Get Out (of the White House):

The Trump Administration and YouTube Horror Parody as Social Commentary

In March 2017, less than two months after Donald Trump was inaugurated as the 45th President of the United States, popular comedy website *Funny Or Die* uploaded a trailer to its *YouTube* account titled "Get Out (Of The White House)." The video parodied Jordan Peele's horror film *Get Out*, which had been released in American theatres at the end of February. While the basic premise remained the same – a black man meeting the parents of his white partner for the first time suspects that everything is not as it seems – the setup was provided with 'one crucial, stomach-churning twist.' The Armitage clan who served as the film's antagonists had been replaced by the Trump family. Left-leaning news and entertainment outlets were quick to praise the video as a penetrating piece of political satire, noting that 'it's more than a little scary how perfectly Ivanka, Melania, Donald, Jr. and co fit into the movie's roles' (Martinelli, 2017).

GO(OTWH) was one in a wave of parody trailers released on popular video-sharing platform *YouTube* following Donald Trump's entry into, and subsequent victory in, the 2016 presidential campaign, reflecting the site's emergence as a key space for political engagement. Content creators on both sides of the political spectrum relished the opportunity to insert the president into a variety of movie plotlines, with their choice of genre often betraying an underlying ideological or political orientation. Trump acolytes placed him into epic action films such as 300, Gladiator, and Troy, depicting him as a fearless warrior fighting back against a variety of enemies which included the Democratic political machine, establishment Republican candidates, and the mainstream media. By contrast, Trump's critics sought to frame his electoral victory through the lens of horror, using films such as *The*

Shining, The Silence of the Lambs, and The Purge to denounce his combative demeanour, controversial public rhetoric, and questionable moral code.

While many of these trailers offered little more than hyperbolic depictions of Trump as a movie monster, the best can be placed within a rich history of political horror and horror parody delineated by scholars such as Tony Magistrale (2005) and Jon Towlson (2014). By seeking to make sense of Trump's presidency through the lens of horror, parody *YouTube* trailers attempted to critique his personal attitudes and administrative policies, as well as the role played by his family and political supporters in facilitating his rise to power. This chapter uses *GO(OTWH)* as a window into the role of horror parody as a form of social commentary during the Trump era. In particular, it focuses on the president's attitudes towards race, as well as the positions taken by his family and by prominent black supporters. In retrospect, *GO(OTWH)* can be seen as an early example of *Get Out*'s cultural resonance as a critique of contemporary American racial politics and a reflection of liberal efforts to use horror parody as a way of resisting the Trump presidency.

Political Horror, Horrible Politics, and the 2016 Election

For decades horror has provided rich terrain for commentary on and engagement with the political process in the United States. The genre's malleability, coupled with its reliance on underlying fears of the 'other' or the 'unknown', has enabled horror to consistently address enduring political concerns by replacing 'former cultural anxieties with more contemporary and urgent ones' (Loock, 2012; Towlson, 2014). In turn, horror's political resonance has been used to good effect by political strategists as a way of reinforcing key campaign messages or beliefs. During the 1964 presidential race, Lyndon Johnson's team used horror tropes in campaign advertising to paint opponent Barry Goldwater as a nuclear madman. Amid rising

violent crime rates and racialised anxieties over the 'urban crisis' during the 1980s, George W. Bush's campaign advertisements used jump-scares, sinister music, and a bleak colour palette to create a 'political world of horror' in which violent black felons preyed upon white women (Nelson and Boynton, 1997).

Such adverts added to a growing sense in American public life that the possibility of a middle ground between those on the left and right was rapidly receding. In a world where rival political factions appeared to share little common interest, political differences were no longer simply a problem to be worked out; they were battle-lines in a 'war for the soul of America' (Hartman, 2015). During the 1980 presidential campaign the correlation between the number 666 and the letters in Ronald Wilson Reagan's name led to conspiracy theories that he was Satan in disguise (Gilliam, 1980). Similarly, Bill Clinton's victory in the 1992 presidential race prompted fringe members of the right to contend that he was in-fact the antichrist, with his wife Hillary embodying the false prophet, 'a companion to the Antichrist who, according to the book of Revelation, will promote [the] Antichrist's power and persuade people to worship him' (Hitchcock, 2011).

