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Master's Thesis International Relations in Historical Perspective

QAnon International

The Insecurity Culture of Online Conspiracy Communities

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List of Abbreviations

ANTIFA - Antifaschistisch (Antifascist)

API - Application Programming Interface

COVID-19 - Coronavirus Disease 2019

DOJ - Department of Justice

EU - European Union

IR - International Relations

NYC - New York City

POC - People of Color

QAnon - "Q" Anonymous

U.S. - United States

VPN - Virtual Private Network

/pol/ - Politically Incorrect (4Chan and similar)

Abstract

This paper explores QAnon and the spread of its subject far-right conspiracy theories on online message boards through the concept of an Insecurity Culture, as a case study for the recent rise in internet-borne violent extremism. Both political extremes on the left and the right host sub-cultures of extremists who's ideologies target liberal democratic governments and institutions, threatening the very systems that allow for their existence. The study of online violent extremists is a topic currently under-represented in academia, notably in the field of International Relations, which has historically been slow to adapt its concepts to emerging non-state actors. While a security culture describes a set of behavioral patterns that follow particular interpretations of security, being composed of groups that seek to achieve security by counteracting perceived threats, an Insecurity Culture is one constantly aware or convinced of threats while being unable or unwilling to field a solution. The field of Security Studies provides the best inroad for an IR-based study of how these internet-based far-right conspiracy communities function. These serve to demonstrate examples of radicalization, the 'bubble' effects of closed-off chat rooms, and the ideological convergences between different conspiracies under the QAnon umbrella.

Introduction

From the attacks on the Twin Towers to the latest philanthropic venture by Microsoft co-founder Bill Gates, internet-based conspiracy theories always appear to create narratives which, while baseless, manage to infiltrate popular culture and even on occasion, the political mainstream. In the United States especially, right-wing political circles have been influenced by conspiracy-theorizing movements originating on the internet. Notably the 'far-right' represents a subculture of extremists based on online messaging boards and forums, one which has become more prominent within the Republican party.¹ This remains a community of people who embrace conspiracy theories, readily absorbed former President Donald Trump's own claims surrounding a 'stolen election' in 2020, and form part of an online discourse of insecurity that transcends national borders.² This Insecurity Culture is the focus of my study.

Central to this culture is the QAnon conspiracy movement, which originated on the 4Chan messaging board in 2017, before spreading across social media and the consciousness of the far-right.³ While not always central to the identities of those engaged in far-right conspiracy-driven narratives, QAnon has successfully managed to converge with many pre-existing theories—such as the larger anti-semitic narrative surrounding international Jewish influences through the modern lens of billionaire philanthropist George Soros. This allegiance with an older narrative has gone some way towards legitimizing QAnon within the right's extremist circles.⁴ Characteristically, it has adopted more recent conspiracy theories surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic and the international vaccination drives that followed it, mainly through its narrative of the 'deep state' and again through ties to anti-semitism.⁵ As a result QAnon forms a central component of this paper's investigation, which argues that the field of International

¹ Stephane J. Baele, Lewys Brace, and Travis G. Coan, "Variations on a Theme? Comparing 4chan, 8kun, and Other *Chans*' Far-Right '/Pol' Boards," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 15, no. 1 (2021): 65-80.

² "Covid-19 Disinformation Briefing No.2: Far-Right Mobilisation," Institute for Strategic Dialogue, October 12, 2022, 1-10.

³ Mia Bloom and Sophia Moskalenko, *Pastels and pedophiles: Inside the mind of Qanon.* Stanford, CA: Redwood Press, an imprint of Stanford University Press, 2021, 1-94.

⁴ Veronika Bondarenko, "George Soros is a favorite target of the right - here's how that happened," Business Insider, May 20, 2017. Accessed May 28, 2021.

⁵ "Members Tied to Qanon Arrested over Break-in at Vaccine Center: The Asahi Shimbun: Breaking News, Japan News and Analysis," The Asahi Shimbun, April 7, 2022.

Relations should be expanded to cover online movements such as QAnon as an emerging actor. Within the field's borders, Security Studies, particularly through its concept of *Security Culture*, provides the most probable avenue for a successful merging between the current state-centric approach presented by IR, and the predominantly non-state actors at the center of internet-based conspiracy movements. This paper investigates internet-based far-right conspiracy movements surrounding QAnon as a form of Insecurity Culture. While a security culture describes a set of behavioral patterns or "socially meaningful practices" that follow a "particular interpretation of security," being comprised of groups that seek to achieve security by (often violently) counteracting perceived threats, an *Insecurity* Culture is one constantly aware or convinced of threats while unable or unwilling to field an effective solution.⁶

This thesis explores the QAnon Insecurity Culture as a case study for the emergence of violent online groups. As a conspiracy theory-driven movement, QAnon takes aim at and attempts to undermine the legitimacy of governments and institutions on an international scale, through a combination of the concept of a "Deep State," or an imagined global shadow government with strong anti-semitic implications, and a general vilification of liberal-democratic ideals.⁷ QAnon adherents, from the security of their online spaces, target the very institutions that secure their rights to do so—while criticism and transparency are elements central to the functioning of a healthy democratic state, a transition towards the language of violent extremism poses a threat to this system.⁸ On the other hand, QAnon is not the only modern political movement that targets the legitimacy of state institutions, nor is this a tendency unique to the far-right. One current example of violent extremism on the left is the ANTIFA movement, notably in the United States.⁹ While its central message of anti-fascism is not at odds with liberal democracy, ANTIFA is similar to QAnon in its fundamentally decentralized nature, and through the calls to, and participation in, violence of some of

⁶ Mary Kaldor, "Global Security Culture" in *Global Security Cultures*, Cambridge: Polity Press (2018):

⁷ Mia Bloom and Sophia Moskalenko, "Loomy Lies and Conspiracies," In: *Pastels and pedophiles: Inside the mind of Qanon.* Stanford, CA: Redwood Press, an imprint of Stanford University Press, 2021, 7-21.

⁸ Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, 2022 AIVD jaarverslag § (2022).

⁹ Seth G. Jones and Catrina Doxsee, "Examining Extremism: Antifa: Examining Extremism." CSIS. Accessed June 13, 2023.

its adherents.¹⁰ American Journalist Andy Ngo's book *Unmasked: Inside ANTIFA's Radical Plan to Destroy Democracy* focuses on this violent subset, with specific mentions of violent adherents targeting immigration agencies.¹¹ A political work, *Unmasked* has been criticized for being lopsided, with Ngo choosing to belittle the presence and actions of far-right groups at times when ANTIFA rallies turned violent.¹² Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize, that while contemporary violence from ANTIFA does not approach the levels employed by the QAnon Insecurity Culture, the targeting of and justification behind the use of violence against governments and institutions is present on both extremes of the political spectrum.¹³

In their extremities, these groups attack the foundations of free discourse and the integrity of the systems that allow them to exist. It seems likely, given the results of protest movements in autocratic regimes, including the prime example of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protest and the violent reaction of the Chinese government, in addition to more recent protests in Syria (2011), Hong Kong (2019-2020), and Belarus (2020-2021), that the extremist anti-institutional messaging championed by both QAnon and ANTIFA adherents would face fierce suppression would they be situated outside of their liberal-democratic contexts. This is not to say that democratic states are infallible when handling dissent, the United States itself has witnessed historical instances of violence against protestors, notably with the Kent State shootings (1970), and the more general "repressive public policies" in reaction to protests against the Vietnam war (1960s-1970s). Instead, the irony in these groups' beliefs lies in the

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¹⁰ Daniel L Byman, "Countering Organized Violence in the United States," Brookings, May 16, 2023; Mark Bray, *Antifa: The anti-fascist Handbook*, Brooklyn: Melville House, 2017

¹¹ Andy Ngo, "Deadly Violence," In: *Unmasked: Inside Antifa's Radical Plan to Destroy Democracy*, 180–205. S.I.: CENTER ST. 2022.

¹² Alexander Nazaryan, "Review: Andy Ngo's New Book Still Pretends Antifa's the Real Enemy," Los Angeles Times, February 8, 2021.

¹³ Peter Beinart, "The Rise of the Violent Left," The Atlantic, August 6, 2017; Neil Macfarquhar, Alan Feuer, and Adam Goldman, "Federal Arrests Show No Sign That Antifa Plotted Protests," The New York Times, June 11, 2020.

¹⁴ "Tiananmen Square, 1989," Office of The Historian, Department of State, Accessed June 13, 2023; Zachary Laub, "Syria's Civil War: The Descent Into Horror," Council on Foreign Relations, February 14, 2023; "Mourning Hong Kong's Democracy," Human Rights Watch, July 1, 2022; "Belarus: Unprecedented Crackdown." Human Rights Watch, January 13, 2021.

¹⁵ Jerry M. Lewis and Thomas R. Hensley, "The May 4 Shootings at Kent State University: The Search for Historical Accuracy," Kent State University, Accessed June 13, 2023; James L. Gibson, "The Policy Consequences of Political Intolerance: Political Repression During the Vietnam War Era," *The Journal of Politics* 51, no. 1 (February 1989): 13-35.

likelihood that they would simply cease to exist without the existing protections against government oppression, the very thing they perceive as a threat and oppose, that are upheld by the very institutions they target with violent messaging and (occasional) acts. All the while, their adherents maintain an intellectual blindness to their political privileges. It is important to understand that, while these extremist ideologies do not condone violence universally, they are similar in how they build social environments within which the radicalization of a subset of individuals towards violent extremism is fostered. With enough political momentum behind these movements, they have the potential to build the capacity to endanger the integrity of these systems. Therefore, through the application of Insecurity Culture to QAnon, this thesis aims to establish a model for studying the violent extremism present within emerging internet-based non-state actors.

As the study of far-right conspiracy theories and their effects on online subcultures is an emerging field, the current literature available on these subjects has some significant limitations. This thesis calls attention to two tendencies within the current research: a generalized labeling of far-right conspiracy adherents and violent extremists as insane or mentally ill, and a disproportionate focus on drawing conclusions from statistical analyses of web forums. Firstly, dubbing those who believe in baseless conspiracy theories as mentally ill has the potential to greatly undermine further research on the topic. By removing the rationality of studied actors as a starting point, the complexity of the online communities they reside in is ignored. It also ignores the reality that far-right conspiracy theories form a part of an ideology for their adherents. Among violent extremists who have committed attacks based on their belief in various QAnon-linked conspiracy theories (see Christchurch shooting, Hanau attack, and the 2021 U.S. Capitol riot as prime examples), clear reasoning can be identified. For extremists such Brenton Tarrant and Thobias Rathjen, the presence of manifestos demonstrates how a shared online ideology had radicalized them. Secondly, many data-centric approaches taken

¹⁶ Rep. White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement, The Soufan Center, 2019, 6-9.

¹⁷ Blyth Crawford and Florence Keen, "The Hanau Terrorist Attack: How Race Hate and Conspiracy Theories Are Fueling Global Far-Right Violence," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, March 2020, 1-5.

so far, while valuable in uncovering the makeup of various online communities, hold the potential for misleading conclusions, with the statistical prominence of conspiracy theories in online discussions not reflecting their overwhelming presence in various far-right media and within the motivations of violent extremists. This thesis, therefore, applies the concept of Insecurity Culture to develop a more nuanced understanding of the position of QAnon and its subject conspiracy theories within the far-right.

When researching right-wing conspiracy movements on the internet, it becomes apparent that different 'camps' within this sphere (QAnon, anti-vaxxers, etc.) tend to congregate within the same online spaces and converge their theories. The Insecurity Culture approach allows this essay to explore this convergence, including how initially disconnected theories have managed to unite under the QAnon banner. As the more popular platforms for the circulation of QAnon and its component conspiracy theories, online message boards provide the ideal platforms for source collection. Sites including 4Chan, Reddit, Twitter, and various other niche forums serve as accessible outlets for far-right conspiracy believers. The cooperative nature of this Insecurity Culture is evidenced through various QAnon-linked 'Influencers' that inhabit popular right-wing media spaces. Additionally, the large followings of these individuals and their consistent messaging serves as the basis for the identification of the Insecurity Culture itself.

Consequently, the research question is as follows: To what extent do online media sources and discussions surrounding far-right conspiracy theories under the QAnon umbrella, through the establishment of an Insecurity Culture, serve as hubs for ideological convergences and radicalization? This question, naturally, allows for a primary source-based approach, but in tying to International Relations theory, some expansion through sub-questions is required: How can we identify the consistent messaging and shared narrative indicative of an Insecurity Culture in QAnon? In terms of Security Culture, how does the internet-based Insecurity Culture surrounding QAnon interact with established, 'mainstream' politics? Finally, how solid is the line tying an online culture to the increasing conspiracy-based violent extremism found on an international scale? And what do recent events tell us about this connection?

¹⁸ Ibidem.

Thesis Structure

The strategy for this thesis has been to place primary source research at the core of its analysis, with the Security Culture lens applied on a combined dataset of online media and statements. Along with this decoding of the source material, each separate chapter follows the positioning of the thesis within the existing debate surrounding far-right conspiracy theories and their online and offline presence, with a final exploration into the international dangers posed by increasing violent extremism. The first chapter positions this paper in the general literature on right wing conspiracy communities; it highlights the limitations of the current research as a result of a common labeling of white supremacists and far-right conspiracy adherents as insane, and the pitfalls of past data analysis-centric approaches. Chapter II, meanwhile, is focused on the primary source research completed through statements made by online celebrities or 'influencers' tied to QAnon and the greater far-right community it has infiltrated. These influencers, through their large followings, provide evidence for a significant Insecurity Culture surrounding converging ideologies and ideas about conspiracy theories. Finally, Chapter III covers a collection of statements made by individual commenters on various online forums, ranging from mainstream platforms to those tailored for a right wing userbase. Through these statements, it explores the spread of far-right conspiracy theories beyond the online realm and into the field of international violent extremism. This section introduces a synthesis of primary source statements, the paper's positioning within the literature and more recent secondary sources describing various examples of violent extremism (primarily News Media articles on recent attacks, legal proceedings and political statements), in order to establish a broader analysis into the real-world consequences of the online Insecurity Culture studied in this thesis.

Chapter I - Filling Gaps in the Research on Far-Right Conspiracy Communities

The central purpose of this thesis is to counteract the limitations visible within the broader literature surrounding present day internet-based far-right conspiracy communities. The landscape currently suffers from a general inability or unwillingness to piece together the perspectives and motives of the studied individuals. Far-right adherents of conspiracy theories on the internet are too often afforded a title of insanity, or have their agency taken away more generally; their justifications and plans hidden away under a veil of illogicality. Abdul Basit's paper on "Conspiracy Theories and Violent Extremism" for instance, is valuable in how it describes the ties between "new forms of terrorism" and "the intersection of conspiracy theories and violent extremism" effectively, but ultimately reduces the origins of radicalization to "cognitive closure" or the "intolerance for ambiguity and the desire to possess an answer." Rather than recognizing the radicalizing culture that far-right conspiracy theory-based communities provide, Basit claims that these theories merely serve as a form of justification for extremists to "validate their [preexisting] Manichean worldviews." Similarly, J. Eric Oliver and Thomas Wood claim in their paper on "Conspiracy Theories and the Paranoid Styles" that a belief in conspiracy theories demonstrates "innate psychological predispositions," likening them to the "propensity to attribute the source of unexplained or extraordinary events to unseen, intentional forces" commonly found in those with "supernatural, paranormal, or religious beliefs."21 Reducing a belief in conspiracy theories to an individual's inherent inclination is problematic not only due to its oversimplification of the process of radicalization, it misrepresents the complexity of what has become an ever expanding and converging network of conspiracy theories, one which, through the formation of the larger QAnon mythos, has managed to reach an ever growing audience and spread into mainstream politics. By forming an Insecurity Culture, far-right online message board communities build upon the existing mythos,

¹⁹ Abdul Basit, "Conspiracy Theories and Violent Extremism: Similarities, Differences and the Implications," *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 13, no. 3 (2021): 1–9.

