

**I went to
January 6th...
and all I got
was this
lousy t-shirt**

Profiting from hate

Extremist merchandise on Redbubble,
Etsy, Teespring, Teerepublic and Zazzle

Dr Tim Squirrell & Clara Martiny

Content warning: this report contains references to sexual violence, racism, antisemitism, suicide, and mass violence. Images have been censored to remove graphic details and prevent amplification.

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About this Paper

E-commerce sites have attracted controversy in isolated incidents for over a decade, being forced to delist merchandise highlighted by media for being egregiously insensitive or hateful. As a result, these merchandise platforms have for the most part developed relatively rigorous guidelines for what items can be sold on them.

ISD investigated five such platforms to determine to what extent these guidelines are being enforced, and whether merchandise platforms are facilitating the sale of, and profiting from, products that promote hate, extremism, and harmful misinformation.

Etsy, Redbubble, Zazzle, Teespring and Teepublic each have revenues in the millions of dollars per year, providing infrastructure for independent creators and artists to sell their outputs. Etsy sells primarily handmade and vintage products, while the other four platforms are predominantly t-shirt stores, or 'print-on-demand', allowing buyers to choose materials (such as t-shirts, mugs, stickers, and posters) on which to print their chosen art.

In analyzing products sold across these platforms, ISD found a wide range of items promoting everything from harmful misinformation about the COVID-19 pandemic, to antisemitism and anti-LGBTQ+ hate, to neo-Nazi narratives and symbols. While there is evidence that these platforms are in many cases removing the most egregious and obvious forms of bigotry, it is still extremely simple to find and purchase hateful products across the full range of these platforms.

Policy recommendations for e-commerce platforms are provided, including expanding keyword lists to include coded language and references, three-strike rules for vendors of borderline items, and restricting adverts and sponsorship on controversial search terms.



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Executive Summary

\$25.84

'White Lives Matter' poster, from Teespring

\$28.50

'Rape: The Man, The Myth, The Legend' t-shirt, from Teespring

\$15.13

Tote bag promoting a neo-Nazi terrorist group, from Redbubble

\$15.90

Replica of the t-shirt worn by Dylan Klebold during the Columbine High School shooting, from Zazzle

\$13

'OK Groomer' t-shirt, from Teepublic

\$24.98 (687 already sold)

Neo-Nazi symbol on a necklace, from Etsy

These are just a few of the products on sale on some of the world's largest online merchandise sites. There are also: QAnon slogan mugs, stickers for the #SaveOurChildren conspiracy theory, 2020 election denialist merch, t-shirts promoting one of the foremost fascist philosophers, antisemitic caricatures, and a truly enormous quantity of products referencing COVID-19 conspiracies. Most of the platforms have policies that explicitly ban the sale of items like these.

Most of these items were surfaced by nothing more than a few keywords and a click.

In this report, ISD analysts provide a snapshot of the wealth of merchandise promoting extremism, hate and misinformation currently being sold on major e-commerce platforms, including Redbubble, Etsy, Zazzle, Teespring, and Teepublic.

These platforms are directly profiting from the sale of harmful items. Redbubble typically takes around 80% of an item's retail price; Teepublic keeps up to 81% of revenues from a standard t-shirt; Zazzle typically takes 85% to 90%; Etsy's fees vary but the site charges both a small flat fee per product as well as around 9.5% in processing fees per sale. In most cases, these platforms keep the lion's share of money made on the sale of products promoting hate and extremism. While these companies incur costs, they are profit-making ventures - Redbubble, for example, made gross profits of \$183m, compared to artist revenues of \$91m, in 2022.

Some of these platforms have been previously involved in controversies over the sale of merchandise that promotes extremism, hate or misinformation. Redbubble, for example, was condemned by the Auschwitz Memorial for selling 'disturbing' products featuring images from the concentration camp, while Zazzle removed a t-shirt reading 'At least I'm not Jewish'. It has also previously been condemned for hosting satirical Hitler cartoon merchandise. Following media scrutiny in 2017, Teespring removed a swathe of products, including t-shirts reading 'Black women are trash', 'eat sleep rape repeat', and 'Rope. Tree. Journalist. Some assembly required', as well as 'Camp Auschwitz' t-shirts. However, this commitment to removing harmful products is often short-lived; the following year Teespring was found to be selling t-shirts featuring white supremacist terrorist Dylann Roof.

ISD found content promoting a wide range of far-right ideologies and groups, conspiracy theories, and hateful narratives. These included neo-Nazi terrorists, antisemitic caricatures and dog-whistles, QAnon and #SaveTheChildren conspiracy theories, COVID denialism and anti-vaxx slogans, Great Reset, 'groomer' narratives, 'White Lives Matter', 2020 election denialism, and a variety of content that skirts the boundaries of acceptability.

Conspiratorial products were by far the largest category of objectionable merchandise on all sites analyzed. Many of these items could be considered borderline according to platform guidelines. ISD has focused on highlighting instances where policies are not comprehensive enough to catch genuinely hateful references. The need for this kind of analysis is made clear by the presence of conspiracy content that

implicitly rather than explicitly encourages violence, antisemitism, racism, or anti-LGBTQ+ hatred. Much conspiracy content falls into this ambiguous category, meaning that coded language, symbols and dog-whistles are able to slip between the cracks of different community guidelines and therefore slip through the nets laid out by content moderation teams.

Searches for keywords and terms explicitly associated with extreme right-wing groups, ideologies and narratives rarely yielded violative products, instead returning benign or anti-racist material. In contrast, coded terms or shorthand often yielded substantial quantities of problematic items.

Search terms were not always sufficient to uncover concerning content being sold on merchandise platforms, as listings were not always tagged with relevant terms. Instead, such merchandise – particularly the most serious material, such as content promoting terrorist groups or violence – was typically discovered by tracing networks.

Despite most of these e-commerce sites explicitly stating in their community guidelines that these products are banned from their platforms, the ease with which ISD was able to surface results for hateful search terms suggests that they have not sufficiently invested in moderation infrastructure. In fact, these companies are instead continuing to profit from the sale of hateful content, meanwhile providing the infrastructure for harmful actors to both reach a larger audience and to fund their operations. To combat these harms, ISD recommends that:

- Merchandise platforms consider both well-known and coded/esoteric keywords for moderation;
 - Platforms ensure their moderators consider not only individual pieces of content, but also the context of the shops in which they are found, as well as the networks of followers and buyers who can lead to additional concerning content;
 - Ads and sponsorship be prohibited on controversial search terms such as those related to conspiracy theories, where it is possible to boost specific controversies and viewpoints to the top of search results.
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Introduction

The platforms in this report offer primarily 'print-on-demand' products based on artwork submitted by users, with a minority selling ready-made or handmade products. They allow customers to print designs on a range of different products, including prints, t-shirts, hoodies, mugs, tote bags, and stickers. Generally, artists who sell on these sites maintain the copyright to their work. The full list of platforms comprises:

- **Redbubble**, an Australian-based company founded in 2006 with an annual revenue of \$115m AUD (around \$77m USD) in 2016;
- **Teespring**, recently rebranded as **Spring**, a US-based platform founded in 2011 that sells primarily apparel.
- **Zazzle**, a marketplace based in Silicon Valley, founded in 2005, that offers digital printing across a range of products.
- **Teepublic**, a platform for custom apparel and designs acquired by **Redbubble** in 2018.
- **Etsy**, a US e-commerce platform mostly focused on handmade and vintage items. In 2021 it had a revenue of \$2.33bn USD. Etsy is the only platform in this report which is not primarily a print-on-demand company.

In the vast majority of cases, it is unlikely that individuals purchasing, wearing or displaying the merchandise explored in this report are committing any form of crime. This does not, however, justify platforms facilitating the sale of, and profiting from, these

products. While the US enshrines a constitutional right to freedom of expression, this right only protects citizens from government censorship, and does not dictate that private enterprise must facilitate the sale of products expressing any particular viewpoint.

All of the websites analyzed for this report have user or community guidelines that prohibit the sale of 'harmful products' of some description. Every platform prohibits incitement to violence (though Zazzle prohibits only "excessive violence" or content that is "harmful"), and most prohibit hate speech and racism. Redbubble and Etsy have the most stringent guidelines, forbidding the sale of products that promote hate symbols (with exceptions in a minority of circumstances), hate groups, or harmful misinformation.

There are clearly boundaries to the merchandise platforms consider acceptable to sell, or to allow creators to list. Where possible, this report makes reference to the community guidelines the platforms themselves have created, and shows where the content found by ISD may contravene these guidelines. While a substantial amount of content may sit on the edge of acceptability by these standards, there are clear and systemic issues with the implementation of these guidelines.

Today, each site has guidelines for what they do and do not permit to be sold. All prohibit content that promotes violence. With the exception of Teespring, whose restrictions end there, the rest of the platforms do not allow products to be sold that promote hate speech or discrimination of various

Table 1: The five platforms and the kinds of products they prohibit the sale of. Red indicates items are prohibited; yellow indicates ambiguous guidelines. White indicates there are no guidelines addressing these issues.

Platform	Incitement to Violence	Hate Speech/Racism	Promoting Hate Symbols/Groups	Glorifying Violence	Harmful Misinformation
Redbubble					
Etsy					
Teespring					
Zazzle					
Teepublic					

kinds. Redbubble also has rules against harmful misinformation. Etsy, as a site that sells handmade items, prohibits the sale of items supporting or commemorating contemporary or historic hate groups.

This report seeks to understand to what extent efforts to remove hate speech, extremism, misinformation and other forms of objectionable products from these platforms have been successful. The method is primarily a simple approach of keyword searches using both well-known and coded search terms, emulating the approach of a user seeking out this kind of product. To uncover merchandise that might not be easily found through search, ISD analysts also employed a snowball technique using tags and follower/following relationships between artists selling problematic products.

While some of the products found by ISD were hidden in corners of the platforms, the vast majority of the merchandise was surfaced through simple keyword searches, and very often displayed in the top results for a given search. Additionally, objectionable products frequently appeared side-by-side with innocuous merchandise, meaning that users seeking out benign items may stumble upon deeply offensive, misleading or harmful material. Screenshots of search results and items are provided as indicative of the kinds of merchandise available, and should not be interpreted as a call for the removal of all products in a given image.

In many cases ISD found what appeared to be instances of platform guidelines being enforced. The most prevalent indication of this was that some common search keywords, such as 'QAnon', 'Holohoax', 'White pride', or 'KKK' returned no results at all. Since it is unlikely that no seller has attempted to list items using these common terms, ISD hypothesizes that these keywords have been blocked.

Though it appears that platforms have made some effort to remove the most obviously problematic keywords, these sites have not gone far enough or been rigorous enough in systematically removing products from their sites that appear to contravene their own guidelines.

This report uses qualitative methods and explores multiple platforms for concerning products across a range of issue areas. As a result, the findings should be considered as a snapshot of the kinds of material

available for sale on these platforms rather than an exhaustive list. ISD does not make any attempt to quantify the number of concerning listings, but instead draw comparisons between sites when appropriate.

Key Findings

- ISD found products on five of the biggest online merchandise platforms that promote a wide range of far-right ideologies and groups, conspiracy theories, and hateful narratives. These included products depicting neo-Nazi terrorists, featuring antisemitic caricatures and dog-whistles, QAnon and #SaveTheChildren conspiracy theories, public health misinformation and anti-vaxx narratives, and anti-LGBTQ+ hate.
 - All but one of the platforms typically keep 80% or more of the revenue from a given sale. While we do not have figures for how many sales have been made of specific merchandise in most cases, we can ascertain that the platforms keep the lion's share of profits on harmful items.
 - All of the five platforms examined have existing guidelines for the kinds of merchandise that can be sold, which ISD believe should prohibit the sale of a significant proportion of the material included in this report.
 - Merchandise promoting conspiracy theories was by far the largest category of products accessible across these sites. However, much of this content could be considered borderline according to the current platform guidelines, which are vague on products that implicitly encourage violence, are implicitly antisemitic or racist, or stigmatize identity-based groups such as LGBTQ+ people. This creates a concerning problem whereby coded language, symbols and dog-whistles slip through the net of guidelines and content moderation.
 - Searches for keywords and terms explicitly associated with extreme right-wing groups, ideologies and narratives were often unlikely to yield concerning content, instead returning benign or anti-racist material. In contrast, coded terms or shorthand often yielded substantial quantities of concerning material.
 - Search terms were not always sufficient to uncover concerning content being sold on merchandise platforms, as listings were not always tagged with relevant terms. Instead, such merchandise – particularly the most serious material, such as content promoting terrorist groups or violence – was typically discovered by tracing networks of sellers.
 - Some concerning content is created through templates that allow users to insert their own words, for example inserting the word 'rape' or 'Evola' into a personalized t-shirt. Platforms cannot have control over every possible user input in these circumstances, and the responsibility should be on sellers to ensure these systems are not abused. However, where there are repeated violations, platforms should be prepared to use a strike system against sellers who are not living up to platform guidelines.
 - Where merchandise does not have an explicit political message, the tags applied to it or the seller description may reveal intent. This was the case for substantial quantities of election denialist merchandise.
-

Recommendations For E-Commerce Platforms

- Merchandise platforms should ensure that, in addition to banning and moderating well-known terms explicitly associated with right-wing extremism, they consider esoteric, shorthand, and coded terms to prevent content from falling through moderation gaps. They should consider engaging with experts and organizations with understanding of these issues.
- Etsy specifically should seek to understand how coded language relates to symbols supportive of hate groups. Items supportive of these groups are explicitly prohibited on the platform, but are available in abundance. This is likely due to a loophole of their being advertised under names like 'Celtic runes'; however, if they appear when searching for e.g. explicitly neo-Nazi code terms, then they are clearly not innocuous.
- Etsy also prohibits items commemorating or glorifying serial killers. These items are available in abundance and it is clear that this rule is not being enforced. Etsy should more carefully enforce this rule.
- Teespring is structured around sellers creating and curating their own stores. While there is a vetting process at setup, it is clear that some stores are servicing hate groups and extremists. Teespring should consider the external web profiles of sellers to judge whether their stores are likely funding hate groups and extremists.
- Nearly all platforms contained products glorifying or replicating aspects of mass shootings such as Columbine. Terms related to these shootings should be more closely monitored, especially on Teepublic where they lead easily to items containing extreme gore.
- Merchandise platforms should ensure that their moderation considers not only single pieces of content, but the merchandise sold by a whole store, as in many cases it is only clear that a seller is promoting extremism, hate or misinformation when their items are placed in context. This may be dealt with through, for example, a strike system whereby accounts are reviewed after a certain number of items are flagged.
- In addition, merchandise platforms should trace the follower/following and sales networks of stores found to be selling concerning content. This will allow them to find well-hidden and coded merchandise being sold on their platforms.
- Ads and sponsorship should not be permitted on search terms such as those related to conspiracy theories, where it is possible to boost specific controversies and viewpoints to the top of search results and for platforms to profit from this.