New media technologies and consumer trends have also helped to encourage ideological polarisation and the proliferation of political horror rhetoric. During the 1990s, an emerging wave of partisan cable news outlets, headed by Fox News on the right and MSNBC on the left, contributed to a toxic political culture in which each party attempted to paint the other as harbingers of national disaster (Levendusky, 2011). The rise of the world wide web and videosharing platforms such as *YouTube* further encouraged content creators and consumers to engage with political conspiracy theories, horror stories, and dystopian scenarios under the guise of citizen journalism (Sunstein, 2018). Following its launch in February 2005 *YouTube's*

popularity skyrocketed, with LaChrystal Ricke (2014) contending that 'perhaps no other communication medium in the history of politics has expanded so substantially and had such an impact on the political communication spectrum in such a short period of time.'

The website's growth dovetailed with Barack Obama's rise to political prominence following his keynote speech at the 2004 Democratic National Convention, and his extensive use of *YouTube* during the 2008 presidential campaign played a major role in establishing its influence as a political platform (Hendricks and Denton ed., 2010). However, the site also became an important space for Obama's opponents to outline their fears regarding the president's political beliefs. Taking their cue from supernatural horror films such as *The Exorcist*, conservative *YouTube* channels disseminated scores of highly-watched videos which provided 'evidence' that America's soul had been 'infiltrated and overtaken by a foreign and unwelcome "Other"' (Parlett, 2014). Against the backdrop of a 'nightly news nightmare', fringe conspiracy theories became embedded in the political mainstream. In a Public Policy Polling survey conducted in 2013, more than a quarter of respondents were either convinced that Obama was the Antichrist or were unwilling to rule it out (Farnsworth and Lichter, 2011; Jenson, 2013).

If Obama's two terms in office were described as a 'cornucopia of political horror' by conservative commentators (Shapiro, 2014), then Donald Trump's surprising emergence as a frontrunner in the 2016 Republican primaries was greeted with similar revulsion by large sections of the American public. Trump's incendiary remarks on illegal immigration and Islamic terrorism, coupled with his public and private denigration of women, led mainstream media outlets to label Trump as a monster and his campaign as a 'horror show' (Millbank, 2015; Reeve, 2015). Debbie Williams and Kalyn Prince (2018) have used the lens of metaphor

theory to highlight how media outlets adopted horror tropes to condemn Trump's attitudes and to rationalise his political success, describing the Republican establishment as victims ready to have their 'bodies dismembered and souls sucked out.'

Just as *YouTube* emerged a vital space for conservatives and conspiracy theorists to resist the Obama presidency, so too did the platform become a prominent outlet for Trump's detractors to outline their distaste for his candidacy in increasingly nightmarish terms. In February 2016 the popular film editing channel CineMash uploaded a trailer for a parody horror film titled "Trump: Election Year", splicing extracts of speeches taken from Trump's campaign interviews and rallies together with snippets of footage taken from low-budget horrors, American war movies and dystopian sci-fi films. Echoing Trump's combative support for foreign intervention and his repeated calls to loosen torture protocols, it painted a bleak vision of violent military dictatorship. Liberal commentators such as Keith Olbermann (2016) also used *YouTube* to denounce Trump's 'uncanny resemblance to horror' and to warn of the country's devolution from democracy into 'mindless, soulless cult worship.'

The site's role as a space of resistance would become even more important following the businessman's unexpected triumph at the polling booths in November. Despite being besieged by scandal and faced with historically low favourability scores, Trump was able to translate his 'outsider' political status into victory in the electoral college – an event that was met with widespread shock and outpourings of grief among young Americans, people of colour, and other marginalised communities. In the aftermath of his election, dozens of parody movie trailers were uploaded to *YouTube*, seeking to satirise and delegitimise Trump's triumph through the lens of horror. One of the most incisive examples of this trend can be

seen through the parody horror trailer *Get Out (Of The White House),* which inserted Trump, family members, and supporters into the plot-line of Jordan Peele's 2017 film *Get Out*.

