

**Disinformation, Exclusion, and its Politics:
Canadian Right-Wing Extremist Community within a Digital Landscape**

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Abstract

Research on right-wing extremism has historically been overwhelmingly focused on the movement's preoccupations in the United States and Europe. Scholarly literature on Canadian groups and their beliefs has been sparse, with few studies mapping the extent of their activities. Right-wing extremism has captured journalistic attention in recent years as lone-wolf right-wing extremists radicalized on the Internet take up arms against racialized groups they see as anathema to their White supremacist groups' survival. This research examines right-wing extremist conceptions of out-groups (the 'Other') and resulting political demands to contain this imagined threat through a case-study approach of Stormfront Canada. I conducted a thematic analysis of publicly available digital communications exchanged between community members between January 1st and December 31st, 2021. Major themes identified for forum threads were anti-hate initiatives, politics, crime, and health within the COVID-19 context, while for forum replies these were disinformation, offensive speech, and politics. I also quantified the extent of this community's activity and found that most content shared to the website is posted by less than six active members. This thesis argues that discursive constructions of the Other depend on exclusionary belief systems predicated on support for White hegemony, and that political demands expressed by community members to contain the perceived threat posed by the continued existence of racial out-groups are shaped by an adherence to the Great Replacement superconspiracy.

Keywords: Ethnonationalism, White supremacy, Right-wing extremism, thematic analysis, hate speech, historical negationism, the Great Replacement, disinformation, misinformation, public trust, political extremism, politics, hate groups.

Résumé

La recherche sur l'extrémisme de droite s'est historiquement concentrée sur les préoccupations du mouvement aux États-Unis et en Europe. La littérature académique sur les groupes d'extrême droite canadiens et leurs croyances est dans un état d'émergence relativement à d'autres pays du Nord global. Peu d'études cartographient l'étendue de leurs activités. L'extrémisme de droite a attiré l'attention médiatique de ces dernières années alors que des extrémistes de droites radicalisés en ligne prennent les armes contre des groupes racialisés qu'ils considèrent comme anathèmes à la survie de leurs groupes suprématistes blancs. Cette présente recherche examine les conceptions extrémistes de droite des exogroupes (« l'autre ») et les revendications politiques qui en résultent pour contenir cette menace imaginaire à travers une étude de cas de Stormfront Canada. J'ai effectué une analyse thématique des communications numériques accessibles au public échangées entre les membres de la communauté entre le 1er janvier et le 31 décembre 2021. Les principaux thèmes identifiés pour les fils de discussion étaient les initiatives anti-haine, la politique, la criminalité et la santé dans le contexte de la COVID-19, tandis que pour les réponses laissées par les membres de cette communauté sur ces fils de discussion, les thèmes étaient la désinformation, les discours offensants, et la politique. J'ai également quantifié l'ampleur de l'activité de cette communauté et constaté que la majeure partie du contenu partagé sur ce site web est publié par moins de six membres actifs. Cette thèse soutient que les constructions discursives d'exogroupes dépendent de systèmes de croyances d'exclusion fondés par l'hégémonie blanche, et que les demandes politiques exprimées par les membres de la communauté pour contenir la menace posée par l'existence continue d'exogroupes raciaux sont façonnées par une adhésion à la conspiration du Grand Remplacement.

Mots-clés: Ethnonationalisme, suprématie blanche, extrémisme de droite, analyse thématique, discours de haine, négationnisme historique, le Grand Remplacement, désinformation, confiance du public envers les institutions publiques, extrémisme politique, la politique, groupes haineux.

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1. Introduction

The Canadian government published in early 2022 its Immigration Levels Plans for 2022-2023 which are set to introduce almost half a million new immigrants each year to Canada (Refugees and Citizenship Canada Immigration, 2022). This is coming at a time of increasing worry for the Canadian intelligence community as the Canadian Security Intelligence Services (2021) has reported for the last few years that ideologically motivated violent extremism, including anti-immigrant agitation, poses a significant risk to national security. White supremacists and ethnonationalists have been extremely vocal on the Internet as they mobilize around key contemporary political issues in Canada, with many taking to social media and other online discussion boards to discuss, plan, and rally against politicians, journalists, academics, and other individuals they see as opposing forces to their movement (Scrivens & