Post-Truth Protest: How 4chan Cooked Up the Pizzagate Bullshit
Marc Tuters, Emilia Jokubauskaite, Daniel Bach

Introduction
On 4 December 2016, a man entered a Washington, D.C., pizza parlor armed with an AR-15 assault rifle at the behest of an alleged satanic pedophile ring run by prominent members of the Democratic Party. While the story had already been discredit (LaCapra), at the time of the incident, nearly half of Trump voters were found to give a measure of support to the story, which had apparently inspired the rumors that the parlor was a hub for “loose coordination” amongst members of the insurgent US “alt-right” movement (Hawley 48). Over a period of 25 hours beginning on 3 November 2016, contributors to the /r/Paranormal subcommunity, a forum and /r/Conspiracy, an online forum that had been seen as a hub, obtained by Russian hackers (Franceschi-Bicchieria) and leaked by Julian Assange (WikiLeaks). In this short time period contributors to the forum thus constructed the basic elements of a narrative that would be amplified by a newly formed “right-wing media network”, in which the “repetition, variation, and circulation” of “repeated falsehoods” may be understood as an “important factor towards a ‘post-truth’ world” (Benkler et al). Heavily promoted by a new class of right-wing pundits on Twitter (Wendling), the case of Pizzagate prompts us to reconsider the presumed progressive valence of social media protest (Zuckerman).

While there is literature, both popular and academic, on earlier protest movements associated with 4chan (Strier; Gibson; Coleman; Phillips), there is still a relative paucity of empirical research into the new forms of alt-right collective action that have emerged from 4chan. And while we do not wish to discount the disinformation of the Pizzagate rumors across social media as well as deconstructing its narrative (Fish: et al.; Aisch; Robb), as of yet there has been no rigorous analysis of the provenance of this particular story. This article thus presents an empirical real study of how the Pizzagate conspiracy theory developed out of a particular set of collective action techniques that were in turn shaped by the material affordances of 4chan’s most active message board, the notorious and highly offensive /pol/.

Grammatised Collective Action

Our empirical approach is partially inspired by the limited data-scientific literature of 4chan (Bernstein et al.; Hine et al.; Zannettou et al.), and combines close and distant reading techniques to study how the design of 4chan’s ‘grammatisses’ new forms of collective action. One way of thinking about ‘grammatised collective action’ is based on the notion of “grammars of action” from the field of critical information studies, which posits the radical idea that innovations in computational systems can also be understood as “ontological advances” (Aпре 748), in that the design of information systems affects the human interactions and social arrangements that form around these digital artifacts. By introducing this concept our intent is not to minimise individual agency, but rather to emphasise the ways in which computational systems can be conceptualised in terms of an individual’s milieu, and the ways in which these affordances and constraints contribute to the development of new forms of social life and, while we do not wish to discount the disinformation of the Pizzagate rumors across social media as well as deconstructing its narrative (Fish: et al.; Aisch; Robb), as of yet there has been no rigorous analysis of the provenance of this particular story. This article thus presents an empirical real study of how the Pizzagate conspiracy theory developed out of a particular set of collective action techniques that were in turn shaped by the material affordances of 4chan’s most active message board, the notorious and highly offensive /pol/.

Affordance was initially proposed as a means by which to overcome the dualistic tendency, inherent in phenomenology, to bracket the subject from its environment. Thus, affordance is a relational concept “equally a fact of the environment and a fact of behaviour” (Gibson 129). While, in the strictly materialist sense affordances are “always there” (Gibson 132), their capacity to be experienced depends upon their discovery and exploitation by particular forms of life that are capable of perceiving them. It is axiomatic within ethology that forms of life can be understood not by their own dynamic, yet in some real sense ontologically distinct, lifeworlds (von Uexküll). Departing from this axiom, affordances can thus be defined, somewhat confusingly but accurately, as an “invariant combination of variables” (Gibson 134). In the case of new media, the same technologies may afford different actions for specific users—for instance, the uses of an online platform differs apparently from the perspective of the individual users, businesses, or a developer (Gillespie). Recent literature within the field of new media has sought to engage with this concept of affordance as the metaphoric basis for attending to “the specificity of platforms” (Bucher and Helmond 242), for example by focussing on how a platform’s affordances may be used as a “mechanism of governance” (Crawford and Gillespie 411), how they may “foster democratic deliberation” (Halpern and Gibbs 1159), and be implicated in the “production of normativity” (Stanflil 1061).