²¹ J. Eric Oliver and Thomas J. Wood, "Conspiracy Theories and the Paranoid Style(s) of Mass Opinion," *American Journal of Political Science* 58, no. 4 (2014): 952–66.

simultaneously expanding it, terrorist manifestos being a prime example, and unifying their narrative, facilitating the initiation of new members into the culture.

While the psychoanalytical element has a significant presence within the literature on extremist messages online, its share in academia does not reflect real-world evidence; rather, extensive research on violent extremist attacks has demonstrated that ideologically-motivated extremists have carefully planned their actions to carry a symbolic meaning and to resonate with members of the online communities they associate(d) with.²² As stated by Blyth Crawford and Florence Keen in their study of the 2020 Hanau terrorist attack: "The linking of mental health issues and lone-actor terrorism is often contentious, not least because of the fair accusation that if a perpetrator of terrorism is white, they are frequently deemed mentally unwell, negating their agency in a privilege that is rarely extended to terrorists from other racial backgrounds."²³ While the predominantly white and male identities of perpetrators goes some way to explain the relative lack of scrutiny that right-wing terrorism receives, with politicians on the right careful to avoid offending extremist supporters, there are other elements to these attacks and the messages behind them that have the potential to disrupt research and steer literature towards labels of insanity.²⁴

Firstly, the reasoning behind these attacks, while in their essence racially-motivated, is often interlinked with a belief in one or more conspiracy theories circulating within far-right circles on web forums.²⁵ While many of these conspiracy theories have their roots in older racial or antisemitic tropes, their modern 'branding' often limits these to implicit associations, instead placing more current or specific events in the limelight through recent conspiracy theories (see: racist 'dog whistles').²⁶ For some of the most deadly recent terrorist attacks, the "great replacement" conspiracy theory, or the idea that white or 'European' populations worldwide are being

²² Graham Macklin, "The Christchurch Attacks: Livestream Terror in the Viral Video Age," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, July 2019, 18-25.

²³ Blyth Crawford and Florence Keen, "The Hanau Terrorist Attack: How Race Hate and Conspiracy Theories Are Fueling Global Far-Right Violence," Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, March 2020, 2

²⁴ Sheera Frenkel and Annie Karni, "Proud Boys Celebrate Trump's 'stand by' Remark about Them at the Debate," The New York Times, September 30, 2020.

²⁵ Rep. White Supremacy Extremism, 2019, 6-9.

²⁶ Adam R. Shapiro, "Perspective | The Racist Roots of the Dog Whistle," The Washington Post, August 21, 2020.

systematically eliminated and replaced by immigrants or people of color (POC), formed a core part of the perpetrators' justification and respective "manifestos."27 Racist and generally anti-immigration sentiments form just one part of a collection of conspiracy theories tied to the concept of a hidden "Deep State" run by a coalescing world-ruling (left-wing) elite, and demonstrate how the collection of converging theories under the QAnon umbrella offers a selection to radicalized individuals, one through which they can find justifications for violence.²⁸ Secondly, the dissemination of these conspiracy theories and their related ideologies primarily takes place on chat forums that update quickly and promote fast-pace conversations, rendering data collection after an attack has taken place challenging.²⁹ Due to these conversations' text-based nature and the anonymity or pseudonymity of their participants, judging the sincerity behind claims of hatred or violence, or the claimant's identity, is nearly impossible before cases of real-world violence. Therefore, rather than focusing on individual statements, researchers should aim to develop an understanding of both the general cultures of respective chat forums and of the conspiracy theory mythos that are fostered therein. This more generalist approach was successfully adopted by Stephane Baele, Lewys Brace and Travis Coan in their comparison of far-right "/pol" chat boards—the political subset of anonymous forums such as 4Chan and 8kun, by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue in its report on COVID-19 disinformation among the far-right, and by the Soufan Center's article on "The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement."30

This paper's first chapter positions its research within the context of the existing literature on (far-right) conspiracy theories, using the International Relations field of Security Studies to provide a new perspective on internet-based right wing conspiracy communities as a form of non-state Insecurity Culture. To achieve this, it will additionally draw upon the largely state-centric literature on Security Culture, and justify its broadening to cover a non-state actor.

²⁷ Kyler Ong, "Ideological Convergence in the Extreme Right," *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 12, no. 5 (2020): 1–7; Rep. *White Supremacy Extremism*, 2019, 6-11.

²⁸ Bloom and Moskalenko, *Pastels and Pedophiles*, 7-21.

²⁹ Baele, Brace, and Coan, "Variations on a Theme?," 65-73; Rep. *White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement*, The Soufan Center, 2019, 6-27. ³⁰ Ibidem.

Positioning within the Debate on Far-Right Conspiracy Theories

The current landscape of internet-based conspiracy theory research is characterized by a combination of theoretical and data-based analysis. This paper positions itself within the context of a research environment which, through its novelty, fosters a range of approaches. As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the main area of criticism for this paper lies in some of the literature's focus on a psycho-analysis of far-right conspiracy theory adherents, an approach which undermines their agency and, therefore, weakens the field's ability to develop a better understanding of these theories as they are constructed and developed over time.

The respective works of Abdul Basit, Ted Goertzel and of J. Eric Oliver and Thomas J. Wood are representative of this weakness in the field. On the other hand, while all of these works dismiss the perspectives of far-right conspiracy adherents to various forms and levels of insanity, they all include useful concepts for analyzing the growth in popularity of QAnon and related conspiracy theories. Basit's article on "Conspiracy Theories and Violent Extremism" explores the "intersection" between the two, explaining how a hybrid form of "conspiracy driven violent extremism" is increasingly gaining a widespread audience by entering the "political mainstream," thus leading to the production of "new forms of terrorism." Basit's work is valuable in how it clearly defines conspiracy theories as "an account of events as the result of actions of a small powerful group," through its identification of the catalysts of social media and COVID-19 that have allowed these theories to become a topic of mainstream political dialogue, and how they carry an inherently hostile message towards "powerful" outgroups, thereby fostering an increased "engagement in violent political action." The problem with Basit's article lies mainly in his concept of "cognitive closure," a behavior he ascribes to society's "vulnerable and dispossessed" in their "intolerance for ambiguity and the desire to possess an answer" through the oversimplified answers to complex societal issues provided by conspiracy theories. According to Basit, cognitive closure drives the belief in conspiracy theories when "official narratives are absent," and explains how "crisis events" spur a proliferation in conspiratorial thinking. However,

³¹ Basit, "Conspiracy Theories and Violent Extremism," 1-6.

when looking at recent instances of right-wing violent extremism, the perpetrators do not appear to react to complex societal issues, rather reacting to perceived threats tied to racist and conspiratorial concepts. While conspiracy theories can serve to convince these individuals that their ways of life are under threat, Basit does not provide enough substantial evidence to suggest that they became part of the Insecurity Culture as a result of vulnerability or repression.³²

J. Eric Oliver and Thomas J. Wood provide a similar misinterpretation in their article on "Conspiracy Theories and the Paranoid Styles," in which they attribute the popularity of conspiracy theories in the United States to a historical "suspicion towards centralized authorities and their political elites" in American society. In addition to cultural suspicion, Oliver and Wood claim that "innate psychological predispositions" have the capacity to drive people towards conspiratorial thinking. Conspiracy theories are also associated with religious backgrounds, here Oliver and Wood provide some insight into the creation of "a sort of continuity," where theories "align themselves with established ideologies and personal morals," apparently easing the transition for newcomers into the community.³³

The idea that preexisting beliefs can influence the individual's introduction to conspiracies is shared by Ted Goertzel in his article on "Belief in Conspiracy Theories," where he claims that "monological belief systems" make use of "conspiratorial beliefs" in order to 'easily and automatically discredit any perceived threat to the belief system.' As a result, proponents of conspiracy theories, Goertzel claims, tend to apply the same "hackneyed explanation" to their perceived threats. Rather than class these individuals as insane, Goertzel recognizes that "conspiratorial thinking" has deep historical roots within European and North American societies, and that its widespread nature, at least in "contemporary American society," but he still falls back into a psychological explanation when he claims that "the tendency to believe in conspiracies is correlated with anomia, with a lack of trust in other people, and with feelings of insecurity about unemployment." While these traits may leave individuals more receptive to conspiracy theories, they do not explain the complex network of conspiracy communities that exist

³² Ibidem.

³³ Oliver and Wood, "Conspiracy Theories and the Paranoid Styles, 952-964.

³⁴ Ted Goertzel, "Belief in Conspiracy Theories." *Political Psychology* 15, no. 4 (1994): 731–41.

on the internet today. The problematic tendency to isolate the 'otherness' within the members of the Insecurity Culture around internet-based conspiracies, especially for those violent extremists within the far-right, hampers the ability for the academic world to provide useful insights into the emergence and development of these communities. Additionally, as much of the other literature suggests, conspiratorial thinking is not limited to social outcasts or those suffering from mental illness.

In their "Assessment of Extremist Groups' Use of Web forums," Thomas Holt, Steve Chermak, and Joshua Freilich employ a data-centric approach, explaining that a lack of research into "the basic use of technology among ideologically motivated groups" and on "how ideology is expressed in online spaces" has left the academic world lagging behind the evolution of these online spaces. Their article is largely focused on a statistical analysis of these online spaces, and provides a valuable insight into their makeup—with one significant limitation: Holt, Chermak and Freilich's data sets are based around forum posts dating from 2005 to 2016, whereas the QAnon conspiracy theory, and the its effects on the unification and popularization of conspiracies among the far right, started in 2017.³⁵ This is an issue that becomes apparent when they state that "a relatively small amount of posts" were tied to "conspiracy theories or conspiratorial notions as a whole," with 'only 3.15% of all posts involving such language.' With a dataset ending in 2016, predating QAnon and many of the most violent recent far-right conspiracy-related attacks, the article, which was published in 2019, fails to account or mention how these findings relate to recent developments on the forums it studies.³⁶ Holt, Chermak and Freilich do explore links between forum discussions and real-world events, with a choice of seven separate attacks committed by eight individuals: Wade Micheal Page, Jimmy Lee Dykes, Christine and Jeremy Moody, Paul Anthony Ciancia, and Frazier Glen Miller. "All had alignments with far right extremist group ideologies generally," and such a wide range of events offers the possibility for trend identification. However, while the ideological backgrounds of these perpetrators were similar, "there were no consistent trends identified in posting behaviors related to violent incidents by [these] far right actors." Holt, Chermak and Freilich even state that

Thomas J. Holt, Steve Chermak, and Joshua D. Freilich, "Assessment of Extremist Groups Use of Web Forums, Social Media, and Technology to Enculturate and Radicalize Individuals to Violence," National Criminal Justice Reference Service, May 31, 2019, 3-6.
 Ibid; 5.

the "significant differences associated with conspiratorial, anti-Islamic and anti-immigrant posts around the Boston Marathon" indicate that these trends are generally absent.³⁷ Again, the limitations pertaining to the appearance of QAnon in 2017 are not acknowledged even though they precede the article's publication, and while these seven events should, in theory, provide an adequate overview of far-right violent extremism from which to draw this conclusion, Holt, Chermak and Freilich's understatement of conspiracy narratives was already frustrated by the Christchurch mosque shootings occurring the month before their article was published—a series of attacks wherein conspiracy theories played a central role.³⁸ Additionally, more recent incidents, including the 2020 Hanau attack and the 2021 U.S. Capitol Riot, further counteract the article's conclusion.³⁹

To compensate for its time-frame limitation, this paper references some more recent works. Stephane Baele, Lewys Brace and Travis Coan's article "Variations on a Theme? Comparing 4Chan, 8kun, and Other chans' Far-Right "/pol" Boards," along with the Institute for Strategic Dialogue's "COVID-19 disinformation briefing" on "Far-right mobilisation" and the Soufan Center's article on "White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the White Supremacist Movement," represent additional data analysis pieces on the language use of far-right forums and their effect on recent violent extremism.⁴⁰

Observing the 'growing notoriety' of forums "following a number of high-profile attacks conducted in 2019," Baele, Brace and Coan set out to compare and contrast the different online platforms on which the perpetrators resided. The article explores whether "these boards host the same type of far-right content, constituting a coherent whole," or whether they "each occupy a specific niche in a more fragmented ecosystem." They identify the emergence of a "certain far-right subculture," where certain topics appear across different platforms, with each platform hosting a different skew in topic popularity. As Baele, Brace and Coan state, "all of them [the chan/kun sites], including

³⁷ Ibid: 32-34.

³⁸ Macklin, "The Christchurch Attacks," 18-25.

³⁹ Crawford and Keen, "The Hanau Terrorist Attack," 1-5; Basit, "Conspiracy Theories and Violent Extremism," 1-6.

⁴⁰ Stephane J. Baele, Lewys Brace, and Travis G. Coan, "Variations on a Theme? Comparing 4chan, 8kun, and Other *Chans*' Far-Right '/Pol' Boards." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 15, no. 1 (2021): 65–80; Rep. *White Supremacy Extremism*, 2019, 6-27.

the long-standing 4Chan, host "/pol/" thematic boards dedicated to "politically incorrect" (a euphemism for racist and anti-semitic) conversations," but the intensity and specific focus of these conversations varies between platforms. This is dubbed a "fragmentation" of the subculture "into a series of distinct yet overlapping "sub-subcultures"." Larger platforms (like 4Chan) 'host less extreme discussions' whereas smaller forums focus on more extreme, but specific forms of extremist and violent language.⁴¹ This article is especially useful for this paper, as it demonstrates the (partial) composition of the far-right internet-based Insecurity Culture around conspiracy theories. In essence, the QAnon mythos functions as one of these "sub-subcultures" of the far-right subculture.

The Institute for Strategic Dialogue's "COVID-19 disinformation briefing" on "Far-right mobilisation" explores one element of conspiracy theory-related discussions on online forums, with far-right forum members "opportunistically using the ongoing pandemic to advance their movements and ideologies." Specifically, the briefing states that "COVID-19 is being used as a 'wedge issue' to promote conspiracy theories, target minority communities, and call for extreme violence." In comparison to the Baele, Brace and Coan article and the Holt, Chermak and Freilich article, the briefing goes beyond investigating right wing-dominated platforms or /pol boards, and extends its analysis across a range of some of the most popular social media platforms, including 4Chan, Telegram, Reddit, Facebook and Instagram. With this approach, the analysis of QAnon is taken beyond far-right echo chambers, and the briefing is able to demonstrate how conspiracy driven dialogue can become more 'mainstream.'42 The Institute for Strategic Dialogue observes how QAnon influencers 'capitalized' on COVID-19 via a range of different conspiracy theories, "including the idea that the pandemic is being orchestrated to manipulate US politics; is a bioweapon; that there is a hidden cure for the virus; and that it us being utilised to implement martial law." Additionally, the briefing explains how "White supremacist groups" used "the pandemic to promote explicit violence" through an 'accelerationist' mindset—that is to say; holding the belief that "the state's [U.S.] collapse should be hastened by terrorist violence." The overlap between violent extremists and conspiracy adherents is not overlooked; with COVID-19

⁴¹ Baele, Brace and Coan, "Variations on a Theme?," 65-69.