Not Your Average Monster

Based around the easily relatable fear of 'meeting the parents' for the first time, *Get Out* provided a troubling racial metaphor for enduring racial prejudice and anti-black violence in the United States. Black photographer Chris Washington is invited to the childhood home of white girlfriend Rose Armitage to meet her extended family. Unbeknownst to Chris, the Armitage family have been habitually luring young black adults into their home to use their bodies to house the brains of elderly white patrons. His suspicions are aroused following a series of unsettling encounters with the Armitage family, their African American domestic workers, and local black residents, although when Chris attempts to flee he succumbs to the hypnotism of family matriarch Missy Armitage. Through a mixture of ingenuity and sheer force of will, Chris emerges victorious in a final highway showdown with Rose and her grandfather Roman Armitage, whose mind lives on in the body of black groundskeeper Walter.

Produced on a modest budget of \$4.5 million, *Get Out* would go on to gross more than quarter of a billion dollars worldwide. Its commercial success was matched by critical acclaim, with the film appearing on year-ending top ten lists (Zacharek, 2017). In contrast to the blunt force trauma of slasher and 'torture porn' films such as *Saw* and *Wolf Creek*, critics applauded *Get Out*'s richly layered narrative and emphasis on psychological horror, with the film's central message reinforced by 'the process of decoding and detecting the layers of subtext and interconnected tissue woven into it' (Young, 2017). Commentators also praised the film's impact as a 'social thriller' that engaged with a wide variety of sociopolitical concerns

including mixed-race relationships, eugenics, slavery, suburban racism, and police brutality (Mendelson, 2017).

One of *Get Out*'s central interventions was an attempt to challenge widespread stereotypes of what contemporary racism look or sound like. In American popular culture, the views of famous bigots such as Archie Bunker in 1970s sitcom *All In The Family* have been invariably rationalised as a by-product of personal ignorance and working-class provincialism. Racists were racist, so the mantra goes, because they 'didn't know any better' (DiAngelo, 2018). Yet history has repeatedly proven this stereotype to be misguided. As the civil rights era put an end to Jim Crow segregation, white supremacists increasingly framed their beliefs about black pathology in mainstream sounding conservative rhetoric about welfare dependency, criminality, and citizenship. More recently, Trump's ethnonationalist rhetoric has contributed to a 'renaissance of intellectual racism' and the popularity of online conspiracy theorists and pseudo-scientists such as Stefan Molyneux (Lopez, 2014; Hemmer, 2017).

It is striking that the middle-aged and elderly white men who inhabit Peele's film are not misinformed bigots in the mould of Archie Bunker, but well-educated, upper and middle-class professionals such as family patriarch Dean Armitage, a bespectacled and turtle-necked neurosurgeon. Indeed, Dean's role in the abduction plot is predicated on his highly specialised medical background and surgical abilities, which allow him to conduct the family's operations on their unwilling black subjects. From this perspective, Dean's training and education do not function as a counterbalance to his racist ideas; rather, they help to sharpen and refine his racial bigotry. From a similar perspective, Donald Trump's privileged upbringing and college education helped to reinforce instead of reform pre-existing racial biases. In turn, the status

afforded to him by his class privilege and professional status provided the opportunity to act on his worst impulses.

Despite repeated claims to being 'the least racist person', Trump has a long and easily provable track record of racially motivated prejudice (Leonhardt and Philbrick, 2018). Federal investigations into the mogul's real estate dealings during the 1970s and 1980s discovered that his company had avoided renting apartments to blacks, while Trump's pursuit of the death penalty for a group of black and Latino suspects following the 1989 rape of a white woman in Central Park were widely criticised as racially motivated (Byfield, 2014). More recently, his role as a ringleader in the 'birther' movement to discredit Obama's presidency helped establish a base of populist support, while his reluctance to disavow white supremacist allies during his campaign, alongside his willingness to appoint white nationalists to his White House team, provide further reminders of his murky racial politics. In the hands of *YouTube* content creators, Trump's reputation as 'a Frankenstein's monster' has seen him substituted into parody horror trailers as a variety of iconic horror protagonists (Goldsmith, 2017).

