Gender in the Contemporary Right

How Far and Extreme Right Websites Sideline Women, Emphasise Conspiracies, and Use Political Events to Strengthen their Causes

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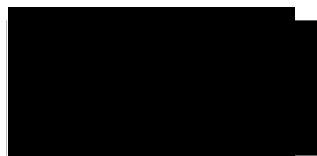
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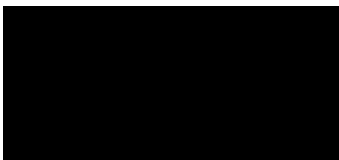
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The URLs of the websites used and accessed during this project have been redacted from the online version of this thesis. I will share the unredacted version with verified researchers.

Acknowledgements

Many people go into the making of a thesis. This Acknowledgements section is dedicated to those who have had a tangible impact on the research as it is presented in this document.

I would like to thank one of my closest friends over the past 17 years, Sophia Warren, for her relentless proofreading of my work. Not only of my thesis chapters, but also of my research articles and job applications. Sophia has not just proofread; she has read to understand my work in such a way that she can offer her opinions on its strengths and weaknesses. The conversations we have been able to have as a result of this have been an immense help throughout the writing process. I would also like to thank my dad, Prof Bruno Frenguelli, for his help proofreading my methods and statistical chapters. I would also like to thank Prof Robin Valeri for sharing with me her dataset of skinhead websites. I am greatly indebted to my wonderful girlfriend, Francesca Williams, for her support of my PhD over the 18 months we have been together. She has been extremely understanding of my working habits and very considerate of my commitment to producing research in this field. Her help during the final few weeks of editing where I read her the same sentence several times to ask which version sounded the best has also been immensely appreciated.

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Content Note

This thesis analyses content written by the extreme and far right. It includes slurs and other offensive language both in quotes from extreme and far right actors and in lists of key words used to identify this content. The inclusion of these words has not been done trivially and has been given careful consideration by the researcher.

Abstract

The online presence of right wing extremists has been the subject of renewed academic and journalistic enquiry since the mid-2010s when it became clear that right wing extremists were utilising social media platforms to recruit and radicalise new members, run hate campaigns targeting members of minority or marginalised groups, and influence national elections. Contemporary research conceptualises this online activity of right wing extremists as an ecosystem of interconnected websites, forums, social media, and alternative media that can be studied from a range of different perspectives and entry points. Two things have been lacking in the studies that utilise this framework: systematic empirical research on the role of extremist websites in the ecosystem and how the movements within the ecosystem understand gender and gender-related issues. This study addresses this gap via the analysis of data collected through the development and deployment of a custom built webcrawler. The crawler was deployed on 11 websites, each one representing a right wing extremist movement. These movements were Christian Identity, Creativity, Ku Klux Klan, militia, neo-confederate, neo-Nazi, racist nationalist, racist patriot, Pagan neo-Nazi, white power music, and white supremacist/skinhead. Websites were selected for inclusion in this seedset based on having the highest number of total visitors in the months prior to data collection. Selecting websites in this manner resulted in an American dataset and an according analysis of primarily American discursive interests. The final ecosystem contained 4,490 unique domains with 7,284 hyperlinks between them. Hyperlink network analysis was then used to identify core websites within this ecosystem. The statistical measures used as part of this showed both extreme and far right websites to be influential, popular, and usefully connected within the network and, as well as linking to other reactionary websites, they also linked frequently to mainstream news sources. This tripartite identification of websites significant in the data leant itself to a three level analysis of extreme right discourse, far right discourse, and mainstream discourse. Textual content hosted on the websites that had been linked to by other websites in the network was used for a content analysis that aimed to understand what the far and extreme right communicate online about gender and gender-related issues. Relevant content was identified via wordsearches of key terms and the content with the highest number of instances of the keywords was used in this systematic content analysis. It was found that the extreme and far right discussed gender-related issues very infrequently, but where they did, they were primarily concerned with the threats they alleged trans people pose to white society. The extreme right saw trans people as being pawns in a Jewish plot to undermine white western society by bringing instability to gendered social relations and family formation.[1] The far right saw trans people as having too much influence in society as the result of the liberal agenda of governmental and public institutions. Mainstream news articles were generally utilised to "evidence" these beliefs or to launder the image of extreme and far right organisations through the practise of linking to reputable outlets. This lack of discussion of gendered issues reflects mainstream societal sexism and the interest in trans people shows dangerous reactionary actors to be interacting with current political events. Future research should investigate this link between the mainstream and the extreme and how the former can influence and legitimise the latter.

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[1] This thesis follows the emerging editorial practice of writing "west" and "western" in lower case. This is done to avoid suggesting a binary opposition between countries in the global east and west.

Introduction

This project came about in the context of mounting social, academic, political, and journalistic interest in "the far right" as a form of violent extremism. Two interdependent things had been happening during the rise and fall of the first iteration of the so-called 'Islamic State' (IS) from 2014 to 2020: academic, political, journalistic, and social attention was largely captivated by Islamic extremism, and right wing extremism was on the rise. Where previously those professionally tasked in relation to violent extremism had been largely concerned with the threats posed by Islamist extremism, the diminishing threat posed by IS and the increasing number of right wing terrorist attacks meant that concerned actors in the counter terrorism space were ready to switch attention.

In 2017 the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Virginia resulted in the murder of activist Heather Heyer by a self-identified white supremacist in a deliberate vehicle ramming attack that left 35 others injured and, two years later, 2019 saw four right wing extremist terrorist attacks committed across the US and New Zealand with a combined death toll of 77. While this steady growth in offline action by the extreme right was taking place, its online activity was also growing and the social media companies that had been focused on removing Islamic extremist content from their platforms often had policy blind spots for right wing extremist activity and recruitment. Issues of free speech that had appeared as black and white when applied to Islamic extremism given the proscription of groups such as IS and Boko Haram now appeared as much more grey when applied to right wing extremist content that often did not come from proscribed terrorist groups and did not always include direct incitements to violence (Conway, 2020). A shifting of focus was necessary from tech, government, and academic sectors to address these newly prominent problems.

This project began in 2021 as part of this growing research agenda into the extreme right online. Its first point of departure from the majority of literature is its focus on extremist websites rather than social media platforms. It contributes specifically to the ecosystems literature that conceptualises the online presence of extremists as an ecosystem comprising individual domains, clusters of tightly interlinked domains with similar beliefs and goals, and ideological groupings of clusters that together form a networked whole. This contribution takes the form of a hyperlink network analysis starting with the hyperlinks from 11 right wing extremist websites and expanding out from there. The final dataset is composed of 4,490 websites and 7,284 hyperlinks between them. Its second point of departure is its focus on gender. Much of the existing literature sees gender as synonymous with women, and research on gender in extremism and terrorism studies generally focuses on the roles and positions of women within extremist movements and how women make sense of these. This thesis takes a more expansive approach to gender. It is focused on the attitudes towards the position of men, women, and children in society that are expressed by different extreme and far right movements, and the opinions about gendered issues that these movements profess to hold.

A section of the extremist ecosystem was discovered and created via a webcrawler that scraped external hyperlinks from websites and plotted these connections as a graph. Statistical

tests were then used to identify core websites in the network. These statistical measures revealed that both extreme and far right websites were popular, influential, and well-connected within the network. They also linked frequently to mainstream news outlets. This inductive method of identifying websites generated a three level analysis focusing on extreme right discourse, far right discourse, and mainstream discourse. These are the three layers of the right that are found in this dataset. In many instances, the mainstream media articles that are linked to are from left wing or liberal news outlets that the far and extreme right use to supplement their narratives and strengthen their causes. These articles were used by the right in an attempt to justify, legitimise, and mainstream their views via their proximity to mainstream, and sometimes liberal, discourse. The textual content belonging to the extreme right, far right, and mainstream news outlets that was linked to by other websites in the network was analysed using systematic content analysis. As this inclusion criteria meant that several hundred pieces of content from each level were available for analysis, word searches of key words were used to identify the articles that were most relevant to the research questions. This systematic content analysis addresses in turn the rhetorical foci, narratives, and grievances of right wing extremists, those on the far right, and works published by mainstream news outlets and linked to by the extreme and far right, in order to identify similarities and differences between them. The three level approach identifies the connections between these three discursive spheres: where extremists are borrowing from and using mainstream topics and narratives, where the far and extreme right respond differently to events in the political mainstream, and where mainstream discourse fuels or inhibits fringe reactionary actors.

This introduction sets out the parameters of the thesis, its research questions, and its structure and findings. It begins with the definition of the extreme right in this thesis which argues that, while the extreme and far right are usefully conceptualised as distinct political identities, both are still fascist and have considerable overlap in terms of both members and ideology. It then defines the scope of the part of the analysis focused on gender. In this analysis, gender refers to what right wing actors think about gender, gender roles, and gender-related issues. The reasons for choosing the Internet and specifically websites as the data source are then introduced. Argued is that websites provide the longevity and stability of discursive ideas that social media do not, as well as websites being more likely to be run by hardline ideological adherents due to the additional financial and instrumental costs associated with running a website as opposed to creating a social media page. The methods and research questions are then outlined, followed by a discussion of the structure of the thesis which includes the core findings of each chapter and the overall argument. The two principal arguments made in this thesis are that the far and extreme right do not commit much space to discussing their opinions on gender or gender-related issues. They generally do not dedicate articles to the issue of the roles of men and women in society, or the acceptable relations between the two. However, there is an underlying assumption that traditional gender roles are the correct way to order society and this is primarily asserted by disparaging those who transgress them. The second principal finding is that the far and extreme right respond to contemporary issues, and that different articulations of these issues from different discourses influence how the extreme right, far right, and mainstream view and respond to different issues. For example, the recent increase in media and political attention to trans people was reflected in right wing discourse, and the way that these issues were articulated was influenced by the discursive structures from other spheres. The argument is made in the Conclusion that further systematic analysis should look to address how the different sources influence the right and vice versa.

Defining the Extreme Right

The right wing of politics sees inequality as a fundamental part of human existence that should not be interfered with by social actors or governmental policy (Bobbio, 1996). The far right in turn is defined by its outright rejection of equality (Pirro, 2022). It is a political arena that encompasses a myriad of political parties, groups, and ideologies proclaiming beliefs resting on inequality, nativism, authoritarianism and illiberalism (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019; Carter, 2018; Mudde, 2007; Pirro, 2022; Ravndal & Jupskås, 2021). Authoritarianism, nationalism, racism, xenophobia, and anti-democracy are the defining characteristics of the far right (Carter, 2018) and this far right is made up of two distinct yet overlapping ideological groupings that have different attitudes to issues such as migration, multiculturalism, religion, and democracy: the radical right and the extreme right (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019). The "radical right" are nominally willing to work within the framework of democracy and take Islam and migrants as their primary enemy, whereas the extreme right believe that democracy must be replaced with an authoritarian state, subscribes to some form of antisemitic conspiracy theory, and takes Jewish people as its primary enemy (Bjørgo & Ravndal, 2019; Mudde, 2007; Pirro, 2022).

This thesis began as an investigation into the extreme right, an inherently violent part of the far right. It is a broad movement of violent authoritarian racists, misogynists, antisemites, and queerphobes that is widely considered to be a growing threat to western democracies due to its proclivity to physical violence and its ideological underpinnings that have exterminatory violence and an overthrowing of democracy as its ultimate goal. Berger's (2018) definition of extremism is used to distinguish between groups that are far right and groups that are extreme right. Berger's definition stipulates that a belief is extremist when it holds that the survival of the ingroup is contingent on hostile action against the outgroup. Not all groups under the far right umbrella believe this, but many do, and this is the separating characteristic in this thesis. This thesis uses the terminology of "far right" and "extreme right" to describe the actors studied, which map on to the "radical right" and "extreme right" in Bjørgo and Ravndal's (2019) typology. The phrase "radical right" is avoided because this terminology minimises the threat posed by these groups, give them a radical credence which is inaccurate, and can serve to legitimise their positions. In some instances, when discussing other research herein, terms such as "alt-right" are used in keeping with the terminology used by the authors of those studies.

While it is necessary and possible to distinguish between far and extreme right movements in many instances, the way in which the two strands are spoken of in the literature can give the impression that they are two distinct entities that sometimes interact but remain fundamentally separate. Hann's (2013) historical analysis of the far right in the UK troubles this assumption. Hann's historical analysis argued that what would be considered the far right in the UK emerged from the fragments of the extreme right street movement, after a militant anti-fascist presence in the UK in the 1980s resulted in these groups being forced to concede that open Nazism was politically unviable. To avoid the violent responses they had received from anti-fascist activists over the decade, these groups decided to move towards electoral politics where the militant anti-fascist movement, largely comprised of anarchists, were unlikely to follow. This change in tactic necessitated a change in rhetoric, and so racial issues were reframed as cultural ones to avoid the legitimate accusations of racism that would have prevented them from registering as a political party. Key figures in the Nazi street movement eventually started the British National Party which slowly adopted Islamophobic rhetoric as it became more salient in mainstream politics, losing their traditionally antisemitic positions (Hann, 2013). This means that, while it is possible to split the far right into "far" and "extreme," this split is not necessary

due to the earnest or original beliefs of the adherents. Nevertheless, despite both groups being fundamentally fascist, they still have different goals and grievances that are expressed in different ways and in doing so appeal to different segments of the population. This means that it is possible and necessary to study them as two different groups, as is done in this these. The three level analysis undertaken in this text allows for the extreme and far right to be studied separately, but conceptualising them as components on a spectrum of reactionary discourse forefronts the idea that they are fundamentally related.

The Meaning of Gender

A key objective of this thesis is to gain a deep understanding of the nuances between different extreme right movements' positions with regards to gender, taken as the intended or correct gender roles for men and women, and gendered issues, taken as issues that affect people of different genders or affect people differently based on their gender. The question of gender in the extreme right is bigger than simply the role of women in extreme right movements or the opinions men have of women in wider society. Gender in this thesis refers to the roles men, women, and children take in extreme right movements, and the attitudes and beliefs that men and women have towards gendered issues. These gendered issues include the roles of men and women in the home, the position of men and women in society, the rights and access of LGBT+ people to public space and positions, the rights of children, access to abortion and contraceptives, and conscription policies in times of war and peace. This project is not a study of the masculinity or femininity seen in or underlying extremist movements. It is possible to parse the data from this study in such a way that would present answers to questions regarding how the gender of extremists shapes their actions and interactions with each other, but this was not the intention of this study. Instead, this study treats gender as a variable and not as an embodied way of living in and interacting with the world.

The existing conception of the attitudes towards gender roles and gender-related issues in the extreme right is that they are predicated on sexism and misogyny with men having the most formal and informal power in movements and women being expected or forced to take roles of less authority in movements and in interpersonal relationships. Indeed, we know women in racist movements often have to contend with the sexism of these movements directed towards them (Blee, 2003). The current understanding of gender and the extreme right is that adherents believe in traditional gender roles and that feminism is emblematic of a decadent and decaying west. The intention of this study is to understand if these attitudes towards gender roles and gender-related issues are the same across the whole of the extreme right or if different movements hold different attitudes to one another. While this study is interested in how the extreme right view women, the gender question of this thesis asks more than this.

Using the Internet as a Data Source

This thesis deals with gender and the extreme right online. The online repositories of extremist content in the form of websites are the data source for this project and are used to understand what different extremist movements think about gender and gender-related issues. This question is answered by collecting extremist websites in a systematic manner and then analysing their content systematically. This study uses websites as the data source for understanding the extreme right's gender-related attitudes for five key reasons. Firstly, contemporary research is inundated with studies of social media platforms to the neglect of websites. Secondly, websites are generally harder to find by potential supporters than posts on social media, implying that those accessing these websites have deliberately sought them out,

which in turn implies a higher level of dedication than those who stumble across content on social media. Thirdly, the website owners who create and maintain extremist websites often do so out of a great time and resource effort on their part, usually more so than their counterparts running social media pages, due to the latter being able to use the platform's infrastructure to build and maintain their page for them. Fourthly, websites are often more extreme than social media pages due to platform's terms and conditions and their removal of content that goes against these. Fifthly, websites have much greater longevity than posts on social media platforms with archives of material often going back several years or longer. The data collected in this research speak to this with sources 1B13 and 1B19 from the white supremacist website Amerika (Appendix E) and source 2G3 from the website of the paleoconservative far right online magazine Taki Mag (Appendix F) all published in the 2000s. For these reasons, this study focuses on the most popular website from 11 distinct movements of the extreme right.

Using the Internet to answer this question can only tell us so much about what extremists think and how their thoughts impact their actions. The content posted by extremists to their websites is curated: it is written to persuade people to their cause and then to provoke them into action. It is a biased account that shows extremist ideology in a positive light, promising good fortune to followers and retribution to dissidents. What extremists write on the Internet and how they act in their groups can and does differ wildly. In the 2010s, the UK-based English Defence League published content venerating women online and their members claimed that women in the English Defence League, known as the "Angels," were treated well. This was contradicted by the sexist behaviour that was exhibited towards the women by male members (Pilkington, 2016). Nevertheless, what extremists say online, especially in the form of published essays and articles, can still accurately portray their beliefs, the focus of this thesis, even if these beliefs are not acted out in practice. Very few people continuously embody the beliefs they profess to have, but an understanding of these beliefs is still necessary to be able to challenge far right thinking. Websites are specifically chosen for this study because the act of writing and publishing long form articles on websites, that are often curated and edited, indicates a greater level of thought and care about the beliefs that they express than that seen on social media which encourages quick responses to trending topics before the attention of the platform moves on. It is hoped that by studying websites, rather than social media, that the content analysed will more accurately reflect the beliefs of different groups and movements.

Thesis Methodology

This thesis combines hyperlink network analysis and systematic content analysis to understand how different movements of the far and extreme right relate to the concept of gender and gender-related issues. It takes an inductive approach starting with 11 websites belonging to different extreme right movements, and then mapping their hyperlinks to other websites. This map is taken as the basis for a network analysis and a content analysis that addresses the following questions.

> What are the opinions of different extreme right movements towards gender and gender-related issues (understood as gender roles, the women's rights movement, LGBT+ people and lifestyles, and gendered issues such as abortion and conscription)?

> and

If there are differences in opinion between different extremist movements, which movements disagree and on what issues are the disagreements found?

The intention behind these questions is to map the beliefs about gender and gender-related issues across the extreme right. These questions are answered in Chapters 4 and 5 on the extreme and far right respectively. As Chapter 4 will show, there were no decisive differences between the websites belonging to different extreme right movements on their opinions on gender and gender-related issues. Unanimously, gender concerns were clouded out by concerns related to "culture war" issues around LGBT+ people and trans people specifically. These "culture war" type concerns were seen as stemming from a Jewish plot to undermine western society, as is inherent to extreme right beliefs. Chapter 5 addresses different movements of the far right and how these understand gender and gender-related issues. Similarly, there is little concern with gender or gender-related issues but where these concerns are raised they are primarily related to the threats that these groups believe migrants pose to white families, white women, and white children. Chapter 6 is used to show where these websites borrow from and bolster themselves with mainstream news sources that host articles whose narratives are easily manipulated by the far and extreme right, either by the reactionary groups removing the context from the original article, or because the original article already shares the underlying sentiment of these groups.

The selection criteria used to identify the websites for the seedset in this study stipulated that the most popular website from each movement, defined as receiving the greatest total number of views in a month, would be the representative for that movement. This led to an overrepresentation of the extreme right from the United States of America (America) in the dataset, most likely due to America's population being much larger than that of other English speaking countries. The traffic of these American websites would have also been increased by visitors from the many countries (such as Germany and the Netherlands) where English is not the primary language, but is spoken by a large proportion of the population. American cultural hegemony, as well as the increase in far right activity in the country over the past decade, means it is not surprising that, out of the English speaking countries, American right wing extremist websites are gaining the most attention. What this has meant for this research is that the network created constitutes a primarily American section of the extreme right ecosystem, although a number of Greek, British, Australian, and South African websites also appear. A number of neo-Nazi websites offer translations of their websites and material into a number of different languages, with homepages that allow users to select their country so that they can view the website in that language, showing parts of the ecosystem to be internationally oriented. The websites that offered this primarily hosted archives of Nazi material. This network, therefore, represents a primarily American ecosystem, with transnational links, indicating an online extreme right movement that is, in places, attempting to create bridges between white supremacist sympathisers in different nations.

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis has five substantive chapters followed by a conclusion. Chapter 1 is a literature review that covers the existing research on the extreme right online and the research on the beliefs of the extreme right about gender and gender-related issues. It shows that websites run by right wing extremists have a history as long as the Internet but that their presence in the 2010s and early 2020s has been largely unexplored by the academic community. It also demonstrates that the majority of the literature that deals with gender and the extreme right sees gender as synonymous with "women" and so gender-oriented studies on the extreme right tend to analyse

the roles of women in extreme right movements, women-led extremist movements (such as the "tradwife" movement), and how women recruit and radicalise other women. Where gender-oriented studies do not focus on women in right wing extremism, they generally analyse the gendered nature of the extremism of male supremacist ideologies such as the "manosphere" and "incel" online communities. This thesis therefore fills a vital gap by analysing the opinions about gender and gender-related issues that are expressed by extremists on their websites.

Chapter 2 details the selection of the websites used in the seedset and theorises the focus on extremist websites. It begins by detailing the process of identifying extremist movements to be included in the seedset and then describes the process of finding websites belonging to each. These websites are then filtered by activity and viewership, eventually resulting in a seedset of 11 active and well-visited extremist websites used to begin data collection. A webcrawler was then deployed on each website in turn and collected the external hyperlinks from those websites and then those of the websites that they linked to and so on, to a depth of three. The resulting lists of source websites and target websites were then combined and visualised in network visualisation software, Gephi, for statistical analysis. Chapter 3 presents the results of this statistical analysis. The analysis reveals the core extreme right, far right, and mainstream news websites in the ecosystem. It found extreme and far right websites to be core in the network and that both of these groups of websites linked to mainstream media sources. This was the basis of the three level analysis of extremist, far right, and mainstream discourse and how these functioned as facets of the right. This approach came inductively from the empirical data that had been collected as it appeared on these websites at the time the crawler was deployed. Chapter 3 then details the process of identifying textual content hosted on the websites that was linked to by other extreme and far right websites in the network that was relevant to the research questions via word searches of relevant keywords. This selection of content is analysed in the subsequent three chapters.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6, present in turn content analyses of the extreme right websites, the far right websites, and the mainstream news websites. Chapter 4 finds that extremists communicate very little about gender or gender-related issues, but when they do these are largely understood as part of their overall antisemitic narrative of a Jewish plot to undermine white western society. For the extreme right, salient events in politics, such as the Rotherham abuse scandal, are used to argue that left wing politics and women's rights movements do not benefit the working class or women and only a fascist state would be capable of protecting these groups. The recent increase in the cultural salience of trans people has been understood as the result of a Jewish plot to reduce family stability, encourage interracial relations, and decrease the fertility rates of white people. Underlying this belief is the idea that the use of the word "gender" represents an attempt by liberal groups, under Jewish influence, to remove the distinctions between men and women, encourage all white people to undertake a gender transition and/or the adoption of a non-heterosexual sexuality, and promote queerness as a normative state for society. This, they believe, would erode social norms leading to the decay and eventual destruction of white western society. The analysis in Chapter 5 finds that the far right share some facets of this underlying belief, that "gender" represents some kind of sinister plot against the west, but do not attribute it to Jewish causes. Instead, in a less conspiratorial manner, they believe that people with liberal values have, of their own volition, entered governmental and public institutions and from there are pushing a liberal agenda of increased acceptance for trans people which is undermining the social fabric of the west. Both attribute the use of the word "gender" to dubious causes and both see the use of the word as representing a cause detrimental to society,

but they see this as having different origins, different levels of intensity, and different viable solutions. Chapter 6 analyses the mainstream news outlets to which the far and extreme right websites in the ecosystem link. It looks at the pages from which the original hyperlinks came to understand the context and argues that the extreme and far right generally use mainstream media outlets to provide "evidence" for their racist and otherwise inaccurate views and to launder their image by linking to reputable and even liberal news outlets. The beliefs they attempt to evidence are that the media is controlled by liberals hostile to the right as well as beliefs of antisemitism,[1] racism, Islamophobia, anti-migrant sentiment, and transphobia.

This thesis found a collapsing of gender-related issues. When searching for gender, the most salient issue was trans people and the accompanying transphobia. For extreme right websites, trans people were a threat created by Jewish people to harm white society. For the far right, trans people were mentally ill and had been encouraged and legitimised by liberals in a way that was symptomatic of the degradation of society as well as being a further cause of it. Gender for both was largely found to be synonymous with transgender and the discussion of women or children by the extreme right was largely done with reference to trans people who were alleged to pose a threat to them. The far and extreme right remain distinct in this data, the former primarily concerned with migrants, Islam, and refugees, and the latter obsessed with Jewish people. It was difficult to disentangle gendered issues from these primary ideologies. There was very little discussion of women or children outside of the alleged threat that these actors believed trans people or migrants posed to them, often embedded in an antisemitic conspiracy theory that had trans people created and controlled by Jewish people, or migrants entering the US as a result of liberal incompetence or bias. There was an implicit understanding, by these websites, that the word "gender" was inherently associated with a plot regarding gender non-conformity and trans people to damage western society, rather than it being a technical or analytical category as is understood by many others.

The Conclusion discusses this main finding of the thesis and puts it into its wider context. This thesis found that both the extreme and far right treated "gender" as a word and idea that represented a plot to destabilise society in some manner. This implicit understanding of "gender" did not originate in extreme or far right discourse, but in that of the Vatican. In 1994, the UN Conference on Population had used the term "gender" instead of "male and female," and "families" instead of "family" (Borba, 2022). This was the beginning of the belief within the Catholic Church that "gender" represented something sinister. The Vatican, along with other conservative Catholic actors, saw this use of the word "gender" as the beginnings of an attempt to remove the differences between men and women and to promote the proliferation of different forms of family organisation, which would eventually result in an erosion of the social fabric to the detriment of society. The findings of this thesis were that this understanding of "gender" as an organised threat to undermine the cisgender, heterosexual foundations of society has spread from its Catholic origins to extreme and far right discourse. This discourse in the far and extreme right is not concerned with abortion or women's rights, as was the concern of the discourse as it originated

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[1] This thesis uses this spelling of antisemitism as opposed to the spelling "anti-Semitism" in line with the guidance offered by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance, the Anti-Defamation League, and Community Security Trust. Spelling antisemitism with the hyphen implies that "Semitism" exists, which is a pseudo-scientific racial classification. It also suggests that antisemitism could refer to a hatred of all people who speak Semitic languages, which strips the word of its meaning of hatred towards Jews, which has been the specific meaning of this word since its inception.

with the Vatican, but is focused primarily around trans people who it sees as a locus of Jewish or liberal threat to white society.

The extreme and far right already held beliefs that are encompassed by this anti-"gender" rhetoric, that of a belief in strict adherence to traditional gender roles and family formations, but the high prevalence of the discussion of trans people in this context shows that the far and extreme right are responding to political grievances aired in mainstream right wing conservative political spheres. This thesis found that the interest in trans people by the extreme right clouded out all other concerns that could be related to gendered issues. The contemporary transphobic attitudes coming from conservative and right wing political actors have been taken up by extremists and embedded in their preexisting antisemitic ideology and used as further evidence and examples of, to them, a Jewish plot to destroy the white race. Extreme and far right groups respond to contemporary issues that are salient in mainstream discourse, but keep their allegiance to their primary ideologies by incorporating issues into their existing narratives as evidence or examples to prove their worldviews. The conclusion argues for further systematic research into the coalescence of extremist rhetoric with other, non-extremist, discursive arenas to understand how discourses can get radicalised and how extremist discourses can become normalised.

Chapter 1
Gender in the (Online) Extreme Right:
A Review of the Literature

Introduction

The aim of this study is to investigate the different beliefs about gender and gender-related issues that are held by different movements of the extreme right as they are expressed on their websites. This research contributes to the long history of study of the extreme right's use of the Internet and to the study of the gender-related issues articulated in right wing extremist discourse. This chapter argues that the ecosystems literature and the understanding of how different far and extreme right movements interact with gender-related discourse will be expanded with a study analysing different extreme right websites, the hyperlinks between them, and the textual content found there. This chapter sets up the justifications in the literature for such a project by demonstrating that websites are understudied and that the literature analysing the differences in position on gender-related issues is sorely lacking in research on the extreme right. This project therefore fills an essential gap by bringing a large, systematic mapping study to the study of gender-related discourse, and by bringing a systematic study of websites from different extreme right movements to the ecosystems research agenda.

A History of the Study of the Far Right Online

The far right has always been a first adapter of new technology and has been using the Internet since its inception (Conway et al., 2019). The earliest use of computers by right wing extremists predates the Internet, with the Aryan Nations funding a bulletin board in the mid-1980s that was not linked to the Internet but was instead accessed via telephone numbers distributed via right wing publications (Copsey, 2003). White power groups have been using computer networks to communicate since the 1980s, and white power music producers were utilising the MP3 file format for digital downloads since the format emerged in 1996 (Back, 2002). In the 1980s and 90s, websites were almost exclusively based in the US, but across Europe the far right was using email, USENET groups, and Internet Relay Chat (IRC) to communicate; in 1993, a banned neo-Nazi march in Germany was able to rearrange its route over e-mail so as to successfully avoid police and counter-demonstrators (Back et al., 1996). The far right have always been rapid adopters of the latest technologies, and it is not therefore surprising that they have such an established presence online.

The earliest research into the online far right was in their presence on USENET (Back et al., 1996; Sutton, 2002). USENET was an early Internet space made up of "newsgroups" dedicated to certain topics where users could communicate. Far right individuals congregated in the "alt" areas of the platform in newsgroups such as "alt.revisionism" to discuss their views (Mann et al., 2003). With increasing reach of the Internet, the far right and researchers moved to Stormfront, a neo-Nazi forum started in 1998 (Bowman-Grieve, 2009). Bowman-Grieve's (2009) research on Stormfront used thematic content analysis to study motivations for joining white supremacist

movements as expressed by its users. This analysis of user content on extremist platforms is typical of early research into far right content online, with Neal et al. (2012) also using Stormfront as a means to understand right wing extremists on the Internet. Neal and colleagues looked at over six million Stormfront posts from its inception until 2010 in their study of positing habits and identity formation of its users (Neal et al., 2012). They found that the users of Stormfront construct their identity around the same markers as offline white nationalists, supremacists, and neo-Nazis, namely though belief in a secret Jewish elite controlling the world government, and the belief that the white race is dying out (Neal et al., 2012).

Contemporary research into the extreme right online has mostly focused on social media platforms, either mainstream or alternative (Scrivens et al., 2022). Twitter was the most researched social media platform, until its sale in 2022 and subsequent barring of access to data, due to its public nature (Scrivens et al., 2022) with 55% of studies into online hate speech using Twitter for their data as of 2020 (Matamoros-Fernández & Farkas, 2020). Research on Twitter has focused on the spreading of extremist discourse to the mainstream (Åkerlund, 2020; Conway, 2020; Graham, 2016; Curiel, 2020; Marwick & Lewis, 2017; Phillips, 2018; Torregrosa et al., 2020), the geographical location of users (Froio & Ganesh, 2019a; Froio & Ganesh, 2019b; O'Callaghan et al., 2012), discourse analysis of various ideologies (Ahmed & Pisoiu, 2021; Ajala, et al.; Vidgen et al., 2021), and, in response to the Covid-19 pandemic, how the far right has interacted with Covid-19 content on both Twitter (Darius & Stephany, 2020; McNeil-Willson, 2022) and Facebook (Recuero et al., 2022). Modern research has also looked to the symbolism and meanings of extreme right images (Hodge & Hallgrimsdottir, 2020), a topic that has been of interest since the early days of research into the online extreme right (Whine, 2007).

There has also been considerable research into the extreme right on Facebook, although researcher access to Facebook was severely limited after the Cambridge Analytica scandal (Scrivens et al., 2022). Research has looked at activity across Facebook groups (Hutchinson & Droogan, 2022; Klein & Muis, 2019; Scrivens & Amarasingam, 2020), the discourse found on the platform (Muis et al., 2020), and the external hyperlinking by far right Facebook groups (Haller & Holt, 2019; Törnberg & Nissen, 2022). There has also been some combination of hyperlink analysis and social media analysis on Facebook. Haller and Holt (2019) looked at the hyperlinking patterns of Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident (PEGIDA) Facebook pages in Germany and Austria and found that the movement in both countries used hyperlinks in similar ways, to link equally to mainstream and alternative media outlets where the stories were relevant for their narratives (Haller & Holt, 2019). Haller and Holt wrote that this linking constitutes a "contemporary hybrid media ecology" as the PEGIDA Facebook pages did not exist in an isolation from the mainstream, but were constantly relating their pages to mainstream media pages so that they had content to write about (Haller & Holt, 2019, p. 1674). In 2022, Törnberg and Nissen produced a study into the linking patterns found on the Facebook pages of PEGIDA and Generation Identity (GI). They found differences in the ways the two groups utilised hyperlinks, with PEGIDA using them mostly to promote political issues around the migration of predominantly Muslim migrants, and GI using them mostly for self-promotion. Research on YouTube has generally focused on how the platform guides users to more extremist content via its recommendation algorithms (Ledwich et al., 2022; Mamié et al., 2021; O'Callaghan et al., 2013b; Papadamou et al., 2021; Whittaker et al., 2021). There have also been micro level studies into single videos posted to far right YouTube channels to analyse the interaction between poster and audience (Tanner et al., 2020), the mapping of user networks (Lewis, 2018; Papadamou, et

al., 2021; Rauchfleisch & Kaiser, 2020), and the links between far right parties and mainstream political election (McSwiney, 2021).

Contemporary research into the extreme right online is considerably more focused on the extreme right's presence on social media than on websites. Websites are created by extremists to host their views, make connections with fellow travellers, recruit potential new adherants and are neglected in the research today. The neglect of these websites poses a serious gap in the literature of right wing extremist action online. Right wing extremists have used websites for decades, with these websites fostering a racist environment offline throughout (Sutton & Wright, 2009).

Early Extremist Use of Websites

Extremists have been using websites to network, spread propaganda, host information on how to commit offline and online acts of violence, and organise offline meetups since the Internet's inception (Back et al., 1996; Ray & Marsh, 2001; Sutton, 2002). The earliest examples of extremist websites come from the US, with Aryan Crusader's Library and Christian Identity On Line, followed by Europe with the British National Party and International Third Position creating websites (Back et al., 1998). In the late 1990s, the website Redwatch was created by members of the British People's Party and Combat 18, a violent offshoot of the British National Party, to host images of known UK-based left wing and anti-fascist activists. While most early websites were created by men, women played an active role in growing the presence of the extreme right online. The website of the Women for Aryan Unity (WAU) website was founded in the late 1980s by three women from Australia, Canada, and Holland and is still active as of 2025 (Back et al., 1998).

Early studies into the technical abilities of right wing extremists show that their websites have been used as hubs of the latest technological advancements since the early Internet. Extremist websites hosted videogames to attract younger members (Ray & Marsh, 2001) and provided information on Pretty Good Privacy, a computer program that encrypted users' emails, with the advice that members should use this to ensure private communication (Back et al., 1996). Websites have also been used to encourage and facilitate offline through violence through the hosting of terrorism related content, such as instructions on bomb making and cyber-attacks (Ray & Marsh, 2001), and Combat 18 in the UK used their websites to circulate the names, images, and home addresses of anti-racist activists in the Oldham in preparation for an attempt to spark race riots there (Harris, 2001). This early research into the websites of extremist groups shows that they have been consistently using them to facilitate violence against outsiders.

Mapping the Online Far Right

Far right websites have been using hypertext (now known as hyperlinks) to link to one another since the first extremist pages on the Internet (Back et al., 1996), and academics have been studying hyperlinks since the 2000s (Burris et al., 2000; Caiani & Parenti, 2009; Caiani & Wageman, 2009; De Koster & Houtman, 2008; Gerstenfeld et al, 2003; Irvine, 2005; Ray & Marsh, 2001; Schafer, 2002; Stein, 2009; Sutton & Wright, 2009; Tateo, 2005). Early research mapping websites (e.g., Burris et al., 2000; Gerstenfeld et al., 2003; McDonald, 1999; Schafer, 2002) generally tried to assertain the links between the sites to assertain if it could be considered a coherent network with international ties. They often began with an attempt to find as many extremist websites as possible, identify a right wing extremist ideology to which they belonged, and then analyse their hyperlinks to other sites as well as the types of content found on them. In 1998, Back and colleagues mapped the extreme right by utilising the hyperlinks between

websites, but were more concerned with the physical locations at which websites were hosted and the international links from there that the movements had (Back et al., 1998).

The first study to utilise hyperlink network analysis systematically to analyse a far right network was that of Burris et al. (2000) in their study of white supremacist online activity. Burris and colleagues identified an initial seedset of 80 websites through searching watchdog repositories of extremist websites and then searching these websites for the websites they linked to. No distinct ideological clusters emerged from their analysis, although Holocaust revisionist and skinhead sites linked more inwardly than the other subgroups. Burris and colleagues also found that there were almost no bridges between white supremacist sites and the mainstream political right, or between Christian Identity sites and mainstream Christian right groups, and almost no bridges between white supremacist sites and other extremist groups, such as the militia movement.

Ray and Marsh (2001) included hyperlinks in their study of the extreme right, but this was unsystematic and as a supplement to their primary target of analysis, which was content aimed at children. In a study of the hyperlinking practises of different right wing extremist movements, Gerstenfeld et al. (2003) found Skinhead websites were the most likely to contain external hyperlinks, with neo-Nazis sites being the least likely. Gerstenfeld et al. (2003) also found links between right wing extremist websites and Islamic extremist websites, as did Whine (2007) who noted that far right and Islamic extremist websites were reposting each other's content, with evidence that the two ideological groups were influencing each other. Gerstenfeld et al. (2003) hypothesised that these links were found due to the shared antisemitism of the groups. Gustavson and Sherkat (2004) produced an early map of English language white supremacist sites, and later research by Tateo (2005) using hyperlink network analysis in Italy found a coherent network of Italian extreme right websites, with the four most prominent sites belonging to four different categories: revisionist, Italian Social Republic nostalgia and veteran, cultural groups, and national revolutionary.

Later, Reid and Chen (2007) used hyperlink network analysis in a study of the structure of online right wing extremist networks and identified five extreme right ideological clusters of neo-confederate, white supremacy/neo-Nazi, Christian Identity, militia, and ecoterrorism. They found no links between the militia movement and the white supremacist movement, consistent with what Burris and colleagues had found a decade earlier (Burris et al., 2000). However in contrast with Burris et al. (2000), they found that it was difficult to distinguish between the Christian Identity movement and the white supremacist/neo-Nazi movement. Contemporary literature on the extreme right online has not revisited the location of the Christian Identity movement. Sutton and Wright (2009) then looked at the hyperlinking behaviour of search engines as well as extremist websites in an unsystematic studying of hyperlinking behaviour. They found it was easy, through searching white supremacist phrases and organisation names, to find websites belonging to right wing extremist organisations. They also found that Google hosted a directory of white "racialist" websites, and that watchdog organisations were responsible for collating lists of extremist website lists (Sutton & Wright, 2009). From the website identified via search engine, they found neo-Nazi and skinhead websites to link to each other, as well as to link to merchandise sites where racist video games and music were sold.

Contemporary Research

There have been many attempts over the past two decades to map, in different ways, the extreme right's presence online. From a focus on ideology (Jones, 2016), to interpersonal links

(Lewis, 2018), to transnational links between forums (Caiani & Kröll, 2015; Veilleux-Lepage & Archambault, 2019). Modern attempts at mapping the far right online have sought to map both the digital connections of websites and platforms to each other (Fitzgerald, 2020; O'Callaghan et al., 2012; O'Callaghan et al, 2013a), as well as the offline and personal connections between actors (Lewis, 2018). In an analysis of alternative-right (alt-right) posters on YouTube (YouTubers), Lewis (2018) mapped the interpersonal relationships between alt-right YouTubers based on guest appearances on each other's YouTube channels. Similarly, Rauchfleisch and Kaiser (2020) produced a map of far right and conspiracy theorist German-speaking YouTube channels. Another YouTube study by Papadamou et al., (2021) began with hyperlinks from 19 incel-related Reddit forums to YouTube videos to create an "incel-derived" dataset. Incels are self-identified "involuntarily celibate" men (almost exclusively so) who hold misogynistic views that attempt to explain why they are unable to have intimate relationships with women. They found that the YouTube algorithm recommends users more incel-related content to users who keep watching them (Papadamou et al., 2021). They also found that incel content on YouTube increased in the few years prior to their study, after the banning of incel subreddits by Reddit in 2017. While there was not sufficient evidence to claim that the ban by Reddit caused the increase in incel content on YouTube, it is possible that banning users from one platform causes migration to another (Papadamou et al., 2021). Momani and Deschamps (2021) used the online content of right wing extremist thought leaders, along with social media data from platforms such as BitChute, Twitter, and Facebook, to map their ties with other right wing extremist leaders and to identify the influencers of their ideas. They collected their data in the two months before Canada's 2019 federal election in order to understand how the extreme right in Canada organises around elections. Momani and Deschamps (2021) found that the extreme right organises broadly around being "anti" liberal sentiments and social change. Hodge and Hallgrimsdottir (2020) called this a "politics of negation", where a social movement forms around being "anti" various ideas. Momani and Deschamp's (2021) method allows a blending of offline and online social relations, extremely useful for understanding what the main influences of extreme right thought are.

Caiani and Parenti's (2016) study of the extreme right online network included a systematic content analysis of the websites as well as a hyperlink analysis. They looked to how right wing extremist actors in each country used their websites and found the most common purpose across websites across all types of extreme right groups in all countries was to promote their ideology and to communicate with and inform their audience (Caiani & Parenti, 2016). Caiani and Parenti (2016) also found that, across all countries, youth movements and neo-Nazi organisations were the most likely to use the Internet for mobilising members and building international contacts, with neo-Nazi groups in all countries being the movement type most likely to use the Internet to build an international community. This is a big change from Gerstenfeld et al.'s (2003) study which found neo-Nazis were the least likely to use the Internet to build international ties. Caiani and Parenti (2016) found that the extreme right used their websites to create a collective identity in their movement through sharing the groups history, mission, and goals, as well as using online banners to show unity across sites (Caiani and Parenti, 2016). Their analysis found the American online extreme right to be highly segmented, with few connections between sites and the lowest levels of centralisation. Conversely, the German network was the most "institutional", with political parties having the highest centrality scores (Caiani & Parenti, 2016). Both the Italian and British extreme right networks were found to be centralised and segmented.

Recent scholarship on far right online networks has built on this early hyperlink network analysis to create an "ecosystems" approach that uses hyperlinks to identify clusters. Heft et al., (2021) used hyperlink network analysis to study alternative right wing news sources in Austria, Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Sweden for three months in 2018. They found transnational links between likeminded alternative right wing websites, as well as networks within each country. Heft and colleagues (2021) argued, in line with previous research, that this interlinking behaviour helps identity formation and community building amongst extremist ideological adherents. Variation was found between the countries in the study, with the alternative news system in the United States containing mostly domestic hyperlinks, compared with European countries which were comparatively more likely to link across borders. They also found that the US alternative media system acted as hubs for other countries, receiving many in-links from European countries which American alternative media sources did not reciprocate, a situation also found by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (2020). This alternative media system was not just comprised of alternative right wing media sites but also included mainstream media outlets (Heft et al., 2021). Heft et al. found that mainstream media outlets acted as shared reference points across boarders as websites such as the BBC, the New York Times, and The Guardian received links from alternative right wing media outlets in all countries, which was also found by Macdonald et al. (2022b). A hyperlink network analysis in this style allows for organisation structures of the far right to be revealed, as well as the mainstream outlets on which they are relying to provide evidence for their collective grievances. This type of international analysis that examines the roles of different websites in a network as well as the types of relationship between individual domains and clusters of tightly linked website forms the bedrock of the ecosystems approach to the study of the online far right.

The Ecosystems Approach

Contemporary research on the online extreme right has built on earlier hyperlink network analysis and has developed a research agenda towards uncovering the extreme right ecosystem. Baele et al. (2020) were the first to propose a conceptual framework for understanding the online far right as an ecosystem. They proposed a model with four key elements: entities, communities, biotopes, and the whole ecosystem (Baele et al., 2020). Entities are the individual domains in the network; communities are clusters of websites with high levels of interlinking, userbase migration, and content migration between one another; biotopes are ideological subgroups such as the militia movement; and the whole network is the entire far right ecosystem (Baele et al., 2020). Since the publication of this research framework, a number of studies have utilised the ecosystems approach in their study of the online extreme right (Åkerlund, 2022; Baele et al., 2022; Comerford et al., 2021; Guhl et al., 2020; Hanley et al., 2022; ISD, 2020; Macdonald et al., 2022a; Macdonald et al., 2022b; Somoano, 2022; Törnberg & Nissen, 2022; Vidgen et al., 2021; Williams et al, 2021). This research has used the ecosystems approach to investigate the extreme right ecosystem in New Zealand (Comerford et al., 2021; Miller et al., 2021), Canada (Davey et al., 2020), Germany (Guhl et al., 2020; Önnerfors, 2021) and transnationally between the USA, France, and Germany (ISD, 2020). There has also been interest in the file sharing sites to which extremist channels and platforms link (Macdonald et al., 2022a). The ecosystems approach has also been used to understand specific grievances around which groups organise (Törnberg & Nissen, 2022; Vidgen et al., 2022), how to differentiate extremist narratives from mainstream narratives (Williams et al., 2021), and the use and spread of right wing extremist memes (Somoano, 2022). The research body contains literature based around mainstream social media platforms (Davey et al., 2020; Droogan et al., 2022; Macdonald et al.,

2022b; Törnberg & Nissen, 2022; Vidgen et al., 2022) and fringe forums (Baele et al., 2022; Davey et al., 2020; Droogan et al., 2022). The ecosystem approach has also been used to look at QAnon website relationships, a separate but overlapping conspiracy theory to the far right (Hanley et al., 2022).

In addition to social media, ecosystems research has also been done into fringe platforms (Baele et al., 2022; Davey et al., 2020). In an analysis of Fascist Forge, Davey et al. (2020) found that users joined the platform through a range of alternative and mainstream social media platforms such as 8chan, Discord, Twitter and Gab, showing a tightly connected ecosystem of extreme right users online. Baele et al. (2022) found the network structure of extremist forums to be the same as the non-extremist forums in their control group: all forums were comprised of hypo-, normo-, super-, and hyper-posters with there being many more hypo-posters and many fewer hyper-posters. This conflicts with previous work which hypothesised that forums were comprised of two groups, frequent posters and lurkers, and instead proposes that forums are a hierarchical echo chamber where the influence of minority and majority users characterise the interactions users have. The hyper-posters in Baele et al.'s study occupied positions of authority with high centrality and degree scores meaning they interacted the most with other forum users. The hypo-posters were also found to interact frequently with each other, creating a clique effect where they could reinforce each other's beliefs and values. As this structure was found across all forums included in the study, even the control ones, it cannot be explained by the extremist nature of some platforms. This means that counter-extremism efforts may only need to target the small number of highly active forum users, instead of the entire network, to be effective.

Singular-country studies are common in the ecosystems approach, with Guhl et al. (2020) looking at Germany, Comeford et al. (2021) looking at New Zealand, and Droogan et al. (2022) looking at Australia. One of the most comprehensive ecosystems studies into fringe platforms was undertaken by Guhl et al. (2020) into the German speaking far right. Investigating ten platforms, Telegram, BitChute, VK, Gab, Reddit, Minds, 4chan, 8chan, Discord and Voat, they found Telegram and VK to have the largest amount of far right groups, with identitarianism being the ideology with the greatest number of followers across the entire dataset. The authors conducted an exploratory mapping study of the narratives present across the platforms and found immigration to be the most common theme across all platforms, with all platforms also devoting significant energy to the discussion of their political opponents, overwhelmingly left-wing people (Guhl et al., 2020). Guhl and colleagues did not find content that advocated violence, but they argue that being exposed to a "constant stream of migrant crime, conspiracy theories and anti-establishment narratives" can still contribute to the radicalisation process (Guhl et al., 2020, p. 44). They also argue that the extremist "great replacement" conspiracy theory can gain traction when it is picked up by political parties such as the Alternative für Deutschland and the Freiheitliche Partei Österreich, becoming a mainstream belief through this.

In a similar style to Guhl et al.'s (2020) study, Comerford et al., (2021) analysed the New Zealand extreme right ecosystem in response to the Christchurch terror attack (Miller et al., 2021). Comerford et al. found that, while the New Zealand extreme right makes up a small part of the overall extremist ecosystem compared to other countries, it follows international posting patterns. Per capita, New Zealand extremists post comparably often on 4chan as those form the UK, Australia, and Canada (Comerford et al., 2021). They also found the New Zealand ecosystem to be dispersed, with no one platform appearing to be key in how the New Zealand extremists congregate. The New Zealand extremist ecosystem is outward looking: posters mentioned

international events three times more than they mentioned domestic ones, but this is internationally unreciprocated with international extremists not posting about New Zealand, with the exception of the Christchurch terror attack (Comerford et al., 2021).

Focusing just on how narratives move through the extreme right ecosystem is a 2020 study by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD, 2020). Studying the hyperlinks between far right ecosystems and mainstream media ecosystems in America, France, and Canada, researchers attempted to ascertain if there was evidence of the transnationalisation of far right narratives. They found that French and German far right media linked to American far right media, but that this was unreciprocated with there being no hyperlinks from the American far right media ecosystem to France or Germany. While there was little evidence of transnationalisation, they did find some evidence of the mainstreaming of far right views in a domestic context with mainstream media outlets referencing far right sites in their own countries (ISD, 2020). This analysis reveals useful information about the spread of far right content, especially the apparent lack of spread from Europe to America through the lack of links from American far right sites to French and German ones (ISD, 2020).

The online extreme right ecosystem is an extremely vast network of social media accounts, fringe platforms, personal blogs, websites, and alternative fora. To be able to reveal a comprehensive picture of this network, it must be studied from a variety of different angles, with different starting points and different metrics of connection. Changing the starting domains of a study will reveal different parts of the ecosystem, and changing the metrics of connection will show different links between extreme right actors. Throughout the entire body of literature on the extreme right online, now spanning over two decades, it has consistently been found that the extreme right use the Internet for information sharing and movement building through social interaction. The most recent research using ecosystems confirms this by showing how extremists are consistently linking to news media sources and other social media platforms most frequently. This is a pattern found across different nations (Comerford et al., 2021; Droogan et al, 2022; Guhl et al., 2020) and across different types of far right ecosystem (Macdonald et al., 2022b). To date, there has not been an ecosystems study that takes as its starting point a key website from each of the main ideologies and movements comprising the extreme right. Using these websites as the starting point will show which websites are important to the different ideological factions, and show which ideologies and movements share ideas with each other, and which are left out. This approach will mean that earlier findings in research into the far right online can be revisited. By starting with websites that are frequented by dedicated adherents but have been neglected by research so far, a murky underside of the extreme right web will be revealed.

The study of websites as the "entities" in the ecosystems approach has yet to be sufficiently analysed in the literature. As it stands, ecosystems research is dominated by studies that use individual social media profiles such as Twitter accounts or Facebook pages as the starting entities (Davey et al., 2020; Droogan et al., 2022; Macdonald et al., 2022b; Törnberg & Nissen, 2022), or extremist forums (Baele et al., 2022). This study fills this gap by beginning the study with a seedset of extremist websites and analysing the out-linking from there. This contributes to two literatures: the literature on extremist websites which is now considerably dated, and the ecosystems literature. The focus on mainstream social media and "alt" media has left a wide gap in our understanding of how right wing extremists use websites today in terms of the content they host and how they use them to network with likeminded individuals. This study will update this knowledge.

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Gendered Presentations and Differences on the Extreme Right Online

The word "gender" is contested. Some conservative and reactionary actors take it to imply a liberal plot or agenda towards increased LGBT+ normalisation and a disintegration of gender norms (Butler, 2024; Paternotte & Kuhar, 2018) which can make studying gender in reactionary spaces difficult. Despite this change in meaning, academics still generally understand "gender" to mean the experiences one has of living in the world that are mediated by their gender identity. For most of the research on gender and the online extreme right, "gender" is synonymous with "women." The majority of research that concerns gender and the extreme right online is focused on how women navigate their position as women in extremist movements using the Internet as a data source, how women use their online presence and persona to grow and support extremist movements, and what women's engagement in movements that are woman-centred or woman-only looks like. This research mostly centres around female white supremacist influencers or women involved in the "tradwife" movement. When the research is not focused on how women experience and construct these things, it is on how images, symbols, or imaginaries of women are used by extreme right movements. When gender does not mean "women," it tends to mean "men" and focuses on the gendered subjectivities of men in extremist movements and how men navigate the online extremist space. Most of this research is centred on the "manosphere" or incel forums. There is much less analysis of gender as regards to what extremists think about gendered issues or the differences of opinion between different extremist groups as to the correct ways for men and women to live. What is missing from the literature is an understanding of the opinions about gendered issues across different extreme right movements.

The two most comprehensive contemporary studies of women on the far right come from Leidig (2023) and Darby (2020). Leidig focuses specifically on women in the far right's use of the Internet and social media as influencers for their movements and used online ethnography to do so. Leidig argues that far right social media influencers cultivate "networked intimacy" with their audiences by posting content that encourages emotional engagement and covers intimate topics. They then use this "networked intimacy" to encourages viewers towards increasingly extreme opinions by posting content that appears non-political, such as beauty or relationship advice, but that is embedded in white supremacist ideas that are slowly and subtly introduced to viewers in an attempt to normalise them. Her study covered posts from Instagram, Pinterest, YouTube, Twitter, Gab, and Reddit, with Pinterest and Instagram being especially understudied in the field. Darby's study is on three women in the far right and covers their online and offline behaviour. She argues that these women knowingly utilise their position as women to say things that are more extreme than their male counterparts because they know that people generally do not expect women to have white supremacist beliefs and so these beliefs can come across as less extreme than they are. Both studies show that women acting as far right influencers utilise their position as women to further white supremacist causes by softening extremist rhetoric and appealing directly to women under a "non-political" guise.

Feminism, Antifeminism, and Women in White Supremacism

Many women in white supremacist movements talk about the danger of feminism and the damage it has done to white women in an attempt to appeal to women who may also feel dissatisfied with liberal feminism and their gendered experiences in late capitalism. Women in the alt-right claim that feminism has created a dangerous world for women which was proven by the #metoo movement which, alt-right women argue, is the result of a breakdown in gender norms caused by womens empowerment which has led to men no longer treating women with chivalry and respect (Love, 2020). Feminism is also, they argue, responsible for women having to

work outside the home as opposed to working solely as a housewife with a husband who provides financially, a situation they believe to be preferable for all women. They promote a faux history of an idyllic life that was supposedly lived by white nuclear families in the west in the 1950s before feminist social changes meant a shift in gender norms resulting in women having comparable social roles and responsibilities to men. Women, they note, now perform domestic and commercial labour for both husbands or boyfriends and bosses, as opposed to only performing domestic labour in the home as was (allegedly) the case before. They argue that this is the fault of feminism and feminist women, as opposed to pressures from the labour market, gender norms from men, and capitalism (Oakley, 1974). They believe that both women and men are short-changed by this new social arrangement as women are robbed of their role as dutiful wife and mother, and men are robbed of their role as instrumental provider in a society that sees him now competeing for his job with women (Love, 2020). In this narrative from alt-right women, Love (2020) argues, traditionalism as advocated by the alt-right, white supremacist, and tradwife movements does the job of feminism and will create a society where women are respected as women and not victimised by men, and will be able to "return" to their role as housewife and homemaker.

This antifeminist position that is held by alt-right tradwives and white supremacists is what allows these ideologies to spread from their initial ideological home (Mattheis, 2021). Many reactionary groups and movements share an opposition to feminism and Mattheis (2021) argues that, in the case of the tradwife movement, this antifeminism allows its participants who are less extreme, and may be involved in the movements primarily because of its homemaker aesthetic and philosophy rather than racial reasons, to be open ideologically to more extreme white supremacism as both ideologies share the antifeminist sentiment. Mattheis (2021) further argues that as sexism and antifeminism are less stigmatised social positions than racism this allows these movements to spread across cultural, geographical, and ideological borders, with the aid of the Internet as tradwife views congregate in online spaces such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram.

Women's Roles

Contemporary research into women and the extreme right utilises Campion's (2020) typology of women's involvement in extremist movements that sees there being six roles that women can take, though many women will fulfil more than one. These roles are that of violent actors, who partake in violent acts often with their male partners; thinkers, who contribute new ideological insights to the movement; facilitators, who provide instrumental behind-the-scenes support for white supremacist movements such as safe-house provision or meeting planning; promoters, who share the ideas of the thinkers often through social media; activists, who engage in activities such as leafletting and demonstrating; and exemplars, who function as gendered role models for other women to emulate by embodying the traditional feminine roles associated with far right women (Campion, 2020). Campion argues that the exemplars have the "highest ideological significance" because they symbolise racial purity and the continuation of the white race (2020, p. 13). Women, she argues, may be inclined to join extremist movements through the significance that emulating the exemplars can offer them.

Ebner and Davey (2019) argue that women were crucial actors for the success of online extreme right campaigns. They argue that the accounts of female Generation Identity members and supporters were the crucial factor in the virality of the #DefendEurop Twitter campaign, allowing the hashtag to spread to Twitter circles it would not have otherwise reached. Accounts of female-presenting Twitter users were also instrumental in the #120db campaign that

attempted to highjack the #metoo campaign that began in 2017. "#120db" is a reference to the sound of a rape alarm of 120 decibels and the campaign tried to replace the conversation around sexual assault and harassment of women by powerful men in western countries with the false belief that migrant men disproportionally commit sexual crimes that victimise white women. This campaign was allegedly spearheaded by women in Generation Identity who claimed migrants and immigration posed a threat to women. Ebner and Davey's analysis found that most of these tweets came from men purporting to be women who were playing on women's fears of sexual assault to promote their white supremacist agenda. Emphasising these alleged threats in a right wing context allows extreme right groups to argue for action against racial minorities under the justification of it being done for women's protection. Women here galvanise campaigns through their actions within them, and through their position as potential victims in need of protection.

With a similar finding, Svatoňová and Doerr (2024) studied a Facebook group supposedly run by far right women in Czechia. This group "Angry Mothers" presented itself as representing the views of ordinary Czech citizens and as the true defenders of women's rights, as opposed to feminists or liberals having this role. This Facebook group went through several iterations as it was banned from Facebook and recreated itself and it is not clear if it remained as women-run as it began. After it was banned from Facebook, it began to solely focus on "anti-gender" politics and argued that "gender ideology" was a threat to women and European society. Through images shared from other Facebook pages, the group linked "gender ideology" to the "great replacement" conspiracy theory and implied, through its shared images, that a Jewish conspiracy was responsible for both. As seen in much of the rhetorical techniques of female far right online activists, the women who were purported to be running the Facebook page made appeals to the ostensibly liberal values of women's rights and the protection of women to justify and explain their anti-immigration and antisemitic positions.

Stern (2022) uses Campion's typology to analyse the online activity of white supremacist women associated with the tradwife movement and the neo-Volkish group Asatru Folk Assembly. Stern (2022) argues that these women use their YouTube channels as thinkers, promoters, facilitators, activists, and exemplars by developing ideas that expland white supremacy's appeal to women, spreading propaganda, creating virtual online spaces for women to share their lives and opinions, participating in established white supremacists groups, and performing a "tradwife" lifestyle for their viewers. The prominent women in these online spaces, Stern argues, are able to broaden the appeal of white supremacy by avoiding the traditional violent rhetoric of neo-Nazi groups and instead emphasising the "white well-being" and "white positivity" that membership of such groups can provide (Campion, 2020, p. 9) and focusing on family life, spirituality, and culture, in a way that encourages women into the movement.

Women's Voices

Of the literature analysing gender and the far right online, there has been small but broad array of research into women's voices in the online space. Kisyova *et al.* (2022) analysed 40 hours of audio content of Lana Lokteff's white supremacist podcast Radio 3Fourteen, in which she interviewed women in the tradwife and white supremacists movements. They used frame theory to analyse the content that spanned 11 episodes of the podcast and argued that Lokteff and her guests frame women's position in society as being that of a choice between two options: either live the life of a feminist and contribute to the demise of the white race, or join the white supremacist movement and fulfil traditional gender roles as wives and mothers. Kisyova et al. argue that by appealing to and emphasising women's issues and femininity, Lokteff and her guests

soften white supremacist rhetoric and broaden its appeal to women who are not radicalised. In another study on Lokteff, Mattheis (2018), analysed an in-person speech she made in Sweden that was uploaded to her YouTube channel under the title "How the Left is Betraying Women." In this speech, Lokteff navigates the tension between advocating for traditional gender roles for women and her own position as an outspoken and prominent member of the white supremacist movement by positioning herself as a "reluctant shield maiden" who has only taken up the mantle of white supremacism because she has to defend her home and family (Mattheis, 2018, p. 138). Mattheis argues that Lokteff is using an image of "fierce mothering" that is prevalent and normalised in American culture of "tiger moms" which makes her argument politically viable in the current cultural context and potentially inviting to those not in her movement who see it (2018, p. 139).