⁴² "Covid-19 Disinformation Briefing No.2: Far-Right Mobilisation," Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 1-4.

serving as a tool for the popularization of far-right internet-based discussions in general. Through the conspiracy dimension an increase in ideological convergence and the emergence of violent extremism coincide.⁴³

The significant overlap between violent white supremacists and conspiracy adherents is further explored by the Soufan Center's article on "White Supremacy Extremism: The Transnational Rise of the Violent White Supremacist Movement." Here the focus lies in analyzing the international threats posed by white supremacists, with conspiracy theories playing a significant role. Crucially, the article states that "the rapid expanse of social media facilitates radicalization and recruitment within the white supremacy extremist domain," and that strongly anti-semitic positions are intertwined with conspiracy theories that claim Jews hold global power through a shadow government.44 Anti-semitism forms an integral part of the QAnon mythos, with the concept of the "deep state" echoing the idea that Jewish people are involved in various invisible, undercover power-plays the world over. The article goes on to explain the different platforms through which white supremacist messages propagate, including the use of "YouTube as a radicalization tool" (through its video-sharing usefulness and the "unintended quirks" in its algorithm that have "served to promote radical white supremacy extremism ideology automatically"), the enabling of "covert communication" through "encrypted chat apps" such as Discord and Telegram, and through the increasing popularity of "Gamer Culture" (the contribution here being the online harassment campaigns initially developed during "Gamergate," a mid-2010s reactionary internet-based movement against "the rise of perceived social liberalism" with a 'violently misogynistic' skew). 45 The recognition that QAnon and the far-right conspiracy community has managed to infiltrate and steer mainstream platforms and movements like Gamergate towards supporting messages of conspiracy adherents and violent extremism is important; it demonstrates that the Insecurity Culture surrounding QAnon

⁴³ Ibid: 2-10.

⁴⁴ Rep. White Supremacy Extremism, 2019, 6-11.

⁴⁵ Ibid; 16-18; "Terms of Service," Discord. Accessed June 13, 2023; "End-to-End Encryption, Secret Chats," Telegram APIs. Accessed June 13, 2023; "About End-to-End Encryption." WhatsApp Help Center. Accessed June 13, 2023; *Note:* It is important to understand that, while Discord has 'private' chat rooms where groups can communicate, its data is not end-to-end encrypted with services like Telegram and WhatsApp

and its subject theories has a wide appeal and can be molded to attract a range of individuals.

In their article on "The Hanau Terrorist Attack: How Race, Hate and Conspiracy Theories Are Fueling Global Far-Right Violence," Blyth Crawford and Florence Keen recognize that, through this mass appeal a "snowball" effect can emerge, where individuals are more easily convinced "by other conspiracies." ⁴⁶ Through this effect, the conspiracy communities consolidate, with those among the far-right having formed a larger mythos under QAnon. With a larger audience and the tying together of different theories, the Insecurity Culture is reinforced through a seemingly ever-increasing and insurmountable number of perceived threats. As Crawford and Keen state, "rather than accepting a lack of proof as a sign that a theory may not be true, adherents of conspiracies may perceive this lack of evidence as a sign that the dark 'reality' of the matter has been covered up by secret (often government) forces, thereby strengthening their belief in the theory." This creates an environment ripe for violent extremism, with conspiracy theories having played "an integral role in a number of recent attacks." 47 Additionally, it explains the growing internationalization of the QAnon mythos; with various conspiracies tied-together, all tied to seemingly insurmountable all-powerful shadow governments, and with the levels of access and international communication provided by internet forums and mainstream platforms, this present-day Insecurity Culture has taken on a global scale. According to Crawford and Keen, "the far right is increasingly operating transnationally, motivated by shared identities and common grievances formed and spread online," and the international nature of similar "copy-cat attacks" serves as evidence of the extremes to which this culture will go.48 It is the combination of these factors, with the international nature of the QAnon Insecurity Culture at their center, which justifies the application of the field of Security Studies, and its International Relations background, to a topic for which it was not designed.

⁴⁶ Crawford and Keen, "The Hanau Terrorist Attack," 4-5.

⁴⁷ Ibidem.

⁴⁸ Ibid; 4.

The Insecurity Culture of Far-Right Conspiracy Adherents

There are some limitations to the literature surrounding online far-right conspiracy theories, including QAnon, and their ties to the field of Security Studies or that of International Relations in general. While authors have extensively explored the origins and consequences of these conspiracy movements, the application of theory so far has largely been limited to the psychological tendencies of conspiracy theory proponents, while other works have leaned on data analyses to draw conclusions on the behavior of online groups. Although these approaches have been valuable, neither has attempted to develop an understanding of the positions and perspectives of the far-right conspiracy adherents themselves. The field of Security Studies offers the possibility to better understand the behavior of conspiracy theorists from their perspective via the identification and analysis of an Insecurity Culture.

Security culture as a concept describes the ways in which different groups understand and interact with the idea of security, usually most visible through the ways in which security is 'done' (ex: the lead-up to and participation in warfare by a state). Matthias Schulz describes it as "the reassurances which may enhance peace with a view to fostering a feeling of security," while Beatrice de Graaf calls it "an open, and contested, process of threat-identification and interest assessment." Generally, Security Culture follows the process-based framework of its predecessor in Securitization Theory, but employs a post-positivist approach in an attempt to evade the exclusionary definitions that a strict model provides (see the theory's state-centric approach). The concept's flexibility makes it an ideal candidate for an application to an under-explored element within IR: There is a significant gap in the literature on the international influence of internet-based conspiracy theories, and there is an even greater absence of real links between modern conspiracy theories and the concepts developed by Security Studies.

⁴⁹ Matthias Schulz, "Cultures of Peace and Security from the Vienna Congress to the Twenty-First Century: Characteristics and Dilemmas," in Beatrice de Graaf, Brian Vick, Ido de Haan (eds) *Securing Europe after Napoleon: 1815 and the New European Security Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 21-39; Beatrice de Graaf, "Terrorism in the Netherlands: A History," In: *The Cambridge History of Terrorism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021, 333-360.
⁵⁰ Ibidem.

What makes the conspiracy culture of QAnon one of insecurity is the constant focus of its members on the identification of threats. Rather than direct a Security Culture with the aim of eliminating said threats, adherents of QAnon and its component theories find themselves trapped in a feedback loop; a perpetual state of perceived insecurity which, in turn, drives them towards radicalization, and a select few towards violent extremism. Mary Kaldor's work on "Global Security Cultures" is useful here because of her detailed definition of Security Culture, calling it "a specific pattern of behavior or constellation of socially meaningful practices, that expresses or is the expression of norms and standards embodied in a particular interpretation of security..."51 All of these characteristics ring true for the interpretation of insecurity by QAnon's adherents who, through their shared understanding of a synthesized mythos, have formed a normative understanding of their shared insecurities. This is highlighted in the second and third chapters, where the findings from research on the primary sources of QAnon's 'influencers' (a select group of individuals with right wing conspiracy-centered talking points and large online followings), as well as a random selection of individual posts from various platforms, is analyzed. Influencer content in-and-of-itself functions as proof of the existence of a significant Insecurity Culture surrounding QAnon, as the participants are able to maintain and expand their followings with a consistent line of dialogue centered around component conspiracy theories.

Additionally, Kaldor's global dimension applies to QAnon's ability to radicalize individuals on an international scale, while also reflecting the international nature of its subject conspiracy theories, many of which, such as those describing the "Deep State"/"Pizzagate" (a supposed international U.S. Democrat party-led child trafficking ring) or the "Great Replacement" (the idea of a global planned population demographic transition towards a dominance of People of Color) transcend borders. ⁵² One limitation for the applicability of Kaldor's work to QAnon, and what appears to be a trend within the literature on Security Culture, even with its recent additions, is the reference to established political systems. In her article on "Terrorism in the Netherlands: A History," Beatrice de Graaf claims that the process of Security Culture is one "enabled by

⁵¹ Mary Kaldor, "Introduction," In: *Global Security Cultures*, 1–9. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2018.

⁵² Bloom and Moskalenko, *Pastels and Pedophiles*, 9-93.

institutional structures and agents." Her choice of terrorism as a case study also highlights this state-focused approach. It indicates that, despite Security Culture evading the exclusionary pitfalls of Securitization Theory, the focus remains on examining threats to—and from the perspective of—the status quo.⁵³ Matthias Schulz's work on "Cultures of Peace and Security from the Vienna Congress to the Twenty-First Century" also employs a state-focused historicization of Security Cultures, with an initial focus on the Concert of Europe, before moving onto the League of Nations and the United Nations. Schulz evaluates the evolution of Security Cultures within these international concerts and organizations, specifically describing the collective understandings of security that have evolved within each. However, in doing so he again limits the application of the concept to state actors.⁵⁴

What this literature misses, at least in relation to modern-day internet-based conspiracy movements, is the generally non-state origins of these theories and their subsequent incursion into, and later transformation of, the political sphere. Conspiracy theories represent a 'bottom-up' political movement, with politicians or policy makers adopting their talking points only after their popularity.

⁵³ De Graaf, "Terrorism in the Netherlands: A History," 333-360.

⁵⁴ Schulz, "Cultures of Peace and Security," 21-39.

Timeline of Relevant Events

July 22, 2011 Norway Attacks December 14, 2012 Sandy Hook School Shooting November 8, 2016 Donald Trump **Election Victory** October 2017 First QAnon Posts on 4Chan March 15, 2019 Christchurch Mosque Shootings February 19, 2020 Hanau Shootings November 3, 2020 Joe Biden **Election Victory** January 6, 2021 Storming of the U.S. Capitol May 26, 2023 Oath Keepers Leader Sentenced to 18 yrs.

Figure 1.55

Chapter II - Influencer Statements and Identifying an Insecurity Culture

Research Approach

Due to the recent nature of events surrounding QAnon, and the ongoing discussions it generates online, any research into the operation of an Insecurity Culture surrounding right-wing conspiracy theories should involve primary source collection. For this paper, the focus lies in establishing whether an Insecurity Culture exists (as hypothesized based on existing research in the field) and, if it exists, describing it. The primary sources used need to help fulfill this purpose. Consequently, this paper investigates two different sources of internet-based far-right conspiracy theories: The first being individuals dubbed 'QAnon Influencers,' those online personas with large followings and a clear, consistent conspiratorial message, the second being individual statements, either made by anonymous or largely obscure individuals on various forums. This research approach is intended to create a form of data collection which allows a single researcher to identify evidence for the existence of an Insecurity Culture through the presence of multiple influencers with similar messages, with an initial characterization of the Culture becoming evident, before expanding on this description through a compilation of individual messages. With this approach, risks relating to selectivity can be mitigated, as the large followings and consistent messages of influencers provide sufficient evidence for the existence of an Insecurity Culture. Individual messages meanwhile, form components of this culture, and can only be applied to a characterization rather than serving as sufficient evidence by themselves, as the sheer scale of discussions on

⁵⁵ Rep. *White Supremacy Extremism*, 2019, 6-11; William Brangham and Layla Quran, "Newtown Remembers Those Killed at Sandy Hook a Decade after the Tragedy," PBS, December 14, 2022; "2016 Presidential Election Results," The New York Times, August 9, 2017; Basit, "Conspiracy Theories and Violent Extremism," 6; "Covid-19 Disinformation Briefing No.2: Far-Right Mobilisation," Institute for Strategic Dialogue, 2; Crawford and Keen, "The Hanau Terrorist Attack," 1-2; Scott Detrow and Asma Khalid, "Biden Wins Presidency, According to AP, Edging Trump in Turbulent Race," NPR, November 7, 2020; "Capitol Riots Timeline: What Happened on 6 January 2021?" BBC News, June 9, 2022; Sarah N. Lynch, "Oath Keepers Founder Gets 18 Years in Prison, Longest Jan. 6 Sentence Yet," Reuters, May 26, 2023.

various forums is too large for a single researcher to compile within the period allocated to this paper.

Additionally, as the Holt, Chermak and Freilich article demonstrates, focusing on data analyses as a method for drawing conclusions on the cultures of online forums can encounter limitations.⁵⁶ While their research formed an extensive overview of digital communication among the far-right, its conclusions relating to the significance of conspiracy-related discussions were hampered by the timescale studied (pre-dating the emergence of QAnon). Even if conspiracy-related posts make up "a relatively small portion" of a forum's contents, the existence of popular influencers and of multiple far-right conspiracy-related attacks internationally serve as sufficient evidence of a dangerous Insecurity Culture.⁵⁷ Unique statements are not invaluable either, since reactions within a group can be representative of the environment that a majority wishes to create—that is to say, whether they tolerate more extreme statements that do not, necessarily, represent general opinion but may still align with the group's core values. Some platforms even render a data-centric approach more resource intensive by avoiding archiving. 4Chan, for instance, only stores posts for three-day windows. This would require observation every three days for any consistent data to be collected, while also rendering earlier posts dating from significant events (for instance the 'Q drops,' posts surrounding extremist attacks, or the capitol riot) inaccessible other than through secondary material.⁵⁸ For the scale of this paper, the research period could only last a few months, and would place an undue focus on a single platform. Researching QAnon influencers instead, with the addition of a smaller-scale but more diverse collection of individual statements, allows for a single researcher to establish the basis for and characterize an Insecurity Culture surrounding QAnon.

Although this approach lacks statistical analysis, it does require the identification of relevant actors and an understanding of the roles they play within the Insecurity Culture. The next two chapters, therefore, describe and analyze the different Influencers and forums used in primary source research, with explanations of what differentiates them, and how each relates to QAnon and the far-right.

⁵⁶ Holt, Chermak and Freilich, "An Assessment of Extremist Groups Use of Web Forums," 3-6.

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

⁵⁸ "/Pol/ - Politically Incorrect." 4Chan. Accessed June 15, 2023.

Ethics of Data Collection

Before detailing the research findings, it is important to cover some of the ethical limitations facing the data collection for this paper. There are two main elements: The first being the method of data collection and its dependence on the statements of individuals online, and the second being tied to the platforms on which this data can be found. This paper identifies an Insecurity Culture, and is not concerned with detailing the ideological positions, or statements concerning violence, of private individuals. While all of the data enclosed within this chapter and the paper in general was publicly available and accessible without any barriers to entry, I have decided to censor any unique username for any non-public figure featured. This, naturally, excludes the statements and content made by the influencers featured in this chapter, as well as any other political or celebrity figures. For 4Chan, where all users are labeled as "Anonymous," censorship is not required. As for the platforms and forums chosen for data collection, there exist some ethical concerns surrounding the content and accessibility of some smaller, albeit relevant, websites. While it is arguably the present-day hub for explicitly QAnon-related discussion, 8chan/kun has not been used because of the relative difficulty in accessing it, and its past hosting of content which rendered it so. The site has in the past hosted active discussions between violent extremists and other users prior to or during attacks, and has also faced legal trouble due to its hosting of child pornography. While 8chan/kun would very likely make a useful source of individual statements on QAnon, its other contents prevent me from using it as a source.⁵⁹ Other 'Chan' sites are also tied to the Insecurity Culture, but none approach the size of 4Chan or the applicability to QAnon of 8chan/kun. In addition to their small scale, some of these sites also contain extremely hateful content, surpassing even the rampant racism found on 4Chan. This includes the violent Nazism of NeinChan, which is a site hosted on the dark web.60 These sites' hosting of violent

⁵⁹ Matthew Prince, "Terminating Service for 8Chan," The Cloudflare Blog, August 5, 2019.