As an anonymous and essentially ephemeral peer-produced image-board, 4chan has a quite simple technical design when compared with the dominant social media platforms discussed in the new media literature on affordances. Paradoxically however in the simplicity of their design 4chan boards may be understood to afford rather complex forms of self-expression and of coordinated action amongst their dedicated users, whom refer to themselves as “anos”. It has been noted, for example, that the production of provocative images on the image-board — the birthplace of Rickrolling — could be understood as a type of “contested cultural capital”, whose “media literate” usage allows anos to demonstrate their in-group status in the absence of an in-group reputation capital (Nissenbaum and Shavit 2008). In the case of and 4chan, the most notable of which is its renowned anonymity. We should thus begin by noting how the design of the site allows anyone to use it without having reached the bump-limit threads expire, moving down the front page on the second and third page either to be temporarily
cataloged or else to disappear from the site altogether (see Image 1 for how popular threads on /pol/, represented in red, are purged after reaching the bump-limit).

**Image 1**: 55 minutes of all 4chan/pol/ threads and their positions, sampled every 2 minutes (Hagen)

Adding to this ephemerality, general discussion on 4chan is also governed by moderators — this in spite of 4chan’s anarchic reputation — who are uniquely empowered with the ability to effectively kill a thread, or a series of threads. Autosaging, one of the possible techniques available to moderators, is usually only exerted in instances when the discussion is deemed as being off-topic or inappropriate. As a result of the combined affordances, discussions can be extremely rapid and intense — in the case of the creation of Pizzagate, this process took 25 hours (see Tokemetis for an account based on our research).

The combination of 4chan’s unique affordances of anonymity and ephemerality brings us to a third factor that is crucial in order to understand how it is that 4chan anons cooked-up the Pizzagate story: the general thread. This process involves anons combing through previous discussion threads in order to create a new thread that compiles all the salient details on a given topic often archiving this data with services like Pastebin — an online content hosting service usually used to share snippets of code — or Google Docs since the latter tend to be less ephemeral than 4chan.

In addition to keeping a conversation alive after a thread has been purged, in the case of Pizzagate we noticed that general threads were crucial to the process of framing those discussions going forward. While multiple general threads might emerge on a given topic, only one will consolidate the ongoing conversation thereby affording significant authority to a single author (as opposed to the anonymous mass) in terms of deciding on which parts of a prior thread to include or exclude. While general threads occur relatively commonly in 4chan, in the case of Pizzagate, this process seemed to take on the form of a real-time collective research effort that we will refer to as **bullshit accumulation**.

The analytic philosopher Harry Frankfurt argues that bullshit is form of knowledge-production that appears unconcerned with objective truth, and as such can be distinguished from misinformation. Frankfurt sees bullshit as "more ambiguous" than misinformation defining it as "panoramic rather than particular" since it is also prepared to "take the context", which in his estimation makes bullshit a "greater enemy of the truth" than lies (62, 52). Through an investigation into the origins of Pizzagate on /pol/, we thus are able to understand how grammatised collective action assists in the accumulation of bullshit in the service of a kind of post-truth political protest.

**Bullshit Accumulation**

4chan has a pragmatic and paradoxical relationship with belief that has be characterised in terms of kind of quasi-religious ironic collectivism (Burton). Because of this "weaponizing [of] irony" (Wilson) it is difficult to objectively determine to what extent anons actually believed that Pizzagate was real, and in a sense it is beside the point. In combination then with the site’s aforementioned affordances, it is this peculiar relationship with the truth which thus makes /pol/ so uniquely productive of bullshit.

![Original pizzagate post on 4chan/pol/](Image 2: Original pizzagate post on 4chan/pol/)

When #Pizzagate started trending on Twitter on 4 November 2017, it became clear that much of the narrative, and in particular the ‘pizza connection’, was based on arcane (if not simply ridiculous) interpretations of a cache of e-mails belonging to Hillary Clinton’s campaign manager John Podesta released by Wikileaks during the final weeks of the campaign. While many of the subsequent journalistic expose would claim that Pizzagate began on 4chan, they did not explore its origins, perhaps because of the fact that 4chan does not consistently archive its threads. Our analysis overcame this obstacle by using a third party archive, ArchiveIsDead, which allowed us to pinpoint the first instance of a thread (/pol/) that discussed a connection between the keyword “pizza” and the leaked e-mails (Image 2).

![4chan/pol/Pizzagate general threads](Image 3: 4chan/pol/ Pizzagate general threads)

Starting with the timestamp of the first thread, we identified a total of 18 additional general threads related to the topic of Pizzagate (see Image 3). This establishes a 25-hour timeframe in which the Pizzagate narrative was formed (from Wednesday 2 November 2016, 22:17:20, until Thursday 3 November 2016, 23:24:01). We developed a timeline (Image 4) identifying 13 key moments in the development of the Pizzagate story such as the first attempts at disseminating the narrative to other platforms such as the Reddit forum r/The_Donald a popular forum whose reactionary politics had arguably set the broader tone for the Trump campaign (Heikkilä).
The association between the Clinton campaign and pedophilia came from another narrative on 4chan known as 'Orgy Island', which alleged the Clintons flew to a secret island for sex tourism aboard a private jet called "Lolita Express" owned by Jeffrey Epstein, an American financier who had served 13 months in prison for soliciting an underage prostitute. As with the Pizzagate story, this narrative also appears to have developed through the shared infrastructure of Pastebin links included in general posts (Pastebin) often alongside Wikileaks links.