While such videos can be viewed as a form of resistance or opposition to the Trump presidency, their characterisation of the president as a demented monster or psycho killer is crude and one-dimensional. By contrast, the effectiveness of Trump's depiction in *GO(OTWH)* relies on reminding the audience that his ideas about race are far from an aberration, similarly to how the role of Dean Armitage and the plot of *Get Out* are 'born of very real and all-too-plausible fears' (Mendelson, 2017). Just as the Armitage family conspiracy is maintained by the explicit and implicit support of a broader network of upper-middle class suburbanites, so too was Trump's gleeful disdain for 'political correctness' emboldened by a fervent base of support which came to inhabit the body of the Republican Party. If Trump was Frankenstein's

monster, a traditional ending would have seen him run out of town with torches and pitchforks. Yet, as Elspeth Reeve (2016) has noted, by the end of the Republican primaries it seemed like 'the mob that appears at the end carrying pitchforks and torches [was] rooting for the monster.'

The Trump Family

It was not only the tone of Trump's depiction in *GO(OTWH)* which set it apart from other *YouTube* horror parodies, but also the trailer's efforts to widen its focus away from the president, starting with his immediate family. Indeed, the trailer's star is arguably not Trump, but his daughter Ivanka in the role of Rose Armitage. In *Get Out*, Rose initially appears to fulfil the role of a white 'ally'; something communicated to the audience through her defence of Chris during an early encounter with a police officer, and her subsequent support in the face of mounting microaggressions from her family. However, she is ultimately revealed to be the movie's most compelling and insidious villain. By willingly subverting historical stereotypes of white female victimhood, Rose is transformed from an ally into a racist femme fatale tasked with the entrapment of 'viable' black men for hypnotism and mutilation. This twist is rendered even more shocking by the intimate nature of her relationship with Chris, presenting an extreme version of white liberal racism.

As sociologists and critical race theorists have noted, while many liberally-minded whites appear to champion antiracism, their attitudes have also helped to ensure that racial inequality remains a pervasive national problem. Even as entrenched patterns of racial equality have persisted, 'enlightened' whites have pointed to their own individual relationships with blacks, their support for black political candidates, or their enthusiasm for rap music and other ethnically coded forms of cultural production, as evidence that America

has managed to heal its racial divisions (Bonillo-Silva, 2003; DiAngelo, 2018). Following his election as the nation's first black president, Barack Obama became the poster-boy for racial progress and the emergence of a 'post-racial America.' Yet the racially disparate impact of the great recession and the racially motivated backlash to Obama's election – something which arguably culminated with Trump's victory in the 2016 campaign – revealed such post-racial rhetoric to be misguided (Tesler, 2016).

In this light, the decision to substitute Ivanka Trump into the role of Rose Armitage in GO(OTWH) provides a clear rejection of the idea that Ivanka was a 'secret liberal.' Throughout Trump's campaign and during his first term in office, political commentators such as Michael Kruse (2017) positioned Ivanka as her father's 'better half' and argued that she provided the campaign with an important counterweight to Trump's crude public statements. The candidate's supporters could point to Ivanka's role in his campaign team, as well as her public descriptions of her father as 'colorblind and race-neutral', as evidence of his good intentions. After being appointed to an advisory position within the Trump White House, Trump critics expressed hope that his daughter would act as a 'moderating force' to curb some of his worst tendencies with regards to issues such as immigration and race relations (Engel, 2016; Kantor, Abrams and Haberman, 2017).

However, Ivanka's continued silence on a host of controversial White House policies such as border separation dampened hopes of such a role. By the end of Trump's first year in office, a growing body of critics had moved to reconsider Ivanka's role as a complicit bystander in the problems created by the Trump administration. Whereas her father's historical statements on race at times appeared to embody a form of Jim Crow racism which 'explained blacks' social standing as the result of their biological and moral inferiority', Ivanka's

unshakeable belief in the free-market, her failure to call-out her father's racially tinged rhetoric, and her support of efforts to scrap White House policies safeguarding racial and gender equality in the workplace, reflect the embrace of a colorblind racism that 'rationalize(s) minorities' contemporary status as the product of market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena, and blacks' imputed cultural limitations' (Bonillo-Silva, 2003).

This complicity is extended to Melania Trump, who takes up the role of family matriarch and resident hypnotherapist Missy Armitage. Shots of Missy's hand stirring a spoon in a teacup — revealed in *Get Out* as her method of hypnosis — are interspersed in *GO(OTWH)* with interview clips of Melania stoically defending her husband as 'kind' and 'a gentleman', whilst also rejecting accusations of racial bias or Islamophobia. By positioning Melania as a willing participant in the Armitage family's plans, the trailer pushes back against suggestions that Trump's partner, like his daughter, could help to curb his racially biased views. More broadly, the roles played by Ivanka and Melania in *GO(OTWH)* take aim at the hypocritical attitudes of many white women towards Trump's presidency. While the businessman's misogyny was heavily criticised during the 2016 campaign, exit polls indicated that more than half of all white women voted for him, something which black activists characterised as a 'failure of white feminism' (O'Neal, 2016).