⁶⁰ Baele, Brace and Coan, "Variations on a Theme?," 65-73; Alexander Vukcevic, Carrie Marshall, and Nate Drake, "What Is the Dark Web? How Safe Is It and How to Access It? Your Questions Answered," TechRadar, June 11, 2019;

Note: The 'dark web' refers to a collection of hidden websites which are only accessible with special software. Due to their private nature, these sites are often used to host criminal content, or by users seeking to avoid online surveillance.

language, ties to crime, and inaccessibility surpass the levels that I can ethically justify for source collection. Finally, as these chapters demonstrate, the amount of readily accessible, relevant source material present elsewhere render the visiting of any of these forums superfluous for the purposes of establishing the existence of and characterizing the Insecurity Culture surrounding QAnon.

'Influencers' and Politics: Establishing the Basis for an Insecurity Culture

For this paper a set of individuals with large online followings, with a far-right or QAnon linked message predominant in their published content, with this content visible on the 'clear' net and without requiring any tools (VPNs, login credentials) to access.⁶¹ As a result, some of the influencers featured in this chapter have smaller followings, but are explicitly focused on QAnon-related conspiracy theories, and therefore valuable for studying the Insecurity Culture, while others have larger followings and offer a more 'mainstream' right-wing perspective, but nevertheless showcase a bridging between conspiracy theories and the larger field of right-wing politics. Through this selection, this paper demonstrates how the OAnon Insecurity Culture is structured, what its main talking points are, how its subject conspiracy theories are intertwined, and how its perspectives and messages have infiltrated mainstream politics. This chapter features findings based on content by Alex Jones and his "Infowars" broadcasts, Jeffrey Pederson and his co-host going by the pseudonym "Shadygrooove" and their "Matrixxx Grooove Show," Polly St. George and her "Amazing Polly" videos, and Steven Crowder's "Louder with Crowder" YouTube series. 62 When researching, selections were made in order to offer as long as possible an overview of each influencer's content, which often dates back multiple years, in order to establish as holistic a view as possible of their chosen topics and general messages. All of the selected individuals have published publicly-viewable content tied to QAnon or its subject conspiracy theories, and all form

⁶¹ Alexander Vukcevic, Carrie Marshall, and Nate Drake, "What Is the Dark Web? How Safe Is It and How to Access It? Your Questions Answered," TechRadar, June 11, 2019.

⁶² Alex Jones, "Infowars" Infowars, Accessed June 15, 2023; Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "Matrixxx Grooove Show," Rumble, Accessed June 15, 2023; Polly St. George, "Amazing Polly,"

Amazingpolly, Accessed June 15, 2023; Steven Crowder, "StevenCrowder," YouTube, Accessed June 15, 2023.

part of a greater online far-right subculture. Analyzing content overlap is as important to the research as contrasting the perspectives propagated by different Influencers, as some have garnered a more explicitly QAnon-centric theme, as with the "Matrixxx Grooove Show," while others, like Crowder, offer a more mainstream right-wing political perspective which occasionally echoes or gives credence to conspiracy theories.⁶³ Through these differences, the phenomenon of QAnon within global far-right politics can be observed, and the Insecurity Culture based on it can be identified and initially described.

Firstly, no study into the makeup of far-right online media can exclude Alex Jones. A goliath in the industry, Jones' "Infowars" broadcasts have gained mass appeal over the years, with his eccentric on-screen charisma placing him in the limelight of popular culture while his aggressive rhetoric and forwarding of outlandish conspiracy theories, specifically those surrounding the Sandy Hook elementary school shootings of Newton, Connecticut in the United States in 2012, have caused him to clash with authorities and political commentators alike, leading to his own bankruptcy declaration following a set of defamation trials which left him liable for nearly \$1.5 billion in damages.⁶⁴ The Infowars site is centered around approximately three hour long video broadcasts which adopt a similar format to network news. The sheer amount of content requires that a limited selection be viewed, as the total hours exceed the realm of feasibility for this paper. For this research, a range of episodes spanning multiple years were selected, with the goal of creating a general overview of the type of information and messaging Jones employs. A central characteristic of these episodes is the constant repetition of messages and positions, possibly as a result of the show's livestream or radio-like nature (the Infowars site usually publishes content a day after its initial, live broadcast). When looking at Jones' more recent videos a trend apparent throughout the greater Insecurity Culture becomes apparent: real-world events are labeled as threats through vague and unfounded ties to established conspiracy theories.

⁶³ Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "Matrixxx Grooove Show"; Steven Crowder, "StevenCrowder."

⁶⁴ Jack Queen and Jacqueline Thomsen, "Alex Jones Must Pay Sandy Hook Families Nearly \$1 Billion for Hoax Claims, Jury Says," Reuters, October 13, 2022.

Jack Queen, "Alex Jones Ordered to Pay \$473 Million in Punitive Damages in Sandy Hook Defamation Case," Reuters, November 10, 2022.

In an April 5 broadcast published on "BANNED.video" titled "EMERGENCY BROADCAST: Americans Brace for Indictment Reveal & Arraignment of Trump as World Enters Uncharted Territory of Full-Spectrum Tyranny," the subject of Trump's arrest (in relation to the charges brought against him due to his using of campaign funds as 'hush money' to pay-off former porn star Stormy Daniels) is employed as supposed evidence for a "globalist"-run deep state.65 The video's description orders viewers to "watch & share this LIVE broadcast" in order to "learn how globalists are conquering the world and your MIND!" At the beginning of the video itself Jones immediately assaults the viewer with various buzzwords, including "deep states," "tyranny," "trans agenda," "UN," "public schools," "brainwashing programs," "spy grids," and "cult brainwashing," likely designed for the twin purpose of attention grabbing while simultaneously tying recent newscycle events to long-standing conspiracy threats. Without elaborating further on how the Trump arrest ties-into these conspiracies (the viewer is allowed to infer these links themselves through the greater QAnon mythos), Jones explains that "the main target, ladies and gentlemen, is our children," swiftly trying the greater conspiracy to the recent issue of trans rights for children in domestic U.S. politics. Through the concept of the 'brainwashing' of children and a supposed surveillance state undermining their parents, Jones transforms a topic of domestic politics into an international issue by claiming that the only places where this threat has not emerged are "communist China, Russia, and some Muslim countries." The idea translated to the conspiracy-minded viewer is that only a select few authoritarian states have escaped the grasp of the world-dominating globalist (and left-wing) elite, one tied to old antisemitism as displayed by the claim that Trump "will be turning himself into the Goerge Soros-installed puppet," which is what Jones calls Joe Biden in this broadcast. Additionally, the Biden administration is claimed to be the "third administration of Barack Hussein Obama" backed by "the Bushes." The broadcast emphasizes the connections between various conspiracy theories: "They want access to your children, this is a worldwide death cult, and they've arrested the President (Donald Trump)."

⁶⁵ Alex Jones, "EMERGENCY BROADCAST: Americans Brace for Indictment Reveal & Arraignment of Trump as World Enters Uncharted Territory of Full-Spectrum Tyranny," BANNED.video, April 5, 2023; Karen Freifeld, Jody Godoy, and Luc Cohen, "Trump Charged with Hush-Money Scheme to Boost 2016 Election Chances," Reuters, April 5, 2023.
⁶⁶ Ibidem.

With this one sentence, Jones effectively summarizes various theories tied into a larger mythos. From Recent political (trans rights) issues are converted into threats and tied to the larger threat of the deep state, while the symbol of the supposed resistance to this state according to QAnon, Donald Trump, is referred to by his prior presidential position in an attempt to further delegitimize Biden's supposedly deep state-backed election victory. Based on the episodes researched for this paper, this technique appears to be a trend for Infowars, with Jones tying big ticket news items to his conspiracy narrative. Events such as the Nord Stream pipeline explosion being tied to "the Biden White House, the CIA, and the Pentagon," Jones' own Sandy Hook trial being labeled as the "Show trial of a century," the capitol riots claimed as the result of an ANTIFA "false flag attack," COVID vaccinations called "bio weapons designed to depopulate the planet," and the Biden inauguration as "the end of the [American] republic." These statements come from episodes spanning a period of a few years, and demonstrate a constant threat identification consistent with the Insecurity Culture.

In addition to tying the concept of the deep state to recent events, Jones also dedicates parts of his broadcasts to instructional sections telling his viewers to spread his message. In an episode published the 3rd of March titled "Deep State Goes ALL IN on Jan 6 Psyop as Lies on Ukraine, Covid, Economy Fail to Control the Masses," he asks his viewers: "Are you tuned in every day now to find out how the world really works? Are you sharing these links to the live streams and reports at BANNED.video to your friends and family so that they can find out how the world really works? Are you part of the information war yet?"⁶⁹ Similarly, in a broadcast published on February 11 titled "Victory Within Grasp: Humanity Awakening to Globalist Occupation of Earth!" he encourages his audience by claiming that they are "winning hearts and minds" and

⁶⁷ Ibidem.

⁶⁸ Alex Jones, "Deep State Goes ALL IN on Jan 6 Psyop as Lies on Ukraine, Covid, Economy Fail to Control the Masses," BANNED.video, March 3, 2023; Alex Jones, "Victory Within Grasp: Humanity Is Awakening to Globalist Occupation of Earth!" BANNED.video, February 11, 2023; Alex Jones, "UN/EU Public Documents CONFIRM That A Secret World Government Agency Is SPRAYING Planet's Atmosphere With Life-Killing Biocides As Part Of A Terraforming Project Designed To Kill All Life On Earth," BANNED.video, June 3, 2022; Alex Jones, "EXCLUSIVE! Alex Jones Responds To \$45M Sandy Hook Verdict And the Future Of Infowars," BANNED.video, August 6, 2022; Alex Jones, "Global Genocide Alert! Thousands of Scientists Confirm Covid Vaccines Are Designed to Slowly Kill Their Victims," BANNED.video, August 24, 2021; Alex Jones, "Alex Jones: 'This Could Be My Last Broadcast' – Tune In If You Want To Save Yourself!" BANNED.video, November 25, 2020.

⁶⁹ Alex Jones, "Deep State Goes ALL IN on Jan 6 Psyop as Lies on Ukraine, Covid, Economy Fail to Control the Masses."

"currently beating this," while simultaneously driving them to further propagate his media with the link "conspiracyfact.info," claiming that "people have to realize how important they as an individual are." Jones emphasizes the importance of his audience's participation in the "information war," a labeling that serves to drive them to broaden the Insecurity Culture into their own social circles.

Finally, through some select Infowars episodes the implicit links between QAnon, right-wing politics, and older antisemitic conspiracy theories can be observed. While not as focused on QAnon content as Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, Jones does reference and show support for the overarching conspiracy theory. In an episode released the day after the January 2021 U.S. Capitol riots, he claimed that ANTIFA had organized a "false flag attack," supposedly sowing chaos during an otherwise peaceful protest and causing "Q people" and an "innocent lady" (referring to Ashli Babbitt, who was shot while trying to enter the building through a broken window) to be killed by Capitol police.⁷¹ During a now infamous broadcast with two celebrity guests, popular rapper and vocal Trump supporter Kanye (now Ye) West, and white supremacist commentator Nick Fuentes, anti-semitic themes were at the forefront. The discussion between the three demonstrates how Jones' content, while not explicitly anti-semitic or racist, does establish implicit support for these ideologies of hate through his support of its key figures and their political positions. During this episode anti-semitic ideas are implicitly introduced. West himself has in recent years increasingly gone down a 'rabbit hole' of far-right conspiracy theories, showcasing public support for the far-right. Jones references this when he claims that "Ye may be more controversial than Alex Jones or Donald Trump right now," stating to West that "you're not Hitler, you're not a Nazi, and you don't deserve to be called that and demonized." Unfortunately for Jones, West effectively proves him wrong with statements such as "I see good things about Hitler," "every single human being has something of value that they brought to the table, especially Hitler," "there were Jewish slave boats," "we should stop dissing the Nazis all the time," "I like Hitler," and with various references to "zionist control." During this

⁷⁰ Alex Jones, "Victory Within Grasp: Humanity Is Awakening to Globalist Occupation of Earth!"

⁷¹ Alex Jones, "Evidence Mounts Antifa, Disguised as Patriots, Triggered Capitol Violence," matrixxxBANNED.video, January 7, 2021; Michael Biesecker, "Ashli Babbitt a Martyr? Her Past Tells a More Complex Story." Associated Press News, January 3, 2022.

⁷² Alex Jones, "Evidence Mounts Antifa, Disguised as Patriots, Triggered Capitol Violence."

discussion, West clearly ties the concept of the deep state to anti-Semitism, while simultaneously linking conspiracies to current right-wing talking points and himself: "The Jewish media has made us feel like the Nazis and Hitler have never offered anything of value to the world, meanwhile there's all these things that are happening, Planned Parenthood is new world order eugenics that is happening to this date," and "they tried to throw me in jail for the truth." Throughout the discussion, West even uses a small fishing net and 'Yoohoo' branded Chocolate milk as props representing Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, using this puppet (dubbed "Neten" or "Net-and-Yoohoo") in conjunction with a high-pitched voice to spew anti-semitic conspiracy theories. While Jones attempts to steer West away from his support of the Nazi party, he also backs-up his claims surrounding the deep state. For the Infowars audience, the implicit message is unmistakable, with various statements of support for West appearing in the comments section below the video. 73 This synthesis of constant buzz words, the tying of current events to conspiracy narratives, and a selection of guests that reinforce his show's implicit messaging make Alex Jones a driving force within the Insecurity Culture surrounding QAnon and the far-right.

Jeffrey Pederson and his associate Shadygrooove's twin venture titled the "Matrixxx Grooove Show" resembles Infowars in its panel-like structure, as well as the initial ve streaming of each episode. What differentiates the two, apart from Jones' spectacular popularity, is the explicitly QAnon focus of the more niche influencers. While Jones appears to have a large enough following to dictate his own combinations of conspiracy theories—almost his own cult following, Pederson and his associate have built their foundations on analyzing the original "Qdrops" that were posted on 4Chan and 8chan/kun by either a single, or multiple anonymous individuals. As a result their content is valuable in that it provides a direct link to the QAnon mythos and the Insecurity Culture's interpretations of real-world events, while additionally demonstrating how various conspiracy theories have been absorbed under the QAnon umbrella. Unfortunately for this research, the database of episodes does not go as far back in time as Infowars, with the oldest broadcasts roughly dated to "1 year ago." The

⁷³ Ibidem.

