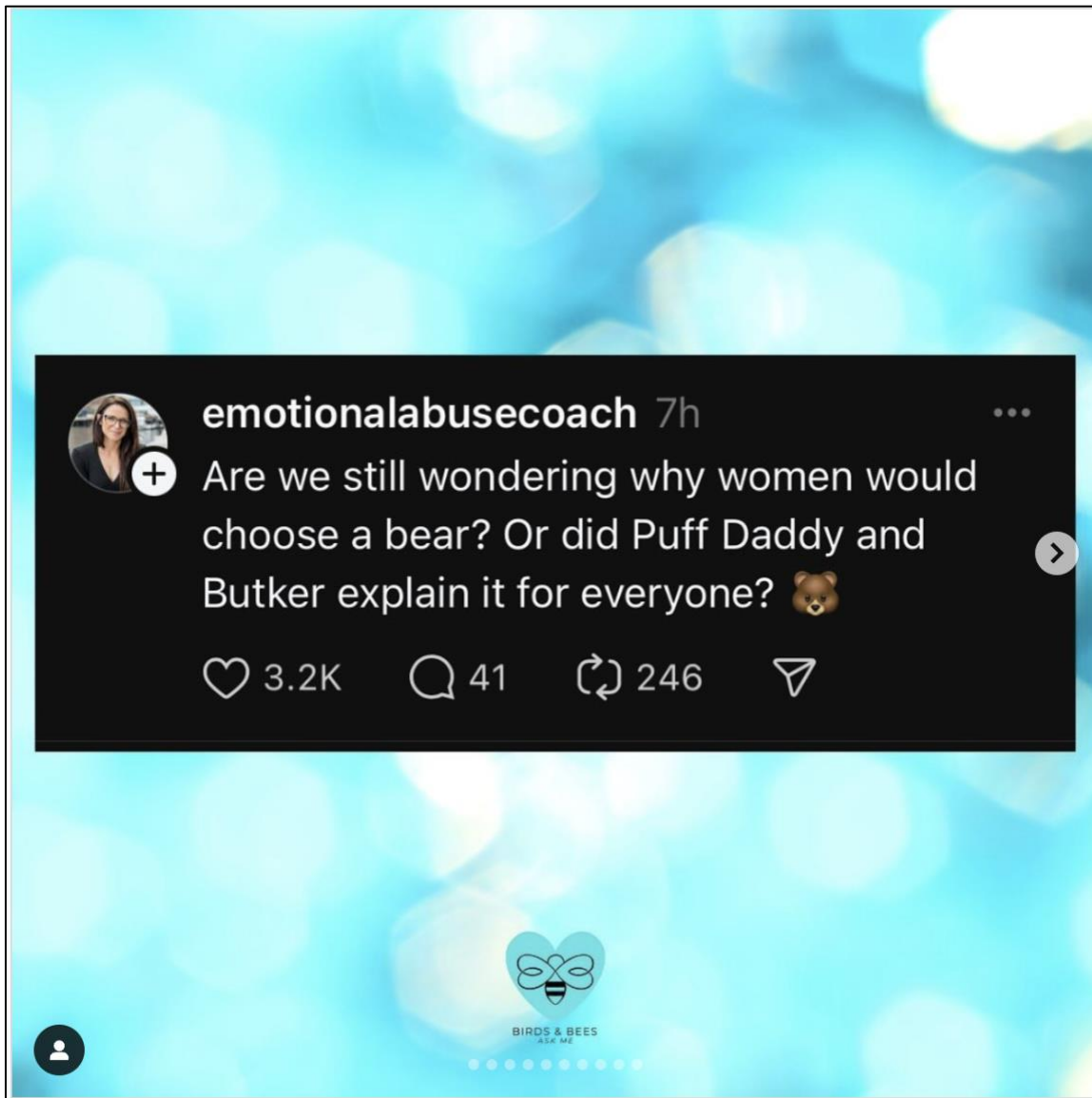


Figure 6 “Are We Still Wondering Why Women Would Choose a Bear?” – Meme Critiquing Butker and Gendered Violence

⁵ **Source:** *Birds and Bees Ask Me* [[@birdsandbeesask.me](https://www.instagram.com/birdsandbeesask.me)]. (2024, May 18). Are we still wondering why women would choose a bear? Or did Puff Daddy and Butker explain it for everyone? [Image]. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/p/C7IoEZE8CF/>