In a similar study into how tradwife women present themselves online, Proctor (2022) looked at the online personas of three tradwives that fall on different points along the tradwife political spectrum from conservativism to white supremacy. Alena Kate Pettitt is a British tradwife who claims her tradwife practises are an expression of choice feminism and that she does not believe all women must be tradwives, Caitlin Huber is an American tradwife who professes to having "intense beliefs" but denies any links to a racist movement, and Ayla Stewart who is a white nationalist by her own account (Proctor, 2022, p. 21). Proctor analysed the online behaviour and networks of these three women across different platforms and argued that they engaged in their tradwife persona to legitimise the tradwife identity and its practice, to be an example of how to live as a tradwife, and to take part in an online community of tradwives. For Stewart, a committed white nationalist, Proctor argues that being vocal about her position as a woman who is removed from online platforms (or "censored") is a way for her to recruit more people to the movement, as issues of "free speech" and "censorship" are common rallying cries for white supremacists and white nationalists online who believe they are unfairly victimised as white people by a hostile government (2022).

In further research into the tradwife movement, Zahay (2022) analysed the YouTube videos of two tradwives to see how these videos could appeal to and radicalise women not familiar with the movement. Similar to the arguments of Love (2020) and Mattheis (2021), Zahay argues that the appeals to femininity functions as a bridge between non-radicalised women looking for beauty videos and the women of the tradwife movement who deliberately frame their videos in such a way as to appeal to non-radicalised women. She argues that women looking for videos on beauty tips and mothering advice could inadvertently find themselves watching tradwife content that deliberately introduces content relating to female submission and traditional gender roles in a subtle manner. She further argues that women in "mommy blog" communities are especially at risk of encountering the content because of the content overlaps that many of them have of nuclear families and traditional gender roles that tradwives can use as common ground to enter these spaces.

The tradwife movement is just one part of the online far right milieux that has been subject to analysis, although analysis of this segment does dwarf analysis of other areas. Analysing a more extreme area of far right online activism is Askanius's (2022) study of female influences in the Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM). The NRM is a white supremacist organisation that explicitly advocates for female subordination and for the roles of women to be limited to that of wife and mother. Askanius analyses articles, videos, and podcasts that are identified with hashtags relating to women on NRM webpages and forums to understand how

women in the NRM navigate the tension between advocating female submission while being female activists, as seen in Mattheis's (2018) study of Lokteff. Askanius found that the women of the NRM perform self-censorship, self-correction, and correct their peers when they have said things that could be perceived as being over the line of acceptability for women in the movement. The NRM believes in revoking women's suffrage, making it more extreme with regards to female oppression than other extreme right groups, and meaning that women are discouraged from expressing any political opinions. For the women in the NRM, this means that they have to appeal to other women in order to bring them into the movement, and they do this by presenting themselves as empowered political subjects through their position as wives to white men and mothers of the next generation of white children, while avoiding any possible accusation of feminism. When a female podcaster or presenter says something that could cross these boundaries, she is corrected by herself or a peer, and the position of female subordination in the NRM is clarified (Askanius, 2022). For the women of the NRM, their political actualisation comes through their role as supporters of the men in the movement and raising their children.

A further study on navigating the tensions of progressive gender politics in society and regressive gender politics of a political organisation is by Pettersson (2015) who analysed the online blogs of female politicians in the "populist radical right" parties Sweden Democrats (SD) and Finns Party (FP). The Nordic countries are known for progressive gender politics and this is something that has to be navigated by far right parties if they are to be electorally viable in these contexts. Pettersson argues that in Sweden, as feminism is more normalised, female far right politicians construct themselves as the "right" kind of feminist in order to gain sway with voters whereas in Finland, where feminist is not normalised, female far right politicians are able to present themselves as "not feminists" and not lose traction with voters (2015, p. 20). In Sweden, the politicians constructed themselves as the "right" feminists who would take care of their country against the threat from Muslim migrants, and painted their enemies as the "wrong" feminists who supported multiculturalism and liberal immigration policies. Pettersson (2015) argues that these constructions that are culturally sensitive appeal to both male and female voters, enlarging the electoral base of these parties.

In a different method to that seen previously, Lokmanoglu and Veilleux-Lepage (2020) completed a comparative study between white nationalist women on Stormfront and Islamic State women on Women Dawah, a pro-Islamic State (IS) Turkish-language interactive Telegram channel. The research compared the conversation topics of the two groups of women and found seven overlapping categories of appearance, family, forum rules, ideology, pregnancy, relationships, and violence. The women in IS spoke of religion, where white nationalist women did not, and white nationalist women spoke of the household, money, shopping, and other women where IS women did not. Both forums made effort to enforce gender segregation and Lokmanoglu and Veilleux-Lepage argue that both forums served as important support network for the women in the movements. They argue that participation in an extremist culture can be an "inherent reward" as the women in them immediately receive a sense of belonging and companionship when they join and that this must be considered when designing intervention techniques for deradicalisation (Lokmanoglu and Veilleux-Lepage, p. 200)

Women as Symbols

In an analysis of far right Telegram channels, Doerr and Svatoňová (2023) focus on images of women and womanhood to understand femonationalism and antifeminism in these spaces. Femonationalism is the use of feminist policies, such as universal suffrage or the right of women

to work outside the home, to argue that western culture is superior to all others due to these rights being enshrined in law (Farris, 2017). This is commonly used by femonationalist actors to argue that Islamic cultures are inferior and to promote xenophobia and racism towards other cultures for allegedly not holding the same egalitarian values as the west. They found that the images of women they analysed fell into four types of female identity: emphasised femininity, despised femininity, feared femininity, and hegemonic femininity. Of the images they collected from Telegram, only 9.6% depicted women, suggesting that women are not a central focus of far right discussions on there, but the study did not report the contents of other images making comparison impossible. Doerr and Svatoňová (2023) argue that the disapproved femininities (despised and feared femininity) were portrayed as deviant and wrong, as well as a threat to the nation. The women with disapproved femininities were seen as rejecting their role as women to be reproducers of the white race and "ruining" their bodies, making them unappealing to white men and thereby limiting the reproductive capacities of the white race. Of the approved femininities, the "emphasised femininity" women were those who took their traditional far right role of wives and supporters of far right men, with the accompanying feminine aesthetic. Doerr and Svatoňová (2023) then argue that women displaying "hegemonic femininity" combined white femininity with masculine leadership qualities in a way that was accepted by the users of the Telegram channel. The authors argue that combining leadership with white femininity enabled the Telegram users to support female leadership in some circumstances where traditionally the far right, this paper argues, has not. This study offers no indication of the gender markup of the Telegram channels under study, which suggests that they follow the normative gender markup for online activity, that of being male dominated. This is therefore an analysis of far right men's understanding of, and beliefs about, women's roles and positions in society. The study also offers no insight into the ideology of the Telegram channels beyond "far right," leaving questions as to the exact beliefs the members held and their positions on other matters of political interest to the far right. This study, while providing meaningful analysis of the depictions of women on the far right, does not provide information on the constellations of these beliefs on gender relate to other political attitudes.

In a similar study analysing images shared in neo-Nazi Facebook groups, Forchtner and Kølvraa (2017) investigate the claims to authentic Nazism made by the group through images grouped thematically by the authors as "history," "nature," and "gender." This study, as above, does not indicate the gender composition of the Facebook groups and so they are likely to be majority-male, making this a study of neo-Nazi men's depictions of women in contemporary national socialist imagery. The "gender" aspect of this study refers to depictions of women and depictions of intimate relationships between male and female neo-Nazis. They argue that the traditional authoritarian politic of national socialism is conveyed in the images via demands for women to take their rightful place in the neo-Nazi movement as wives for male Nazis and mothers of the next generation of Aryan children. Forchtner and Kølvraa (2017) argue that the traditional authoritarian aspects of neo-Nazi discourse are modernised by the contemporary, young neo-Nazi groups that also use an intimate imaginary that shows men and women in romantic relationships, engaging in neo-Nazi violence as a couple. Forchtner and Kølvraa (2017) argue that by modernising national socialist ideas through the introduction of intimate imaginaries, the youth wing of the neo-Nazi movement potentially open the door for a revitalisation of their politics.

Male Supremacism and Men's Grievances

The gender analysis of men and the online far right generally focuses on the incel movement; a, debatably, exclusively male movement that focuses on gender-related grievances of men who are unable to have sexual relations with women. These beliefs tend to congregate with other attitudes of antifeminism, sexism, misogyny, racism, trans- and homophobia, and male supremacy. The incel movement is not generally considered part of the far right in the literature and is instead considered part of the male supremacist or "manosphere" movement. However, using Bobbio's (1994) distinction between left and right as the right wing being a constellation of beliefs predicated on the fundamental inequality of people, incel and male supremacist beliefs are clearly far right. They are far right beliefs that see the principle inequality between people as based on sex/gender (for these groups these two are the same) rather than on race, as with the traditional understanding of the far right. For these reasons, the incel movement tends to find its online community with others who share sex/gender based far right beliefs, but they still belong within the broader constellation of the far right. They are also considered here because research into the male experiences of gender in the online far right generally focus on theses explicitly gendered movements, rather than on gendered experiences or opinions of men in far right movements.

One of the first studies into the incel community was Ging's (2017) research into the hyperlinking behaviour of manosphere websites that express antifeminist beliefs. Ging argues that the manosphere websites she studies, that span a wide variety of ideologies and beliefs including religious, atheist, homophobic, pro-gay, Men Going Their Own Way (a male separatist movement, MGTOW), anti-MGTOW, and pick up artistry (PUA) websites, are able to unite across their different ideologies around their shared antifeminism and a desire to keep their spaces free from women (2017). Ging argues that the multiple masculinities seen in the manosphere — gay, nerd, jock, incel, alpha, beta — are able to band together around a narrative of personal suffering caused by feminism and that the porous nature of online boundaries means that there is capacity for these "hybrid masculinities" to become hegemonic if they spread across further geographical and ideological boundaries (2017, p. 16).

Later work on incels by Menzie (2022) utilised an online ethnography method to analyse the understandings of masculinity and femininity in incel communities on Reddit. Menzie argues that incels view sexual access to women as form of socio-sexual capital that they are denied and that this denial prevents them from being able to display their social worth in a way intelligible to the rest of society, rendering them socially undesirable. Incel masculinity is understood for incels in reference to the masculinity of the "Chad" figure: a physically attractive and socially dominant man who is able to date "Stacies," physically attractive women. Incels denigrate the hyper-feminine "Stacy" who, they believe, reaps patriarchal rewards of male adoration due to her femininity, but breaks the heteropatriarchal social code by refusing to offer sexual services to incels. Incels navigate their masculinity in reference to the gendered beings they construct to justify and explain their worldview (Menzie, 2022).

In a comparative study between two online forums of the manosphere belonging to the "Red Pill" and incel ideologies, Vallerga and Zurbriggen (2022) found that both ideological communities had beliefs of gender essentialism, an informal psychological analysis of women, and a typology of men. The "Red Pill" is a male-centric sexist and antifeminist ideology that believes women to be inherently irrational and that the correct social role of men is to be leaders of both society and interpersonal relationships. Both groups believed that women were

psychologically geared towards manipulating and deceiving men, practising infidelity to have their sexual needs met, and trading sex for power (Vallerga & Zurbriggen, 2022). "Red Pill" men saw men as falling into two groups: alphas and betas, the former as socially and sexually successful, dominant men, and the latter as weak and inferior who were only able to have sex with women through the use of gifts to pander to women's manipulative and power-seeking nature. The incels agreed with this but added their own category of incel men who, they believed, were so unattractive that any attempts to engage in physical relationships with women would fail. Vallerga and Zurbriggen (2022) see the misogyny of these forums as part of a wider antifeminist backlash against progressive social reforms that have seen women take up more space in society since the latter half of the 20th century and argue that counteracting the sexism of these spaces needs to come from wide spread societal changes addressing attitudes towards women and the position of men. This is important in revealing the similarities and differences in the attitudes towards gendered subjects in different parts of the far right manosphere ecosystem.

Conclusion

This review of the literature analysing the extreme right's online networks and positions on gender-related issues has argued that both extremist websites and the nuances of the attitudes towards gender and gender-related issues across the extreme right are understudied. The previous ten years have seen a huge increase in research into social media platforms due to the, at times, ease of access to their content, the novelty of the technology, and the high prevalence of extremist content hosted on them. These are legitimate reasons for focusing a research agenda, but they have meant that extremist websites have gone significantly under researched since the early 2000s. The ecosystems literature has also fallen into this trend of analysing the extreme right ecosystem as it relates to social media sites. This study fills this gap by analysing a section of the extreme right ecosystem as it relates to websites. The second research gap is the lack of a systematic study into the gender-related beliefs of different extreme right movements. To date, the gender-based literature analyses men's and women's engagement in extremist movements as gendered subjects and skims over what the different groups believe about gender issues and gender roles. The tradwife movement believes in female submission to a male bread winner, and the Nordic Resistance Movement has more extreme beliefs that would revoke women's suffrage, but there has been no systematic study comparing these attitudes across a range of extreme right movements. This study fills both these research gaps by mapping a section of the extreme right ecosystem beginning with extremist websites and then analysing these websites for the opinions they express regarding gender issues and gender roles. The following chapter identifies the key movements belonging to the extreme right and then identifies the most popular website from each to begin data collection.

Chapter 2
An Overview of the Extreme Right Milieux: Identifying Discrete Movements and Popular Websites

Introduction

This thesis is a hyperlink mapping project combined with a qualitative content analysis of key websites within the network. It sits within a research agenda known as the ecosystems approach which conceptualises the online extremist space as an ecosystem of interconnected web domains. This research agenda maps different aspects of the ecosystem. This chapter describes the process of discovering a primarily website-based aspect of this ecosystem. This aspect of the ecosystem was created using a webcrawler that was deployed on 11 extremist websites, the "seedset," to map the hyperlinks from these websites to others resulting in a hyperlink network that constitutes one aspect of the online extreme right ecosystem. This chapter begins by introducing the ecosystems approach to studying the extreme right online. It then presents the theoretical perspectives underlying the assumptions about why studying websites in this manner is important before detailing the process of creating the seedset used by the webcrawler. Twelve coherent but overlapping extreme right movements were identified by reviewing the literature and websites from these movements were then found by reviewing the literature and searching the internet. Several rounds of filtering followed which checked for the activity and visitation rates of each website. This resulted in 11 websites with the greatest number of unique views in the previous month being included in the seedset representing each movement. White supremacist and skinhead movements were combined and represented by one website due to the limited web presence of each. After the creation of the seedset, a webcrawler was written and deployed on each website. This webcrawler then scraped each website for its external hyperlinks, visited those hyperlinks, scraped the external hyperlinks on those websites, and so on, to a depth of three. The resulting lists of source website–target website, known as an edge list, were then combined for visualisation and analysis in the network analysis software Gephi. Chapter 3 describes the analysis of this network and its findings.

Hyperlink Network Analysis and the Ecosystems Approach

The internet is accessible because of hyperlinks. It would not be possible to find websites if it were not for their links between one another, unless one knew the exact webs address they were looking for. Hyperlink network analysis considers these links between websites as proxies for social ties and conceptualising a hyperlink network as a collection of nodes (websites) and edges (hyperlinks between them) allows for statistical tests to be run on them. Through a combination of statistical tests, hyperlink network analysis can be used to identify key domains in a network either through them being most heavily connected to others, providing crucial bridges between different sections of the network, or having connections to well connected nodes. It can also provide information on the cohesiveness or fragmentation of the network, all of which are crucial for accurate deplatforming attempts (Xingqin, *et al.*, 2010). Hyperlink network analysis has been used in marketing research (Hossein et al., 2018), the tourism industry

(Ying et al., 2016), the study of the online discussion of climate change (Elgin, 2015), and the food safety movement (Maier et al., 2018). Zamani et al. (2019) have used hyperlink network analysis to understand the differences in forum make-up in surface and dark web forums.

This research contributes to the ecosystems approach to studying online extremism by creating and analysing one aspect of the extreme right connected to 11 extremist websites. The ecosystems approach uses hyperlink network analysis to analyse online extremist activity as it relates to a wider network of extremists. The ecosystems approach sees the extreme right ecosystem as being comprised of entities, which are a single domain; communities, domains that are tightly interlinked; biotopes, clusters of several communities that share an ideology; and the whole network which refers to the whole extremist ecosystem. Different parts and aspects of the ecosystem can be accessed and analysed by starting at different starting points, such as social media profiles as opposed to websites or images shared rather than hyperlinks. This study begins with websites and maps hyperlinks, an understudied aspect of the extremist ecosystem to date.

The Role of Websites

The intention with the creation of the seedset websites was to select the websites belonging to different extreme right ideological movements that were most popular with lay actors as well as extreme right actors. The proxy statistic of number of total visits in the month prior to data collection was used to determine this as this measure captures the popularity of the websites amongst internet users who may or may not be associated with an extremist movement. This measure captures users who actively seek out these specific websites of their own volition, those who are directed to the websites by their offline connections, and those who visit websites through hyperlinks on other websites. They can be thought of as the most influential voice of a movement due to their position as most visited website of their respective movements. In this way, they are able to influence the norms and precedents for their movements about what issues are pertinent to their cause, the positions members and supporters should take on those issues, and the other groups, associations, and websites users should interact with via the placing of hyperlinks to them on their webpages. Using these popular websites as the starting point for this study will forefront the websites that these websites themselves believe to be important to their movement, leading to the creation of a dataset representing popular, meaningful, and influential websites in the extreme right milieux.

The hyperlink network analysis performed on the resulting network will identify its most influential, popular, and strategically-connected websites. These websites will be used to analyse extreme right, far right, and mainstream discourse on gender and gender-related issues. Many of the websites analysed in this study have often, depending on social media content moderation policies, had social media pages on mainstream and alternative social media sites at various points in their history. However, even when social media moderation policies have allowed these groups onto their platforms, they would have still been unable to share all the views on social media that they are able to express on their websites. In this way, there is a division of labour between a group's website and a group's social media page. Websites allow groups more freedom to share more extreme views than social media platforms, and to spend longer doing so due to the unlimited wordcounts on webpages. This gives websites more power than social media pages to express extreme views and explain the extremist agendas of movements. Social media pages are used to broadcast extremist views to as wide an array of platform users as possible; they utilise images and videos to capture users' attention and use hyperlinks to direct users off platform for further radicalisation and recruitment. Websites are used as repositories of

information to support that effort. Websites have a far longer archive than social media sites, sometimes going back decades, allowing extremist movements to document their grievances and agenda for many years. This is vital information for people looking to fuel their "awakening" to white supremacist causes, and enables right wing extremist thought leaders to influence their movements with vast repositories of carefully articulated opinions and propaganda pieces about how their movement should be interacting with the world.

These websites can be thought of as the ideological core of the online extremist milieux due to the high number of links they receive from other websites, their position in the network that can give them influence due to their connections to other influential websites, and their position as gateways between different ideological sections of the network. This makes them important to study as the views expressed on these websites will influence a great number of people and movements. The texts that they share can be considered doctrinal texts of their movements due the amount of influence they have within their networks. They set the precedent not only for what opinions their followers should have, but what specific issues they should have opinions on. In the same way that media institutions cannot tell people exactly what to think, but can tell people what they should think about (Brown & Mondon, 2021), these websites are deciding and defining the discursive terrain upon which extreme and far right actors should be operating. In this way, these websites influence not just what the extreme and far right believe, but what specific political issues they will try to influence in the mainstream discursive arena. The turn away from traditional gendered issues such as abortion and women's right to work, and the turn towards the gendered issue of transgender inclusion, shows a pivot in the agenda of the extreme and far right who are now deliberately turning their attention to a "new" focus with which they can influence more people. While LGBT+ people, and trans people in particular, have always been a target of extreme and far right politics, this was not always articulated to such a large extent in their messaging to the public, and the public itself has not always, until recently, been aware of so many LGBT+ related issues. This means that the extreme and far right have targeted a political topic about which fewer people have an opinion than more well established gendered political topics such as abortion, in order to influence these people and turn them towards the extreme and far right position. This agenda is at least partly influenced by the core websites analysed in this thesis. The theoretical contribution of this thesis is that it offers an analysis of these core ideological websites of the contemporary right and the meaning of gender to them, as well as presenting hyperlink network analysis as a way of identifying them.

Case Selection

This section details the process of selecting websites to comprise the seedset of extremist websites used by the crawler. It first identifies 12 coherent extreme right movements by reviewing the literature, and then finds websites representing each by searching the internet. It ends with a summary of the selected 11 websites showing them to be the most popular, in terms of highest number of unique views in a month, from their movements. This measure was chosen to capture the websites that are most likely to be having the greatest influence on the thoughts and opinions of those offline.

Despite the boundaries of the ideologies and groupings of extreme right movements being fluid and subject to change (Lee, 2019), it was possible to identify 12 distinct yet overlapping movements in the literature (Table 1.1). As these groups' positions, tactics, and alliances are constantly shifting, grey literature from the SPLC, ADL, Searchlight, and Hope Not Hate were used to provide contemporary information about the movements. Complementing academic research

into extreme right movements with third sector research in this way is standard in research into extremist groups (See, for example, Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006; Lee, 2019; Reid & Chen, 2007; Xu et al., 2006).

Table 1.1

Extreme Right Movements and the Studies that Identify Them as Such

Movement	Identified By
Christian Identity	Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006; Blee & Creasap, 2010; Potok, 2003; Reid & Chen, 2007
Creativity	Potok, 2003; Schafer et al., 2014
Ku Klux Klan	Blee & Creasap, 2010; Schmitz, 2016
Militia	Potok, 2003; Freilich et al., 1999; Reid & Chen, 2007
Neo-Confederate	Blee & Creasap, 2010; Reid & Chen, 2007; Potok, 2003
Neo-Nazi	Blee & Creasap, 2010; Reid & Chen, 2007
Pagan neo-Nazis	Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006
Racist nationalists	Blee & Creasap, 2010; Davey et al., 2020
Racist patriots	Blee & Creasap, 2010
Racist skinheads	Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006; Blee & Creasap, 2010; Burris et al., 2000
White Power Music	Internet research
White supremacist	Burris et al., 2000; Copsey, 2003; Davey et al., 2020

The beliefs held by the extreme right are neither discrete nor static and therefore any attempts to categorise them are inherently imperfect (Lee, 2019), but using existing research into the extreme right can shed a light on where some differences and similarities lie. A brief description of each movement follows, accompanied by the studies that identify the movement as unique.

Movement Descriptions

Christian Identity. Christian Identity is both a movement and a belief system. The beliefs of Christian Identity are found throughout the white supremacist movement, as well as there being factions of the white supremacist movement that solely promote Christian Identity beliefs (Burris et al., 2000). The Christian Identity movement evolved from British Israelism and adherents believe that Anglo-Saxons are the direct descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel with white people being the descendants of Adam and Eve, people of colour being the descendants of Satan, and Jewish people being the descendants of Eve and Cain (Bowman-Grieve, 2009). Aryan Nations hold Christian Identity beliefs (Roy, 2008), as do some Klans in the KKK (Bowman-Grieve, 2009). In studies of right wing extremist movements online, Christian Identity websites have often been considered a distinct movement of the extreme right, even though the beliefs are found in other movements, such as the KKK and neo-Nazi groups (Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006; Blee & Creasap, 2010; Potok, 2003; Reid & Chen, 2007). In Caiani and Parenti's 2016 study, they found that Christian Identity was predominantly present in the American online extreme right, but was only loosely interconnected and was the most separate from other parts of the network of the groups found. This was also found by Burris et al. in 2000, but differs from Reid and Chen (2007) who found the Christian Identity movement to be difficult to differentiate from the neo-Nazi sphere in their study.

Creativity. Creativity is an atheistic religious movement comprised of two groups founded in 1973 and inspired by Adolf Hitler (SPLC, c2023a). It is a white supremacist nontheistic religion which believes in the superior "creativity" of white people, believing (incorrectly) that white people are responsible for all major scientific and creative advances in human society (Potok, 2003; Schafer et al., 2014). Creativity followers call themselves "Creators", a term that comes from *Mein Kampf* where Hitler described white people as "creators" (ADL, 2017). Creativity beliefs are found amongst neo-Nazis and racist skinheads (SPLC, c2023a). In studies of right wing extremism, Potok (2003) and Schafer et al. (2014) have looked to Creativity as a distinct movement.

Ku Klux Klan. There is disagreement in the literature on whether the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is a distinct movement on the extreme right, or if it is a subsection of the broader white supremacist movement. Berlet and Vysotsky (2006), and Burris et al. (2000) see the KKK as part of the white supremacist movement, whereas Blee and Creasap (2010) place the KKK as its own movement. In a 2010 study, Blee and Creasap identified the KKK, white supremacist, neo-Nazi, white power skinheads, racialist and violent nationalists, racialist and violent patriots, and Christian Identity as distinct extremist movements. While being Protestant-only in the 1920s, some Klan groups now welcome Catholics, Pagans, and some follow Christian Identity teachings (Selepak & Sutherland, 2012). In a 2012 study, Selepak and Sutherland argued that the United White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan (UWK) used the Internet to mainstream their white supremacist philosophy by using rhetoric that appeals to American patriotism and Christianity. For this study, the KKK is understood as its own movement that has great variance across it and is influenced by a range of white supremacist teachings.

Militia. The militia movement forms a violent, military obsessed faction of the anti-government movement in America (SPLC, c2023b). It has been conceptualised as a distinct movement of the extreme right by Potok (2003) and Reid and Chen (2007), and in contemporary commentary by the SPLC (c2023b). The militia movement is an armed wing of the wider patriot movement (James, 2000) and has been linked to a number of terrorist attacks including the Oklahoma City bombing, the Palo Verde derailment, the Centennial Olympic Park bombing, although the extent of the link is debated (Freilich et al., 1999), and the January 6th failed insurrection (SPLC, c2023b). The militia movement believes the American government will soon take over the lives of American citizens through gun confiscations and a loss of civil liberties and a preparing accordingly for military combat against the government for when this happens (SPLC, c2023b).

Neo-Confederate. The neo-Confederate movement, or "white Southern nationalism," was started by mostly university professors in the Southern states of America in the 1990s (Potok, 2003). The neo-Confederate movement opposes interracial marriage; defends segregation; believes in the "New World Order" conspiracy theory, a belief that a cabal of often Jewish people is secretly running the world with the intention of instituting an authoritarian one-world government; endorses American separationist movements; and rejects the separation of Church and state (Potok, 2003). The academic background of the movement gave it an air of respectability that enabled a wider range of Americans to engage with it. The neo-Confederate movement can be described as a spectrum of beliefs which combines "nativist immigration policies, Christian dominionism, Confederate 'heritage and pride,' and … a belief in the inherent superiority of whites of European descent" (SPLC, c2022). The SPLC places the neo-Confederate

movement in a broadly white nationalist extremist framework, yet there are a number of African American neo-Confederates (Hatewatch Staff, 2017; SPLC, c2022).

Neo-Nazi. The neo-Nazi movement grew out of post war fascist tendencies in Europe and is distinctly influenced by Hitler and Nazi Germany (Macklin, 2020). Like much of the extreme right, the neo-Nazi movement overlaps with other extremist movements, such as the skinhead movement (Borgeson & Robin, 2005) and Christian Identity (Reid and Chen, 2007). The neo-Nazi movement is marked by its use of swastikas and its explicit commitment to Nazi ideals. In the UK, British Movement, Sonnenkrieg Division, and Combat 18 are active neo-Nazi groups.

Pagan Neo-Nazis. Pagan and satanic neo-Nazis ("pagan neo-Nazis") emerged after the Second World War (Kaplan, 2001). Berlet and Vysotsky (2006) list satanic neo-Nazis as part of the religious category of the white supremacy movement, being influenced by paganism, pantheism, Odinism, Nordic heroic warrior myths, the myth of the Aryan race, Wagner operas, and the Nazi idea of the "master race" (Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006). There are several Churches and organisations within the satanic neo-Nazi movement such as Order of the Black Ram and the Order of Nine Angles (ONA) (Campion, 2018; Kaplan, 2001; Sieg, 2013). Goodrick-Clarke (2003) and Olson (2011) have documented the links between black metal music and neo-Nazi satanism. The most prolific modern satanic neo-Nazi group is the ONA (Faxneld & Petersen, 2012; Mathews, 2009) and which has been linked to acts of right wing terrorism (Hope not Hate, 2020), child sexual abuse (BBC, 2019; De Simone, 2020), and human sacrifice (Campion, 2018), but there are other active groups including Asatru Folk Assembly in the US and Odinic Rite in the UK.

Racist Nationalists. Like much of the right wing extremist milieu, the racist (white) nationalist movement has areas of overlap with other ideologies and movements on the extreme right. While there are areas of overlap, there are still enough white nationalist groups to constitute a coherent movement in its own right (SPLC, 2023c). The white nationalist movement has also been classified as distinct from others on the extreme right by historic research by Blee and Creasap (2010) and contemporary research by Davey et al. (2020). White nationalists believe that modern America is racist against white people, with many believing the "great replacement" conspiracy theory that white people are being systematically replaced by people of colour in America through government policy under the influence of Jewish groups. They believe people of colour are inferior to white people and aim to create a white ethnostate.

Racist Patriots. The patriot movement has been categorised as a movement that encapsulates others – the militia movement, the sovereign citizen movement, and the anti-tax movement (ADL, 2017; SPLC, 2015), as well as a distinct movement in its own right (Blee & Creasap, 2010). It is a movement characterised by anti-(American) government sentiment and conspiracy theories (ADL, 2017; Blee & Creasap, 2010; Gallaher, 2002; James, 2000; SPLC, 2012, 2015). Historically, the patriot movement had reasonable overlap with the white supremacist movement, but this has dropped off in recent years and there are now a number of people of colour active within the movement (ADL, 2017). The patriot movement had a peak in membership in the late 1990s after the events at Waco and Ruby Ridge, which then petered before climbing again in the late 00s after the election of President Obama (SPLC, 2015), a trend which is recurrent in US extremist politics (Perliger, 2013). The patriot movement, like much of the extreme right, has had an online presence since the early days of the Internet (James, 2000).

Racist Skinheads. Racist skinheads (skinheads) are most visible in the offline world, being primarily a street movement. Existing in street gangs and comprised of usually younger

members, they are considered to be the foot soldiers of the white supremacist movement, attacking racial minorities and partaking in subcultural activities such as oi! and noise gigs which promote the subculture to potential new recruits (Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006). However, the skinhead movement does have an online presence through websites dating back to the early days of Internet messaging boards and USENET groups (Back et al., 1996; Roy, 2008). In a recent study into the role of the Internet in people's pathways into violent extremism, Gaudette et al. (2022) interviewed 10 former racist skinheads on their use of the Internet during their radicalisation. The former extremists in the study who had used the Internet often stated that they were introduced to online extremist content in an offline context, such as at gigs where friends would direct them to the band's or record label's website, which would introduce them to more hate music as well explicit ideologies that were discussed on these websites and forums. Several studies into early extremist use of the Internet have found racist skinheads to have an active presence online (Borgeson & Valeri, 2005; Gerstenfeld et al., 2003) and a recent study by Valeri and colleagues (2017) suggests that, while overall non-racist skinhead presence on the Internet is declining, racist skinheads are maintaining their presence.

White Power Music. White Power Music (WPM) was originally not included as a movement represented in the seedset as WPM is the music that is part of other extreme right movements, such as neo-Nazis and skinheads. However, there is a sizable WPM Internet presence with many online WPM retailers having much higher visitor numbers than skinhead websites. From viewing white nationalist forums such as Stormfront in order to identify websites, many members were using WPM websites as proxies for skinhead or neo-Nazi websites. For this reason, WPM was considered a movement for the seedset.

White Supremacists. There is disagreement among scholars as to whether white supremacy is a distinct movement separate from others on the extreme right (Blee & Creasap, 2010; Davey *et al*.,2020; Reid & Chen, 2007), a movement which comprises other movements (Berlet & Vysotsky, 2006; Burris et al., 2000; Kleg, 1993), or an ideology which influences movements (Copsey, 2003). Dobratz and Shanks-Meile (2006) use the terms white separatist movement, white power movement, and white supremacist movement interchangeably, arguing that using a correct label for a movement is near impossible as academics, watchdog groups, and members of the movement will all have different opinions on what the group should be called. In his 2003 study of right wing extremists online, Copsey broke right wing extremist groups down by ideology into nine clusters in which he clearly situated white supremacists as a distinct ideological group. Contemporary research corroborates the finding that white supremacists constitute a distinct group on the extreme right. Davey et al. (2020) found five distinct ideological subgroupings in their study of the Canadian extreme right online of which white supremacists were one. In keeping with the contemporary position, this project takes white supremacy as a distinct movement.

Identifying Websites

After the movements had been identified, websites belonging to each were found through Internet searches. Groups and thought leaders were identified from each movement using information from the SPLC and the ADL who maintain current and near-exhaustive lists of active extremist groups belonging to different movements, as well as previous research on the extreme right online. Websites were searched for using keywords associated with each movement, as well as the names of known organisations and thought leaders. Websites were searched for using the search engines Ecosia, Yahoo, and DuckDuckGo as these have less regulation than Google which

puts a considerable amount of resources into removing extremist content from its search results. KKK websites were identified using Schmitz's (2016) study of 11 KKK websites, and the most recent data from the SPLC. Each website from Schmitz's 2016 study was checked to see if it was still in use. The SPLC's 2021 hate map identified 18 active KKK groups in the US belonging to 13 different KKK chapters which were also searched for.

Skinhead websites were particularly and uniquely difficult to find. Using the same methodology as is Valeri et. al.'s 2017 study into skinhead websites, searching the key word "skinhead" using three different search engines and browsing the first 25 pages of results, brought only one identifiably neo-Nazi skinhead website, www.hammerskins.net, which was empty. Through searching Stormfront with the key word "skinhead" other websites were found, but these were commercial sites. As Valeri et al.'s study had shown neo-Nazi skinheads to have active websites just five years ago, it was desirable to be certain that every avenue had been explored before concluding that skinheads no longer have an active online presence. The lead author of Valeri *et al*.'s 2017 study was contacted with a request for the websites that had been found during their research. Dr Valeri was kind enough to share both the list of skinhead websites and the skinhead social media pages that had been found as part of this study. Each website on this list was checked to see if it was still active. The majority of websites were either unreachable, empty, inactive, or clearly not neo-Nazi. The functioning websites that were found during these searches are listed in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2

Identified Movements and Thought Leaders, their Associated Groups, and their Websites

Movement	Identified Groups and Leaders
Christian Identity	Bible Gateway, National Christian Church, Restoration Bible Ministries, Gospel of the Kingdom Mission, Church of the Jesus Christ Christian, Kingdom Identity Ministries
Creativity	World Church of the Creator, Creativity Alliance
Ku Klux Klan	KKK, United Klans of America, Knights of the KKK, White Christian Brotherhood of the KKK, American Christian Dixie Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, White Christian Brotherhood of the Ku Klux Klan, Church of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Honourable Sacred Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Christian Revival Centre, Old Glory Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Church of the Ku Klux Klan, Patriotic Brigade Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, East Coast of the National Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Alabama Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, True 311.com, United Klan Nation
Militia	Oath Keepers, 3 percenters, National Liberty Alliance, Veterans on Patrol
Neo-Confederate	League of the South, Identity Dixie, ACTBAC NC, Southern Cultural Centre, Tennessee League of the South
Neo-Nazi	Aryan Nations, National Socialist Movement, National Vanguard, British Movement, National Socialists Florida, Aryan Nationalist Alliance, 14 First, American Futurist, American National Socialist Party, Aryan Freedom Network, Folks Front/Folkish Resistance Movement, Fuhrernet, Injekt Division, Iron Youth, National Alliance, National Socialist Charitable Coalition/Global Minority Initiative, National Socialist German Workers Party, National Socialist Order, Nationalist Social Club (NSC-131), New Order, Rise Above Movement, American Nazi Party, National Action, Aryan Guard

Racist Nationalists	VDARE, American Freedom Party, Patriotic Alternative, European Americans United
Racist Patriots	Patriot Front, United Constitutional Patriots, Vanguard America
Racist Skinheads	Hammerskins, MurderCity Skinheads, Confederate Hammerskins, Blood and Honour, Blood and Honour Social Group, Crew 38, Aryan Nations Skinhead Division, AC Skins, American Defense Skinheads, American Front, Firm 22, Keystone United, Old Glory Skinheads, United Skinhead Nation, Vinlanders Social Club
Pagan neo-Nazis	Order of Nine Angles, Order of the Black Ram, The Black Order, White Order of Thule, Joy of Satan, Asatru Alliance, Asatru Fellowship, Asatru Folk Assembly, Dakota Prairie Asatru, Easter Tidings/Carolyn Emerick, Völkisch Folklorist, Hearth & Helm LLC, Wolves of Vinland, Women for Aryan Unity, Dharma Nation, Holy Nation of Odin, Jotun's Bane Kindred, The Odin Brotherhood, The Odinic Rite, The Odinic Rite of Australia, The Odinist Fellowship, Front Fighter, The Black Sun Tribe Project
White supremacist	Brett Stevens, EURO, Occidental Quarterly, Aryan Brotherhood, The Base, System Resistance Network, Sonnenkrieg Division

Website Filtering

Many of the websites discovered were blank, empty, or degraded. Degraded websites are defined here as sites that have some combination of broken internal hyperlinks, blank pages, areas where HTML is showing on the page, and broken video players or media displays. These features generally show that a website is no longer being maintained. Of the websites that were clearly still functional, only websites that were still active were considered for inclusion in the seedset. "Active" was defined as having a piece of content that was posted in either February or March 2023, the two months prior to the time of the check. Activity was ascertained by the date of the most recent post on the website. A condensed version of this check, showing only the websites that were still active, is shown in Table 1.3. The full results of this check can be found in Appendix A, with websites that met the threshold for further analysis highlighted in grey.

Table 1.3

Condensed Report of Last Activity on Websites Considered for the Seedset

Movement	Organisation	Last Activity
Christian Identity	Christogenea	January, 2023
Christian Identity	Christian Identity Ministries	January, 2023
Christian Identity	Christian Identity Church	January, 2023
Creativity	Church of Ben Klassen	February, 2023
Ku Klux Klan	David Duke	January, 2023
Ku Klux Klan	Christian Revival Centre (Thomas Robb)	January, 2023[2]

[2] This is a Christian Identity website, but there are great overlaps between Christian Identity theology and the KKK. This website is included as KKK due to it being founded by Thomas Robb, a KKK organiser

Militia	Western Rifle Shooters	February, 2023
Militia	National Liberty Alliance	February, 2023
Neo-Confederate	League of the South	February, 2023
Neo-Confederate	Southern Cultural Centre	March, 2023
Neo-Confederate	Identity Dixie	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	British Movement	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	National Vanguard	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	National Socialist Movement	January, 2023
Neo-Nazi	The Australian League of Rights	February, 2023[3]
Neo-Nazi	Aryan Freedom Network	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	American Futurist	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	Siege Culture	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	New British Union	January, 2023
Neo-Nazi	Nordic Resistance Movement	March, 2023
Neo-Nazi	National Alliance	March, 2023
Neo-Nazi	The Right Stuff	March, 2023
Neo-Nazi	American Nazi Party	March, 2023
Neo-Nazi	Thule Society	March, 2023
Racist Nationalists	Patriotic Alternative	February, 2023
Racist Nationalists	American Freedom Party	March, 2023
Racist Nationalists	National Justice Party	February, 2023
Racist Nationalists	American Renaissance/New Century Foundation	March, 2023
Racist Nationalists	Fight White Genocide	February, 2023
Racist Nationalists	The White Nationalist Party of Canada	March, 2023
Racist Patriots	World Net Daily	February, 2023
Racist Patriots	Patriots United CV	February, 2023
Racist Patriots	Patriot Front	March, 2023
Racist Patriots	Constitutional Sheriffs & Peace Officers Association	February, 2023

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[3] This designation as neo-Nazi is contested amongst academics (Cunneen et al., 1997; Horowitz et al., 1988)

Racist Skinheads	Aryan Nations Skinhead Division	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Order of the Nine Angles	February, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Odinshof District	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Njördshof District	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Baldrshof District	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Thorshof District	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Dakota Prairie Asatru	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Blacksun Sole Nero	March, 2023
White Power Music	Tightrope Records	No date, active
White Power Music	Step-1 Music	No date, active
White Power Music	88NSM	2023
White Power Music	United Riot Records	2023
White Power Music	Mídgård	March, 2023
White Power Music	ISD Records	2023
White Power Music	MSR Productions	March, 2023
White Power Music	Militant Zone	No date, active
White Power Music	Heretic Camp	No date, active
White supremacist	Amerika	February, 2023
White supremacist	Daily Stormer	February, 2023

The list of websites initially found contained websites hosted on WordPress and BlogSpot. Once it became clear that the majority of websites were not hosted on WordPress or BlogSpot, the decision was made to not include these in the final dataset. This decision was made because it takes more time, and therefore an implied higher level of commitment, to create a website not via these service providers. Websites that had a .wordpress URL were not included, although there are many websites in the list that are hosted by WordPress without .wordpress in the URL, and WordPress is used extensively across the far right online (Thomas, 2021). This is because websites created through WordPress are free if they have .wordpress in the URL, but it costs to have this removed. This means that WordPress websites without .wordpress in the URL are those that have been paid for by the creator, implying a higher level of commitment to their movement than those who have not.

News aggregator sites that did not identify themselves as part of a specific group or organisation, such as VDARE, World News Daily or Unz Review, were also not included. While these websites are associated with the white nationalist, racist patriot, and antisemitic

movements respectively, they belong more to the alternative news ecosystem than that of explicitly violent extremist online milieu.

Website Analytics

Website analytics of the most recently active websites were used to determine which websites were the most popular. These statistics were retrieved using the analytics platform Semrush (Baele et al., 2020). As a general rule, an attempt was made to identify three websites from each movement before any filtering checks were done, but this was not always possible. A condensed version of the website analytics is reported in Table 1.4 and the full version can be found in Appendix B. Websites that had no available data on Semrush are omitted in the condensed version, as are websites where analytics indicated they had fewer than ten thousand visits in the previous month, with the exception of Church of Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations, the only skinhead website. In both Table 1.4 and Appendix B, the most active websites are highlighted in blue and were selected for inclusion in the final seedset. After a thorough investigation of each website, those that were not clearly and obviously the website of a right wing extremist group were removed. This included news aggregators (The Right Stuff, World News Daily), personal websites (Daily Stormer), and websites not clearly extremist (Western Rifle Shooters). Western Rifle Shooters had originally been included because it had been linked to by Identity Dixie, but it is not a listed extremist group itself nor is there clear evidence of right wing extremism on its pages. Websites that had the highest viewership but were excluded for the above reasons are highlighted in orange in Table 1.4 and Appendix B.

Table 1.4

Condensed Website Analytics for the Websites Considered for the Final Seedset

Ideology	Organisation	Visits	Unique Visitors	Pages Per Visit	Avg. Visit Duration	Bounce Rate (%)
Christian Identity	Christogenea	117.8k	79.6k	1.83	13:54	82.22
Creativity	Church of Ben Klassen	2.1k	2.1k	2.86	00:45	7.24
Ku Klux Klan	David Duke	192.3k	84.5k	3.02	14:17	60.35
Militia	Western Rifle Shooters	1.3m	39.5k	1.47	25:06	62.90
Militia	National Liberty Alliance	10.6k	6.2k	1.11	02:37	90.48
Neo-Confederate	Identity Dixie	26.7k	24k	1.03	01:00	96.73
Neo-Nazi	National Vanguard	201.8k	69.6k	1.98	04:54	63.39
Neo-Nazi	Aryan Freedom Network	164.9k	31.2k	1.50	03:31	93.13
Neo-Nazi	American Futurist	31.4k	13.9k	1.82	01:34	63.03
Neo-Nazi	The Right Stuff	1.1M	189.4k	2.28	09:43	53.21
Racist nationalist	Patriotic Alternative	43k	33.9k	2.72	03:21	33.57
Racist nationalist	American Freedom Party	24.6k	24.6k	5.00	08:54	0.00

Racist nationalist	American Renaissance/ New Century Foundation	1.3m	262.6k	2.28	09:25	45.12
Racist nationalist	National Justice Party	215.7k	76.4k	2.25	08:28	41.82
Racist patriots	World Net Daily	4.4m	1.5m	2:30	14:34	53.53
Racist patriots	Constitutional Sheriffs & Peace Officers Association	11.5k	9.3k	3.50	23:50	60
Racist patriots	Patriot Front	20.1k	10.6k	4.39	03:50	3.57
Skinhead	Church of the Jesus Christ Christian – Aryan Nations	8.6k	5.2k	3.28	14:23	58.78
Pagan neo-Nazi	Order of Nine Angles	25.7k	11.6k	1.16	18:44	83.55
White power music	Tightrope Records	48.1k	39.k	5.62	05:39	14.04
White power music	88NSM	145.7k	78.9k	3.01	03:08	33.75
White power music	Mídgård	27.2k	23.5k	4.53	04:07	54.52
White power music	Militant Zone	23.1k	23.1k	1.59	04:15	86.36
White power music	Heretic Camp	13.7k	13k	1.35	01:12	89.56
White supremacist	Brett Stevens	38.1k	31.3k	1.65	03:49	62.19
White supremacist	Daily Stormer	9.1m	425.3k	2.74	11:15	33.47

Note. Websites that had the highest viewership but were excluded for the reasons discussed in the text above are highlighted in orange. Websites with the highest viewership that were selected for the final seedset are highlighted in blue.

The Seedset

After identifying 12 coherent movements, it was only possible to identify active and visited websites from 11. Due to the difficulty in finding unique white supremacist and skinhead websites, the website of the Church of the Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations was chosen to represent both. This resulted in a seedset of 11 extremist websites to be used to begin data collection, shown in Table 1.5. The seedset is comprised of the websites with the greatest number of unique visitors (indicating popularity) in the month prior to the activity checks being performed, February 2023.

Table 1.5

Final Websites Included in Seedset Belonging to Each Movement

Movement	Organisation or Thought leader	Total Visits February 2023	Average Duration of Visit
Christian Identity	Christogenea	117.8k	13:54
Creativity	Church of Ben Klassen	2.1k	00:45
Ku Klux Klan	David Duke	192.3k	14:17
Militia	National Liberty Alliance	10.6k	02:37
Neo-Confederate	Identity Dixie	26.7k	01:00
Neo-Nazi	National Vanguard	201.8k	04:54
Racist Nationalist	American Renaissance	1.3m	09:25
Racist Patriot	Patriot Front	20.1k	03:50
Pagan neo-Nazi	Order of Nine Angles	25.7k	18:44
White Power Music	88NSM	145.7k	03:08
White supremacist / Skinhead	Church of the Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations	8.6k	14:23

The Church of the Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations is a combination organisation that seems to be lending resources to less well-organised white supremacist groups. Aryan Nations is a well-established white supremacist group, and the Church of Jesus Christ Christian is a Christian Identity group formed by the Ku Klux Klan organiser Wesley A Swift. Many KKK groups follow Christian Identity teachings and CJCC-AN appeared to be linked to a KKK chapter. The website also has a skinhead section where they seem to be supporting or promoting racist skinhead street action. The Church of Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations website was therefore chosen to represent both the white supremacist and skinhead movements. The final seedset shows a diverse range of agendas, views, tactics, and praxis from across the extreme right. While a number of British, Australian, New Zealand, European, and South Africa websites were discovered and included in the initial filtering process, they were vastly outnumbered in terms of viewership and activity by the American websites. This is unsurprising given America's much larger population, but has resulted in America being the only country represented in the seedset. While the decision was made to only include the most active websites, this has meant that this study begins with an American focus rather than an international one. This has repercussions for the analysis and findings of this thesis. The forthcoming analysis is Americentric with limited implications for countering right wing extremism in the UK. This Americentrism prevents the thesis from having an international scope. Nevertheless, the vast number of monthly viewers to the American websites, from the thousands to over a million, show that these websites are incredibly, and worryingly, popular, thereby justifying the focal point of this thesis. Future research should look to international ties.

The intention of this seedset is to represent a diverse set of extreme right wing beliefs that, although not all explicitly call for genocide, all contribute in a significant way to the tapestry of extreme right ideology, theory, tactics, and praxis that make the extreme right a considerable threat to democracy as a whole and individuals from targeted minority groups in particular. The websites represent extreme right movements, rather than the voices of a few individual neo-Nazis or white supremacists. A few of the groups in this seedset could have been used to represent a number of extreme right movements, showing how tightly woven the fabric of the extreme right is. Nevertheless, the websites chosen represent the movement with which they are most closely aligned and together they cover the wide range of beliefs found on the extreme right.

Data Collection

A webcrawler was designed for the data collection of this project. A full description of the process of creating this crawler can be found in Appendix C and a full transcript of the Python script used can be found in Appendix D. The webcrawler was deployed on each websites from the seedset, where it scraped the external hyperlinks hosted there, visited those websites, scraped those hyperlinks and so on, to a depth of three. The webcrawler was deployed during the first week of April 2023, creating and capturing a part of the extreme right ecosystem at this point in time. The webcrawler crawled each website in turn and the resulting edge lists of source website – target website were combined to create the full graph showing all hyperlinks between websites. This edge list was visualised and analysed with Gephi, a network analysis software, the statistical analysis of which is presented in Chapter 3, and the content analysis of which is presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Description of the Data

Using the seedset of 11 websites as the basis of the web crawler resulted in a final crawl finding 19,167 URLs with 20,126 hyperlinks between them. The data were cleaned and condensed so that all links to different webpages on Facebook, for example, were combined to show links to "Facebook." This emphasises the domain that is linked to, rather than specific parts of that domain. This is important for the structural analysis of the network as it more clearly reveals key websites. If each link to a different page on Facebook is counted as its own edge and node, then the fact that all these websites are linking to Facebook will be missed and Facebook's role in the network will be understated. Cleaning the data in this manner created a domain name network of 4,490 nodes and 7,284 edges. This domain name network was used to perform the hyperlink network analysis as this representation of the network allows for a better analysis of its structure.[4] The full URLs showing the content and web pages linked to were used when analysing the content hosted on the websites.

Conclusion

This chapter identified 12 coherent but overlapping right wing extremist movements and then found 11 websites to represent them in a seedset used to capture one aspect of the extreme right ecosystem. These websites have thousands to over a million visitors each month, showing a huge number of people to be engaging with these ideas. This chapter has presented an approach to mapping websites that makes a significant methodological contribution to the study of extremist websites. It argues that collecting hyperlinks from popular websites is an effective and meaningful way of capturing influential right wing extremist web domains. It also argues that selecting different extremist movements as the starting point for this data collection will enable

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[4] This graph can be viewed by visiting https://ninianjames.github.io/graphs and clicking "View Graph: Full data"

direct analysis of where these movements interact and their wider political connections.. This method also argues that a depth of three is the furthest hyperlink connections can meaningfully go before the network begins to stray totally into non-extremist territory. It is hoped that that this limit will be tested in future research, but that this thesis has provided a useful starting point. As will be shown, this method of collecting hyperlinks from the most extreme website and moving outwards will mean that, as the graph moves away from the ideological core, less extreme right wing websites are found. This allows a tracing of the boundaries of extremist political thought and whether they are willing to engage with other actors on the right who do not share their beliefs in order to achieve their goal. The most extreme websites analysed in this study are not, but instead stay in their ideological siloes and leave the outreach to less extreme bedfellows to other websites. It is hoped that this method is developed in future research.

Chapter 3
A Mixed Methods Research Design:
Hyperlink Mapping and Systematic Content Analysis

Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the network map created in Chapter 2. It presents the statistical methods from hyperlink network analysis used to identify key websites, as well as the method of identifying the sources hosted on these websites to be included in the content analysis, and the method of this content analysis. Hyperlink network analysis identified several extreme right websites as being key to the network in terms of their popularity, links to influential websites, and position as important bridges within the network. Several far right websites were also revealed to be important using these statistical measures. During the analysis it was found that these extreme and far right websites were also hyperlinking to mainstream news outlets. This gradual discovery of different categories of important nodes in the network led to utilisation of a three level approach to the analysis whereby extreme right content, far right content, and mainstream content were analysed in turn to understand how they functioned within extreme right discourse.

This chapter begins by introducing the principles from graph theory that informed the statistical analysis of the network, which are presented alongside the results of this analysis. The core extreme right, far right, and mainstream news websites are presented along with the statistical measures that revealed them to be important. After the identification of core websites, the method of locating relevant content on each website is described. Only the content that was linked to by other websites in the network was considered for analysis, rather than considering all content that was hosted on a website. Wordsearches of key words related to gender were used to identify the content that was relevant to the research question. After preliminary analysis, it was seen that the extreme right websites were primarily discussing antisemitic beliefs even when discussing gender. To investigate this further across the dataset, a key word list of antisemitic terms was devised and utilised across all content searches. These keyword lists were used to identify content on the extreme right, far right, and mainstream news websites to be analysed in a systematic content analysis, the findings of which are detailed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6. The chapter ends with a discussion of the ethical considerations that went into the research design, and the caveats and imitations of collecting and analysing data in this way.

Data Analysis

This section covers the statistical measures used to identify core websites in the network and details the methods of systematic content analysis used to qualitatively analyse them. It shows how these statistical measures revealed extreme right, far right, and mainstream news websites to be central to the functioning of this network. The statistical measures used come from graph theory, the mathematical study of networks made of nodes with the edges between them. It is the branch of maths from which hyperlink network analysis comes. Statistics from graph theory are used to analyse the positions of different websites in this network based on a variety of different criteria. Measures of popularity (indegree), importance (eigenvector centrality), closeness to other nodes (closeness centrality), ability to link nodes (betweenness centrality), or ability to bridge disparate groups (bridging centrality) are ways of revealing the significance of difference entities in the ecosystem. The websites found to be most central, which includes both

extreme and far right websites, are subjected to further qualitative analysis, as are the mainstream news outlets they link to.

Systematic content analysis is used to analyse the textual content hosted on these central websites. This systematic content analysis was used to facilitate a consistent approach to the data. Textual content in the form of blogs, essays, and articles was identified as pertinent to the research question by the presence of keywords related to gender and antisemitism. These keyword lists were created by referencing other research, directories of hateful language, and an online thesaurus. Identifying relevant content via wordsearches limited the amount of content to be analysed, with the unfiltered data totalling several hundred pieces with a combined word count in the hundreds of thousands. Systematically identifying content based on the frequency of relevant key words prioritises the words of the writers, rather than the researcher's interest in different parts of the research question. The intention of this was to get as close as possible to the discursive priorities of the extreme at the time when data was collected. The following three chapters of this thesis show the findings of a systematic content analysis of three parts of the aspect of the ecosystem part-created and part-discovered in this chapter: the extreme right, the far right, and the mainstream news media.

Indegree

There are two main types of graph in graph theory, directed and undirected graphs. In undirected graphs, two nodes share an edge and the edge implies no directional relation. In directed graphs, the edges have a direction so that node A could have a directed edged to node B, but node B may not have a directed edge back. Hyperlinks are considered directed ties, with the tie going from the website hosting the hyperlink, to the website that the hyperlink directs to. When nodes A and B both have directional edges to each other, they are known as having a mutual edge or mutual degree. "Friends" on Facebook or "Connections" on LinkedIn would be undirected graphs, as both parties have to agree to the connection which makes it undirected, whereas "Followers" on Twitter or "Likes" on Facebook pages would be directed graphs, as only one party initiates the tie. The degree of a node is the number of edges it has with other nodes in the network. In an undirected graph, it is only possible to measure the degree of a node. In a directed graph, a node has an indegree, outdegree, and degree, sometimes known as the net degree. The indegree is the number of edges from other nodes to that particular node. The outdegree is the number of edges that go from a node to other nodes in the network. The degree is the sum of these. The indegree is a simple way of measuring the popularity of one node, based on how many other nodes in the network link to it.

Due to the webcrawler stopping at a depth of three, hyperlinks were not collected from every website. This means that the outdegree statistic is not a meaningful representation of the out-linking behaviour of the websites in this network and so the outdegree and net degree statistics are not used in the analysis. The indegree is therefore the only degree statistic used and is used to measure how frequently websites in the network link to a certain website. The 20 nodes with the highest indegree are shown in Table 2.1 alongside the most popular websites in the US in June 2023 and worldwide in April 2023, when the dataset was created, for context.

Table 2.1

Web Domains Appearing in the Network with the Highest Indegree

Rank	Domain Name	Indegree	Most Popular Websites US (June, 2023)	Most Popular Websites Worldwide (April, 2023)
1	Twitter	233	Google	Google
2	Facebook	198	YouTube	YouTube
3	YouTube	137	Facebook	Facebook
4	Instagram	117	Amazon	Twitter
5	LinkedIn	78	Yahoo	Instagram
6	Google	74	Twitter	Baidu
7	WordPress	58	Instagram	Wikipedia
8	Amazon	55	Wikipedia	Yandex
9	Apple	41	Reddit	Yahoo
10	Telegram	40	Pornhub	WhatsApp
11	Gab	40	Discord	Xvideos
12	Wikipedia	35	Xvideos	Pornhub
13	Reddit	27	XNXX	Amazon
14	Pinterest	27	eBay	XNXX
15	WhatsApp	25	Office	Live
16	New York Times	22	LinkedIn	TikTok
17	Blogger	19	New York Times	Docomo
18	Daily Mail	17	CNN	Yahoo
19	Unz Review	16	Bing	LinkedIn
20	WordPress	16	Microsoft Online	Reddit

Note. Extreme right websites are highlighted in red and mainstream news outlets are highlighted in blue.

The websites with the highest indegree are unsurprisingly some of the most popular websites on the Internet. Of the 20 most popular websites in this dataset, nine were in the most popular websites worldwide in April 2023, and of the 20 most popular websites in the dataset, ten were the most popular in the US in June 2023. This collection of websites shows where mainstream Internet users spend most of their time when online, and where this is different for extremist users. The websites that are popular to the extreme right and not to mainstream users, WordPress (.com and .org), Apple, Telegram, Gab, Pinterest, New York Times, Blogger, Daily Mail, and Unz, show the difference between how the average user spends their time on the Internet, and how these extremists use the Internet.

The far and extreme right websites receiving at least five in-links from other websites, the most popular websites, are shown in Table 2.2. The websites in this sample show a range of ideologies in the far and extreme right as well as a range of different website purposes. Many websites belonging to extreme right actors and groups are featured as well as a number of far right conspiracy or fake news websites.

Table 2.2

Far and Extreme Right Web Domains with and Indegree of at Least 5

Website name	Indegree
Unz Review	16
VDARE	13
Counter Currents	12
American Renaissance	12
Zero Hedge	11
The Occidental Observer	9
The Gateway Pundit	9
Amerika	8
Breitbart	7
Paul Craig Roberts	7
National Vanguard	6
Lew Rockwell	6
Taki Mag	6
Bayou Renaissance Man	5
Renegade Tribune	5
Inconvenient History	5
Townhall	5
David Duke	5
InfoWars	5
Natural News	5
Renegade Tribute	5
The Political Cesspool	5
Death Metal	5
Occidental Dissent	5

Note. Extreme right websites are highlighted in red and far right websites are highlighted in gold.

Five of the websites from the seedset received no in-links from other websites. These were 88NSM, Church of Jesus Christ Christian Aryan Nations, National Liberty Alliance, and Patriot Front US, showing that, while garnering a lot of views each month, the websites were not necessarily reciprocally included in this network of the extreme right ecosystem. This suggests that visitors to these websites may be searching for them directly, rather than accessing them via gateway websites, indicating that visitors to these websites may have a specific desire to visit these websites, more so than other websites in the network.

Closeness Centrality

Closeness centrality is the measure of how close a node is to all the other nodes in the network. It is measured as the average shortest distance from one node to all other nodes. Nodes with high closeness centrality can reach other nodes quickly meaning that information can be spread quickly across a network via the nodes with the highest closeness centrality. The

significance of this in a graph of websites is that users will find themselves closer to these sites than others while in the network. One hundred and twenty websites had the highest closeness centrality score meaning 120 websites had the same number of shortest paths to other websites in the network. The twenty-three of these websites that were far or extreme right are included in Table 2.3. This statistic has been normalised to be between 1 and 0, meaning websites with the highest number of shortest paths to each other have a closeness centrality of 1.

Table 2.3

The 23 Far and Extreme Right Websites with a Closeness Centrality of 1

Domain Name	Closeness Centrality
American Immigration Control Foundation	1
Brushbeater	1
Castle	1
Castle Hill Publishers	1
DC Enquirer	1
Illegal Alien Crime Report	1
Inconvenient History	1
Jihad Watch	1
Money Tree Publishing	1
National Justice	1
News Punch	1
NS88	1
Pepper Cave	1
The Dissident	1
The Falling Darkness	1
The Greatest Story Never Told	1
Trading Politics News	1
Reckonin'	1
VDARE	1
Western Rifle Shooters	1
Third Position Directory	1
88NSM	1
NAO	1

Note. Extreme right websites are highlighted in red and far right websites are highlighted in gold.

Amongst these websites, but not explicitly far or extreme right, was the forum of the International Flat Earth Society, several right wing to far right news sources with biased reporting and factual inaccuracies, and a climate change denial site. There were also several websites containing information on how to prepare for an apocalypse "prepper sites" and combat training, but without overt far right tones.

Eigenvector Centrality

Eigenvector centrality is the measure of the prestige of a node in a network, it is a measure of the quality of the connections a node has. Nodes gain a higher eigenvector centrality score by being connected to nodes who themselves have a high eigenvector centrality score. It is calculated iteratively based on an initial guess of which nodes will have highest centrality, and then adjusted until the scores no longer change. The eigenvector centrality score of one node is increased or decreased based on the scores of its neighbouring nodes until all the nodes in the graph have stable scores. If a relatively small or unimportant node is connected to a high number of nodes with great influence or power, then that node has high eigenvector centrality. Rasputin is an historical example of a someone in a social network with high eigenvector centrality. Table 2.4 shows the 20 websites with the highest eigenvector centrality scores in the network. These websites have connections to well-connected websites in the network. Unsurprisingly, alt tech platforms Gab, Bitchute, and Odysee find themselves amongst the most influential in this network. They are amongst the most mainstream far right websites on the Internet and host the social media presence of many of the groups in the network, making this an expected finding. The websites Counter Currents, a far right publishing house, and American Renaissance, a white supremacist organisation promoting "race science," appear amongst the most influential nodes in the network.