⁷⁴ Bloom and Moskalenko, *Pastels and Pedophiles*, 7-9.

show's episodes are posted on Rumble, another YouTube alternative similar to the BANNED.video on which Infowars broadcasts are published, a requirement since Pederson's content was previously banned from the more mainstream platform.⁷⁵

The QAnon focus of the show immediately becomes evident during the introduction that plays before each episode, which always includes a quote from the 1999 film "The Matrix," a Science Fiction story set in a post apocalyptic world where artificial intelligence has trapped humanity in a computer-simulated reality: "What you know you can't explain."76 Along with a compilation of historical footage shown throughout the intro, the subliminal message posed by this quote to the viewer is one referencing the existence of the deep state.⁷⁷ Generally, the recurring theme of the matrixxx grooove show aligns with that of Infowars; the deep state controls everything around the viewer, with past and present events are displayed as further evidence to back this claim. During an April 10th broadcast, the co-hosts interviewed conspiracy theorist Richard Gage about his claims that the three World Trade Center towers in New York City (WTC and the smaller 7 WTC) that were destroyed during the 2001 terrorist attack, were instead demolished. Similarly, the Trump indictment featured on an April 3 broadcast, where Pederson called it "the biggest con in the world" and evidence of a 'communist' repression of democracy: "This is what they do in third world countries, they use prosecutors to get rid of their political enemies," with the "they" here evidently referring to the deep state.⁷⁸ In an episode dating from the 10th of February, the pair have a "conversation with Cathy O'Brien," a self-proclaimed survivor of "CIA MK Ultra mind control," who tells them about the government's control over 'the media' and 'the narrative.'79 Another episode details "proof of undeniable voter fraud" surrounding the 2020 election, here Pederson claims that "this isn't about Republicans or Democrats, this is about ending corruption in our country," showcasing just how much of a

⁷⁵ Rachel E. Greenspan, "15 QAnon Influencers Sue YouTube for Removing Their Content from the Platform," Insider, October 28, 2020.

⁷⁶ The Matrix, Film, USA: Warner Bros., 1999.

⁷⁷ Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "[RP] A Conversation about 9/11 with Richard Gage," Rumble, April 10, 2023.

⁷⁸ Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "All Eyes on Trump; Historic Indictment Will Boomerang," Rumble, April 3, 2023.

⁷⁹ Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "A Conversation with Cathy O'Brien, Trance-Formation of America," February 10, 2023.

figurehead Trump has become for the QAnon Insecurity Culture.80 Similarly, ShadyGrooove demonstrates the centrality of Trump to the culture's mythos when he states that Trump's cryptic Twitter posts in support of is far-right base represent him "throwing down cover fire for all of you, for all of us" in "the digital realm." While establishing ties between conspiracy theories and recent events echoes Jones' work, some episodes, grouped under titles starting with "Q LOUNGE," differentiate Pederson and ShadyGrooove content and demonstrate their more explicit ties to QAnon. In one such episode published on January 8, 2023, the pair present and analyze many of the earlier "Odrops"; the posts supposedly published by the central figure "Q" on 4Chan and other platforms.⁸² The posts are presented with an air of mystique; the presenters insert their own meanings into the very brief and largely nonsensical 'drops.' It appears that the reader's interpretation forms a crucial part of the QAnon mythos, with adherents believing that Q's messages contained multiple layers of hidden meanings. Shadygrooove inserts his own perspective, instructing the audience to "look at them with a sort of new eyes." The episode ties these older posts to the political context of early 2023, including the events of prior years that had seen Trump lose power. According to Shadygrooove, "this is the time for the patriots to take back this great nation."83

Viewing forum posts as cryptic instructions and, more importantly, as accurate predictions of real-world events years into the future, forms a central part of the QAnon Insecurity Culture. As the threat of the deep state is perceived as omnipresent but largely invisible, the idea that its plans date back years or decades is deeply ingrained into the mythos. For content creators like Alex Jones, Jeffrey Pederson, and Shadygrooove, this presents an opportunity to frame any event under the QAnon lens. As with Infowars, the MG Show includes examples such as supposed 'deep state connections' with the Ukrainian government, the deep state's involvement in "undeniable voter fraud" surrounding Trump's 2020 election defeat, and the business

⁸⁰ Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "More Proof of Undeniable Voter Fraud; Trump's Virtues," Rumble, September 23, 2022.

⁸¹ Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "NAZI Eugenics, Ukraine, & AJ Aligns with Deep State," Rumble, May 10, 2022.

⁸² Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "Q LOUNGE LIVE: LEARN TO READ THE MAP," Rumble, January 8, 2023.

⁸³ Ibidem.

dealings of various wealthy family firms, including the Rothschild and the Payseur families.⁸⁴ However, while this type of content appears to be very effective in convincing QAnon adherents of the relevance of real-world events, its focus on interpretations of subliminal messaging within forum posts, discussions with other conspiracy theorists, and a selective reading of mainstream news sources has the potential to limit its appeal for new recruits into the Insecurity Culture.

An alternative approach to QAnon media is presented by "Amazing Polly" in her QAnon-related content. Polly St. George is a Canadian QAnon-based but, more lately, broader conspiracy theory-related content creator who posts videos on the YouTube alternative site BitChute.⁸⁵ What differentiates her work from other conspiracy influencers is her focus on academic papers in many of her videos. Notably, her selection of papers is either based on some questionable research or through an inflation of specific research into larger trends.⁸⁶

One element of St. George's content that differentiates her from other QAnon influencers is her focus on providing a form of historical 'context' for various conspiracy theories. In an episode dating from the third of December 2022, titled "Free the Jews!!", a "cultural conversation" is hosted concerning "the chosen people cult" of Judaism. According to St. George, "it really seems like Jewish leadership, and others, other predatory sorts of people" have established "a cult" surrounding the history of violence against Jews. Through a supposed misrepresentation of the Holocaust, which St. George claims it is taught to younger generations "from the Jewish point of view only" in order to cause a "dissociative state" of confused identity through "trauma." St. George's criticism has the potential to appear more sophisticated than that of Jones or Pederson and Shadygrooove through more complex terminology and detailed chronologies, adding an extra layer of legitimacy for members of the Insecurity Culture. On the other hand, her statements about Judaism also reinforce the ties between QAnon and older anti-semitic conspiracy theories, ties that become especially apparent when her criticism

⁸⁴ Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "More Proof of Undeniable Voter Fraud; Trump's Virtues."; Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "NAZI Eugenics, Ukraine, & AJ Aligns with Deep State."; Jeffrey Pederson and Shadygrooove, "Who Really Runs the World," Rumble, "1 year ago," Accessed June 14, 2023.

⁸⁵ Polly St. George, "Amazingpolly.Net," AmazingPolly.net, Accessed June 15, 2023.

⁸⁶ Ibidem

⁸⁷ Polly St. George, "Free the Jews!!" Bitchute, December 3, 2022.

⁸⁸ Ibidem.

of Holocaust education broadens into insinuated links to a Jewish-controlled deep state. At one point, St. George calls Nazi party official, and central organizer of the Holocaust, Adolf Eichmann's trial "illegal," stating that the trial "wasn't about justice" but instead part of a plan "hoping to traumatize and anchor" the violence of the holocaust into the psyches of a younger generation of Jews who hadn't experienced it themselves. While she does not deny its existence, St. George does indicate that modern society exaggerates the true scope of the genocide. 89 Other episodes follow a similar format while focusing on different conspiracy theories, all falling under the QAnon umbrella. One posted on the first of June, 2022, titled "INHUMAN FREQUENCIES - CAN THEY TRIGGER GENOCIDE" details an elaborate operation by the United States to use a combination of "magnetic vaccines" and a "microwave weapon" mounted to a C-130 military transport aircraft to trigger the Rwandan Genocide. Accordingly, this type of 'mind-control operation' and the "same type of tech" is also claimed to have been "deployed in Iraq during the civilian looting."90 Similarly to Jones, Pederson and ShadyGrooove, George Soros is also brought up as a central figurehead, and the Capitol riots are implemented in a similar way as evidence of deep state activities. In her video published on January 12th, 2021, St. George claims that January 6th is being used as an excuse by the "people who run the internet" and "the news" to "enact all kinds of new controls and censorship."91 In this video her content's ties to QAnon are most explicitly clear, as she uses various buzzwords and phrases, including "the democrat deep state," "the cabal alliance," "draconian," "tyrannical" and "fascist."92 Generally, Polly St. George's content follows the general characteristics of QAnon-based influencer content that have been identified in this chapter. However, the lengths to which she goes in contextualizing various conspiracy theories, and her synthesis of historical and contemporary source material invariably demonstrate the Insecurity Culture's ability to

⁸⁹ Ibidem.

⁹⁰ Polly St. George, "INHUMAN FREQUENCIES - CAN THEY TRIGGER GENOCIDE?" Bitchute, June 1, 2022.

⁹¹ Polly St. George, "THE DEEP STATE'S INSURRECTION 'ACT'," Bitchute, January 12, 2021.

⁹² Polly St. George, "SHOCKING COVER-UP OF SEVERE VACCINE REACTIONS & FRAUDULENT CLINICAL TRIALS EXPOSED BY WHISTLEBLOWERS," Bitchute, November 8, 2021; Polly St. George, "UKRAINE: SEIZED BY GLOBALISTS - CANADIAN INVOLVEMENT - CIA, FREELAND +," Bitchute, October 19, 2019.

adapt its mythos; the narrative is flexible and can be broadened in scope indefinitely, increasing its potential to absorb new audiences.

Similarly to Alex Jones, Steven Crowder has a massive following, into the millions of subscribers on YouTube. Unlike Jones however, he has managed to maintain an 'advertiser friendly' enough image to sustain his position on the larger website.⁹³ While his platform is more mainstream, much of the content he produces is comparable (to a limited extent) to what Jones publishes, though his emphasis on conspiracy theories is much smaller.⁹⁴ For this paper, a collection of Crowder's more popular conspiracy-related content, as well as a selection of his latest content, has been compiled. While recognizing that this content has less direct ties to QAnon and its subject conspiracy theories, it is important to include it due to Crowder's significant outreach and his influence within the larger online right-wing community.⁹⁵ The selected content also demonstrates how more niche conspiracy dialogues can infiltrate more mainstream politics; Crowder's content essentially acts as one of the bridges for the Insecurity Culture around QAnon to gain a larger political voice.

The primary vessel for this content bridging was the COVID pandemic, which Crowder, while never denying the existence of the virus, employed to forward a narrative on government overreach and political power play. One of the earliest significant examples of this can be found in a video posted on March 10th, 2020, titled "Leftist Coronavirus Lies DEBUNKED," in which the claim is made that the pandemic was being employed as an excuse for market manipulation: "The woke progressives in the media have the ability with their megaphone to directly affect economic markets," "they want this to happen so that they can pin the virus and the negative economic impact on President Donald Trump." Naturally, the suggestion that a large-scale pandemic would not have economic consequences is deliberately unreasonable. For Crowder's audience however, the idea that 'the left' would want to undermine Trump at the greater cost of the economy is feasible: "Right now the media desperately wants us

⁹³ Steven Crowder, "StevenCrowder," YouTube. Accessed June 15, 2023.

⁹⁴ Ibidem.

⁹⁵ Kevin Roose, "The Making of a YouTube Radical," The New York Times, June 8, 2019.

⁹⁶ Steven Crowder, "Leftist Coronavirus Lies DEBUNKED \ Louder with Crowder," YouTube, March 10, 2020.

to have another economic collapse under Donald Trump, they will use the coronavirus if they have to."97 While he never mentions a 'deep state,' or explicitly references any other conspiracy theories, the 'us versus them' message and the notion that left-leaning media channels could feasibly influence the course of the U.S. economy aligns with these QAnon-related concepts. Additionally, while he evades the concept in this episode, a few months earlier, in an episode published on the 14th of December, 2019, titled "EXPOSED: Deep State Plot Against Trump," Crowder claims that "the most powerful wings of government" are "now deliberately fabricating or misleading investigations for reasons of political expediency." Here he asks the question: "Has this all confirmed the idea of the deep state?" Clearly insinuating to his audience that yes, it has.⁹⁸ Other Corona-related episodes focus on solidifying and expanding upon the concept of COVID as an 'excuse' for government agencies and other powerful parties to forward their collective or respective agendas, including a supposed plot by Bill Gates to introduce chip-based tracking vaccines, and 'mob censorship' and public fear in Michigan.⁹⁹

Similarly to Jones, Crowder additionally employs interviews with political figures on the right to forward conspiratorial narratives. Two examples are particularly indicative of the convergence between conspiracy theories and more general right wing politics, including one with former NYC mayor and Trump Lawyer Rudy Guiliani, and one with right wing sports columnist Jason Whitlock. The Giuliani interview is focused on "Hunter Biden Evidence," referencing the Democrat President's son, though the episode also forwards conspiracy theories on the President himself.¹⁰⁰ Crowder asks about whether Biden "is using performance enhancing drugs," notably labeling him as the "former Vice President" rather than recognizing him as President, tying into ideas of a 'stolen election' that Trump spread upon his defeat in 2020. Giuliani, meanwhile, is focused on forwarding a multitude of theories, claiming that two unnamed doctors "said that from everything they can see [Biden] looks like he's pretty far advanced with

⁹⁷ Ibidem.

⁹⁸ Steven Crowder, "EXPOSED: Deep State Plot Against Trump \ Louder with Crowder," YouTube, December 14, 2019.

⁹⁹ Steven Crowder, "EXPOSED: Bill Gates' CREEPY Covid Response \ Louder with Crowder," YouTube, May 8, 2020; Steven Crowder, "The Government Is Scarier than COVID! \ Louder with Crowder," YouTube, May 28, 2020.

¹⁰⁰ Steven Crowder, "EXCLUSIVE: Giuliani Shows New Hunter Biden Evidence ON AIR! \ Louder with Crowder," YouTube, October 17, 2020.

dementia," while also forwarding the idea that "Hunter Biden and Joe Biden were involved in a bribery scheme in Ukraine, and Hunter Biden and Joe have for years said that Joe knew nothing about Barisma, the company that paid the bribe" —the whole episode revolves around Giuliani claiming to have evidence showing the contrary.¹⁰¹ Meanwhile, the Jason Whitlock interview, which came out on July 28th, 2021, focuses on countering left-wing narratives surrounding black identity. 102 Whitlock, who is black, claims that a collective of government and left-wing groups "have effectively illegalized the truth" surrounding recent events. He states that he is "trying to understand the truth about what went on with COVID, what went on with Derek Chauvin [referencing the police officer who killed George Floyd], there are some uncomfortable, insensitive questions that have to be asked, debated, analyzed. They can't be illegalized."103 Essentially, the whole discussion revolves around baseless suspicion surrounding recent media narratives, further conditioning Crowder's audience to accept alternative ideas as feasible. While he does not focus on QAnon, his occasional inclusion of this type of content demonstrates that Crowder represents an important element of the Insecurity Culture, providing the bridge between the central conspiracy communities and the larger sub-culture of more mainstream right wing politics.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem.

¹⁰² Steven Crowder, "How Censorship Outlaws TRUTH! \ Ash Wednesday with Jason Whitlock \ Louder with Crowder," YouTube, July 28, 2021.

¹⁰³ Ibidem.