**Image 5: Clues about "pizza" being investigated**

Orgy Island and other stories were thus combined together with 'clues', many of which were found in the leaked Podesta e-mails, in order to imagine the connections between pedophilia and pizza. It was noticed that several of Podesta's e-mails, for example, mentioned the phrase 'cheese pizza' (see Image 5), which on 4chan had long been used as a code word for 'child pornography', the latter which is banned from the site.

From: Marina Abramovic <marinabronov@gmail.com>
Date: Jun 28, 2015 at 2:55:08 AM EDT
To: Tony Podesta <podesta@tonypodesta.com;tonypodesta@podesta.com>

Subject: Dinner

Dear Tony,

I am so looking forward to the Spirit Cooking dinner at my place. Do you think you will be able to let me know if your brother is joining?

All my love, Marina

--

ABRAMOVIC LLC

**Image 6: leaked Podesta e-mail from Marina Abramovic**

In another leaked e-mail, for example, sent to Podesta from the renowned performance artist Marina Abramovich (see Image 6), a reference to one of her art projects, entitled 'Spirit Cooking' — an oblique reference to the mid-century English occultist Aleister Crowley — was interpreted as evidence of Clinton’s involvement in satanic rituals (see Image 7). In the course of this one-day period then, many if not most of the coordinates for the Pizzagate narrative were thus put into place subsequently to be amplified by a new breed of populist social media activists in protest against a corrupt Democratic establishment.

**Image 7: /pol/ anon’s reaction to the e-mail in Image 6**

During its initial inception on /pol/, there was the apparent need for visualisations in order make sense of all the data. Quite early on in the process, for example, one anon posted:

my brain is exploding trying to organize the connections. Anyone have diagrams of these connections?

In response, anons produced numerous conspiratorial visualisations, such as a map featuring all the child-related businesses in the neighbourhood of the D.C. pizza parlor — owned by the boyfriend of the prominent Democratic strategist David Brock — which seemed to have logos of the same general shape as the symbols apparently used by pedophiles, and whose locations seems furthermore to line up in the shape of a satanic pentagram (see Image 8). Such visualisations appear to have served three purposes: they helped anons to identify connections, they helped them circumvent 4chan’s punning process — indeed they were often hosted on third-party sites such as Imgur — and finally they helped anons to ultimately communicate the Pizzagate narrative to a broader audience.

**Image 8. Anonymously authored Pizzagate map revealing a secret pedophilia network in D.C.**

By using an inductive approach to categorise the comments in the general threads a set of non-exclusive codes emerged, which can be grouped into five overarching categories: researching, interpreting, soliciting, archiving and publishing. As visualised in Image 9, the techniques used
by anons in the genesis of Pizzagate appears as a kind of vernacular rendition of many of the same “digital methods” that we use as Internet researchers. An analysis of these techniques thus helps us to understanding how a grammatical form of collective action arises out of anons’ negotiations with the affordances of 4chan — most notably the constant purging of threads — and how, in special circumstances, this can lead to bullshit accumulation.

**Conclusion**

What this analysis ultimately reveals is how 4chan/pol’s ephemeral nature contributed to an environment that is remarkably productive of bullshit. As a type of knowledge-accumulation, bullshit confirms preconceived biases through appealing to emotion — this at the expense of the broader shared epistemic principles, an objective notion of “truth” that arguably forms the foundation for public reason in large and complex liberal societies (Lynch). In this sense, the bullshit of Pizzagate resonates with Kenneth Frampton’s analysis of totalitarian discourse which nurtures a conspiratorial redefining of emotional truth as “whatever respectable society had hypocritically passed over, or covered with corruption” (49).

As right-wing populism establishes itself everywhere firmly in many countries in which technocratic liberalism had formerly held sway, the demand for emotionally satisfying post-truth, will surely keep the new online bullshit factories like /pol/ in business. Yet, while the same figures who initially assiduously sought to promote Pizzagate have subsequently tried to distance themselves from the story (Doubeck; Colbourn), Pizzagate continues to live on in certain ‘alternative facts’ communities (Voat).

If we conceptualise the notion of a ‘public’ as a local and transient entity that is, above all, defined by its active engagement with a given ‘issue’ (Marres), then perhaps we should consider Pizzagate as representing a new post-truth species of issue-public. Indeed, one could go so far as to argue that, in the era of post-truth, the very ‘reality’ of contemporary issues-publics are increasingly becoming a function of their what communicators were able to communicate in a neopragmatist theory might even be used to support the post-truth claim — as produced by the grammatical collective actions of 4chan anons in the course of a single day — that Pizzagate is real!

**References**


Keywords
4chan, alt-right, post-truth, conspiracy theory, affordancess

Copyright (c) 2018 Marc Tuters, Emilija Jokubauskaitė, Daniel Bach

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.