Methodology

Using a keyword list compiled from ISD's history of projects addressing extremism, hate and disinformation, analysts searched a range of sites dedicated to merchandise. The platforms analyzed for this report were Redbubble, Teespring, Zazzle, Teepublic and Etsy. This keyword list contains over 400 terms, including racial slurs, references to popular conspiracy theories, antisemitic tropes, and extreme right-wing codewords.

As these platforms differ in structure and functionality, analysts employed a variety of snowballing techniques to investigate content across each website. These included exploring related tags and recommended items on relevant content, trawling the following/follower networks of shops and users producing and bookmarking relevant content, and altering search terms to account for simple ways in which these sellers may be evading content moderation efforts. In the case of Teespring, the search function has been removed completely, necessitating a search using 'site' operators on search engines.

This report uses exploratory, qualitative methods to find and analyze content and merchandise that propagates extremism, hate and mis- or disinformation. Quantitative and computationally-driven methods are unlikely to yield meaningful results at this time since most of the content is image-based, there is substantial knowledge and judgment required to parse its meaning, and creators often go to significant lengths to evade detection and moderation.

The screenshots shown in this report are indicative rather than exhaustive. They contain problematic content side-by-side with content that is borderline or innocuous, and the inclusion of a product in a screenshot should not necessarily be interpreted as a call for it to be delisted. Note that some searches were conducted from a UK IP address and therefore have prices listed in GBP.

Definitions

Antisemitism: ISD's definition of antisemitism is in line with the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) which defines antisemitism as "a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred towards Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed towards Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, towards Jewish community institutions and religious facilities."

Far-right: ISD's definition of far-right is in line with far-right expert Cas Mudde, who conceptualizes "far-right" as an umbrella term that includes both radical right-wing and extreme right-wing actors. Mudde states that both radical and extreme right-wing actors believe that "inequalities between people are natural and positive," but have differing attitudes towards democracy. Radical right-wing actors are not against democracy in principle, while extreme right-wing actors reject democracy as a form of government.

Hate: Hate is understood to relate to beliefs or practices that attack, malign, delegitimize or exclude an entire class of people based on protected or immutable characteristics, including their ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, or disability. Hate actors are understood to be individuals, groups or communities which actively and overtly engage in the above activity, as well as those who implicitly attack classes of people through, for example, the use of conspiracy theories and disinformation. Hateful activity is understood to be antithetical to pluralism and the universal application of Human Rights.

Misinformation: Misinformation is false, misleading or manipulated content presented as fact, irrespective of an intent to deceive. 'Disinformation' and 'Misinformation' are examples of 'online manipulation' which encompasses one or more of the following:

- False or misleading information
- False identities: 'Inauthenticity' (bots, cyborgs, sockpuppets)
- False or deceptive behaviors: 'coordination'

Shitposting: Seemingly worthless, irrelevant or offensive content, typically images or videos, posted to an internet platform for the purposes of humor or ironic enjoyment.

White Nationalism: White nationalism is advocacy for a separate white society or white nation, also sometimes referred to as a white ethnostate. The Anti-Defamation League describes white nationalism as a euphemism for white supremacy; the term is now used to "refer to a form of white supremacy that emphasizes defining a country or region by white racial identity and which seeks to promote the interests of whites exclusively, typically at the expense of people of other backgrounds".

White Supremacy: White supremacy is a system of belief that posits the superiority of whites over non-whites, and advocates that white people should be politically and socially dominant over non-white people. This can extend to a belief in the need for violence against, or even the genocide of, non-white people.

Analysis

This analysis is structured by platform, with the findings for each platform split according to type of content.

In general, the greatest amount of potentially objectionable content was conspiratorial in nature, often sitting on the margins of what platforms might consider to be acceptable. While a substantial amount of content could be considered borderline, ISD also found large volumes of merchandise that were judged to fall foul of platforms' own guidelines, as well as promoting extremism, hate, or mis- and disinformation.

In many instances, platforms appear to have blocked specific keywords that are commonly associated with objectionable content. For every platform, however, ISD found that using other keywords in the same category of content yielded results that were at best concerning and at worst violative of platform guidelines.

Redbubble

Of the merchandise platforms investigated by ISD, egregious content was most readily accessible on Redbubble. In addition, it was the only platform containing content that appeared to directly endorse a terrorist entity.

Redbubble has a history of controversy over offensive materials dating back to 2011, when sale of merchandise featuring images from the satirical webcomic *Hipster Hitler* sparked criticism from Jewish groups and resulted in the platform pledging to prohibit "parodies of genocide and the Holocaust, as well as other material likely to cause deep offence," though no such statement appears literally or clearly semantically within Redbubble's guidelines. The site was also criticized in 2012 in the aftermath of the killing of Trayvon Martin, when artists on Redbubble offered a hoodie with a version of a 'Neighborhood Watch' sign warning that "We immediately murder all suspicious persons."

Redbubble's guidelines prohibit a multitude of types of egregious content, including products that are racist, antisemitic, and false or misleading. Excerpts from their own community guidelines state [emphasis added]:

- "Work that **glorifies or trivializes violence or human suffering** is not permitted. For example, graphic depictions of violence, works that trivialize

violent acts, and work or behavior where the intent of the artist is to incite hatred or violence. This includes the **promotion of organizations, groups or people who have a history of violence and/or an agenda of hate.**"

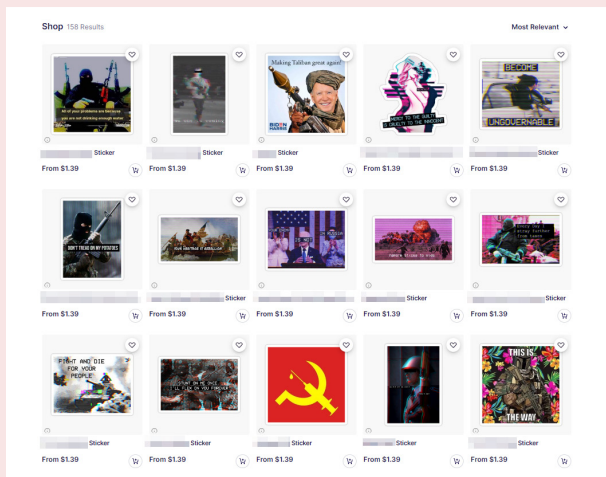
- "Works that deal with catastrophic events such as genocides or holocausts or other atrocities need to be sensitively handled. Works that have the potential to cause the victims serious distress may be removed."
- "**Racist content or behavior designed to incite racism** is not permitted. We define racism as either the hatred or intolerance of another race, or discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone of a different race based on the belief that one's own race is superior, or a belief that all members of a racial group possess characteristics specific to that race, especially to distinguish it as being inferior."
- "Symbols and icons carry strong messages e.g., the swastika, crosses, the Confederate Flag, Hitler, and the Koran. These symbols and their like can be used in a work, but only with considerable care."
- "We define vilification as conduct or content that is **intended to invoke serious contempt, revulsion, or severe ridicule of an individual or group of people because of race, religion, disability, gender identity, sexuality**, or they are deemed to be a vulnerable person or group e.g.: refugees. This includes the **promotion of organizations, groups or people whose views are inherently vilifying any of the above.** As a general rule, works that are presented as an opinion or a criticism on a subject of public interest do not fall under this definition."
- "Harmful misinformation is not permitted. We define this as any **misleading or false information that harms or significantly threatens public health and safety**, or where the **intent is to cause fear and suspicion about a topic that can cause real-world harm.**"

The content discovered in the process of producing this report contravenes a variety of these rules.

Extreme right-wing groups and terrorism

On Redbubble, analysts found content associated with neo-Nazi terrorist groups, as well as extreme right-wing

Figure 4: A shop selling merchandise with terrorwave and fashwave aesthetics



promote sovereign citizen/Boogaloo ideology using terrorwave aesthetics.

Skullmask content, associated with neo-Nazi terrorist groups such as Atomwaffen Division, also appeared, usually twinned with anti-government messaging.

Antisemitism

Explicit antisemitism, which breaches guidelines on racist content, was not commonly found in abundance on Redbubble using search terms commonly associated with antisemitic attitudes. However, small amounts of antisemitic merchandise were found, some of which likely breaches these guidelines.

A search for the term '**ZOG**' (shorthand for 'Zionist Occupied Government', an antisemitic conspiracy theory) yielded primarily benign results, along with a t-shirt reading 'Just say "NO" to ZOG'.

Figure 5: More of a shop selling merchandise with terrorwave and fashwave aesthetics

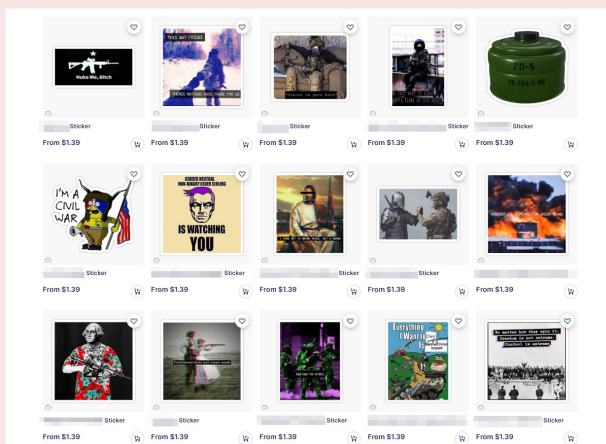


Figure 7: T-shirt reading 'Just say "NO" to ZOG'



Figure 6: A sticker depicting Mr Rogers in a skullmask, reading "not in my neighborhood"



Searching for '**goyim**', a term often used ironically by antisemites, yielded predominantly merchandise that aimed at humor. However, one of the top results was an image of UN helmet with a pentagram on it, a reference to the meme positing the UN as the Antichrist. This meme is not explicitly antisemitic, but its appearance in this context, tagged with the term '**goyim**', makes it highly likely the listing has an antisemitic undertone.

Antisemitic material was found in shops where other concerning merchandise was sold. For example, the seller of a t-shirt emblazoned with the cover of the neo-Nazi fantasy novel *The Turner Diaries* also sells a t-shirt called 'Based Mel Gibson', depicting the actor, whose

Figure 8: An antisemitic caricature found on a sticker in a Redbubble shop



description reads “Der Fuhrer himself”. They also sell an antisemitic caricature on a sticker, which likely breaches Redbubble’s guidelines on racist content.

In general, however, searching for keywords associated with antisemitism and Holocaust denial does not return a substantial amount of conspiratorial or otherwise concerning content. More oblique terms were more likely to return concerning listings (for example, searches for ‘**USS Liberty**’ returned some conspiratorial antisemitic material) but even these items were often tangential to the specific issue, straying into shitposting and miscellaneous conspiracies rather than explicit antisemitism.

Conspiracy Theories

Conspiracy theories make up by far the largest proportion of concerning content on Redbubble. Much of this content may be considered benign or within the community guidelines, though based on Redbubble’s rules on ‘misleading content’, it is unclear whether the promotion of conspiracy theories is permitted. However, products promoting COVID-19 denialism and vaccine skepticism make up a significant proportion of the content analyzed and have both been linked with threats to public health. This type of content should be removed under Redbubble’s harmful misinformation policy.

A substantial amount of merchandise was branded with conspiracy theories and misinformation that reference

Figure 9: Top search results for ‘anti lockdown’ on Redbubble.