Table 2.4

Eigenvector Centrality Scores of the Websites with the 20 Highest Scores

Website Name	Eigenvector Centrality Score
Twitter	1
Facebook	0.799511
YouTube	0.586821
Google	0.551439
Instagram	0.432536
Apple	0.41
LinkedIn	0.395777
Amazon	0.312402
Gab	0.295869
Telegram	0.266755
Wikipedia	0.194962
WordPress	0.1751
WhatsApp	0.159674
New York Times	0.144203
Reddit	0.143675
Bitchute	0.121347
The Guardian	0.115276
Odysee	0.106937
Counter Currents	0.106802

	American Renaissance	0.104451

Note. Extreme right websites are highlighted in red, far right websites are highlighted in gold, and mainstream news outlets are highlighted in blue.

Table 2.5 shows the eigenvector centrality scores of the extreme right websites that fell within the hundred highest scores of the dataset. They show the most influential of the far and extreme right websites and they are unsurprisingly some of the largest and most well-funded. It is particularly interesting that in a time where much of the time spent online is on websites with very short posts that require only a very short amount of time to read, process, and move on from such as Facebook, Twitter, Gab, Instagram, and TikTok, the most popular far-to-extreme right websites are long form news outlets and even a publishing house. Alt tech platforms Gab, BitChute, and Odysee also appeared among the most influential, but the high positions of American Renaissance and Counter Currents show that people are spending considerable time on extreme right websites engaging with long, albeit pseudo-intellectual writing.

Table 2.5

Eigenvector Centrality Scores of Far and Extreme Right Websites Scoring Amongst the Top Hundred

Rank	Website Name	Eigenvector Centrality Score
19	Counter Currents	0.106802
20	American Renaissance	0.104451
26	The Occidental Observer	0.083197
30	Unz Review	0.079253
31	Dissenter	0.07885
32	Dissenter Shop	0.07885
34	VDARE	0.076019
37	Institute for Historical Review	0.073753
45	Paul Craig Roberts	0.06271
47	Lew Rockwell	0.060319
49	Zero Hedge	0.059373
52	Inconvenient History	0.05556
61	Occidental Dissent	0.050377
68	Centre for Immigration Studies	0.048396
70	Chronicles Magazine	0.047586
73	National Vanguard	0.045925
80	The American Mercury	0.045159
84	Antelope Hill Publishing	0.043917
91	Breitbart	0.042225
100	Taki Mag	0.038305

Note. Extreme right websites are highlighted in red and far right websites are highlighted in gold.

Betweenness Centrality

Betweenness centrality is the measure of how often a node sits on the shortest path between a pair of nodes, thereby acting as a bridge between them. Nodes with a high betweenness centrality can be thought of as being important in the flow of information in a network as they control the shortest path between two nodes. If one node or cluster of nodes, has information that another cluster or another node does not, the nodes with higher betweenness centrality will be the most likely to pass this information along. Nodes with high betweenness centrality have the role of "bottlenecks" or "gatekeepers" as they are the ones mostly likely to be able to prevent or enable the flow of information across a network. Table 2.6 shows the 20 websites with the highest betweenness centrality scores in the network, normalised to between 1 and 0. These websites are those that most often sit on the shortest path between other websites; these websites are more likely to be important in the control of the flow of information.

Table 2.6

Betweenness Centrality Scores of the Websites with the 20 Highest Scores

Rank	Website Name	Betweenness Centrality Score
1	Unz Review	0.002689
2	Automattic	0.001092
3	The Occidental Observer	0.001075
4	Arthur Kemp	0.000988
5	Blogger	0.000975
6	Counter Currents	0.00096
7	The Tactical Hermit	0.000821
8	Patrick Ryan Show	0.000682
9	Amerika	0.000635
10	Order of Nine Angles	0.000466
11	Stat Counter	0.000397
12	Dissent Watch	0.000362
13	Pubmatic	0.000355
14	Saxon Messenger	0.00034
15	Worldometer	0.00034
16	Death Metal	0.000316
17	National Vanguard	0.000308
18	New Nation	0.000308
19	Normal American	0.000294
20	Eupedia	0.000289

Note. Extreme right websites are highlighted in red and far right websites are highlighted in gold.

Far and extreme right websites dominate the websites with the highest betweenness centrality. Fourteen of the 20 websites are far or extreme right websites. Many of these websites sit between two far right ideologies, explaining their high scores. The Patrick Ryan show is an extreme right podcast that publicises itself as a mainstream yet edgy political talk show while pushing antisemitism. The Order of Nine Angles sits between neo-Nazi and neo-Pagan ideologies.

Eupedia is a forum dedicated to racial classification focusing on Europe, putting it on the boundary between racial classification and legitimate enquire into family history. And Death Metal Underground is a website dedicated to death metal, but run by a white supremacist and promoting white supremacist music. These websites represent the quickest gateways from one area of far right thought to another, in many cases from a mainstream interest to an extreme political ideology.

Bridging Centrality

Bridging centrality is a measure of how central a node is in connecting two communities of a graph that are densely connected amongst themselves but otherwise not connected to each other. It considers the community the node is connected to, whereas betweenness centrality only considers the connection of a node to its immediate neighbours. Bridging centrality captures a node's ability to form a bridge between two disconnected areas of a graph. In the study of websites, nodes with high bridging centrality connect two clusters of websites that would not otherwise link. In the study of the extremist ecosystem, websites with high bridging centrality may form bridges that connect two otherwise separate ideological biotopes. Table 2.7 shows the 20 websites with the highest bridging centrality in the network. These websites are those that connect disparate subsections of the network more so than other websites.

Table 2.7

Bridging Centrality Scores of the Websites with the 20 Highest Scores

Rank	Website Name	Bridging Centrality Score
1	Julius Evola	0.000177
2	Savitri Devi	0.000054
3	ABG Lodge	0.000053
4	Thuletide	0.000041
5	A Common Lawyer*	0.000036
6	Penetrate	0.000034
7	Stat Counter	0.000033
8	David Duke	0.000025
9	Christogenea	0.000023
10	WordPress Subscriptions	0.000018
11	Nocturnal Reflexions	0.000017
12	Blogger	0.000016
13	Turul Nexion	0.000013
14	Louis Beam	0.000010
15	Gravatar	0.000009
16	The New World Order	0.000009
17	Cosmotheist Church	0.000007
18	Station Gossip	0.000007
19	Arthur Kemp	0.000006
20	Pubmatic	0.000005

The majority of these websites are extreme right websites. Julius Evola and Savitri Devi are websites dedicated to extreme right thinkers. Arthur Kemp, David Duke and Louis Beam are personal website belonging to white supremacists. Arthur Kemp is a former foreign affairs spokesperson for the British National Party and the owner of Ostara Publications, a racist online magazine, and Louis Beam is a former member of the Aryan Nations who still publishes white supremacist materials online. The New Order and Cosmotheist Church are both neo-Nazi organisations, Cosmotheist Church being the religion of National Alliance. Julius Evola, Savitri Devi, ABG Lodge, Thuletide, Penetrate, and Nocturnal Reflections are all neo-Nazi or white supremacist websites with some ties to the occult. A Common Lawyer is a website offering people courses in how to become a "Constitutional Sheriff" which is a concept associated with the far right sovereign citizens movement, although the website avoids any overt far right content.

Mutual Degree

When a pair of nodes both link to each other, they are said to have a mutual degree. Nodes having a mutual degree is only possible in directed graphs where ties are directional; in undirected graphs nodes cannot link to each other so there can be no mutuality. Nodes with a higher mutual degree indicate higher levels of embeddedness in the network as they are in reciprocal relationships with other nodes. While this centrality score may not highlight the most popular nodes, it highlights the nodes with the strongest ties in the network, indicating higher levels of community and organisation than nodes without reciprocal ties. Ninety one websites had a mutual degree of one or greater, with the highest mutual degree being five, held by one website. The six websites with the highest mutual degrees are shown in Table 2.8. Only extremist websites had a mutual degree greater than 1.

Table 2.8

Websites with the Highest Mutual Degree

Website Name	Mutual Degree
The Tactical Hermit	5
Unz Review	4
Counter Currents	3
National Vanguard	3
Amerika	3
Death Metal	3

Note. Extreme right websites are highlighted in red.

Extreme Right Websites

Using the centrality measures discussed in this section, 13 extreme right websites were identified as being key players in this network from the online extreme right ecosystem. These are shown in Table 2.9 and accompanied by the statistics that show why they are significant.

Table 2.9

Extreme Right Central Actors in the Ecosystem as Identified by Statistics of Importance

Website Name	Indegree	Mutual Degree	Eigen. Centrality	Between. Centrality	Bridging Centrality
American Renaissance	12	1	0.104451	0.000044	0.000004
Amerika	8	3	0.025756	0.000635	0
Arthur Kemp	2	1	0.022311	0.000988	0.000006
Counter Currents	12	3	0.106802	0.000960	0.000002
Death Metal	5	3	0.026008	0.000316	0.000002
Julius Evola	1	0	0.000296	0.000015	0.000177
National Vanguard	6	3	0.045925	0.000308	0
The Occidental Observer	9	2	0.083197	0.001075	0
Savitri Devi	1	0	0.004171	0.000252	0.000054
The Tactical Hermit	5	5	0.015655	0.000821	0.000001
Thuletide	3	0	0.014732	0.000073	0.000041
Unz	16	4	0.079253	0.002689	0
VDARE	13	0	0.076019	0.000169	0.000001

Note. The defining statistic for each website is highlighted in orange.

Unz was chosen because it is the extreme right website with the highest indegree in the dataset. VDARE, Counter Currents, and American Renaissance also have an indegree in the double digits, making them all central actors. A high mutual degree shows a website well embedded in the network and The Tactical Hermit had the highest mutual degree of 5. The Tactical Hermit is no longer online as it violated the WordPress terms of service. The blog is still active, however, this time on its own domain. Pages of the WordPress version of the blog are also available on Internet archive sites. The only website with a mutual degree of 4 was Unz, already included. Only Counter Currents (already included), National Vanguard, Amerika, and Death Metal had mutual degrees of 3, and so were included.

Websites were also selected for having a high eigenvector centrality score, meaning they are connected to other well connected nodes. Counter Currents and American Renaissance had the highest eigenvector centrality scores in the dataset, but were already included due to their high indegree. The Occidental Observer had the third highest eigenvector centrality of the extreme right websites and so was included, with Unz having the fourth highest and already being included. Websites with the highest betweenness centrality were also included. Arthur Kemp's blog had the third highest betweenness centrality of the extreme right websites, and the fourth highest in the dataset, and so was included. The four websites with the highest bridging centralities were included. These were Julius Evola, Savitri Devi, ABG Lodge, and Thuletide. These websites represent the websites with the strongest ability to connect two different sections of the network that are densely connected amongst themselves, but disconnected from each other.

Taken together these 13 websites represent a collection of key far right websites in the network. Either through having a high indegree, where many other websites contained hyperlinks to them; a high mutual degree, showing them to be well embedded in the network; had a high eigenvector centrality, showing a connection to nodes that were themselves well connected; a high betweenness centrality, representing the shortest bridges between pairs of websites; and a high bridging centrality, showing the nodes best at connecting two different parts of the network.

Far Right Websites

Statistical analysis of the ecosystem performed here found a number of websites with high closeness centrality, high eigenvector centrality, and at least five in-links – central actors in the network – belonging to the far right. The websites with high betweenness centrality and high bridging centrality were excluded as these websites were either extreme right or mainstream. The five websites – Breitbart, Lew Rockwell, Paul Craig Roberts, Taki Mag, ZeroHedge – that had both high indegree and high eigenvector centrality were automatically included in the collection of far right websites to be analysed. Of the remaining 17 websites, seven – Chronicles Magazine, AIC Foundation, Illegal Alien Crime Report, Jihad Watch, National Justice, The Dissident, and The Falling Darkness – received no hyperlinks to individual pieces of content. Another, Brush Beater, only received hyperlinks from itself. DC Enquirer, The American Mercury, and Trending Polics only had hyperlinks to one piece of content. The Political Cesspool was excluded as it is a radio website with little textual content. Of the six websites that received hyperlinks to more than one piece of content – Bayou Renaissance Man, Centre for Immigration Studies, InfoWars, News Punch, Town Hall, and Western Rifle Shooters US – five were chosen at random and included. These final ten websites are shown in Table 2.10 with the statistic(s) for which they were included for consideration highlighted in orange.

Table 2.10

The Ten Far Right Websites Identified as Core Far Right Actors with Relevant Statistics

Website Name	Indegree	Eigen. Centrality	Closeness Centrality
Breitbart	7	0.042225	0
Centre for Immigration Studies	4	0.048396	0.266925
InfoWars	5	0.031622	0.833333
Lew Rockwell	6	0.060319	0
News Punch	3	0.009998	1
Paul Craig Roberts	7	0.06271	0
Taki Mag	6	0.038305	0
Townhall	5	0.023744	0
Western Rifle Shooters Association	4	0.016982	1
ZeroHedge	11	0.059373	0

Note. The defining statistic for each website is highlighted in orange.

Breitbart is a far right news and opinion website associated with President Trump after the website's former executive chairman, Steve Bannon, worked as chief strategist for the former President during the first seven months of his term. Breitbart had 227 million total visits in March

2024 (SEMrush, 2024). Centre for Immigration Studies (CIS) is an American anti-immigration think tank that has been criticised for false and misleading reporting on migration issues, as well as publishing racist writers and associating with white nationalists (SPLC, c2024). InfoWars is a far right American news and opinion website known for promoting conspiracy theories and fake news that received 27 million total visits in March 2024 (SEMrush, 2024). Lew Rockwell is a libertarian, anarcho-capitalist writer who owns the website of the same name that promotes his far right libertarian views. News Punch is a fake news site founded by husbands Sean Adl-Tabatabai and Sinclair Treadway (Boswell, 2017). Adl-Tabatabai is a former BBC news reporter who worked for David Icke's conspiracy website after leaving the BBC (Boswell, 2017). News Punch is prolific in fake news, has been accused of having ties to Russian disinformation campaigns, and is block-listed by the European Union's fact-checking organisation (Boswell, 2017). Paul Craig Roberts (PCR) is a right wing American economist with accusations of antisemitism from the ADL and promoting conspiracy theories (ADL, 2015). Taki Mag is a far right online magazine that has expressed support for Greek neo-Nazi organisation Golden Dawn and has published the work of white nationalist Jared Taylor and was previously edited by white supremacist Richard Spencer (ADL, c2024; Mathews, 2016). Townhall is an online news site that regularly publishes false or misleading information with a far right bias and has published mainstream to far right politicians and figures such as Anne Coulter and Ben Shapiro (Media Bias Fact Check, c2024). Western Rifle Shooters Association is a far right website with a focus on militarism and preparedness/survivalism. It was identified as a possible website to be included in the seedset due to its online linking with the militia movement, but was not included as it was not possible to determine if it was actually a militia group itself, and did not include any right wing extremist content. ZeroHedge is a far right financial blog and news aggregator that shares non-financial political commentary that promotes conspiracy theories related to Russia and Covid-19 (Krafft & Donovan, 2020; Zeng & Schäfer, 2021).

Mainstream News Websites

The ten mainstream media sources with the highest indegree were included and are shown in Table 2.11. These websites are chosen for the high number of links they receive from far and extreme right websites, indicating that the play an important role in this network. The other centrality measures that were used to identify the extreme and far right websites are not used as the purpose of analysing mainstream news websites is to see what elements of discourse these reactionary actors are utilising from mainstream sources, rather than the position of mainstream websites in this part of the extreme right ecosystem.

Table 2.11

The Ten Mainstream News Websites with the Highest Indegree

Domain Name	Website	Indegree
New York Times	nytimes.com	22
Daily Mail	dailymail.co.uk	17
Fox News	foxnews.com	15
The Guardian	theguardian.com	14
CNN	cnn.com	13
Al Jazeera	aljazeera.com	10
Washington Post	washingtonpost.com	10

New York Post	nypost.com	10
Wall Street Journal	wsj.com	8
Associated Press	apnews.com	8

Note. Mainstream news websites are highlighted in blue.

Seven of these websites are based in America, the Daily Mail and The Guardian are based in the UK, and Al Jazeera is based in Qatar. They are all large news sources with high viewership in their national bases and internationally. The Daily Mail is a British newspaper with the widest paid circulation in the UK and is one of the most-read online news sites in the world (Alpert, 2019). Fox News is primarily a news broadcaster rather than a print newspaper and averages 2 million viewers in prime time, the second most watched news network in America (Fox News Media, 2023). The Guardian had 22 million unique online readers monthly and 81 million unique monthly viewers globally in 2023 (Vijay, 2023). The New York Times had 452.4 million total visits in March 2023 and CNN had 446.2 million, making the New York Times the largest news website in terms of total views in the US (Majid, 2024). In October 2023, Al Jazeera had 11.7 million YouTube subscribers, making it the fourth largest English-language YouTube news channel (Maher, 2023). The Wall Street Journal has the largest print circulation in the US at 610 thousand readers in March 2023, followed by the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the New York Post (Majid, 2023). Associated Press received 118 million monthly visits in 2023 and had 821,000 subscribers (Associate Press, 2023). These news sources are hugely influential in their national contexts and globally, having a great amount of industry prestige and trust from the public in a number of cases. They are used for the content analysis of mainstream discourse and its role in the extreme right ecosystem detailed in Chapter 6 because of these influential positions.

Systematic Content Analysis

The textual content that is hyperlinked to in the dataset is taken as the basis of the analysis. Hyperlinks that led to author profiles, navigation pages, full books, podcasts, or album track listings, etc were removed so that only essays, blogs, articles, opinion pieces, or similar remained. The intention was to study pieces of textual content that are linked to by extremists websites in the dataset. The underlying assumption of this is that these hyperlinks appear because actors have specifically chosen a certain piece of content to link to. This is more likely to be the case with hyperlinks to specific pieces of content than with links to a domain, which may be used to signify affinity with a group or be placed as a feature of the website's infrastructure.[5] Linking to a specific piece of textual content signifies that there is something important about that piece of content to whomever has placed the link. For this reasons, links from a page linking to an article hosted on its own site were also removed. This is because many of these links appear on a website as part of their website infrastructure, such as when a website links to its recently published articles on its homepage to encourage visitors to read them. The intention was to analyse content that was directly relevant to extreme and far right actors in the dataset, which was identified by a website placing a hyperlink to textual content hosted on a website other than its own. The inclusion and exclusion criteria are summarised in Table 2.12.

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[5] The exceptions to this are the websites Julius Evola and Savitri Devi, both of which received no in-links to specific pieces of content. However, these websites are archives of both thinkers' works and the hyperlinks to them are taken as an indication of support for these views as they were historically expressed.

Table 2.12

Summary of Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Inclusion Criteria
Textual content
Content linked to by a source external to the one hosting the content

Exclusion Criteria
Non textual content, such as podcasts and videos
Textual content that would be too long to read and/or performs a different ideological function to articles, such as books
Content that does not express opinions, such as album listings, author profiles, or band discographies

To analyse the sources, the content was copy and pasted from each unique URL and saved to text files which were then entered into AntConc, a free corpus analysis software. Wordsearches were performed to identify pieces of content that expressed views on gender based on the number of keyword "hits" found in each source. Keyword lists were devised after consulting HateBase, an online database of hate speech, as well as a thesaurus for common words used to refer to people of different genders, sexualities, as well as typical gender-related issues. Due to the large amount of data, up to three sources from each website with the highest number of hits for gender-related content were analysed. Where no specific pieces of content were linked to, as in the case of the Savitri Devi and Julius Evola archives (Chapter 4), essays hosted by that website were used in their stead. When reading the content, it was clear that gendered issues were far less important to some of the extreme right authors than antisemitism. To explore this further, word searches related to antisemitism were also performed to compare the prevalence of the two themes. The words used for the gender and antisemitism wordsearches are listed in Tables 1.18 and 1.19 respectively.

The keyword lists were created through an iterative process of testing and development. The content was scoured for mentions of gender and gender-related beliefs and the keywords that were associated with these ideas were included in the keyword lists. The initial lists were much shorter than those shown in Tables 2.13 and 2.14 and the keyword lists grew through testing. During testing, the content that was identified by the keyword lists was compared with content not identified by the keyword searches to see if the most pertinent content had been accurately identified. The keyword lists were considered to be complete when adding new words did not introduce new content. For example, a number of plurals had not been included in early versions of the list such as "dads" or "girlfriends," but the inclusion of the words did not result in new content being identified, rather it increased the keyword hit rates of already included content. Similarly, the inclusion of words like "conscription," "gentlemen," and "crossdresser" also did not introduce new content to be analysed. At this point, the word lists were considered complete.

Table 2.13

Keywords Used to Search for Gendered Content on Websites

Men	Women	Children	Sexuality	Gender Identity	Gender Discourse
Bloke	Female	Boy	Bisexual*	Cis	Abortion*
Blokes	Females	Boys	Fag	Cisgender	Conscription
Boyfriend*	Femcel	Child	Faggot*	Cissexual	Conscripted
Bro	Femcels	Children	Gay	Crossdresser	Families
Brother	Feminazi*	Daughter	Gays	Groomer*	Family
Brothers	Feminin*	Daughters	Hetero	Trannies	Gender
Dad	Femoid	Girl	Heteros	Tranny	Marriage
Daddy	Femoids	Girls	Heterosexual*	Trans	Parent*
Dads	Girlfriend*	Kid	Homo	Transgender	Rape*
Father	Ladies	Kids	Homos	Trans-gender	Raping
Fathers	Lady	Son	Homosexual*	Transman	Sex
Gentleman	Mom	Sons	Lesbian*	Trans-man	Sexes
Gentlemen	Mommy	Young	LGBT*	Transexual	Sexual
Husband*	Moms	Youth	Queer*	Transsexual	Sexuality
Incel	Mother			Transvestite	Sexually
Incels	Mothers			Transwoman	Sibling
Lad	Mum			Trans-woman	Siblings
Lads	Mummy				Transgendered
Male	Mums				Transgenderism
Males	Sister				Transexualism
Man	Sisters				Transsexualism
Masculin*	Wife				
Men	Wives				
	Woman				
	Women				

Note. The '*' is used as a wild card character in AntConc. It instructs the software to look for that word, followed by any other characters, including no characters.

Table 2.14

Keywords Used to Search for Antisemitic Content and Content Related to Jewish People and Judaism on Websites

Jewish People	Non-Jewish People	Discourse	Religion
Jew	Gentile	Antisemite	Judaism
Jews	Gentiles	Antisemitic	Kosher
Kike	Goy	Anti-Semitic	Rabbi
Jewish	Goyim	Antisemitism	Rabbis

Semite	Goys	Anti-Semitism
Semites	Shiksa	Cabal
Zionist	Shiksas	Clannish
		Globalist
		Holocaust
		Holohoax
		Illuminati
		Israel
		Israeli
		Semitic
		Zio
		Zionism

These keyword lists were used in each of the subsequent chapters, Chapters 4, 5 and 6, to identify relevant content in a systematic manner. The content that was identified as relevant was then subjected to an inductive content analysis. Rather than adopting a hermeneutic type approach, the content was largely taken at face value and the role the analysis performed was to understand what was being expressed in the content and to situate this in its wider discursive and political context of historical fascism and contemporary politics. To as large an extent as possible, the findings came from the data. The research question was deliberately left open so as to capture as much information as possible regarding what right wing actors thought about gender and gender-related issues. The content where these topics were discussed were what was analysed. This approach to identifying and analysing the data resulted in a systematic content analysis whereby the content was identified and analysed systematically across all websites. This approach was used to create as consistent an analysis as possible and to allow for the maximum amount of the findings to come from the data.

Ethical Considerations

A project of this scope and nature presents a number of ethical issues that had to be addressed during the planning, data collection, and data analysis stages of the research. These included the legality of data collection and storage, compliance with data protection regulations, and researcher welfare. These issues are considered in turn and how the solutions were incorporated into the research design are covered. Overall, while these ethical issues must be considered, they do not pose a significant challenge to this research as the research is comfortably in the public interest and within the bounds of the law.

The Legality of Web Scraping

Web scraping is generally considered to be in a grey legal area because of the vast array of content types that can be scraped, and the vast array of websites that can be scraped from. Web scraping can be illegal if it is done against the terms and conditions of a website, if it infringes on the IP of a website, or if it collects personal data that is not manifestly made public by the data subject. This means that scraping some types of content will be unequivocally illegal, such as scraping personal user information from Facebook that is not publicly available, whereas some is clearly legal, such as scraping hyperlinks from HTML as in this project. The laws regarding web scraping differ in the UK and the US. A recent Ninth Circuit ruling in America regarding a data

scraping complaint found some aspects of data scraping to be legal and that companies and individuals have a right to scrape publicly available data that is posted by users and hosted on online platforms (Chung, 2021). In the UK, data scraping can be illegal if found to breach the terms and conditions of a website, but only if these terms and conditions are enforceable. Only "click to accept" terms and conditions are legally binding in the UK, and so scraping a website that specifies that scraping is not permitted in its terms and conditions, if these terms and conditions have been accepted, would constitute a breach of contract in UK law.

There is also a risk of IP infringement if the data scraped could be considered intellectual property, such as with the scraping of curated information on a webpage or an online database. This project only scrapes hyperlinks, which are often embedded, and does not take the associated text meaning there is no risk of IP infringement. The hyperlinks in question are also manifestly made public by the creator(s) of the website as they are placed there because they want visitors to follow them. While it may appear that automatically collecting these hyperlinks is different from manually collecting them, they are functionally the same thing. It would take years to create a map of these websites manually and it is in the public interest that this research be done in a timely manner. The automated collection of these hyperlinks was done in a rate limited manner so as to not overburden servers which would adversely affect the performance of the website. Beyond this, scraping hyperlinks bares a very low cost to website hosting providers.

GDPR / DPA Concerns

This research collects no personally identifying data, but it does collect data on religious and political beliefs and there are some websites that are run by named extremists. However, these can be considered public figures who are broadcasting their beliefs because they want them to be heard, and it is therefore within ethical guidelines to include this data in the project. Article 6 (1)(e) of the GDPR exempts consent for processing data if it "is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest". Far right extremism is a growing priority for the UK government as evidenced by a recent government report on how far right extremist actors were mobilizing during the Covid-19 pandemic (Commission for Countering Extremism, 2020), the increase in the number of Prevent referrals for far right extremism (Grierson & Sabbagh, 2020), and the expansion of far right groups proscribed under counter-terrorism legislation (Home Office, 2020). 2022 saw the greatest number of people charged with terrorism offences relating to right wing extremism ever in the UK at 20 individuals (Hope Not Hate, 2023). Clearly, the far right is growing in number and becoming more dangerous as it does so. The UK government considers the far right a threat to public safety and so this research is firmly in the public interest.

After the creation of the hyperlink map via web scraping, some of these websites will have their content qualitatively analysed. The data for this can be considered sensitive data relating to political and religious beliefs, which requires an Article 9 exemption. In this case, Article 9(2)(e) permits the collection and processing of sensitive personal data 'which are manifestly made public by the data subject." In Internet research, data are considered to be "manifestly made public by the data subject" when they are placed on websites that do not require a password to access, in other words if a website does not have a login feature and the data are viewable by people who read the website without creating an account. In this study, no information that required a password or account to access was used.

The GDPR no longer applies in the UK, as it is a European statue, and the UK instead follows the Data Protection Act of 2018 which was written in tandem with GDPR and designed to protect the privacy of UK citizens after leaving the EU. Chapter 2, Section 8 of the Data Protection

Act 2018 states that personal data can be processed "for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest", as is the case with this research. The ESRC offers guidance for online research which stipulates that information shared online in public forums, websites, and social media platforms are considered within the public domain and so can be subject to legitimate academic enquiry. The ESRC clarifies, however, that the public nature of this data should always be "critically examined" because many Internet users do not engage with social media and blogging platforms as if they are in the public domain despite the information they post being publicly accessible. This can be due to users having a low social media following and so, even though they are posting publicly, they may assume that that their posts will only be read by these few followers (ESRC, 2023; franzke, Bechmann, Zimmer, & Ess, 2020). It is therefore important to consider the intended audience of any Internet post before including it in social research. In this instance, the websites under study are created to convert, recruit, communicate with, and radicalise the visitors to the website. They are deliberately intended to be seen by the public and extremists know that researchers, law enforcement officials, and anti-fascist organisers will be viewing them. With all this considered, the data is both clearly in the public domain, and researching it is squarely in the public interest.

Legality of Terrorist Content

Recent changes to the UK's counter terrorism laws make it a criminal offense to view terrorist content on the Internet, and it is illegal to collect, posses, or distribute terrorist content under the Counter-Terrorism and Border Security Act 2019. This poses a considerable risk to terrorism researchers who will be doing all of these things during the course of a research project, especially if there are multiple researchers on one project. There is an exception to these laws which states that terrorist content can be possessed if it is for the purpose of research done in the public interest. Nevertheless, Universities UK has produced guidance for researchers to protect themselves from inadvertently breaking this law during the course of this work which advises researchers to not access terrorist content from personal computers and to store the information on designated university servers (Universities UK, 2022). Content linked to proscribed terrorist groups was not expected to appear in this study, as they were not the focus and the number of proscribed far right terrorist groups in the UK and US is low, so this law was not considered relevant to this project. If terrorist content had appeared, it would have been delt with as per the Universities UK guidance, but this did not prove to be necessary.

The Ethics of Mapping Online Social Relationships: Gathering, Presenting, Representing

An important yet often forgotten aspect of ethics are the views of social media users. A study into social media users' perceptions of Internet research by Beninger (2017) found that users generally understood that information posted publicly could and would be used in social research, and that this was generally acceptable to the users. However, what users took issue with was the idea of researchers placing narratives on their social media posts that they were not thinking of when they made the posts (Beninger, 2017). While this is an important ethical issue to consider during Internet research, it ultimately does not affect the ethical decisions in this research. The subjects of this study are very aware that their Internet posts are scrutinised by anti-extremism researchers, law enforcement agencies, and anti-fascist organisers. They continue to post online because it is believed amongst these groups that having an active online presence has more benefits for their cause than it has negatives. Indeed, some extremist groups are emboldened when they learn that researchers are scrutinising their work as it means they have caught the academy's attention. It is in society's best interest that these online screeds continue to be subject to rigorous academic research. Nevertheless, the participants of online

research, even when they have not contact with researches, should still be considered as part of any research design. Interpreting the content that people post online can only be analysed meaningfully when the poster's personhood is considered as part of that process.

Practicalities: Researcher Safety

Researcher safety in terms of physical safety and mental wellbeing is a topic increasingly identified by researchers as one in need of serious consideration by institutions and research bodies (Messanari, 2018; Pearson, et al., 2023). As research into online extremism is still an emerging field, new guidelines are regularly produced. Messanari documented the risks online harassment and doxing pose to researchers and noted that researchers were relying on informal networks to keep themselves informed of the best ways to avoid these adversities, as well as for emotional support during challenging research. An attempt to formalise these guidelines is underway with the REASSURE project (Pearson, et al., 2023). The REASSURE report into the safety of researchers into online extremism and terrorism interviewed researchers on their experiences of harm during the course of their work and found that researchers can experience external harm, through doxing, online harassment campaigns, threats to personal safety; internal harm, such as mental health impacts due to exposure to extreme hateful and violent content; and professional harm, such as not being able to advance in their field due to precautions taken to avoid or mitigate the previous two (Pearson et al., 2023). The report contained a number of steps extremism and terrorism researchers took to keep themselves safe during their research, most of which were already being done during the course of this research. Some of these steps including limiting social media presence, avoiding online controversy, using a password manager, having a specific-work only device, using a VPN, and notifying management when threats did occur.

To ensure researcher safety during this project, a VPN was used while browsing websites and during data collection. Data collection was completed on a clean operating system that contained no personal information which could be relayed to extremist actors via cookies on their websites. The browser addons uBlock Origin, which automatically denies all cookies when entering a website, and Cookie-AutoDelete, which deletes all cookies once a browser window has been closed, were also used for additional cleanliness. It is worth noting that the Python script that collects the data for this project does not open browser windows and so there is no risk of viruses or even cookies being collected. The script for this project simply sends a "get" request to the server hosting the website and returns the HTML the website is written in; it does not actually interact with a website. These precautions are therefore more useful during the exploratory browsing stage before data collection, but they were employed for the whole project nonetheless. The researcher's presence was also kept low during the study: information about the researcher's location was not shared, photos of personal effects were not shared, and words that related to far right content were not used on social media to avoid unwanted attention from dangerous actors.

Ethics Application: The Internal Review Process

A full ethical review form was submitted to the Criminology department's ethics committee for this project. As part of this process, the IT departments at CYTREC, the researcher centre where this work was conducted, as well as in the wider University for guidance on VPN use, were consulted. The University provided VPN does not hide researchers' locations, it simply shows the computer to be connected to the Swansea University network which offers some level of protection to researchers looking at illicit content but does not hide the location of the researcher from dangerous actors. This was a security concern for this research as a quick

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Internet search of far right researchers at Swansea University will return a short list of names which could lead to identification. For better security, a subscription to ExpressVPN was purchased for the duration of this project which fully masks the researcher's location.

The IT departments advised that the research be carried out on a university maintained computer. However, as the University computer rooms use a hot desk system and a number of different software are needed to carry out the research that are not readily available on all University computers, this was not an option. Instead, a Linux Ubuntu operating system was installed on the researcher's personal laptop which contained no personally identifying information and used this for data collection. A risk assessment matrix was completed for this project which considered risks to researcher safety through threats from the research subjects, and institutional risks arising from the same. As a condition of ethical approval, twice annual reports of ethical and security practises had to be submitted to the ethics review committee to show that high standards of safety and security were being maintained and updated as necessary.

Caveats and Limitations

This section details some caveats and limitations of using a webcrawler to capture this aspect of the extreme right ecosystem and of using wordsearches to identify relevant content within it. While collecting and analysing data in this way means that some important nodes and articles will be missed, this is a natural consequence of creating and analysing a large dataset with broad scope as was the intention of this study.

Data Collection

Developing a webcrawler from scratch to create and discover the ecosystem was a trial and error endeavour that had many benefits and many limitations. Automating the process of hyperlink collection and crawling meant that it was possible to create the ecosystem in the timeframe necessary for the project. However, this automation has a number of caveats, namely that the hyperlinks were not fully vetted before they were added to the graph and scraped themselves. This means that, while efforts are made to exclude them, websites that may have been illegal to scrape or irrelevant to the study may end up being scraped and crawled during a data collection process using this method. Attempting to exclude websites such as these also poses technical problems for data collection. A list of blocked websites that the crawler ignores will never be complete due to the expanse of the Internet and vast variation that URLs can display, even when they all link to one domain. This can result in inconsistencies in data collection and the subsequent dataset. As an alternative to this, a more consistent approach would be to either scrape and crawl every website that was found in the data collection process, or to manually check each hyperlink before adding it to the crawl list. Some methods of creating hyperlink maps have combined automated and manual data collection in this way, where an automated process scrapes every external URL from a page and a researcher checks each one for relevance and legality before it is added to the crawl list. This would mean that infrastructure URLs such as those belonging to Blogger or WordPress, or advertising and cookie websites would not be crawled, resulting in the aspect of the ecosystem captured being less fuzzy. The solution to a cleaner dataset where irrelevant URLs are not included is a combination of manual and automated searching, but this process requires much more researcher engagement during data collection and potentially makes projects as large as this one unviable. This project was designed to be large in scope, collecting data from a vast number of interlinked websites, and automating this process was a necessary step to realise these objectives.

Data Analysis

The statistical results from performing word searches to identify content relevant to the research questions likely overestimated the amount of content relating to gender on the websites. Words such as "man" and phrases such as "men and women" are often used simply to refer to "people" rather than a gendered topic. Nevertheless, these statistics still provide useful indicators to begin the enquiry. The words relating to Jewish people, Zionism, and antisemitism are more likely to accurately represent interest in these topics as there are few other circumstances where these words would be used frequently in the same article. This does not always indicate antisemitism, however, as a number of mainstream news articles legitimately use some inoffensive words from this word list when discussing current affairs. While these statistics are not perfect, they provide useful indicators on where to begin the enquiry. The statistical spread of gendered and antisemitic content will not represent the entire amount of gendered or antisemitic sentiment present in the sources. Rather they are intended to be used to identify the starting point for analysis. However, as the same words have been used in all chapters, it is possible to make some comparisons between groups.

Conclusion

This chapter presents a statistical analysis of the hyperlink network of extremist websites created in Chapter 2. From this network, 13 core extremist websites and 10 core far right websites were identified based on their positions within the network along with the 10 mainstream news outlets used most by these extreme and far right websites. The identification of these groups of websites was the basis of the decision to analyse the qualitative data in a three level manner that sees the extreme right, far right, and mainstream news media as three parts of contemporary right wing discourse. This chapter has demonstrated that the automated collection of the data in the form of hyperlinks on these websites is not only legal and ethical, but necessary for our understanding of extreme right beliefs and networks. While collecting hyperlinks from websites linked to by other websites and then stopping at a depth of three will not capture the entire ecosystem, capturing the entire ecosystem is not the intention of this project. This research provides a deep, close analysis of the websites connected to popular extreme right websites and their grievances and agendas in early 2023. The following three chapters present the results of the systematic content analysis described in this chapter performed on the three collections of websites identified, that of the extreme right, the far right, and mainstream news outlets.

Chapter 4
The Rhetorical Interests of the Online Extreme Right: The Sidelining of Gender Discourse and the Enduring Nature of Antisemitism

Introduction

This chapter analyses the gender-related content of thirteen extreme right websites. It begins with a brief overview of the extreme right websites identified in Chapter 3 and then presents a statistical overview of the popularity of gender-related words and topics on each website. The method of content analysis outlined in Chapter 3 is used and the results of this are presented in the Results section and expanded upon in the Discussion. This chapter addresses both parts of the research question by analysing 13 influential websites belonging to different extreme right movements and looking at the content they host that discusses gender and gender-related issues. Overwhelmingly, the websites were similar in that they had very little interest in gender and gender-related topics as a cohort. This chapter found that gender-related topics were conspicuously lacking in the content on these websites, and that gender was dwarfed in importance by the racial or antisemitic agenda that the website promoted. Where gender was discussed, it was in reference to the primary agenda of the website, which is usually racial. This finding is then related to the history of antisemitism in fascism in the Discussion and argues that antisemitism is still the defining element of right wing extremism. This chapter concludes that contemporary issues are only being incorporated into existing antisemitic narratives, rather than fundamentally changing the agenda of the extreme right.

Overview of Core Extremist Websites

A range of different websites were identified as core actors, some belonging to groups and others being the personal, yet popular, blogs of individuals, and others still being archives of fascist thinkers from the 20th century. The range represented here shows websites influential in contemporary fascist thinking and online community by their inclusion as important nodes in the dataset. Savitri Devi and Julius Evola have been shown in the literature analysing contemporary extreme right movements to be important thinkers to the modern movement (Hughes et al., 2022). As will be shown, the websites here offer continuity with the fascism of the 20th century in the structure of their beliefs, while the content of them pertains to the 21st century. Table 3.1 shows a breakdown of the ideology and function of each website.

Table 3.1

Ideological Home and Function of Each Website

Website Name	Ideology	Function	Website Type	User Engagement
American Renaissance	White supremacist	Ideological propagandising	News and commentary	In person conferences,

				donations, contribute articles, advice for activists
Amerika	White supremacist	Ideological propagandising, book selling	Blog	Comments on blog posts
Arthur Kemp	Neo-Nazi	Ideological propagandising, book selling	Blog	Comments on blog posts
Counter Currents	White nationalist/ "North American New Right"	Ideological propagandising	News and commentary, webzine and in print quarterly	Comments on posts
Death Metal	White supremacist	Discuss death metal music	Music blog	Comments on blog posts
Julius Evola	Fascism, spiritual racism	Ideological propagandising	Archive	Contact page
National Vanguard	Neo-Nazi	Ideological propagandising	News and commentary	Submit articles, donations, join
Occidental Observer	White nationalist	Ideological propagandising	News and commentary	Comments on posts, submit articles
Savitri Devi	Neo-Nazi	Ideological propagandising, book selling	Archive	Mailing list, requests for submission of archive material, shop, comments on news posts
The Tactical Hermit	Militia/Survivalism	Content sharing, ideological propagandising	Personal blog	Comments on blog posts
Thuletide	White nationalist	Ideological propagandising, resource sharing	Personal blog, posting political not personal content	Comments on blog posts, open feedback comment box
Unz	White nationalist	Ideological propagandising	News aggregator	Comments on articles
VDARE	White nationalist	Ideological propagandising	News and opinion, organisation	In person events, submit letters, members area

Methods

This chapter as well as the following two findings chapters analyse the textual content hosted on extreme right, far right, and mainstream news websites. Following the inclusion and exclusion criteria outlined in Chapter 3, 260 unique pieces of content were identified for analysis on the extreme right websites, referred to as "sources" in the analysis chapters. The sources are referred to with a unique source code and the full source list is shown in Appendix E. The word lengths of the sources ranged from 25 to 11,497 words, the full spread of which is shown in Figure 1.1. Word searches were performed to identify relevant articles to begin the analysis (see Chapter 3, Tables 2.13 and 2.14).

Figure 1.1

Box and Whisker Graph of the Word Lengths of the Content Found on Each Website
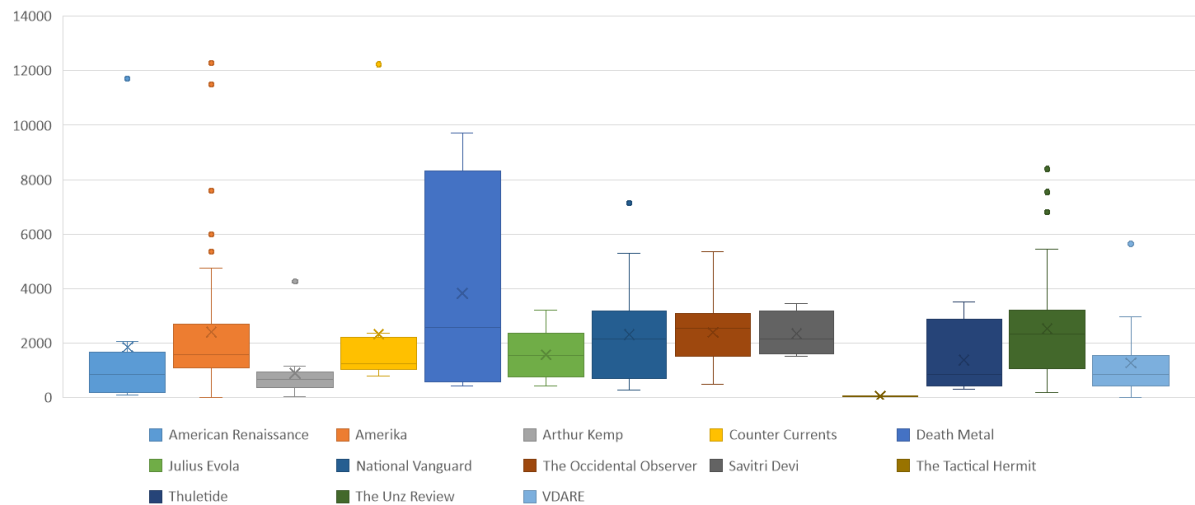
To compare the prevalence and spread of gender-related expressions and antisemitic expressions, the word counts for each topic were calculated as a percentage of the overall wordcount on each website, resulting in a statistic of the relative coverage of the topics on each website. A breakdown of the descriptive statistics for the sources hosted on each website is shown in Table 3.2 and Figure 1.2 shows a bar graph of the percentage of gender-related and antisemitism-related content on the websites.

Table 3.2

Descriptive Statistics of the Content

Website	Total Sources	Mean Word Length	Median Word Length	Percentage Coverage: Gender	Percentage Coverage: Jewish People and Antisemitism
American Renaissance	11	1,847	839	0.45	0.01
Amerika	53	2,400	1,571	0.18	0.02
Arthur Kemp	13	887	673	0.20	0.04
Counter Currents	12	2,322	1,232	1.08	0.20
Death Metal	4	3,836	2,572	0.29	0.01
Julius Evola	14	1,569	1,539	0.41	0.06
National vanguard	34	2,304	2,155	1.24	1.05
Occidental Observer	26	2,384	2,534	0.65	1.27
Savitri Devi	5	2,343	2,139	0.79	0.07
The Tactical Hermit	5	36	39	1.66	0
Thuletide	4	1,377	852	1.16	0.05
The Unz Review	63	2,522	2,337	0.56	0.42
VDARE	16	1,262	850	1.09	0.02
Total	260				

Mean	1,930	1,487	0.75	0.25

Figure 1.2

Column Chart of Percentage Coverage of Gender and Antisemitic Content
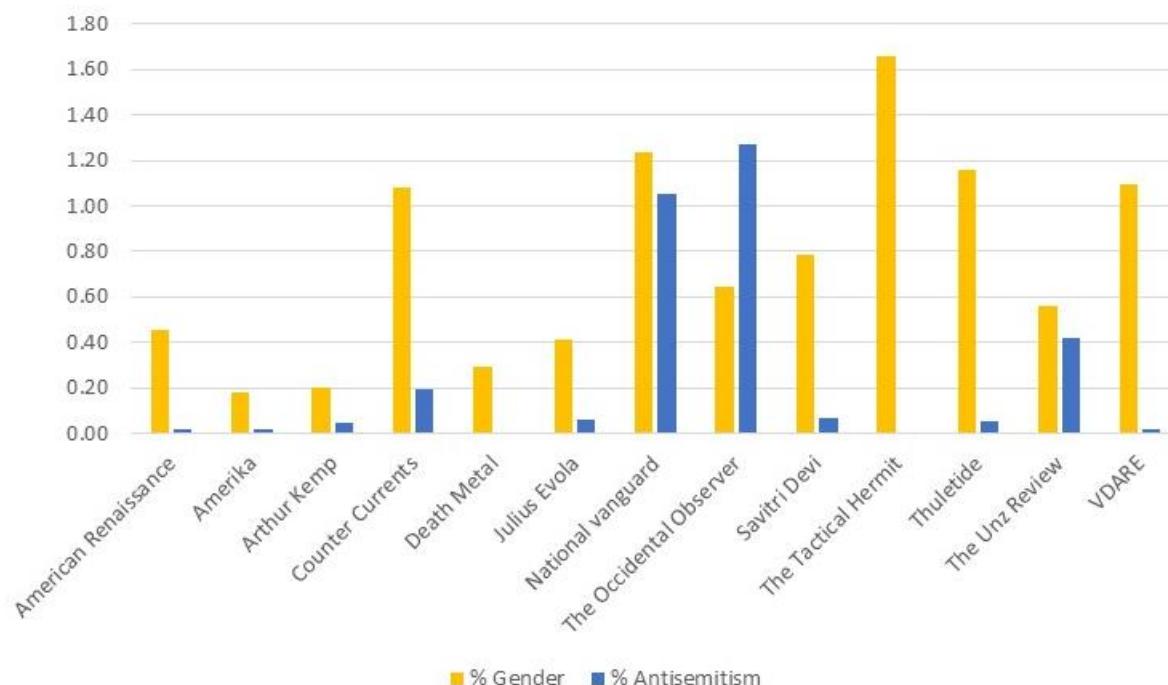
The more extreme a group, the higher its mentions of Jewish people and its antisemitism. National Vanguard and The Occidental Observer, a neo-Nazi party and white nationalist publication respectively, discussed Jewish people more than any other website and were two of the most extreme. The website with the least engagement with antisemitic ideas was The Tactical Hermit. Indeed, it did not contain a single reference to Jewish people or antisemitic tropes. This website was also the website with the highest prevalence of gender-related words. The website with the second highest reference to gender was Thuletide, the majority of these hits being the word "rape" in an article discussing rape statistics in South Korea. American Renaissance, Counter Currents, VDARE's low scores on antisemitism are unsurprising as all three groups are white nationalist as opposed to white supremacist. American Renaissance is primarily concerned with racism towards Black people, Counter Currents with the ideas of the Nouvelle Droit, and VDARE with anti-immigration issues. The low score for antisemitism for Amerika is surprising, being that the website's owner is an avowed white supremacist. Upon closer analysis of the sources, this website is more concerned with people considered to have inferior intelligence than with Jewish people or gender. Julius Evola and Savitri Devi were both esoteric neo-Nazi sympathisers; their low scores reflects the selection of works that were included in analysis, rather than the extent of their views on Jewish people. Thuletide also showed little interest in antisemitic topics.

Results

Very little gender-related content was found on the extreme right websites. Where it did occur, it was related to the primary agenda of the website of low-IQ, racism, and antisemitism. The content analysis of each website is presented in turn with a brief summary of findings, before being related to the wider literature in the Discussion.

American Renaissance

Fifteen pieces of content were linked to on American Renaissance (AmRen). AmRen is a white nationalist website; its primary concern is anti-Black racism and none of the hyperlinked content dealt specifically with gender or gendered issues. Only eight of the 11 sources contained the keywords related to gender and three contained keywords related to antisemitism. Where sex and gender are discussed, it is part of an overall anti-Black racist narrative (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3

Number of Keyword Hits on American Renaissance Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	22	Jewish people	1
Women	11	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	19	Jewish discourse	2
Sexuality	2	Judaism	0
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse topics	38		
Total	92		3

Source 1A8, a pseudo-scientific report into crime data published by New Century Foundation (NCF), *The Colour of Crime, 2016*, had the largest number of hits at 39. The source argues that Black men, followed by Hispanic men, are disproportionately responsible for violent crime. There is no discussion of gendered topics beyond their relevance to a racist narrative. Sex comparisons between men and women are only included to argue that men are more violent than women, but that Black men are more violent still. Source 1A10, *The Last Train to Zona Verde*, with 21 hits, is a review of travel writer Paul Theroux's book of the same name in which Theroux reports his trip to Africa. The review uses choice quotes from the book that support AmRen's anti-Black racism. Nearly all the gender-related words refer to young Black men and boys who are used as examples to justify racism. The review ends with author telling the reader to abandon exploring Africa, as in the days of colonial conquest, and to instead work to fortify the white homelands. Source 1A5, *Equity? No, it's tyranny*, was third with 17 hits and pushes the victimisation narratives seen in much far and extreme right content: that America and the west are increasingly discriminatory to white, heterosexual men. The article discusses Biden's revocation of President Trump's executive order *Combating Race and Sex Stereotyping*, which essentially banned racial sensitivity training in government (AAMC, 2020; Fuchs, 2020), arguing that racial sensitivity training is "anti-white poison[.]"

Amerika

Amerika received 54 hyperlinks to individual pieces of content. Forty two of the 54 sources contained the keywords related to gender, and, of those, 10 contained only two hits, and 14 had only one. Twenty-one sources contained the keywords related to antisemitism (Table 3.4). Gender is evidently not a pressing issue for this website.

Table 3.4

Number of Keyword Hits in Amerika Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	56	Jewish people	12
Women	12	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	57	Jewish discourse	5
Sexuality	29	Judaism	4
Gender identity	2		
Gender discourse	77		
Total	233		21

The source with the highest number of hits with 40, 1B52, *What Is Nihilism*, and the second highest number with 23, 1B46, *The First Lecture*, both detail opinions on gay people. Both argue for "separate but equal" style politics. 1B52 states that the scientific consensus is that most gay people are homosexual from birth, but that because most homosexuals and heterosexuals would prefer not to raise their children in the same neighbourhood, the two should have separate communities. 1B46 argues that gay people should not face any violence, as this is bad for the morality of society, but that homosexuality should also not be normalised as this "leads to homosexuals … reproducing contrary to the will of nature."

Gender and LGBT+ issues are more prevalent in 1B5, *Diversity Watch 03/04/2023*, which takes the form of a cultural round up, with news headlines from stories related to racial, sexual, or gendered issues accompanied by a sentence of commentary from the website author. 1B5 has 11 total hits. On a story about Bud Light partnering with Dylan Mulvaney (a trans woman), the author writes that "[c]orporations are chasing trends … because government exerts control over the economy and it wants a mixed-race, cultureless, sexually ambiguous, and low-IQ society". On an article about trans people facing disinformation after the Nashville school shooting which was perpetrated by a transgender man, the author comments "[i]f a White [*sic*] person shoots up a school, the motive is obviously racism; if any other group does it, the motive is unknown but we suspect discrimination alienated and radicalized them." These conspiracy theories will be explored further in the discussion.

Arthur Kemp

Arthur Kemp's personal blog deals primarily with issues in the political mainstream and "race science" issues. Thirteen pieces of content were linked to, five of these contained the gender keywords and four contained the antisemitism keywords. Three of the five sources that contained a gender-related keyword contained only one (Table 3.5). As with Amerika, gender is not a pressing issue.

Table 3.5

Number of Keyword Hits in Arthur Kemp Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	10	Jewish people	4
Women	9	Non-Jewish people	0

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Children	1	Jewish discourse	1
Sexuality	0	Judaism	0
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse	3		
Total	23		5

The source with the greatest number of hits was 1C4, *George Floyd: A Test case in Anti-White Hatred*, with 11 hits, followed by 1C3, *Fascinating DNA Evidence Emerges from 79 AD Pompeii*, with 9 hits. 1C4 is a racist screed arguing that George Floyd's death was due to his own actions and that the subsequent arrest and imprisonment of Derek Chavin for Floyd's murder was the result of anti-white hatred and "systemic racism" against white people. 1C3 is a discussion of new DNA evidence from bodies from Pompeii. Kemp argues that one of the individuals was of "mixed African or Jewish ancestry." The paper makes no reference to if the remains came from a Jewish person.

The only blog post that directly addresses a gender-related issue is 1C9, *Sometimes a picture says it all*, which is a picture of Lia Thomas, a transgender swimmer, competing in the 2022 NCA women's swimming championship and shows her diving off her starting post with her body higher in the air than the other women in the competition. The implication of Kemp's post is that it should be obvious that Thomas is a trans woman and should therefore not be allowed to compete in women's swimming competitions.

Counter Currents

Twelve pieces of content were linked to on Counter Currents to, all of which contained the gender-related keywords and four of which contained the antisemitism keywords (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6

Number of Keyword Hits in Counter Currents Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	92	Jewish people	39
Women	57	Non-Jewish people	3
Children	65	Jewish discourse	13
Sexuality	10	Judaism	0
Gender identity	18		
Gender discourse	59		
Total	301		55

The source with the greatest number of hits at 170 was 1D11, *White Identity Nationalism, Part 1*, a speech written for a US Congressional candidate. The speech slowly makes the argument that the US is building towards a genocide of white people and that "Critical Race Theory" being taught in schools is part of this. It includes exaggerated stories of students being taught about racism in schools which it believes amounts to "severe, ritualized psychological abuse" for white children. It further argues that the genocide being committed against white people is "surely a significant factor in the rising number of children self-identifying as LGBT under the grooming regimen of their predator teachers, nurses, counsellors, and psychiatrists." The source believes

young people identifying as LGBT+ is part of the genocide against white people as, this source believes, LGBT+ people will not be able to continue the white race.

The source with the second highest number of hits at 49 was 1D9, *Shooting Up a Grade School Doesn't Make You a Man*, an opinion piece about the Nashville school shooting. 1D9 laments the inclusion of trans people in mainstream society and promotes the conspiratorial narrative that governments are promoting trans inclusion as a "deliberate demoralization program designed to psychologically break people by forcing them to [accept trans people.]" The title implies that the piece is responding to an imagined sentiment expressed by the Nashville school shooter. School shootings are almost exclusively the domain of men – baring the Cleveland Elementary School shooting – and the title makes the accusation that the perpetrator committed the school shooting as part of "pretend[ing]" to be a man.

Death Metal

Four pieces of content were linked to on Death Metal and three of these contained the gender-related keywords and one contained an antisemitism-related keyword (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7

Number of Keyword Hits in Death Metal Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	22	Jewish people	0
Women	10	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	3	Jewish discourse	1
Sexuality	0	Judaism	0
Gender identity	1		
Gender discourse	9		
Total	45		1

The source with the greatest number of hits at 27 was 1E2, *Meditations on the Death of Wishful Thinking*. 1E2 is a long and rambling text that contains political content, fiction writing, and personal opinion. It contains three vignettes of young men who are dissatisfied with their lives and the state of the world. The first of these young men reclaims his agency by killing Black me with other white men, the second has sex with his sisters, and the third tries to change the world by becoming so rich that he can buy an election with a "black crippled trans-woman" as his presidential candidate. He uses this power to kill all people of inferior intelligence, only to realise that this is not possible and that he will always find people frustratingly intellectually inferior to him.

1E4, *Repo Man re-issued on Blu Ray,* a review of the film *Repo Man*, has the second highest number of hits at 15. This source bears a striking resemblance to source 1E2 in its apparent veneration of a man who is totally disillusioned with society and finds himself taking solace in a team of repo men pillaging the forfeited possessions of society's downtrodden. The majority of hits come from the "man" in *Repo Man*, but many also come from the mention of the protagonist's family who "are aliens" and the discussion of men in general in the increasingly alienated society of the 1980s. Both 1E5 and 1E2 deal with alienation, but do not use the Marxist concept to understand this.

Julius Evola

Evola is an influential thinker amongst contemporary ecofascists (Hughes *et al.*, 2022), and was described in his time by Giorgio Almirante as "our Marcuse" (Toscano, 2023, p. 125). No individual pieces of content on Julius Evola are linked to in the dataset. The website hosts a curated selection of Evola's writing, which was take to be significant, and so the available 15 of the 17 writings were used for analysis. One text was a duplicate and so the final dataset contained 14 texts, 12 of which contained the gender-related keywords and three of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 3.8).

Table 3.8

Number of Keyword Hits in Julius Evola Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	58	Jewish people	1
Women	9	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	11	Jewish discourse	5
Sexuality	1*	Judaism	7
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse	11		
Total	90		13

* "homo" used in the Latin

1F2, *American Civilisation*, had the highest number of hits at 36, followed by 1F8, *On the Dark Age*, with 13, both of which contained relevant discussion of gender. 1F2 is an attack on American society, decrying the individualism and consumerism of the country in the 1940s, as well as the personal attributes of the people which resulted from this. He quotes American medical survey which found that "75 per cent of young American women are without strong sexual feeling and … seek pleasure narcissistically in exhibitionism" believing that this corrupted state of women came from American liberal values.

1F8 is an excerpt from *Revolt Against the Modern Word* (1934) that quotes from the Visnu Purana with commentary from Evola. The text details the Hindu concept of Kali Yuga, the forth and worst of the four Hindu eras, and Evola includes contemporaneous applications of what the Visnu Purana predicts about this age. The traits of Kali Yuga can be easily fit to a right wing extremist narrative, being that both are overly concerned with the idea that the current age is the worst there has been. Evola quotes "[t]he women will pay no attention to the commands of their husbands or parents" and does not include an example of how this applies to his contemporary time, implying he believes that this is a true statement about the modern world and a sign of a decaying society.

National Vanguard

Thirty three pieces of content were linked to on National Vanguard; 29 of these contained the gender-related keywords and 24 contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 3.9). 1G5, *Fascism, Women, and Democracy,* had the highest number of hits at 110. 1G18 and 1G17, *Pornography as Jewish Activism and Terrorism, Part 2* and *Part 1,* had the second and third highest number of hits with 96 and 95 hits respectively. 1G27, *The Jewish War on Children* was fourth with

77. 1G19, *Pornography as Jewish Activism and Terrorism Part 3*, had 64 mentions of the keywords. In total, the three parts of this piece (sources 1G17-1G19) had 255 hits.

Table 3.9

Number of Keyword Hits in National Vanguard Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	178	Jewish people	659
Women	174	Non-Jewish people	38
Children	262	Jewish discourse	98
Sexuality	27	Judaism	20
Gender identity	16		
Gender discourse	285		
Total	942		799

1G5 is a reprint of the 1935 essay *Fascism, Women, and Democracy* by suffragette and organiser of the women's section of the British Union of Fascists Norah Elam and reprinted to commemorate Women's History Month in March 2023. Elam's essay urges British women to join the Blackshirts, arguing that both men and women are oppressed under liberal democracy and that only a fascist state can bring about freedom for both sexes. Embedded in her essay is the understanding that women and children are to be considered together. Her essay seems to be predicated on an understanding of the normative gender roles of 1935, but she still writes that fascism "will assure security with equal pay for equal work," showing her to advocate for a state that will support women working outside the home.

Sources 1G17-1G19 argue that pornography was invented by Jews in order to sew sexual disfunction into the fabric of white, non-Jewish society. They point to the presence of Jewish people in the porn industry, as well as Jewish psychologists and philosophers, such as Freud, Reich, and Marcuse, who argued sexual maladjustment was a cause of socio-psychological ills, as evidence of a concerted effort by Jewish groups to undermine western society. 1G27 is a mother arguing to other parents, especially mothers, that Jewish people are waging a war on children though introducing a "'transgender' mental illness" and teaching white children that they are "the definition of evil[.]"

Occidental Observer

Twenty-six unique pieces of content were linked to on Occidental Observer all of which contained the gender-related keywords and 23 of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 3.10). Source 1H9, *Luscious Lesbians with Female Phalluses: More on Transgenderism, Trans-Westernism and Jewish Subversion*, had the highest number of hits at 111. Source H23, *The Riddle of Rotherham: "Mad Ash," White Trash and the Hostile Elite*, had the second highest number of hits at 68, followed by source 1H8, *Lies, Spies and Harvey Weinstein: Thoughts on Jewish Behaviour and the Pervnado,* with 33.