Donald Trump, Jr. and Eric Trump also find a role in *GO(OTWH)*, with the siblings being amalgamated into the character of Jeremy Armitage, Rose's hot-headed brother. Jeremy's desire to physically subdue his black victims is mirrored in the parody trailer by shots of the Trump siblings hunting wild animals such as leopards and water buffalo, echoing the racialised hunting metaphors at play throughout *Get Out*. This is perhaps most obvious through the mounted head of a buck in the family recreation room, which doubles as a symbol for the

subjugation of the hypersexualised black buck, a recurrent racist stereotype in American cinema throughout the twentieth century (Larson, 2006). We can also connect this hunting motif to the rhetoric of Dean Armitage, whose hatred of deer – 'they're taking over...like rats' - becomes a coded articulation of his disdain for black people. Such 'dog-whistle' appeals to racism have also been embraced by Donald Trump, with the businessman repeatedly describing alleged black offenders as 'animals' and 'roving bands of wild criminals' (Byfield, 2014; Lopez, 2014).

Trapped in the Sunken Place

Perhaps the most controversial group to appear in *GO(OTWH)* are an assortment of prominent black Trump supporters including Secretary for Housing and Urban Development Ben Carson, political aide Omarosa Manigault, and entertainer Kanye West. In contrast to the roles of Trump and Ivanka, who are 'cast' in the roles of Dean Armitage and his daughter Rose, the parts played by figures such as Carson and West are less clearly defined. Broadly speaking, they act as substitutes for the various black people Chris meets in the Armitage's affluent suburban community; a group which includes housekeeper Georgina, groundskeeper Walter, and family friend Logan Ward. Clips of Omarosa sitting next to Trump in a staff meeting, Carson laughing with the president at an unspecified garden event, and West meeting with the businessman at Trump Tower after his electoral victory are interspersed with movie footage as well as segments from speeches and press interviews where Trump expressed his desire to meet with the Black Caucus and proclaimed his love for black supporters.

As is gradually revealed to the audience, the Armitage family's black acquaintances are unwilling victims of the family's surgical experiments. Their bodies have become 'hosts' to the minds of ailing white 'patrons', while their original consciousnesses remaining trapped in a

state of eternal limbo referred to by Missy Armitage as the 'sunken place.' Georgina is in fact Rose's grandmother Marianne Armitage, while the body of groundskeeper Walter has been inhabited by her grandfather Roman. When Logan's strange behaviour at a garden party prompts Chris to take a photograph of him, the camera flash causes Logan's black host, a Brooklyn native named Andre Hayworth, to briefly escape the sunken place. Hayworth attacks Chris, warning him to "Get Out!" before being restrained by fellow party-goers.

By inserting figures such as Omarosa, Carson and West into these roles, *GO(OTWH)* taps into criticisms directed at both the president's black supporters and black conservatives writ large. Indeed, the belief that the modern Republican Party is at best ambivalent to people of colour and other marginalized groups has led to black conservatives being treated as pariahs by many African Americans and liberals (Rigueur, 2015). The unsavoury use of racial epithets such as 'Uncle Tom' or 'Coon' – slurs regularly directed at prominent black Republicans such as Utah Representative Mia Love and South Carolinian politician Tim Scott – are only the most blatant articulation of an underlying notion that black Republicans have in some way betrayed the black community. By splitting from the overwhelming support for the Democratic Party exhibited by African Americans as a whole, such figures risk being characterized as political opportunities or 'racial sellouts' (Bracey, 2009). If Peele's vision of black bodies acting as vessels for the minds of whites in *Get Out* gestured towards this stereotype, then it was rendered explicit in *GO(OTWH)* through the inclusion of prominent black Trump supporters – a literal manifestation of *Get Out*'s plot.