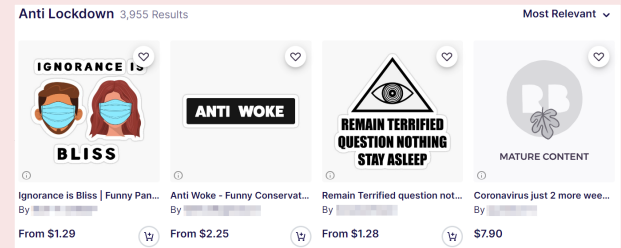
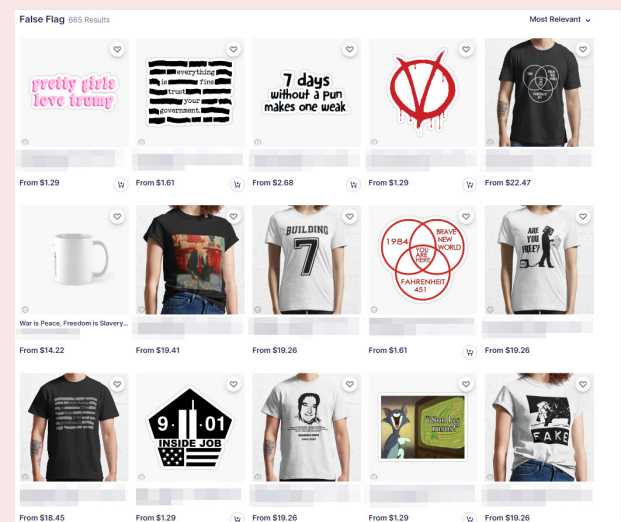


Figure 10: A selection of search results for the term ‘false flag’ on Redbubble.



COVID-19, the World Economic Forum, and other world events and institutions.

For example, the phrase ‘**anti lockdown**’ yielded nearly 4,000 results, with the first page dominated by conspiratorial content. Suggested searches from this page include ‘anti covid’, ‘covid protest’, and a variety of local COVID-related tags such as ‘free Melbourne’. Other tags yield broadly similar results, ranging from general and often benign conspiratorial slogans to specific theories.

Other products available on the Redbubble reference political conspiracy theories. A search for the term ‘**false flag**’ surfaced items promoting conspiracy theories

about 9/11, Sandy Hook, the Boston Marathon bombing, San Bernadino shooting, Pulse nightclub shooting, Paris attacks, Las Vegas shootings, and the Bilderberg group.

Exploring the related tags for the image of a conspiracy theory Venn diagram shown above yielded tags including 'anti lockdown', 'david icke', 'alex jones', '5g', 'chemtrails', 'new world order', 'pizzagate', 'bilderberg', and 'building 7'. These are all references to some of the most popular actors and terms associated with each conspiracy theory and indicate that users may be exposed to new vectors of misinformation through product recommendations made by Redbubble.

A minority of listings surfaced using conspiracy-related phrases contained violent rhetoric or calls for violence, such as a t-shirt depicting an individual shooting themselves in the head coupled with the slogans 'delete the elite' and 'Killuminati', which taken together appear to be an incitement to violence against an imagined 'Illuminati' group.

Pizzagate and other conspiracy theories around pedophilia were well-represented on Redbubble. While searching for 'pizzagate' itself yielded a standard array of conspiracy theory slogans, it also included content related to Save The Children; an offshoot of the QAnon conspiracy theory that alleges the mass abduction and trafficking of children by those in positions of power or with their knowledge. This included face masks branded "Save the Children" and "Children do not just disappear", t-shirts with the slogan "Pedophiles are the real pandemic", references to adrenochrome, and a sticker reading 'Dead pedophiles don't reoffend #SaveOurChildren'.

The number of listings promoting these conspiracies was substantial. They also included explicit QAnon references, such as 'The Storm', the 'Deep State', Satanic pedophiles in Hollywood, and arresting John Podesta.

A search for 'QAnon' yielded merchandise both supportive and critical of the conspiracy theory. The very first result was a sticker in the style of the popular 'OBEY' brand reading 'Trust the plan', a QAnon reference. The first page included references to #SaveTheChildren, #FreeAssange, adrenochrome, Kanye West for President, 'Fight like a Flynn', and 'Bill Gates' Mind Control Program', among numerous pro-Trump listings.

Figure 11: A t-shirt depicting an individual shooting themselves in the head

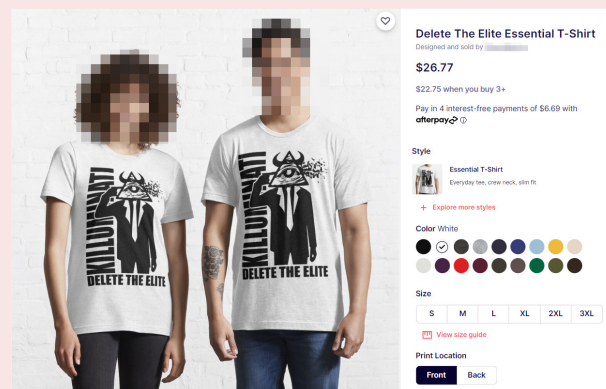


Figure 12: Search results for 'pizzagate' referencing the #SaveTheChildren conspiracy theory

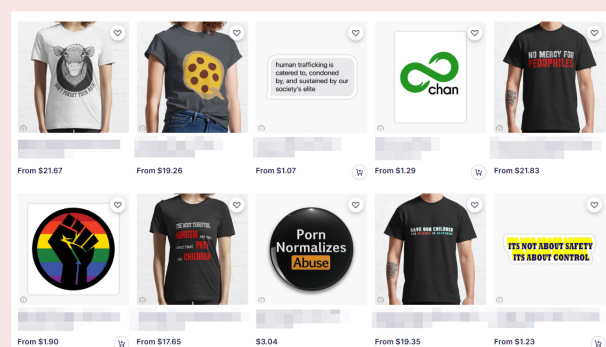
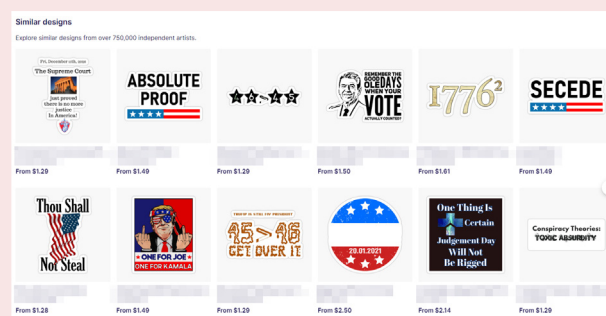


Figure 13: Election denialist content on Redbubble



Content denying the 2020 election result was not always explicit in its claims. For example, ‘stop the steal’ returns a substantial number of listings for depictions of a US flag and the words “Thou shall not steal.” While this may not necessarily indicate support for the ‘Stop the Steal’ election denialist campaign, these products include numerous tags making clear their intention, such as ‘Stop the steal MAGA’, ‘Trump still my president stop the steal’, ‘trump for president’, ‘biden stop the fraud’, ‘joe biden fraud rigged election 2020’, and so on.

Conspiracy theory merchandise was strongly linked to pro-Trump and broader right-wing shitposting merchandise. A shop found during the search for 'false flag', for example, contained items such as Pepe stickers, stickers glorifying Kyle Rittenhouse, and anti-mask stickers.

Sovereign citizen merchandise varied in intensity, with some material expressing opposition to government agencies, whilst some listings appeared to advocate violence.

Terms explicitly associated with far-right movements were often not the most likely to yield concerning results, with coded or shorthand terms proving more fruitful. For example, searching for the white supremacist slogan 'White Lives Matter' returned mostly benign or anti-racist merchandise. By comparison,

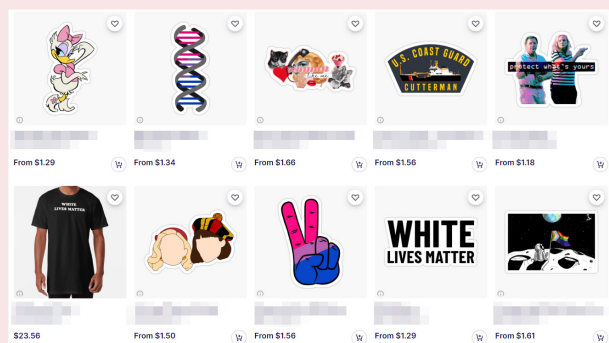
The grid displays 12 digital art prints for sale, arranged in 3 rows and 4 columns. Each print has a heart icon in the top right corner and a price tag at the bottom.

- Row 1:**
 - Print 1: "pretty girls love trump" with a red background and a portrait of Donald Trump. Price: \$1.29.
 - Print 2: A cartoon of a knight on horseback. Price: \$1.59.
 - Print 3: "pretty girls love trump" with a blue background and a cartoon of a person holding a knife. Price: \$1.59.
- Row 2:**
 - Print 4: "KEEP AMERICA GREAT" in red letters. Price: \$1.29.
 - Print 5: "#GHEEPLY JOE" with a cartoon of a person in a yellow hat. Price: \$1.59.
 - Print 6: A cartoon of a green frog. Price: \$1.29.
 - Print 7: A cartoon of a person in a black hood. Price: \$1.59.
- Row 3:**
 - Print 8: A cartoon of a person in a suit pointing. Price: \$1.59.
 - Print 9: An American flag. Price: \$1.29.
 - Print 10: "THE ONLY WAY IS PERMANENT" with a cartoon of two people. Price: \$1.59.
 - Print 11: A cartoon of a person in a red hat. Price: \$1.59.

Similar designs

Explore similar designs from over 750,000 independent artists.

Figure 17: Search results for 'WLM' (white lives matter)



searching for 'WLM' ('White Lives Matter') yielded racist merchandise, as well as content using fashwave aesthetics, a style created by and associated with the far right.

ISD analysts also searched for terms associated with Julius Evola, an Italian philosopher who is one of the key intellectual influences of the contemporary extreme right. While it is unclear whether the material found contravenes Redbubble's guidelines, it is nonetheless concerning to see fascist philosophy being promoted through merchandise on a mainstream website. It is also possible for regular users to purchase these items with no understanding of their context or political significance.

Miscellaneous

While the majority of search terms were focused on conspiracy theory and right-wing content, Redbubble was also found to host at least one instance of Islamic State propaganda. A search for 'ISIS execution' surfaces a sticker with a graphic image of an ISIS execution video.

Figure 18: Search results for 'Revolt against the modern world', the title of a book by fascist philosopher Julius Evola

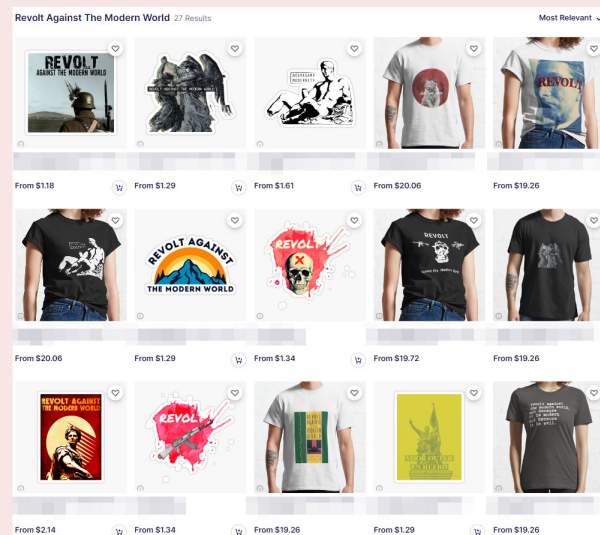


Figure 19: Islamic State execution sticker on Redbubble [original unblurred]



Etsy

Unlike most of the platforms in this report which are primarily print-on-demand sites, Etsy specializes in the sale of handmade and vintage items. As such, the kinds of concerning products on the site are slightly different to those found elsewhere.

Etsy's guidelines prohibit:

- Items or listings that promote, support or glorify hatred toward people or otherwise demean people based upon: race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, gender identity, disability, or sexual orientation (collectively, "protected groups"). We also prohibit items or content that promote organizations or people with such views.
- Items that commemorate current or historical hate groups, including propaganda or collectibles. Examples include Nazi or neo-Nazi groups, KKK, white supremacists, misogynist groups, or groups that advocate anti-gay, anti-immigrant, or Holocaust denial agendas.
- On swastikas: "We are sensitive to the fact that there are many cultures throughout the world which use the swastika for legitimate purposes completely independent of Nazism. However, due to the widespread recognition of the Nazi swastika as a hate symbol, we have decided to only allow swastikas when part of a clear religious or cultural context."
- Items that glorify human suffering or tragedies, including items that commemorate or honor serial killers
- Items that attempt to exploit natural disasters or human tragedies
- Items that encourage, glorify, or celebrate acts of violence against individuals or groups
- Items that encourage self-mutilation, starvation, or other self-harm
- Items that promote or endorse harmful misinformation

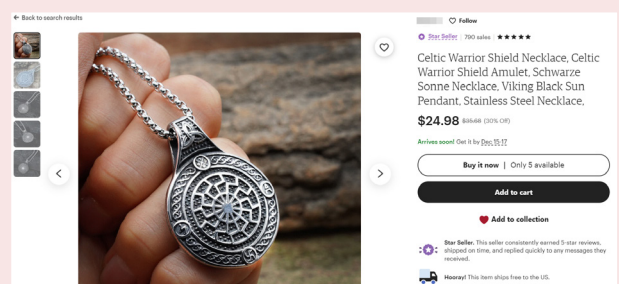
Despite this relatively exhaustive list of prohibited products, many of the items ISD found on Etsy very clearly violate these guidelines.