Table 3.10

Number of Keyword Hits in Occidental Observer Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	89	Jewish people	567
Women	93	Non-Jewish people	18
Children	75	Jewish discourse	174
Sexuality	29	Judaism	28
Gender identity	33		
Gender discourse	82		
Total	401		787

Source 1H9 promotes the antisemitic conspiracy theory that "transgenderism" and "trans-Westernism [*sic*]" are Jewish plots to undermine the west. 1H9 argues that people who are not "Western" by birth (i.e. white and with European heritage) cannot ever become "Western". The article sees both people of non-western heritage living in the west and transgender people as the result of a Jewish conspiracies aiming to sew discord in western nations. It argues that transgenderism is the weaker of the two as "there are too few male perverts to swamp female territory and wipe out female identity[,]" with the implication being that there are enough non-westerners to wipe out the white, western identity.

Source 1H24 is an article from 2016 on the Rotherham child sexual exploitation scandal. This case is particularly important to those on the far and extreme right as the majority of the perpetrators were British-Pakistani men, and, while the victims were ethnically diverse, it is often reported by the far and extreme right, and some mainstream news outlets, that the victims were exclusively white girls. The source argues that the Rotherham case is the result of Jewish influence in the Labour party and feminist organisations which stopped these groups from intervening. Source H8 is another antisemitic screed that, similar to National vanguard, pushes the idea of Jewish people being inherently sexually perverse, citing Harvey Weinstein and his links to Israel as evidence of this.

Savitri Devi

No individual pieces of content are linked to on Savitri Devi. The Savitri Devi website hosts an archive of her works and the five essays, some with archivist commentary, hosted in English on the website were used for analysis. All five of these sources contain the gender-related keywords and two contain the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 3.11).

Table 3.11

Number of Keyword Hits in Savitri Devi Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	33	Jewish people	8
Women	16	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	35	Jewish discourse	0
Sexuality	0	Judaism	0
Gender identity	3*		

Gender discourse	5		
Total	92		8

Source 1K3, *Shinto – The way of the Gods,* had the highest number of hits at 34, followed by source I2, *Hitlerism and Hindudom*, with 23, and source 1K5, *A Fighter for Truth and Justice*, with 14. Source 1K3 retells the Shinto origin story of Japan. The story, like many religious origin stories, is heavily gendered, promoting female submission as the foundation of a healthy society. The essay ends with Devi's impressions of Japanese culture. Devi's essay is admiring of Shinto which she sees as a religion that promotes respect of elders, specifically in a racial context, as well as one's racial and cultural heritage. In 1K2, Devi discusses the Bhagavad-Gita and, as with the Shinto origin story, interprets the text as supporting and evidencing her national socialism in a clearly gendered way, with all wrong-doing resulting from the diminishing importance of traditional gender roles and women being active in the public sphere. Devi, like many contemporary neo-Nazis and white supremacists, is anti-Christian, believing Christianity to be a Jewish religion which removed Paganism from Europe and, in doing so, removed the importance of racial homogeneity and family ties from European culture. Source 1K1 is a short biographical essay of Olga von Barényi, a Hungarian-German Nazi-sympathiser and journalist who published pro-Nazi books. Devi writes that it is "all the more praiseworthy on the part of a single-handed woman to raise her voice" in reference to von Barényi denying the Holocaust in her books. The essay does not overly emphasise von Barényi's position or experience as a woman, beyond the prior quote, unlike the National Vanguard piece on Norah Elam.

The Tactical Hermit

This website is no longer active, the webpages analysed here were accessed via Web Archive. Seven unique pieces of content were linked to, two of which were not accessible. The webpages that were accessible contained very little text, instead relying on captioned images and videos to relay their opinions. These images were manually transcribed into text files and used to perform the wordsearches. Only two files contained the keywords related to gender and none contained the words related to antisemitism (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12

Number of Keyword Hits in The Tactical Hermit Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	0	Jewish people	0
Women	2	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	0	Jewish discourse	0
Sexuality	0	Judaism	0
Gender identity	1		
Gender discourse	0		
Total	3		0

Source J3 *FUSA Snapshot*, and source 1L2, *Dose of Truth* (April), are both transphobic blog posts that are dominated by a meme with a caption. 1L2 contains only a meme showing the image of a disused Pizza Hut restaurant with the caption "No matter what you do to this building,

everyone knows it use [*sic*] to be a Pizza Hut. Thats [*sic*] what the trans community fails to understand." 1L3 reads: "45 years ago THIS was the Definition of a Woman:" followed by a poster of Farrah Fawcett in a red swimsuit, then "Fast Forward to 2023" followed by emojis conveying repulsion and an image showing ten trans women minor celebrities with the caption " 'American woman. Stay away from me.' " (quotation marks included). 1L4, *My New Home Décor*, is also highly gendered. It contains two images, the first of which reads "Live Laugh Load" (a play on "live laugh love," a stereotypically feminine piece of home décor) and the second is of a metal trunk containing handloads, ammunition assembled by hand, with "handloads I made while drinking and watching NASCAR help yourself" written on it. The post is excessively masculine: not only does he own guns, he makes his own ammunition, which he is so proficient at that he is able to do it while drinking, a traditionally masculine activity, and watching sports show, specifically a car racing show, one of the most masculine of sports. The post is also oppositional to femininity, taking the feminine decoration and repurposing it into a masculine one.

Thuletide

Four pieces of content were linked to on Thuletide, all of which contained the keywords related to gender and two of which contained the keywords related to antisemitism (Table 3.13).

Table 3.13

Number of Keyword Hits in Thuletide Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	14	Jewish people	0
Women	9	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	5	Jewish discourse	3
Sexuality	1*	Judaism	0
Gender identity	2		
Gender discourse	33		
Total	64		3

* Latin, in reference to homo erectus

Source 1M1, *Are White men responsible for over 33% of rapes in South Korea? No.*, had the highest number of hits at 33, followed by 1M2, *Debunking "Understanding Race" (2022)* with 13. 1M3, *Freaks associated with NJP, Joel Davis, Keith Woods, etc. have started the rumor that I'm a girl*, was third with 11, followed by 1M4, *Leftist Disinformation 101*, with 7. None of the four linked articles were particularly focused on gender, or the gendered aspect of their claims. 1M1 was more concerned with the anti-white racism of the scholar who made the accusation, than the gendered nature of the subject. Surprisingly, the author did not accuse the scholar who made the claim of anti-male hatred, but was specifically focused on the "anti-white" nature of the claim, although he did refer to her work as "[c]lassic insane feminist stuff[.]" 1M3 claims that fans of the neo-Nazi blog and vlog "The Right Stuff" started a rumour that he is a woman with the evidence for this being that an AI interpreted one of his blog posts to be written in a feminine manner. The most interesting part of this post is the infighting between different extreme right factions it reveals. 1M2 is a "debunking" of a book which Thuletide immediately admits he "didn't read" but nevertheless attempts to debunk each element of the summary with common scientific racism. 1M4 is a debunking of a 4chan /pol/ post that Thuletide believes was written by leftists as a way of infiltrating far right spaces to convert the adherents. The post follows the typical conspiracy

theory of the world being run by extreme leftists who oppress white people, but there is some confusion as to if leftists are already in power, or are agitating for power.

Unz

Sixty three pieces of content were linked to on Unz, 51 of which contained the keywords related to gender and 37 of which contained the keywords related to antisemitism (Table 3.14).

Table 3.14

Number of Keyword Hits in Unz Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	218	Jewish people	361
Women	70	Non-Jewish people	5
Children	163	Jewish discourse	291
Sexuality	113	Judaism	7
Gender identity	87		
Gender discourse	244		
Total	895		668

The source with the highest number of hits was 1N51, *The Mask Comes Off*, with 85, followed by 1N23, *Greg Cochran's "Gay Germ" Hypothesis*, with 77, then 1N2, *200 Blog Posts*, with 60, and 1N24, *Have There Ever Been More Courageous Men?*, with 50. 1N51 mostly discusses the Nashville shooting, calling this the "mask off" moment where the trans movement reveals its true agenda, of killing white conservatives and cisgender, heterosexual people. 1N71 discusses the "gay germ" hypothesis which states that male homosexuality is a disease caused by a pathogen. The source claims to not be homophobic, but writes that a pathogenic cause is better than a genetic cause, as the "infectious origin offers better prospects … of a more immediate fix[.]" When writing about female homosexuality, to which much less space is dedicated, the author writes that he is "beginning to suspect that true lesbians do not exist[.]" 1N2 is a summary of the author's views on "human biodiversity" where he compares transgender people to "trans racial" people, stating that they are both impossible and that both groups of people are mentally ill. He claims that being "trans racial" is more believable than being transgender as sex is a more discrete category than race. 1N24 is the story of the Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition and story is used as an example of bravery of white, mostly British men. 1N24 states that it is an "inspiring stor[y] of heroism. [The captain's] example has never been more relevant" with the implication being that the times now faced by white people are comparable to the danger faced by the men on the exhibition.

VDARE

Sixteen pieces of content were linked to on VDARE, 14 of which contained the keywords related to gender and two contained the keywords related to antisemitism (Table 3.15).

Table 3.15

Number of Keyword Hits in VDARE Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	54	Jewish people	3

Women	29	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	44	Jewish discourse	1
Sexuality	19	Judaism	0
Gender identity	23		
Gender discourse	52		
Total	221		4

Source 1P1, *AFTER NASHVILLE, FACE IT: "Transgenders" Are Nuts. "Transphobia" is Rational. And Joe Biden Is An Idiot*, had the highest number of hits at 72, followed by 1P13, *Pitt Anthropologist Laughed At For Saying Scientists Can't Tell Male And Female Skeletons Apart*, with 29, and 1P5 *Forgiving Themselves To Death: A Mind Virus Is Causing Whites To Excuse Non-White Criminality*, with 23. 1P7, *Jan Adrian Schlebusch: No, Oswald Spengler (And Assorted Modern Clerics), Christianity Is Not A Leftist Religion*, with 22. Sources 1P1 and 1P9 are both transphobic, the first one expressing the idea that trans people are mentally ill, and the second disparaging a Black professor who stated anthropologists cannot always tell the gender identity of remains from bone structure alone. VDARE goes further than other articles discussing the Nashville shooting and references two other shootings committed by transgender men. That three trans people have committed, or attempted in some instances, mass shootings is seen as evidence of the mental illness that is believed to be inherent to being trans.

1P5 discusses incidents where white people who have been victims of crimes have forgiven their Black perpetrators as a psychological phenomenon that is "leading the West to its suicide" as it makes the white ingroup susceptible to future attacks by a racial – Black – outgroup. It references the 2015-2016 New Year's Eve sexual assaults in Germany where 1,200 women were sexually assaulted by Arab or North African men and argues that African and Middle Eastern men "committing unprecedented levels of rape" against white women. The article discusses white male, female, and child victims of attacks, attempting to argue that white people are at increased risk which they are psychologically unable to defend themselves from due to a tendency in white people to forgive people of colour, which – it argues – people of colour do not bestow back on whites. 1P7 is a review and discussion of the book *Assailing the Gates of Hell: Christianity at War with the Left* which argues that God created the white race and the family unit so that humans have groups to rely on and prioritise in times of need. The article promotes the antisemitic conspiracy theory of "cultural Marxism," but without including a discussion of Jewish people as seen in Occidental Observer and Counter Currents. The article implies is that the left has gained confidence and is increasing pressure on Christian society. This increase in pressure signifies to the reader that times are more dire and that action is needed immanently. The article ends with a list of things the reader can do to defend themselves, advocating not only defence but offence as well.

Discussion

The four extreme right websites and one far right website with over ten in-links were all websites dedicated to news, long form blogs, and intellectual opinion pieces. While all these websites host mis- and dis-information and the opinions shared are white nationalist and white supremacist, they are all still engaging with the long written word, suggesting that visitors are disproportionately interested in reading about or around their ideas. The websites with the most influence in the network are those with a great deal of funding and recourse to publish mis- and

dis-information of value to the extreme right. Counter Currents, a publishing house, appeared as the most influential right wing extremist node. The bottom of their webpages also host graphic hyperlinks to other extremist websites including Above Time Coffee, an online coffee shop which sees itself as a "nationalist-owned [business] saving our people"; Antelope Hill Publishing, an extreme right publishing house; the Institute for Historical Review, a Holocaust denial organisation; Asatru Folk Assembly, a neo-Volkish (pagan neo-Nazi) group; American Renaissance, and the Occidental Observer. A publishing house dedicated to the "intellectual" pursuit of white nationalism and the European *Nouvelle Droit*, as Greg Johnson, one of the co-founders of Counter Currents, intended (Macklin, 2019), being in the 20 most influential websites in a network of over 4,000 nodes suggests that current extreme right activists who use the Internet are engaging deeply with political philosophy and spending long amounts of time digesting the subject. American Renaissance's readership considers itself to be intellectuals who are enlightened about the issues facing American society (Swain, 2002). Like Counter-Currents, its position so high in Table 1.9 suggests that it is a valuable resource for right wing extremists looking to support their beliefs with legitimate-appearing articles.

A number of features that are well established aspects of far and extreme right rhetoric were corroborated: an obsession with evidence, the fear of subsummation of their race, a need for regimented gender roles, and antisemitism. Contemporary transphobia was a theme woven throughout these. Women and children were rarely mentioned in their own right, but in reference to the "threat" that trans people pose to the white race. Even in an article dedicated to the topic of rape, the focus was still on the men accused and not the women victimised and the angle was one of race rather than gender. There is a total sidelining of the interests of women, and an absence of interest in women. Eleven websites mentioned men more than women, and two mentioned women more than men. In the articles that were analysed, specific discussions of women's place, role, and needs were distinctly lacking. Far bigger was the emphasis on the roles and positions of men. National Vanguard, Occidental Observer and The Tactical Hermit mentioned men more than women and for National Vanguard and Occidental Observer, this was due to their attempt to position themselves as the true vanguard of women and the working class. For The Tactical Hermit, this was due to transphobia.

Transphobia as an Enticing Element in Fascist Rhetoric

The inclusion of the contemporary "culture war" issue of transgender inclusion in the rhetoric of neo-Nazi organisations is a continuation of their well-established beliefs, not a break from them. This topic of transgender inclusion is in a perfect position to be taken up by these groups for a number of reasons. Firstly, because it appears as "new" to many who had not known trans people prior to media hype and is therefore a prime candidate for groups who obsess over a perfect past and a decaying present. This decaying present is often associated with young people, which adds to the transgender issue's candidacy as a reactionary focal point as agitators are able to point to "decadent" youth of the present time. Secondly, it is an explicit break from gender boundaries that fascist groups need in order to reproduce the white race. Many fascist groups believe that more white people than people of colour are transitioning, which feeds the "great replacement" conspiracy theory as evidence of a plot to reduce the number of white people, as sex reassignment surgeries can remove one's ability to reproduce. Thirdly, while all sexualities and gender identities are inherently sexual, heterosexuality and cisgenderness are normative and so do not appear to be so. This means that LGBT+ identities are read as sexually deviant and non-productive. As sexuality is to be performed for the purpose of reproducing the white race and not for pleasure, LGBT+ identities must be prohibited. The enduring construction of "The Jew" as

inherently sexual and conniving means that "The Trans Person" becomes an easily identified target onto which an antisemitic interpretation can be projected. This is seen in rhetoric from National Vanguard and Counter Currents which explicitly link trans people and Jewish people, arguing that the former are pawns of the latter, having been deceived into acting in a way that is antithetical to the interests of their 'natural' in-group, the white race.

Obsession with Evidence

Observed across the far and extreme right is an obsession with evidencing their views. This obsession results from the belief that the modern world has left "rationalism" and "objectivity" behind are and now beholden unto the "feelings" of minority groups who demand to have concessions made to them. This sentiment has been documented for almost a century (Löwenthal & Guterman, 1949/2021). This results in an obsession with proving the beliefs of the extreme right through "objective" "scientific" enquiry that is impervious to political correctness. Accusations of institutional racism, sexism, queerphobia, etc, from left wing or liberal sections of society are ignored, and all analyses are done ignoring these as potential factors that might explain results. This dichotomy of objectivity and subjectivity, and the negative reaction to subjective social enquiry, usually by men, has been explained by feminist epistemologists as resulting from a sexist association of the masculine with the rational, and therefore correct and scientific, objectivity, and the feminine with the irrational, and therefore incorrect and unscientific, subjectivity.

This understands the far and extreme right's obsession with evidence as a gendered reaction to a world that is losing, to their mind, its objectivity. This is seen in the rhetoric from the blogs discussing racial differences in IQ which obsess over presenting the true science that does not bow to political correctness. It is seen less obviously in the general far and extreme right practice of gathering of evidence against Jewish people and trans people. The act of gathering evidence does two things for extreme right movements. Firstly, it simply provides them with "evidence" that they can show to (potential) supporters. Secondly, the act of gathering evidence itself is an attempt to undermine mainstream scientific discourses and weaken their hegemony over "truth." This line of argument enables the far right to position themselves as brave truth seekers and emphasises them as more rational and more intelligent than all other thinkers on the topic.

Existential Threats to the White Race

A number of existential threats to the white race are constructed. Narratives of unfair victimisation of white people inflicted by Jewish people and people of colour are prevalent in the rhetoric. For Amerika, the presence of transgender model Dylan Mulvey in an advert for Bud Lite is evidence of government control of the economy. Amerika believes that white, cisgender people are the core audience who are being ignored, placing himself as a victim, while also placing the event in a larger narrative of government conspiracy aimed at damaging society. This all-consuming conspiracy of corruption of the government and media places white people as existentially vulnerable as a race. Amerika does not link this conspiracy to Jewish people, but other sources in the dataset do. Occidental Observer believes that Jewish groups were able to use the murder of Stephen Lawrence to force the police into not policing Black people as heavily as white people, which has resulted in people of colour having more scope to cause harm, and weakened the ability of white people to fight back. This is standard rhetoric seen in the far and extreme right where white people are perpetual victims of an Other who does not deserve to be able to victimise them. This victimisation itself constitutes an injustice as it should not have been

able to occur: the only reason white people can be victimised by these out-groups is because the out-groups have been able to swindle members of the white in-group into being on their side, giving them more institutional and physical power than they deserve and enabling the victimisation of white people. Cue the introduction of antisemitism into the grievance.

In Counter Currents and National Vanguard the "great replacement" conspiracy theory is combined with the "groomer" conspiracy theory (Centre for Countering Digital Hate & Human Rights Campaign, 2022) resulting in an all-encompassing threat narrative hinging on threats to children as its mobilising factor. The conspiracy states that white children are being taught to hate themselves by teachers who teach critical race theory, resulting in them having a diminished sense of self-esteem, making them more susceptible to "groomer rhetoric." This rhetoric is designed to make white children identify as LGBT+, resulting in them being unable, or unwilling, to reproduce. For these groups, this plot is Jewish. This makes the threat of transgender people doubly dangerous to the fascist project as it undermines white heterosexual hegemony, and makes white children infertile. In this way, the "groomer" conspiracy theory, or "trans panic," is combined with the pre-existing antisemitic conspiracy theory of Jewish people working together to deliberately destroy the west: transphobia, the most prevalent gender-related narrative, is subsumed into the foundational aspect of neo-Nazi and extreme right belief, antisemitism.

Antisemitism

A host of antisemitic content is found in the dataset with every facet of antisemitism being represented. Fascism sees Jewish people as an inherent threat to white existence, and this threat is often sexual (Kerl, 2020). Antisemites believe that Jewish people are responsible for sexual deviance, which antisemites believe Jewish groups use as a tool to undermine white society. The existence of LGBT+ people and white women having fewer children are attributed to Jewish planning. Fascists see trans people as a Jewish creation, and fascists' focus on children who socially transition adds impetus to their antisemitic rhetoric that sees children as victims of Jewish plot. For McGowan, the obsession with an undefeatable Jewish Other performs a key role in the fascist's psyche. That they are in constant battle with an enemy who cannot be defeated is the fascist's way of masking their own addiction to failure (McGowan, 2013). Pursuing an enemy as the cause of all their problems excuses them from actually having to deal with and analyse their situation. Many of the texts here dealt with alienation under capitalism, but were not able to frame it in this way. The texts from Occidental Observer discussed the exploited working class who had been let down by the Labour party, as well as women who had been let down by feminists. It did not propose an answer that addressed the reasons that had caused this, but blamed them on Jewish people and migration. Löwenthal and Guterman argued that this situation, where agitators refuse to perform a structural analysis of the material problems faced by their followers and instead merely confirm the grievances of their audiences as they present them, "cheats his audience of its curiosity" (1949/2021, p. 62). No analysis of their situation takes place and no solution is presented. For McGowan, and Löwenthal and Guterman, the skirting of the analysis enables fascist groups to participate in an endless game where they can feel intellectually and morally superior to those who do not support them, without doing anything to materially help those they claim to care about. They are actively opposed to progress and in this repetitive process they find enjoyment (McGowan, 2013).

In the 20th century, many social scientists attempted to understand the social and psychological prerequisites for a nation to fall to fascism. This research, associated with the Frankfurt School, criticised many facets of capitalist society that had until then gone unanalysed

by critical social work. These included authoritarian tendencies in the home and society, isolation and alienation of individuals, and sexual repression during early development. Since this research, the fact that it existed has itself been incorporated into antisemitic conspiracy theories. The conspiracy theory of "cultural Marxism," the belief that left wing academics, overseen by Jewish guidance, are infiltrating governmental and educational institutions in order to convert young people to an amoral lifestyle, stems from the existence of the Frankfurt School. A strange, almost dialectical, relationship is seen between the extreme right and the work to counter them. Prior to some of this work, authoritarian family structures were understood as the basis for civil society (Marcuse, 1936/2008). The anti-authoritarian intellectual effort to challenge these norms has since been taken by the extreme right as proof of a Jewish plot to sew discord in western nations and has resulted in a redoubling of efforts by extreme right groups to raise children in authoritarian ways; Reich and Marcuse are both named by National Vanguard. Where previously authoritarian family structures were justified by bourgeoise necessity (Marcuse, 1936/2008), they are now reified by the extreme right for additional reasons: they serve to protect the white nation from this Jewish threat. National Vanguard overtly state their understanding of the family as a miniature state when they write that "[j]ust as there is no substitute for good leadership of the nation, there is also no substitute for good parenting and good education of children" (1G27). Their interaction with anti-fascist theory results in them making previously unconscious norms into consciously enacted movement requirements. A deliberate removal of children from the sphere of anything sexual (as exemplified in the "groomer panic" that believes children interacting with LGBT+ people in an inherently sexual and therefore forbidden action) is the response to work that has argued that free sexual development of children is necessary to build tolerant societies. As the extreme right view a liberal society as a precursor to societal destruction, they are able to point to these works as both evidence of a Jewish plot existing, and that this plot aims directly to destroy western society.

Rearticulating Left Wing Elements into Fascist Discourse

Generally, the writing here is more concerned with men than with women. To the extreme right, men are both unfairly oppressed by an increasingly authoritarian state, and the only solution to this oppression. When women are discussed, it is as a side effect of an issue affecting men, or in reference to trans women, who they view as men. Children are presented as victims of Jewish or state tyranny (often conceived of as the same thing), suffering the effects of "anti-white racism" and forced gender and sexual diversity. National Vanguard try to position themselves as the true protectors of women, arguing that only fascism can bring about equality between (white) men and women as the two groups are needed equally to defend and recreate the white race. Their discussion of the suffragette campaign in their reprinting of the *Fascism, Women, and Democracy* article is an attempt to appeal to modern feminists who are keen to pay homage to historical feminist struggle. It is an attempt by National Vanguard to position themselves as the group to take up the mantle of women's rights in the eyes of women who may be disillusioned with modern feminism. Occidental Observer also makes this attempt to position itself as champion of women and the working class in its discussion of the Rotherham case. The article laments the lack of feminist and Labour party intervention in the sexual abuse scandal, and attributes both to Jewish influences. In doing this, it is rearticulating issues from a left wing discourse into a fascist discourse, clearly linking them to antisemitism in such a way that it hopes will appeal to women and the working class, positioning itself as the new movement to champion the interests of these groups.

Conclusion

The content analysed here was linked to by other actors in the network meaning that it was identified by extreme right actors as important to them. What is represented here are issues and opinions that were relevant to extreme right actors connected to the seedset websites at the time of data collection. The Nashville shooting took place on March 27 2023, just days before data collection, which explains its predominance in the data. The purpose of studying extreme right websites rather than social media was to capture the long standing concerns of extreme right groups. To some extent, this has been achieved. The content captured takes the form of longread news and opinion articles that, while reacting to the news cycle, also embed these reactions into long established extreme right narratives. This is evidenced by the majority of sources not including reference to stories that were in the news in the early months of 2023. Fascist thought has a greatly enduring character but has absorbed contemporary issues into its structure. Fascist engagement with anti-fascist theory of the past century shows serious engagement with advanced philosophy. These writers are not casual in their commitment to their cause; they are spending great amounts of time educating themselves on potential threats to their project. Both the incorporation of transphobia and the works of left wing theorists into their conspiratorial narratives shows that they are keeping themselves up to date with challenges to their cause. This interaction between the extreme right and critical actors warrants further investigation in future research. The next two chapters of the thesis deal with far right and mainstream news discourse respectively and the relations between the three layers are analysed to see how they interact with and build on each other.

Chapter 5
Children and Men First, Women Last:
The Far Right's Neglect of Women and Use of "the Child" as a Rallying Call

Introduction

      This chapter analyses the far right websites of the network as the second part of the three level analysis of extremist discourse. It addresses both parts of the research question about views on gender-related issues and where they differ between movements, but does so by analysing 10 influential far right websites from different far right movements and their attitudes towards gender and gender-related issues. It finds a general difference between the movements of the far right and the extreme right. Where the extremists of Chapter 4 were primarily concerned with antisemitic grievances, the far right actors analysed here are more concerned with Islamophobic grievances related to immigration. This chapter finds a continuation of the disinterest in women that was seen in Chapter 4, and a large reliance on "the child" as a mobilising concept. It begins with an overview of the websites under study before a brief discussion of the methods of content analysis described in Chapter 3. The Results detail the content analysed on each website in turn and the Discussion situates these in the wider political context. The Conclusion suggests avenues for further research into them.

Overview of Core Far Right Websites

      The far right websites identified in Chapter 3 have different ideological homes and functions. These are outlined in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Ideological Home and Function of Each Website

Website Name	Ideology	Function	Website Type	User Engagement
Breitbart	Alt-right, European Populist Right, Identitarian Movement	Ideological propagandising	News and commentary	Comments on articles
Centre for Immigration Studies	Anti-immigration	Ideological propagandising, government lobbying	Think tank	No options
InfoWars	Far right conspiracy	Ideological propagandising	Fake news	Create accounts, comments on articles
Lew Rockwell	Libertarian, anarcho-capitalism	Personal ideological news and blog	Political commentary	No options

News Punch	Far right conspiracy	Ideological propagandising	Fake news	Comments on articles, forum
Paul Craig Roberts	Libertarian	Personal ideological news and blog	Political commentary	No options
Taki Mag	Paleoconservative	Ideological propagandising	Political commentary	No options
Townhall	Far right	News site	News and commentary, mixed factual reporting	Create accounts, comments on articles,
Western Rifle Shooters Association	Far right/Militia	Personal ideological blog	Personal blog	Comments on blogs
ZeroHedge	Libertarian	Ideological propagandising	News and commentary	Create account, comments on articles

Methods

One hundred and twenty four sources were considered for inclusion in the analysis of far right content. These sources are referred to with a unique source code and the full source list is shown in Appendix F. The methods of content analysis described in Chapter 3 was used and sources were selected for analysis based on their use of words from the gender-related keyword list. Results for use of gender-related words and antisemitism-related words are included to show comparison with the websites of Chapter 4 (see Chapter 3, 2.13 and 2.14 for keyword lists used). Western Rifle Shooters Association only contained memes with text, rather than full written posts. These memes were transcribed, where possible, and these were used as the basis for analysis. The word lengths of the sources ranges from 28 to 2,930 (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1

Box and Whisker Graph of the Word Lengths of the Content Found on Each Website
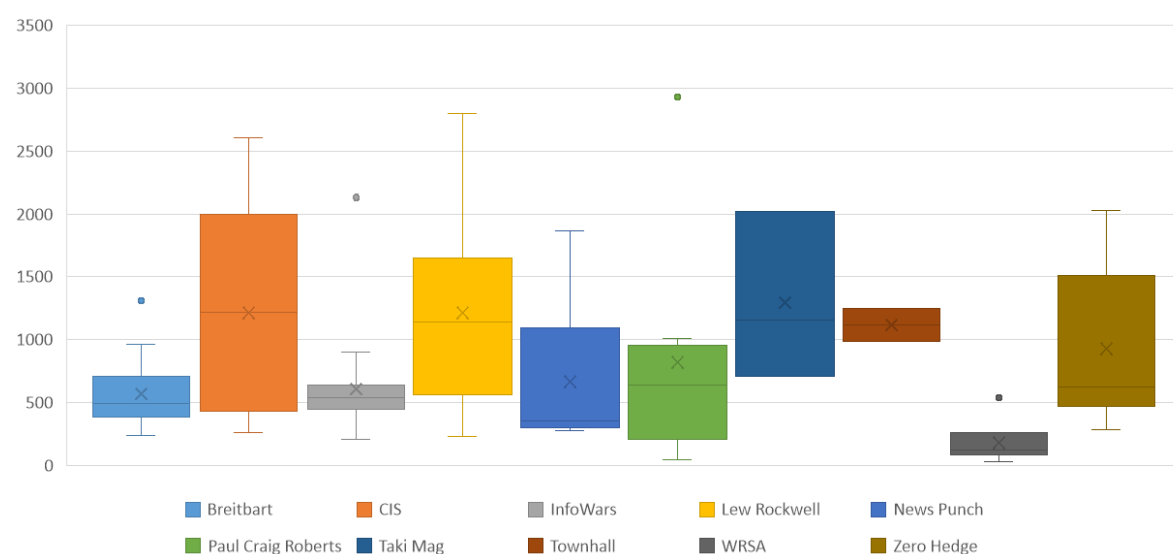
There is an immediate difference between the websites of the extreme right, and the websites of the far right. The mean word length of all extremist sources was 1,930, whereas the

mean word length for the far right pieces of content is 882, a difference of over a thousand words. The longest extremist source had a word length of over 11,000 words, whereas the longest source found here is less than 3,000 words. Table 4.2 shows descriptive statistics of the content hosted on the non-far right websites. Figure 2.2 shows a visualisation of these statistics.

Table 4.2

Descriptive Statistics of the Content

Website	Total Sources	Mean Word Length	Median Word Length	Percentage Coverage: Gender	Percentage Coverage: Jewish People and Antisemitism
Breitbart	25	568	494	0.79	0.11
Centre for Immigration Studies	5	1,215	1,216	0.15	0.02
InfoWars	18	608	535	1.08	0.13
Lew Rockwell	20	1,212	1,142	0.38	0.07
News Punch	6	666	354	0.85	0.10
Paul Craig Roberts	15	821	640	0.75	0.13
Taki Mag	3	1,294	1,156	1.31	0.00
Townhall	2	1,116	1,116	0.85	0.00
Western Rifle Shooters Association	6	178	119	1.12	0.00
ZeroHedge	28	929	624	0.28	0.02
Total	130				
Mean		861	739	0.76	0.06

There is another immediate difference between the online content shared by far right actors: the lack of focus on Jewish people. Words related to Jewish people and antisemitism are much fewer than seen on the extremist websites and do not feature heavily on any websites at all, with the highest interest being seen on InfoWars and Paul Craig Roberts. Where, for the extreme right, their concern with gender was subsumed into their antisemitism, those on the far right are staying away from antisemitic narratives and focusing on gender either in isolation or in reference to another grievance. This is investigated further in this chapter.

Figure 2.2

Column Chart of Percentage Coverage of Gender and Antisemitic Content
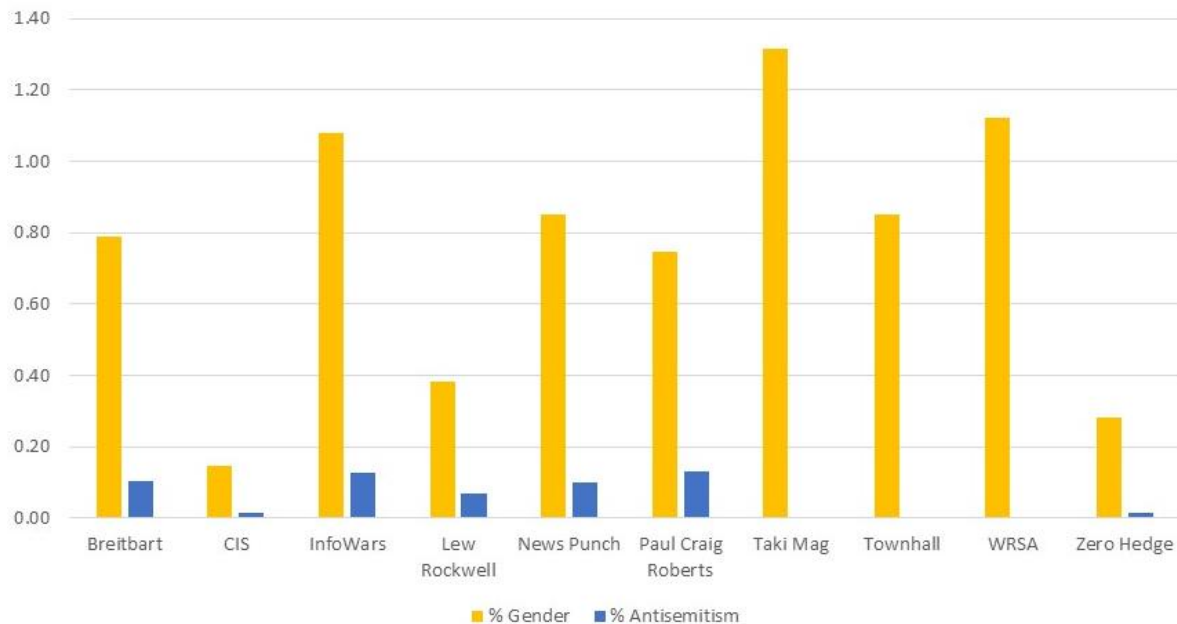
Content related to gender dwarfs content related to Jewish people and antisemitism on every website studied in this chapter, suggesting antisemitic concerns to be a greater issue for the extreme right than the far right. A closer look at the breakdown of where these hits are found also reveals a much greater interest in children than seen on the extremist sites. On seven of the ten websites, children were referred to more than either men or women, and in two of these instances, Breitbart and InfoWars, there were more references to children than to men and women combined. In a reversal of what was seen in Chapter 4, women were mentioned more than men in five of the ten sources — Infowars, Lew Rockwell, News Punch, Paul Craig Roberts, and Taki Mag — showing potentially a greater interest in women than previously seen. This is investigated further in the Results section and it is ultimately found that this increase in the mentions of women does not correspond to an overall increase in interest in them.

Results

Very little gender-related content was again found on the far right websites, suggesting that if one intends to study gender-related content this needs to be actively searched for within movements, rather than expecting far and extreme right actors to present these opinions of their own volition. The content analysed on each far right website is presented in turn and these findings are expanded upon in the Discussion.

Breitbart

Twenty five sources were linked to on Breitbart, 15 of which contained gender-related keywords and two of which contained antisemitism-related keywords (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3

Number of Keyword Hits on Breitbart Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	18	Jewish people	1
Women	13	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	32	Jewish discourse	14
Sexuality	5	Judaism	0
Gender identity	8		
Gender discourse topics	36		
Total	112		15

The source with the highest number of hits was 2A16, *Nolte: Four Transsexual Mass shooters in Less than Five Years*, with 28 followed by 2A10, *Former Child Bride: Biden's Afghan Resettlement Certain to Bring 'Culture of Forced Marriage' to U.S.*, with 27. The sources with the third highest number of hits were 2A2 *Biden's DHS Admits Many of the 85K Lost Migrant Children Released into U.S. Are Being Labor Trafficked*, and 2A12, *Georgia Blocks Plan to Open K-12 Grants to Illegals*, both with nine. Sources 2A10, 2A2, and 2A12 are embedded in an anti-migrant agenda. 2A16 does not mention migrants, instead focusing on a transphobic argument that trans people commit mass shootings at a higher rate than cis people, due to the former's "mental illness." The article is in response to the Nashville school shooting, as seen with sources in Chapter 4.

2A10 argues that resettling refugees from Afghanistan poses the risk of forced child marriage to young girls. This source attempts to tap into the reader's presumed anti-migrant attitudes by provoking or encouraging an association between (Muslim) migrants and child abuse. The focus of this article is not about the victimisation of the children, but about the migrant families who it assumes will do this, and the American laws that allow it. The laws it takes issue with are migration laws that allow spouses to sponsor visas, not child marriage laws. 2A2 also discusses child abuse (child labour) but without centring the child, focusing instead on the Department of Homeland Security being unscrupulous in its monitoring of the unaccompanied children entering America. 2A12 again discusses an issue that primarily concerns children, grants for private schools, but without putting the emphasis on children, instead focusing on a campaign to prevent illegal migrants from accessing grants for private schools. In these three sources, there are no direct calls to protect children, rather children are the background against which other grievances are brought into relief. The desire to protect children is implicit, but the rallying cry is towards changing and challenging immigration policy and dismantling the rights of migrants.

Centre for Immigration Studies

Five sources were linked to on CIS, only one of which contained any of the keywords (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4

Number of Keyword Hits on Centre for Immigration Studies Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	4	Jewish people	1
Women	0	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	4	Jewish discourse	0
Sexuality	0	Judaism	0
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse topics	1		
Total	9		1

All the hits for gender and antisemitism were located in 2B1, *Alejandro Mayorkas: A Portrait of the Intended Nominee for DHS* [Department of Homeland Security] *Secretary*. The keyword for antisemitism was "Jewish" and was used to describe Mayorkas' family origins. 2B1 covers Mayorkas' political record with regards to immigration policy and migrant processing in America, arguing that he is corrupt with how willing he is to encourage and facilitate migration to America. The end of the article references him using his political powers to give grants to projects countering antisemitism. Both the comments on his Jewish family and his grant funding are dog whistles to antisemitic followers. These comments may seem innocuous to people who are not antisemitic, but readers who are understand that the author is implying that there is a hidden Jewish plot to promote liberal values towards immigration in America and that Mayorkas' nomination for DHS Secretary is part of this. The dog whistles are used so that the antisemitism here could be denied, unlike the antisemitism seen in the previous chapter.

InfoWars

Eighteen sources were linked to on InfoWars, 11 of which contained the gender-related keywords and three of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5

Number of Keyword Hits on InfoWars Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	8	Jewish people	0
Women	9*	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	36	Jewish discourse	14
Sexuality	7	Judaism	0
Gender identity	38		
Gender discourse topics	20		
Total	118		14

* Seven of these refer to the Nashville school shooter.

The source with the highest number of hits on InfoWars was 2C17 *Video: Angry Trans Mob Descends on Kentucky Capitol to Protest Child Trans Surgery Ban* with 32 followed by 2C9 *Media Loses Confidence in Preferred Pronouns After Transgender Shooter Attacks Christian School* with

18. Sources 2C17, *Video: MSNBC Talking Head Says "Guns Are Our New Moloch"*, and 2C2, *CBS Execs Told Reporters Not To Say 'Transgender' In Nashville Shooter Reports*, followed with 16 and 15 hits respectively. All four are all transphobic articles. 2C9 and 2C2 discuss the Nashville shooting directly, whereas 2C27 and 2C17 reference it but the focus is elsewhere. As seen with the CIS source, antisemitism is present in dog whistles rather than explicit discussion of Jewish conspiracy. An advert on two of the sources calls readers to "[k]eep Alex Jones in the fight against the NWO!" referring to the "new world order," an antisemitic conspiracy that is sometimes seen out of overtly antisemitic spaces.

The four sources take a similar tone to the sources on the Nashville shooting in Chapter 4, although without placing the existence of trans people in an antisemitic conspiracy theory. They promote the idea that trans people are mentally ill, but use far less vitriolic language when doing so. 2C9 and 2C2 make the point, that was also made in 1M1, that news outlets avoided reporting that the Nashville shooter was transgender and misgendered and deadnamed the shooter when reporting the story. Where this was a sidenote in 1M1, it gets two articles here. 2C2 reports that CBS staffers were told to not report that the perpetrator was transgender, suggesting to the reader that the mainstream media is biased to a left wing or liberal agenda that prevents the truth from getting to the public.

Lew Rockwell

Twenty sources were linked to on Lew Rockwell, 16 of which contained the gender-related keywords and four of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6

Number of Keyword Hits on Lew Rockwell Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	17	Jewish people	10
Women	19	Non-Jewish people	2
Children	23	Jewish discourse	5
Sexuality	2	Judaism	0
Gender identity	16		
Gender discourse topics	16		
Total	93		17

The source with the highest number of hits was 2D16, *Total Narrative Collapse*, with 31 followed by 2D19, *White Peoples and Their Achievements Are Headed for the Trasn* [*sic*] *Bin of History*, with 13, and then 2D9, *Indicting Trump Is the End of US Politics*, with 11. The references to gender in 2D16 come from discussion of trans people, whereas in 2D9 and 2D19, they come more from discussion of (white) male victimisation. All three sources are conspiratorial, but have slightly different primary concerns. In all, however, the belief that the US government is beholden to a liberal group or ideology and is answering, accordingly, to a higher power is present. 2D19 argues that President Trump was indicted to distract from the bigger news story of the Nashville shooting, believing that the US government has a pro-transgender agenda that must be protected. 2D19 focusses on narratives of male victimisation that claim that men are being "denied equality" and that boys are being "feminized." This is a coded reference to LGBT+ friendly school policies. There is minor discussion of women when it reports that a "blond woman" in Scandinavia can't

report being raped by a migrant for fear of being accused of a hate crime. There is also a discussion of (white) families in reference to parents whose children want to go to elite universities but, the article believes, cannot access them because diversity policies prioritise minority students and at the expense of white families. 2D9 takes the Democrat party and the Work Economic Forum (referred to as "Davos," where it is hosted) as its primary enemy, believing that the World Economic Forum is running a culture war in the US through the Democratic party. It believes that political positions against racism, sexism, transphobia, among others, are all the same political position and that they aim to destroy the "old institutional order."

2D16 makes reference to a "Globalist agenda" that is weaponising the "mental illness" of trans people against America. Although it is not stated explicitly, this is the same antisemitic conspiracy theory seen Chapter 4. "Globalist" is a dog whistle for Jewish people and refers to a global Jewish cabal, and 2D9 includes a mention of George Soros, who is often used as a dog whistle for antisemites to refer to Jewish influence, implying that he is acting with the World Economic Forum. The antisemitism is not overt, but 2D9 and 2D16 include enough dog whistles for antisemites reading them to understand that the source believes Jewish people to be responsible for liberal policies attempting to undermine American society.

News Punch

Six unique pieces of content were linked to on News Punch, three of which contained the gender-related keywords and only one of which contained the antisemitism related keywords (Table 4.7)

Table 4.7

Number of Keyword Hits on News Punch Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	3	Jewish people	2
Women	10	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	3	Jewish discourse	2
Sexuality	3	Judaism	0
Gender identity	8		
Gender discourse topics	7		
Total	34		4

2E5, *USA Today Picks Biological Man As 'Woman of the Year' For Second Year Running*, had the highest number of hits at 21, followed by 2E1, *Biden's White House Brags Majority of Staff Are Black, Female or Transgender*, had the second highest number of hits at 12. 2E2, *Hungary Prepares To Prosecute 'Lifelong Nazi' George Soros For Holocaust Atrocities*, had one hit. 2E2 is a fake news article accusing George Soros of being a Nazi collaborator which enabled him to survive the Holocaust. This has been debunked by several reputable news sources and is antisemitic disinformation contributing to antisemitic conspiracy theories. 2E5 is another fake news story that reports that USA Today had awarded Minnesota politician Leigh Finke the title of Woman of the Year, which did not happen. The article states that Finke has tried to ensure that children can access sex reassignment surgery in Minnesota, which is also not true, and is intended to be inflammatory about trans people and imply that trans people pose an inherent risk to children. The article conflates gender affirming health care, includes non-permanent medical

interventions, with surgery, removing the distinctions between different types of healthcare and the age at which people are eligible to receive them. This creates a monolith of a trans healthcare which is presented as dangerous and damaging to children and which Finke is a part of.

2E1 correctly quotes the White House press secretary Karine Jean-Pierre in her references to the diversity of White House staff and politicians, but incorrectly interprets the statistics. The statistics Jean-Pierre references do not refer to the entire staff of the Biden administration and she does not mention transgender people specifically, she refers to aids to the president who are "LGBTQ+." The article argues that people are only hired by the Biden administration due to diversity quotas, rather than on their merit, and argues that Jean-Pierre believes that one cannot criticise the White House staff and representatives "because they are women, or transgender, or from ethnic minorities" which is not seen in the press interview from which they are quoting.

Paul Craig Roberts

Fifteen sources were linked to on Paul Craig Roberts, seven of which contained the keywords, and six of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8

Number of Keyword Hits on Paul Craig Roberts Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	17	Jewish people	2
Women	19	Non-Jewish people	1
Children	28	Jewish discourse	13
Sexuality	6	Judaism	0
Gender identity	2		
Gender discourse topics	20		
Total	92		16

The source with the highest number of hits was 2F1, *A Conversation on Race — Paul Craig Roberts*, with 37, followed by 2F10, *The Replacement of White People Continues With Remake of Peter Pan*, with 14, and then 2F13, *Western Civilization Is in Its Death Throes*, with 13. Sources 2F10 and 2F13 are decidedly more radical than 2F1, the former two being published in 2023 and the latter in 2018. None of the three have a focus on gender in the sense of discussing attitudes towards men and women. Instead, 2F1 discusses the concept of gender and argues race, gender, and sexual orientation have been made into issues by "the ruling class" as the result of "Identity Politics spawned by cultural Marxism." It argues that "the ruling class" have invented race, sexual orientation, and gender as issues in order to divide the American people and that in previous decades in America, the racism, sexism, and homophobia that liberals believe exists today was not in fact present. This, the article believes, keeps the American populous divided rather than working collectively for better conditions for all. By 2023, this veneer of tolerance has disappeared. What was referred to as "sexual preference" in 2F1 is "sexual perverts" in 2F10, and the great replacement conspiracy theory underpins both 2F10 and 2F13. The only reference that could be antisemitic is seen in 2F1 where it argues that trying to tell the truth about history will have one branded an antisemite, as well as a racist or misogynist, which is a common accusation in far right discourse. It implies that what the author would say with regards to history would be

considered antisemitic, acknowledging that the author knows he would be saying something antisemitic.

While gender is not a focus of any source, where it does appear is illustrative of the ideology of the website. 2F10 reports "There are reports that in some European countries white men lack the confidence to protect white women from rape and sexual abuse by immigrant-invaders," which assumes that the reader believes that white men should be protecting white women, and that sexual abuse from migrants is an established threat. It also carries the same male victimisation narratives seen elsewhere, that feminists and liberal women are taught to hate men and that this robs men of their rightful roles of protectors and providers in society. The majority of mentions of gender in 2F13 come from a discussion of the Rotherham scandal which was also featured in a few sources in Chapter 4. 2F13 discussed the case in the same way as the extremist sources, placing the discussions of gender in Islamophobic and anti-migrant narratives.

A closer look at the words relating to antisemitism reveal common antisemitic tropes. 2F12, *Twenty years ago today Rachel Corrie, a 23 year old American woman was murdered by a Nazified Israeli soldier for protesting the demolition of a Palestinian's home*, contains eight hits of the gender- and antisemitism-related keywords combined, and 2F11, *The Russiagate Stakes Are Extreme*, contains four which all relate only to antisemitic content. 2F12 is a very limited source but writes "Washington, of course, did nothing about [the murder] except increase its financial and military support of Israel" implying a dubious tie between the two countries which suggests that Israel has undue influence over American. 2F11 is more explicit, writing that the Republicans delayed releasing the report of the Russiagate investigation in 2018 because of the influence of the "Israel Lobby" which is allied with part of the Republican party. For many on the far and extreme right, opportunities to criticise Israel for legitimate international crimes present opportunities to push an antisemitic agenda. Their concern is not with murdered protesters or the plight of Palestinians, rather it is with using these deaths to mobilise people towards an antisemitic goal. Specifically, it is designed to appeal to people with left wing or liberal politics who traditionally align themselves more with protestors and international victims of oppression than the far right do. Both 2F12 and 2F11 contain antisemitic dog whistles that reveal the author's belief that Israel is able to control America.

Taki Mag

Only three sources were linked to on Taki Mag, all of which contained the gender-related keywords and none of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9

Number of Keyword Hits on Taki Mag Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	7	Jewish people	0
Women	13	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	17	Jewish discourse	0
Sexuality	1	Judaism	0
Gender identity	8		
Gender discourse topics	5		
Total	51		0

2G2, *Seeds of Discontent*, had 41 keyword hits, and 2G3, *The Myth of Technological Progress*, and 2G1, *Diversity Training Disaster*, had seven and three hits respectively. 2G2 is another source focused on the Nashville shooting and, as have some others, included that this is the third school shooting to be perpetrated by a transgender man or a transmasculine person. Where the other sources that discuss the Nashville shooting are mostly centred on transphobia, this source talks more about women, girls, and female empowerment. It reports statistics showing girls and women to be more unhappy in 2011 than 2021, and argues that social media and the "Great Awokening [*sic*]" are responsible for this. It explains this unhappiness by suggesting that women prefer traditional gender roles and have been made unhappy by feminist social changes and the according change in behaviour of the men around them. It insinuates that transmasculine people exist due to the unhappiness and confusing that has been caused by this feminist progress.

Townhall

Two sources were linked to on Townhall, both of which contained the gender-related keywords and neither of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10

Number of Keyword Hits on Townhall Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	4	Jewish people	0
Women	3	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	6	Jewish discourse	0
Sexuality	0	Judaism	0
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse topics	6		
Total	19		0

Only two sources were linked to on Townhall. Source 2H2, *UniParty Aligned With Greedy Developers and Multinationals Against the Homeless*, had 13 hits, and source 2H1, *There's Nothing Compassionate About an Eight-Fold Surge in Refugee Admissions*, had six. Both sources discuss US housing shortages and high-to-unaffordable rents and mortgage rates that face Americans. 2H2 blames multinational technology corporations for hiring international workers on disproportionately high salaries (workers in the tech sector have above average salaries) for pushing up rents and mortgage rates as developers fulfil the lucrative needs of wealthy migrants before building affordable family homes for lower-to-average income Americans. 2H1 takes the opposing attack and states that refugees and less educated migrants are responsible for pushing down wages of Americans and pushing up housing prices due to the increased demand for them. 2H2 focuses on the plight of American families, emphasising that American families are suffering as a result of the influx of wealthy migrants pushing up house prices.

Both sources attempt to position themselves on the side of "working-class" Americans and appear to lobby for affordable housing and living wages. However, this sentiment is almost entirely overshadowed by the obsession with refugees with lower educational attainment than the US average in 2H1, and is considerably dwarfed by the concern with migrants earning above

average US salaries. In 2H2, the specific mention of "a sizable feudal elite from China and India" adds an overtly racial aspect to the grievance, and mention of a "progressive climate agenda" that aims to force the populus into "pod-living arrangements" adds a conspiratorial lens. Both pieces use concern for the working class to push anti-migrant agendas, without advancing a solution to the housing crisis beyond discrimination. In doing this, they attempt to take space discursive space from the left to radicalise people towards a far right agenda.

Western Rifle Shooters Association

Six sources were linked to on Western Rifle Shooters Association, only one of which contained any of the keywords and none of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11

Number of Keyword Hits on Western Rifles Shooters Association Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	2	Jewish people	0
Women	2	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	5	Jewish discourse	0
Sexuality	1	Judaism	0
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse topics	2		
Total	12		0

All the keyword hits for WRSA were located in 2K6, *Sunday Edition,* with seven. This post is a "meme dump" – a common type of blog post for bloggers to share on Sundays – that contains a vast array of conspiracy oriented and transphobic memes. This source is linked to by The Tactical Hermit and includes the same image seen in 1J3, that of a collection of ten trans women with the caption " 'American woman. Stay away from me.' " (quotation marks included). 2K6 also includes an image which reads "So according to the left talking sexually to a co-worker is harassment and never appropriate.... ... but talking sexually to children is necessary for their education??" This statement does two things. It firstly undermines sexual harassment laws and implies that sexual harassment is something invented by the left and applied unreasonably. It secondly deliberately misrepresents LGBT+ and sex education classes in schools by stating that this education constitutes "talking sexually" to children, implying that LGBT+ people are an inherent sexual threat to children. This links to the "groomer" conspiracy theory which claims that LGBT+ people and groups are deliberately targeting children to turn LGBT+ and to sexually abuse them (CCDH & Human Rights Campaign, 2022).

ZeroHedge

Twenty-eight sources were linked to on ZeroHedge, 14 of which contained the gender-related keywords and three of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12

Number of Keyword Hits on ZeroHedge Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	23	Jewish people	1
Women	17	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	19	Jewish discourse	3
Sexuality	4	Judaism	0
Gender identity	1		
Gender discourse topics	9		
Total	73		4

The sources with the highest number of hits were 2M15, *Luongo: Indicting Trump Is The End Of US Politics*, and 2M11, *Is Japan's Population Really Going To Fall By A Third*, with 11. Followed by 2M22, *Sweden Did Exceptionally Well During The COVID-19 Pandemic*, with ten, and 2M23, *The Big DEI Gulf On Campus It's Much More Than He Said Ze Said*, with nine. 2M15 is a reprint of 2D9 analysed above. ZeroHedge is more conscious than the other websites in this dataset to present itself as a nuanced and well-reasoned voice. In each article there is clear signposting to two sides of a debate, even though the reactionary viewpoint of the website is dominant. 2M22 is a book extract against the lockdowns that took place in response to Covid-19. 2M11 discusses potential reasons for Japan's falling birth rate and suggests that free IVF and childcare will encourage women to have children and enable them to have children later. 2M23 critiques Diversity, Equity, Inclusion (DEI) policies at US universities, believing them to be responsible for censorship on campuses and stifling academic freedom. It talks of diversity as a growing field of bureaucracy, and this is what it ostensibly take issue with, rather than with programs designed to increase participation of minority groups. It believes that the bureaucrats taking on the new positions of DEI officers are becoming a new liberal elite, taking on powerful positions in universities at the expense of academic staff and traditional management. 2M8, *Federal Judge Blocks Tennessee Law Banning Drag Shows With Minors Present*, is the only source, other than 2M11, to deal with a gendered topic in the title. But again, there is a lack of focus on gender, instead discussing the legal and constitutional issues around the proposed law as part of the website's attempts to present itself as a rational and objective actor.

Discussion

The purpose of this chapter was to see what different far right websites and actors think about gender and gendered issues. The neglect that these particular issues face is startling. Even with data being collected in the week following the Nashville shooting, there is a remarkable lack of discussion of women, children, men, lesbians, gay men, bisexual people, and trans people. Concepts like heterosexuality, family values, abortion access are barely discussed, if at all. There was not a single mention of the word "abortion" in the entire collection of textual content analysed here. They are simply not talking about this. Instead, there is a fixation on migrants, migration, and liberals. A common contemporary conception of the far right and the likes of Alex Jones of InfoWars is that they are obsessed with women, feminists, and "feminazis." This has not been found. The term "feminazi" was not used once by the writers of this chapter or the previous. A possible reason to this could be that the concern with feminists has been superseded with the concern of "liberals" and "leftists," which is the dominant narrative running in tandem with the

fixation on migrants. The two go together: liberals have control of the government and media, which is why immigration policies are too relaxed and so many migrants are entering the US. But there are additional reasons as to why the discussion of women is absent that include an assumption that viewers already hold the necessary views on women and their role in society and a preoccupation with electoral politics that focuses their attention elsewhere.

The content here presents some obvious key distinctions between the extreme right and the far right, as well as some similarities. Firstly, very low levels of gender-related content are found in both sections of data and the absence of women was even more pronounced in the content analysed here than in the previous chapter: not a single reference to abortion, perhaps the biggest gendered concern of the far right in the last 50 years, was found in any of the sources analysed in this chapter. The Nashville shooting dominated the gender-related discourse, as in the previous chapter, but was still present in markedly low levels. Children were again used to galvanise and mobilise readers. In terms of differences, antisemitism was much less prevalent in the websites in this chapter than in the previous. Where conspiracy theories were present, they took the form of anti-government narratives rather than antisemitic ones. The narratives were also less conspiratorial than in the previous chapter. For the extremists, there was a real group that was deliberately influencing society. For the far right, the narrative is that people with liberal persuasions have entered educational and governmental institutions of their own accord and are pushing a liberal agenda through these roles. Less seen is the idea that these people are answering to a discernible or definable higher power. The sources here were also much shorter than the sources of the extremists. There were also fewer of them. There were fewer overall links to specific pieces of content in this collection of websites, rather than just linking to the domain, suggesting that the hyperlinks here were more directed towards pointing out allies than arguments. Writing very long essays on pertinent topics seems to be more the domain of the extreme right, suggesting a deeper level of engagement with ideas and grievances than seen on the far right.

The core finding of this chapter was the lack of content relating to gender and very little discussion of women, despite the high number of mentions of the keywords seen earlier in the chapter. This reflects the wider disinterest in women and women's issues seen in wider society. This lack of discussion of men and women as gendered subjects has methodological implications for the study of the far and extreme right. The fact that several hundred sources can be included in a dataset of far and extreme right discourse and still not result in a great discussion of gender or gendered issues suggests that, if one wants to study these ideas, then they need to be searched for deliberately, rather than hoping that they will be found in data collected by following organic hyperlinks embedded on webpages. What collecting and analysing data in this way tells us is that gendered issues are not the ones that the far and extreme right are linking to most on their websites, from which we can take that they were not issues of pressing concern to these actors in April of 2023. It could well be that discussion of gender is present on these websites, but the fact that there were few links to these articles suggests that these are not priorities for the actors in the network. The sources analysed in this chapter and the previous have almost exclusively been written by male extremists, which other male extremists then link to because they believe them to be important. It is therefore unsurprising that issues relating specifically to women are underrepresented: this is continuation of sexism that neglects women and womens issues that is seen in much of mainstream society. It was expected that these groups, as they dedicate time and energy to discussing other social groups they hate and wish to control, would also spend a comparable amount of energy discussing women, but this was not the case. This finding was not

expected, but should not be surprising. To study what the far and extreme right think about gendered issues, it is necessary to consciously seek out the content where they discuss this.

Absence of Women

The obvious disinterest in the conception and roles of women could be explained by the authors not believing that their views on women need to be explained to their audience. It may be felt by the writers that if their viewers are already reading their anti-liberal, anti-migrant, pro-capitalist, and authoritarian content, then they are likely to already share their views on women. These would be the views traditionally associated with the far right and would include a belief in traditional gender roles and that the sexist belief that "feminism has gone too far." The timing of this research could also explain the absence of women. Data collection being completed in 2023, in the midst of the "trans panic" could mean that views on women are necessarily sidelined: they are already implicitly already stated in the opposition to trans rights. Where trans rights represent the inherent breaking of gender boundaries, the opposition to this presumes an acceptance of these traditional gender boundaries. The conversation around women could have been superseded by the conversation around trans people which takes the traditional gendered positions of women as a prerequisite.

In Chapter 4, when gender was looked for, it was found that all gender narratives were subsumed into antisemitic conspiracies. In this chapter, when gender was looked for, concerns relating to liberal media and governments allowing migrants into the US were found in their stead. This is an important difference between the two groups. In painting their grievances in this light, the far right are presenting their problems as solvable through electoral means. The extreme right's problems can only be solved through authoritarian regime change and organised violence up until genocide against minorities. The position of the extreme right is not one that will appeal to people until they are already significantly radical in their beliefs. For the far right, they are appealing to a much broader base and presenting problems and solutions that are within the imaginations of a much greater proportion of the population. Placing their grievances with liberal policies and migration issues brings their authoritarianism and racism into the realm of electoral politics, the realm they are consciously trying to influence by encouraging people to vote Republican and then attempting to push Republicans further to the right. Focusing on liberals and migrants is a strategic choice which enables them to appeal to a wider audience and to bring their grievances into the political arena in an effort to effect real societal change. This constitutes a deliberate attempt to change the political landscape to one that will offer more opportunities for the realisation of their goals.

The lack of interest in women was even more marked in this chapter than in the previous. When this dissertation was begun, the intention was to interrogate the different attitudes towards women that were held by different movements of the extreme right. This has been a remarkably difficult exercise due to the unignorable absence of the topic of women from the sources. It was hoped that there would be some discussion of the roles of women, both in the movement and in wider society, the actions of women accompanied by opinions of these, or some expression of opinions as to what women should be doing. The identified sources have been remarkably silent on these questions. What does seem to be present, however, is a largely unspoken belief in traditional gender roles. The intense backlash against LGBT+ people and education speaks to this. Being LGBT+ is an inherent break from traditional gender roles which are predicated on heterosexuality and being cis gender, making rhetorical and physical attacks against LGBT+ people a way of reasserting traditional gender norms. We can take from the anti-

LGBT+ attitudes, and the appeals to children and nuclear family structure seen throughout this content, that the far right is still wedded to traditional gender norms. The frontier on which they are fighting for this is in the battle against normalising LGBT+ people and families. In this way, concerns about women are present, but they are asserted through references to the threats to womens position in society that are allegedly coming from LGBT+ people and the threats to women's roles in society of raising white children that are allegedly coming from migrants, liberals, and LGBT+ people. Overwhelmingly, the sources of both chapters obsess over men, namely the superior capabilities of their men compared to the ineptitudes of enemy men, and relegate women to the sidelines.