Chapter III - Individual Statements and Links to Violent Extremism

Individual Statements: Further Characterizing an Insecurity Culture

When it comes to individual statements, there are always limitations when basing a characterization of a greater community on them. This paper uses various statements collected from a range of online forums to expand upon the already identified characteristics of the QAnon Insecurity Culture from the research on its influencers. The platforms selected include Reddit, Free Republic and 4Chan with differing amounts of collected statements due to differences in each platform's ease of access and explicit relevancy.

Reddit, for instance, is very suitable both for collecting data spanning a longer period and filtering searches based on specialized 'subreddits,' which are thematic forums on the site. 104 The first of these was "r/conspiracy," impossible to ignore due to its scale and prominence in the general conspiracy sphere. A relatively normative forum in comparison to some of the more extremist content within the far-right conspiracy Insecurity Culture, this subreddit has hosted a range of conspiracy-related topics across a political band which evades political extremes. Some common 'top-of-all-time' posts include content on government censorship in China, as well as general anti-government tropes. 105 Included in the research are some posts which fit or tie-into the QAnon Insecurity Culture. Some relevant posts date back seven or eight years, with these focused on former presidential candidate Hillary Clinton. One early one claimed that "the Clinton campaign monitoring reddit" was 'manipulating' the platform to undermine the spreading of information relating to campaign donations from "the arms and weapons industry." 106 The top comments among the 839 posted by the date of investigation, however, were not convinced, with some criticizing the "OP" or 'Original

¹⁰⁴ Reddit, Accessed June 15, 2023.

¹⁰⁵ "R/Conspiracy," Reddit, Accessed June 15, 2023.

¹⁰⁶ "Hillary Clinton Has Received More Money from the Arms and Weapons Industry than Any Other Candidate in History. Every Time It Is Posted to /r/Politics or /r/News, It Is Instantly Downvoted to Oblivion. This Is an Obvious Manipulation by the Clinton Campaign Monitoring Reddit," Reddit, "8 yr. Ago," Accessed June 14, 2023.

Poster' with links to popular posts mentioning the same information.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, relatively conflicted discussions are present under other posts propagating various Clinton-related conspiracies, including those tied to finances and her deletion of "over 30,000 emails."108 Criticism of far-right talking points is common, showcasing that this larger community does not function as effectively as an 'echo-chamber' as some of its more specialized alternatives. This appears to be a general trend on this subreddit, with users pushing back against more fringe content. On the other hand, when these posts do appear, messages of support are present, including in examples surrounding the supposed demolitions of the three NYC World Trade Center buildings in 2001, and various theories surrounding President Joe Biden "touching children" and forcing U.S. citizens to take COVID vaccines.¹⁰⁹ The themes from these posts relate back to the concept of a 'deep state cabal' championed by the QAnon Insecurity Culture, and demonstrate how this subculture has become prominent enough to infiltrate more mainstream 'conspiracy' discussions. 110 To provide a better look into more far-right perspectives, the "r/Conservative" and "r/ConservativesOnly" subreddits were selected, with the former representing the largest community of right-wing posters on the platform.¹¹¹ Both forums demonstrate how conspiracy narratives have managed to infiltrate more general right-wing politics, while also showcasing some limited criticism under posts that forward QAnon-related ideas. Here mentions of QAnon itself were limited, but evidence of its themes did appear particularly through political opposition to Joe Biden, and through mentions of George Soros. r/ConservativesOnly, being by far the smaller of the two forums, did not return as many results, with one representative post titled "Asleep & Braindead," roughly dated from "2 yr. ago," showcasing a meme with four panels depicting Biden sleeping through summer riots, until 'awakening' for

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁸ "Hillary Clinton's Presidential Campaign Ends, and the next Day an Article Detailing Her Financial Ties to ISIS Hits the Front Page of /r/Politics. Finally," Reddit, "7 yr. Ago," Accessed June 14, 2023; "Nixon Was Impeached for Deleting 8 Min. of Tape. Hillary Deletes over 30,000 Emails and Can Still Run?" Reddit, "7 yr. Ago," Accessed June 14, 2023.

¹⁰⁹ "9/11 Never Forget," Reddit, "3 yr. Ago," Accessed June 14, 2023; "This Sounds Accurate," Reddit, May 10, 2023.

¹¹⁰ "Joe Biden Has Touched so Many Children at Swearing-in Ceremonies. He Always Singles out Girls from Their Families, and Makes Them Pose in Front of Him. He Touches Their Chests and Faces, Whispers in Their Ears, and Plays with Their Hair. There Are Entire Compilations of Joe Biden Touching Children," Reddit, "3 yr. Ago," Accessed June 14, 2023.

¹¹¹ "R/Conservative," Reddit, Accessed June 15, 2023; "R/ConservativesOnly," Reddit, Accessed June 15, 2023.

and criticizing the Capitol storming.¹¹² While the meme itself does not champion conspiracy narratives, the comments section includes mentions of "selective memory" and the possibility that dissenting opinions could become "a crime against the government."¹¹³ In contrast, the Soros-based posts on r/Conservative clearly demonstrate the central 'boogeyman' figure that the Jewish billionaire represents. While the original posts themselves did not feature more than newspaper headlines or images of Soros, the comments accompanying them included general expressions of dislike, as well as insinuations of the man's ties to the Deep State: "Soros IS the problem," "There will always be a Soros. Different face, same DS...," "Soros is the Antichrist," and "This is what a true evil man looks like. Wolf in sheep's clothing. He has caused misery around the world and [the] government needs to stop this," being some examples.¹¹⁴ It appears that while Reddit is a very popular platform for forum-based discussions, its structure of sub-categorization into various subreddits has made some more vulnerable than others to the appeals of the QAnon Insecurity Culture, based on these communities' differing political and conspiracy-related backgrounds.

"Free Republic," on the other hand, is a much more extremist, explicitly far-right site than Reddit. It includes various references to conspiracy theories, most of which can be linked back to QAnon. The platform also includes some sub-forums dedicated to "activism" and "News" among others, showcasing it hosts a large enough user base to warrant thematic discussions. This sorting system facilitates research, whereas a lack of proper date sorting means more recent posts feature more prominently in this chapter. As with other forums, the primary purpose of the site does not revolve around spreading conspiracy theories, but they have become so central to the far-right political community that they infiltrate many discussions nonetheless. Compared to the

¹¹² "Asleep & Braindead," Reddit, "2 yr. Ago," Accessed June 14, 2023.

¹¹³ Ibidem.

¹¹⁴ "George Soros' Son Has Visited the White House More than a Dozen Times since Biden Took Office, Records Show," Reddit, April 2023.

[&]quot;White House Petition To Declare George Soros a Terrorist & Seize Assets Gains 213K Signatures." Reddit, "3 yr. Ago," Accessed June 14, 2023.

[&]quot;Soros Distances Himself from Manhattan DA Bragg after Trump Indictment," Reddit, March 2023.

[&]quot;George Soros Says 'Far Right' Americans a Bigger Threat to America Than Russia or China: "They Include the Current Supreme Court, Which Is Dominated by Far-Right Extremists.." Reddit, July 2022.

^{115 &}quot;Free Republic Home Page," Free Republic, Accessed June 15, 2023.

¹¹⁶ Ibidem.

featured Reddit posts, the discussion topics on Free Republic are more frequently aligned with QAnon, with comments from other users especially representative of a more central position within the Insecurity Culture. One recent post dating from May 15th, 2023, titled "Trump says there 'must be a heavy price to pay' for Comey, Democrats after release of Durham report," demonstrates the former President's figurehead position, while the comments underneath the post demonstrate a normative position on the forum that the Deep State controls the U.S. government. These include statements such as "these corrupt Communists have hijacked this government and the courts... When Trump tells ya it's rigged, you'd better believe it," with calls for violence not being left out: "There you have it. The heavy price for Comey MUST be execution by firing squad. Nothing less."117 Other posts featured similar comments referencing the Deep State, including "the DOJ is now America's KGB," and "Good thing we live in a free country! /sarc," with "/sarc" referring to sarcasm. 118 While the frequency of these posts and the lack of frequency within their comments sections diverges from the studied subreddits, their general topics are similar. On the other hand, Free Republic, especially under its "Activism" category, presents a more troubling tendency among its users to call for (sometimes violent) action against political or perceived Deep State opponents. Under one post titled "GO AHEAD AND PROTEST Donald Trump's impending arrest. Do not let the tyrants take your voice!" from March 19th, 2023, some users described steps to prevent surveillance, including steps such as avoiding bringing personal cell phones or vehicles to the scene of a protest, while another suggested wearing "an ANTIFA mask," "a BLM mask" or to "carry a RAINBOW flag," apparently in a bid to disguise themselves among the Deep State's supposed allies.¹¹⁹ Under another post on purported whistleblowers claiming that the FBI "prioritized January 6 defendants over child predators," one user stated "violence only solution," while another post sharing a

¹¹⁷ "Trump Says There 'Must Be a Heavy Price to Pay' for Comey, Democrats after Release of Durham Report," Free Republic, May 15, 2023.

¹¹⁸ "US CAPITOL Rally LIVE VIDEO Will Appear Here When the Stream Starts at or before Noon Eastern." Free Republic, September 18, 2021.

¹¹⁹ "GO AHEAD AND PROTEST Donald Trumps Impending Arrest. Do Not Let the Tyrants Take Your Voice!" Free Republic, March 19, 2023.

live stream of the Capitol riot includes a comment stating that "we need to capture a few of theirs. And NEVER let them go." 120

It appears that these occasional calls for violence are supported within a context of discussions heavily integrated into the QAnon Insecurity Culture, with users universally accepting the presence of a Deep State and its constant creation of threats to their political, and even physical existence. While not an example of the full extremes to which this culture will go, Free Republic nevertheless indicates how the normalization of a constant build up of perceived threats can lead some individuals to champion a violent approach as some desperate 'solution.' Unlike in a Security Culture, where the group establishes a more generally accepted and holistic approach to eliminating a threat, Insecurity Cultures are unable to develop any cooperative solution to imagined threats.

Similarly to Free Republic, 4Chan's "politically incorrect" or "/pol/" board simply sorts posts by recent, rendering the creation of an overview more difficult.¹²¹ 4Chan provides additional barriers to research by only archiving posts for a relatively short 3-day period, eliminating investigations covering multiple years unless research is compiled constantly for this period.¹²² As a result, recent posts have been collected that demonstrate the current characterization of the QAnon Insecurity Culture. This platform has certain strengths and weaknesses as a source for individual statements that are important to recognize before analyzing any discussions. Firstly, 4Chan represents the origin of the QAnon conspiracy theory, with the original "Q" post from 2017 and subsequent early "Q drops" being shared on the /pol forum. While QAnon discussion has never left the site, the community's general shift towards 8chan/kun came as a result of 4Chan's apparently too 'mainstream' appeal leaving it too vulnerable to suspected Deep State or government censorship.¹²³ Secondly, as the /pol board is open to all anonymous users and does not have any specific categorization other than "politics," the vast majority of posts are of no interest to this paper.¹²⁴ Among the small

¹²⁰ "EXCLUSIVE - The FBI's 'Abuse of Power': Three Whistleblowers Will Lay out How Bureau 'Inflated Domestic Extremism' Stars and Prioritized January 6 Defendants over Child Predators in Bombshell Hearing," Free Republic, May 15, 2023.

^{121 &}quot;/Pol/ - Politically Incorrect." 4Chan. Accessed June 15, 2023.

¹²² Ibidem.

¹²³ Stephane J. Baele, Lewys Brace and Travis G. Coan, 17-18.

^{124 &}quot;/Pol/ - Politically Incorrect." 4Chan.

minority that does have identifiable ties to the Insecurity Culture, analysis is rendered more challenging by the evident presence of deliberately inflammatory language and detectable sarcasm in the language of many users.

On 4Chan, distinguishing sincere ideological statements from those that are merely exaggerated outbursts can be difficult. It is therefore important to stress that the statements included in the research for this paper merely indicate that normative understandings exist, particularly in relation to antiSemitism and the existence of a Deep State. Additionally, 4Chan specifically demonstrates a racial element to the far-right conspiracy communities, as many of the posts on the platform include racist remarks and perspectives. As for posts relating to QAnon, what differentiates 4Chan from its counterparts studied in this paper is the disjointed structure of its discussions. Commenters appear to bring various levels of sincerity into topics, and insults between users are common. The posts themselves rarely include much context or elaboration, with discussions being allowed to evolve organically. One post from May 16th, 2023, titled "All the Biden Whistleblowers Are In Jail," prompted various anonymous users to expand upon the original post. 125 One user stated that President Biden was "involved in" a whole compilation of recent events, including "Russiagate," "Chinese spy balloons," and "Election interference" among others. A different user claimed that "the US federal government is now openly tyrannical," stating that each individual should "determine how far we are willing to go to avoid [the] deprivation of our liberty," while another stated that "this is the kind of stuff that caused militaries to intervene and form an interim."126 This compilation of perspectives showcases how various users on a forum can cooperatively escalate the perceived threat. Explicit references to QAnon are also present, with one post titled "Q was right" showcasing a screenshot of an earlier 'Q drop' detailing an 'attack against the President of the United States,' in this case Trump, leading to inevitable "moves and countermoves." The message of this post appears intentionally cryptic, something that does not appear to hamper another user from adding a racial element, mentioning a regression in American society through the use of various racial slurs.128 Other posts include topics denying the existence of white

¹²⁵ Anonymous, "All The Biden Whistleblowers Are In Jail," 4Chan, May 16, 2023.

¹²⁶ Ibidem

¹²⁷ Anonymous, "Q Was Right," 4Chan, May 16, 2023.

¹²⁸ Ibidem.

supremacist domestic terrorism, or name-dropping George Soros, setting-off yet another antiSemitic discussion.¹²⁹

4Chan's chaotic nature make it a more challenging subject for research, but this chaos, and the resulting organic nature of its discussions, render it an excellent example of how the Insecurity Culture surrounding QAnon offers an environment where adherents can cooperatively build upon each-other's threat identification. It's this kind of community-driven threat perception, which appears to encourage exaggerated statements in a sort of 'one-upmanship,' which drives the justifications behind some users adopting increasingly radicalized, and occasionally violent-extremist views.

Establishing Links to Violent Extremism

While QAnon and its subject conspiracy theories represent a primarily online-based Insecurity Culture, its real-world effects are most visible through recent examples of violent extremism. With the most severe examples include mass shootings and an attempt at political insurrection, the networks surrounding these attacks have become increasingly visible to the general public, largely due to the heightened media coverage of far-right groups. Based on the research detailed during these last two chapters, this paper has identified some general characteristics of the QAnon Insecurity Culture. Firstly, the Culture is one of converging ideologies and conspiratorial beliefs; various smaller sub-cultures within the realm of the internet-based far-right, have either aligned their previously held beliefs with QAnon or adopted parts of its mythos or terminology, thus becoming a part of its Insecurity Culture. This is why we can identify links between conspiracy theories and apparently disconnected topics, like supposed ties between the (Jewish) Deep State, COVID vaccinations, and (trans)gender education in schools. COVID vaccinations, and (trans)gender education in schools.