Far-right and neo-Nazi

Finding neo-Nazi content was extremely easy on Etsy. Searching the common Nazi reference '**1488**' yielded items emblazoned with the Black Sun on the first page, along with Nazi memorabilia. This content was not explicitly branded as neo-Nazi, often instead being branded as 'Celtic' or 'Viking', presumably for plausible deniability. However, the Black Sun is not a standard rune, but was created by and for Nazi Germany, and was incorporated into the floor of the central SS headquarters by Heinrich Himmler. Moreover, its appearance in a search for a neo-Nazi reference allows us to discount the possibility it is even intended to be innocuous. Sales of this jewelry reported by Etsy ranged from 600 to over 3000.

The sale of Black Sun products on Etsy has been reported previously, notably after the Buffalo shooting in which the attacker's manifesto was prominently adorned with the symbol. Despite Etsy's explicit ban on symbols associated with Nazis and neo-Nazis, these items are still available for sale in large quantities.

Figure 20: A Black Sun symbol for sale on Etsy



The same search for '1488' also yielded a variety of other Nazi-related merchandise, including 'Handmade Stainless Steel Iron Cross' pendants (3,500 sales), iron cross signet rings, and swastika jewelry.

Black Sun merchandise, along with other runes often associated with neo-Nazism, can also be found easily using the search terms '**sonnenrad**', '**sunwheel**', and '**black sun**'.

Searching for '**swastika**' surfaced both Hindu symbolism and what appeared to be neo-Nazi merchandise, including a registration plate reading 'HH'

[Heil Hitler] '1488'. ISD analysts found that the item was later unavailable, indicating it may have been removed by Etsy or the seller. The lack of other swastika-branded items that were clearly related to the Nazis is perhaps a product of more stringent checks on this keyword, and rules on what kinds of the symbol are permitted, than others ISD tested.

Searching for **'White Lives matter'** produced a listing selling replicas of the t-shirt worn by Kanye West in October 2022. Searching **'all lives matter'** surfaced content opposing the Black Lives Matter slogan, calling adherents 'racist'. Similar content could be found by searching **'no white guilt'**, including t-shirts reading 'Black Lives Matter is a Scam', and 'Bigots Loves Marxism BLM = Racism'. A search for a misspelling of White Lives Matter yielded more racist dog-whistles, such as an 'It's OK to be White' Women's T-shirt'.

Fascist memorabilia and propaganda is available for sale on Etsy, with searches for fascist philosopher **'Evola'** surfacing busts of Mussolini, fascist symbols, sweatshirts reading 'Ride the Tiger', and posters of Italian fascist propaganda.

Searches for Evola references, such as **'revolt against the modern world'** yielded both content referencing Evola and conspiracy theories.

Election denialist content is not easily accessible on Etsy. Explicitly election denialist keywords such as 'Stop the steal' and 'Stop the count' appear to be restricted on Etsy, as they yield no results. However, veiled references to election denialist conspiracies were present in searches for relatively mainstream keywords, such as **'Trump 2024'**. This phrase surfaced t-shirts reading 'When I die don't let me vote Democrat', which may be a reference to ongoing allegations that 'dead voters' were responsible for Biden's electoral win in 2020. Searching for the term **'count votes'** surfaced adverts for Trump 2024 merchandise reading 'Make votes count again'; it is unclear whether this is intended as election denialism.

Conspiracy Theories and Antisemitism

Conspiracy content was well represented on Etsy. Searches for **'false flag'** yielded not only conspiracy merchandise, but adverts for this content including an antisemitically coded 'All Wars are Bankers Wars' t-shirt.

Figure 21: Black Sun merchandise on Etsy

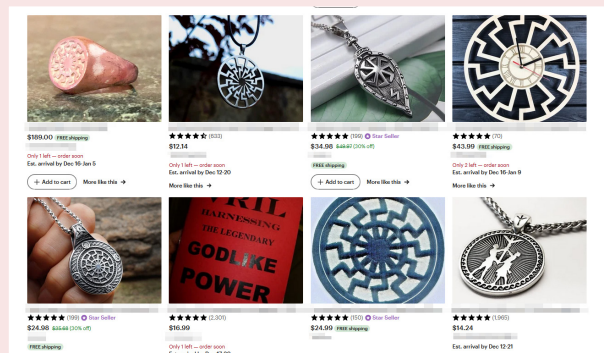


Figure 22: Registration plate for sale on Etsy, now seemingly removed. It was adorned with a Swastika, the letters 'HH' for "Heil Hitler" and '1488', a neo-Nazi slogan. The description read, "A gift for comrades"

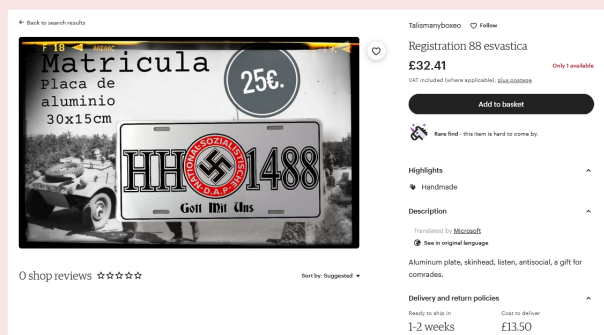


Figure 23: Fascist memorabilia on Etsy

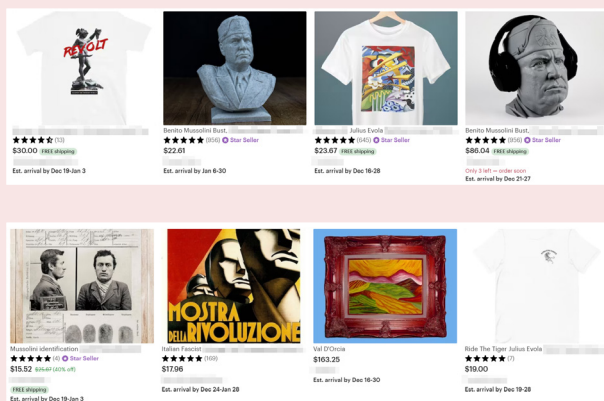
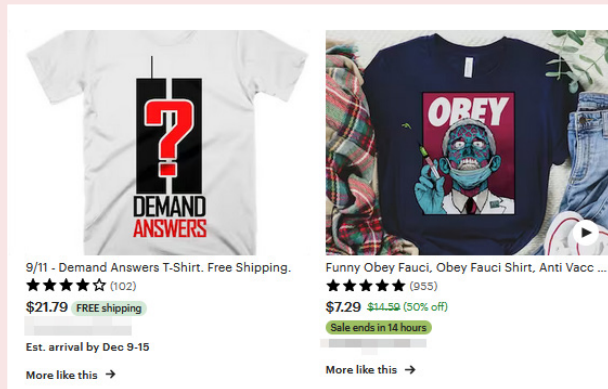


Figure 24: Conspiracy content on Etsy



This search also produced COVID-19 related merch along with 9/11 trutherism.

As with other merchandise platforms, entire stores exist dedicated to conspiracy content. These typically include benign conspiratorial slogans along with references to conspiracies such as the New World Order, MK Ultra, the Illuminati, Bilderberg, and FEMA camps. They often also include far-right content.

The QAnon-adjacent #SaveOurChildren campaign was represented in searches for the term 'save our children' in large quantities. Searches for QAnon and well-known slogans yielded zero results, possibly indicating these are banned keywords, and raising

the question of why the associated conspiracy theory has not also been banned.

Figure 25: Conspiracy and shitposting content on Etsy

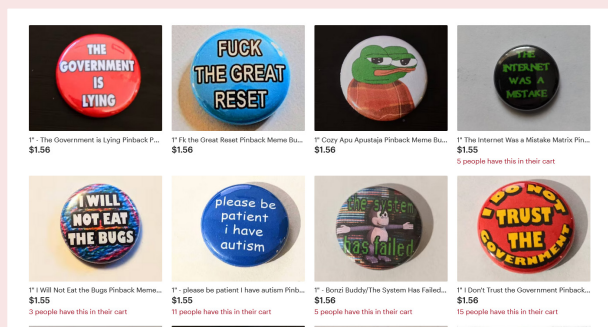
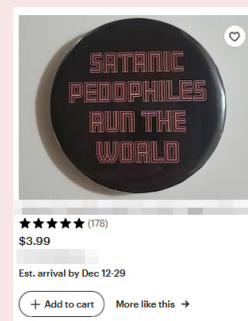
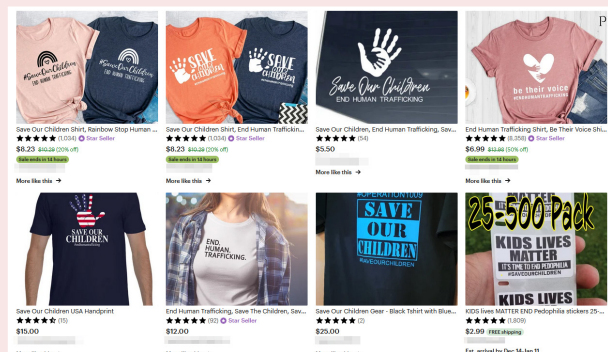


Figure 27: QAnon-related content for sale on Etsy



#SaveTheChildren and #SaveOurChildren content, including branded sticker packs, was also surfaced when searching for 'pedophile', along with incitements to violence on t-shirts reading 'kill all pedophiles' and 'dead pedophiles don't reoffend'.

Figure 26: 'Save our children' content on Etsy



ISD found electronic copies of the antisemitic conspiracy theory book, *The Protocols of the Meetings of the Learned Elders of Zion*, for sale on Etsy. Searches also surfaced products promoting antisemitism when searching for 'USS Liberty', the sinking of which is an event commonly cited by antisemites. This included t-shirts reading 'Remember USS Liberty' alongside t-shirts reading 'Open borders for Israel'.

Miscellaneous

As with other sites, ISD was able to find replicas of the clothing worn by Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold during the Columbine High School Shooting on Etsy. In addition, by searching for permutations of the shooters' names analysts found depicting the shooters and the event. Mass killers and serial killers were not on the initial list of search terms; however, similar content

emerged organically through other searches, leading analysts to search a set of relevant keywords across all platforms.

Other mass killers were also represented on Etsy merchandise; however, for the most part these were serial killers rather than mass shooters or terrorists. The primary exception to this is the Unabomber, Ted Kaczynski. Notably, Etsy explicitly disallows content that glorifies or commemorates serial killers. It is unclear, then, why there are such a substantial number of products that reference them. These include t-shirts reading “Choke me like Bundy, eat me like Dahmer”, chopping boards with likenesses of and quotes by Ted Bundy, Richard Ramirez action figures and cross stitch hoops, and prints of John Wayne Gacy as Pogo the Clown.

Figure 28: Art depicting Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold for sale on Etsy

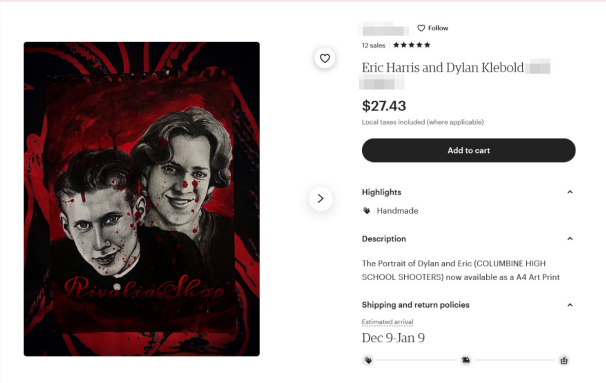
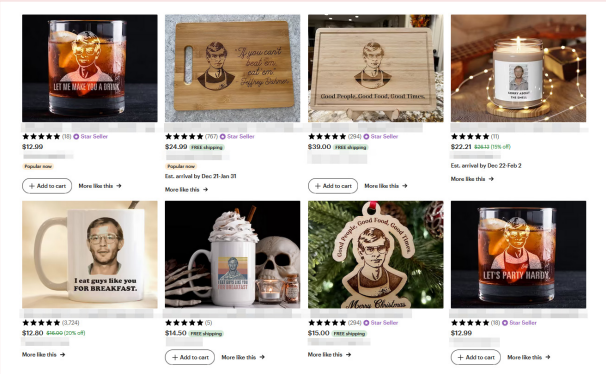


Figure 29: Jeffrey Dahmer merchandise on Etsy



Spring (formerly known as Teespring)

Teespring changed its name to 'Spring' in 2021, but its site is still called 'Teespring', and is referred to as such in this report. Teespring's 'Processes, Policies & Rules' page states that users may not create content "that promotes harm to others or profits of [sic] the death of another." This appears to be the only rule on the site relevant to extremism, hate and misinformation.

Despite Teespring's lack of clear guidelines, the site has previously removed material that has caused public upset. During the events of January 6 2021, an individual at the Capitol building in Washington DC was filmed wearing a t-shirt reading 'Camp Auschwitz,' copies of which were found to be available for sale on Teespring. The site removed all instances of this t-shirt shortly thereafter. As such, Teespring has demonstrated it is concerned with removing content that may not only explicitly promote harm, but also promotes dangerous ideologies.