Coded vs Overt Antisemitism

There was no overt antisemitism and no overt fascistic sentiment in this selection of data, which was part of how they were identified as not being extreme right. There were antisemitic dog whistles which would have been noticeable to antisemites, and likely missed by readers who were not antisemites or were unfamiliar with common antisemitic tropes. References to the "NWO" or the occasional mention of someone as Jewish in origin seem innocuous to people who aren't consciously antisemitic, but will stir subconscious associations in people who are unconsciously antisemitic, and will alert conscious antisemites to a fellow traveller, which is the intention of those who post them. Instead of focusing on Jewish people as an enemy, those in this chapter were more focused on migrants, which aligns with Bjørgo and Ravndal's (2019) typology of far right movements which states that the "radical" right are more concerned with migrants, cultural differences, and reforming governments compared with the extreme right who are focused on antisemitism, racial differences, and overthrowing governments. The findings of this chapter and the previous generally map onto this typology.

The Nashville Shooting as Evidence of the Failures of Feminism and of a Liberal Agenda

The Nashville shooting also reigned dominant in terms of gender-related discourse, but takes on a different role here to that of the extreme right. In Chapter 4, the Nashville shooting was a "mask off" moment (1N51) where it was revealed that the movement for transgender rights is really a cover for a Jewish conspiracy to kill straight, white Americans. The Nashville shooting confirmed the belief that the movement for transgender equality really is part of a genocide of white people and justified the extremists' desire to exterminate trans people. For the far right actors in this chapter, the Nashville shooting showed the inconsistencies in dominate mainstream liberal rhetoric. While many proponents of transgender rights will point out that trans rights are not hegemonic due to inequalities in health care outcomes, life expectancy, homelessness rates and so on, those on the far and conservative right frequently express the belief that equal rights for trans people are the new normal. The far right actors in this chapter believe that mainstream media and the government is run by liberals who subscribe to a liberal agenda to promote trans rights. They do not push the ideas that this agenda was being run by a global group of Jewish people as in the previous chapter, rather the belief is that liberals of their own accord have taken roles in government and the media. The Nashville shooting, for Lew Rockwell, was a threat to official liberal narratives supporting rights for trans people, and so the liberal media and government had to indict President Trump to distract the public from the Nashville news story.

InfoWars was particularly focused on the contradiction in mainstream media reporting of the Nashville shooting reporting how many news outlets were misgendering and deadnaming the Nashville shooter. This was seen as an attempt to hide the fact that the perpetrator was transgender from the public, as it was assumed that this would undermine the dominant liberal

narrative that trans people are no different to cis people. This point was more important for the sources here than the sources in Chapter 4. The far right are more interested in pointing out the contradictions and corruptions of the media and government, nominally believing that the solution lies in reform of the political establishment, than the extreme right, who envision an overthrowal of the government to be replaced with an authoritarian state. Those from the previous chapter see no point in proving the inconsistencies of media and government – it is taken as a given that these elements are corrupt beyond redemption and so little time is wasted making the case for it. The websites in this chapter are still invested in the current political order, believing that it will be better if "their guys" are in office, and so pointing out contradictions in media and government narratives takes on more importance.

Taki Mag uses the Nashville shooting to advocate for a return to traditional gender roles, believing that the current rates of unhappiness and psychological distress seen in young women (of which he considers the Nashville shooter to be one) can be at least partially explained by the loss of these. The Taki Mag article on the Nashville shooting opens with "[m]ass shootings represent masculinity at its most toxic" showing a clear understanding of the role of masculinity in organised violence. Unlike Counter Currents in the previous chapter, Taki Mag does not suggest that the Nashville shooter was engaging in an act of demonstrating his masculinity when he committed the mass shooting. Taki Mag instead suggests that the Nashville shooter's violence can be explained by the feminist movement and social media that have combined with the result of giving young women the belief that any unhappiness they are experiencing can be explained by their being assigned the wrong gender at birth. For Taki Mag, the Nashville shooting is not necessarily about trans rights or evidence of a liberal or Jewish conspiracy, but represents the failings of feminism and female empowerment.

Continuation of the Use of Children to Mobilise

The fact that none of the sources that reference the Nashville shooting discuss the children and adults killed speaks to a much larger issue in American politics. School shootings are so common and widespread in America that they no longer function as tragedies in discourse. Rather than focusing on the victims themselves, the social groups to which the perpetrator and victims belong are taken by partisan political groups as evidence of their narrative of society. The fact that children are killed is neglected for the fact that the children were white or Christian and therefore their murder constitutes an assault on the ingroup. The concern is not about the child victims but what these child victims can mean for their narrative. "The child" was also used when discussing education policies that might benefit the children of migrants (Breitbart) and university diversity quotas that allegedly mean that less able young people are being given coveted places at prestigious universities. The child becomes a symbol of the unfairness white people are believed to face as diversity initiatives privilege minority groups. This use of the child was seen in both the extreme right and the far right discourse. Reference to children are emotive and the websites in both chapters were using the symbol of the child in an attempt to mobilise readers. In this way, "the child" functions as a floating signifier which both the extreme and far right are aiming to situate within their discourses (Laclau, 2005).

There were very few words in any of the Western Rifle Shooters Association content, but children and especially young girls were still mentioned. In a newspaper headline a story is told of a nine year old girl who wanted to keep her goat that had been sold at auction, but the goat was slaughtered after being seized by officials. This story is intended to provoke feelings of indignation and anger at state officials and a general distaste for bureaucracy centred around the

victimisation of the girl. The story takes place in California, a well-known liberal state, and so relies on readers' existing anti-liberal bias contributing to their reaction when reading the story. The plight of the white girl, as shown in the picture accompanying the headline, who had her goat slaughtered by officials is a story of white victimisation at the hands of unreasonable and unfettered bureaucracy. It attempts to mobilise readers around the white child towards an anti-government , anti-Democrat position. The other mention of children from WRSA promotes the "groomer" conspiracy theory that left wing people believe "talking sexually to children is necessary for their education" which misrepresents sex and LGBT+ education. The belief that teaching children about sex and LGBT+ people is inherently sexual and risks promoting or indoctrinating children into "LGBT+ lifestyles" was seen more prominently in the previous chapter, where it was linked explicitly to a Jewish conspiracy to undermine the west. In this chapter, the belief that sex education classes constitute some form of sexual harassment bordering on abuse towards children is still present, but the buck stops with individual liberals, rather than a conspiratorial group.

Throughout the discussion of children and issues related to children, the rights and experiences of children are not the focal point. The Breitbart source promoting the idea that there will be an increased risk of child marriage if Muslims from Afghanistan migrate to the US does not mention the US child marriage laws that facilitate this; if child marriage was not already legal in some US states, migrants would not be able to use child wives to sponsor visa applications. This very simple omission shows that child wellbeing is not the centre of concern, rather children are being used to mobilise support through the emotional responses that the suggestion of violence and cruelty towards children promote.

Education and Far right Attempts to Hegemonise Intellectualism

An interesting concern relating to gender was those relating to DEI policies. Both Taki Mag and ZeroHedge had articles dedicated to these policies and departments. Taki Mag points to a review of 800 companies and found that five years after diversity training had been given, the percent of Black female managers had decreased by 9% (2F1). And ZeroHedge criticises the bureaucratisation of DEI departments and the proliferation of diversity officers on campuses (2K23). DEI initiatives are an easy target for the far right that already has a gripe with "forced diversity," but the sources here take care to present themselves reasonably and do not include criticism of the minority groups that DEI initiatives intend to increase the inclusion of. Instead, criticism is levelled at academia for taking part in DEI initiatives and censoring those who disagree with them. Taki Mag believes academia "has gone insane" (2F1), a common refrain from the right used to criticise institutions with liberal leanings. This criticism forms part of an anti-intellectual movement on the right that is concerned with liberal intellectualism which it believes is stifling right wing intellectualism. The far right has a long history of anti-intellectualism with it taking the form of the intellectual vs the honest hard-working labourer (Löwenthal & Guterman, 1949/2021), or the form of the active intellectual (as it was argued to have been seen in fascist philosophers) vs the passive intellectual (as it was argued to have been seen in communist philosophers) (Gentile, 2002). What we see with this admonition of DEI initiatives as liberal failures is the denigration of liberal intellectualism in a way that implicitly takes right wing intellectualism as its preference.

In this chapter, the intention of the far right with regards to the debate on intellectualism is not to take a complete anti-intellectual stance, as seen in some movements of the far right, but to position itself on the side of "true" intellectualism that it is trying to rearticulate it as an

inherently right wing entity. This attempted rearticulation relies on the construction of liberal intellectualism as passive and feminine, and its own intellectualism as active and masculine. In this way it is relying on underlying sexism in society to help its efforts to hegemonize the meaning of intellectualism in a right wing way. The far right see DEI initiatives, degrees in social science, liberal arts, and the humanities, and campus protests as symbolising the same thing: the liberalisation of the university sector through a liberal and illegitimate intellectualism which the far right claims to stand against. This chain of equivalence also includes the denigration of young people as lazy, and its according belief that young people of previous generations were more hardworking. Liberal intellectualism, and its equivalences in DEI initiatives, young people, queer people, and so on, are constructed by the right as being predicated on feelings, idealistic, and out of touch with the reality of society. Right wing intellectualism, on the other hand, is presented as an instrumental and rational intellectual force. In this way, liberal intellectualism is feminised and right-wing intellectualism masculinised. This allows the far right to use underlying sexism in society to aid its attempts to rearticulate intellectualism into a right wing discourse. The far right is trying to make "intellectualism" synonymous with right wing pursuits by delegitimising liberal intellectual endeavours by associating them with illegitimate intellectual activities, such as placing "feelings" before "facts."

Anti-Migrant Rhetoric

The grievances identified in the far right sources that were linked to gender mainly pertained to migrants and the threats they believed migrants posed to the entitlements of white American families. The phrase "immigrant-invaders" was used ten time across three sources (2F10; 2F13; 2F15) and discussion of migrants and refugees was seen in 30 of the 128 sources. News Punch, Taki Mag, and Western Rifle Shooters Association made no mention of migrants or refugees. This is a low overall prevalence of anti-migrant rhetoric across the dataset, showing that this is not the only issue of interest to the far right, but, where migrants were mentioned, it was in a clear narrative of migrants threatening white American society and especially white children. Anti-migrant sentiment is a growing and increasingly mainstream attitude in the US and UK. It is being used as a discursive arena where far right actors attempt to push mainstream political sentiment further through the right through framing issues as "cultural" rather than "racial" and thereby removing themselves, sometimes effectively but never legitimately, from accusations of racism.

Anti-migrant hatred has been mainstreamed in the US and UK since the "refugee crisis" of 2015, the subsequent UK Brexit campaign containing misinformation about migrants and EU contributions, and the election of Donal Trump on the back of the rallying cry of "build the wall." This mainstreaming of anti-migrant hate has led to anti-migrant and Islamophobic riots in the UK after the murderer of three children was incorrectly identified as a Muslim refugee. These riots took place mere weeks after the two main UK political parties ran election campaigns that contained rhetoric heavily centred on anti-immigration and "stopping the boats" that bring asylum seekers to the island. Bjørgo and Ravndal's (2019) topology that sees the "radical" right ("far right" in this thesis) as a movement focused around "cultural" issues and Islamophobia rather than the racial issues and antisemitism of the extreme right is only partially correct. As argued in the introduction, many of the architects of the British far right that concern themselves with "cultural" issues cut their teeth in the extreme right and only changed their rhetoric after realising that overt racism was politically unviable. While these two movements now appear to be separate with overlapping elements, the far right is still a racist movement that is increasingly

being given opportunities to air its grievances in the mainstream political arena which is in turn emboldening those on the extreme right.

While some may be radicalised to far right ideas with the belief that they are engaging in cultural, rather than racial, politics and may not see themselves as racist, these issues are still racial and the extreme right see these groups and individuals as opportunities for their own growth. The far right's proximity to the mainstream of politics means that politicians, pundits, and journalists feel either that they can or should air their grievances as if they are legitimate. This normalisation and legitimisation of anti-migrant and Islamophobic sentiment has led to a situation where racial anxieties have been stoked to boiling point and where the extreme right are now able to intervene. Far right dog whistles of "legitimate concerns" that are used to refer to both migrants and refugees accessing UK land and infrastructure, as well as trans people in public places, contribute to a political atmosphere that legitimises racism and transphobia and is emboldening more extreme actors with no desire for democratic solutions. The riots in the UK have been organised in part by the neo-Nazi group Patriotic Alternative who identified an opportunity to spread racial hatred and mobilise white Britons around a racist cause, under the guise of "cultural" concerns that had been legitimised by politicians and pundits in the political mainstream. While many observers may be taken in by the rhetoric of "cultural" rather than "racial" differences, the extreme right correctly identify these cleavages as pressure points that are created in the mainstream, expanded by the far right, and that can then be used by the extreme right for racist radicalisation and mobilisation.

Extreme and Far Right Websites are Connected to Each Other

The movements of the far and extreme right are not in strict silos that never interact with each other. The presence of so many far right websites in a dataset that began with extremists show that the not all those on the extreme right are operating in silos. While, as seen in Chapter 4, the most strongly interconnected websites were extremists linking to each other, it is not long before some extreme websites begin linking to those that are less so. The only far right website that was linked to by one of the seedset sites was The Political Cesspool, linked to by Identity Dixie; the links to far right websites came further down in the hyperlink chain from the seedset, suggesting that the more extreme a website is, the more likely it is to stay in its ideological silo, so that links to less and less extreme extremist websites will gradually be found. The far right linked to the extreme right, with the Patrick Ryan Show linking to David Duke and National Vanguard and a number of far right blogs linking to American Renaissance. Groups on the far and extreme right frequently work with each other, share common ideological ground, and have individual members who belong to either movement at different points in their political careers.

The hyperlinking seen between extreme and far right websites is a very small proportion of the total number of hyperlinks in the ecosystem created here. It suggests that extremist website prefer to stick to their ideological values and promote only those views and actors with whom they agree totally. This is not surprising as distancing oneself from those who do not share one's extremist beliefs is part of radicalisation. Some of the far right websites were acting as pathways from far right ideas to extremist ones, with UK Reloaded and The Liberty Beacon linking to each other, and The Liberty Beacon and the Patrick Ryan Show linking to each other, and the Patrick Ryan Show linking on to neo-Nazi websites like the Daily Stormer. The Patrick Ryan Show receives an in-link from Counter Currents, an extremist website analysed in Chapter 4, and from Normal American, a far right blog. These findings suggest that extremist websites are more likely

to stay in their silos, but that some links do still exist, with far right actors being more likely to promote extremist content than extremists are to promote far right content.

Conclusion

The far and extreme right voice many of the same grievances, but they are understood to have different causes by the two groups. Both express transphobia; the extreme right link this to Jews, the far right link this to the personal excess of individual liberals who are then legitimised by liberal state structures. Both try to mobilise around the concept of the child; the extreme right see the child as under threat from Jewish conspiracy, the far right see the child as under threat from migrants who are allowed into their countries through the failures of liberal government. Crucially, they both reflect issues that are found in the contemporary mainstream, attempting to impose their own narratives on them and to radicalise people towards their goals. The meanings these grievances are given by different reactionary movements and how they flow from the far to extreme right is an important element in counterextremism initiatives that should be researched systematically in future studies. The following chapter analyses the mainstream news sources that are linked to by the far and extreme right to reveal what use these actors are making of mainstream discourse.

Chapter 6
The Function of Mainstream News Stories in Extremist Discourse:
Image-Laundering and Evidence Gathering for Far and Extreme Right Websites

Introduction

This chapter analyses the mainstream media content linked to by far and extreme right websites to understand what function this content is performing in this part of the extreme right ecosystem. This chapter expands on the research questions by analysing how mainstream news sources influence and corroborate the views that extreme and far right movements hold about gender and gender-related issues. It finds that the far and extreme right use mainstream media sources in two key ways. Either the existence of certain media outlets or articles are used themselves to "evidence" the belief that media and government institutions have been taken over by liberal agents, or articles are selectively presented as "evidence" to support the racist, sexist, transphobic, and antisemitic beliefs of these groups. Overall, the mainstream sources are performing important functions for the far and extreme right actors who link to them as they enable fringe and reactionary actors to appear more rational, reasonable, and closer to the mainstream through their links, which helps to launder their image in the eyes of potential supporters. This chapter begins by introducing the mainstream news sources that are used for analysis, followed by a Results section that breaks down the content seen on each source in turn. The Discussion section draws out the main findings and relates these to the wider literature on how far and extreme right groups interact with mainstream media. The Conclusion highlights the importance of these mainstream hyperlinks for far and extreme right groups.

Overview of Mainstream News Websites

There was a heavy use of mainstream news websites in the network, with extreme and far right websites linking to articles on a range of different mainstream news sources. Table 5.1 shows the ten mainstream news outlets with the highest indegree along with their political alignment and quality of factual reporting according to Media Bias Fact Check.

Table 5.1

The Ten Mainstream News Sites Included in Analysis with their Political Alignment

Website	Political Alignment
New York Times	Left-centre bias, high factual reporting
Daily Mail	Right bias, low factual reporting
Fox News	Far right bias, mixed factual reporting
The Guardian	Left-centre bias, mixed factual reporting

CNN	Left-centre bias, mostly factual reporting
Al Jazeera	Left-centre bias, mixed factual reporting
Washington Post	Left-centre bias, mostly factual reporting
New York Post	Right-centre bias, mixed factual reporting
Wall Street Journal	Right-centre bias, mostly factual reporting
Associated Press	Left-centre bias, high factual reporting

The majority of the news sources analysed in this chapter are centre-left or liberal leaning – the New York Times, The Guardian, CNN, Al Jazeera, Washington Post, Associated Press – with The Guardian and Al Jazeera in particular being associated with being left wing news sources. The Daily Mail, Fox News, the New York Post, and the Wall Street Journal are centre-right, right-wing, or far right leaning. The Daily Mail is especially known in the UK for sensationalist and questionably verifiable content that has occasionally been accused of being racialised (van Dijk, 1991).

Methods

The full list of sources from mainstream news websites included in analysis is listed in Appendix G. The methods of content analysis described in Chapter 3 are used. The spread of word lengths by media outlet is shown in Figure 3.1, and Table 5.2 shows the breakdown of prevalence of gender- and antisemitism-related keywords. Figure 3.2 shows a visual representation of this information. In order to keep the focus on the function of these mainstream sources in this aspect of the extremist ecosystem, only the news articles that received direct links from far or extreme right websites are considered for analysis. In each case, the pages that the hyperlink originates from are visited in order to understand the context in which the link appeared. This provided the contextual information to enable an understanding of what function mainstream sources are performing in extreme and far right discourse.

Figure 3.1

Box and Whisker Graph of the Word Lengths of the Content Found on Each Mainstream News Source
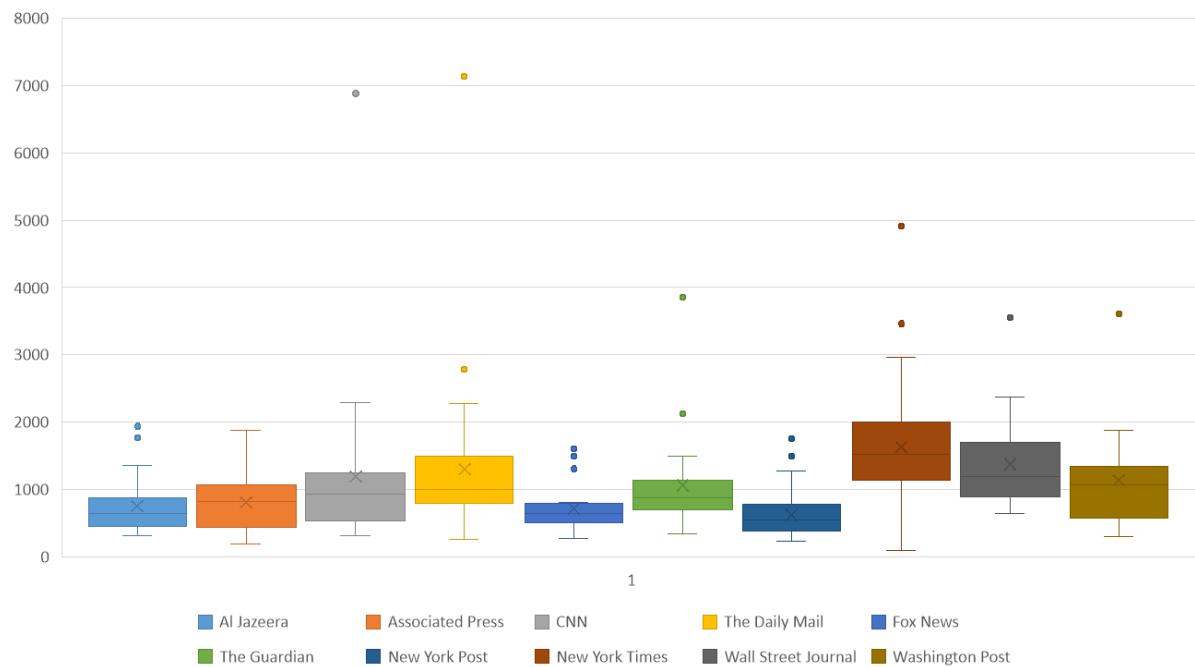
Table 5.2

Descriptive Statistics of the Content

Website	Total pieces of unique content	Mean word length	Median word length	Percentage coverage: gender	Percentage coverage: Jewish people and antisemitism
Al Jazeera	26	751	641	0.67	0.37
Associated Press	17	806	819	0.77	0.50
CNN	23	1,191	928	0.84	0.15
The Daily Mail	33	1,302	1,000	1.30	0.03
Fox News	22	717	642	1.40	0.09
The Guardian	23	1,060	868	0.53	0.58
New York Post	49	620	543	1.37	0.15
New York Times	52	1,633	1,521	0.39	0.19
Wall Street Journal	21	1,377	1,189	0.21	0.17
Washington Post	17	1,137	1073	0.54	0.17
Total	285				
Mean		1,058	922	0.80	0.24

Mainstream news sources had a longer average word length than articles by the far right, but shorter than articles by the extreme right. The proportion of words related to gender was greater for the mainstream sources that the extreme or far right sources (0.8% compared to 0.75% and 0.76%, respectively), and there was a higher proportion of keywords relating to

antisemitism in the mainstream sources than far right sources (0.24% compared to 0.06%) and only a slightly lower proportion than extreme right sources (0.24% compared to 0.25%). The high prevalence of these words is likely due to the mainstream articles in the dataset being linked to by the far and extreme right due to the significance they held for the agendas of these groups.

Figure 3.2

Column Chart of Percentage Coverage of Gender and Antisemitic Content
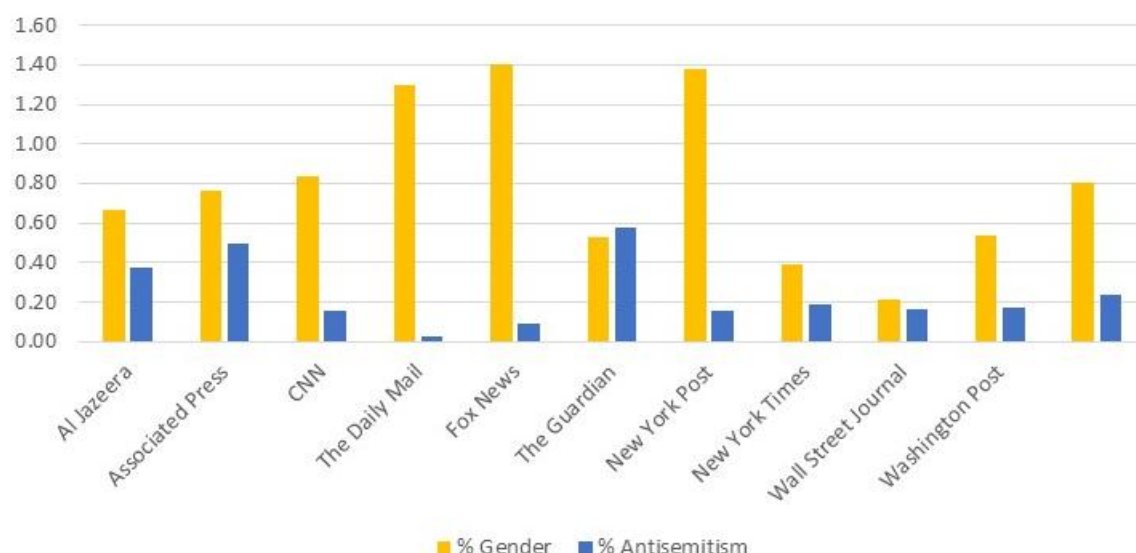
Results

The websites analysed in this chapter are popular in the overall aspect of the extreme right ecosystem captured by this thesis. These ten websites have an indegree in the top 55 of websites out of the 4,490 in the dataset, putting them in the top 1.2% of websites' indegrees. The websites also have eigenvector centralities in the top 63 of websites in the dataset, putting them in the top 1.4% of eigenvector centrality scores. Table 5.3 shows how may hyperlinks the mainstream news sites received from unique far and extreme right websites in this chapter.

Table 5.3

The Number of Hyperlinks Received from Unique Websites

Website	Number of Hyperlinks from Unique Far and Extreme Right Websites
The Daily Mail	16
Fox News	13
New York Times	13
CNN	10
New York Post	10
Al Jazeera	9
Wall Street Journal	9
Washington Post	9
Associated Press	7
The Guardian	7

Total	103

The hyperlinks to these websites constitute 1.4% of hyperlinks in the dataset, meaning that just over one in every one hundred hyperlinks in the dataset, of which there were over 7,000, was from a far or extreme right website to a mainstream news source. Given that this percentage considers hyperlinks from websites that are not extreme or far right, this is a fairly significant percentage.

Al Jazeera

Twenty-six sources were linked to on Al Jazeera by far and extreme right websites. Fourteen of these contained the gender-related keywords and six contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4

Number of Keyword Hits on Al Jazeera Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	27	Jewish people	8
Women	25	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	54	Jewish discourse	64
Sexuality	0	Judaism	0
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse topics	26		
Total	132		72

3A1, *A harrowing walk to school for Palestinian children*, contained the greatest number of gender-related hits at 36, followed closely by 3A17, *'More freedom': Why a Cameroonian man returned to Ukraine*, with 35. 3A6, *Australian school principal Malka Leifer guilty of sexual abuse*, had the next highest with 14. Five of the sources containing the gender-related words only contained one. 3A1 was linked to by Europe Renaissance, a white supremacist and Holocaust denial website and book publisher that linked to the article in an article of its own titled *Palestinian children daily confront monsters that, unlike those in Grimm's fairy tales, are real*. The Al Jazeera article is a legitimate news piece documenting changes made by Israeli settlers to a path walked by children to school between a Palestinian village and an Israeli settlement. It is linked to by Europe Renaissance to justify and evidence their hatred of Jewish people. The Europe Renaissance article engages in Holocaust denial and argues that Israel has killed 6 million Palestinian children since the creation of the state of Israel, arguing that this is the "real" Holocaust.

3A17 and 3A6 were both linked to by American Partisan from its homepage. American Partisan's homepage links to several fringe and mainstream news websites including the BBC, Al Jazeera, Breitbart, ZeroHedge, Natural News, and One America News Network, and offers links to articles by that publication. It is unclear if these are curated or simply the most recent articles published by the sites. 3A17 interviews a man who returned to Ukraine after Russia invaded in 2022 and 3A6 is an article reporting the guilty verdicts of Malka Leifer who was found guilty of sexually assaulting two sisters who were student at the school of which she was a principle. The

article notes Leifer's dual Israeli-Australian citizenship, her school mistress position at an ultraorthodox Jewish school, and the fact that she left Australia for an illegal settlement in West Bank when first accused. 3A6 article could be linked to in order to evidence crimes committed by Jewish people, and 3A17 may have been used as evidence to argue that the Russian invasion of Ukraine has been exaggerated as many on the far and extreme right take a pro-Russia position. There was not sufficient contextual information to understand what meaning American Partisan had given this article.

Associated Press

Seventeen sources were linked to on Associated Press, ten of which contained the gender-related keywords and four of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5

Number of Keyword Hits on Associated Press Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	25	Jewish people	9
Women	15	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	32	Jewish discourse	57
Sexuality	2	Judaism	2
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse topics	31		
Total	105		68

3B10, *Palestinians mourn boy who died 'of fear' of Israeli troops*, had the highest number of hits with 43, followed by 3B14, *Seattle considers historic law barring caste discrimination*, with 17, and 3B1, *Alaska Natives rescued Navy crew in 1955. Their medals have arrived*, with 14. 3B10 was linked to by Europe Renaissance, 3B14 by Gene Expression, and 3B1 by AntiWar. The majority of links to textual content (10 of the 17) came from AntiWar, the right-libertarian isolationist group, which can partly account for the lack of overtly and exclusively gendered content found here as AntiWar's focus is on international politics. Gene Expression was a blog on popular genetics that has since moved to Substack. The author is Bangladeshi-American, has been funded by Ron Unz, and writes on IQ and racial categories. The link to 3B14 comes from a blog post discussing the article where the author is against banning caste discrimination in America on the basis that caste discrimination does not exist there. He believes that white Americans do not understand caste discrimination well enough to pass policies on it and believes that caste discrimination in the US is a "manufactured narratives" by "woke Indians[,]" although he does admit that there is racism against Indians in his blog and includes examples of cases of caste discrimination. 3B1 is the story of American Navy crew being rescued by Siberian Yupik natives from Alaska receiving modern acknowledgement from the U.S. Navy. It was likely linked to due to it being a contemporary story that dates back to the Cold War, which is of interest to AntiWar. 3B10 was linked to because of Europe Renaissance's antisemitism by deliberately conflating the actions of the Israeli government with all Jewish people.

CNN

Twenty-three sources were linked to on CNN, 17 of which contained the gender-related keywords and three of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6

Number of Keyword Hits on CNN Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	23	Jewish people	9
Women	25	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	19	Jewish discourse	33
Sexuality	58	Judaism	0
Gender identity	39		
Gender discourse topics	63		
Total	230		42

3C22, *Understanding and supporting the transgender community*, had the greatest number of hits at 79 followed by 3C7, *How gay couples in TV commercials became a mainstream phenomenon*, with 73. Both were linked to by Nicholas Stix, Uncensored. The third highest was 3C16, *Situation in the eastern Ukrainian town of Soledar is "critical," soldier tells CNN*, with 15. This dramatic drop off suggests that there is not that great an interest in gendered topics, or that discussion of gender is confined to sources where it is the focus. 3C22 is an informer-style piece that lists various helplines for transgender people and their friends and families as well as statistics regarding mental health outcomes and information about legislation intended to restrict trans people's access to public space in America. The blog that links to this article is very short and direct about why this source is linked to. It argues that Fortune 500 companies are celebrating transgender day of visibility this year as opposed to previous years because "the globalists are trying to cement the cultural revolution, the one against the family. And the violent, deranged "trannies" are the perfect weaponized tribe to be used for the final assault against the Old Order." Nicholas Stix, Uncensored believes, as seen in Chapter 4, that Jewish people are using trans people to destroy western society.

3C7 is an article about how the advertising industry came to include the LGBT+ community in advertising campaigns and the pushback this has received from conservative and religious groups. It takes a pro-LGBT+ stance and argues that millennials and LGBT+ people have increased spending power that marketing companies aim to access, and that both these groups are more receptive to LGBT+ inclusive marketing than previous generations, explaining the increase in this angle of marketing. It is linked to by Nicholas Stix, Uncensored in a blog arguing that being LGBT+ has become too politicised. It believes that, in previous decades, most straight people were not homophobic but that there would have been some cases of "bullying," which the author is against. The article claims to be fine with LGBT+ people, but is against the presence of LGBT+ themes, images, or content in otherwise neutral areas. 3C7 is linked to as an example of an area, TV commercials, that now have LGBT+ content where they previously did not. 3C15 is a live report of Russia's invasion of Soledar during the Russo-Ukraine war. The gender-related hits come from the discussion of two British men who had gone missing in Ukraine, and their families.

The Daily Mail

Thirty three unique pieces of content were linked to on The Daily Mail, 30 of which contained the gender-related keywords and five of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.7).

Table 5.7

Number of Keyword Hits on Daily Mail Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	97	Jewish people	8
Women	107	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	126	Jewish discourse	4
Sexuality	57	Judaism	1
Gender identity	21		
Gender discourse topics	150		
Total	558		13

3D1, *Berlin was a liberal hotbed of homosexuality and a mecca for cross dressers and transsexuals where the first male-to-female surgery was performed - until the Nazis came to power, new book reveals*, had the highest number of hits at 110 followed by 3D5, *Cops share snap of school door Nashville shooter blasted to gain entry and car she drove to scene with plans inside, as it's revealed murdered head of school worked there alongside her daughter*, with 90. 3D13, *Inside the controversial rise of 'theybies' as parents allow young children to CHOOSE their own gender - with the trend slammed as a 'scary experiment'*, had the third highest number of hits with 69, followed by 3D10, *Grinning Iranian husband carries the severed head of his 17-year-old wife through the streets after decapitating her in 'honour killing': Girl murdered after her father and brother dragged her back from Turkey where she'd fled*, with 56. 3D1 was linked to by the Patrick Ryan Show, 3D5 was linked to by New Nation, 3D13 was linked to by Maggie's Farm, and 3D10 was linked to by Refugee Resettlement Watch, a far right website that tracks news stories related to migrants to America. 3D1 is linked to on the Patrick Ryan Show's home page with a curated list of links to news articles, many of which are overtly racist and antisemitic. There is no explanation included in the links to these articles, but from the context it is likely that the implication is that the Nazis were right to end the sexually libera times of the Weimar republic. 3D5 is listed on New Nation under the heading "Queer faggot transvestite psycho killer 'trans' abomination slaughtered 6 unarmed in Nashville[.]" 3D13 is linked to on a page of "Saturday morning links" with no information regarding the website's opinion, but other links on the page show a transphobic sentiment. 3D10 is linked to under the title "Invasion of Europe news…"

There is an obvious increase in gender-related stories when the mainstream news sources come from the right of the political spectrum. The Daily Mail, Fox News, and the New York Post all had the highest percentage prevalence of gender-related words and The Daily Mail is the first website analysed in this chapter to have an obvious negative agenda regarding LGBT+ issues in its own right. The Daily Mail is also used by anti-migrant organisations to evidence crimes committed by migrants and people of colour with the aim of furthering support for their worldview. The position on the website and phrasing of the article headline of 3D10 gives the reader the impression that this attack took place in Europe, but it occurred in Iran. The article covers other honour killings of young women and the murder of children by men in Iran and the article is used by Refugee Resettlement Watch as evidence of the dangers of allowing migrants to settle in European countries. The article and headline also imply that there are high rates of paedophilia amongst Iranian men as the article and headline mention men marrying young

women under 18 and some who are as young as 12. The implication of this is that Iranian men, and therefore all migrants, pose a risk to western nations, especially young white women.

Fox News

Twenty two unique sources were linked to on Fox News, 19 of which contained the gender-related keywords and two of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.8).

Table 5.8

Number of Keyword Hits on Fox News Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	14	Jewish people	1
Women	24	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	62	Jewish discourse	13
Sexuality	9	Judaism	0
Gender identity	30		
Gender discourse topics	82		
Total	221		14

3E16, *Parents push to recall Oregon school board after reports of 'disgusting' sexual games, explicit book*, had the greatest number of hits at 49 followed by 3E5, *Dem state senator blasted as a 'groomer,' 'depraved' for boasting support of drag queen event for minors*, with 43. 3E2, *Biden says transgender people 'shape our nation's soul' in official proclamation*, had the third highest number of this with 31 followed by 3E3, *Body of Florida boy, 2, found in mouth of alligator after desperate search; father charged with murder*, with 23. 3E16 was linked to Bayou Renaissance Man, 3E5 was linked to by The Feral Irishman, 2E2 was linked to by VDARE, and 3E3 was linked to by New Nation, a racist news aggregator website that primarily shares articles on Black people. 3E16 is an article about health lessons in an elementary school that asked students to write about a non-sexual sexual fantasy that emphasised romance and discusses allegations that a teacher asked the students to select classmates with whom they would do various sexual acts. The teacher involved was placed on leave then cleared of any wrongdoing, the sexual fantasy activity was not repeated, and the claims about the sexual act game were unsubstantiated. 3E16 was linked to in a blog post that does not acknowledge that some claims were unsubstantiated, and calls for the teacher to be fired. 3E5 is linked to in a blog post titled "Marjorie Taylor Greene doubles down on 'Democrats are pedophiles' remark during 60 Minutes interview" underneath the heading "Well, if it walks like a duck and talks like a duck" implying that Democrats are paedophiles. 3E2 is linked to by VDARE source 1P1 about the Nashville school shooting analysed in Chapter 4. It believes that President Biden proclaimed March 31st to be transgender day of visibility and links this to the Nashville shooting which had taken place four days before. Transgender day of visibility was already celebrated before the President's statements, and the day is not officially sanctioned. New Nation refers to 3E3 as "alligator bait" which is a racial slur referring to using Black children as bait for alligators. The story is one of hundreds linked to on the site that intend to document violent crimes committed, or allegedly committed, by Black men.

The Guardian

Twenty-two unique sources were linked to on The Guardian, 18 of which contained the gender-related keywords and 12 of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.9).

Table 5.9

Number of Keyword Hits on The Guardian Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	41	Jewish people	27
Women	10	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	47	Jewish discourse	85
Sexuality	10	Judaism	1
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse topics	33		
Total	141		113

3F8, *ICC judges issue arrest warrant for Vladimir Putin over alleged war crimes*, had the highest number of hits with 25 followed by 3F5, *Hero or hoax? The man who broke into Auschwitz – or maybe didn't*, with 16 and 3F10, *Italian princess, conspiracy theorists and Steven Seagal: meet Russia's friends overseas*, with 12. All were linked to by Focal Point Publications, the publishing house of English UK-based Holocaust denier David Irving's. The antisemite being UK-based explains why so many links from him were seen linking to The Guardian, a UK-originating newspaper. The links come from an index list that links to news stories curated by Irving. Live and archived versions of this list show that he mostly links to mainstream news sources that host stories about the Holocaust, Israel, Nazis, and the Russia-Ukraine war, as well as revisionist and antisemitic news sources that promote Holocaust denial and antisemitism. All links are preceded by a short phrase that encapsulates Irving's thoughts on the matter. 3F8 is preceded by the phrase "[f]irst, the small beer" meaning that the arrest warrant for Putin is an inconsequential matter compared to others. 3F5 is preceded by the phrase "[w]e give you three guesses" the implication being that Irving believes the story to be a "hoax," as he believes the rest of the Holocaust to be. 3F10 is preceded by "[w]ith friends like these" which is a phrase used to mean that someone's friends are so bad-natured that they do not need enemies. Irving's generally pro-Russia stance makes this hard to interpret.

3F8 is about the ICC's arrest warrant for Vladimir Putin over the taking of Ukrainian children from children's homes to Russia for adoption by Russian people or to enter re-education camps. The Russian officials quoted in the article argue that they are removing children from war zones in "[their] country" and Irving's commentary implies that he thinks this is a non-issue. 3F5 is an article about new evidence that has undermined what was supposed to be an autobiographical account of a man who broke into Auschwitz to rescue a prisoner. The new evidence has meant that the book has been reclassified as semi-autobiographical and semi-fictional. That a book that was previously considered an accurate account of an experience of the Holocaust has been found to be partially fabricated is significant for Holocaust deniers. 3F10 is about a pro-Russia event hosted by the International Russophile Movement attended by some minor celebrities and niche personalities. The comment from Irving implies that he does not

respect the crowd attending the event, but his general attitude to Russia, as seen from his other posts, is positive.

New York Post

Forty nine unique pieces of content were linked to on the New York Post, 47 of which contained the gender-related keywords and nice of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.10).

Table 5.10

Number of Keyword Hits on New York Post Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	86	Jewish people	23
Women	101	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	106	Jewish discourse	24
Sexuality	10	Judaism	0
Gender identity	26		
Gender discourse topics	89		
Total	418		47

3G42, *Social contagion is making teen girls depressed — and trans*, had the highest number of hits with 50, followed by 3G20, *'Luxury beliefs' are the latest status symbol for rich Americans*, with 24, and 3G11, *Drag racer speeding 100 mph kills Nashville dad on way to daughter's game: cops*, and 3G12, *Everything we know about transgender Nashville school shooter Audrey Hale: 'Investigating all leads'*, both with 20. 3G42 was linked to by Maggie's Farm, 3G20 was linked to by Information Processing, 3G11 was linked to by New Nation News, and 3G12 was linked to by New Nation. 3D42 is a transphobic article that positions itself as protecting young girls from "gender ideology" that is taught in schools. 3G12 is also a transphobic article that emphasises the transgender identity of the Nashville school shooter, implying this may be in some way related to the shooting. The article was linked to by New Nation News under the heading "Queer faggot transvestite psycho killer 'trans' abomination slaughtered 6 unarmed in Nashville" that listed four articles reporting on the shooting, one of which, 3D5, is included above from the Daily Mail. 3G11 is about a white father who was killed after an out of control drag racer crashed into his vehicle. The article is linked to in a category on New Nation News titled "Black-on-White Crime." The driver responsible for the accident was a Black man, whose mugshot is included in the article. 3G20 is linked to through an interview with the author on his concept of "luxury beliefs" which he argues are liberal positions that accrue social status for wealthy people who hold them, but are disadvantageous to poor people. The article leverages the author's psychology degree from Yale and PhD from Cambridge in making its claims.

The New York Post's position as a centre right tabloid places it with Fox News and the Daily Mail. The high prevalence of gender-related words on these sites relative to other sites suggests that they are either more invested in culture war centred stories, or that they are chosen more by far and extreme right websites to evidence far right views on these topics because they are covering them in a matter that the far and extreme right agree with. What can be said is that the way that these platforms cover these issues makes them popular sources for far and extreme right actors who want to point readers to more mainstream support of their views.

Fifty-two unique sources were linked to on the New York Times (NYT) 41 of which contained the gender-related keywords and 12 of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.11).

Table 5.11

Number of Keyword Hits on New York Times Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	95	Jewish people	46
Women	73	Non-Jewish people	1
Children	83	Jewish discourse	111
Sexuality	3	Judaism	4
Gender identity	1*		
Gender discourse topics	75		
Total	330		162

* In the word "trans-Atlantic"

3H2, *A Place of Sanctuary Is Punctured by the Reality of Gun Violence in America*, had the highest number of hits at 50, followed by 3H38, *The Last Days of Beckett's, a Smoky New York Literary Salon*, with 38, and 3H50, *We Are in a Golden Age for Hair*, with 29. Sources 3H4, *After 69 years of silence, lynching victim is cleared*, and 3H20, *Full Transcript of Zelensky's Speech Before Congress*, both had 16. 3H2 is linked to by an article on Unz that reviews mainstream media reporting of the Nashville shooting, commenting on what pronouns each outlet is using to refer to the shooter, and reports that the New York Times article avoids using pronouns. This is part of an argument that is built to show that the mainstream media refuses to show the trans community in a negative light, implying liberal media and governmental bias for these actors. It was not possible to identify why 3H38 had been linked to by Gene Expression, but the article reported on an independent bar visited by artists in New York that functioned as a liberal artistic hot spot in the city. 3H50 had been linked to by Unz and argues that the article shows photographs of white women with bad haircuts because "America's most important goal is to make black women feel good about their hair, so it's crucial that nonblack women's hair not look too good." 3H20 is linked to by Unz in an article that is against American aid to Ukraine, believing Ukraine to be corrupt and that supporting Ukraine against Russia is against America's interests, akin to Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan.

3H4 is linked to in an Unz article discussing the case of Leo Frank, a Jewish business man convicted of murdering his young female employee Mary Phagan, who was kidnapped from prison and lynched. Modern researchers agree Frank was innocent and many suggest that the murder was likely committed by the factory's janitor, Newt Lee, who was Black. The case is a focal point for the extreme right who believe that the modern consensus of Frank's innocence is the result of Jewish influence on the media. Many antisemites believe that, because America had high levels of anti-Black racism at the time of Phagan's murder, the conviction of Frank over Lee proves that Frank was guilty. For many on the extreme right, Frank's lynching constitutes a justified community action. The New York Times article reports new eye witness testimony that clears Frank of the murder, while the Unz article argues Frank's guilt and does so with antisemitic

comments. The Unz article cites a book by the Nation of Islam as evidence for its belief that Frank killed Phagan, a book that is academically discredited due to its improper research practices.

Wall Street Journal

Twenty one sources were linked to on the Wall Street Journal 13 of which contained the gender-related keywords and four of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.12).

Table 5.12

Number of Keyword Hits on Wall Street Journal Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	16	Jewish people	2
Women	5	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	18	Jewish discourse	46
Sexuality	0	Judaism	0
Gender identity	0		
Gender discourse topics	23		
Total	62		48

Only one source contained more than ten hits: 3K16, *U.S. Considers Asking Black Americans on Census if They Are Slave Descendants*, that had 11. 3K12, *Russian Borders Swamped as Putin's Draft Order Sparks Exodus*, had the second highest with 9, and 3K1, *AI in the Workplace Is Already Here. The First Battleground? Call Centers*, had 8. 3K16 is linked to by Unz in an article claiming that the Biden administration plans to give reparations to American descendants of slavery, an idea that is suggested in the Wall Street Journal article, but which the White House refused to comment on. 3K1 is linked to by Why Evolution Is True. It was not possible to find the original link, but the website published a blog post around the time of data collection that argued that AI has limited utility in the workplace. The Wall Street Journal presents a balanced account of using AI assistance in call centres, interviewing staff who had quit their jobs because AI assistants had made them too stressful, as well as quoting customer satisfaction and job completion data that supports the use of AI in the workplace. From Why Evolution Is True's blog on the topic, AI use by call centres is aggravating and expensive for customers, and Why Evolution Is True encourages readers to write to companies to protest its use. 3K12 is linked to by Unz in an article claiming that America's support for Ukraine in the Russia-Ukraine conflict is a front for a secret political war started to return the world to Cold War era politics. While the Wall Street Journal article deals with a heavily gendered topic, men fleeing conscription, this is not emphasised in the linking article which focuses on British and American attempts to recruit these men as spies. The Unz article is antisemitic, writing that "every American neocon hoping for some good news for Hanukkah" would have been pleased with Russia losing influence in the west after the expulsion of diplomats following the invasion of Ukraine. This is more subtle than some of the content seen, but still clearly implies there is Jewish influence in the war.

Washington Post

Seventeen unique sources were linked to on Washington Post, 12 of which contained the gender-related keywords and five of which contained the antisemitism-related keywords (Table 5.13).

Table 5.13

Number of Keyword Hits on Washington Post Content

Gendered Element	Number of Hits	Antisemitic Element	Number of Hits
Men	17	Jewish people	6
Women	32	Non-Jewish people	0
Children	24	Jewish discourse	27
Sexuality	4	Judaism	0
Gender identity	3		
Gender discourse topics	24		
Total	104		33

3M2, *As CPAC's* [Conservative Political Action Conference] *head faces sexual assault claim, other leadership concerns emerge*, had the highest number of hits at 36 followed by 3M6, *I told the truth in my sister's obituary, so that others might choose to live*, with 16 and 3M9, *Nashville shooter was under a doctor's care for 'emotional disorder[,]'* with 12. The link to 3M2 comes from a comment under an Unz article which contains another link to an article implying the CPAC is under Jewish influence due to it receiving funding from George Soros and Mark Zuckerberg. The article on Unz is written by Andrew Anglin, the owner of the Daily Stormer. The Unz article argues that Trump is the "anti-war candidate" in the 2024 election, linking to a speech he gave at CPAC where he claimed he would end the war in Ukraine within a day of taking office in America, but also believes that all America elections are fake and that conservatives believing they can vote for Trump to win are delusional. The commentator linking to the Washington Post article is anti-Trump, and critical of CPAC due to its alleged Jewish influence. 3M6 is linked to by Amerika as an example of nihilism, the political philosophy of the website. 3M6 is the reflections of a woman whose sister died by suicide which urges readers with depression to not take their own lives. The Amerika article argues that nihilism is discovering the (real, objective) truth of reality beyond external subjective influences that influence the internal reality. It uses the Washington Post article to argue that the woman who killed herself could not see the truth, that her life was worth living, due to her depression, which clouded her reality. 3M2, like 3H3, is linked to by Unz in an article that discusses the pronouns mainstream media sources use to refer to the Nashville shooter. Washington Post uses gender neutral pronouns.

Discussion

Overwhelmingly, the far and extreme right actors in this network used the mainstream news sources in an attempt to corroborate or prove their world views, recruit and radicalise the public, and bolster their image in the eyes of potential recruits and existing adherents. The stories appearing in the outlets were used as "evidence" for far and extreme right beliefs by transplanting the mainstream story into an extremist narrative, or the fact that the story existed at all was taken as evidence of the belief that media institutions have been taken over by liberals. The tactic of linking to reputable or left wing sources was used to launder the image of extremist websites and in some instances the news stories that reputable outlets shared were used in an attempt to mobilise readers. In the cases where the news stories were used to confirm far right beliefs, the most common of these in the sources analysed were antisemitic, racist, or transphobic. Mainstream news sources were also used in an attempt to document the threat that trans people, sex education, and migrants allegedly posed to women and children, especially young girls.

Extremist websites avoided linking to alternative media sources, preferring to link to mainstream ones, possibly because many alternative media sources are associated with far right ideologies which the extreme right tend to separate themselves from. These findings support the idea that extremist websites form media ecosystems where they use mainstream news articles to "support" their interpretations of events (Baugut & Neumann, 2019). Many extreme and far right websites were publishing longread articles that elaborated their views, many of which were related to contemporary issues that would be supplemented with relevant hyperlinks to mainstream sources. This resulted in an alternative media ecosystem where adherents would be able to primarily get their opinions from extreme or far right sources, and occasionally have the veracity of some facets of these stories verified by reputable news outlets.

Existing research has looked at how the far and extreme right respond to media coverage of their own groups and actions (Dieter 2004), how the extreme right engage with mainstream media (Baugut & Neumann, 2019), how far right actors use mainstream media articles (Peucker & Fisher, 2023), and the role of mainstream media sources in online 'counter-Jihad' networks (Lee, 2015). A finding that could not be corroborated by this research was on the motivations behind why the extreme and far right make use of mainstream media. In an interview study with former right wing extremists in Germany, Baugut and Neumann (2019) found that interaction with mainstream media was mediated by the position of group members in the internal group hierarchy with group leaders scouring mainstream news sources for stories that could be used to support the group's worldview which would then be put out to the public on social media to radicalise and recruit. The creation of this extremist media ecosystem was done in preparation for "Day X" when society would fall and a new white supremacist society would rise from the ashes. The extensive curation of relevant news articles hosted on and linked to by extreme and far right websites could suggest that a similar ambition is seen here. This possibility should be systematically investigated in future research to understand the role and possible intentions of extremist use of social media.

Pathological Normalcy and Reactionary Democracy

Often, when discussing the extreme and far right and how it relates to mainstream politics, there is an implicit assumption that the mainstream is an independent and unbiased sphere of politics, without reactionary, racist, or fascist tendencies (Brown et al., 2021). This assumption is incorrect and, as previous research and liberation activism has shown, the mainstream of society rests on histories of colonialism, racism, sexism, ableism, homophobia, and transphobia. While nominal efforts are made to redress these histories, these often result in the mainstream considering itself "post-racial" or similar, whereby a society assumes itself to have reckoned with its racist past and now be an equal society, meaning that racial disparities in society caused by unaddressed structural racism can be ignored (Williams Crenshaw, 2017). In fact, mainstream politics rest on and reproduce these inequalities, and articles in mainstream outlets can normalise and increase support for far and extreme right positions (Brown & Mondon, 2021; Mondon & Winter, 2020). Mainstream political institutions can provide far and extreme right groups with blueprints for political arguments as happened with the science on global warming that was systematically underplayed and undermined by the fossil fuel industry so that, by the early 2000s, far right groups were able to take on climate denial as a fully-fledged discourse, taking a whole political discourse from the fossil fuel industry (Malm & The Zetkin Collective, 2021). Mudde (2010) has argued that rather than seeing the extreme and far right as a radical break from the mainstream, they should instead be seen as extreme interpretations of it. In my previous work on right wing terror attacks, I argue that attackers are "overconformists"

(Kimmel & Mahler, 2003, p. 1440) to mainstream norms of masculinity that legitimise violence as a response to (perceived) emasculating forces coming from the attackers' outgroups in the form of migrants, Black people, women, and masculine white men (in the case of incels) (Frenguelli, 2024). Mainstream political rhetoric around migrants and people of colour is already hostile to them, and this is often replicated in news sources that show refugees "swarming" from Africa, Iraq, and Syria, as with some of the coverage of the "2015 Eurpean migrant crisis" (Berry et al., 2015, p. 40). We therefore see a relationship between the mainstream and extreme where the former structures the latter through providing narratives, evidence, and framings that rest on reactionary norms that can then be taken by the far and extreme right and twisted into more extreme forms of racism, sexism, and queerphobia.

Mainstream discourse does not just influence the far right, but is influenced by it (Brown et al., 2021). The mainstreaming of far right discourse happens through a reciprocal relationship between mainstream and extreme actors whereby mainstream media institutions, political parties, and cultural elites can normalise far right ideas and talking points though media coverage, interpretations of election outcomes, and opinion polls (Brown et al., 2021). The UK Brexit referendum is an example of this where immigration was not a pressing political issue for the British public until 2015 when Brexit campaigning focusing on immigration began (Brown et al., 2021; Mondon & Winter, 2020). This increase in the salience of immigration as a political issue led to mainstream political parties believing that this was a genuine concern of the majority of voters and subsequently introducing harsher policies regarding illegal immigration and refugees in order to address the perceived concerns of the electorate. Bonansinga and Forrest (2025) argue that the "stop the boats" rhetoric seen by UK politicians in the Rwanda Policy (a policy decreeing the force deportation of "illegal" migrants to the UK to Rwanda) shows a radicalisation of the Conservative party by the far right. As shown by Brown et al.'s (2021) theory of mainstreaming, the mainstream and the extreme can and do influence each other and critical engagement with political issues is needed by mainstream media and political institutions to avoid increasing the normalisation of the far right and right wing extremism further. The rest of this chapter demonstrates some areas where the extreme and far right use mainstream media articles to demonstrate and bolster their reactionary claims, something that they are able to do in part because many of the articles do not contain information that is hostile to, or would work to prevent, far right interpretation.

Use of Mainstream News Articles as Evidence of Extremists' Worldviews

The findings of this chapter contribute to our understanding of how extreme and far right websites utilise hyperlinks to mainstream news outlets to evidence their interpretation of the world. Droogan et al. (2022) found in their study of Australian far right Twitter users that the majority of outlinks were to news media sites and Macdonald et al. (2022b) found that French and German far right Twitter accounts also linked to mainstream news sources. Haller and Holt (2019), in a study into the hyperlinking practices of PEGIDA Facebook pages in Germany and Austria, found that both countries used hyperlinks in similar ways and linked equally to mainstream and alternative media outlets when the stories were pertinent to their narratives. They described this as a "contemporary hybrid media ecology" as the Facebook pages were constantly linking to mainstream media sources in order to have content to talk about and so could not have existed without them (Haller & Holt, 2019, p.1674). Another study on out-linking behaviours of Australian far right accounts on Gab also found that far right actors would link to mainstream news media and reframe articles without an obvious political agenda, moving them from a neutral account of events to an ideologically charged one supporting the far right (Peucker

& Fisher, 2023). Peucker and Fisher (2023) also found that right-leaning sources were used to evidence far right ideology through the reframing of, or selective emphasis on, certain aspects of the article.

These studies were into the hyperlinking behaviour seen on the social media pages of far right groups, and their results seem to show a higher percentage of hyperlinks to mainstream news sources than that seen in this network. There are a number of possible explanations for this. Social media pages are restricted in the type and amount of content they can host based on the limits imposed by the social media company, meaning that out-linking to external sources may be more important on social media pages as these allow a greater variety of content to be accessible from the group's page. Websites do not have this limit as they are able to host a near unlimited variety and quantity of content themselves, meaning that such hyperlinks to mainstream sources may not be as important to them. Social media pages may also use more hyperlinks to mainstream news sources than websites as platforms' terms of service often discourage or prohibit linking to more extreme groups, making linking to mainstream news sources a safer option for these social media pages when this is not an issue that needs to be considered for websites. The following details the findings of the specific grievances that the far and extreme right attempted to "evidence" using mainstream media sources.

Antisemitism. Europe Renaissance, a website that contained some of the most overt and virulent antisemitism seen in this study, linked to one of the most left leaning news sources in this selection of the dataset — Al Jazeera — to evidence its antisemitic belief that Jewish people are uniquely and unequivocally evil. Similarly, the Holocaust denier David Irving links to eight of the ten news outlets analysed in attempts to evidence antisemitic beliefs regarding Jewish people, to cast doubt on the Holocaust, to show support for Russia and Putin, or to otherwise disparage other political rivals such as 'Marxists' and people associated with BLM. Only one of Irving's 35 links to news sources mentions Palestine — 2F22, *'The power we had was astonishing': ex-soldiers on Israel's government in the occupied territories* — suggesting that the Israel/Palestine conflict is not of pressing concern to him when considered alongside the other content he was posting to. The source is framed around Israel's control of the occupied Palestinian territory, and Israeli soldiers' roles within that, rather than the positions of individual Palestinians, something which is centred in both the sources linked to by Europe Renaissance. This hints at a potential difference between neo-Nazi organisations (Europe Renaissance) and Holocaust deniers (David Irving) in how they view Palestinians and use news stories related to Israel and Palestine to propagandise. Avowed neo-Nazis may be more committed to constructing the narrative that Jewish people are inherently evil, which would explain the emphasis of harms done to Palestinian people by Europe Renaissance, whereas Holocaust deniers, while still being antisemites, may feel less of a need to prove that all Jewish people are evil since they are not actively attempting to build towards a second Holocaust. Further research should look to investigate this potential difference.

Europe Renaissance's use of mainstream media, and its own webpages that link to these sources, emphasise the humanity of the Palestinian people and highlight the suffering of especially young people and children that results from Israel's actions. The memes and rhetoric on the page that links to sources 3A1 and 3B10 accuse Israel of committing "the 'real' Holocaust," deny that the Holocaust happened, and depict Jewish people and Israelis as subhuman. The sympathetic lens through which Palestinians are depicted is contrasted against the portrayal of Jewish people and Israelis as a monstrous all-powerful group that deliberately targets children, to the extent that the mere mention of an Israeli night raid is enough to cause a child to die of

fright (3B10). While doctors think that a Palestinian boy died of a fear-induced heart attack at the threat of an Israeli raid, this observation is discussed to further antisemitism, rather than to advocate for Palestinian liberation.

Racism. Articles that reported on crimes committed by Black people and people of colour, gratuitously or in a sensationalist manner, were frequently linked to by racist websites in attempts to "evidence" their beliefs. As seen with the literature on the use of mainstream media by extremist actors, when the mainstream source already portrays a narrative in line with the extremists' worldview, extremists link to these with no caveats or explanations. This is the case with the Daily Mail, the New York Post, and Fox News which are right-leaning publications that are known for sensationalist and, in parts, racialised reporting (Collins, 2012; Martin, 2009; Meade, 2020; Savillo, 2020; van Dijk, 1991). The findings here corroborate existing findings from the literature: websites like New Nation simply linked to these articles with extracts from the text and images of the perpetrators and victims to emphasise in the readers' mind the connection between Black people and violent crime. They can be transplanted as they exist in the original piece into an extremist narrative with minimal reframing.

Transphobia. Seven articles were linked to that discussed trans people, a low prevalence in the dataset when this had been a prevalent theme in previous chapters. These articles were used to "evidence" either the belief that trans people are inherently mentally ill or that trans people and their liberal supporters have disproportionately high levels of control in society. The Nashville shooting and data on rates of mental ill-health amongst trans people were used to "evidence" the former, and articles that covered positive news stories on trans people were used to "evidence" the latter. Fox News (3G42) argued that trans people exist due to 'social contagion' and demonstrates benevolent sexism when it claims girls are more susceptible to this peer pressure than boys, positioning trans boys as subjects in need of protection from ideas against which they are not strong enough to defend themselves. Being taught about sexual and gender variance ("gender ideology") is constructed as an idea that is inherently penetrative to the young (girl's) mind, so that merely teaching children about these topics is enough for the children to be influenced by them (Bulter 2024). The article emphasises that more young girls than young boys are presenting with gender dysphoria than 20 years ago, the implication being that this is not a legitimate transgender identity and is therefore the result of "social contagion." The article is transphobic, but its sympathetic tone means that it does not immediately appear so to people not familiar with the issue. This framing allows people who want to remove rights from trans people to appear more reasonable than they are and launder their views.

Use of Mainstream News Articles to Prove Liberal or Jewish Control of the Media

Centre left and liberal outlets and articles were often used to show that the mainstream media has been taken over by liberal progressives. An article by Unz linked to several mainstream news sources reporting on the Nashville shooting to argue that the mainstream media has a liberal bias towards trans people and used the fact that the New York Times (3H2) and the Washington Post (3M9) avoided misgendering the shooter to prove this. An article by CNN (3C7) was also used to show that LGBT+ people and content dominate all areas of western society. Previous research has found that extreme and far right groups use the existence of liberal news articles as proof that the media is controlled by liberals or Jewish people. Similar to this research, the groups in Baugut and Neumann's (2019) study also exploited inconsistencies in media reporting to argue that the media was controlled by a government hostile to the extremists' agenda, such as with the liberal or Jewish control of the media. This tactic was used when new

recruits would meet the groups in-person and comment that the groups appeared differently to how they were portrayed in the media, giving the extremists the opportunity to argue that this alleged mis-portrayal was the result of a biased media that could not be trusted. Peucker and Fisher (2023) also found that left-leaning sources were used by far right accounts to disparage the mainstream media as a whole, as seen here.