¹²⁹ Anonymous, "There Are No Domestic 'Terrorism' Groups or Any Legitimate White Supremist Movements," 4Chan, May 16, 2023; Anonymous, "Tell Me More about This," 4Chan, May 15, 2023; Anonymous, "The Jews Literally Named Their Policies of White Genocide Diversity, Inclusion and Equity," 4Chan, May 16, 2023; Anonymous, "BREAKING: Musk Calls Soros Magneto, Calls Him Out Hard!" 4Chan, May 16, 2023.

¹³⁰ Bloom and Moskalenko, "Qontagion," In: *Pastels and Pedophiles*, 84-91.

¹³¹ Alex Jones, "EMERGENCY BROADCAST: Americans Brace for Indictment Reveal & Arraignment of Trump as World Enters Uncharted Territory of Full-Spectrum Tyranny"; *Note:* See Chapter II.

infiltrate more mainstream right-wing circles, including through popular content creators like Steven Crowder, but also through more traditional media sources such as Fox News' (recently fired) host Tucker Carlson, and popular political or celebrity figures like Elon Musk and even prior President Donald Trump.¹³² For Trump specifically, QAnon and its concept of a Deep State was instrumental in establishing support for his claims of a stolen election in 2020, and the 2021 storming of the Capitol that came as a result.¹³³

Elon Musk represents an important example to investigate because of his ownership and leadership of Twitter, a large and decidedly mainstream social media platform. Musk's 44 billion dollar takeover has led to a drop in moderation on the site through a combination of a significant reduction in employees and Musk's own political views. ¹³⁴ In a recent post of his dating from May 16, serving as a prime example of QAnon's spread, Musk states that '[George] Soros reminds him of Magneto,' a fictional character from the *X-Men* superhero cinematic universe. ¹³⁵ Magneto is a 'mutant' antagonist in a series of comic books and films, and is canonically a Jewish survivor of the holocaust who ultimately attempts to take over the world through a racial conflict with 'non-mutants. ¹³⁶ The parallels Musk draws tie into an implicitly anti-semitic message, with his response to one Twitter user defending Soros's philanthropy phrased as follows: "You assume they are good intentions. They are not. He [Soros] wants to erode the very fabric of civilization. Soros hates humanity." This message encourages others to expand on this conspiratorial idea, demonstrating how public figures can legitimize the QAnon Insecurity Culture, even on more mainstream platforms. ¹³⁷

Trump, meanwhile, has been responsible for a historic surge in political legitimacy for far-right extremist and conspiracy-based groups, with QAnon adopting

¹³² Helen Coster, "Tucker Carlson Leaves Fox News Days after Dominion Lawsuit Settlement," Reuters, April 25, 2023.

¹³³ Jill Colvin, "Trump Repeats False Election Fraud Claims during Speech in Washington," PBS, July 26, 2022.

¹³⁴ Sheila Dang and Greg Roumeliotis, "Musk Begins His Twitter Ownership with Firings, Declares the 'Bird Is Freed,'" Reuters, October 28, 2022.

Javier Espinoza, "EU Warns Elon Musk over Twitter Moderation Plans," Financial Times, April 26, 2022.

¹³⁵ Elon Musk, "Soros Reminds Me of Magneto," Twitter, May 16, 2023.

¹³⁶ X-Men: First Class, USA: 20th Century Fox, 2011.

¹³⁷ Elon Musk, "Soros Reminds Me of Magneto."

him as its figurehead.¹³⁸ In one famous comment made during the first presidential debate preceding the 2020 general elections, Trump even addressed the Proud Boys violent extremist group, telling them to "stand back and stand by," in response to questions surrounding his response to white supremacist violence.¹³⁹ His later claims surrounding a stolen election, which he publicly maintains at the time of writing, would go on to motivate supporters to storm the Capitol, and aligned well with conspiratorial concepts.¹⁴⁰ These statements were echoed by former Fox News host Tucker Carlson, who was later let go when the cable network reached a settlement with voting machine manufacturer Dominion Voting Systems.¹⁴¹

The broadening of QAnon's scope, including through its expansion onto various platforms and through its adoption and subsequent hosting of subset conspiracy theories, has allowed for the emergence of violent actors using the Insecurity Culture's ideologies to justify their attacks. Unfortunately, due to the anonymous nature of many of these forums, and the primarily text-based nature of online discussions, connecting attacks to specific online origins can be challenging. Only when a digital 'paper trail' exists, such as when an attacker's online pseudonyms are uncovered, can tangible links between conspiracy theories, or more crucially online communities, and real-world violence be understood. Two attacks that did leave evidence of conspiratorial ideologies were the February 2020 Hanau, Germany and March 2019 Christchurch, New Zealand shootings, with both perpetrators (Brenton Tarrant in Christchurch and Tobias Rathjen in Hanau) establishing ties to various conspiracy theories and white supremacist ideals through their respective manifestos.

More specifically, both referenced the "Great Replacement" conspiracy theory, with Tarrant titling his manifesto as such, and believed they were witnessing a downfall in (white) Western civilization, perceiving people of color as the threat.¹⁴³ This theory

¹³⁸ Llyod Green, "Trust the Plan Review: How QAnon – and Trump – Unhinged America," The Guardian, March 5, 2023.

¹³⁹ "Trump Tells Proud Boys: 'Stand Back and Stand By,'" Associated Press, YouTube, September 30, 2020.

¹⁴⁰ Jill Colvin, "Trump Repeats False Election Fraud Claims during Speech in Washington."

¹⁴¹ Helen Coster and Jack Queen, "Fox Settles Dominion Lawsuit for \$787.5 Million over US Election Lies," Reuters, April 19, 2023.

¹⁴² Holt, Chermak and Freilich, "An Assessment of Extremist Groups Use of Web Forums," 9-12.

¹⁴³ Rep. White Supremacy Extremism, 2019, 2-26.

borrows ideas from the QAnon Insecurity Culture; the idea that a global shadow government is systematically depopulating and 'replacing' white people has strong ties to the concept of a Deep State, with its anti-semitic message effectively resonating with white supremacists. Additionally, the storming of the U.S. Capitol and the wave of arrests that followed it, including those of members of the far-right anti-government "Oath Keepers," with its leader Stewart Rhodes recently receiving an 18-year sentence for "seditious conspiracy" following his part in organizing the riot, further demonstrate the Insecurity Culture's role in spreading violent extremism. This open attack against the U.S. government stands symbolic for the beliefs of the community surrounding QAnon; an online movement that has morphed into public attempts to uproot democratic institutions and principles.

Finally, the international scale of these attacks demonstrates how far-reaching and adaptable, at least within the scope of far-right politics, QAnon has become. The Christchurch and Hanau shootings are some of the more violent examples, but comparable events such as a recent foiled coup plot in Germany and Japanese antivax protests also demonstrate the movement's apparent 'mass appeal.' The observable, real world effects illustrate the need to study QAnon as an Insecurity Culture, they showcase how it serves as an ideal case study with which to adapt IR theories to emerging violent-extremist non-state actors.

¹⁴⁴ Bloom and Moskalenko, "Loomy Lies and Conspiracies," In: *Pastels and Pedophiles*, 9.

¹⁴⁵ Sarah N. Lynch, "Oath Keepers Founder Gets 18 Years in Prison, Longest Jan. 6 Sentence Yet."; Sarah N. Lynch, "Two Oath Keepers Convicted of Sedition in US Capitol Attack Sentenced to Prison," Reuters, June 1, 2023.

¹⁴⁶ "Factbox: Germany Coup Plot: Who Was behind It and How Dangerous Was It?" Reuters, December 8, 2022.

[&]quot;Members Tied to Qanon Arrested over Break-in at Vaccine Center: The Asahi Shimbun: Breaking News, Japan News and Analysis," The Asahi Shimbun.

Conclusion

The Insecurity Culture surrounding QAnon and its subject conspiracy theories is understudied, largely thanks to its novel emergence and the majority of the movement being based online. Additionally, much of the current literature on conspiracy theories does not accord their adherents the agency, nor the political importance that they evidently require. While this paper has sought to partially rectify the gaps left by the existing literature, it must be acknowledged that the extensive spread of QAnon throughout various online communities, and its present-day foothold within right-wing mainstream politics, exceeds the scale accorded to this paper. As a result, there remains a significant amount of possible expansion, such as through the inclusion of additional influencers and social media platforms for primary source collection, and a longer period of observation for those platforms that do not offer extensive archiving. The research approach is scalable, and expansion would likely offer improved nuance in analyzing the Insecurity Culture.

Alternative approaches to the method employed by this thesis should also be discussed, particularly those relating to data-analysis, conducting interviews with conspiracy theory adherents, or an investigation into the various legal processes following violent extremist actions. Each has its limitations, ultimately favoring the influencer and individual statement approach. Firstly, a data analysis comes with a scale issue; centering the research around statistical data, taking into account the size of this thesis, would likely have required a scope limitation to one or two forums. He Secondly, while interviews with QAnon adherents would have aligned with this thesis' criticism of the gaps in the academic literature surrounding their lack of agency, the time-consuming nature of this approach would have limited the scope further, while also removing the community context within which the individual statements analyzed in this paper have been shared. Lastly, legal processes following various attacks could be useful in uncovering the specific motivations for individual violent extremists. The downside here being that their beliefs would be analyzed in isolation, with no real

¹⁴⁷ Basit, "Conspiracy Theories and Violent Extremism," 1-6; Crawford and Keen, "The Hanau Terrorist Attack," 1-5

¹⁴⁸ **Note:** See Chapter II, "Research Approach."

understanding of where they originated, or how they form a part of a greater, shared ideology. Excluding the data analysis approach, these alternatives would also have been limited in their applicability to other violent extremist and internet-based political groups or movements, diminishing their value as a model.

The Insecurity Culture Approach

This paper argues that the field of Security Studies, through the lens of Security Culture, offers the best approach towards analyzing QAnon communities, by viewing them as part of an Insecurity Culture. In doing so, it provides a model that can be applied to other internet-based groups from all ranges of the political spectrum, so long as they maintain an interconnected digital presence, a position as a collective emerging non-state actor, and are identifiably without a security solution to their perceived threats. As mentioned in the introduction, the ANTIFA movement demonstrates a range of left-wing ideologies under a single banner, and its adherents fit easily into the Insecurity Culture model through their ties to anti-institutional violent extremism. Alternatively, conspiracy theory-based communities with loose or no relations to QAnon would also fit the study. The approach could be applied to communities on specific social media platforms, or any specific forum therein, so long as a consistent messaging of ideology and threat identification can be observed.

Summarizing Results

To summarize the results of this study's application of an Insecurity Culture to QAnon, this paper initially identifies the lack of a similar, pre-existing agency-lending approach to QAnon and far-right conspiracy communities in general, before identifying and evaluating its applicability through the consistent messaging of various online influencers. It then further characterizes its violent, diversified, and internationally-oriented narratives through a collection of independent comments

¹⁴⁹ Jones and Doxsee, "Examining Extremism: Antifa: Examining Extremism."

posted on various web forums, in addition to the violent actions of some of its adherents. Through this approach, this thesis has established certain factors.

Firstly, the conspiracy dimension of QAnon has allowed for an increased ideological convergence between various far-right subcultures through establishment of a shared mythos that generally incorporates their collective ideologies. This, in turn, has opened more opportunities, especially given the greater violent anti-institutional messaging of QAnon, for violent extremists to justify their attacks as additions to, or components of the greater Insecurity Culture (see Tarrant, Rathjen specifically). 150 Secondly, QAnon influencers demonstrate that, across a broad range of right-wing positions, the implicit and explicit messaging relating to the QAnon theory is consistent. Even though specific details are occasionally avoided or dismissed when transitioning between different commentators and their respective audiences, the core messaging of ideology and threat perception remains the same. ¹⁵¹ Finally, examining a collection of individual statements demonstrates that the Insecurity Culture has fostered a converging, nearing uniform approach to threat identification among members of various online communities. As seen with influencers, the types of threat are often the same, largely consisting of a fervent opposition of progressive politics, the belief in a named or unnamed monolithic (Jewish) Deep State, and including the propensity to call for extra-legal action and even violence. This type of culture, this paper argues, has facilitated recent real-world attacks.152

To answer the research question; "To what extent do online media sources and discussions surrounding far-right conspiracy theories under the QAnon umbrella, through the establishment of an Insecurity Culture, serve as hubs for ideological convergences and radicalization?" This paper, while acknowledging the limitations of its research scope, asserts that not only is there sufficient evidence to identify a culture of insecurity attached to QAnon, but also that the observed messaging and behavior of a subset of its adherents demonstrate that ideological convergences and an expansive network of aligning narratives have given radicalized individuals the justification they required to carry-out their violent actions.

¹⁵⁰ Crawford and Keen, "The Hanau Terrorist Attack," 1-5; Macklin, "The Christchurch Attacks," 18-25; Rep. *White Supremacy Extremism*, 2019, 6-27.

¹⁵¹ **Note:** See Chapter II.

¹⁵² Bloom and Moskalenko, *Pastels and Pedophiles*, 7-94; *Note:* See Chapter III.

It must be emphasized that the QAnon Insecurity Culture, at least for Western governments, presents an international challenge to established democratic institutions. Government bodies as well as academic fields, particularly that of International Relations, should observe and counter this movement and others like it, regardless of their unconventional or non-state origins.

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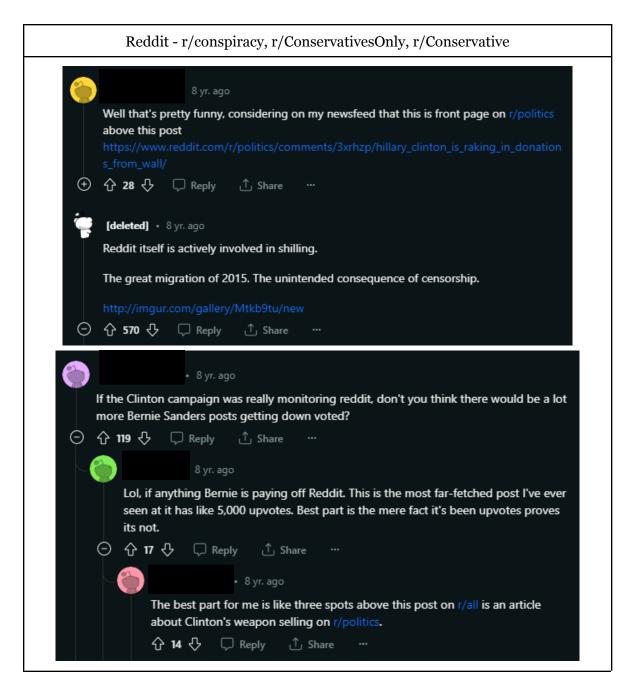
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Appendix

Attached below are screenshots of the included individual statements from various platforms, identifiable unique usernames and profile pictures (not including the QAnon "Anonymous") have been censored.







I think the endgame involves throwing Hillary under the bus. There are a lot of major players that haven't been revealed to the public.

It see it going 2 ways, and in both scenarios Donald Trump is given the JFK treatment. If this happens before the republican convention, the elite unveil their "Golden Boy" candidate, unleash some mayhem to push everyone to the right, and give the green light on the FBI indictment to seal the deal. The other scenario is that Hillary wins the election, but has so much shit thrown at her that she is historically unpopular from the beginning. Trump is out of the picture at some point during the general election campaign, his supporters are on the verge of revolution, Hillary steers far right to "unite" the country... The FBI report is leaked showing Hillary should be indicted but it was blocked, impeachment proceedings start, the government shuts down while the world goes to shit (economic collapse, terrorism, violent anti-gov movements, school shootings etc) and the Elite conveniently prop up their Golden Candidate to consolidate power under the guise of "fixing the government that isn't working".