Teespring has disabled its site search function following the company's 2021 rebrand to 'Spring', meaning users generally must find a link to merchandise elsewhere on the internet to access it. To find concerning content for sale on Teespring, ISD used 'site' operators on search engines. Teespring also categorizes content according to broad groups on its site, which users may browse. ISD analysts explored the categories most likely to yield concerning content.

Analysts found that Teespring hosts numerous stores selling harmful and offensive products, including merchandise with explicit neo-Nazi and white supremacist symbols. Teespring's content guidelines are the most vague of those ISD analyzed, and do not clearly exclude these kinds of items.

Right-wing extremist content

Further analysis of Teespring found that the website also hosts right-wing extremist merchandise, ranging from fascist ideology to white supremacy.

ISD analysts found a store innocuously named 'my-store-6711024' using the search term '**fascism.**'

The store sells t-shirts labelled "Eco Fascism (Save Bees not Refugees)" bearing runes associated with neo-

Figure 30: Teespring store selling 'eco fascism' t-shirts

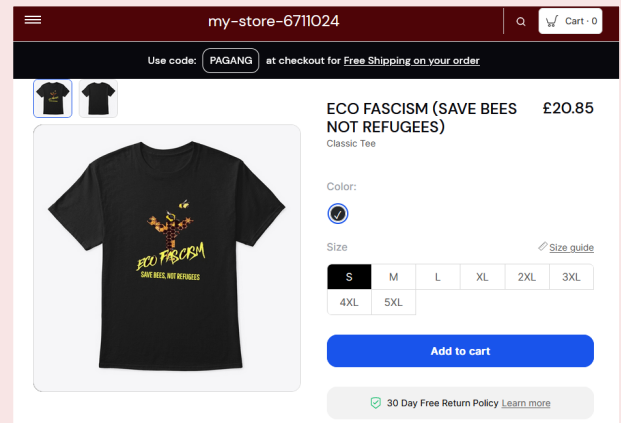


Figure 31: Black Sun merchandise found in the same Teespring store selling 'eco fascism' t-shirts



Nazism and t-shirts emblazoned with the Nazi symbol the Black Sun.

Analysts found a store named 'The Patriart,' associated with the white nationalist group Patriotic Alternative, while searching the term '**WLM**' (white lives matter). The Patriart primarily sells historically-coded art such as images of knights and ancient Greco-Roman statues, sometimes in the fashwave aesthetic (an aesthetic that combines elements of 'vaporwave' with fascist messaging). They frequently appear on the stream of Patriotic Alternative leader Mark Collett.

The shop coded the item found using the figure '1' instead of the letter 'I,' presumably to evade content moderation.

Figure 32: White Lives Matter poster, produced by The Patriart

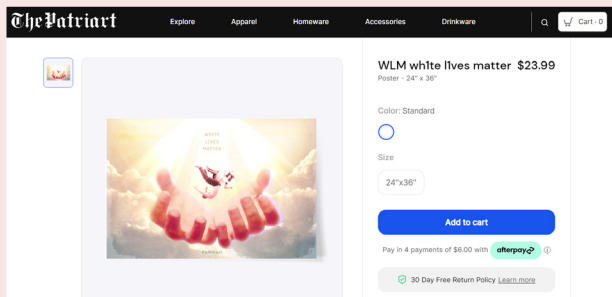


Figure 34: ‘Surf the Kali Yuga’ t-shirt on Teespring



The search term **‘White Lives Matter’** also yielded a t-shirt called **‘KanyeWest White LivesMatter’**, presumably with spaces removed to evade content moderation. This is likely a recent product (or a recently renamed product), as the reference to Kanye West wearing such a t-shirt dates from October 2022.

Figure 33: ‘KanyeWest White LivesMatter’ t-shirt on Teespring



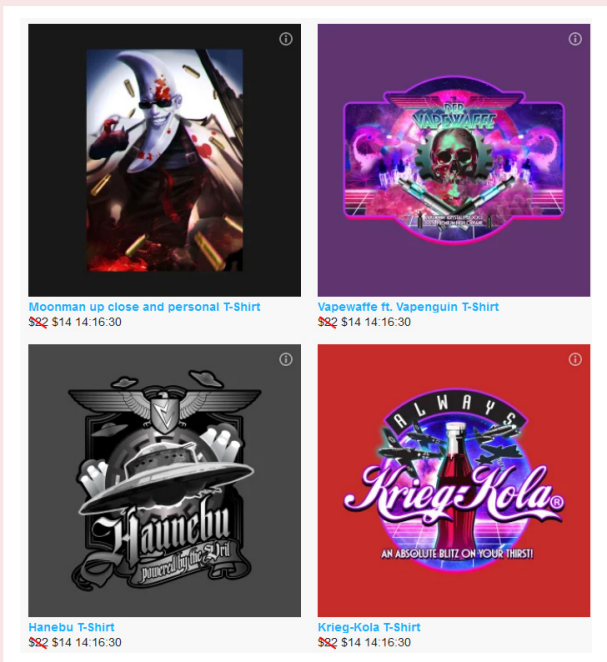
Similarly, a t-shirt with the slogan **‘#WhitePride’** was found using the search term **‘White Pride,’** with the description, “Proudly show off your European heritage with this t-shirt. All other races can say they are proud of who they are. Why can’t we?”

ISD analysts also found references to fascist philosopher Julius Evola, including a ‘Surf the Kali Yuga’ t-shirt sold

by a store named ‘Lampblakk.’ Evola is one of the key influences on contemporary extreme right-wing groups and neo-Nazis, and the stylized use of references to Evola’s work facilitates the mainstreaming of these narratives.

Lampblakk also sells products featuring the image of Moon Man, a meme that has become associated with white supremacy. The owner of the Lampblakk shop also has a shop on Teepublic, where ISD analysts found more explicit neo-Nazi merchandise, such as a fashwave

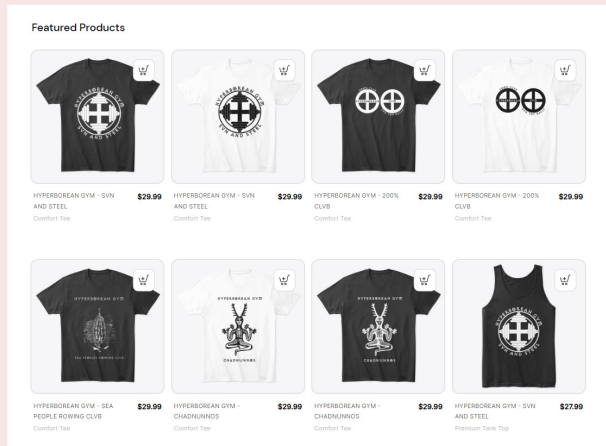
Figure 35: Lampblakk’s store on Teepublic



style t-shirt advertising ‘Krieg Kola’ and a t-shirt in the same style called ‘Vapewaffe’ with an obscured black sun in the background.

Another store, ‘Hyperborean Gym,’ was found by searching the term **‘Kali Yuga.’** The store’s name references a neo-Nazi theory and meme and sells merchandise that resembles symbols associated with white supremacy. It is unclear whether this account, which might most accurately be described

Figure 36: The Hyperborean Gym store's featured products on Teespring



as 'cryptofascist' due to its coded language and merchandise, contravenes Teespring's guidelines.

Teespring's approach to removing extreme right-wing content from its site after the 'Camp Auschwitz' story broke in January 2021 seems to have been effective in removing most explicit references to the Holocaust and neo-Nazism. Substantial amounts of white nationalist, fascist and white supremacist propaganda are still being sold using Teespring's infrastructure.

Conspiracy Theories

As with other platforms, conspiracy theory content was the largest and easiest to find form of concerning merchandise on Teespring. The site even has a 'Conspiracy Theories T-Shirt' dedicated section, which includes a t-shirt reading 'Remember Benghazi' and another reading 'Red Pilled.'

An entire shop dedicated to 9/11 conspiracy theories was found using the search term '**false flag**.' T-shirts promote a 'reinvestigation' of 9/11 and claim it was a false flag attack.

The term '**crisis actors**' also returned merchandise promoting the crisis actor conspiracy theory. This theory, promoted by figures such as Alex Jones, posits that mass shootings and other tragedies have been staged, and that those who were 'killed' in these incidents are in fact paid actors.

Figure 37: T-shirts from Teespring's 'Conspiracy Theories' section



Figure 38: A Teespring shop dedicated to 9/11 conspiracy theories



Figure 39: A Teespring t-shirt promoting the 'crisis actors' conspiracy theory



Figure 40: A Teespring store selling a variety of conspiracy content

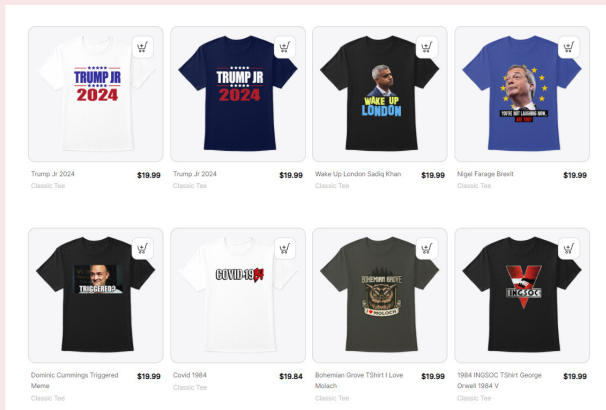


Figure 41: A t-shirt with the hashtag #notmypedophile, created sometime after the November 2020 US presidential election

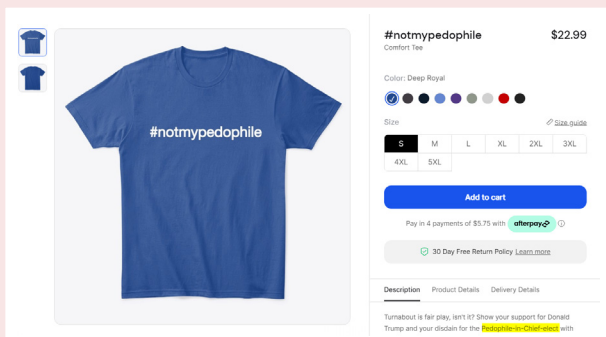


Figure 42: A t-shirt named 'Vaccine Holocaust Immunizations Kill,' apparently made "for truthers and anti-vaxxers"



Figure 43: A t-shirt named 'PEDO VACCINE', promoting deadly violence against alleged pedophiles



The 'New World Order' conspiracy theory was also represented as well as merchandise referring to Hollywood as 'Pedowood,' and t-shirts promoting the term 'COVID-1984.' All of the above were available through the **'crisis actors'** search term.

As election deniers from 2020 continue to push 'election fraud' claims and newer narratives to delegitimize the 2022 midterms in the US, Teespring was found to host stores with merchandise promoting these claims. One store, named 'The MAGA Apparel Store', featured a t-shirt with the hashtag #notmypedophile. The description writes, "Show your support for Donald Trump and your disdain for the Pedophile-in-Chief-elect." The store also still sells a t-shirt that says "Joe stole it" with the description "Tell 'em how you really feel about the 2020 Presidential election."

Analysts also identified a store named 'Be Woke', selling many anti-vaccine and vaccine conspiracy merchandise. Some of the t-shirts say "vaccine holocaust" or "proud to be anti-vax: that means I'm not only smarter than you, but also more likely to stay that way" (suggesting that vaccines contain materials that kill brain cells, or people). The store was also found to promote the New World Order conspiracy theory and anti-science narratives.

A small number of stores and merchandise found promote the #SaveTheChildren offshoot of QAnon that claims that child sex trafficking rings are ubiquitous (and may be run by 'elites'). One store, allegedly created in the past year, is entirely dedicated to 'pedophile

hunting' items, many of which incite violence against alleged pedophiles. Any product that incites violence against individuals should not be made available for sale.

Militia and 2A content

Teespring was found to host a number of items promoting both general pro-2nd Amendment narratives, which can be benign, and militias.

Teespring has a category named 'Offensive Shirts.' Much of the content in this category is benign, if in poor taste. Some appears to stray into incitement to

violence and there is also a strong presence of Second Amendment fundamentalism. This includes t-shirts reading "Gun Control Requires Concentration and a Steady Hand," "You Cannot Vote Away my Rights," "All Lives Matter, Except ISIS," and "Make a Difference in the World, Double Tap a Terrorist."

At least one militia movement store exists on Teespring, primarily selling merchandise glorifying weaponry often in vaporwave aesthetics. It also sells a hoodie referencing the USS Liberty, the subject of an antisemitic conspiracy theory.

Hate

In conducting further research on Teespring, ISD analysts also identified homophobic and transphobic merchandise. In particular, analysts using keywords including 'groomer' found t-shirts pushing harmful rhetoric that has been peddled by anti-LGBTQ+ figures such as Libs Of TikTok's Chaya Raichik and Chris Rufio.

One store, 'Woke Screen,' sells a t-shirt supporting "the work done by the folks over at" Gays Against Groomers. Gays Against Groomers is a prominent anti-transgender group that has helped organize anti-trans rallies and continues to push anti-trans hate online. The t-shirt says, "Hey, Groomer! Leave those kids alone!" Similarly, a different store sells a t-shirt with the name "Fvck Groomers" which says "Stop giving groomers access to your children." This narrative is used to discriminate against not only trans people, but any LGBTQ+ person who works with or comes into contact with children, including teachers and drag queens.