Use of Mainstream News Articles to Recruit and Mobilise

The extreme and far right frequently use stories in the mainstream news cycle to attempt to recruit and radicalise new people. In Baugut and Neumann's (2019) study, extremist groups in Germany would monitor mainstream media to see which contemporary news stories could be used to mobilise people with a view to radicalising them to an extreme right agenda. In one village, when the local news reported that a man was a paedophile, an extremist group was able to mobilise a third of the village in a march supporting the death penalty for paedophiles, without revealing that the march had been called by extremists. Similar behaviours were seen in this dataset with the extreme right trying to mobilise around mainstream news stories such as the Rotherham child sexual abuse scandal (Chapter 4), the Nashville shooting (Chapters 4 and 6), and funding opportunities for the children of migrants (Chapter 5).

Use of Mainstream News Articles to Launder the Image of Extreme and Far Right Groups

Research by Lee (2015) on the "counter Jihad nebula" also found that, while actors in the network viewed mainstream media as untrustworthy and corrupt, they still used mainstream news articles that reported the stories they agreed with. This ambivalent attitude towards mainstream media is found in much of the literature on the far and extreme right's use of it (Baugut & Neumann, 2019; Dieter, 2004; Haller & Holt, 2019; Lee, 2015; Peucker & Fisher, 2023). This is because, as seen in the analysis in this thesis, far and extreme right narratives are still often related to mainstream discourse, even when they sit on the fringe of it. Mainstream news stories present opportunities for radicalisation for extreme right actors as well as offer evidence for liberal domination of political institutions, both of which are necessary for extreme and far right movement growth and functioning (Baugut & Neumann, 2019).

Articles from liberal, centre left, and left wing outlets that promote the cause of Palestinians were used by antisemites to evidence their argument that the Holocaust is a hoax (3F5), or to document Israeli actions in a way that contributes to a narrative that Israelis, equated with Jewish people, are evil (3A1). Both David Irving and Europe Renaissance link to legitimate new articles about matters related to Jewish people and Israel, and it is notable that these are articles published in left-leaning publications. The articles are used to "evidence" antisemitic beliefs and the mainstream, left-leaning nature of the publications gives them a credibility that linking to other extremist literature could not. By linking to mainstream, and especially left-leaning, outlets, they are able to present themselves as reasonable actors who can engage with sources that would disagree with them on many issues, showing their openness to cross-ideological collaboration which can make them appear more reasonable and less extreme in their beliefs. The largely factual reporting of these outlets also adds to this potential credibility in the eyes of supporters or potential recruits.

While the majority of mainstream articles linked to in this chapter do not endorse or support far right or right wing interpretations of global phenomena, they "do little to contradict" these interpretations (Lee, 2015, p24). The non-partisan stories that took a liberal or centre approach to reporting often assumed that the reader would be interpreting the article in liberal or neutral way and so caveats or additional information that would prevent conspiratorial

thinking or bad-faith engagement was not included. For instance, the Guardian article on the partially fabricated account of the Holocaust contained no information about Holocaust denial literature and made no reference to the fact that an account of the Holocaust being confirmed to be partially fabricated could be used by some to discredit the reality of the entire event. There were also politically charged and sensationalist stories in the dataset, coming from the Daily Mail, Fox News, and the New York Post, which already conveyed the narratives that are pushed by the far right: that migrants pose an inherent danger to (white) western society and that LGBT+ acceptance has become too dominant in society. The reporting of crimes committed, or suspected of being committed, by Black people in tabloid papers also present easy targets for right wing extremists who are looking to build an evidence base to support their view that Black people are inherently criminal.

Differences Between Liberal and Conservative News Sources

Liberal and left-leaning outlets contained the gender-related keywords in articles that were positive or neutral towards mainly LGBT+ issues. Gender-related keywords were used more in the most right-leaning news outlets, the Daily Mail, Fox News, and the New York Post. The high prevalence of gender-related key words on those websites comes mostly from culture-war related issues around the "trans panic" and sensationalist reporting regarding crimes committed by people of colour against women and children. These right-leaning news outlets are already producing narratives that are easily transposed into far and extreme right ones, which gives these groups an easy way of bolstering their arguments by citing mainstream sources that are discursively close to their agendas. Refugee Resettlement Watch's use of the Daily Mail article on honour killings in Iran was one such case (3D10), as were the regular links to the Daily Mail, Fox News, and the New York Post by New Nation and New Nation News which obsessively documents crimes committed by Black people. While neither left- nor right-leaning news sources engaged in directly far right rhetoric, left-leaning outlets did not include information that may dissuade people from interpreting their stories in a right wing way (Lee, 2015), and right-leaning outlets presented stories that were easily transposed into far right narratives due to their framing (Peucker & Fisher, 2023).

Conclusion

The extreme and far right in this thesis use mainstream news sources to corroborate their reactionary beliefs, confirm their conspiracy theory of liberal or Jewish control of the media, mobilise adherents, and to launder their image through links to respectable or left wing news outlets. The existing literature on far and extreme right use of mainstream news outlets and the findings of this chapter show the far and extreme right to have an ambivalent relationship with these sources, believing them to be thoroughly corrupt and biased, yet still relying on them to prove the veracity of some of their claims and bolster their image. Overall, the far and extreme actors in this dataset were able to use mainstream news articles to support their cause in one way or another. Clumsy and/or sensationalist reporting by mainstream outlets enables bad faith actors on the far and extreme right to more readily transplant mainstream sources into reactionary narratives. The assumption by liberal and centre-left outlets that readers are engaging in their articles as well-intentioned liberals means that no caveats are included to dissuade conspiratorial or racist interpretations of their reporting, as seen with articles discussing Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Israel's occupation of Palestine, the Nashville shooting, and the disproved veracity of a first-hand account of the Holocaust. Media guidelines should be developed with the aim of preventing reactionaries from using mainstream articles so readily.

Conclusion
Antisemitism, Islamophobia, Anti-Migrant Sentiment, and Anti-Gender as Enduring and Emergent Issues in the Online Far and Extreme Right

Introduction

The original intention of this study was to research the opinions that different sections of the far and extreme right held about men, women, gender roles, and gendered issues. It was assumed that far and extreme right opinions about and towards LGBT+ people would be part of this, as being LGBT+ is an inherent break from the gender binary, making LGBT+ people and lifestyles a gendered issue. It was thought that, once a dataset of extremist websites was discovered and created, that it would be possible to look at these websites and find data relating to their opinions on these issues. This was not the case. It was very hard to discern any opinions about women, men, or the roles they were expected to perform. Neither the extreme right nor the far right websites dedicated many, if any, sources to discussing this. The sources were instead dedicated to the primary concerns of antisemitism for the extreme right, and anti-migrant and Islamophobia for the far right. The mainstream articles they linked to were used to "evidence" these agendas.

There are a few possible explanations for why gender-related content was lacking in this research. It could have been that views about men and women's roles in society were not expressed because they are already implicit in the views that were. The transphobia that was seen in Chapters 4 and 5 implies rigid gender roles, as does the emphasis on the family that was seen in sources 1G17 – 1G19 and 1G27. It could also have been that the views of the extremists and far right websites were so "extreme" compared to mainstream views that there was an underlying assumption that if a reader were engaging with their content, then they already held sufficient views regarding women — views that were regressive and sexist — and the websites were instead focusing on issues that were current, or views that may have not been held by readers. The websites could have been playing an educational role where they are informing readers on views that they are not yet expected to have fully formed or be fully aware of. What dominated their discussions of gender where they did occur was the idea of "gender" as a threat. This idea is explored in the rest of this Conclusion in reference to existing literature and ultimately makes the argument that this idea of "gender" as a threat comes from non-extreme actors and its presence in extreme and far right content warrants systematic analysis.

This thesis set out to understand what different extreme right movements believe about gender and gender-related issues and, if there are differences between movements, what these differences in beliefs are. This thesis has shown that gender as such is not of great importance to the extreme and far right. It is a secondary issue behind that of race; secondary to antisemitism for the extreme right and secondary to xenophobia for the far right. All gender-related beliefs fall within a racial paradigm where gendered anxieties such as threats to women and the instability

of gendered boundaries are understood through a racial lens where they represent existential threats to the white race as a whole stemming from a racial other. Gender's "proper place" within the right is of a supplementary issue with which to complement dominant racial priorities. The dominance of LGBT+ issues and trans people in particular in the discussions of gender by extreme and far right actors demonstrates how the "culture wars" have come to be a part of extreme and far right discourse. The meaning of gender and whether or not people can "change" their gender is a culture war issue dominating the minds of liberals and conservatives in the early 2020s and has done since the 2010s. This reflects the larger post-ideological shift in politics where politics has moved, in a large part, to cultural and identity-based politics. The extreme and far right are clearly influenced by this change in the dominant form of politics and are incorporating it into their own discourse. Drawing on previous research, this linking of a political issue to an ethnic national body politic could result in its increasing popularity and normalisation. Work by Malm and the Zetkin Collective (2021) argued that climate change denial was a much more potent political force when it was taken up by the far right and linked to their ideology of an ethnic nation than it was when it was articulated purely by the fossil fuel industry and their associated think tanks and lobby groups. The linking of culture war issues to an extreme or far right discourse could massively increase their political appeal across the population. More broadly, this shift to post-ideological politics being reflected in the discourse of the extreme and far right shows how related the extreme and mainstream political spheres are. However, there were sources by the extreme right that specifically discussed the perceived neglect of class-based politics coming from the UK Labour party and feminist groups and that used this to argue that the working class is neglected by this new formation of cultural politics. The perceived tension between class-based and identity-based politics is one that will have to be addressed by progressive and left wing efforts going forward.

The Far and Extreme Right and "Anti-Gender"

The "gender" related discussions analysed in this thesis were based on an implicit understanding of "gender" as being some form of liberal or Jewish conspiracy that posed a threat to the white ingroup. This belief, that is often encapsulated as being "anti-gender," originated in Vatican discourse from where it has since spread into elements of far right, extreme right, and mainstream discourse. The research into this conspiracy about gender comes from linguistic studies, social movement studies, and to a lesser extent social science research. It has not yet been addressed as an issue of concern by extremism and terrorism scholars. These "anti-gender" ideas are present in Catholic discourse, that of Evangelicals, the far right, men's rights activists (MRAs), and some groups that are ostensibly feminist. The majority of this research is not on the far right but focuses on groups and campaigns that are primarily "anti-gender" in their orientation. While religious, men's rights, ostensibly "feminist," and far right groups often use "anti-gender" rhetoric, they do not always work consciously together. Nevertheless, the fact that all these disparate movements can make used of the "anti-gender" signifier and mobilise around it speaks to the hegemonic capabilities of the word. Some of the research makes the argument that the empty nature of the signifier is what allows for groups who would not otherwise work together to band together by being "anti" the concept. Importantly, what all these groups are against (the mutability of gender identity, the variating possibilities of family formation, the rights of women to access to birth control and abortion, increased visibility of women and LGBT+ people in public spaces and roles) are also matters that the extreme right are against (Mayer & Sauer, 2017). Vastly predating any Vatican rhetoric that was "anti-gender," Nazi Germany was interning gay, bisexual, and trans people in concentration camps and propagandising the populus towards

white (heterosexual) nuclear families in order to propagate future generations of the white race. This overlap in agenda and the co-occurrence of issues means that extreme right groups share the discursive arena with these other actors. This co-occurrence has not yet been investigated systematically in the literature.

Vatican Origins and the Study of Contemporary Catholic "Anti-Gender" Discourse

Originating from Vatican discourse, the Vatican articulation of being anti-"gender ideology" has seen the most academic attention (Case, 2011; 2016; 2019; Garbagnoli, 2016; Kaoma, 2016; Scott, 2016), as has Catholic discourse in general (Baran, 2023; Dorlin, 2016; Fassin, 2016; Hunt, 2016; Marchlewska, *et al.*, 2019; Paternotte & Kuhar, 2017a). Research into the Vatican discourse has shown that the "complementarity" thesis upon which Catholic "anti-gender" beliefs rely — the idea that men and women are biological beings created by God in such a way that the union of the two "completes" one another — emerged in the 20th century from Pope Pius XII (Case, 2016). This conviction of complementarity is leveraged in the Vatican's discursive strategy against "gender" where it argues that feminist and pro-LGBT+ beliefs act against the complementarity of the sexes and therefore against God. The Vatican has used the rhetoric of "gender" to discursively link feminist and gay rights movements as one coherent effort to redefine the sexes, sexuality, the family, and human nature itself.

This rhetoric of being against "gender ideology" has been shown by Case (2019) to have united many different religions and Churches who otherwise disagree with the Vatican on many issues. Pope Francis's origins in Argentina, an historically colonised country, enabled him to introduce the rhetoric of "ideological colonisation" to the "anti-gender ideology" discourse arguing that NGOs from the EU and US were forcing "gender ideology" on Latin America (Case, 2019, p 641). This discursive change allowed him to appeal to more people than just conservative Catholics and, combined with the pseudo academic rhetoric, allowed "anti-gender ideology" discourse to spread to the US and to other religious organisations where it had previously been unable to take hold. Conservative American Christians, Mormons, and Evangelicals were able to gather under the umbrella of being anti-"gender ideology" because the issues it encompasses, such as being anti-gay marriage, spoke to concerns shared by all groups. Research by Fassin (2016) on Catholic ability to spread their anti-"gender ideology" discourse in France found that the framing of "gender ideology" as a "theory" allowed Catholics to build bridges with other religious groups (Jewish, Islamic) as well as with the secular right. In France, it is not politically viable to be openly homophobic due to homosexuality being normalised in the country and so anti-gay marriage protests had to form themselves around being pro-marriage and emphasise the wellbeing of children as their only concern, rather than any issue with homosexuality (Fassin; 2016). This framing of being against a "theory" also worked well with the "populist anti-intellectualism" that had grown with Nicholas Sarkozy (Fassin; 2016, p. 177). This shifting of the concern from "gender" to "gender theory" also meant that conservative opponents to gender equality could open up their discursive battle ground and focus on schooling as well as.

The Study of Far Right Adaptations of "Anti-Gender" Discourse

The political agenda of the "anti-gender" movement has many overlapping beliefs with the far and extreme right, that of the nuclear family, traditional gender roles, and reduced rights for women. However, while the far and extreme right were arguing for this form of social regulation before the Vatican discourse of the 1990s, many far and extreme right groups have adopted the "anti-gender" phrasing to argue these points. This is so much so that some studies that do not intend to study "anti-gender" discourse in the far right end up doing so because this

is the form that gender-related discourse takes in far right groups. In studying the links between the far right and the antifeminist movement, Träbert (2017) found "anti-genderism" language to be used by antifeminists and the extreme right. This was also the case in Berg's (2019) study into the interest in gender by far right groups in Germany which found that the gender issues the far right groups were discussing revolved around opposing gender equality and gender studies programmes, using the "anti-gender" rhetoric. These are not the original arenas in which these ideas were found and the fact that they have spread shows their power as concepts to influence and mobilise a range of different social actors.

Research by Blum (2015) found that far and extreme right groups and parties have mobilised around the "anti-gender" signifier and that the Alternative für Deutschland (far right), National Democratic Party Germany (neo-Nazi) and Christian Democratic Union (Christian democratic conservative) all express "anti-gender ideology" beliefs at the local levels of their parties. This has allowed a diverse range of peoples and groups to mobilise together against "gender-ideology" with Christian groups, neoliberals, nationalists, neo-Nazis, and right wing groups all marching together in "Demonstrations for All" that aim to "stop gender ideology" (Blum, 2015, p. 47). Paternotte and Kuhar (2018) note that there are several commonalities in rhetorical focus between populist radical right groups and "anti-gender" campaigns so much so that in some countries where the Catholic Church is less dominant "populist radical right" groups are the main driver behind these "anti-gender" campaigns. The central elements of "anti-gender" and "populist radical right" discourses are very similar in that they both use the same rhetorical mechanism of the "politics of fear" (Wodak, 2015) whereby they paint a menacing "them" of liberals promoting gender equality programmes at the expense of a pure "us" who do not benefit from nor want these (Paternotte and Kuhar, 2018).

In an analysis of the Flemish far right party Vlaams Belang's "anti-gender" discourses, Gustin argues that they construct a "populist dichotomy" between the people, who are tied to notions of the nuclear family and implicitly constructed as having conservative or reactionary values, and the elites, who are constructed as liberals, leftists, and feminists who are supportive of the gender equality and gender mainstreaming policies of the EU (Gustin, 2024). In Gustin's analysis, Vlaams Belang employ "anti-gender" discourses to oppose gender equality by rejecting progressive gender-related policies. Vlaams Belang employs terms like "wokism" or "woke culture" to criticise feminist movements, which broadens the scope of "anti-gender" to also include people who oppose racism. Fangen and Lichtenberg (2021) compare the difference in rhetoric relating to gendered issues across three different German far right parties and movements, the Alternative für Deutschland, National Democratic Party Germany, and Germany Identitarian Movement. The National Democratic Party Germany believes that pension calculations should include time spent raising children, a position that originated in feminist movements, but is here articulated as part of an extreme right agenda that aims to encourage women to spend their time in the domestic sphere, and the Alternative für Deutschland has no preference as to which parent does the childrearing. All three of these parties and movements see feminism as threating traditional gender roles, and therefore a threat to the family (Fangen & Lichtenberg, 2021), a threat which is articulated as "gender ideology"

Differing slightly to the previous studies is Zottola and Borba's (2022) analysis of "gender ideology" discourses from the perspective of a transnational conspiracy theory. Analysing two corpora of texts from the US and Brazil from both right wing and far right media, they argue that "gender ideology" is a overarching conspiracy theory that unites many others in an apparently

coherent whole. Both countries from 2017-2020 were vocally anti-LGBT+ and sexist, which helped to increase the saliency of "anti-gender" rhetoric (Zottola & Borba, 2022). They show that "gender ideology" is discursively linked to (other) progressive issues like environmentalism, human rights, access to family planning options, and relationship and sexual health education in schools, to draw a picture of an all-consuming progressive plot that poses a threat to society, the family, and children (Zottola & Borba, 2022). Bolsonaro's use of "gender ideology" sanctions the term and makes it believable for the populous, and the framing of "gender" as an "ideology" allows these disingenuous actors to position themselves as an objective rational force against an illogical "ideology," as seen in Fassin's (2016) study of the French use of anti-gender "theory" rhetoric.

"Anti-Gender" and its Appropriation of Left Wing and Academic Rhetoric

Much noted in the literature is the tendency of "anti-gender" movements, groups, actors, and campaigns to use rhetoric that originates from progressive academic spheres to claim that oppression and repression are happening to them. This takes the form of "gender ideology" being referred to as "ideological colonization" (Case, 2019, p. 941), "colonialism" (Butler, 2024; Corredor, 2019; Graff, 2016; Paternotte & Kuhar, 2018), or "imperialism" (Kováts, 2017). Seemingly "anti-capitalist" arguments have also been employed to denounce "gender ideology" which have included claiming it to be the result of "unfettered market capitalism" (Case, 2011, p. 805) and for it to be "ultra-individualistic" (Wilkinson, 2021, p. 6). The "anti-gender" *Manif* movement also states that it is against "market ideology" of which it claims "gender ideology" is a part. In the UK, ostensibly feminist groups proclaiming themselves as "gender critical" feminists have claimed to be against "gender identity ideology" on the basis that it is misogynistic and a danger to women (Butler, 2024). In some contexts, "gender ideology" has also been called a form of totalitarianism that is a succession of Marxism, which makes it a salient threat in former Soviet countries (Baran, 2023), or an ideological threat on par with that of ISIS (Corredor, 2019), although this is a centre-neoliberal framing rather than a left wing one.

Anti-colonisation and anti-imperialism frames have been employed by the Vatican and conservatives, as well as the far and extreme right, to argue that "gender" has been imposed on them by powerful supranational organisations such as the EU, WHO, and UN. This framing takes hold due to the real histories of colonisation in these countries, that are mostly in Africa and Latin America, and the fact that grants and aid from these supranational bodies are often tied to requirements of the countries to comply with gender and sexual identity equality policies (Butler, 2024; Kováts, 2017). For some actors in these countries, complying with gender or sexuality equality policies can feel like an imposition and, as it is being required of them by a more powerful, often white, state body, they have made use of the anti-colonialism discourse to justify their complaints (Butler. 2024). This use of the term "colonisation" constitutes an attempt of reactionary actors to claim left and liberal lexicon as their own. Attacking "gender ideology" in this way hides the real social reality that heterosexual marriage is still the norm for most relationships, the vast majority of people live their lives as their assigned sex at birth, and that varying degrees of sexism and queerphobia are still prevalent in all cultures. Framing "gender ideology" as a colonising force enables these actors to position themselves as guardians of an oppressed people (Corredor, 2019; Graff & Korolczuk, 2017). Far right and "populist radical right" parties are then able to employ this framing to bolster the claim that they are supporting the "common man" against elites who are forcing "gender ideology" on an unwilling populous (Paternotte and Kuhar, 2018).

Gal (2019; 2021) has written on the process of enregisterment, the process by which registers — speech varieties that are used for a particular purpose or by a particular group — become socially recognisable. She argues that the process is comprised of three parts: clasping, relaying, and grafting, the last of which she uses to explain how the "anti-gender" register has grown in influence and legitimacy. Gall argues that registers can graft themselves to more authoritative discourses in an attempt to gain some of their legitimacy and that those that do this will take on some of the language of a more powerful discourse in order to validate or strengthen their own goals. Gal (2019) and Borba (2022) have written on how those who are "anti-gender" in different forms are using a register that grafts itself in places to various liberal and/or hegemonic discourses. Gal's work on the grafting practices of right wing President Victor Orbán's and eastern European "anti-gender" protests' register argues that they have grafted their register to anti-colonialist discourse that has great authority in Europe. Gal (2019) also notes that the homophobic Polish register was able to graft itself to the national sovereignty discourse in response to an EU resolution against homophobia that alluded to instances of homophobic street attacks against pride parades in Poland. Borba's (2022) historical analysis of Vatican and pro-family Catholic texts by conservative feminist figure O'Leary shows that O'Leary's linking of "gender feminism" with "neo-Marxis[m]" provided the discursive strategy used by the "anti-gender" discourse today, that of portraying (pro-)"gender" campaigns and campaigners as totalitarian and her own cause as democratic, as Marxism is often associated with totalitarianism and irrationality in American contexts. Borba (2022) expands how the "anti-gender" register is able to legitimise itself by grafting onto democratic and scientific registers through its use of "gender ideology" which enables it to paint "gender" as something that warps reality and denies facts, as Marxism is understood in these contexts, and therefore presents itself as an objective non-ideological statement of facts.

The anti-individualism and anti-profit framings are worthy of more in-depth study. Wilkinson (2021) has identified one strand of "anti-gender" discourse that believes "gender ideology" originated with "global profiteers vying to replace the family with consumerism as the source of individual identity" (p. 549), something also seen in Vatican and "populist radical right" discourses that sees gender ideology as a result of free market capitalism (Case, 2011; Paternotte and Kuhar, 2018). Part of this framing could be due to the fact that, as many liberal feminist and LGBT+ movements have become hegemonized within the neoliberal order, they are seen as co-responsible for the ills of this social formation by "anti-gender" groups, and therefore "gender ideology" — which is incorrectly attributed to them — is seen as part of the root cause of contemporary social issues (Wimbauer et al., 2015 in Kováts, 2017). The appropriation of left wing ideas by reactionary actors was seen in this thesis by the extremists in Chapter 4 and warrants considerable, focused academic attention.

"Anti-Gender" Discourse and the Extreme Right: Findings from this Thesis

The anti-"gender ideology" discourse which originated in the Vatican was originally concerned with women's rights, access to abortion and family planning, children's education, and family structure and, although transphobia was always present (Case, 2019), it was not the primary focus of campaigns. Abortion was all but irrelevant to the far and extreme right actors in this ecosystem. Abortion was mentioned 30 times across the 260 sources by the extremist in Chapter 4, and not at all by those on the far right in Chapter 5. It was mentioned twice in mainstream news articles. Sexist ideas decrying womens rights or demanding that women's primary role should be that of caregivers and housemakers were also barely present: there were no articles dedicated to condemning women's rights movements, calling women "feminazis,"

arguing against access to birth control, or demanding that women not be part of the work place. The closest an article got to sharing opinions of this nature were the National vanguard sources discussing the "Jewish threat" to children and the family, which was positioned around Jewish people using trans people to disrupt the family, rather than women's rights disrupting the family. For the extreme right, all issues eventually led to antisemitic causes and solutions.

The extreme right do not use the anti-"gender ideology" register, but they do discuss the same issues and ideas that the register contains. There were no instances of "gender ideology" in the sources in Chapter 4, but there was one mention of "transgender ideology" (Unz, 1N51) and one mention of "queer ideology" (National Vanguard, 1G33). The extreme right are acting on the same discursive terrain as reactionary "anti-gender" actors, but do not use the same rhetoric to do so. This is likely to be because the concerns that are enveloped in "anti-gender ideology" are concerns that the extreme right has already developed extensive literature on and has a long history of enacting. The Nazi ideals with regards to women's position in society are very clear: women belong at home birthing the next generation of the white race and raising these children to national socialist norms. This encompasses the attitudes towards birth control and abortion, which are discouraged through a normative encouragement for women to bare as many children as possible. The Cross of the German Mother was awarded to women in Nazi Germany after she had borne four or more children. The Nazi values towards lesbian, gay, trans, and gender non-conforming people are also clear: Himmler delivered a speech against homosexuality which was archived by a website in the dataset, and the Nazi's burned the *Institut für Sexualwissenschaft* ran by sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld that provided LGBT+ people with healthcare. Many Nazi groups are also hostile to Catholicism, where the contemporary "anti-gender" discourse originated, which may also contribute to why this framing is not used.

The far right (Chapter 5) refers to "LGBTQ and gender ideology," "LGBTQ ideology" (both InfoWars, 2C11), and "transgender ideology" (Lew Rockwell, 2D16). The extreme right had nearly twice as many sources as the far right, with a longer word count, showing that the "gender ideology" register was more prevalent on the far right in this dataset. Sixteen of the 24 (66%) mentions of the word gender were in reference to trans people, with the others being a reference to gender, sexuality and race diversity policies or anti-men hatred (34%), whereas only 15 of the 34 (44%) mentions of gender on the extreme right refer to trans people. Discussion of trans people seems to be dominating the discussion of gendered issues for the far right more so than the extreme right. The far right has closer relationships to mainstream institutions than the extreme right, potentially explaining this. Steve Bannon was a former executive at Breitbart which could explain their greater use of the "anti-gender" register as Bannon was chief strategist during the Trump administration who made use of the "anti-gender" register, giving Breitbart a closer link to these concepts. As discussed in Chapter 5, the far right has a greater stake in resolving its political grievances within the current political framework due to their desire to reform society by electing new, far right, leaders, compared to the extreme right who believe society to be irreformable. This may account for the greater contamination of the far right with "anti-gender" discourse.

Where "gender ideology" originally referred to all progressive feminist and LGBT+ concerns, these have been clouded out by concerns relating to trans people in this aspect of the extreme right ecosystem. There was very little discussion of gendered issues in general but, where it was seen, it was primarily concerned with trans people. Many of these were in response to the Nashville school shooting which was used as an entry point into further transphobic

discussion about liberal degeneracy or Jewish conspiracy. Future research should look to analyse extreme right discourse at a time independent from a mass shooting or similar event committed by a trans person to see if these issues still dominate and what form they take if they do. Avoiding data collection at a time when trans people are particularly salient in the news cycle may also surface other gendered issues that may have been clouded out in this dataset. That being said, National Vanguard, the only neo-Nazi organisation studied, only mentioned the Nashville shooter once, dedicating many other sources to the threats that trans and Jewish people pose to white society, showing that the most extreme are potentially still discussing trans people and relating them to their existing grievances and narratives without the increased media attention.

Implications of "Anti-Gender" Rhetoric

Owen, in her 2022 analysis of genocidal rhetoric, argues that that there is no serious genocidal threat to trans people as the current "anti-gender" discourse has not identified the community as a threat to national security. She argues that previous genocides were only able to take place after the victims were successfully articulated as a threat to national security, such as with Jewish people in Nazi Germany and Tutsis in Rwanda. She argues that it is unlikely that trans people will be able to be articulated as a threat to national security as mainstream discourse focuses on attacking the infrastructure that trans people need to live as trans people, such as access to gender affirming healthcare or trans-inclusive public spaces, rather than securitising them as a threat. Owen argues that, unless trans people are seen as an immediate threat to national security, there will be no genocidal violence towards them. The findings from this study show that extreme right groups currently see trans people as a national security threat and are dedicated to encouraging others to see them in this way. The extreme right sees trans people as an extension of a Jewish plot to destroy white society by corrupting white people so that they will refuse to have children, not settle into heterosexual marriages, and befriend people of colour which threatens the purity of the white race. However, these ideas are far from mainstream and if they were to become mainstream, they would still be an after effect of antisemitism which would ultimately see Jewish people victimised first. A response is to articulate solidarity across race, religious, sexual, border, and gender lines.

Responding to "Anti-Gender Ideology"

Case (2019) has argued that progressives should be as united as those opposing "gender ideology" believe them to be and actively band together under the banner of "gender ideology" to defend it. This is not a viable response as it begins from a losing position, conceding ground to a reactionary campaign which it then attempts to reclaim. Pető (2015) has argued that progressives should stop using "gender" in a technical sense altogether until the political storm calms down. The political debate has only become more enflamed in the nine years since Pető's suggestion with more groups joining the "anti-gender" call, making this unlikely to be a solution as the use of the word "gender" in all senses has spread. Kováts (2018) calls for a return to democratic debate where those holding "pro-" and "anti-" "gender" beliefs come to see each other as legitimate adversaries in the political field. There are some who promote "anti-gender" beliefs who are legitimate political actors, but there are many who are not. Legitimate political debate cannot be had with those who are opposed to democracy or those committed to hateful ideologies that exclude some groups from the political space, as with fascists. Insights may be gleaned from reconciliation studies and conflict resolution about how to resolve some of the tension that has been grown and strengthened between trans people and some of those under the "anti-gender" banner. This work would need to see trans people as legitimate, real people who pose no inherent risk to society. Education on how to not fan the flames of transphobia or inadvertently fan the

flames of conspiracy theories needs to be given to journalists and politicians to avoid the further legitimisation of these narratives.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

This study's contribution to the ecosystems literature is a several thousand node network of the connections between 11 extreme right websites and other extremist websites, far right websites, and mainstream websites. Popular websites, websites forming important bridges, and websites with high quality links were identified and analysed in Chapters 4–6. The hyperlinks that were discovered were placed by website publishers and creators, but the data collection process means that unknowable criteria — namely the decisions of website publishers to post links on their webpages — were applied to the hyperlinks before they could be discovered. The webcrawler began on a seedset website then scraped and crawled the hyperlinks found there which will surface the websites that the seedset websites were linking to at that particular point in time. This means that the data is influenced by the time of collection and the priorities of the publishers. Ultimately, this means of data collection will not capture all hyperlinks between the websites in the ecosystem, only the ones that are most important to the publisher of one website on that day, and so on down the chain of hyperlinked websites. The ecosystem created here represents the websites that the seedset websites believed to be important in April 2023. It is a very selective aspect of the extreme right ecosystem that can be considered as partially discovered and partially constructed through the means of data collection. It is worthwhile to study the websites that extremist publishers consider valuable and prioritise as this shows their beliefs and priorities, but the network needs to be understood as resulting from this process.

Two key findings need further systematic research. Firstly, the spread of "anti-gender" discourse from its Catholic origins to the secular political space and its intermingling with extremist discourse. Academic attention has followed "anti-gender" discourse for the past decade and has slowly but inadvertently tracked its emergence in far and extreme right discourse. The "anti-gender" discourse could become radicalised to an extremist ideology if the extreme right are able to successfully consolidate their belief of a Jewish cabal being responsible for the spread of "gender ideology" on the register. The extreme right's genocidal ideology combining with the hegemonising properties of "anti-gender" would mean that these extreme views have an increased capacity to spread to actors who are not currently radicalised. Secondly, the extreme right's and other reactionary actors' appropriation of left wing ideas also requires further research. Gal's (2019; and 2021) and Borba's (2022) work on grafting offers some insights into the legitimacy that is afforded to registers when they successfully link themselves to hegemonic ideas, but does not offer how reactionary actors come to use these ideas for their own ends or why they can come to be successful in doing so. This question of how to keep progressive ideas, in this case decolonial theory, from reactionary appropriation has been asked in the social sciences since the mid-20th century (Rose, 2024). These two issues of reactionary projects moving into the extremist space and reactionary actors appropriating left wing concepts warrant further investigation. Together they mean that a reactionary idea, "anti-gender," can become radicalised, through its linking to antisemitism by the extreme right, and then could become hegemonic through appropriation of the progressive and liberal norms that ostensibly underly society. This is an avenue through which extremist ideas can leave their spaces and influence the mainstream, making a more dangerous society for all.

Postscript

This thesis argued that Jewish people are the fundamental subject of white supremacist ire and that, if a fascist government were to come to power, Jewish people would be the first to be targeted. The recent inauguration of President Trump and the rapid pace of authoritarian reform this has seen provides some opportunity to assess this claim. The antisemitism of the new American government is undeniable. The presence of Nazi salutes at right wing American conventions show antisemitism to be present in the beliefs of powerful American political actors. This is corroborated by the other forms of antisemitism, such as Elon Musk's reference to "global elites" at an Alternative für Deutschland rally in Germany, and President Trump's long history of antisemitic stereotyping, that show antisemitism to be an enduring feature of the current administration's beliefs (Blake, 2022; Winter, 2025). The aftermath of these Nazi salutes has witnessed media scrambling to explain and excuse them as resulting from Elon Musk's autism, being a joke, or even "an awkward gesture" as the ADL argued (Winter, 2025). That irony can be used to excuse Nazi salutes speaks to the mainstreaming of antisemitism over the past few years and is a well-worn tactic by the extreme right to provide cover for their beliefs (Conway et al., 2019). Musk is aware of this tactic used in online extremist spaces and is an admirer of them (Leloup & Untersinger, 2025). The "liberal" mainstream's response to these events show that it is failing to protect democratic norms against fascist erosion, and is facilitating this encroach in many circumstances. These events represent a real drive towards fascist politics in America that requires serious challenging.

This rise in overt antisemitism is the result of a mainstreaming of antisemitism throughout the past few years, sometimes under the guise of "anti-antisemitism" or philosemitism. The protests against the war in Gaza have frequently been — often incorrectly but not exclusively so — deemed antisemitic. This has resulted in Jewish participants of anti-war demonstrations being accused of antisemitism and being harassed or expelled from their campuses as such (TRT Global, 2025). President Trump recently told Jewish senator Chuck Schumer that he is "not Jewish" because of his sympathies with Palestine (Pengelly, 2025). The American regime's loyalty to the far right Israeli regime has led to outright antisemitism towards Jewish people in the United States and the regime's authoritarian swing is facilitating the detention and deportation of anti-war individuals (Betts, 2025). These are clear authoritarian actions that limit the civil liberties, including free speech, of American citizens, as well as posing risks to those attempting to visit the country. A French woman travelling to the US for a conference was recently deported at the border for expressing anti-Trump views online (Le Monde, 2025). These authoritarian responses to free political expression represent democratic backsliding in America and pose a risk to all its citizens.

Alongside this, hostility towards trans people, migrants, LGBT+ people, and people of colour has also become increasingly normalised over the last three years. Over this time, the far right has come to hold significant power in Europe and the United States after the increasing electoral success of far right parties including Italy, where Fratelli d'Italia were elected, and Germany, where Alternative für Deutschland increased their vote share. In many countries across Europe, far right views have become increasingly normalised by the ostensibly "liberal" or "centre" parties that are in government. This is true in the UK where, after 14 years of right-wing Conservative rule, the centre-left Labour party came into power. Despite this election of a centre-left government seeming to buck the trend of the increasing dominance of the far right, both

Labour and Conservatives ran election campaigns centred heavily on hostility towards refugees and migrants. Both parties also engage with transphobic "gender critical" beliefs.

The Executive Orders issued by President Trump, as well as attacking government workers, aid workers, and social and health provision for the American population, also target trans people specifically. The increasing normalisation of anti-LGBT+ and anti-migrant rhetoric poses real danger to these communities. Migrants and refugees to many western countries are faced with forced deportations, with some being forcibly removed to countries with which they have no connection. Recent bills introduced in America attempt to further curtail the rights of trans people in various states, with Arkansas introducing a bill criminalising support of a minor's social transition (Russell, 2025) and Texas a bill, unlikely to pass, that would criminalise changing ones gender marker (Yurcaba, 2025). These bills are attempts at an authoritarian enforcement of traditional gender norms on all people. Young people may want a gender non-conforming haircut for a number of reasons, many of which have nothing to do with gender identity, but the Arkansas bill understands this as inherently related to a gender transition and therefore a threat which must be banned. Transphobia is acting as a cover to enforce rigid gender norms on all people, which harms society in general and the most vulnerable most of all. White supremacy, as argued in this thesis, needs gender norms to reproduce the white race (Crawford, 2022). Introducing legislation that attempts to criminalise their transgression is a serious and significant warning sign of fascist intentions.

These developments speak to the increasing mainstreaming of transphobia and the increasing political salience and power of "culture war" issues in the 2020s. While there are many that clearly care about and engage with class-based politics, dominant political discourse across the mainstream to extreme spectrum is centred on post-ideological cultural politics. The first few months of 2025 in American politics show a rapid and dramatic normalisation of antisemitism coupled with increased attacks against trans people and migrants, including people who have emigrated to the United States and since received a green card. The previous chapter warns of the risk of "gender-critical" beliefs becoming a radicalised mainstream force if coupled with antisemitism and then couched in hegemonic liberal rhetoric. The current polarising and authoritarian climate could provide the opportunity for this. Jewish people, people of colour, trans people, and by extension all LGBT+ people are at imminent risk of harm if the situation continues to escalate.

Appendix A
Last Activity on Websites Considered for the Seedset

Websites that were active in the month prior to the check (January – February 2023) were deemed active enough to be considered for inclusion in the final seedset and are highlighted in grey.

Movement	Organisation	Last activity
Christian Identity	Christogenea	January, 2023
Christian Identity	Kinsman Redeemer Ministries	October, 2021
Christian Identity	Kingdom Identity Ministries	July, 2021
Christian Identity	Christian Identity Ministries	January, 2023
Christian Identity	Yahusha DSCI Ministry	May, 2022
Christian Identity	Christian Identity Church	January, 2023
Creativity	Creativity Alliance	February, 2021
Creativity	Church of Ben Klassen	February, 2023
Ku Klux Klan	The New American-Knights	2020 (copyright)
Ku Klux Klan	American Christian Dixie Knights	November, 2022
Ku Klux Klan	Supreme Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	2008 (copyright)
Ku Klux Klan	The United Klans of America Northwest	May, 2013
Ku Klux Klan	The Ku Klos Klan	No date
Ku Klux Klan	Ku Klux Klan Blog	January, 2022
Ku Klux Klan	Old Glory Knights of the Ku Klux Klan	No date
Ku Klux Klan	David Duke	January, 2023
Ku Klux Klan	Christian Revival Centre (Thomas Robb)	January, 2023[6]
Militia	Western Rifle Shooters	February, 2023
Militia	National Liberty Alliance	February, 2023

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[6] This is a Christian Identity website, but there are great overlaps between Christian Identity theology and the KKK. This website is included as KKK due to it being founded by Thomas Robb, a KKK organiser

Neo-Confederate	League of the South	February, 2023
Neo-Confederate	Florida League of the South	December, 2022
Neo-Confederate	Southern Cultural Centre	March, 2023
Neo-Confederate	Identity Dixie	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	NS88 Videos	2021
Neo-Nazi	British Movement	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	National Vanguard	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	National Socialist Movement	January, 2023
Neo-Nazi	National Socialist Network	2021
Neo-Nazi	The Australian League of Rights	February, 2023[7]
Neo-Nazi	Action Zealandia	June, 2022
Neo-Nazi	Aryan Freedom Network	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	American Futurist	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	Siege Culture	February, 2023
Neo-Nazi	Vanguard Britannica	July, 2022
Neo-Nazi	Goyim Defence League	May, 2022
Neo-Nazi	The New Order	March, 2022
Neo-Nazi	New British Union	January, 2023
Neo-Nazi	Nordic Resistance Movemet	March, 2023
Neo-Nazi	National Socialists Florida	c2023
Neo-Nazi	Aryan Guard	November, 2022
Neo-Nazi	Folkish Resistance Movement	c2023
Neo-Nazi	National Alliance	March, 2023
Neo-Nazi	The Right Stuff	March, 2023

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[7] This designation as neo-Nazi is contested amongst academics (Cunneen et al., 1997; Horowitz et al., 1988)

Neo-Nazi	American Nazi Party	March, 2023
Neo-Nazi	Combat 18	No date
Neo-Nazi	League of Saint George	No date
Neo-Nazi	Thule Society	March, 2023
Neoreactionary	Reaction Times	February, 2023
Neoreactionary	Sydney Trads	December, 2022
Neoreactionary	Isegoria	February, 2023
Neoreactionary	Free Northerner	February, 2019
Racist Nationalists	Western Voices World News (European Americans United)	December, 2022
Racist Nationalists	Patriotic Alternative	February, 2023
Racist Nationalists	American Freedom Party	March, 2023
Racist Nationalists	National Justice Party	February, 2023
Racist Nationalists	American Renaissance/New Century Foundation	March, 2023
Racist Nationalists	Fight White Genocide	February, 2023
Racist Nationalists	The White Nationalist Party of Canada	March, 2023
Racist Patriots	United Patriots Arizona	No date
Racist Patriots	The American Guard	May, 2020
Racist Patriots	World Net Daily	February, 2023
Racist Patriots	Patriots United CV	February, 2023
Racist Patriots	Patriot Front	March, 2023
Racist Patriots	Constitutional Sheriffs & Peace Officers Association	February, 2023
Racist Skinheads	Southern Cross Hammerskins	Inactive, no date
Racist Skinheads	Aryan Nations Skinhead Division	March, 2023
Racist Skinheads	Blood and Honour Central	c2023

Racist Skinheads	Blood and Honour Worldwide	2017
Racist Skinheads	Keystone United	July, 2020
Pagan neo-Nazi	Order of the Nine Angles	February, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Women for Aryan Unity	October, 2022
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Volkish	February, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Fenrir	November, 2022
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Odinshof District	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Njördshof District	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Baldrshof District	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Thorshof District	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Dakota Prairie Asatru	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	Carolyn Emerick/ Völkisch Folklorist	July, 2022
Pagan neo-Nazi	Blacksun Sole Nero	March, 2023
Pagan neo-Nazi	FrontFighter	2022
Pagan neo-Nazi	Suncross	No date
Pagan neo-Nazi	Cosmotheism	February, 2017
Pagan neo-Nazi	Odinic Rite	June, 2020
White Power Music	Tightrope Records	No date, active
White Power Music	NS 88 Videos	2021
White Power Music	Step-1 Music	No date, active
White Power Music	88NSM	2023

White Power Music	United Records	No longer functioning
White Power Music	United Riot Records	2023
White Power Music	Mídgård	March, 2023
White Power Music	Tinnitus Records	No date, active
White Power Music	ISD Records	2023
White Power Music	MSR Productions	March, 2023
White Power Music	88	October, 2020
White Power Music	Militant Zone	No date, active
White Power Music	Heretic Camp	No date, active
White supremacist	Amerika	February, 2023
White supremacist	Daily Stormer	February, 2023
White supremacist	Aryanity	June, 2021
White supremacist	Occidental Templars	October, 2021

Appendix B
Full Website Analytics for the Websites Considered for the Final Seedset

Websites that had the highest viewership but were excluded for the reasons discussed in the text above are highlighted in orange. Websites with the highest viewership that were selected for the final seedset are highlighted in blue.

Ideology	Organisation	Visits	Unique Visitors	Pages per visit	Avg. Visit Duration	Bounce Rate
Christian Identity	Christogenea	117.8k (+40%)	79.6k (+174%)	1.83 (-7%)	13:54 (+16%)	82.22% (-17%)
Christian Identity	Christian Identity Ministries	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Creativity	Church of Ben Klassen	2.1k	2.1k	2.86	00:45	7.24%
Ku Klux Klan	David Duke	192.3k (+276%)	84.5k (+597%)	3.02 (-15%)	14:17 (+84%)	60.35% (-26%)
Ku Klux Klan	Christian Revival Centre	1.6k	1.6k	3.00	00:34	0.00%
Militia	Western Rifle Shooters	1.3m (+39%)	39.5k (-20%)	1.47 (+3%)	25:06 (-23%)	62.90% (+11%)
Militia	National Liberty Alliance	10.6k (-78%)	6.2k (-81%)	1.11 (-18%)	02:37 (-79%)	90.48% (-5%)
Neo-Confederate	League of the South	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Neo-Confederate	Southern Cultural Centre	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Neo-Confederate	Identity Dixie	26.7k (-21%)	24k (+66%)	1.03 (-41%)	01:00 (-93%)	96.73% (-46%)
Neo-Nazi	The National Socialist Movement	9.7k (-92%)	7.8k (-70%)	5.67 (+357%)	11:36 (-72%)	22.89% (+56%)
Neo-Nazi	British Movement	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Neo-Nazi	National Vanguard	201.8k (+91%)	69.6k (-30%)	1.98 (+60%)	04:54 (-69%)	63.39% (+30%)

Category	Organization	Col3	Col4	Col5	Col6	Col7
Neo-Nazi	The Australian League of Rights	2.1k (+27%)	12.1k (+27%)	1:00 (+50%)	00:00 (-100%)	100.00% (-100%)
Neo-Nazi	Aryan Freedom Network	164.9k (+58%)	31.2k (+4%)	1.50 (-70%)	03:31 (-90%)	93.13% (-21%)
Neo-Nazi	American Futurist	31.4k (-32%)	13.9k (-65%)	1.82 (-4%)	01:34 (-90%)	63.03% (+22%)
Neo-Nazi	Siege Culture	1.9k (+226%)	864 (+202%)	3.80 (+154%)	05:34 (-80%)	53.65% (-4%)
Neo-Nazi	Nordic Resistance Movement	8k (-85%)	5.6k (-81%)	3:50 (+136%)	02:06 (-92%)	33.64% (+57%)
Neo-Nazi	The Right Stuff	1.1M (+16%)	189.4k (+18%)	2.28 (-1%)	09:43 (+22%)	53.21% (-12%)
Neo-Nazi	American Nazi Party	7.8k (-88%)	6.2k (-80%)	4.64 (+151%)	02:15 (-92%)	4.13% (+86%)
Neo-Nazi	Thule Society	2.4k (-92%)	2.4k (-63%)	1.00 (-19%)	00:00 (-100%)	100.00%
Neo-Nazi	New British Union[8]	4.8k	3.7k	2.9	4:49	77.45%
Neo-Reactionary	Reaction Times[9]	1.7k (- 31%)	1.7k (- 10%)	1 (0%)	00:00 (0%)	100.00% (0%)
Neo-Reactionary	Isegoria	138.2k (+446%)	41.1k (+477%)	1.52 (+1%)	14:12 (+68%)	59.11% (+12%)
Racist nationalist	Patriotic Alternative	43k (+56%)	33.9k (+50%)	2.72 (+66%)	03:21 (+328%)	33.57% (+21%)
Racist nationalist	American Freedom Party	24.6k (+1040%)	24.6k (+1040%)	5.00 (400%)	08:54 (+100%)	0.00% (100%)
Racist nationalist	Fight White Genocide	4.8k (+457%)	1.8k (+313%)	1.71 (+71%)	02:10 (100%)	65.73% (+34%)
Racist nationalist	American Renaissance / New Century Foundation	1.3m (-29%)	262.6k (-33%)	2.28 (-20%)	09:25 (-7%)	45.12% (-13%)

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[8] Most recent data available, incomplete, December 2022
[9] Most recent data available, January 2023

Racist nationalist	The White Nationalist Party of Canada	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Racist nationalist	National Justice Party	215.7k (+153%)	76.4k (+40%)	2.25 (-16%)	08:28 (-69%)	41.82% (+28%)
Racist patriots	World Net Daily	4.4m (-7%)	1.5m (-4%)	2:30 (+5%)	14:34 (+51%)	53.53% (-1%)
Racist patriots	Patriots United CV	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Racist patriots	Constitutional Sheriffs & Peace Officers Association	11.5k (+133%)	9.3k (+90%)	3.50 (+59%)	23:50 (+ 92%)	60% (+20%)
Racist patriots	Patriot Front	20.1k (+52%)	10.6k (-9%)	4.39 (+43%)	03:50 (+21%)	3.57% (+18%)
Skinhead	Church of the Jesus Christ Christian – Aryan Nations	8.6k (-68%)	5.2k (-81%)	3.28 (+228%)	14:23 (+100%)	58.78% (+41%)
Pagan neo-Nazi	Volkish	9.9k (-16%)	5.6K (-53%)	5.95 (+495%)	03:53 (+100%)	34.38% (+66%)
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folkish Assembly	7.4k (-26%)	5.3k (-27%)	2.83 (-33%)	08:46 (+248%)	39.74% (-29%)
Pagan neo-Nazi	Odinshof District	2.9k	2.9k	1.00	00:00	100%
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Njördshof District	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Baldrshof District	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Pagan neo-Nazi	Asatru Folk Assembly - Thorshof District	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Pagan neo-Nazi	Dakota Prairie Asatru	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
Pagan neo-Nazi	Order of Nine Angles	25.7k (+46%)	11.6k (+12%)	1.16 (-10%)	18:44 (+21%)	83.55% (-2%)
White power music	Tightrope Records	48.1k (+59%)	39.k (+37%)	5.62 (+13%)	05:39 (-5%)	14.04% (+51%)
White power music	Step-1 Music	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data

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White power music	88NSM	145.7k (+61%)	78.9k (+46%)	3.01 (-54%)	03:08 (-66%)	33.75% (-2%)
White power music	United Riot Records	569 (-26%)	569 (-26%)	5:00 (+183%)	05:09 (+169%)	0.00% (+24%)
White power music	Mídgård	27.2k (-14%)	23.5k (+35%)	4.53 (-30%)	04:07 (-42%)	54.52% (-0.3%)
White power music	ISD Records	No data	No data	No data	No data	No data
White power music	MSR Productions	2 (-100%)	2 (-100%)	1:00 (-42%)	00:00 (-100%)	100:00% (-71%)
White power music	Militant Zone	23.1k (+21%)	23.1k (+73%)	1.59 (-64%)	04:15 (+126%)	86.36% (-82%)
White power music	Heretic Camp	13.7k (+1188%)	13k (+1371%)	1.35 (-65%)	01:12 (-45%)	89.56% (-60%)
White supremacist	Brett Stevens	38.1k (+83%)	31.3k (+673%)	1.65 (+26%)	03:49 (+183%)	62.19% (+16%)
White supremacist	Daily Stormer	9.1m (-7%)	425.3k (+14%)	2.74 (+0.1%)	11:15 (-26%)	33.47% (-0.4%)

Appendix C
Designing the Web Crawler

This appendix shows how the web crawler used for data collection was created. It covers design decisions and is illustrated with Python code excerpts. It introduces the principles of web crawling then discusses the decisions made during the design process of the web crawler, the various testing stages, and the problems and solutions that were found during them. Code excerpts are included throughout to demonstrate how the crawler is working at each point. [10] The network created by the web crawler using the seedset is then presented. The process of cleaning the network (the dataset) is detailed, as is the process of downloading the website data for later analysis.

The Principles of Web Crawling

Python is a general purpose language that was used to build the web crawler that scraped and crawled websites to create the dataset analysed in this study. This crawler used the requests and BeautifulSoup libraries as its primary means of interacting with the Internet.[11] Python is a general purpose programming language designed with readability in mind. The network visualisation software Gephi was used to visualise the graph once it had been built. The basic technical principles of a web crawler are twofold. Firstly, the script must retrieve all the external hyperlinks embedded on a webpage and add these to a list or set. Secondly, it must then visit each of these hyperlinks in turn and scrape these for the hyperlinks they host. The Python script written for this study used the requests library to send an HTTP request to a webpage asking for the webpage's HTLM (the language underlying the webpage) so that it could be searched for hyperlinks.

Many websites are written in HTML and the BeautifulSoup and requests libraries can be used to access and read them. Combining the BeautifulSoup and requests libraries, the line beautifulsoup(requests.get(url).content, "html.parser") can be used to retrieve the HTML source of desired websites which can then be searched for external hyperlinks using the command for a_tag in soup.find_all("a"): href = a_tag.attrs.get("href"). In HTML, developers "anchor" URLs to text on a webpage, creating a hyperlink. This "anchor tag" looks like <a href=(url)>. These two lines of code search the HTML of a page looking for anchor tags, and adds all the hyperlinks found on the HTML to a list. Once this list of hyperlinks has been created, a subsequent part of the code asks a number of questions of each hyperlink in the list before they are added to a list of links to crawl. Hyperlinks contained on webpages can link to a number of different places, not all of which are relevant to the purposes of the web crawler. For instance, hyperlinks that link to another place on the same webpage (such as text that reads "Click here to skip to a later section", and then sends the user to a place further down the page when clicked) are not needed. For the purposes of the crawler in this study, only external hyperlinks were desired.

Designing the Web Crawler

The intention behind the web crawler was to write a script that would take each website from the seedset, scrape the external hyperlinks found on that webpage, visit those hyperlinks in in turn, scrape each of those for their external hyperlinks, and visit each of those retrieving their

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[10]The technical terms used in this chapter are defined in the Glossary at the end of the thesis.
[11]Python is a programming language. Python libraries can be thought of as "add-ons" that enable developers to do different things with the language.

external hyperlinks. It is the exact hyperlink, as it is embedded, that is crawled, not any other version of it. This means that if a website links to, for example, a subreddit hosted on Reddit or to a Facebook page hosted by Facebook, then only that specific subreddit or Facebook group is visited and its hyperlinks are scraped. To scrape a shortened version of the URL, such as the domain name; "www.reddit.com," would risk capturing irrelevant hyperlinks and missing important hyperlinks that were on the webpage the first website had linked to. This decision to only scrape the exact URLs as they appeared was made as this limits the amount of data collected and, while it will result in some missed connections, it makes it more likely that the websites that are scraped will be relevant to the extreme right ecosystem. Scraping only the pages that are linked to forefronts the interests of the actors in the network during data collection as the webpages that are important to them are the ones used to gather data. All approaches will miss some hyperlinks hosted on websites. If a website links to a blog post on a website but that website hosts a "Links" or "Network" page elsewhere, then these connections will also be missed. Either means of data collection, either scraping every page hosted on a URL, or only scraping the exact URL that was linked to, risks missing important information or gathering meaningless information.

Search Algorithms

Search algorithms are means of traversing or discovering a graph. There are two basic search algorithms used in web crawling: breadth first and depth first with the two having different stop mechanisms (Kumar *et al.*, 2016). A depth first search will stop when a specified number of URLs have been crawled, and a breadth first search will stop at a specified level of depth. Without this specification, both will continue crawling until no further URLs can be located. Both search algorithms begin at the first node of the graph and then move on to the next adjacent node. Adjacent nodes are nodes that are immediately connected to another node by an edge.

Figure 1 demonstrates a breadth first algorithm. After starting at Node 1, the algorithm discovers the first adjacent node to Node 1, moves back to Node 1, discovers the next adjacent node to Node 1, and so on until Node 1 has no further adjacent nodes. It then moves on to the first node that was discovered, Node 2, and repeats this process. Figure 1 demonstrates this by showing the algorithm beginning at Level 1 with Node 1, discovering Nodes 2, 3, and 4 at Level 2, and Nodes 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 and Level 3. The algorithm has been instructed to stop at a depth level of 3, and so stops searching when all nodes at this level have been discovered.

Figure 1
Breadth First Search Where Level of Depth is Specified as the Stop Marker
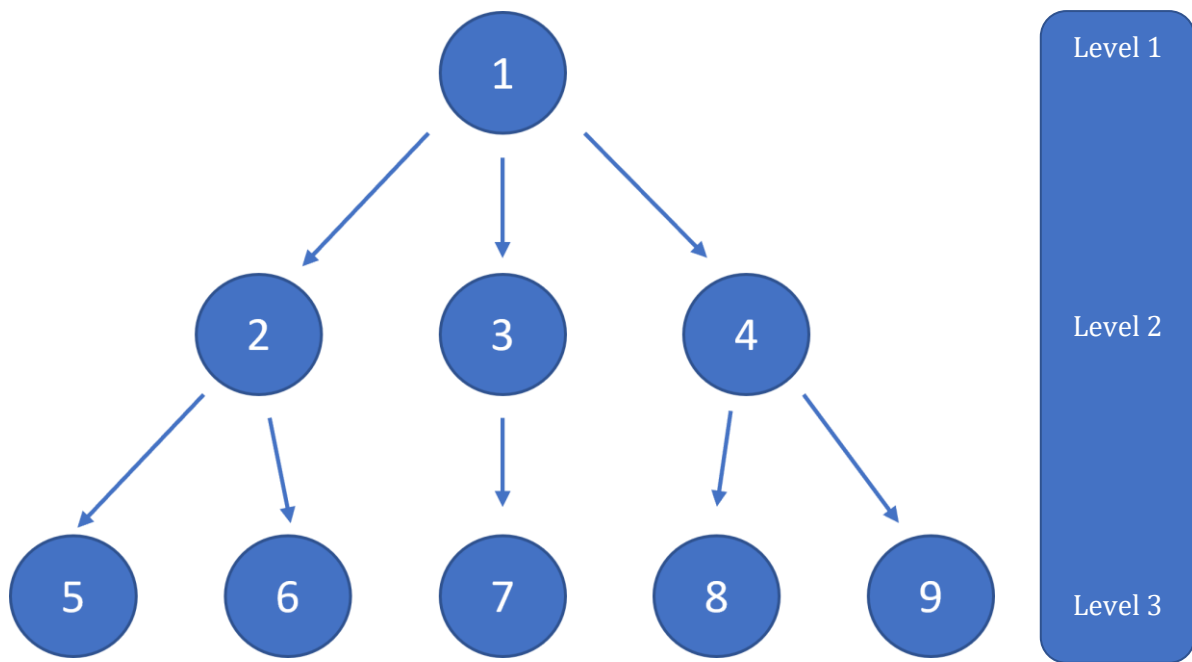
Depth first search differs from breadth first search in that it goes "deep" rather than "broad." Figure 2 shows the search algorithm beginning at Node 1, discovering the first node adjacent to it, Node 2, and then discovering the next adjacent node to that, Node 3. When there are no further adjacent nodes to discover, as Node 3 has no adjacent nodes, it returns to the previous node and discovers its other adjacent nodes. When there are no further adjacent nodes there, it returns again to discover the second adjacent node to Node 1, Node 5. This algorithm stops searching for nodes when it has discovered the number of nodes it has been directed to stop at. Without these stop mechanisms, both algorithms would continue searching until there were no more nodes left to discover, but they would discover them in a different order.

Figure 2
Depth First Search Where Number of Nodes is Specified as the Stop Marker
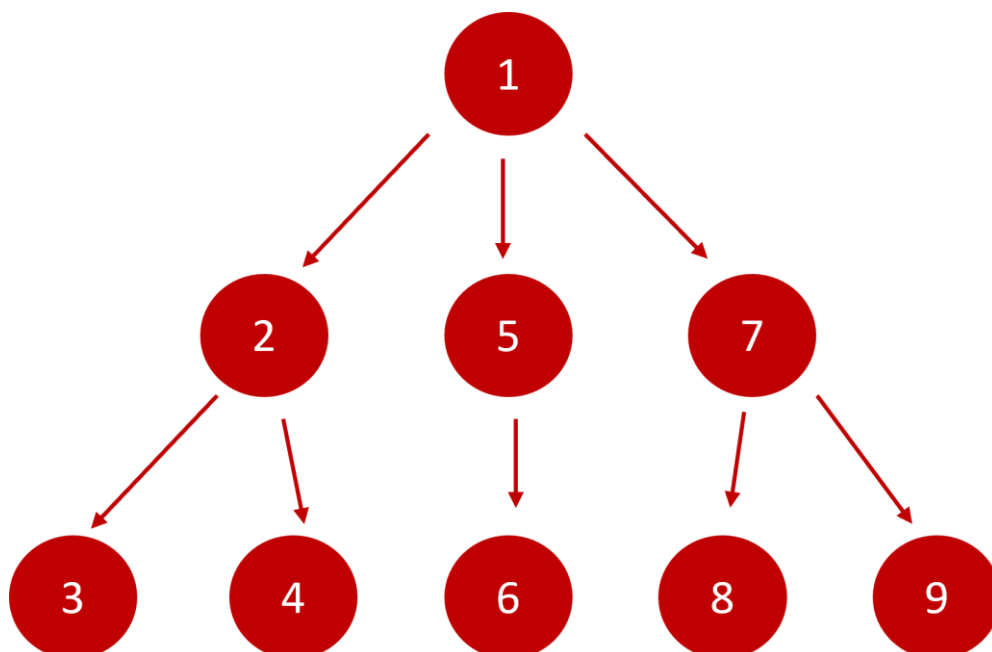
This study employed a breadth first search that stopped at a depth of level three. A depth of three was decided on as at four levels of depth, the websites become much less relevant to the study, as well as there being so many as to render the dataset unusable.

Developing the Crawler

Python supports different programming paradigms, including procedural and object oriented. The first versions of the script for this web crawler were written using procedural programming, with the final iteration of the scraper being object oriented. Procedural programming is when a script is written that contains a series of instructions to be followed in a linear fashion as the program reads and executes the script. Object oriented programming is a coding paradigm where the script is written in blocks of code, known as functions, that handle different aspects of the program's purpose. As the program needed to create the graph for the study grew more complicated, it was necessary to refactor the code into an object oriented approach. The conditions that needed to be handled by the program include difficulty in parsing similar but distinct URLs, plotting the correct URLs as nodes on the graph, and not crawling certain blocklisted websites that would have been either illegal or unnecessary to crawl.