GO(OTWH) also provided an early example of the real-life satirical application of the 'sunken place', the barely conscious purgatory into which the Armitage's black victims are plunged. In Peele's imagination, the 'sunken place' functioned as an abstract reflection of the institutional

and systemic barriers faced by marginalized people in the United States. Peele contended that 'no matter how hard we scream, the system silences us' (Sims, 2017). However, in GO(OTWH), the 'sunken place' takes on a more specific meaning as a term for the seemingly unconscionable support for Trump displayed by figures such as Carson. Similarly, the trailer takes Chris' contention that Walter and other black characters in *Get Out* appear to have 'missed the movement' and redirects it towards African American celebrities such as Kanye West, who would go on to describe the president as 'my brother.'

As journalist Alex Rayner (2018) has noted, the 'sunken place' assumed a surprisingly weighty cultural resonance during the months following *Get Out*'s release. Against the unfolding backdrop of the Trump presidency, it quickly became a zeitgeist for a 'widely felt political and social mood of liberal inertia and unspoken white supremacist hegemony.' Peele himself would comment on the parallels between *Get Out*'s dystopic social vision and the actions of Trump and his administration. Upon taking the stage at the 2018 Producers Guild of America Awards to receive the Stanley Kramer Award for films illuminating 'provocative social issues', Peele declared that 'the sunken place is the system that silences the voice of women, minorities, and of other people...the sunken place is the president who calls athletes sons of bitches for expressing their beliefs on the field' (Ramos, 2018).

In a case of art imitating life, West's continued praise of Trump, as well as his appreciation of black conservative commentators such as Candace Owens, led to a spate of memes depicting the rapper trapped in the 'sunken place.' Internet tricksters took it upon themselves to insert West into the now iconic scene from *Get Out* where Missy successfully hypnotises Chris, or to suggest that the rapper's assimilation into the rich, white, and ostensibly liberal Kardashian family provided evidence of his entrapment. Firing back at such antics, West tweeted a series

of photographs from the interior of his spacious home, jokingly asking his followers whether the sparsely furnished mansion looked 'like the sunken place' and promising to provide them with 'more tweets from the sunken place.' In a final twist, Peele himself responded to West, retweeting the rapper's photographs and suggesting that they would serve as inspiration for a potential sequel to *Get Out* (Lenker, 2018).

Conclusion

By reimagining the characters in *Get Out* as members and supporters of the Trump administration, *GO(OTWH)* provided its audience with a bridge between the nightmarish vision of American race relations outlined in Peele's film, and widespread liberal fears that the Trump presidency would devolve into a 'horror show.' Choosing to avoid well-worn and one-dimensional depictions of the president as a demented movie monster, the parody trailer instead offered a more layered critique of Trump's personal and political failings. Focusing on his attitudes towards race, *GO(OTWH)* sought to utilize Trump's election to push back against longstanding stereotypes of what racism in America looks like. In doing so, it rejected the persistent connection between racial prejudice, class status and educational attainment.

GO(OTWH) also took aim at the president's immediate family as well as his acolytes within the African American community. By substituting Ivanka Trump into the role of Rose Armitage, the trailer's creators challenged hopes that the president's daughter would help to moderate his political views, and instead framed Ivanka's administrative interventions through the lens of colorblind racism. Similarly, by substituting prominent black supporters of Trump into the role of the Armitage family's black surgical victims, GO(OTWH) offered a damning indictment of their complicity in the president's actions. While aspects of the trailer's content worked to reinforce pejorative stereotypes about black conservatives and

Republicans, it effectively captured the widespread frustrations felt by many liberals towards prominent black apologists for Trump's racially tinged views.

From a different perspective, *GO(OTWH)* provides an early and informative example of the broader cultural and political impact of *Get Out*, with the film continuing to be evoked as a way of 'understanding' American racial politics in the age of Trump. During the months that followed its release, the trailer's coverage of black celebrities such as Kayne West seemed almost prescient, as the rapper's support for Trump led to derision on social media and accusations that he was trapped in the 'sunken place.' More broadly, the release of *GO(OTWH)* provided further evidence of *YouTube*'s importance as a political platform and its value as a space for content creators and consumers to engage with the political process. Through the production of parody horror trailers, liberal *YouTube* channels and users were able to voice their opposition to Trump's presidency, and, in doing so, contribute to a rich history of political horror and horror parody.

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