Figure 44: T-shirts in Teespring's 'Terrorism' section. The top middle reads "All Lives Matter – Except Terrorists, F*ck Those Guys"

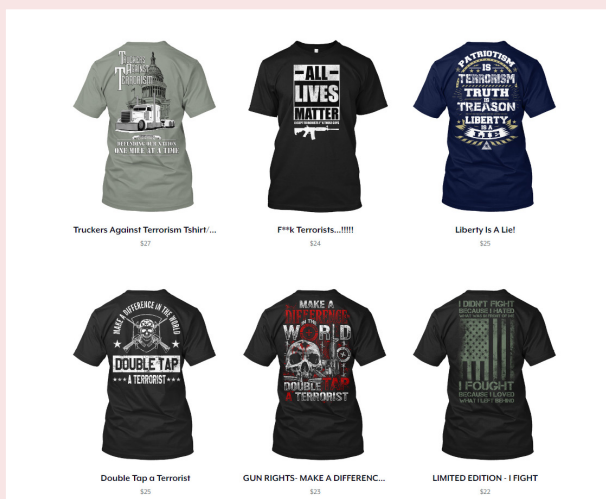


Figure 45: A Teespring store selling militia-branded goods

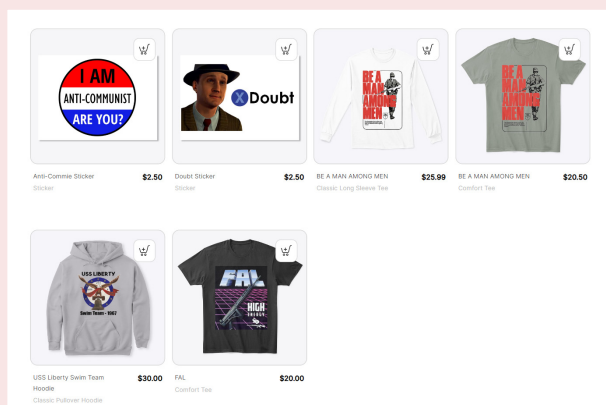


Figure 46: According to the description of this product, 10% of profits will be donated to Gays Against Groomers



Another store, ran by the Instagram account @based.latin, a “conservative Anti-groomer Christian father, sells “anti groomer shield” stickers with the description, “protect children from groomers with the shield of faith.” The store also features a t-shirt with the phrase “tomboy phase survivor,” referencing a narrative that claims children are ‘indoctrinated’ into being trans at a young age and that girls who would once have been identified as being ‘tomboys’ are now being railroaded into identifying as trans.

Another common narrative that anti-LGBTQ+ actors have pushed is the idea that members of the LGBTQ+ community are pedophiles. This narrative is harmful, untrue, and dehumanizes LGBTQ+ people. ISD analysts found multiple t-shirts calling for violence against pedophiles, and while none of the t-shirts explicitly mention members of the LGBTQ+ community, the stores themselves suggest the intention behind the t-shirts. For example, a store named ‘The Smirk Store’, which also sells ‘Right-Wing Death Squad’ merch, sells “Anti-Pedo Action” shirts emblazoned with woodchippers. This is a reference to a meme among anti-LGBTQ+ activists that equates queerness with pedophilia while calling for ‘pedophiles’ to be killed by being fed into woodchippers). This page was found to be run by a page on Gab which posts anti-LGBTQ+ memes.

Outside of merchandise accusing the LGBTQ+ community of being groomers or pedophiles, ISD analysts also identified various homophobic and transphobic products. One store sells a \$34.99 cap embroidered with “Repent and Convert, Sodomite,” and the “you might also like” section of the site directs users to “Catholic Supremacy” tanks and “Raycism Enjoyer” [misspelling likely intentional] t-shirts. Another store sells a transphobic “SheMale Definition” t-shirt. The variety in hateful merchandise – from racism to homophobia – is not particularly surprising, and these ideologies have real life harms. Teespring must expand its currently minimal guidelines to encompass hateful merchandise of this kind.

Figure 47: The store selling this t-shirt also sells shirts that say, “cult of the mask covidians” and “critical thinking, not critical theory”



Figure 48: A sticker promoting the ‘groomer’ narrative sold by a Catholic fundamentalist store

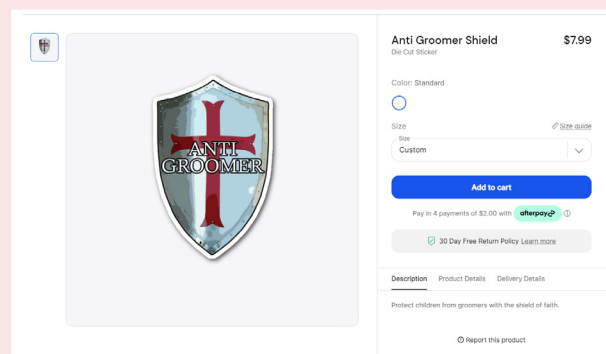


Figure 49: The Anti-Pedo Action t-shirt sold by ‘The Smirk Store,’ with the description “into the woodchipper”

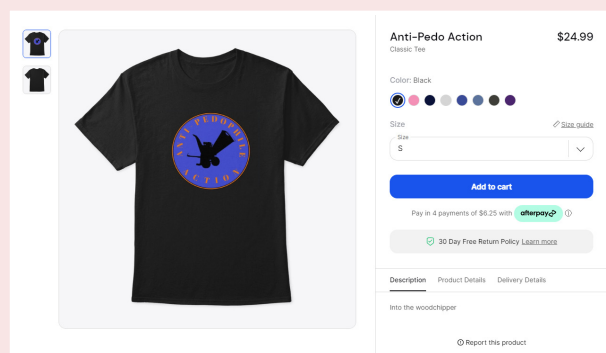


Figure 50: Various homophobic and transphobic merchandise from different stores. The second product was listed under Teespring's "Hobbies" section on the main website

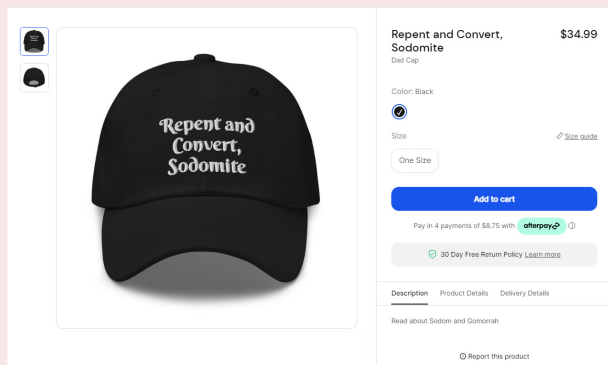


Figure 51: A "Just say no to roasties" shirt for sale in Teespring's 'Funny' category



Misogyny

Using a list of misogynistic keywords, analysts found multiple t-shirts with sexist content targeting women.

The keyword **'roastie,'** slang used by the incel community to target and disparage sexually active women, surfaced a t-shirt which says "just say no to roasties." The most concerning aspect is that the t-shirt appears to be listed in Teespring's 'Funny' category on the main homepage.

The term **'feminazi'** yielded a t-shirt from a MGTOW store calling women insane and ignorant. MGTOW stands for Men Going Their Own Way, and is an anti-feminist, misogynistic, online community which advocates for men to separate themselves from women. The store also sells t-shirts that say "Moms gained trillions over whining" and "This is how it feels to be a feminist [front]: I get triggered easily, I use hamster logic, I'm never wrong even if I'm wrong [back]."

Figure 52: The back of this shirt, which is labeled as "parody" by the seller, says "her insanity her choice"



ISD found multiple t-shirts branded with the word 'rape.' A particularly egregious example contained the word 'RAPE' above what may be an attempt at the US flag but more closely resembles the flag of Liberia (likely not intentionally), the year 1776, and the words 'the man the myth the legend.' It is likely this is a t-shirt that has been generated by a user putting the word 'rape' into a template. There are at least two other t-shirts following this format, including one reading "Nana Rape's kitchen, grandkids spoiled daily". This is concerning because Teespring is allowing designs, whether autogenerated or not, that use explicit and violent language.

Figure 53: A t-shirt listing titled 'Rape American Man Myth Legend'



Of the platforms analyzed, Teespring has the least comprehensive guidelines, prohibiting only content that “promotes harm to others” without any stipulation as to the kinds of harm they are concerned about, whether this includes harms other than incitement to violence, whether discrimination or hate speech are considered harms, and so on. Despite the platform’s attempts to sanitize itself in the wake of poor publicity, there remains a substantial quantity of extremely concerning content being sold in Teespring shops. Teespring should expand its guidelines to ensure that its rules for products are clear, and further it should enforce these guidelines and ensure that it is not facilitating the sale of goods that promote hateful or extremist ideologies.

Zazzle

The merchandise store Zazzle was launched in 2005 and allows designers and customers to create their own products with independent manufacturers.

Zazzle's guidelines are briefer than Redbubble's and simply state the following rules for their users:

- No excessive violence
- No content that can reasonably be viewed as harassing, threatening, or otherwise harmful
- No hate speech
- No content that can reasonably be viewed as discriminatory based upon race, ethnicity, national origin, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity or disability

Based on ISD's analysis, Zazzle appears to contain substantially less objectionable material than some competitors, such as Redbubble. Most explicit terms return no results, or in a few cases return one or two concerning items. The main exceptions to this are listings on the border between objectionable and legitimate political speech.

In contrast with Redbubble, Zazzle did not contain substantial quantities of easily searchable election denial content such as 'Stop the Steal' merchandise.

It is possible that more objectionable content exists on Zazzle, but is not easily found through search results. It was notable that several sets of keywords that provided large amounts of concerning merchandise on Redbubble returned no results at all, or only innocuous results. It is possible that Zazzle therefore has engaged in more rigorous content moderation than competitors. However, it may also be the case that fewer users have attempted to upload objectionable content to Zazzle than other sites.

Conspiracy Theories & Antisemitism

Searching the term 'NWO' yielded top results including conspiracy theories and symbols. New World Order, chemtrails, Illuminati, MK Ultra and Build Back Better were all represented.

Figure 54: Zazzle search results for 'NWO'

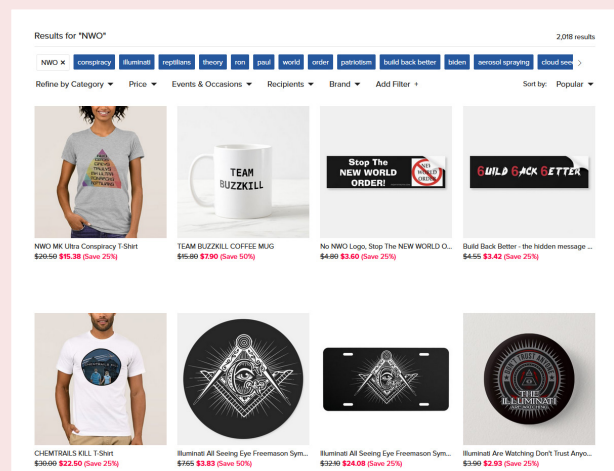
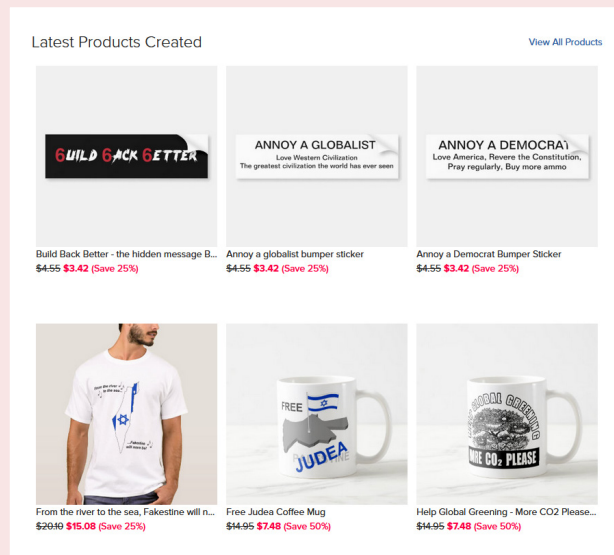


Figure 55: A Zazzle shop created by user 'HardcoreRight', including both 'Build Back Better' conspiracies and anti-Palestinian rhetoric



The sticker reading 'Build Back Better' in which the 'Bs' are figures of six, implies that this agenda is Satanic. The store that sells this product also sells Western chauvinist and anti-climate material.

The term 'Great Reset' likewise surfaces conspiracist content, primarily promoting 'resistance' to the 'Great Reset'. Users are suggested to refine their search with

terms such as 'NWO', 'WEF', 'new world order', 'davos', and 'klaus schwab'.

Searching the term '**JWO**', which stands for 'Jew World Order', yielded a t-shirt emblazoned with what appears to be an antisemitic slogan. It cannot, however, be ruled out that this item is intended to be bought and worn ironically by Jewish people, as is the case for other 'reclaimed' conspiracies.

Figure 56: Jew World Order t-shirt for sale on Zazzle



The 'Just say "NO" to ZOG' t-shirt, which was being sold on Redbubble and is antisemitic, is also being sold on Zazzle under the search term '**ZOG**'.