Figure 7 “The Four Horsemen of Why She Chose the Bear” – Meme Linking Butker to Misogynist Public Figures

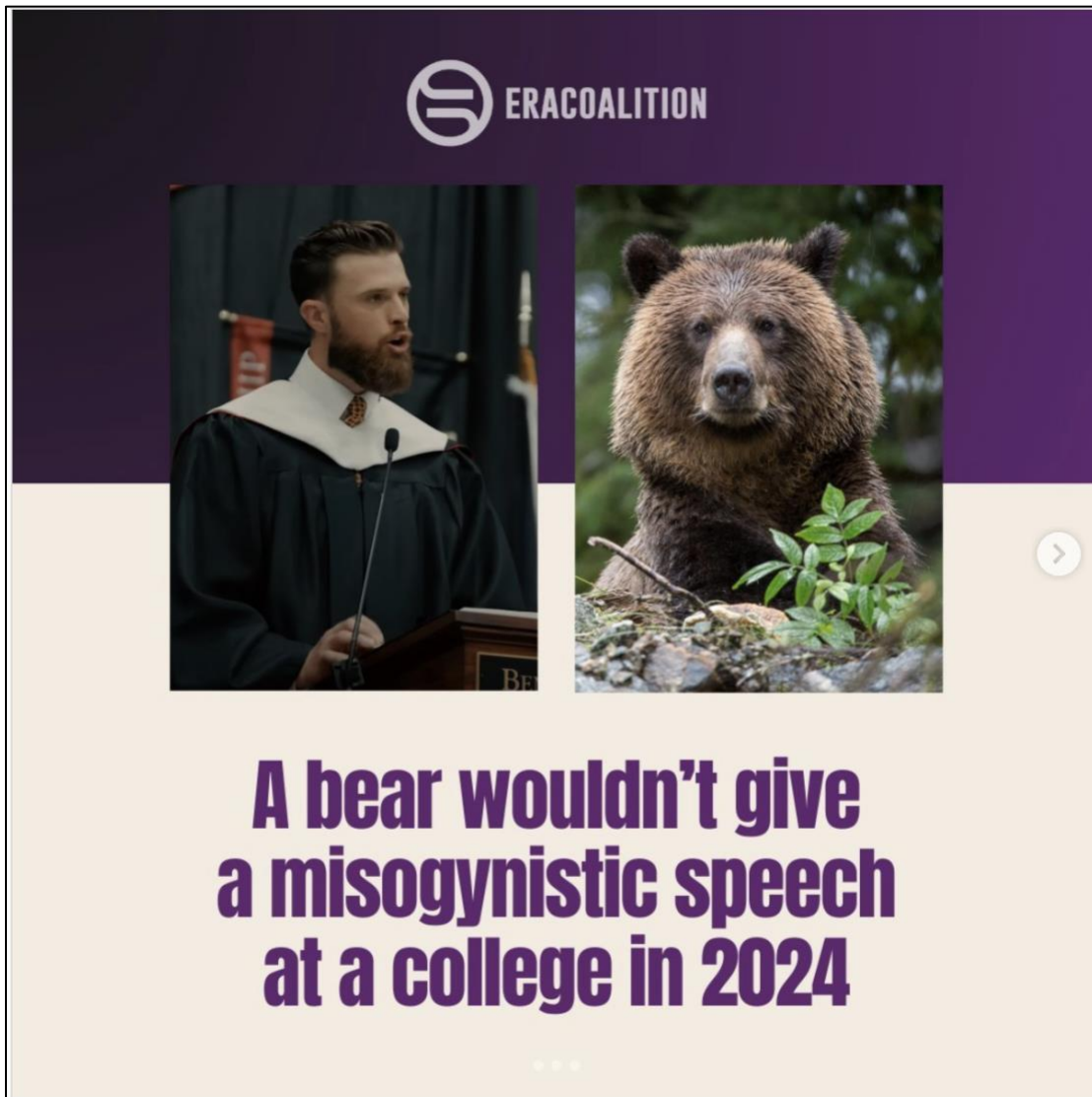


Figure 8 “A Bear Wouldn’t Give a Misogynistic Speech” – ERA Coalition Meme Critiquing Butker’s Remarks