Either way these emails will manifest into a big event in the future, and it will be especially polarizing because most on the left don't give a shit about them and the right thinks its a smoking gun of corruption and incompetence (and the right is closer to the truth on this issue, like Benghazi)



⊙ 分ⅰ⊹

Reply

1 Share







Submission Statement: Joe Biden has touched so many children at swearing-in ceremonies. He always singles out girls from their families, and makes them pose in front of him. He touches their chests and faces, whispers in their ears, and plays with their hair. There are entire compilations of Joe Biden touching children.

There are serial pedophiles that have infiltrated the United States government. Republicans and Democrats within our Congress are being blackmailed by intelligence agencies.

"Prostitution rings are providing young boys to male customers in Washington and are reportedly selling information about their clients' sexual preferences to foreign intelligence services, a private investigator testified yesterday.

The investigator, Dale Smith, who works for the New York State Senate's Select Committee on Crime, said he had learned that British, Israeli and Soviet agents had bought information from several call services in Washington."

'They're making more money selling information than on the prostitution itself," Mr. McKenna said. Allegations of homosexual sex and drug use on Capitol Hill among Congressmen, pages and other employees have circulated in Washington recently.

"You could call a number in Houston from Washington and have a young boy brought to your room in Washington," the detective said.









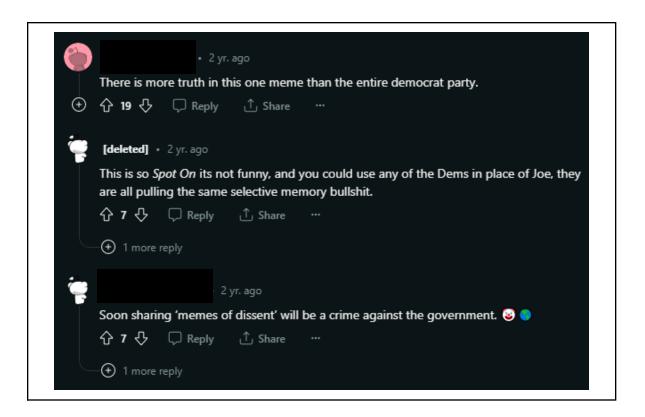


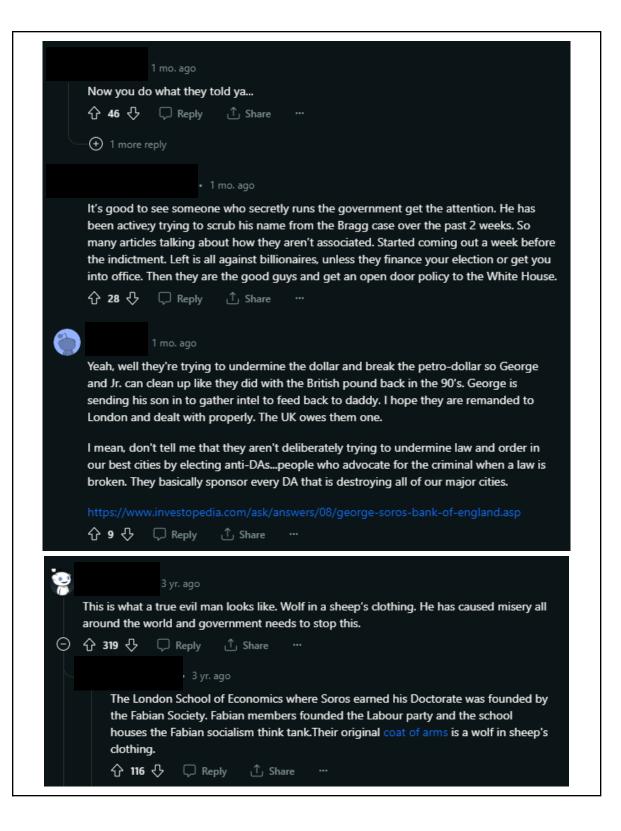


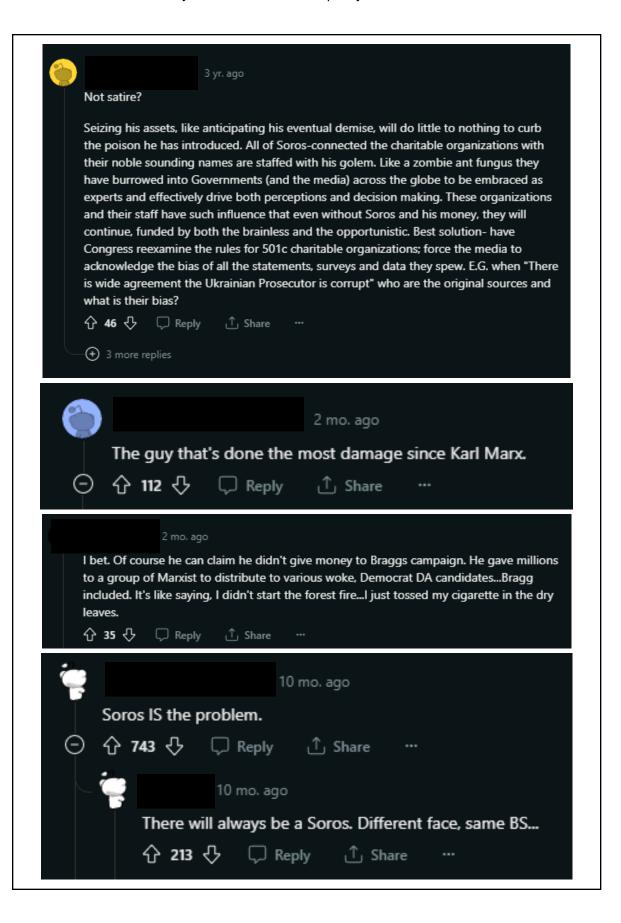


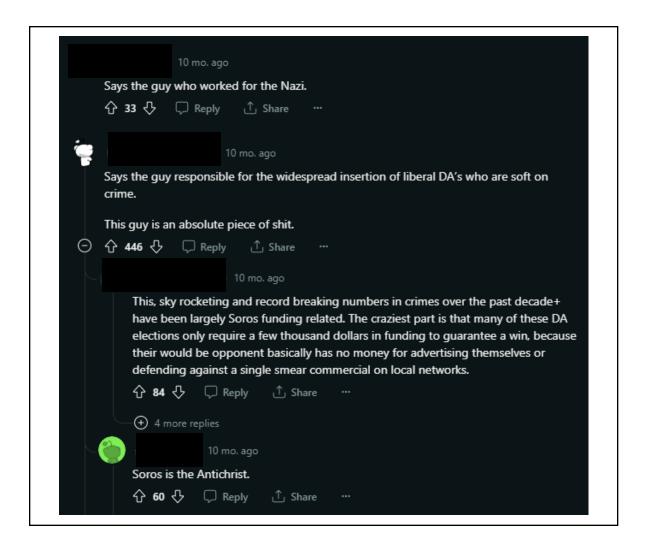












Free Republic

These corrupt Communist have hijacked this government and the courts...

When Trump tells ya it's all rigged, you'd better believe it.

2 posted on 5/16/2023, 12:46:38 AM by iversion and evasion are tools of deceit) [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies]

"...treasonous charade started by the Democrats - started by Comey..."

There you have it. The heavy price for Comey MUST be execution by firing squad. Nothing less.

6 posted on 5/16/2023, 12:57:01 AM by (Tony Fauci will be put on death row and die of COVID!) Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies

Ain't gonna happen and simply because the crimes currently being committed by the current regime will NEVER allow a new administration to discover them and/or prosecute them for it.

Simple as that. Once it all goes RAT it never goes back.

It all gets fixed after the 2020 election theft? Look what just happened in the midterm election in Arizona. What'dya know a RAT governor presiding over a well-timed BORDER FLOOD. This is NOT a coincidence

WE'RE SCREWED.

16 posted on 5/16/2023, 1:18:27 AM by [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 8 | Vi

off my back for my usage of CAPS, especially you snowflake males! MAN UP!)

GO AHEAD AND PROTEST Donald Trumps impending arrest. Do not let the tyrants take your voice!

Posted on 3/19/2023, 1:49:29 PM b

Donald Trump has called for protests for his impending arrest by fanatical zealot prosecutors in New York, even though many people have said the prosecutors have no case, and even though this unprecedented act has more in common with corrupt Latin-American governments than it does with the America I once knew

I've seen a lot of people who are not willing to protest this heinous act, because they have successfully been intimidated by the FBI locating and prosecuting certain January 6 protestors.

Their attempted intimidation should dissuade us, or even slow us down. Remember, they simply cannot arrest us all. Even J6, out of the millions that showed up, they managed to arrest 1000, and plan another 1000. That is a tiny fraction of the crowd

Also, are we not willing to sacrifice to try to preserve our Republic? Remember the closing line of the Declaration of Independence: "We Mutually Pledge To Each Other Our Lives, Our Fortunes, And Our Sacred Honor." Can we at least do similar, in memory of the great men who penned this Founding Document?

Still, it is wise to be mindful and reduce the chances you might be chosen as a martyr. To that end, I have the following suggestions and thoughts:

- 1. You are very likely not protesting in the corrupt cesspool of Washington, DC. You will likely be protesting in your home city. The advantages offered to the FBI and other powers won't
- 2. Read the excellent advice offered by our very own Kristinn.

- 3. Leave your personal cell phone at home
- 3. Leave your personal cell phone at home.
 4. If you must have a phone, get a cheapo burner phone. Buy it with cash. Do not ever allow the burner phone to be physically near your normal smartphone.
 5. If you must have a phone, be very careful who you call. Do not call home. Do not call your partner. Be very careful which friends, if any, you call. Ideally, call only other burner phones.
 6. If you must have a phone, I suggest it should be strictly to capture video of suspicious attendees or civil rights violations.
 7. This is by no means a 100% effective technique, but wearing a Covid mask and sunglasses can assightly with interfering with facial recognition software. Even better is if we, as a group, can find a full-face mask that fits our agenda, such as a Donald Trump mask. Antifa did the same thing, employing the Guy Fawkes masks.
 8. Be careful how close to the protest you park. If possible, park reasonably far from the event and take mass transit (if available) or a taxi (paid with cash).

These measures are meant to help you keep your identity private. If, however, your identity is ascertained, remember this: THEY CANNOT ARREST US ALL

TOPICS: Activism/Chapters; Government; News/Current Events KEYWORDS: identrapit; lockhimup; lockrinosup; nothanks; okfed; protest; silenceisconsent

DO NOT LET THEM TAKE OUR VOICE.

4 posted on 3/19/2023, 1:53:26 PM by he firearms I own today, are the firearms I will die with. How I die will be up to them.) [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 2 | View Replies

То

What are the rules that corruption has taught us?

Leave you cell phone behind

A body camera is a good idea to disprove you did anything illegal, as they will just lie

Don't use Uber/Lyft to get there

Don't use credit cards anywhere around there or even in the town

Don't post pictures or anything on social media

Hat, sunglasses (large frame), and, of course "protect" yourself from Covid with a face diaper outside in the Sun.

And wear basic clothing

5 posted on 3/19/2023, 1:56:16 PM by The residents of Iroquois territory may not determine whether Jews may live in Jerusalem.)
[Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies]

o:

Good thing we live in a free country! /sarc

6 posted on 3/19/2023, 1:59:55 PM by [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 5 | View Replies]

To:

"""What are the rules that corruption has taught us?"""

Here are some additional things to do-

- 1. Wear an ANTIFA mask
- 2. Wear a BLM mask
- 3. Carry a RAINBOW flag

12 posted on 3/19/2023, 2:01:59 PM by [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 5 | View Replies]

US CAPITOL Rally LIVE VIDEO will appear here when the stream starts at or before Noon Eastern.

LookAHeadAmerica.org ^ | Sept 18, 2021 | Matt Braynard

Posted on 9/18/2021, 7:10:13 PM by

live rally for J6 in DC https://lookaheadamerica.org/rallylive/

I wish I was there. Can't believe what is happening to our country.

Matt has great speakers!

All the talk about the rally being a setup played into the DEEP STATE hands.

(Excerpt) Read more at lookaheadamerica.org ...

We need to capture a few of theirs. And NEVER let them go. 2 posted on 9/18/2021, 7:13:38 PM by (Abolish Slavery, Repeal the 16th Amendment) [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies] There were more police/press than attendees. And half the attendees were blm/antifa. 8 posted on 9/18/2021, 7:23:52 PM by Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies It wasn't a false flag. That lie was started by the left as an attempt to keep the crowd as small as possible. I have been following Matt's organization for a while. He is one of the first to call attention to the plight of the political prisoners The treatment these people have suffered in prison sounds like something they would do in a third world dictatorship. Don't let the left tell us to stay home. I wish I could have been there 14 posted on 9/18/2021, 7:29:09 PM b [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 3 | View Replies] The DOJ is now America's KGB 2 posted on 5/16/2023, 6:53:21 AM by 1 [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies] Despite their tabloidish and sensationalistic nature, if Daily Mail knows, everyone knows. And what the planet knows is that the premier domestic law enforcement agency of the United States is as corrupt as the Tijuana police department, perhaps less so. 4 posted on 5/16/2023, 7:16:20 AM by [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies] to prepare the minds of the citizens for military tribunals. I pray to God, for that day. In ref to your tagline, the implications are eternal in scope. 12 posted on 5/16/2023, 8:29:12 AM by (Retired USAF air traffic controller. Father of USAF pilot. USAF aviation runs in the family) [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 3 | View Replies]

To: PGR88 Violence only solution (Cathinkngact only reason go after e puthan 5nu0 inbbiedComlpln) 18 posted on 5/16/2023, 11:13:55 AM by [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 2 | View Replies] They said the network defamed it when it broadcast baseless claims that it was tied to the late Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez, that it paid kickbacks to politicians and that its machines "rigged" the 2020 presidential election by flipping millions of votes for Trump to Biden. Of course, none of it was baseless. All of it was true. 4 posted on 4/18/2023, 10:24:57 PM by [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | Vie To: ...revealing that Fox News journalists, hosts, and executives knew... Knew? Or suspected? The truth is not within the boundaries of the law. 7 posted on 4/18/2023, 10:28:06 PM by (The Republic committed suicide.) [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies] Too bad, now Dominion can go back to doing what they do best. 9 posted on 4/18/2023, 10:28:42 PM by Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies wyers just said the amount was \$787 Million... Just the Deep State Cabal moving funds from one account to another account There is no place for Dominion and their ilk (dozens of entities) in election counting, tabulation, machines. And, there is no place for the likes of Fox calling elections early before all the election A pox on both. 14 posted on 4/18/2023, 10:31:03 PM by [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 2 | Vie verything will be okay in the end. If it's not okay, it's not the end.) Everything FOX said was true. 16 posted on 4/18/2023, 10:31:49 PM by [Post Reply | Private Reply | To 1 | View Replies]

4Chan - /pol/