The '**Cultural Marxism**' conspiracy narrative, which has historically been employed to antisemitic ends, is also represented in Zazzle merchandise, including a t-shirt reading 'SMASH cultural marxism' and another reading 'political correctness is cultural marxism'.

'**Globalist**', another term which is often associated with antisemitism (as 'globalist' can be a codeword for 'Jew'), produces a series of concerning pieces of merchandise, including a t-shirt reading 'I (heart) fascism'. In the screenshot of products branded 'globalist', there is also a badge reading '(((Globalist)))'. The brackets, or 'echoes', are a meme originating in white supremacist circles indicating that a person being referred to is Jewish.

Below these results are lawn signs reading 'America First', stickers reading 'I identify as vaccinated', and

Figure 57: Search results for 'globalist' on Zazzle

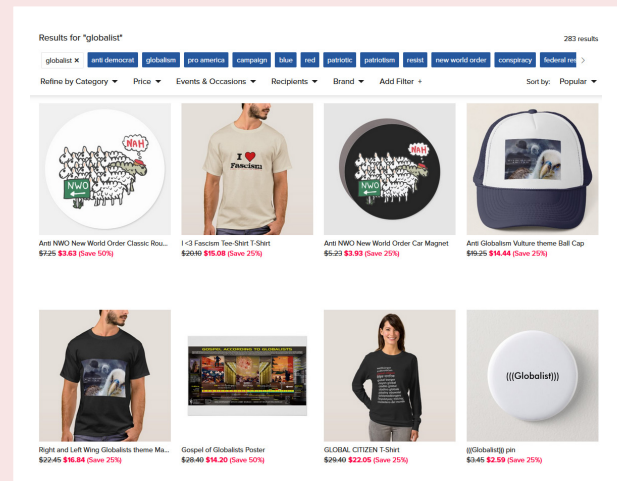
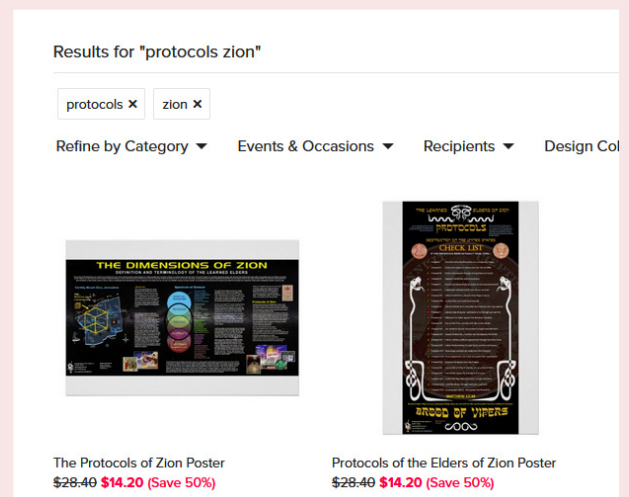


Figure 58: Posters promoting the Protocols of the Elders of Zion on Zazzle



t-shirts reading 'Resist the globalists'. Zazzle also suggests additional search terms, including 'New world order', 'conspiracy', 'anti democrat', and 'resist'.

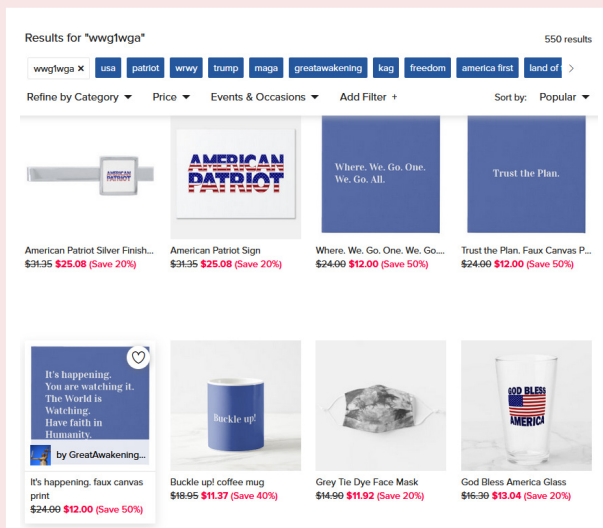
The '**USS Liberty**' conspiracy theory is represented on Zazzle in a single result, a bandana reading 'Google USS Liberty', which is an alt-right meme that plays on an incident in 1967, when Israel bombed a US ship during the Six Day War. This incident is positioned by conspiracists and antisemites as intentional, and used to stir up hatred against Jews and Israel.

Searching 'Protocols Zion' to find any content promoting the old antisemitic conspiracy theory, the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, yields two results, both of which are posters promoting the theory at length.

The seller of these posters has a store which also sells fundamentalist Christian and conspiratorial merchandise, possibly indicating an adherence to the Christian Identity movement.

Finally, QAnon content was found on Zazzle through searches for related terms, though 'QAnon' itself did not yield any results, indicating the term may be restricted. Searching 'wwg1wga' (Where We Go One, We Go All – a QAnon slogan) surfaced both mainstream pro-Trump material and explicitly QAnon-branded merchandise. Most of the latter was sold by a single account, titled 'GreatAwakening' (a QAnon reference). A minimal amount of content related to the QAnon-adjacent conspiracy theory, #SaveTheChildren, was found using the search term 'save the children'.

Figure 59: QAnon content found on Zazzle



The related conspiracy theory Pizzagate was also represented on Zazzle, with a search for 'pizzagate' yielding top results promoting the theory.

Far-right

Content relating to far-right and fascist ideology was found on Zazzle, though explicit far-right messaging was often eschewed in favor of subtext, coded language and visual references. Concerning content was often not branded with relevant keywords, instead given anodyne titles such as 'funny conservative anti woke'.

Searching 'Evola' yielded merchandise both referencing Evola's philosophy, and promoting the name itself. The top results were primarily 'your name on a shirt' merchandise where unknown individuals had inserted 'Evola'. However, more explicit references to Evola's work were found in specific shops, including 'ride the tiger', 'reject modernity' and 'revolt against the modern world'.

Figure 60: Pizzagate content on Zazzle

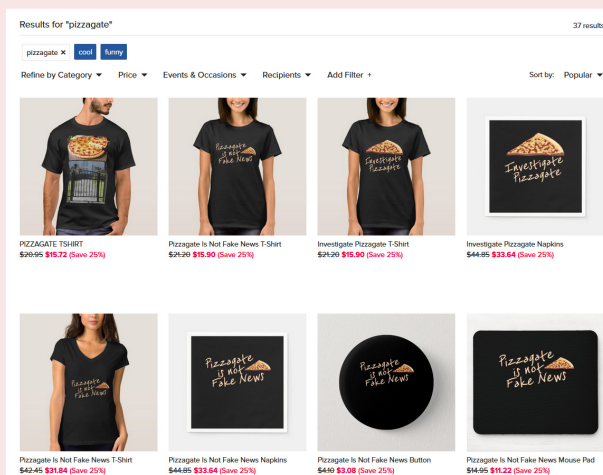
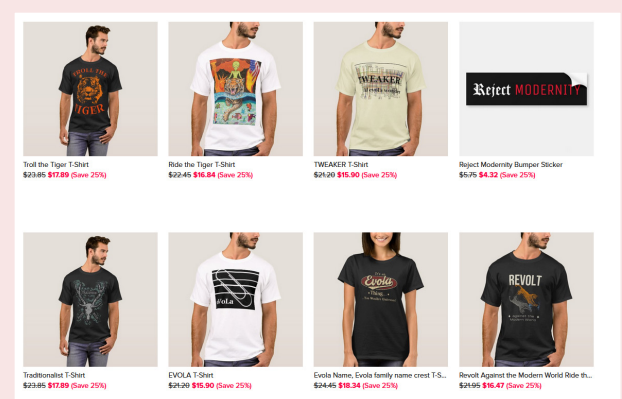


Figure 61: Content related to fascist philosopher Julius Evola on Zazzle



Exploring the store selling a 'Revolt against the modern world' t-shirt yielded a substantial amount of content that falls on the cusp of concerning. For example, 'Ultra MAGA' shirts are sold alongside 'Monarchist anti-democracy', 'Great Reset', and COVID conspiracy content.

Another store selling Evola-branded merchandise explicitly states that they provide "subtle signaling gear for the discerning shitlord", making clear that their aim is to promote their political ideology through subtext rather than explicit statements.

Finally, '**kali yuga**' surfaced a substantial amount of content referencing fascist philosophy, including t-shirts with logos such as 'Kali Yuga Surf Club', 'Surf the Kali Yuga', and fashwave t-shirts emblazoned with 'Kali Yuga Beach Club'.

Miscellaneous

While the following content does not fall under any specific ideology, it is nonetheless concerning to see it sold on a merchandise site. A search for '**Eric Dylan**' (referencing the Columbine shooters Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold) yielded multiple black t-shirts with the word 'WRATH' written on them in red. These are copies of the t-shirt Klebold wore during the shooting. In numerous school shootings since Columbine, similar copies of, or homages to, the t-shirts worn by Klebold and Harris have been worn by shooters. Copies of Eric Harris' t-shirt, reading 'NATURAL SELECTION', were also found by searching his name.

One of the shops selling these shirts is branded 'TrueCrimes' and has a display picture which appears to be a copy of a crime scene photo from Columbine High School showing Harris and Klebold deceased.

Figure 62: A Zazzle store selling a variety of far-right merchandise

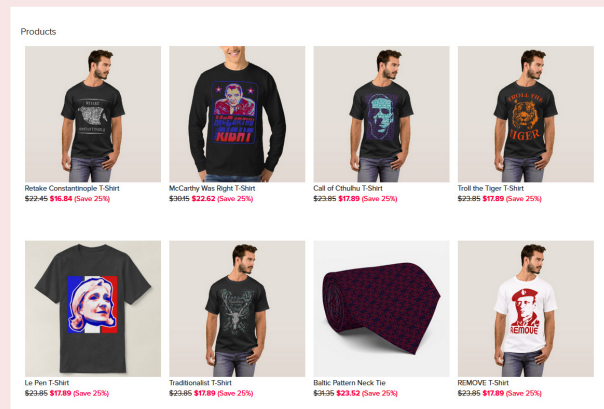


Figure 63: Columbine content on Zazzle

Latest Products Created



Teepublic

As with Zazzle, Teepublic contains a substantial amount of concerning content, but surfaced less content with keyword searches than Redbubble.

Teepublic's [guidelines](#) state:

- Teepublic does not tolerate hate speech in any capacity. Hate speech refers to any text or image that is intended to harm, or incite violence against, a group of people.
- Teepublic has zero tolerance for racist designs, or designs intended to incite racism.
- Content that glorifies or trivializes violence is not permitted. This includes, but is not limited to, graphic depictions of violence, trivialization of violent acts, and content where the intent may reasonably be interpreted as inciting violence or hatred.
- Content that deals with catastrophic events (such as genocides or mass shootings) must be sensitively handled, and any content that may cause the victims serious distress or other harm may violate these Standards.

Conspiracy Theories, Antisemitism, Racism

'Stop the steal' searches yielded election denialist content, including slogans such as 'Count all legal votes', much of which is being sold by a small number of prolific creators.

Election denialist content could also be found easily by searching for '**election fraud**' and similar terms, accompanied by content criticizing these narratives.

Content promoting the 'Kali Yuga' narrative, which is a key part of contemporary fascist philosophy, was found easily by searching for the term.

COVID denialist content was easily found on Teepublic, with tags including 'anti-lockdown' promoted on more benign conspiracy content.

Suggested tags were a common way of finding additional concerning content in this category, with Teepublic suggesting on a conspiracy t-shirt that 'Customers also search' terms including 'anti lockdown

Figure 64: Pro-Trump and election denialist content on Teepublic

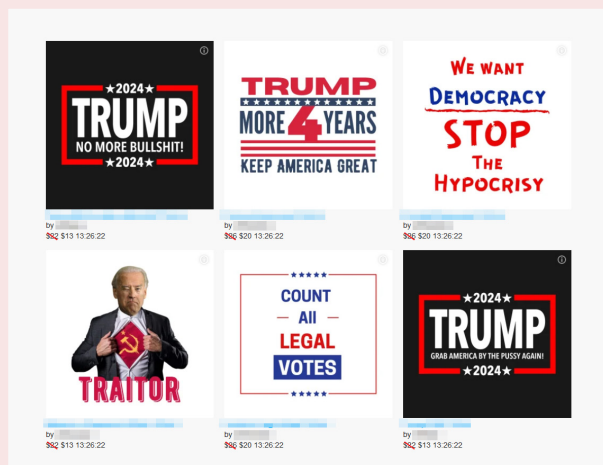


Figure 65: Election denialist content on Teepublic

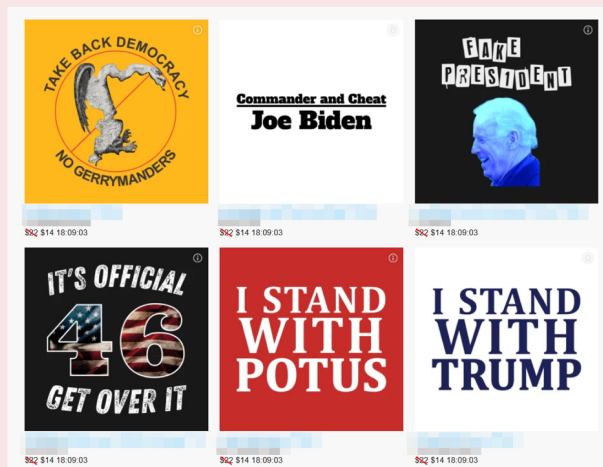
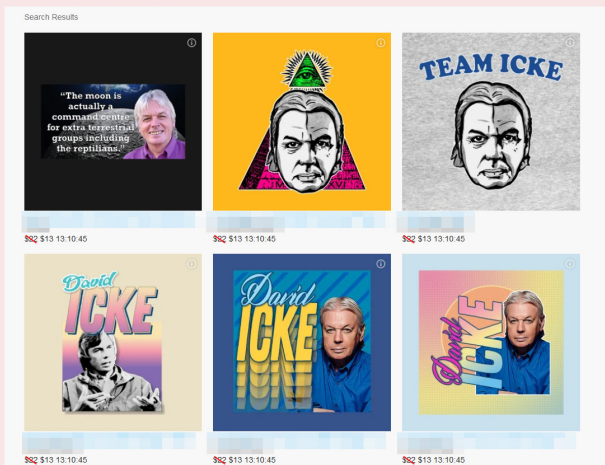


Figure 66: 'Anti-lockdown' recommended content on Teepublic



Figure 67: David Icke t-shirts on Teepublic



hoodies', 'new world order', 'anti mask', 'anti quarantine', 'sheeple' and 'reopening'.