⁶ Source: ERA Coalition [@eracoalition]. (2024, May 17). A bear wouldn't give a misogynistic speech at a college in 2024 [Image]. Instagram. <https://www.instagram.com/p/C7FRDbVtKnH/>

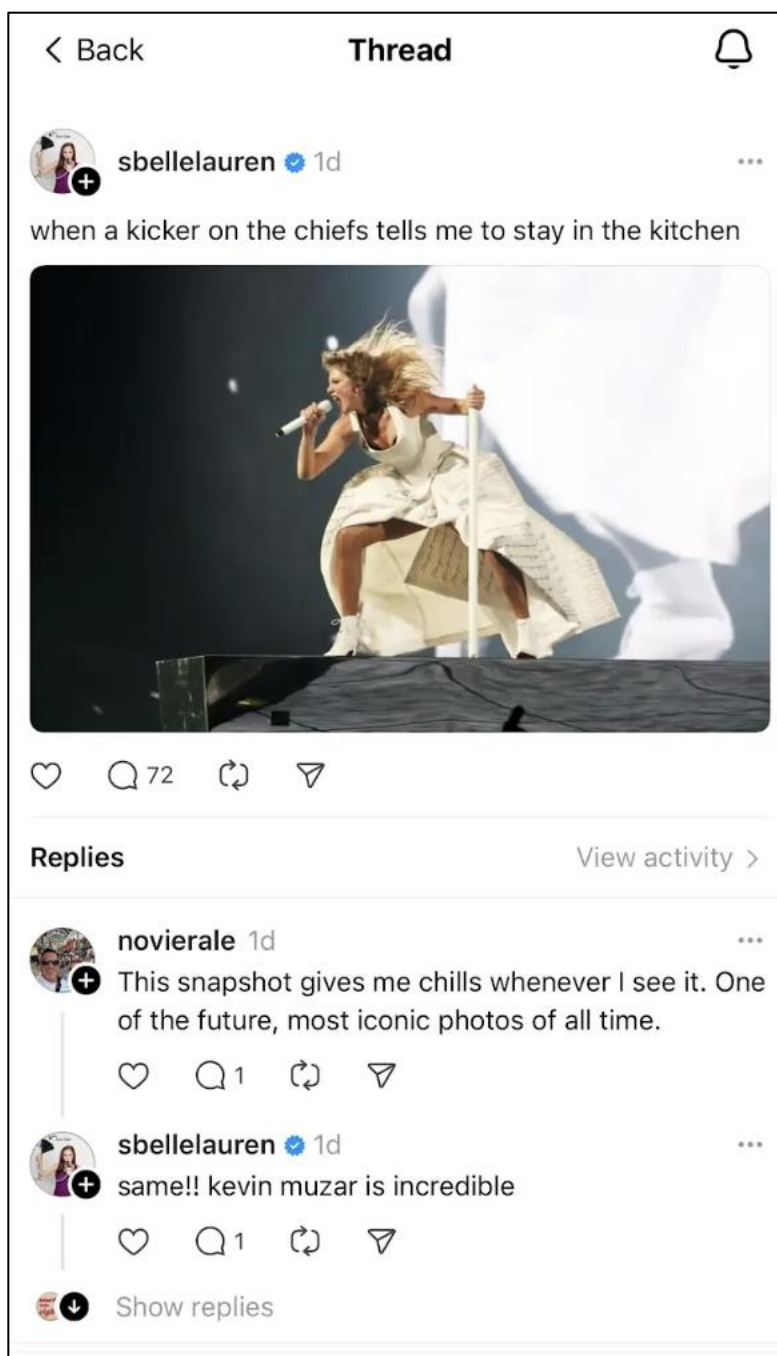


Figure 9 “When a Kicker on the Chiefs Tells Me to Stay in the Kitchen” – Taylor Swift Meme Responding to Butker’s Speech

⁷ Source: *Sbellelauren* [*@sbellelauren*]. (2024, May 15). When a kicker on the Chiefs tells me to stay in the kitchen [Image]. Threads. https://www.threads.net/@sbellelauren/post/C6_bPNOO_GN