In the first instance, a simple script that would scrape and crawl external hyperlinks from one website given to the program was developed. This script used a depth first search function and would stop crawling once 100 websites had been crawled. The primary function used in this crawl is shown in Figure 3. While this was a necessary and useful first step, it would not have been appropriate for the final design and there were still several technical considerations that needed to be met.

Figure 3

Code Excerpt Showing the Original Crawl Function

```
def crawl(url, max_urls=100):
    """
    Crawls a web page and extracts all links.
    You'll find all links in 'external_urls' and 'internal_urls' global set
variables
    :param url: the url to crawl
    :param max_urls: number of max urls to crawl, default is 100
    """
    global total_urls_visited
    total_urls_visited += 1
    print(f"{YELLOW}[*] Crawling: {url}{RESET}")
    links = get_all_website_links(url)
    for link in links:
        time.sleep(1)
        if total_urls_visited > max_urls:
            break
        crawl(link, max_urls=max_urls)
```

Rate Limiting

In order to perform the scrape ethically and safely, random rate limiting was employed. Rate limiting is where the number of HTTP requests sent to a server is limited so as to not overload the server, which could result in an accidental denial of service attack where a server is overwhelmed so that it cannot function. The randomness of the rate limiting is employed so as to make the scraper appear as a regular user rather than an automated bot. The crawler pauses for a random number of seconds, between 1 and 10, after making each HTTP request. This causes the bot to appear as a person clicking through pages on a website, necessary to address the issue of extreme right website owners checking traffic to their website as this is less likely to alert them

to the fact that they are being studied, which would potentially put the researcher at risk. The line employing random rate limiting is shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4

Function to Crawl Internal Hyperlinks with Rate Limiting

```
def crawl_internals(self, url):
    links = self.get_desired_hrefs_only(url)
    for link in links:
        time.sleep(random.randint(1, 10))
        self.crawl_internals(link)
```

Blocklisting Websites

There are certain websites that it was known would appear in the dataset, but may not have been useful or legal to crawl. To deal with this, eight "blocklists" of websites were devised in an attempt to limit irrelevant or illegal data. These lists were of social media websites, alternative social media websites, mainstream media sites, alternative media websites, commercial websites, "linkbin" websites, generic websites, and known dead websites. Social media websites were not crawled because it would have been against their terms and conditions, alternative social media websites that did not prohibit crawling in their terms and conditions were crawled, alternative and mainstream media websites were not crawled as alternative media sites often prohibited crawling and mainstream media sites would link to irrelevant websites. Commercial websites were not crawled due to terms and conditions, and generic and "linkbin" websites were not crawled due to irrelevant linking. Known dead websites were not crawled because these often caused the crawler to crash.

Each blocklist was devised through a combination of preliminary testing, consulting the literature, and consulting other academics. In each instance, the lists were populated with websites known through prior knowledge and reviewing the literature. Pastebin sites, also known as link sharing platforms, have been studied before in the context of online extremism. The first and second author of a study on ISIS's use of file sharing sites were contacted for the list of Pastebin sites that appeared in their study so that they could be used as the basis for the Pastebin blocklist (Macdonal *et al*., 2022). An article by Faris *et al.* on the online media coverage of the 2016 US presidential election was used to form the basis of the alternative and mainstream media lists (Faris, *et al*., 2017). With many of the websites in the blocklists, it is the fact that they are linked to at all that is relevant, rather than the content that they themselves link to. The generic sites, such as website hosting or cookie websites, were discovered through the preliminary testing. When a small crawl pulled a website that could be considered "noise" (such as a link to the service provider of a website), it was blocklisted so that it would not be crawled in future tests.

The blocklisted social media list was created using prior knowledge and consulting the literature on social media platforms. Commercial sites, by far the shortest blocklist, were created through prior knowledge. Only mainstream commercial websites were included (such as Amazon and eBay), as extremist commercial sites (such as the InfoWars shop) are relevant to the study, as are the other websites they link to. The crawlable social media sites were also discovered using the preliminary testing. This list generally contains alternative social media sites that were created with the intention of discussing controversial or extremist content. As these sites are so small, they were not known before being discovered by the crawler. They are included in a list so

that it is recorded that they were discovered, but they are not blocklisted as it is still important they are crawled.

The way the script determines if a URL belongs to one of the blocklists is by checking the URL against the items in a list. The lists were created for the script to check against by writing them first in text files. A function was then written that turned the text files into lists, and used this function to create the seven lists for the script to check. This function is shown in Figure 5. Together this code created the means for the crawler to determine if a URL it had discovered was blocklisted. Small preliminary crawls of 30 – 100 websites were used to gain feedback on which lists were complete and which lists needed amending. After several iterations of crawling test sites and adding websites to the lists, the lists were thought to be saturated. The Internet is extremely vast and catching every website to blocklist is not feasible and, inevitably, when performing the final data collection crawl that included several thousand websites, there were many websites that it would have been preferable to not crawl but were in fact crawled.

Figure 5

Function to Create a List From a Text File

```
def create_list_from_file(listfile):
 return [line.strip() for line in io.open(f"{listfile}.txt", 'r',
encoding="utf-8")]
```

Storing the Names of Websites

The URLs of all websites found were saved to text files. Websites that were found to be belonging to the specified lists were saved to additional files for future analysis. Likewise, internal URLs found on websites were saved to files, and external links were saved to others. This was so that in future, if it were decided that a study should be done on the linking behaviour of extremist websites to, for example, social media websites, files of links to social media sites would be readily available for analysis.

Misreading URLs

A problem that frequently occurred during testing was that sometimes a hyperlink would link to an "http://" version of a URL, and then, when crawling that website, would locate the "https://" version of that URL and consider these two distinct, external hyperlinks, despite being from the same domain. This is demonstrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6

Crawler Interpreting Two URLs as Being Distinct Websites due to Differences in their Schemes
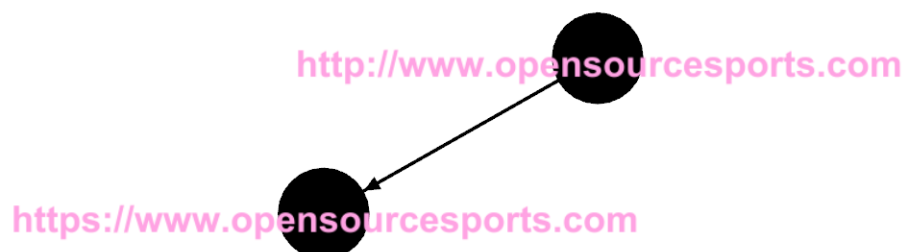
This problem was occurring because the original script was performing an exact comparison between the URL that the crawler was on, and the hyperlink that had been found in the HTML. "https://..." and "http://..." are not exact matches and so were considered separate URLs. In Figure 6, the "http" node is linking to the "https" node as if it were an external hyperlink,

which is not the case. To solve this problem, a function was written that removes the scheme from the URL shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7

Function to Remove the Scheme from a URL

```python
def netloc_only(url):
 url = urlparse(url).netloc
 url = url.replace('http://', '')
 url = url.replace('https://', '')
 url = url.replace('www.', '')
 url = url.replace('boards.', '')
 return url
```

This function was then used to perform the comparison between URL and hyperlink so that the versions of them without the scheme were compared. This is shown in Figure 8 and resulted in an accurate appraisal of whether a URL is unique or not.

Figure 8

Comparison Between URL and Hyperlink

```python
  if netloc_only(url) not in netloc_only(link) and link not in
lists['urls_to_document']:
    # external hyperlink that does not belong to any lists
    # if link not in lists['urls_to_document']:
    lists['urls_to_crawl'].add(link)
    lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
    graph.add_edge(url, link)
    print(f"{colours['CYAN']}[!] External link: {link}{colours['RESET']}")
```

Building the Graph

The graph was built using the Python library NetworkX. NetworkX has a directed graph object, known as a DiGraph, which builds a directed graph showing source nodes connecting to target nodes when added to the graph. The add_edge function takes two arguments, the source node and the target node, and adds a directed edge between the two of them. Having a directed graph was important for data analysis as the directed nature of the edges allows for analysis of the in-linking and out-linking of the nodes. NetworkX produces a graph in the form of an "edge list" showing a source and a target node that can be read by graph visualisation software. A source node is a node that contains a link to a target node. Reading an edge list in the form of "source - target" allows graph reading software to see where nodes are linking to and from.

Testing the Crawler

Tests were conducted on all elements of the crawler as it was developed. The primary websites used for the testing were www.scrapethissite.com and quotes.toscrape.com which are both web scraping sandboxes designed to allow beginner programmers to test their web scraping skills before employing them on full projects. These websites were used to test if the crawler was scraping, crawling, and adding hyperlinks to the graph correctly. Figure 9 shows the correct output of a scrape of a scraping sandbox with the external links mapped as nodes with edges between them.

Figure 9

Crawler Test of Scrapethissite.com
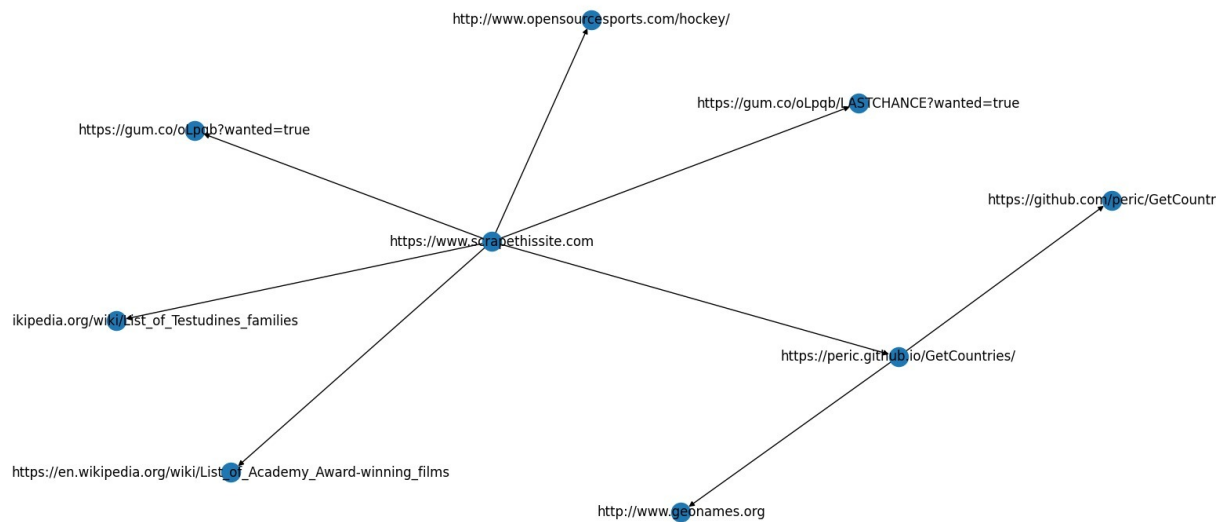
The scraping sandboxes were then used to test that the depth function was performing correctly. Figure 10 shows the output of the scrape of a sandbox to a depth level of three.

Figure 10

Test of Full Crawler to Level Three Depth on a Scraping Sandbox Website
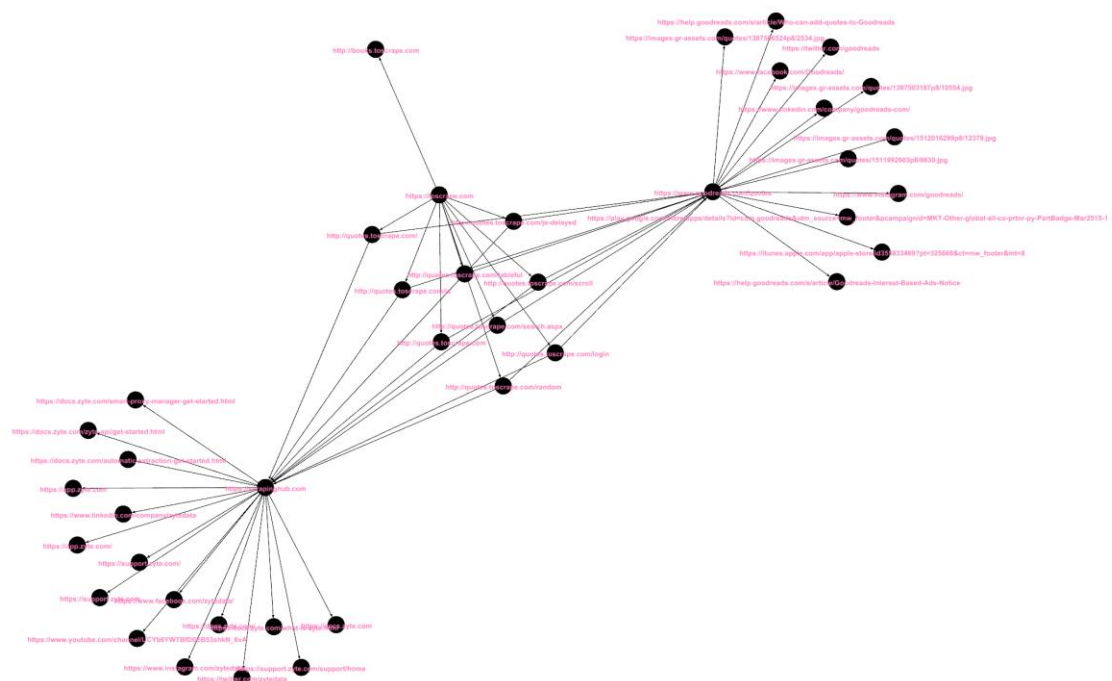
Once testing opportunities had been exhausted on sandbox websites, limited tests were performed on extremist websites. Figure 11 shows a breadth first search of amerika.org to depth level three. Extremist sites were used for testing as they have more external hyperlinks than

sandbox sites as well as a greater range of hyperlinks to different types of content and the intention was to test the performance of the crawler on the target websites. Amerika was chosen specifically because of the amount of hyperlinks it hosts on a directory page of other extremist websites.

Figure 11

Breadth First Search of Amerika.org to a Depth of Three
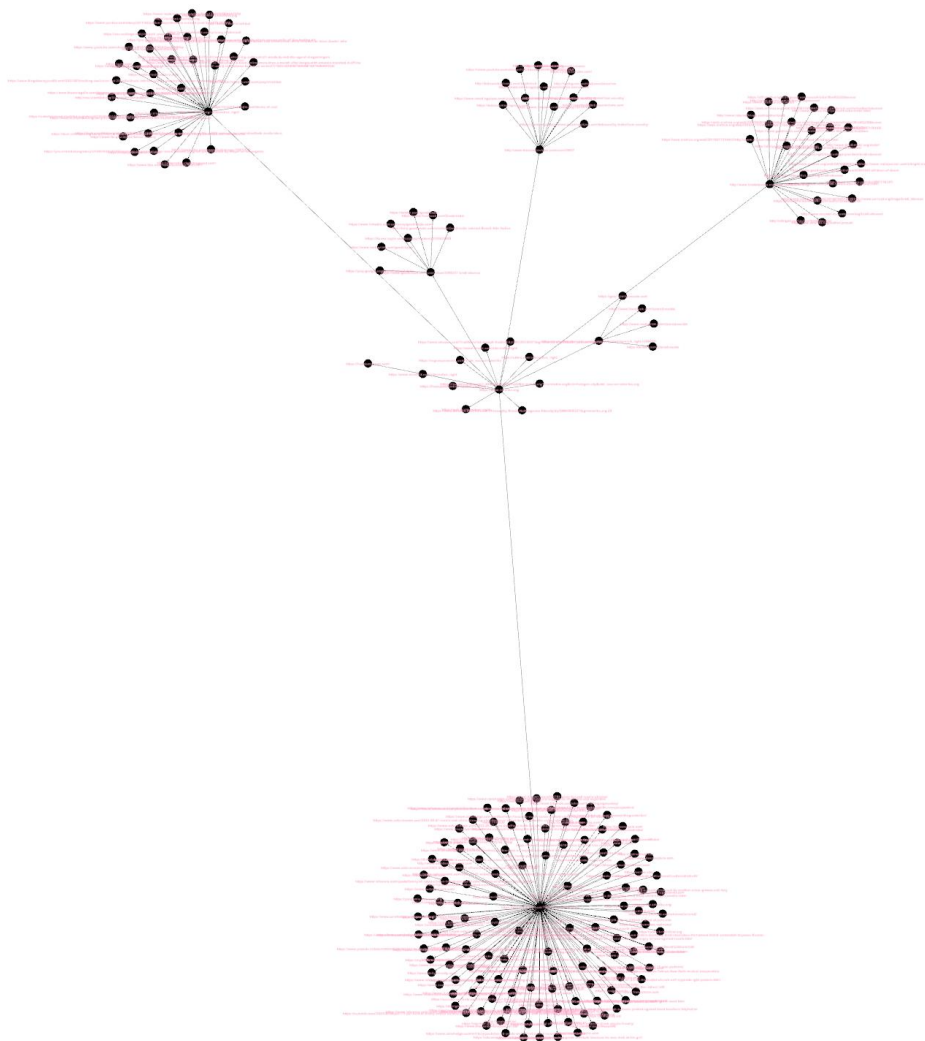
The Final Crawler

The final crawler included all of the features discussed above. The main crawl function that comprised one part of this is shown in Figure 12. The full script is presented in Appendix D. This script was used for data collection.

Figure 12

Object Oriented Function Performing Final Crawl

```python
def breadth_first_search(start_url, depth):
 global total_urls_crawled
 if depth == 0:
  # does nothing, prints the url
  print(start_url)
```

```python
 if depth == 1:
  # this is level 1. external hyperlinks i want to crawl found on one url
  filter_hyperlinks(start_url)
 else:
  queue = []
  for level in range(depth):
   if level == 1:
    print(f"First Crawl (level {level}) {colours['LIGHTGREEN']}[*]
Crawling: {start_url}{colours['RESET']}")
    total_urls_crawled += 1
    filter_hyperlinks(start_url)
    for url_to_crawl in lists['urls_to_crawl']:
     if url_to_crawl not in queue:
      queue.append(url_to_crawl)
   elif level > 1:
    print(f"There are {len(queue)} URLs in the queue to crawl")
    for count in range(len(queue)):
     time.sleep(random.randint(1, 10))

     url = queue.pop(0)
     print(f"Depth Crawl level {level} {colours['LIGHTGREEN']}[*] Crawling:
{url}{colours['RESET']}")
     total_urls_crawled += 1

     urls = filter_hyperlinks(url)
     for url in urls:
      if url not in queue:
       queue.append(url)
```

Data Collection

The 11 websites identified during case selection were used to create the dataset. A number of issues that had not been encountered during the preliminary testing presented themselves during the final crawl. For instance, URLs that contained links to live radio streams were loaded into temporary memory when they were accessed by the crawler, causing the crawler to crash due to lack of memory. To solve this, URLs that contained the words "stream", "mp3" and "mp4" were not crawled to prevent this lack of memory error. After the necessary adjustments, the crawler was used on each website of the seedset in turn. The edge lists collected after each of these crawls were combined to create a full edge list that could be visualised in Gephi.

Description of the Data

The webcrawler discovered 19,167 URLs with 20,126 hyperlinks between them. This was comprised of 4,490 unique domain names with 7,284 hyperlinks between them.

Preparation and Cleaning

The URLs were condensed so that only the domain name was considered when creating the graph. This meant that, for example, "www.facebook.com/[group-1]" and "www.facebook.com/[group-2]" would be considered as one node: "facebook.com." Cleaning the data in this manner created a network of 4,490 nodes and 7,284 edges that was used to perform the hyperlink network analysis. The full URLs were used to identify content that had been linked to by websites in the network. Some websites' URLs are shortened in hyperlinks which would

produce two separate websites being plotted to the graph. For example, www.twitter.com is sometimes shortened to t.co by websites to save space. These shortened URLs were converted to their longer version for consistency across the dataset. Some of the instances where this was necessary are shown in Figure 13.

Figure 13

Demonstration of Consistency in URLs

t.co	→	www.twitter.com
t.me	→	www.telegram.me
youtu.be	→	www.youtube.com
wa.me	→	whatsapp.com
wp.me	→	wordpress.com

The full URLs returned by the crawler were condensed so that only their net location was used as the node. The "www." was also removed as not all URLs contained this. A demonstration of this edit process is shown in Figure 14. Cleaning the dataset in this manner produced a network of 4,490 nodes and 7,284 edges to be used in the hyperlink network analysis.

Figure 14

Demonstration of the Cleaning of the Edge List

Original		
https://www.amren.com/	→	https://www.bitchute.com/amrenaissance/
New		
amren.com	→	bitchute.com

Limitations

Worth noting are some obvious limitations of analysing the hyperlinks to websites in this way. The dataset represents the discovered hyperlinks between websites with different domain names, it does not show every hyperlink found on each domain. In the above example of webpages hosted on Reddit being condensed into one node, the impression may be given that the outlinks from that node show all the outlinks from that domain. This is not the case and would be a misinterpretation of what the graph shows. Hyperlinks exist on the domains included in the dataset that were not discovered in data collection and are not included now. These hyperlinks may change the structure of the map if they were known. This dataset represents where the 11

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webpages in the seedset led to in April 2023, and do not show the entire right wing extremist ecosystem.

Visualisation

The data was transposed from the .txt file in which it was created to a .csv file so that it could be read and visualised by Gephi. URLs that had been accidentally split across two cells were re-joined, and extraneous information that had been downloaded alongside the hyperlinks was removed to produce a clean dataset of source and target nodes that could be visualised. The graph was visualised with the merge strategy for multiple edges set to average. The merge strategy is how multiple edges between the same nodes will be merged by the graph visualisation software. This occurs when one website has many hyperlinks to another site. Setting the merge strategy to average means that the edge weight for each edge will be 1, regardless of how many edges there are between pairs of nodes. This was done because many of the edges that appeared in the dataset were there because of the nature of the website (for example, where websites link to the parent website that hosts them, such as embedded links to WordPress and so on), and so calculating the edge weight between edges is likely to skew the statistical analysis towards links that are not especially meaningful. Using an unweighted graph and ignoring edge weight when calculating statistics avoids this bias, although admittedly at the cost of other measurements of network structure. Figure 15 shows a "first look" at the network structure of the net locations in the dataset. The graph is coloured by modularity using the Louvain method.

Figure 15

Data Visualised in Gephi using Fruchterman Reingold and Force Atlas 2 Layout Algorithms
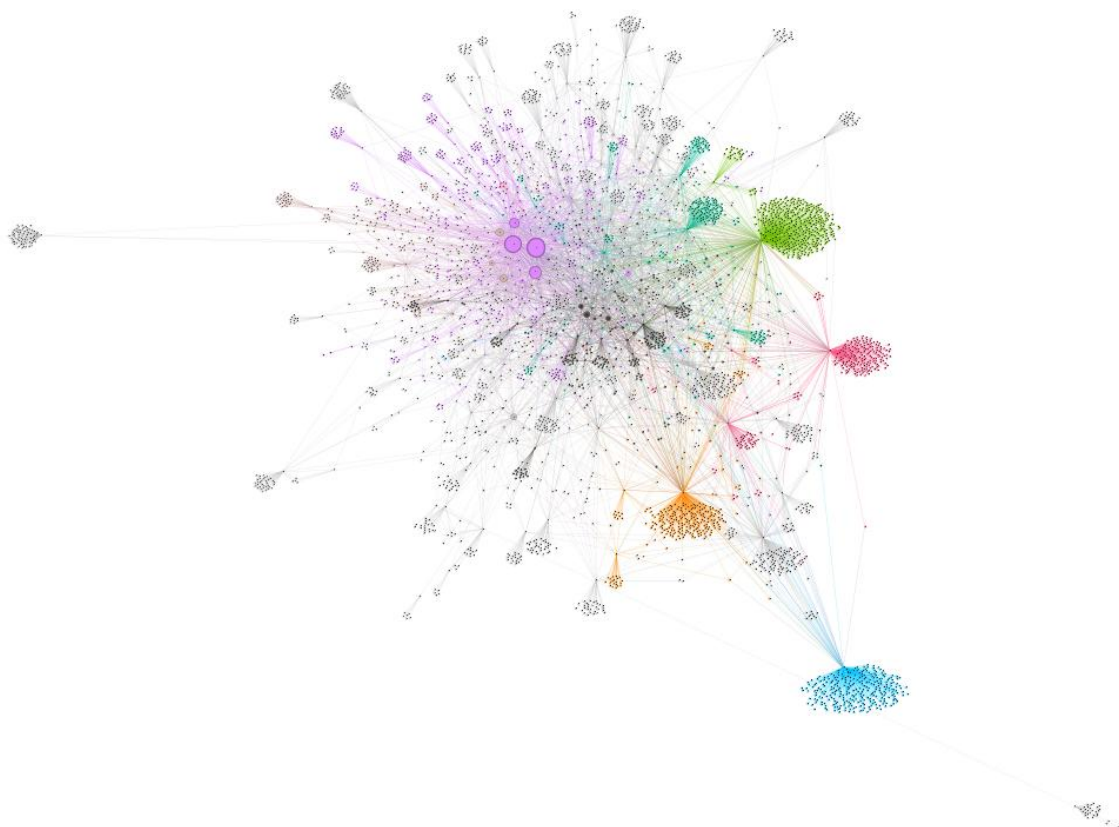
Note. Nodes are coloured by modularity and sized by in-degree.

Downloading of Website Data

In order to create a dataset that was temporally consistent across both parts of the study, the websites found during the crawl needed to be saved as they were when they were found. This had the potential to be a massive undertaking requiring a vast amount of memory and several weeks of continuous computer activity. Beyond the computing power necessary there was an additional problem: it is very difficult to create a download of a webpage that is readable at a later date. In the testing stages using Wget and PyWebCopy, the files that were downloaded using these libraries were meaningless to qualitative analysis. They did not create a copy of the website and they did not show text that was easily readable by computers or humans. Solving this problem took a considerable amount of time and eventually the researchers behind the Auto Archiver at Open Source Research for Human Rights (OSR 4 Rights) were contacted. Using the Auto Archiver, all 19,196 webpages were archived using the Way Back Machine and a PDF of each website was also created and downloaded in the month of June 2023. This process took several weeks and the final data file contained 212GB of data. This resulted in a permanent archive of every website in the dataset that was still active at the time of this archiving.

Appendix D
Full Python Script of the Web Crawler

```python
import requests
from bs4 import BeautifulSoup as beautifulsoup
import colorama
from urllib.parse import urlparse, urljoin
import networkx as nx
import matplotlib.pyplot as plt
import random
import time
import io


total_urls_crawled = 0

internal_urls = []


def create_list_from_file(listfile):
 return [line.strip() for line in io.open(f"{listfile}.txt", 'r',
encoding="utf-8")]


def netloc_only(url):
 url = urlparse(url).netloc
 url = url.replace('http://', '')
 url = url.replace('https://', '')
 url = url.replace('www.', '')
 url = url.replace('boards.', '')
 return url


graph = nx.DiGraph()

lists = {
 "found_nocrawl_socmeds": [],
 "found_search_these_socmeds": [],
 "found_msms": [],
 "found_altms": [],
 "found_commsites": [],
 "found_pastebins": [],
 "found_genericblocklists": [],
 "urls_to_crawl": set(),
 "urls_to_document": [],
 "found_dead_websites": set()
}

colours = {"GREEN": colorama.Fore.GREEN,
    "CYAN": colorama.Fore.CYAN,
    "YELLOW": colorama.Fore.YELLOW,
    "RED": colorama.Fore.RED,
    "MAGENTA": colorama.Fore.MAGENTA,
```

```python
    "BLUE": colorama.Fore.BLUE,
    "WHITE": colorama.Fore.WHITE,
    "BLACK": colorama.Fore.BLACK,
    "AZURE": colorama.Fore.LIGHTBLUE_EX,
    "LIGHTGREEN": colorama.Fore.LIGHTGREEN_EX,
    "GREY": colorama.Fore.LIGHTBLACK_EX,
    "PINK": colorama.Fore.LIGHTMAGENTA_EX,
    "RESET": colorama.Fore.RESET}


def is_valid(href):
 parsed = urlparse(href)
 return bool(parsed.netloc) and bool(parsed.scheme)


def get_hyperlinks(url):
 hyperlinks = []
 soup = beautifulsoup(requests.get(url).content, "html.parser")
 for a_tag in soup.find_all("a"):
  hyperlink = a_tag.attrs.get("href")
  if hyperlink == "" or hyperlink is None:
   continue
  if not is_valid(hyperlink):
   # if it's not a working hyperlink
   continue
  hyperlink = urljoin(url, hyperlink)
  hyperlinks.append(hyperlink)
  if not bool(hyperlinks):
   print(f"{colours['PINK']}There are no links here")

 return hyperlinks


def filter_hyperlinks(url):
 links = get_hyperlinks(url)

 nocrawl_socmed_list = create_list_from_file("socmed_list")
 search_these_socmeds = create_list_from_file("search_these_socmeds")
 altm_list = create_list_from_file("altm_list")
 genericblock_list = create_list_from_file("genericblocklist")
 linkbin_list = create_list_from_file("linkbin_list")
 msm_list = create_list_from_file("msm_list")
 commsites_list = create_list_from_file("commsites_list")
 known_dead_websites = create_list_from_file("known_dead_sites")

 for link in links:
  # hyperlink_no_query = urlparse(link).scheme + "://" +
  urlparse(link).netloc + urlparse(link).path
  hyperlink = urlparse(link).scheme + "://" + urlparse(link).netloc
  current_domain_name = urlparse(url).scheme + "://" + urlparse(url).netloc
  # hyperlink_no_scheme = urlparse(link).netloc
  # domain_no_scheme = urlparse(url).netloc
  if "mp4" in link:
```

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```python
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
       continue
    if "mp3" in link:
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
       continue
    if ".jpg" in link:
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
       continue
    if "m4a" in link:
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
       continue
    if "files" in link:
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
       continue
    if "download" in link:
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
    if "stream" in link:
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
       continue
    if ".edu" in link:
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
       continue
    if "pdf" in link:
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
       continue
    if ".mil" in link:
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
       continue
    if hyperlink in known_dead_websites:
      print(f"{colours['AZURE']}[!] Broken website: {link}{colours['RESET']}")
      lists['urls_to_document'].append(link)
      lists['found_dead_websites'].add(link)
       continue
    if current_domain_name in hyperlink and link not in internal_urls:
      # internal hyperlink, not interested
      print(f"{colours['MAGENTA']}[!] Internal link:
{link}{colours['RESET']}")
      internal_urls.append(link)
       continue
    if link in lists['urls_to_crawl']: # it's a set now so this is irrelevant
      # already found it
       continue
    if hyperlink in nocrawl_socmed_list and link not in
lists['found_nocrawl_socmeds']:
      print(f"{colours['WHITE']}[!] Blocklist social media link:
{link}{colours['RESET']}")
      lists['found_nocrawl_socmeds'].append(link)
      lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
      graph.add_edge(url, link)
       continue
    if hyperlink in search_these_socmeds and link not in
lists['found_search_these_socmeds']:
      print(f"{colours['GREY']}[!] Crawlable social media link:
```

```python
                {link}{colours['RESET']}")
            lists['found_search_these_socmeds'].append(link)
            lists['urls_to_crawl'].add(link)
            lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
            graph.add_edge(url, link)
        if hyperlink in altm_list and link not in lists['found_altms']:
            print(f"{colours['RED']}[!] Alternative media link:
                {link}{colours['RESET']}")
            lists['found_altms'].append(link)
            lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
            graph.add_edge(url, link)
            continue
        if hyperlink in genericblock_list and link not in
            lists['found_genericblocklists']:
            print(f"{colours['BLACK']}[!] Generic blocklist link:
                {link}{colours['RESET']}")
            lists['found_genericblocklists'].append(link)
            lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
            graph.add_edge(url, link)
            continue
        if hyperlink in linkbin_list and link not in lists['found_pastebins']:
            print(f"{colours['MAGENTA']}[!] Pastebin link:
                {link}{colours['RESET']}")
            lists['found_pastebins'].append(link)
            lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
            graph.add_edge(url, link)
            continue
        if hyperlink in msm_list and link not in lists['found_msms']:
            print(f"{colours['BLUE']}[!] Mainstream media link:
                {link}{colours['RESET']}")
            lists['found_msms'].append(link)
            lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
            graph.add_edge(url, link)
            continue
        if hyperlink in commsites_list and link not in lists['found_commsites']:
            lists['found_commsites'].append(link)
            lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
            graph.add_edge(url, link)
            print(f"{colours['GREEN']}[!] Commercial link:
                {link}{colours['RESET']}")
            continue
        if netloc_only(url) not in netloc_only(link) and link not in
            lists['urls_to_document']:
            # external hyperlink that does not belong to any lists
            # if link not in lists['urls_to_document']:
            lists['urls_to_crawl'].add(link)
            lists["urls_to_document"].append(link)
            graph.add_edge(url, link)
            print(f"{colours['CYAN']}[!] External link: {link}{colours['RESET']}")

    return lists["urls_to_crawl"]
```

```python
def breadth_first_search(start_url, depth):
 global total_urls_crawled
 if depth == 0:
  # does nothing, prints the url
  print(start_url)
 if depth == 1:
  # this is level 1. external hyperlinks i want to crawl found on one url
  filter_hyperlinks(start_url)
 else:
  queue = []
  for level in range(depth):
   if level == 1:
    print(f"First Crawl (level {level}) {colours['LIGHTGREEN']}[*]
Crawling: {start_url}{colours['RESET']}")
    total_urls_crawled += 1
    filter_hyperlinks(start_url)
    for url_to_crawl in lists['urls_to_crawl']:
     if url_to_crawl not in queue:
      queue.append(url_to_crawl)
   elif level > 1:
    print(f"There are {len(queue)} URLs in the queue to crawl")
    for count in range(len(queue)):
     time.sleep(random.randint(1, 10))

     url = queue.pop(0)
     print(f"Depth Crawl level {level} {colours['LIGHTGREEN']}[*] Crawling:
{url}{colours['RESET']}")
     total_urls_crawled += 1

     urls = filter_hyperlinks(url)
     for url in urls:
      if url not in queue:
       queue.append(url)


def save(folder_name, filename):
 for key, value in lists.items():
  if value:
   list_name = key
   save_location =
f"/home/nin/Documents/DataCollection/{folder_name}/{filename}_{list_name}.t
xt"
   with open(save_location, 'w') as f:
    for item in value:
     print(item.strip(), file=f)
 nx.write_edgelist(graph,
f"/home/nin/Documents/DataCollection/{folder_name}/{filename}_edgelist.txt"
)


def show_graph():
 nx.draw(graph, with_labels=True)
 plt.show()
```

```python
def print_descriptives():
 total_social_media_links = len(lists["found_nocrawl_socmeds"]) +
len(lists["found_search_these_socmeds"])
 print("[+] Total external links:", len(lists['urls_to_document']))
 print("[+] Total social media links:", total_social_media_links)
 print("[+] Total mainstream media links:", len(lists['found_msms']))
 print("[+] Total alt media links:", len(lists['found_altms']))
 print("[+] Total pastebin links:", len(lists['found_pastebins']))
 print("[+] Total commercial links:", len(lists['found_commsites']))
 print("[+] Total generic blocklist links:",
len(lists['found_genericblocklists']))
 print("[+] Total crawled URLs:", total_urls_crawled)