The New World Order conspiracy theory is also represented on Teepublic, where searching '**New World Order**' yields not only NWO content but also Great Reset, WEF, climate denalist, Illuminati, Jeffrey Epstein, COVID denalist, and general conspiracy merchandise.

Conspiracy theorist David Icke appeared on merchandise when his name was searched.

QAnon content was less frequent on Teepublic than some competitor sites, though searching for QAnon slogans surfaced a small amount of Q-supportive merchandise, such as a 'Trust the plan' t-shirt. Searching for the adjacent conspiracy theory '**Pizzagate**' yielded both content about Pizzagate itself and content supportive of QAnon.

Alongside 'Save our Children' content, searching for '**pedophile**' on Teepublic surfaced merchandise accusing Joe Biden of being a pedophile, as well as shirts encouraging violence reading 'Shoot your local pedophile'.

As ISD has found is typical with merchandise sites, conspiracy content bleeds into right-wing culture war material. For example, 'Great Reset' merchandise is being sold by a shop that also sells t-shirts reading 'Progressives – They've radicalized our universities. Now, they're

Figure 68: Content surfaced by searching for Pizzagate on Teepublic

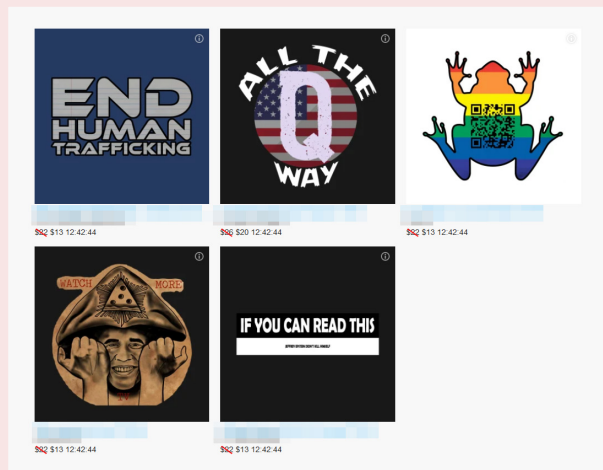
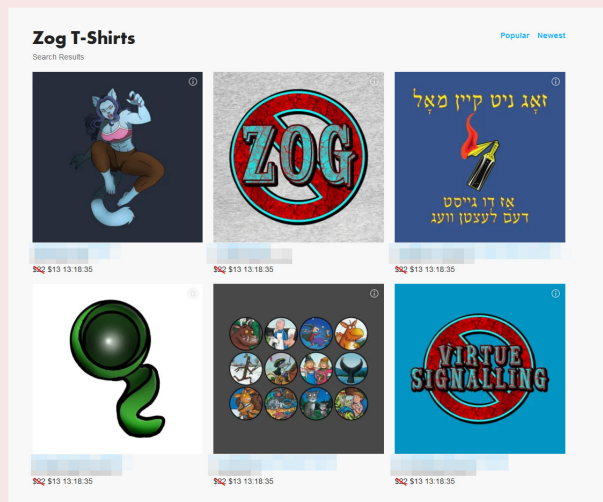


Figure 69: 'ZOG' merchandise on Teepublic

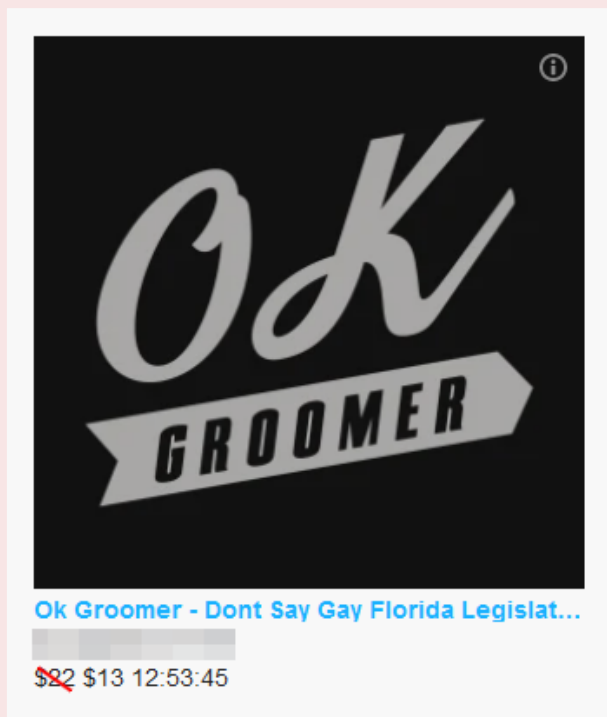


after our kids!', 'Hey, FBI! I'm a MOM! Not a DOMESTIC TERRORIST', and 'ARROGANT PROGRESSIVES – They think that can actually change the world's climate!'.

As with other sites, searching '**ZOG**' (Zionist Occupied Government, a far-right conspiracy theory) brought up implicitly antisemitic merchandise in small quantities.

On most sites ISD searched, it was not easy to find content promoting the anti-LGBTQ+ 'Groomer' narrative. Teepublic was the exception. Searching

Figure 70: 'Groomer' content on Teepublic



'groomer' surfaced at least one t-shirt promoting the narrative, referencing so-called 'Don't Say Gay' legislation in Florida in the product title. The description of this t-shirt was explicit about its purpose, reading "A commonly used phrase which pisses pedos/MAPs [minor-attracted persons – a term used for pedophiles] off. Let's protect children from pedophiles trying to groom and molest our children".

Teepublic also has a prohibition on "designs that use racist terms, even in a casual way." This appears to be violated by t-shirts using an alteration of the 'n' word, part of a meme format in which letters in a word are replaced with 'B' emojis. The product description reads, "be instantly recognized as a meme king or queen." The tags on the t-shirt include '4chan', 'dank memes', and the 'n' word.

Likewise, a t-shirt called '[n' word] cool boy', which cannot be found through Teepublic's internal search engine but is indexed on Google and found using the 'n' word as a search term, would appear to violate this policy.

Figure 71: A altered 'n' word t-shirt on Teepublic

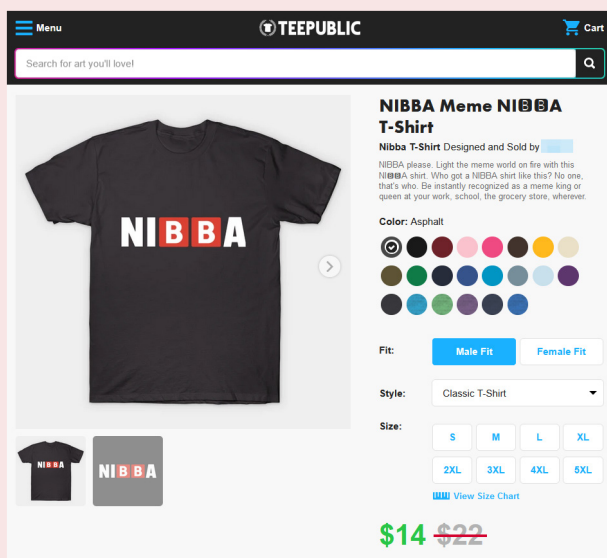
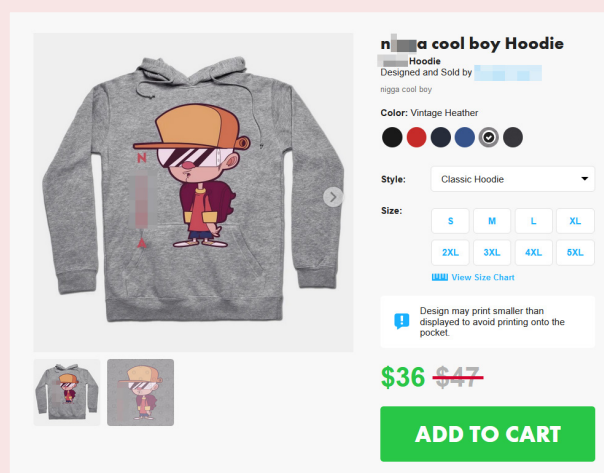


Figure 72: '[n' word] cool boy hoodie' on Teepublic



Miscellaneous

As with Zazzle, Columbine content was found on Teepublic. In this case, searching 'Columbine' or the names 'Eric Harris' or 'Dylan Klebold' yielded copies of Eric Harris' 'Natural Selection' and Dylan Klebold's 'Wrath' t-shirts. Searching for 'tcc' (true crime community, a subculture concerned primarily with mass murderers) also yielded a copy of a mask worn by

school shooter Ilnaz Galyaviev, who killed nine people in a Russian school shooting in 2021. It is likely that emulating the clothes worn by mass shooters does not constitute the 'sensitive handling' required by Teepublic in relation to mass shootings.

Exploring the follower/following networks of the creators of these shirts yielded results that may be considered disturbing, depicting graphic violence. For example, one creator listed numerous items tagged 'gore' or 'guro' (a term commonly applied to gore content online). The content, which is too disturbing to be reproduced here, includes:

- Stylized depictions of a TikTok video in which a person is cutting off a woman's head, titled 'Redroom gf'
- Necrophilia
- A graphic drawn depiction of a woman in a maid costume shooting herself in the head with a shotgun, with the item description 'END IT ALL'
- Depiction of a man taking a photo of the dismembered corpse of a girl
- Semi-realistic depiction of a flayed corpse in a bathtub
- Stylized drawing of a man filming himself putting his hand in a blender

This gore content appears to originate with a small number of stores; however, there is substantially more graphic content surfaced in the top results on Teepublic than on competitor sites using the same keywords.

Conclusions

It is heartening to see that some of the most egregious material on merchandise sites, and the subjects of previous media reports and scandals, has been removed. For example, it is no longer easy to find merchandise denying the Holocaust or expressing explicitly racist attitudes.

However, what is concerning is that there are still substantial quantities of merchandise for sale, from which both platforms and creators are profiting, which support extremist and hateful worldviews or positions that misinform the public and can endanger people's health. Merchandise sites must take a stance of proactively seeking out and removing the most egregious content, or else its proliferation is a certainty.

It is unsurprising but nonetheless disappointing that COVID-19 denialist material was widely available and easily found across platforms, together with merchandise promoting dangerous and sometimes antisemitic conspiracy theories.

While conspiratorial material may appear in some instances benign, it is well established that these 'mainstream' conspiracies, such as 9/11 denialism, are often gateways to belief systems that have real and terrible impacts on people's lives such as the QAnon and #SaveOurChildren movements as well as far-right narratives and ideologies. If merchandise sites are to continue selling these materials, they should have a very clear stated justification for doing so.

Merchandise platforms have a responsibility to have clear guidelines on what is and is not acceptable to sell and a responsibility to enforce these guidelines. It is clear from ISD's findings that this latter responsibility is not being executed, where content that violates these guidelines is widespread and easily accessible.

White nationalists and far-right actors should not be able to profit from sales of their propaganda on merchandise sites, and those sites should certainly not be profiting from those same sales. The Black Sun symbol has prominently adorned multiple manifestos of terrorists who have killed dozens. It is unacceptable that sites like Etsy allow this explicitly neo-Nazi insignia to be sold as jewelry. Likewise, denial of the legitimate results of the 2020 US Presidential election was a key inspiration for the attempted insurrection on January 6 2021, and the continued facilitation of the sale of merchandise advancing this belief by large merchandise platforms is not acceptable in a society that values its democratic institutions.

It will never be possible to remove every piece of objectionable content from these sites, and in many cases, there are clear trade-offs to be made between freedom of expression and preventing the peddling of extremism, hate and misinformation. However, the ease with which this material can be found and the lack of clear statements from platforms on where the borders of acceptability are indicates that policy in this area has not been thought through nearly well enough.



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