if __name__ == "__main__":
 website = "[website]"
 file = urlparse(website).netloc
 folder = "[folder]"
 try:
  breadth_first_search(website, 4)
  save(folder, file)
  show_graph()
  print_descriptives()
 except KeyboardInterrupt:
  save(folder, file)
  show_graph()
  print_descriptives()
```

Appendix E
Hyperlinked Content on Extreme Right Websites

Where two or more websites link to the same piece of content, the content is only listed once and the two or more websites appear in the same column titles "Link received from."

Table 1

Hyperlinked Content on American Renaissance

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1A1	Normal America	Berkeley Unified Considers Reparations for Black Students	News excerpt	01/04/2023	98
1A2	Normal American	Black Impunity	Blog	02/04/2023	166
1A3	Normal America	California Reparations Task Force is Told Black Residents of Golden State Should Each be Paid $7.6 Million	News excerpt	01/04/2023	839
1A4	Dissent Watch	Conservative Social Media Influences Douglass MacKay Convicted of Election Interference	News excerpt	03/04/2023	246
1A5	The Patrick Ryan Show	Equity? No, It's Tyranny	Video and blog post	03/03/2023	1,671
1A6	Dissent Watch	March South West Border Migrant Apprehensions Jump to 162k After Two Month Decline	News excerpt	03/03/2023	179
1A7	The Unz Review	Not a Country, Not even a Team	Commentary	26/06/2023	1,268
1A8	New Nation News	The Colour of Crime, 2016 revised edition	Report	2016	11,711
1A9	The Patrick Ryan Show	The Death of Particularist White Identity	News	20/03/2023	1,467
1A10	Normal American	The Last Train to Zona Verde	Book review	02/04/2023	2.067
1A11	The Unz Review	US Considers asking Black American on Census if they are Slave Descendants	News	03/04/2023	610

Table 2

Hyperlinked Content on Amerika

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1B1	Nihil	A Parallelism Primer	Blog/Article	06/03/2019	12,280
1B2	Nihil	Belief in Nothing	Blog/Article	23/03/2010	2,902
1B3	Nihil	Confrontation With Nihilism	Blog/Article	23/03/2016	427
1B4	Nihil	Crux	Blog/Article	03/02/2009	1,056
1B5	Dissent Watch	DiversityWatch (April 3, 2023)	Blog/Article	03/04/2023	999
1B6	Nihil	Dualism vs. Monism in a Nihilist Context	Blog/Article	02/02/2014	2,380
1B7	Nihil	Entropy And Heat Death	Blog/Article	19/10/2017	1,114
1B8	Nihil	Facing emptiness	Blog/Article	23/05/2011	1,699
1B9	Nihil	Fear Of A Black Pill	Blog/Article	26/07/2016	2,185
1B10	Nihil	Futurist Traditionalism	Blog/Article	07/07/2011	4,751
1B11	Nihil	Futurist Traditionalism: Deep Ecology, Traditionalism, Naturalism and Paleoconservatism	Blog/Article	06/11/2011	5,983
1B12	Nihil	Idealism And Platonic Forms	Blog/Article	02/06/2017	2,461
1B13	Nihil	I'd rather have wings	Blog/Article	23/01/2009	1,668
1B14	Nihil	In simple terms, what is nihilism	Blog/Article	01/11/2007	478
1B15	Nihil	Interview With A Nihilist	Blog/Article	20/08/2017	629
1B16	Nihil	Introduction To The Black Pill	Blog/Article	11/09/2016	1,448
1B17	Nihil	Is Nihilism just warmed over, leftist fatalism?	Blog/Article	07/12/2008	1,546
1B18	Nihil	Just You And The Universe	Blog/Article	26/08/2016	843
1B19	Nihil	Learning to Fly	Blog/Article	28/10/2005	2,455
1B20	Nihil	Love and Nihilism: A Parallelism Primer	Blog/Article	25/09/2009	4,252
1B21	Nihil	Morality Does Not Require God	Blog/Article	12/04/2016	1,214
1B22	Nihil	More musings on nihilism	Blog/Article	13/03/2009	341
1B23	Nihil	Most Conservatives Do not Understand Nihilism	Blog/Article	15/08/2016	1,831
1B24	Nihil	Nationalism and nihilism	Blog/Article	22/04/2014	1,310

1B25	Nihil	Neoreaction and nihilism	Blog/Article	20/03/2015	822
1B26	Nihil	Nihilism	Blog/Article	15/12/2004	2,185
1B27	Nihil	Nihilism and authority	Blog/Article	29/10/2007	798
1B28	Nihil	*Nihilism: A Philosophy Based In Nothingness and Eternity*, by Brett Stevens	Book press release	12/08/2016	3,646
1B29	Nihil	Nihilism as Holy Grail	Blog/Article	14/07/2005	1.082
1B30	Nihil	Nihilism, conservatism and parallelism	Blog/Article	14/05/2015	3,358
1B31	Nihil	Nihilism: In search of a working definition	Blog/Article	29/11/2008	3,295
1B32	Nihil	Nihilism is the basis of conservatism	Blog/Article	01/06/2015	1,390
1B33	Nihil	Nihilism vs Fatalism	Blog/Article	28/03/2011	2,329
1B34	Nihil	Oncology	Blog/Article	31/01/2010	1,571
1B35	Mobius Wolf	Open Race War is Upon You	Blog/Article	27/03/2023	1,212
1B36	Nihil	Postmorality	Blog/Article	18/07/2005	2,412
1B37	Nihil	*Power-Nihilism: A Case For Moral & Political Nihilism* by James Theodore Stillwell III	Book review	18/05/2017	951
1B38	Nihil	Radical Traditionalism	Blog/Article	28/09/2016	786
1B39	Nihil	Radical Traditionalism and Nihilism	Blog/Article	01/06/2005	2,112
1B40	Nihil	Reality is Nihilism	Blog/Article	20/07/2010	4,077
1B41	Nihil	Response thread (07-12-15)	Blog/Article	13/07/2015	7,587
1B42	Nihil	The Amerikan Nihilist Underground Society (ANUS)	Blog/Article	26/09/2016	1,578
1B43	Nihil	The Black Pill	Blog/Article	17/04/2016	1,380
1B44	Nihil	The Essence of Supernatural Thinking	Blog/Article	15/09/2016	1,114
1B45	Nihil	The Eternal Circle	Blog/Article	19/09/2005	1,540
1B46	Nihil	The First Lecture	Blog/Article	02/07/2009	5,350
1B47	Nihil	The Raging Realist	Blog/Article	20/03/2016	1,384
1B48	Nihil	The Sympathetic Fallacy	Blog/Article	02/06/2011	752
1B49	Nihil	Thought, Not Emotion, Is The Path To Learning, Which Is Esoteric	Blog/Article	26/092017	3,222

1B50	Nihil	Thresholds	Blog/Article	11/05/2009	1,629
1B51	Nihil	Traditionalism and the Cosmos	Blog/Article	25/07/2013	1,490
1B52	Nihil	What is Nihilism?	Blog/Article	25/09/2009	11,497
1B53	Nihil	What is Reality?	Blog/Article	15/12/2008	1,494

Table 3

Hyperlinked Content on Arthur Kemp

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1C1	Blogger comment	Blame Whitey Part 5901: "Systemic Racist" Clicks South Africa Advertisement Produced by Nonwhite-led team	Blog post	10/09//2020	443
1C2	Blogger comment	COVID-Denial Crankery Stumbles as Sweden's Anti-COVID-19 Measures Fail Completely	Blog post	07/12/2020	731
1C3	Blogger comment	Fascinating DNA Evidence Emerges from 79 AD Pompeii	Blog post	23/06/2022	949
1C4	Blogger comment	George Floyd: A Test Case in Anti-White Hatred	Blog post	17/08/2020	4,262
1C5	Blogger comment	How the Republican Party Lost Georgia Senate Election Runoffs: and why the results undermine Trump's "voter fraud" narrative	Blog post	18/01/2021	673
1C6	Blogger comment	Ignorance of Maliciousness? Race, DNA, the Daily Mail and Bledington Village	Blog post	11/08/2017	1,142
1C7	Blogger comment	Latest Supreme Court Twist in US Election: Has Trump "Grabbed Them by the Pu**y?"	Blog post	10/12/2020	912
1C8	Blogger comment	Russia Invades Ukraine: My Two Cents	Blog post	25/02/2022	57
1C9	Blogger comment	Sometimes a picture says it all, and doesn't need further comment	Blog post	26/03/2022	23
1C10	Blogger comment	South Africa: Time has Come to Punish	Blog post	29/07/2020	812
1C11	Blogger comment	Trump Crashes and Burns – as he always would…	Blog post	07/01/2021	573

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1C12	Blogger comment	Trump Not Done Yet! Next Step is Individual State Suits	Blog post	13/12/2020	289
1C13	Blogger comment	US Election 2020: A Lesson in Race, Demographics, Not "Fraud"	Blog post	08/11/2020	663

Table 4

Hyperlinked Content on Counter Currents

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1D1	White Bio Centrism	Anatomy of a Liar	Blog/Article	31/03/2023	2,289
1D2	Nihil	Between Pragmatism & the Transcendent: A Review of Brett Stevens' *Nihilism*	Book review	05/01/2017	1,983
1D3	Dissent Watch	Biden, Trudeau, & China	Blog/Article	03/04/2023	1,232
1D4	Dissent Watch	Cthulhu and a Cuppa: C. P. Webster's Veddy British Horror	Blog/Article	03/04/2023	1,053
1D5	The Patrick Ryan Show	David Duke Reverses Opinion on Jews after Mel Brooks Binge	Blog/Article	29/03/2023	1,700
1D6	White Bio Centrism	Do You Have What It Takes to be a Dissident? (specific comment)	Blog/Article	10/03/2023	1,020
1D7	Savitri Devi	Remembering Savitri Devi (September 30, 1905-October 22, 1982)	Blog/Article	30/09/2022	908
1D8	The Patrick Ryan Show, White Bio Centrism	Revolution with Full Benefits	Blog/Article	27/03/2023	1,063
1D9	White Bio Centrism	Shooting Up a Grade School Doesn't Make You a Man	Blog/Article	30/03/2023	1,231
1D10	Dissent Watch	The Worst Week Yet: March 26-April 1, 2023	Blog/Article	03/04/2023	2,358
1D11	Nicholas Stix, Uncensored	White Identity Nationalism part 1	Blog/Article	25/05/2022	12,235
1D12	AmRen	White Identity Politics Order	Book review	No date	790

Table 5

Hyperlinked Content on Death Metal

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1E1	Nihil	Brett Stevens' *Nihilism* Published	Book review	13/08/2016	432
1E2	Nihil	Meditations on the Death of Wishful Thinking	Blog/Article	28/08/2017	9,726
1E3	Nihil	On Death Metal And Nihilism	Blog/Article	19/08/2016	4,132
1E4	Amerika	Repo Man re-issued on Blu Ray	Film review	06/03/2013	1,012

Table 6

Content on Julius Evola

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1F1	N/A	Against the Neo-Pagans	Book excerpt	1942	2,473
1F2	N/A	American Civilisation	Book excerpt	1945	3,198
1F3	N/A	European Decadence	Book excerpt	1928	552
1F4	N/A	Fascism as Anti-Europe	Book excerpt	1928	1,067
1F5	N/A	Hitler and the Secret Societies	Article	1971	2,010
1F6	N/A	Julius Evola and Russian Traditionalism	Essay	No date	2,307
1F7	N/A	ON JIHAD AND HOLY WAR	Book excerpt	1934	2,069
1F8	N/A	On the dark age	Book excerpt	1934	842
1F9	N/A	On the Secret of Degeneration	Magazine article	1938	2,099
1F10	N/A	Our American Media	Essay	Posthumus, 2010	418
1F11	N/A	The Meaning and Context of Zen	Essay	1994 (trans.)	2,533
1F12	N/A	The occult war	Book excerpt	1953	1,015

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1F13	N/A	The Plurality and Duality of Civilizations	Book excerpt	1931	594
1F14	N/A	United Europe The Spiritual Prerequisite	Essay	No date	791

Table 7

Hyperlinked Content on National Vanguard

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1G1	National Alliance	Adolf Hitler on the Woman's World	Extracts	09/03/2023	577
1G2	The Unz Review	Anonymous Hacks Darknet: Thousands of US Government Addresses Linked to Child Pornography	News	08/02/2017	467
1G3	National Alliance	Content vs. Copy: What You Should Know	Essay	24/03/2023	530
1G4	National Alliance, The Patrick Ryan Show	Covid Jab Update: Intentional Murder?	Essay	30/03/2023	1,942
1G5	National Alliance	Fascism, Women, and Democracy	Historical essay	31/03/2023	3,856
1G6	The Unz Review	Funding a Movement: German Big Business and the Rise of Hitler	Essay	25/05/2018	3,461
1G7	National Alliance, The Patrick Ryan Show	Information that I Didn't Like Changed My Life	Essay	16/03/2023	367
1G8	National Alliance	Jacob the Ripper: DNA as a Test and DNA as an Inner Law	Essay	24/03/2023	1,624
1G9	The Unz Review	Jewish Professor: Pornography Used by Jews as a Weapon	Essay	02/05/2015	1,089
1G10	National Alliance	Jews and Bankers: Fake Gods Worthy of the Pit	Podcast transcript	25/03/2023	1,870
1G11	The Unz Review	Jews Are Proud of Their Pornography	Essay	10/08/2017	2,652

1G12	National Alliance, The Patrick Ryan Show	Jews Like Blackmailable "Leaders"	Essay	18/03/2023	762
1G13	National Alliance	Meeting the Brilliant Minds at Mensa South (Not)	Essay	16/03/2023	625
1G14	White Bio Centrism	One Shot and One Shot Only	Opinion	04/01/2023	633
1G15	White Bio Centrism	Our Cause by Dr. William L. Pierce	Speech transcription	11/09/2018	7,127
1G16	The Patrick Ryan Show	Outlawing White People	News	15/02/2023	2,522
1G17	The Unz Review	Pornography as Jewish Activism and Terrorism, part 1	Essay	02/02/2023	4,280
1G18	The Unz Review	Pornography as Jewish Activism and Terrorism, part 2	Essay	09/02/2023	3,098
1G19	The Unz Review	Pornography as Jewish Activism and Terrorism, part 3	Essay	14/02/2023	2,083
1G20	The Patrick Ryan Show	Race Swamping and the Ark	Essay	03/03/2023	4,207
1G21	National Alliance	Review: The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews, part 2	Essay	08/03/2023	3,129
1G22	National Alliance	Roger Pearson,1927 – 2023	News (Obituary)	10/03/2023	5,280
1G23	The Unz Review	Russia Blocks Major Pornography Sites, Tells Citizens "Meet People in Real Life"	News	03/08/2017	270
1G24	National Alliance	Russia: the Bloody Insanity of "We Can Repeat" — part 1	Guest opinion	09/03/2023	2,440
1G25	National Alliance, The Unz Review	Russia: the Bloody Insanity of "We Can Repeat" — part 2	Guest opinion	10/03/2023	3,211
1G26	National Alliance	The Federal Reserve: a Jewish-Dominated Institution	Essay	29/03/2023	963

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1G27	National Alliance, The Patrick Ryan Show	The Jewish War on Children	Podcast transcript	01/04/2023	2,008
1G28	The Unz Review	The Wilkomirski Affair: How a Holocaust Hoaxer Was Rewarded for His Lies	Essay	14/05/2016	5,213
1G29	The Patrick Ryan Show	Violent Crime: "White Racism" Isn't the Problem — Black Racism Is	Essay	17/02/2023	601
1G30	National Alliance	White Psychology Under Jewish Tyranny, part 1	Podcast transcript	11/03/2023	2,240
1G31	National Alliance	White Psychology Under Jewish Tyranny, part 2	Podcast transcript	18/03/2023	2,484
1G32	National Alliance, The Patrick Ryan Show	White Waterloo in Wales	Essay	24/03/2023	2,155
1G33	National Alliance	"Woke" Jesus	Essay	14/03/2023	2,273

Table 8

Hyperlinked Content on The Occidental Observer

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1H1	Saxon Messenger Christogenea	Britain's Jewish Communist Traitors	Article	22/06/2016	2,820
1H2	FPP	From the Sublime to the Repulsive: Thoughts on Gentile Beauty and Jewish Uglification in Architecture	Article	07/08/2022	2,541
1H3	FPP, The Patrick Ryan Show	How I got to be an ethnic activist	Article	28/03/2023	798
1H4	The Unz Review	How to Survive Communism in the USA?	Article	09/09/2020	2,886

1H5	Normal American	Israel, the American left, and the Emerging Multipolar World	Article	02/04/2023	4,016
1H6	National Vanguard	Jewish Journalism: A TOO Case File, Part 2	Article	29/10/2014	1,801
1H7	National Vanguard	Jews Versus the Alt Right: Lessons from History	Article	10/09/2016	3,431
1H8	Saxon Messenger Christogenea	Lies, Spies and Harvey Weinstein: Thoughts on Jewish Behaviour and the Pervnado	Article	20/12/2017	2,739
1H9	Normal American	Luscious Lesbians with Female Phalluses: More on Transgenderism, Trans-Westernism and Jewish Subversion	Article	01/04/2023	2,527
1H10	The Unz Review	On Scottish Nationalism	Commentary	19/02/2023	470
1H11	New Nation News	Polarization is good	Article	30/09/2017	1,106
1H12	The Patrick Ryan Show	Policing in the Era of George Floyd: Advice for White Officers	Article	24/03/2023	4,105
1H13	FPP	Review of "Unmasking Anne Frank, Her Famous diary Exposed as a Literary Fraud" by Ikuo Suzuki	Book review	27/08/2022	1,540
1H14	National Vanguard	Review: The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews – Part One	Article	26/12/2017	3,303
1H15	National Vanguard	Review: The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews — Part Two	Article	27/12/2017	3,090
1H16	National Vanguard	The Alt Right Is Right, FEDERALIST's Tracinski Wrong, About American History (And Donald Trump)	Article	19/04/2016	2,173
1H17	The Unz Review	The Balkanized US/EU — Brinkmanship in Ukraine and the Balkans	Article	26/03/2023	2,732
1H18	Saxon Messenger Christogenea	The big chill on free speech hits Britain	Article	14/12/2016	1,740

1H19	New Nation News	The Cause of the Second Civil War in America	Article	22/07/2018	5,344
1H20	Saxon Messenger Christogenea	The Jewish Origins of the Open Borders Movement	Article	02/10/2016	3,093
1H21	Saxon Messenger Christogenea	The Myth of the Right-Wing Extremist	Article	16/12/2016	2,799
1H22	Saxon Messenger Christogenea	Theresa May — Friend of Israel and the Organized Jewish Community	Article	13/07/2016	1,660
1H23	Saxon Messenger Christogenea	The Riddle of Rotherham: "Mad Ash," White Trash and the Hostile Elite	Article	02/03/2016	1,992
1H24	The Patrick Ryan Show	The SPLC: A Threat to Civil Liberties and the Rule of Law	Article	19/03/2023	1,378
1H25	The Patrick Ryan Show	Those Gullible Christian Zionists—Again	Commentary	13/03/2023	739
1H26	Normal American	Uncivil Discourse at Stanford Law School: Judge Subjected to Staged Shaming	Commentary	02/04/2023	1,148

Table 9
Content on Savitri Devi

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1K1	N/A	A Fighter for Truth and Justice	Essay	1960s	1,503
1K2	N/A	Hitlerism and Hindudom	Article	Fall, 1980	2,139
1K3	N/A	Shinto – The Way of the Gods	Article	July, 1980	2,922
1K 4	N/A	Shinto, the National Religion of Japan	Article	July, 1939	3,440
1K 5	N/A	The Egyptian Conquest of Nubia	Article	January-February 1979	1,709

Table 10

Hyperlinked Content on The Tactical Hermit

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1L1	Mobius Wolf	Dose of Truth (March)	Image	29/03/2023	41
1L2	The Normal American	Dose of Truth (April)	Image	02/04/2023	39
1L3	The Normal American	FUSA Snapshot	Image and text post	03/04/2023	29
1L4	The Feral Irishman	My New Home Décor	Image	03/04/2023	25
1L5	Vermont Pride	Prepping 101: Fishponds	Video	02/04/2023	47

Table 11

Hyperlinked Content on Thuletide

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1M1	The Normal American	Are White men responsible for over 33% of rapes in South Korea? No.	Blog post	15/01/2023	868
1M2	The Normal American	Debunking "Understanding Race" (2022): Thuletide mentioned in libtard race-denialism book written by American Museum of Natural History scientists and published by UK's Cambridge University	Blog post	12/02/2023	3,519
1M3	The Normal American	Freaks associated with NJP, Joel Davis, Keith Woods, etc. have started the rumor that I'm a girl	Blog post	11/02/2023	287
1M4	The Normal American	Leftist Disinformation 101: Breaking down a 4chan /pol/ post from 2016	Blog post	10/02/2023	835

Table 12

Hyperlinked Content on The Unz Review

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1N1	JayMan	100 Blog Posts - A Reflection on HBD Blogging And What Lies Ahead	Blog article	05/06/2013	5,455
1N2	JayMan	200 Blog Posts – Everything You Need to Know (To Start)	Blog article	24/06/2015	6,901
1N3	Dr James Thompson	2015 PISA mean scores in perspective	Blog article	06/12/2016	188
1N4	The Patrick Ryan Show	ADL Claims Jews are Warmongers, Globalists and Communists Who Hate America	Blog article	09/03/2023	1,025
1N5	FPP	America Goes to War	Blog article	28/02/2023	1,946
1N6	JayMan	American Nations Series	Blog article	10/12/2014	1,065
1N7	The Patrick Ryan Show	American Pravda: How Hitler Saved the Allies	Blog article	13/05/2019	8,395
1N8	FPP	American Pravda: The Leo Frank Case and the Origins of the ADL	Blog article	27/03/2023	5,297
1N9	The Patrick Ryan Show	An Army of None?	Blog article	24/03/2023	3,200
1N10	Nicholas Stix Uncensored	Anti-White NYC Teachers Union's Workshop "Harmful Effects of Whiteness" Cancelled Not Because of Message, but due to Whites Complaining and Making Host Feel Uncomfortable Over 'Hate' they Faced	Blog article	29/03/2023	478
1N11	FPP	At CPAC, Trump Vows to End the Ukraine War in 24 Hours After Resuming His Post	Blog article	05/03/2023	831
1N12	FPP	Biden's Minyan and the Holocaust Narrative	Blog article	17/03/2023	7,544
1N13	FPP	Challenging America's Lords of Illusion	Blog article	22/08/2022	2,850
1N14	JayMan	Clannishness – The Series: A Finer-Grained Look at How It Happened	Blog article	16/01/2017	2,989

1N15	JayMan	Clannishness – The Series: How It Happened	Blog article	19/12/2016	4,185
1N16	JayMan	Clannishness – The Series: Zigzag Lightning in the Brain	Blog article	20/19/2015	3,446
1N17	Barely a Blog	Conservatives & Liberals Aligned With Greedy Developers & Multinationals Against The Homeless	Blog article	30/03/2023	1,372
1N18	FPP	Did a Chinese Lab-Leak Kill Twenty Million People?	Blog article	28/02/2023	3,697
1N19	Nicholas Stix Uncensored	Douthat: Will AI predict the future?	Blog article	01/04/2023	1,007
1N20	JayMan	"Ethnic Genetic Interests" Do Not Exist (Neither Does Group Selection)	Blog article	02/08/2015	2,618
1N21	JayMan	Features and Bugs	Blog article	21/02/2016	3,103
1N22	FPP	For Decades I Have Explained that Watergate Was a CIA Scheme to Remove President Nixon from Office	Blog article	27/03/2023	200
1N23	JayMan	Greg Cochran's "Gay Germ" Hypothesis - An Exercise in the Power of Germs	Blog article	26/02/2014	2,758
1N24	The Patrick Ryan Show	Have There Ever Been More Courageous Men?	Blog article	10/03/2023	2,522
1N25	FPP, Maggies Farm	In Moscow, Xi and Putin bury Pax Americana	Blog article	22/03/2023	1,220
1N26	JayMan	IQ and Death	Blog article	02/05/2013	2,337
1N27	FPP	Is Biden being Blackmailed to Send US Combat Troops to Ukraine?	Blog article	12/01/2023	2,559
1N28	Normal American	Israel, the American left, and the Emerging Multipolar World	Blog article	02/04/2023	4,035
1N29	JayMan	JayMan's Race, Inheritance, and IQ F.A.Q. (F.R.B.)	Blog article	02/05/2014	5,012
1N30	Dr James Thompson	New PISA Test Results	Blog article	06/12/2016	557
1N31	JayMan	No, You Don't Have Free Will, and This is Why	Blog article	25/09/2013	3,079
1N32	JayMan	Obesity Facts	Blog article	03/09/2014	3,424

1N33	Barely a Blog	Oh, What Wonderful Wars: The West's Lying Warlords	Blog article	09/03/2023	925
1N34	Dr James Thompson	PISA 2015 Released: China Disappoints	Blog article	06/12/2016	704
1N35	Normal American	Playing "Fool's Mate" on the Grand Eurasian Chessboard	Blog article	03/04/2023	3,023
1N36	FPP	Producing New Enemies for No Reason Whatsoever	Blog article	09/08/2022	1,821
1N37	Normal American	Ricky Vaughn Convicted for Hilarious Meme, Could be Facing 10 Years in Prison	Blog article	31/03/2023	729
1N38	FPP	Russian Defense Ministry Suggests Direct American Government Responsibility for the Emergence of Covid	Blog article	05/08/2022	1,629
1N39	FPP	Send in the Clowns	Blog article	21/03/2023	1,680
1N40	FPP	Seymour Hersh Tells Chinese That West is Driven by Unhinged Hatred of Putin	Blog article	13/03/2023	492
1N41	Barely a Blog	Slandering The Homeless: Mass Immigration, Not Mental Disease & Addiction	Blog article	13/03/2023	873
1N42	JayMan	PEW Confirms "Soviet Freezer" Theory	Blog article	03/11/2018	608
1N43	FPP	Spies and More Lies Add Confusion to the Ukraine Conflict	Blog article	03/01/2023	1,581
1N44	FPP	Sputnik Scoops the Daily Mail	Blog article	01/08/2022	1,872
1N45	JayMan	The Atheist Narrative	Blog article	26/07/2013	2,485
1N46	The Z Man	The Balkanized US/EU — Brinkmanship in Ukraine and the Balkans	Blog article	25/03/2023	2,750
1N47	JayMan	The Behavioral Genetics Page	Blog article	02/03/2016	1,905
1N48	FPP	The Capital of the Multipolar World	Blog article	30/03/2023	1,503
1N49	The Patrick Ryan Show	The Cops Work for ZioCorp - Not You	Blog article	28/03/2023	2,619
1N50	Normal American	The Facts of WHAT Is Happening vs the WHY of Deep State Motives, or Don't Waste Good Facts on Bad Faith	Blog article	02/04/2023	3,043

1N51	The Patrick Ryan Show	The Mask Comes Off	Blog article	31/03/2023	3,451
1N52	The Patrick Ryan Show	The Plan to Wreck America	Blog article	23/02/2023	2,042
1N53	FPP	The Relentless Punishment of Critics of Israel	Blog article	24/01/2023	1,956
1N54	JayMan	The Rise of Universalism	Blog article	27/06/2015	3,834
1N55	FPP	The Zionist Coup Against Kennedy	Blog article	07/03/2023	6,806
1N56	JayMan	Trans Fat Hysteria and the Mystery of Heart Disease	Blog article	09/11/2013	2,508
1N57	Dissent Watch	Tyranny Is Unleashed: The Death of Free Speech, Truth, and the Rule of Law	Blog article	03/04/2023	395
1N58	FPP	Ukraine War Spills Over Into the Middle East	Blog article	17/01/2023	1,808
1N59	FPP	US Foreign Policy Goes "Woke"?	Blog article	07/03/2023	1,664
1N60	FPP	Vaxxing Conspiracies and 700,000 Rumble Views	Blog article	18/07/2022	2,873
1N61	Barely a Blog , FPP	War and Propaganda in the Russia-Ukraine Conflict	Blog article	06/03/2023	3,731
1N62	The Patrick Ryan Show	Why Are Conservatives So Stupid?	Blog article	22/03/2023	1,498
1N63	The Feral Irishman	World Makes a Move Against Analmerica: Oil Outputs Cut! Energy Prices Explode!	Blog article	03/04/2023	803

Table 13

Hyperlinked Content on VDARE

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
1P1	Normal American	AFTER NASHVILLE, FACE IT: "Transgenders" Are Nuts. "Transphobia" is Rational. And Joe Biden Is An Idiot	Article	01/04/2023	1,334
1P2	John Derbyshire	Derb's Canceled Williams College Hate Address—"The National Question: Race, Ethnicity, and Identity In the 21st Century"	Article	21/02/2016	5,640

1P3	Normal American	Despite Mayorkas Fireworks, House GOP May Be Cucking On Border Bill—Because Of Rep. Tony Gonzales (Treason Lobby—TX)	Article	04/02/2023	1,515
1P4	Dissent Watch	FDR Is Cancelled In Canada	Article	03/04/2023	515
1P5	The Patrick Ryan Show	Forgiving Themselves To Death: A Mind Virus Is Causing Whites To Excuse Non-White Criminality	Article	22/03/2023	1,532
1P6	Dissent Watch	"Hate Crime Experts" Set To Decide If Rural England Is Racist	Article	03/04/2023	824
1P7	The Occidental Observer	Jan Adrian Schlebusch: No, Oswald Spengler (And Assorted Modern Clerics), Christianity Is Not A Leftist Religion	Book review	30/03/2023	1,661
1P8	John Derbyshire	John Derbyshire At AMREN 2017: Race Realism Has a Past. Does Race Denialism Have a Future?	Article	08/08/2017	2,964
1P9	New Nation News	Nickola Bijeliti's Debut Novel THE AMERICAN IDENTITY: Secession Considered In The Classical Style	Book review	05/03/2017	366
1P10	Normal American	Pitt Anthropologist Laughed At For Saying Scientists Can't Tell Male And Female Skeletons Apart	Blog	02/04/2023	876
1P11	Nicholas Stix Uncensored	Run, Donald, Run! Wargaming the Trump Indictment	Blog	01/04/2023	562
1P12	The Patrick Ryan Show	St. Patrick's Day Is NOT Immigration Day—Irish-Americans Are White, And Being Replaced Like The Rest Of Us	Article	17/03/2023	1,262
1P13	New Nation News	The New Census Projections: From White America to Alien Nation in One Lifetime	Article	28/03/2015	1.089

1P14	New Nation	Three Media Sources, and NONE Tells the Truth about a Black-on-White Hate Crime, but the Truth Can be Gleaned from Between the Lines	Blog	25/02/2014	370
1P15	Normal American	Who Are the Worst Drivers Per Miles Driven?	Blog	02/04/2023	525
1P16	Vermont Pride	Why Are Americans Dying So Young? It's "Deaths Of Exuberance"	Blog	01/04/2023	243

Appendix F
Hyperlinked Content on Far Right Websites

Where two or more websites link to the same piece of content, the content is only listed once and the two or more websites appear in the same column titles "Link received from."

Table 1

Hyperlinked Content on Breitbart

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2A1	Refugee Resettlement Watch	85 Per Cent Of Sweden's Fatal Shooting Suspects Come From Foreign Backgrounds	Article	12/01/2022	466
2A2	Border Hawk	Biden's DHS Admits Many of the 85K Lost Migrant Children Released into U.S. Are Being Labor Trafficked	Article	30/03/2023	402
2A3	Border Hawk	Biden's Migrant Mobile App Helps Free Over 30,000 Foreign Nationals into U.S.	Article	31/03/2023	331
2A4	American Partisan	CDC Urges Travel Precautions amid Marburg Virus Outbreak	Article	02/04/2023	345
2A5	Unz	Clinton to Resettle One Million Muslim Migrants During First Term Alone	Article	14/07/2016	966
2A6	Vermont Folk Troth	Connecticut Democrats Seek to Create a Censorship Board to Limit Free Speech	Article	01/04/2023	477
2A7	Unz	'Credit Card Joe' Biden Sided with Top Donor to Make Bankruptcy Harder	Article	19/08/2019	1,311
2A8	Patrick Ryan Show	DeSantis Says 'War Criminal' Putin Should Be 'Held Accountable' Days After Saying Ukraine Not a 'Vital' U.S. Interest	Article	22/03/2023	879
2A9	Border Hawk	EXCLUSIVE March Southwest Border Migrant Apprehensions Jump to 161K After Two-Month Decline	Article	02/04/2023	520
2A10	Refugee Resettlement Watch	Former Child Bride Biden's Afghan Resettlement Certain to Bring 'Culture of Forced Marriage' to U.S.	Article	21/01/2022	523
2A11	Refugee Resettlement Watch	George W. Bush-Ted Kennedy Program Blew Open Door for Fake U.S. Refugee Claims from Iraq	Article	11/02/2022	332
2A12	Border Hawk	Georgia Blocks Plan to Open K-12 Grants to Illegals	Article	31/03/2023	853
2A13	Border Hawk	Illegal Alien Deported from U.S. After Serving Fewer than 10 Years for Killing 23-Year-Old Matthew Denice	Article	02/04/2023	385

2A14	American Partisan	Joe Biden Moves to Cut Medicare Advantage	Article	02/04/2023	388
2A15	Border Hawk	Man Kidnapped in Texas Home, Taken to Mexico by Cartel Gunmen, Remains Missing	Article	02/04/2023	417
2A16	New Nation News	Nolte: Four Transsexual Mass Shooters in Less than Five Years	Article	22/03/2023	748
2A17	Unz	Pope Francis The Horror of the Holocaust Must Never Be 'Denied'	Article	25/01/2023	515
2A18	American Partisan	Report Manhattan Judge to Put 'Gag Order' on Donald Trump	Report	02/04/2023	659
2A19	American Partisan	Researcher Twitter's Algorithm Reveals Government Intervention Tool	Article	02/04/2023	631
2A20	Border Hawk	Rwandan Migrant Who Allegedly Murdered Catholic Priest Sentenced To Four Years For French Cathedral Arson	Article	31/03/2023	494
2A21	Border Hawk	Swing State Democrats Silent as Biden Considers Border Policy They Opposed Under Trump	Article	02/04/2023	361
2A22	American Partisan	The New York Times Declines to Pay for Twitter Verification, Loses Its Checkmark	Article	02/04/2023	392
2A23	Border Hawk	Tom Cotton, Katie Britt Issue Plan to Ban Chinese Nationals and Companies from Buying American Land	Article	31/03/2023	669
2A24	Border Hawk	Twice-Deported Illegal Alien Accused of Fleeing Again to U.S. After Carrying Out Murder in Mexico	Article	31/03/2023	239
2A25	Refugee Resettlement Watch	World Economic Forum Predicts 200 Million 'Climate Refugees'	Article	14/01/2022	904

Table 2

Hyperlinked Content on Centre for Immigration Studies

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2B1	VDARE	Alejandro Mayorkas: A Portrait of the Intended Nominee for DHS Secretary	Article	30/11/2020	2,607
2B2	Normal American	High-Tech Speaks Out of Both Sides of Its Mouth on Labor Needs	Article	30/03/2023	600

2B3	Normal American	House Republicans Demand Hidden Statistics on Secretive Biden Border "CBP One" Admittance Program	Article	30/03/2023	261
2B4	Normal American	Mayorkas Redefines — but Still Fails to Comply With — the 'Operational Control' Mandate	Article	31/03/2023	1,216
2B5	Normal American	Mexican Migrant Shelter Deaths Underscore the Dangers of Illegal Immigration	Article	30/03/2023	1,389

Table 3

Hyperlinked Content on Info Wars

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2C1	David Irving	70 Per Cent of Berlin New Year's Eve Rioters Have Migrant Background	Article	06/01/2023	507
2C2	New Nation	CBS Execs Told Reporters Not To Say 'Transgender' In Nashville Shooter Reports	Article	31/03/2023	639
2C3	David Irving	EU Globalist Threatens Elon Musk With "Sanctions" If He Allows Free Speech on Twitter	Article	24/01/2023	468
2C4	David Irving	FBI Raid on Trump Designed to Stop Him Running in 2024	Article	09/08/2022	477
2C5	New Nation	Greta Thunberg Calls For "Overthrow of Whole Capitalist System"	Article	01/11/2022	618
2C6	David Irving	Israeli Banks Transferred $1 Billion Out of SVB Before Collapse	Article	14/03/2023	470
2C7	American Partisan	Jim Jordan Trump Indictment "Is About Going After Anyone Who Opposes The Left's Agenda, The Establishment's Agenda"	Article	03/04/2023	621
2C8	American Partisan	Leftists Meltdown After New York Times Loses Its Twitter Blue Tick	Article	03/04/2023	768
2C9	David Irving	Media Loses Confidence in Preferred Pronouns After Transgender Shooter Attacks Christian School	Article	28/03/2023	531

2C10	Dissent Watch	Nashville Event!! June 3rd4th With Owen Shroyer, Jay Dyer & So Many More!!!!	Advertisement	03/04/2023	215
2C11	Dissent Watch	'Party of Pedophiles' Marjorie Taylor Greene Takes Flamethrower to Democrat Groomers on '60 Minutes'	Article	03/04/2023	209
2C12	Dissent Watch	Shock Video 'Abandoned Migrant Child' Floats Down Rio Grande	Article	03/04/2023	390
2C13	Dissent Watch	The RESTRICT ACT (Anti-TikTok Law) is an Orwellian NIGHTMARE That Would Seize Web Domains & Imprison Americans for 20 Years If They Contradict the Regime	Article	03/04/2023	2,132
2C14	Dissent Watch	The RESTRICT Act Restricts More Than TikTok – Ron Paul	Article	03/04/2023	602
2C15	American Partisan	This Again	Article	03/04/2023	214
2C16	New Nation	Video: Angry Trans Mob Descends on Kentucky Capitol to Protest Child Trans Surgery Ban	Article	29/03/2023	643
2C17	American Partisan	Video: MSNBC Talking Head Says "Guns Are Our New Moloch"	Article	03/04/2023	538
2C18	David Irving	'We Just Don't Need the Vast Majority of the Population' – Top WEF Advisor Harari	Article	15/08/2022	901

Table 4

Hyperlinked Content on Lew Rockwell

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2D1	Unz	A Sea of Bile	Article	No date	1,570
2D2	American Partisan	Arrested for Running for Sheriff	Article	03/04/2023	1,298
2D3	American Partisan	Banana Time for the Rule of Law	Article	03/04/2023	770
2D4	Unz	Biden Reneged – Now Russian Army Will Talk	Article	31/12/2022	527
2D5	New Nation News	Censorship "Is The Cause Of Every Revolution In Human History"	Article	08/01/2018	233

2D6	American Partisan	Did They Light Up a Cigarette Afterward	Article	03/04/2023	985
2D7	American Partisan	History of US-NATO Military Campaigns (1991-2023)	Article	03/04/2023	2,797
2D8	American Partisan	How Jimmy Dore Broke Out of the Propaganda Matrix	Article	03/04/2023	2,380
2D9	American Partisan	Indicting Trump Is the End of US Politics	Article	03/04/2023	2,020
2D10	Normal American	No More Double Standards and Impunity. West Provokes Russia. Result Nukes in Belarus on NATO's Borders	Article	03/04/2023	1,348
2D11	Normal American	Our Guns Protect Us Against Tyranny	Article	03/04/2023	1,672
2D12	New Nation News	Somalis have Changed Minneapolis	Article	04/06/2019	368
2D13	American Partisan	The 2nd Amendment's Misconstrued 'Militia'	Article	03/04/2023	790
2D14	The Occidental Observer	The Capital of the Multipolar World A Moscow Diary	Article	01/04/2023	1,501
2D15	Patrick Ryan Show	The Plot To Control America	Article	27/03/2023	1,851
2D16	American Partisan	Total Narrative Collapse	Article	03/04/2023	1,573
2D17	New Nation News	Washington Has Destroyed Western Liberty	Article	27/04/2019	552
2D18	American Partisan	Wednesday at the Track Meet	Article	03/04/2023	498
2D19	New Nation News	White Peoples and Their Achievements Are Headed for the Tras[h] Bin of History	Article	29/05/2019	921
2D20	Unz	Why Do George Soros and Steve Bannon Agree That the CPC Must Be Destroyed	Article	06/03/2023	581

Table 5

Hyperlinked Content on News Punch

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count

2E1	Patrick Ryan Show	Biden's White House Brags Majority of Staff Are Black, Female or Transgender	Fake News Article	24/02/2023	306
2E2	FPP	Hungary Prepares To Prosecute 'Lifelong Nazi' George Soros For Holocaust Atrocities	Fake News Article	08/03/2023	341
2E3	New Nation News	MSNBC Reporter Quits; Admits Network Is 'CIA Propaganda'	Fake News Article	02/04/2019	1,867
2E4	Patrick Ryan Show	Study Reveals People With Low IQs 'Far More Likely' To Be 'Woke'	Fake News Article	24/03/2023	367
2E5	Patrick Ryan Show	USA Today Picks Biological Man As 'Woman of the Year' For Second Year Running	Fake News Article	23/03/2023	277
2E6	Patrick Ryan Show	WHO Moves Forward With Plans To Take Total Control of the Internet 'For the Benefit of Humanity'	Fake News Article	05/03/2023	835

Table 6

Hyperlinked Content on Paul Craig Roberts

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2F1	New Nation News	A Conversation on Race — Paul Craig Roberts	Article	18/04/2018	2,975
2F2	New Nation News	Are White People Too Stupid To Survive	Article	11/07/2019	578
2F3	David Irving	Can China Be Suckered Like Putin	Article	24/02/2023	213
2F4	Normal American	Case Against Trump Is a Legal Disgrace	Article	02/04/2023	83
2F5	Unz	Does America Have a Future	Article	30/03/2023	696
2F6	Unz	For Decades I Have Explained that Watergate Was a CIA Scheme to Remove President Nixon from Office	Article	27/03/2023	204
2F7	Normal American	Showpiece of Democrats' Insurrection Show Trials Suddenly Released from Prison	Article	02/04/2023	640
2F8	Normal American	So far, the Republican Party's response to the indictment of President Trump is to use the event for fundraising.	Article	02/04/2023	262

2F9	Normal American	Steven Miller and Tucker Carlson Confirm What I Have Said Is the Reason for the Attacks on Trump	Article	02/04/2023	44
2F10	Patrick Ryan Show	The Replacement of White People Continues With Remake of Peter Pan	Article	09/03/2023	857
2F11	New Nation News	The Russiagate Stakes Are Extreme	Article	25/01/2018	1,006
2F12	Patrick Ryan Show	Twenty years ago today Rachel Corrie, a 23 year old American woman was murdered by a Nazified Israeli soldier for protesting the demolition of a Palestinian's home	Article	16/03/2023	133
2F13	Patrick Ryan Show	Western Civilization Is in Its Death Throes	Article	20/02/2023	741
2F14	New Nation News	Why Are We In Afghanistan	Article	17/02/2018	2,930
2F15	David Irving	Will the United States Exist After November	Article	12/08/2022	957

Table 7

Hyperlinked Content on Taki Mag

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2G1	Maggies Farm	Diversity Training Disaster	Article	22/03/2023	706
2G2	Unz	Seeds of Discontent	Article	29/03/2023	1,156
2G3	Scott Locklin	The Myth of Technological Progress	Article	30/08/2009	2,020

Table 8

Hyperlinked Content on Townhall

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2H1	Refugee Resettlement Watch	There's Nothing Compassionate About an Eight-Fold Surge in Refugee Admissions	Article	06/01/2022	985

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2H2	Barely a Blog	UniParty Aligned With Greedy Developers and Multinationals Against the Homeless	Article	31/03/2023	1,246

Table 9

Content on Western Rifle Shooters Association

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2H1	Normal American	Always Look On The Bright Side Of Life – 2023 Edition	Screenshot and meme	02/04/2023	169
2H2	Cold Fury	For Your Hometown Celebration Of Gropey Joe's Big Steal	Parody election posters	16/01/2021	28
2H3	The Feral Irishman	Luongo: Indicting Trump Is The End Of US Politics	Screenshot and text	02/04/2023	106
2H4	Normal American	Muir Sends	Comic	02/04/2023	131
2H5	Cold Fury	PSA	Quote	30/03/2023	99
2H6	The Tactical Hermit	Sunday Edition	Memes and text	01/04/2023	536

Table 10

Hyperlinked Content on Zero Hedge

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
2M1	Dissent Watch	Bitcoin Ordinals Daily Inscriptions Surge Due To "BRC-20 Tokens"	Article	03/04/2023	520
2M2	Unz	BlackRock's Fink Says Ukraine Invasion Accelerates ESG and Digital Currencies Shift	Article	24/03/2022	632
2M3	New Nation News, Western Rifle Shooters US	Bombshell Vax Analysis Finds $147 Billion In Economic Damage, Tens Of Millions Injured Or Disabled	Article	28/03/2023	413
2M4	Dissent Watch	Bullard Admits OPEC Cuts May "Make [Fed's] Job A little More Difficult"	Article	03/04/2023	504

2M5	Maggies Farm	Doug Casey On How Governments Use Global Crises To Take More Control	Article	01/04/2023	1,801
2M6	Maggies Farm	Eminent Oxford Scientist Says Wind Power "Fails On Every Count"	Article	26/03/2023	809
2M7	Maggies Farm	EU Members Clash Over Nuclear Energy's Role In Climate Policy	Article	28/03/2023	544
2M8	American Partisan	Federal Judge Blocks Tennessee Law Banning Drag Shows With Minors Present	Article	03/04/2023	616
2M9	Natural News	Former UK Defense Minister Says NATO May Need To Send Ground Forces To Ukraine	Article	01/02/2023	286
2M10	Maggies Farm	Iran-Backed & US Occupation Forces Currently Battling In Eastern Syria, Reports Of Casualties	Article	25/03/2023	1,184
2M11	Border Hawk	Is Japan's Population Really Going To Fall By A Third	Article	29/03/2023	597
2M12	Maggies Farm	Jeffrey Sachs: What Ukraine Needs To Learn From Afghanistan	Article	29/03/2023	1,034
2M13	Dissent Watch	Key Events This Week Good Friday Payrolls, JOLTS, ISM And Even More Fed Speakers	Article	03/04/2023	1,870
2M14	American Partisan	Leaks From Bragg's Grand Jury Are A Crime	Article	03/04/2023	685
2M15	Western Rifle Shooters US	Luongo: Indicting Trump Is The End Of US Politics	Article	02/04/2023	2,028
2M16	Maggies Farm	Manhattan Assistant DA Nukes Twitter Account After Anti-Trump Bias Exposed	Article	01/04/2023	472
2M17	American Partisan	Manhattan Office Vacancy Hits Record As Marquee LA Office Tower Sells At 50% Loss	Article	03/04/2023	933
2M18	Dissent Watch	Musk Kills New York Times' Gold 'Verified' Check Mark	Article	03/04/2023	573
2M19	Unz	Second Cache Of Classified Biden Documents Found At Different Location	Article	11/01/2023	351
2M20	Unz	Simon Black The Unraveling Can Happen In An Instant	Article	13/03/2023	1,869
2M21	Patrick Ryan Show, New Nation News	Something Very Dramatic Has Changed Matt Taibbi Says Democrats Ditched Free Speech	Article	28/03/2023	384

2M22	New Nation News	Sweden Did Exceptionally Well During The COVID-19 Pandemic	Article	31/03/2023	2,027
2M23	American Partisan	The Big DEI Gulf On Campus It's Much More Than He Said Ze Said	Article	03/04/2023	1,620
2M24	Dissent Watch	The Looming Reckoning For COVID Tyrants	Article	15/03/2023	1,752
2M25	Dissent Watch	Twitter Algorithm Reveals Tool For Government Intervention	Article	03/04/2023	467
2M26	Unz	UK Sending Depleted Uranium Shells To Ukraine Tantamount To Using 'Dirty Bomb' Kremlin	Article	21/03/2023	459
2M27	American Partisan	Wagner Raises Russian Flag In Center Of Bakhmut, But Fighting Still Rages	Article	03/04/2023	460
2M28	Maggies Farm	"WTF Is Wrong With You": Columbia Center & Law Students Protest Meeting With Justice Kavanaugh	Article	30/03/2023	1,118

Appendix G
Hyperlinked Content on Mainstream News Websites

Where two or more websites link to the same piece of content, the content is only listed once and the two or more websites appear in the same column titles "Link received from."

Table 1

Hyperlinked Content on Al Jazeera

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3A1	Europe Renaissance	A harrowing walk to school for Palestinian children	Article	11/03/2016	985
3A2	Patrick Ryan Show	Abolishing whiteness has never been more urgent	Article	17/11/2019	1,772
3A3	Anti War	Algerian journalist Ihsane El Kadi sentenced to five years	Article	02/04/2023	322
3A4	Unz	All you need to know about the ICC's arrest warrant for Putin	Explainer	17/03/2023	811
3A5	WND Information Clearing House	Australia, US and UK unveil AUKUS nuclear submarine plans	Article	13/03/2023	1,164
3A6	American Partisan	Australian school principal Malka Leifer guilty of sexual abuse	Article	03/04/2023	461
3A7	Anti War	Burkina Faso expels two journalists working for French newspapers	Article	02/04/2023	502
3A8	Unz	China restricts trade with Taiwan amid tensions over Pelosi trip	Article	03/08/2022	773
3A9	Unz	Coronavirus kills Iran religious leader as death toll jumps again	Article	16/03/2020	920
3A10	American Partisan	Egypt's el-Sisi visits Saudi Arabia amid financial pressure	Article	03/04/2023	626
3A11	FPP	Iran says it foiled Israel-linked attacks on 'sensitive' sites	Article	23/07/2022	395
3A12	Anti War	Iraq, KRG reach deal to resume oil exports: Kurdish official	Article	02/04/2023	517
3A13	Anti War	Israeli cabinet approves funds for national guard under Ben-Gvir	Article	02/04/2023	778
3A14	New Nation News	JPMorgan CEO Jamie Dimon to be deposed in Epstein case	Article	29/03/2023	386

3A15	American Partisan	Malaysian Parliament moves to end mandatory death penalty	Article	03/04/2023	388
3A16	Graham Hancock	Medieval Swahilis had African and Asian ancestry: DNA study	Article	29/03/2023	562
3A17	American Partisan	'More freedom': Why a Cameroonian man returned to Ukraine	Article	03/04/2023	1,939
3A18	Anti War	Pakistan army says 4 soldiers killed in attack near Iran border	Article	01/04/2023	307
3A19	Anti War	Palestinians in Gaza condemn Israeli occupation on Land Day	Article	31/03/2023	854
3A20	FPP	Russia says British forces blew up Nord Stream; UK denies claim	Article	29/10/2022	656
3A21	Anti War	Russia, Belarus celebrate 'unity' as war grinds on in Ukraine	Article	02/04/2023	1,355
3A22	Anti War	Sudan factions delay post-coup deal on civilian rule	Article	01/04/2023	552
3A23	Anti War	Taiwan says Chinese jets carried out 'combat readiness' patrols	Article	01/04/2023	448
3A24	Anti War	Three UK citizens held in Taliban custody in Afghanistan	Article	02/04/2023	427
3A25	American Partisan	Timeline: Long road to Northern Ireland's Good Friday Agreement	Timeline	03/04/2023	814
3A26	Anti War	Ukraine decries 'symbolic blow' as Russia assumes UN presidency	Article	01/04/2023	820

Table 2

Hyperlinked Content on Associated Press

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3B1	Anti War	Alaska Natives rescued Navy crew in 1955. Their medals have arrived		01/04/2023	1,252
3B2	Anti War	Chaplains made part of Ukraine's military as war drags on		01/04/2023	419
3B3	Unz	Extreme Israeli group takes root in US with fundraising bid		24/01/2023	1,132
3B4	Anti War	Finland's center-right party claims win amid tight election		02/04/2023	582
3B5	Pew Research	Georgia again certifies election results showing Biden won		08/12/2020	898

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Date	Word Count
3B6	American Greatness	Iran, Saudi Arabia agree to resume ties, with China's help	10/03/2023	998
3B7	Anti War	Israel dismisses envoy who criticized judicial overhaul plan	02/04/2023	188
3B8	Anti War	Japan protests China's detention of citizen, maritime action	02/04/2023	778
3B9	Unz	Judge in Montana orders arrest of neo-Nazi website founder	09/11/2022	443
3B10	Europe Renaissance	Palestinians mourn boy who died 'of fear' of Israeli troops	30/09/2022	992
3B11	Anti War	Pandemic pounds push 10,000 U.S. Army soldiers into obesity	02/04/2023	1,127
3B12	Anti War	Presidents of Taiwan, Guatemala visit Mayan pyramid	01/04/2023	378
3B13	Anti War	Saudis, other oil giants announce surprise production cuts	02/04/2023	1,008
3B14	Gene Expression	Seattle considers historic law barring caste discrimination	20/02/2023	1,871
3B15	Anti War	Small areas reopen near Fukushima nuclear plant, few return	01/04/2023	516
3B16	Anti War	Taiwan leader scrambles for allies in Central America visit	01/04/2023	819
3B17	Why Evolution is True	Taliban close women-run Afghan station for playing music	01/04/2023	309

Table 3

Content on CNN

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3C1	Why Evolution is True	A one-eyed rescue cat is the newest Cadbury Bunny and the first feline to hold the role		27/03/2023	396
3C2	Why Evolution is True	After a steep fall, used car prices poised to rise again		18/02/2023	895
3C3	Why Evolution is True	An Ohio therapy dog is this year's Cadbury Bunny		02/04/2022	354
3C4	Yuri Bezmenov	Asian Americans are anxious about hate crimes. TikTok ban rhetoric isn't helping		26/03/2023	2,294

3C5	Unz	Beirut Marine Barracks Bombing Fast Facts	12/06/2013	448
3C6	Nicholas Stix Uncensored	DeSantis proposes a new civilian military force in Florida that he would control	03/12/2021	730
3C7	Nicholas Stix Uncensored	How gay couples in TV commercials became a mainstream phenomenon	20/12/2019	1,250
3C8	The Hebrew Conservative	Israel's democracy on the brink amid supreme court showdown with Netanyahu	20/01/2023	1,643
3C9	FPP	Israel's Prime Minister makes rare allusion to country's nuclear weapons arsenal	02/08/2022	306
3C10	Arthur Kemp	Most Georgia voters say Senate runoff elections conducted fairly, CNN exit poll shows	06/01/2021	1,058
3C11	Unz	New studies agree that animals sold at Wuhan market are most likely what started Covid-19 pandemic	26/07/2022	928
3C12	FPP	New York museums are now required to disclose artwork looted by Nazis	21/08/2022	807
3C13	New Nation News	NFL stars continue protests and remain defiant	02/10/2017	974
3C14	Unz	Russian spying in Europe dealt 'significant blow' since Ukraine war, MI5 chief says	16/11/2022	535
3C15	Unz	Situation in the eastern Ukrainian town of Soledar is "critical," soldier tells CNN	10/01/2023	6,885
3C16	Unz	State Department singles out Russian troll farm while offering $10 million for information on election interference	28/07/2022	411
3C17	National Vanguard	Tech CEO to Donald Trump: 'Your campaign is un-American'	17/07/2016	664
3C18	Economic Policy Institute	The economy is recovering fast. But we need to ensure it works for everyone	03/03/2023	950
3C19	Why Evolution is True	The Fed's favorite inflation measure cooled in February	31/03/2023	1,246

3C20	Why Evolution is True	This is one of the worst times to buy a car in decades. Here's why		02/04/2023	627
3C21	Nicholas Stix Uncensored	Understanding and supporting the transgender community	Informer	01/06/2023	937
3C22	Unz	US declares Russia has committed crimes against humanity in Ukraine		13/02/2023	1,341
3C23	FPP	Wall Street Journal reporter arrested in Russia on spying charges		30/03/2023	1,723

Table 4

Hyperlinked Content on Daily Mail

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3D1	Patrick Ryan Show	Berlin was a liberal hotbed of homosexuality and a mecca for cross dressers and transsexuals where the first male-to-female surgery was performed - until the Nazis came to power, new book reveals	Article	25/11/2014	1,626
3D2	FPP	BLM leader is accused of pilfering $10M from the organization by local chapters who say he used it like 'personal piggy bank' in explosive lawsuit	Article	03/09/2022	870
3D3	Maggie's Farm	California reparations hearing descends into chaos as activist blares out James Brown, another tells absent reparations tsar to 'stay in Africa' with Kamala Harris - and a third screams 'we're not asking for money, it's ours!'	Article	30/03/2023	1,457
3D4	New Nation News	Church of England primary school headteacher sparks online ridicule after claiming evolution is only a theory and there is 'more evidence' the Bible is true	Article	02/02/2016	899
3D5	New Nation	Cops share snap of school door Nashville shooter blasted to gain entry and car she drove to scene with plans inside, as it's revealed murdered head of school worked there alongside her daughter	Article	27/03/2023	2,271
3D6	Unz	Covid leaked from an AMERICAN lab and not the notorious Chinese facility at centre of pandemic cover-up, claims top US professor described as 'Xi propagandist'	Article	04/07/2022	1,461

3D7	Unz	Did Covid emerge in notorious wet market after all? Scientists claim they've traced original infection back to Wuhan's 'ground zero' - in discovery that challenges lab leak hypothesis	Article	28/07/2022	2,780
3D8	enVolve	EXCLUSIVE: 'Trump will NOT be arraigned this week.' Former president is expected to be indicted tomorrow and Secret Service will make plans for his surrender and appearance in New York court NEXT WEEK	Article	21/03/2023	1,549
3D9	National Vanguard	Family of Utah law student, 25, say they found out from NEWS REPORTS that he'd been shot dead by cops 'after becoming non-compliant during traffic stop because his BMW didn't have license plate'	Article	03/03/2023	891
3D10	Refugee Resettlement Watch	Grinning Iranian husband carries the severed head of his 17-year-old wife through the streets after decapitating her in 'honour killing': Girl murdered after her father and brother dragged her back from Turkey where she'd fled	Article	08/02/2022	1,000
3D11	Patrick Ryan Show	Hulking 6'6" boy, 17, who 'viciously beat his teaching aide unconscious' is held on $1 MILLION bond, will be charged as an adult and faces up to 30 years in prison - after being arrested THREE times for battery in 2019	Article	28/02/2023	1,045
3D12	Anti War	Inflation at 50-year high in crisis-hit Pakistan	Article	01/04/2023	312
3D13	Maggie's Farm	Inside the controversial rise of 'theybies' as parents allow young children to CHOOSE their own gender - with the trend slammed as a 'scary experiment'	Article	31/03/2023	819
3D14	FPP	Israeli firm dubbed 'Team Jorge' 'meddled in more than 30 elections around the world through hacking, sabotage and disinformation with "black ops" service fronted by ex special forces operative'	Article	15/02/2023	789
3D15	FPP	Jewish woman who grew up in the same block as Adolf Hitler in 1920s Munich before fleeing to England two DAYS before the outbreak of war dies aged 103	Article	02/09/2022	727

3D16	Anti War	Kenyan opposition leader calls off anti-government protests	Article	02/04/2023	567
3D17	Patrick Ryan Show	Massachusetts school faces federal investigation for 'racial segregation' after barring white students from auditioning for school play	Article	05/03/2023	825
3D18	Unz	More evidence Covid was tinkered with in a lab? Now scientists find virus contains tiny chunk of DNA that matches sequence patented by Moderna THREE YEARS before pandemic began	Article	23/02/2023	2,160
3D19	Nicholas Stix Uncensored	Now the U.S. Army? Force puts out call for soldiers in a woke recruitment ad featuring lesbians at a gay wedding and an LGBTQ pride march after CIA's 'cisgender millennial with anxiety disorder' campaign was panned	Article	13/05/2023	1,516
3D20	VDARE	Press secretary for Arizona Dem Governor Katie Hobbs is slammed for saying she wants to SHOOT transphobes, hours after trans killer massacred three children, two teachers and custodian at Nashville school	Article	29/03/2023	1,097
3D21	FPP	Prince Charles agreed to take £1million from the family of 9/11 mastermind Osama Bin Laden for his charity despite objections from advisers	Article	30/07/2022	1,149
3D22	Unz	Putin is accused of sending a DOUBLE to Mariupol: Ukraine says Putin's CHIN is a giveaway after Russian leader's visit to occupied territory	Article	20/03/2023	824
3D23	The Real News	Russia says it will consider the deployment of German Leopard 2 tanks as the use of a nuclear 'dirty bomb' if they use shells containing uranium core	Article	26/01/2023	2,018
3D24	Anti War	S.Sudanese troops join regional force in east DR Congo	Article	02/04/2023	616
3D25	Anti War	Spain PM urges Xi to hold talks with Ukraine's Zelensky	Article	31/03/2023	262
3D26	FPP	Spooks infiltrate Silicon Valley: Facebook is riddled with ex-CIA agents – including President's briefer who now runs 'harmful content' team – so many ex-FBI work at Twitter they have Slack channel and Google is rife with ex-CIA	Article	22/12/2022	7,142

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3D27	Patrick Ryan Show	St Louis rapper Woozy the Goat is accused of murdering his grandparents, then walking into psych ward covered in blood after claiming he was God who wanted to kill	Article	23/03/2023	991
3D28	Maggie's Farm	Superintendent claims his $150K-a-year job offer at new school board was abruptly canceled because he addressed committee members as 'ladies' in an email - which was a microaggression	Article	02/04/2023	794
3D29	New Nation News	The death rate among white Americans now outstrips the birth rate in a third of states	Article	30/11/2016	1,373
3D30	Arthur Kemp	The English village that's not very English at all! How residents in a Cotswolds community have DNA from 18 different parts of the world despite 95% saying their heritage is white British	Article	10/08/2017	1,029
3D31	OpEd News	The New York Nazis: U-boats landed saboteurs on the U.S. coast	Article	10/09/2010	603
3D32	FPP	The ultimate betrayal: How abdicated Edward VIII helped the Nazis bomb Buckingham Palace at the height of the Blitz by passing 'inside information' to the Germans, royal archives reveal	Article	27/03/2023	1,048
3D33	Libertarian Institute	UN says 2022 deadliest in Somalia since 2017	Article	22/02/2023	448

Table 5

Hyperlinked Content on Fox News

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3E1	New Nation News	Arizona border patrol agent shoots and kills Mexican migrant on US side of the border		23/02/2022	401
3E2	VDARE	Biden says transgender people 'shape our nation's soul' in official proclamation		31/03/2023	444
3E3	New Nation	Body of Florida boy, 2, found in mouth of alligator after desperate search; father charged with murder		01/04/2023	622

3E4	New Nation	Border agents find 58 migrants crammed in Penske truck in alleged human smuggling	01/04/2023	581
3E5	The Feral Irishman	Dem state senator blasted as a 'groomer,' 'depraved' for boasting support of drag queen event for minors	28/01/2023	693
3E6	Borderhawk News	DeSantis trolls Trump, says US needs to 'finally' build border wall	30/03/2023	621
3E7	New Nation	Florida police officer thrown into air after being struck by driver of stolen Mercedes	23/03/2023	528
3E8	American Greatness	Former Black Panther Angela Davis shocked to learn she is a descendant of the Mayflower	23/02/2023	658
3E9	New Nation	Garland: Too early to say if Nashville school shooting was a hate crime	28/03/2023	568
3E10	Station Gossip	George Soros-funded DAs represent 20% of Americans after $40M was funneled into races, report finds	24/01/2023	808
3E11	Borderhawk News	JD Vance bill would make English the official language of the United States	30/03/2023	625
3E12	Refugee Resettlement Watch	Leaked video shows federal contractors flying migrants to suburban NY: 'Betraying the American people'	27/01/2022	1,306
3E13	New Nation	Los Angeles police officers sue anti-cop website owner over alleged 'bounty' after photo, info release	25/03/2023	810
3E14	The Feral Irishman	Marjorie Taylor Greene stuns '60 Minutes' host Lesley Stahl with 'pedophiles' attack on Democrats: 'Wow'	03/04/2023	663
3E15	New Nation	Massachusetts woman gets up to 7 years for infant niece's fatal beating	30/03/2023	265
3E16	Bayou Renaissance Man	Parents push to recall Oregon school board after reports of 'disgusting' sexual games, explicit book	30/03/2023	1,603
3E17	FPP	Republican National Committee condemns Kanye West, Nick Fuentes with resolution against antisemitism	27/01/2023	415
3E18	Refugee Resettlement Watch	Republicans push State Dept. on loans to refugees, warn resettlement orgs have 'vested financial interest'	14/01/2022	795

Source Code		Title	Date	Word Count
3E19	Borderhawk News	Texas illegal immigrant stash house found with shrine to cartel 'Santa Muerte' saint inside	28/03/2023	415
3E20	Cold Fury	Trump indicted after Manhattan DA probe for hush money payments	30/03/2023	1,497
3E21	Amerika	When Obama speaks about ethics and morality here's what I would ask	07/04/2016	708
3E22	LifeSite	Whistleblowers: FBI targeted parents via terrorism tools despite Garland's testimony that it didn't happen	11/05/2022	742

Table 6

Hyperlinked Content on The Guardian

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3F1	Unz	Arnold Schwarzenegger calls antisemites losers who will die miserably		07/03/2023	553
3F2	FPP	Backlash after Georgia school's new logo resembles Nazi symbol		20/07/2022	700
3F3	National Vanguard	Donald Trump's achilles heel is that he is truly un-American		12/08/2016	1,128
3F4	Unz	Gangster's paradise: how organised crime took over Russia		23/03/2018	3,859
3F5	FPP	Hero or hoax? The man who broke into Auschwitz – or maybe didn't		01/05/2022	980
3F6	Arthur Kemp	How Black voters lifted Georgia Democrats to Senate runoff victories		07/01/2021	868
3F7	Unz	I once ran Human Rights Watch. Harvard blocked my fellowship over Israel		10/01/2023	1,112
3F8	FPP	ICC judges issue arrest warrant for Vladimir Putin over alleged war crimes		17/03/2023	1,109
3F9	FPP	Investigative reporter Jeff German stabbed to death in Las Vegas		04/09/2022	531
3F10	FPP	Italian princess, conspiracy theorists and Steven Seagal: meet Russia's friends overseas		13/03/2023	832
3F11	FPP	Jewish group and MPs urge GB News to stop indulging conspiracy theories		08/02/2023	734
3F12	The Occidental Observer	Life after carbuncles		17/05/2004	1,312

3F13	Unz	Man who claimed to have escaped Auschwitz admits he lied for years	24/01/2016	755
3F14	FPP	'Marxists are retards'	01/11/2002	1,159
3F15	Pumpkin Person	Psychology's 'registration revolution'	20/05/2014	1,493
3F16	FPP	Putin says Russia 'will respond' if UK supplies depleted uranium shells to Ukraine	21/03/2023	689
3F17	FPP	Queensland to ban Nazi swastika tattoos as part of crackdown on hate symbols	15/03/2023	743
3F18	FPP	Spanish Catholic church to investigate antisemitic rituals	11/08/2022	428
3F19	FPP	Suella Braverman tells Holocaust survivor she will not apologise for 'invasion' rhetoric	14/01/2023	841
3F20	Yuri Beznemov	The Cultural Revolution: all you need to know about China's political convulsion	11/05/2016	2,121
3F21	FPP	'The power we had was astonishing': ex-soldiers on Israel's government in the occupied territories	01/08/2022	970
3F22	Unz	Trump shocks allies and advisers with plan to pull US troops out of Syria	20/01/2018	1,140

Table 7

Content on New York Post

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3G1	New Nation News	Accused Burger King killer Winston Glynn compares himself to Jesus and Mandela		26/11/2022	953
3G2	New Nation News	Actor Jonathan Majors arrested in NYC for allegedly choking woman		25/03/2023	350
3G3	New Nation News	Alleged migrant smuggler hit 105 mph in cop getaway before fatal horror crash: video		28/03/2023	705
3G4	FPP	American arrested for vandalizing church: Israeli police		02/02/2023	364
3G5	New Nation News	Armed robbers stabbed woman in NYC home, stole safe holding $160K		30/03/2023	230
3G6	Maggie's Farm	Audubon-NYC's name change is cowardly way to avoid facing its heritage		26/03/2023	309

3G7	New Nation News	Boy, 12, stabs classmate, 13, at Long Island school: cops	28/03/2023	330
3G8	FPP	Bryan Christopher Kohberger arrested in brutal murders of four University of Idaho students	30/12/2022	842
3G9	New Nation	California school district meeting breaks out in chaos over 'anti-CRT' criticism	23/03/2023	487
3G10	New Nation News Forum	Con man scammed investors over $100K at swanky Manhattan parties	06/01/2019	543
3G11	New Nation News	Drag racer speeding 100 mph kills Nashville dad on way to daughter's game: cops	10/03/2023	370
3G12	New Nation	Everything we know about transgender Nashville school shooter Audrey Hale: 'Investigating all leads'	27/03/2023	853
3G13	Patrick Ryan Show	Gary Bettman hints at NHL reconsidering Pride Nights	29/03/2023	328
3G14	New Nation News	Houston woman says squatters took over her second home with fake lease: report	28/03/2023	436
3G15	FPP	How Germany is prosecuting its final Nazis —now in their 90s or older	06/08/2022	1,752
3G16	New Nation News	How college students today go against everything universities stand for	31/08/2019	1,489
3G17	New Nation	ISIS recruiter and marriage fixer Shaikh Abdullah Faisal sentenced to 18 years in prison	23/03/2023	461
3G18	Unz	John Bolton talks 2024 White House run, says Trump support in 'terminal decline'	06/01/2023	531
3G19	New Nation News	Lawrence Anderson gets life for killing uncle, 4-year-old and woman whose heart he cut out and cooked	17/03/2023	366
3G20	Information Processing	'Luxury beliefs' are the latest status symbol for rich Americans	17/08/2019	965
3G21	New Nation News	Man busted for assault of off-duty NYPD sergeant in Manhattan	01/04/2023	239
3G22	Patrick Ryan Show	Mets '20-game' packages are really for 16 games	01/04/2023	460
3G23	New Nation News	MMA fighter allegedly stabbed ex 17 times, stuffed body in closet	19/02/2023	506
3G24	New Nation	Nashville school shooter Audrey Hale identified as transgender and had detailed manifesto to attack Christian academy	27/03/2023	761

3G25	New Nation News	Nashville school shooter Audrey Hale's chilling final messages to pal revealed: 'I'm planning to die'	28/03/2023	668
3G26	FPP	Nazi protesters show up outside young conservatives meeting in Florida	24/07/2022	406
3G27	FPP	NY mother and daughter ran credit card charge scam to fund lavish lifestyle: indictment	29/08/2022	649
3G28	New Nation	NYC Audubon Society changing name due to 'white supremacy' legacy	22/03/2023	894
3G29	New Nation News Forum	NYC man threatens to jump from high-rise window after FBI brings search warrant	22/03/2023	922
3G30	New Nation	NYC teachers union hosting seminar on 'harmful effects of whiteness'	25/03/2023	571
3G31	Nichloas Stix Uncensored	NYC teachers union's workshop on 'harmful effects of whiteness' canceled after influx of 'hate'	27/03/2023	550
3G32	New Nation News	NYC woman charged in anti-Asian subway attack also set fatal fire later that same day: police	28/03/2023	543
3G33	New Nation News	NYPD searching for armed rapper 'Famous Richard,' wanted for trying to take cops' guns	01/04/2023	752
3G34	New Nation News	Police ID three suspects wanted for fatally drugging men at NYC gay bars	31/03/2023	528
3G35	New Nation	Police shoot at armed suspect who was menacing brother with gun in East Village	24/03/2023	323
3G36	Maggie's Farm	Pols, teachers unions aim to scrap tests to hide huge learning loss	30/03/2023	801
3G37	New Nation News	Professor suspended after saying it would be 'more admirable to kill' racist speaker than protest	28/03/2023	281
3G38	New Nation News Forum	Radical cleric held without bail in Manhattan for 'trying to recruit NYPD cop'	14/08/2020	397
3G39	New Nation News Forum	Radical Islamic cleric Shaikh Abdullah Faisal stands trial for trying to recruit 'NYPD cop' to ISIS	28/11/2022	614
3G40	New Nation News Forum	Radical Muslim leader convicted of recruiting ISIS supporters	26/01/2023	517
3G41	New Nation News	Slain Burger King victim Kristal Bayron-Nieves mourned as 'happy, genuine soul'	18/01/2022	389

3G42	Maggie's Farm	Social contagion is making teen girls depressed — and trans	27/03/2023	722
3G43	New Nation News	Texas death row inmate who cut out eyes, ate one seeks clemency	18/02/2023	889
3G44	Yuri Bezmonov	The list of bogus 'hate crimes' in Trump era is long	21/02/2019	1,194
3G45	New Nation News	Three dead, two hurt in NYC mayhem	01/04/2023	306
3G46	Maggie's Farm	Trump's bizarre behavior a gift to the left just as public opinion was turning on Bragg	25/03/2023	1,274
3G47	New Nation News Forum	Video shows NYPD scale building to end 8-hour standoff with attempted jumper	22/03/2023	423
3G48	New Nation News	Video shows moment California doctor run over, then stabbed by man 'muttering about white privilege'	03/02/2023	604
3G49	Nichloas Stix Uncensored	'White privilege' survey posted in mostly minority school in Manhattan	23/06/2019	557

Table 8

Hyperlinked Content on New York Times

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3H1	Unz	A Global Bank Tangle And Its Lost Millions	Article	09/04/1975	3,470
3H2	Unz	A Place of Sanctuary Is Punctured by the Reality of Gun Violence in America	Article	28/03/2023	1,859
3H3	Christogenea	Adding Up the Government's Total Bailout Tab	Short piece	24/07/2011	91
3H4	Unz	After 69 years of silence, lynching victim is cleared	Article	08/03/1982	1,337
3H5	FPP	Allan A. Ryan, Dogged Pursuer of Nazi Collaborators, Dies at 77	Article	01/02/2023	1,369
3H6	FPP	America Is In Over Its Head	Article	02/03/2023	1,128
3H7	Unz	Before Virus Outbreak, a Cascade of Warnings Went Unheeded	Article	19/03/2020	2,952
3H8	Unz	Biden and Xi Conduct Marathon Call During Time of Rising Tensions	Article	28/07/2022	1,470

3H9	CIS	Biden Nominates Cuban-Born Lawyer to Lead Homeland Security Dept.	Article	23/11/2020	1,228
3H10	Unz	Biden Pledges to Defend Taiwan if It Faces a Chinese Attack	Article	23/05/2022	1,655
3H11	Unz	Biden Vows 'Consequences' for Saudi Arabia After Oil Production Cut	Article	11/10/2022	1,848
3H12	Darwinian Conservatism	Centuries of Stargazing Leave Jesuit Names Written in the Heavens	Article	22/03/2023	1,519
3H13	Unz	China Spins Tale That the U.S. Army Started the Coronavirus Epidemic	Article	13/03/2020	1,529
3H14	Gene Expression	China's Cities Are Buried in Debt, but They Keep Shoveling It On	Article	28/03/2023	1,606
3H15	Nicholas Stix Uncensored	DeSantis says Florida wouldn't aid Trump's extradition to New York.	Article	30/03/2023	424
3H16	Why Evolution Is True	Donald Trump's Time-Tested Legal Strategy: Attack and Delay	Article	01/04/2023	1,464
3H17	Gene Expression	Dr. Fauci Could Have Said a Lot More	Article	28/03/2023	2,541
3H18	Nicholas Stix Uncensored	Explaining the Ties Between Alvin Bragg and George Soros	Article	23/03/2023	887
3H19	Unz	Fear of an A.I. Pundit	Article	31/03/2023	1,547
3H20	Unz	Full Transcript of Zelensky's Speech Before Congress	Article	21/12/2022	2,035
3H21	Unz	Harvard Reverses Course on Human Rights Advocate Who Criticized Israel	Article	19/01/2023	1,840
3H22	FPP (Website updated, now Focal Point Publications, previously David Irving?)	He Lost a Courbet Fleeing the Nazis. His Heirs Are Getting it Back.	Article	28/03/2023	1,036
3H23	Unz	Intelligence Review Yields No Firm Conclusion on Origins of Virus	Article	27/08/2021	748
3H24	Unz	Intelligence Suggests Pro-Ukrainian Group Sabotaged Pipelines, U.S. Officials Say	Article	07/03/2023	2,186

3H25	PJ Media	Jan. 6 Defendant Known as QAnon Shaman Sentenced to 41 Months	Article	17/11/2021	1,249
3H26	Unz	Janet Yellen in Kyiv: Economic Aid to Ukraine Is Vital	Article	27/02/2023	1,180
3H27	Survival Blog	Low Rates Were Meant to Last. Without Them, Finance Is In for a Rough Ride.	Article	16/03/2023	1,629
3H28	Pumpkin Person	Neanderthals May Have Had Gene for Speech	Article	18/10/2007	1,455
3H29	Unz	New Research Points to Wuhan Market as Pandemic Origin	Article	27/02/2022	1,917
3H30	Unz	Origin of Virus May Remain Murky, U.S. Intelligence Agencies Say	Article	29/10/2021	1,029
3H31	Unz	Pentagon Blocks Sharing Evidence of Possible Russian War Crimes With Hague Court	Article	08/03/2023	1,522
3H32	Unz	'Recipe for a Massive Viral Outbreak': Iran Emerges as a Worldwide Threat	Article	24/02/2020	2,059
3H33	Unz	Review: A Pageant of Love and Antisemitism, in 'Parade'	Article	16/032023	1,347
3H34	Unz	Russia Launches a Wave of Iranian-Made Drones at Kyiv After a Lull	Article	14/12/2022	1,830
3H35	Unz	Silicon Valley Bank Fails After Run by Venture Capital Customers	Article	10/03/2023	184
3H36	VDARE	Targeting Biden's Immigration Policies, Republicans Attack Mayorkas	Article	28/03/2023	918
3H37	VDARE	'The Capitol Insurrection Was as Christian Nationalist as It Gets.'	Article	28/01/2021	2,969
3H38	Gene Expression	The Last Days of Beckett's, a Smoky New York Literary Salon	Article	01/04/2023	2,501
3H39	Unz	The U.S. attorney general meets with Zelensky during a surprise visit to Ukraine.	Article	03/03/2023	485
3H40	Gene Expression	These Extinct Elephants Were Neanderthals' 'Biggest Calorie Bombs'	Article	02/02/2023	1,495

3H41	Why Evolution Is True	This is what will happen when Trump is arrested in the coming days.	Article	30/03/2023	558
3H42	Unz	Threats And Responses: The Iraqis; U.S. Says Hussein Intensifies Quest For A-Bomb Parts	Article	08/09/2002	3,463
3H43	FPP	Trump Asked Aide Why His Generals Couldn't Be Like Hitler's, Book Says	Article	08/08/2022	1,766
3H44	Unz	Trump Bars Refugees and Citizens of 7 Muslim Countries	Article	27/01/2017	1,267
3H45	Why Evolution Is True	Trump Faces Five Major Investigations. He Has Dozens of Ways Out.	Article	17/11/2022	4,917
3H46	Why Evolution Is True	Trump Flourishes in the Glare of His Indictment	Article	02/04/2023	2,081
3H47	Why Evolution Is True	Trump Is Indicted, Becoming First Ex-President to Face Criminal Charges	Article	30/03/2023	2,171
3H48	Why Evolution Is True	Trump's Prosecution Has Set a Dangerous Precedent	Article	01/04/2023	1,376
3H49	Unz	U.S. Scrambles to Stop Iran From Providing Drones for Russia	Article	28/12/2022	2,091
3H50	Unz	We Are in a Golden Age for Hair	Article	30/03/2023	1,561
3H51	New Nation News Forum	What Are the Triads, and What Is Their History of Violence?	Article	20/07/2019	1,108
3H52	Arthur Kemp	Why Warnock and Ossoff Won in Georgia	Article	08/01/2021	1,005

Table 9

Hyperlinked Content on Wall Street Journal

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3K1	Why Evolution is True	AI in the Workplace Is Already Here. The First Battleground? Call Centers		18/02/2023	3,556
3K2	Survival Blog	As Interest Rates Rose, Banks Did a Balance-Sheet Switcheroo		29/03/2023	1,073
3K3	Unz	CIA Aims to Recruit Spies Among Russians Displeased With Ukraine War		22/11/2022	643

3K4	Why Evolution is True	Despite Office Bans, Some Workers Still Want to Use ChatGPT		22/03/2023	1,002
3K5	CIS	DHS Official's Accounts of Drug Dealer's Release Differ		03/04/2015	865
3K6	Unz	Intelligence on Sick Staff at Wuhan Lab Fuels Debate on Covid-19 Origin		23/05/2021	1,659
3K7	Unz	Israel Strikes Iran Amid International Push to Contain Tehran		29/01/2023	1,099
3K8	Unz	Lab Leak Most Likely Origin of Covid-19 Pandemic, Energy Department Now Says		26/02/2023	1,740
3K9	Arthur Kemp	Long a Holdout From Covid-19 Restrictions, Sweden Ends Its Pandemic Experiment		06/12/2020	2,023
3K10	Why Evolution is True	OpenAI Rolls Out New GPT-4 Version of Chatbot ChatGPT		15/03/2023	878
3K11	Unz	'Parade' Review: A Broadway Musical of American Bigotry		16/03/2023	914
3K12	Unz	Russian Borders Swamped as Putin's Draft Order Sparks Exodus		29/09/2022	1,367
3K13	Gene Expression	Sunbelt Cities Nashville and Austin Are Nation's Hottest Job Markets		01/04/2023	1,189
3K14	Arthur Kemp	Sweden Has Avoided a Coronavirus Lockdown. Its Economy Is Hurting Anyway.		07/05/2020	1,473
3K15	Why Evolution is True	The Jobs Most Exposed to ChatGPT		28/03/2023	841
3K16	Unz	U.S. Considers Asking Black Americans on Census if They Are Slave Descendants		30/03/2023	1,236
3K17	Gene Expression	Uber Eats to Take Down Thousands of Virtual Brands to Declutter the App		27/03/2023	889
3K18	Unz	Ukraine Is the West's War Now		25/02/2023	2,368
3K19	Maggie's Farm	We Need to Talk About Suicide		01/04/2023	1,311
3K20	Why Evolution is True	What Is ChatGPT? What to Know About the AI Chatbot	Explainer	16/05/2023	1,882

| 3K21 | VDARE | What's Happening in Israel? Protests and Strikes Over Netanyahu's Judicial Overhaul Explained | | 27/03/2023 | 901 |

Table 10

Hyperlinked Content on Washington Post

Source Code	Link Received From	Title	Media Type	Date	Word Count
3M1	FPP	Antisemitic tweets soared on Twitter after Musk took over, study finds		20/03/2023	1,340
3M2	Unz	As CPAC's head faces sexual assault claim, other leadership concerns emerge		28/02/2023	3,606
3M3	CIS	Biden picks Alejandro Mayorkas, a son of Jewish Cuban refugees, to lead the Department of Homeland Security		23/11/2020	1,116
3M4	Why Evolution is True	FBI searches Trump safe at Mar-a-Lago club, former president says		08/08/2022	302
3M5	FPP	How photos of Nazis partying at Auschwitz gave rise to a new play		05/08/2022	1,311
3M6	Amerika	I told the truth in my sister's obituary, so that others might choose to live		23/03/2016	769
3M7	Why Evolution is True	Justice Dept. said to have more evidence of possible Trump obstruction at Mar-a-Lago		02/04/2023	1,874
3M8	Why Evolution is True	Justice Dept. search of Biden home in Wilmington turns up more documents		21/01/2023	324
3M9	Unz	Nashville shooter was under a doctor's care for 'emotional disorder'		28/03/2023	452
3M10	Gene Expression	New winter storm could push California's snowpack to record high		27/03/2023	1,157
3M11	Unz	Nikki Haley's bogus claims about foreign aid dollars		01/03/2023	1,349
3M12	Unz	Russia, blaming U.S. sabotage, calls for U.N. probe of Nord Stream		22/02/2023	938
3M13	Why Evolution is True	Steve Jobs has a new 'memoir,' more than 11 years after his death		01/04/2023	1,548
3M14	National Vanguard	Trump doubles down on his illogical, un-American immigration plans		01/09/2016	559

3M15	Why Evolution is True	Trump warrant papers list 11 sets of classified documents seized	12/08/2022	1,047
3M16	Why Evolution is True	Walter Isaacson's 'Steve Jobs' biography shows Apple co-founder's genius, flaws	24/10/2011	572
3M17	New Nation News Forum	Why 'constitutionalist sheriffs' won't enforce coronavirus restrictions	23/04/2020	1,073

Glossary of Terms

Crawl

In computer programming, an Internet crawl is the automated process of scraping hyperlinks from a webpage, adding these to a queue, and then following each hyperlink in turn, scraping the hyperlinks found there, adding them to a queue, and continuing to follow in an iterative process. Web crawling can be done with a breadth first or a depth first algorithm

DDoS

A distributed denial of service attack. It is a deliberate and malicious attempt to disrupt the normal flow of traffic to a website so that it becomes temporarily inaccessible.

Domain name

Also known as "net location". The address of a website. It identifies the unique position on the Internet of that website using a memorable word or phrase so that users can find it. For example, www.google.com.

External hyperlink

External hyperlinks direct readers to locations on documents or the Internet that are not part of the current location of the reader. For example, a link on Facebook to a video on YouTube would be an external hyperlink

Homepage

A homepage is the first page of a website one ends on when accessing that website, also known as a landing page. It is identified by the domain name of the website with no path or search parameters. Some examples would be www.facebook.com, www.twitter.com, and so on.

Hyperlink

Text with an embedded URL that, when clicked, redirects the user to that URL. They are typically found on websites but are now found on many digital documents where the author expects the reader to be connected to the Internet and therefore able to "follow" the hyperlink.

HREF

Short for Hypertext Reference, it is an element of HTML code that creates a link to another location on the Internet (a hyperlink).

HTML

Short for Hypertext Markup Language, it is the language many websites are written in. It is used to structure colour, text, images, hyperlinks, and so on, inside webpages.

HTTP

Short for Hypertext Transfer Protocol, it is a protocol used for exchanging files on the Internet. When browsers and computer programs attempt to interact with webpages, for example to request the content hosted by a webpage be rendered on the computer screen, they send HTTP requests to websites for the information.

Internal hyperlink

Internal hyperlinks connect readers to another document or net location within the same domain as the one the reader is currently viewing. For example, a hyperlink on a webpage reading "click here to view our openings", which sent the reader to a page on that same website titled "job openings" would be an internal hyperlink.

Python library	Python is a programming language that is used in a wide range of applications. There are a great number of Python libraries that are designed for specific uses. Libraries are reusable pieces of code, often developed by other users, to enable programmers to perform certain tasks easier. Some of the well know examples Python libraries include Numpy, "numeric Python" used for data analysis; Plotly, used for visualising data with graphs; and Pandas, used for creating data frames that can be manipulated during data analysis. There are many libraries that allow programmers to interact with webpages such as Requests and BeautifulSoup, which are used in this study.
Scrape	In computer programming and the Internet, a scrape is the automated process of retrieving all requested information from a website or other digital repository. For example, a script may scrape employment statistics from LinkedIn (Smith, 2022), or, in the case of this study, hyperlinks from far right webpages.
Script	In computer programming, a script is program that is interpreted and run by another program, instead of being run by the computer processor. A simple example of a script would be one that automates the task of transferring files from one location on a computer to another. The script in this study automates the task of scraping hyperlinks from target webpages
URL	A Universal Resource Locator. A domain name comprises one part of a URL. URLs are typically made up of the protocol, the domain name, and the path. The frequently also contain a query, parameters, and a fragment which add further specification to where in a particular domain the desired resource is located. Several parts of a URL can be identified.
URL domain name	google
URL example	https://www.google.com/search?q=dungeons+and+dragons
URL path	search
URL parameters	dungeons+and+dragons
URL protocol	https://
URL query	?q=
URL sub domain	www.
URL top level domain	.com
Website	A domain name gives the address of a website. A website is a cluster of webpages under a single domain name.
Webpage	A single page located on a website, identified by the domain name and path in a URL. For example, https://www.swansea.ac.uk/undergraduate/courses/ identifies the webpage "Undergraduate Courses" on the Swansea University website.

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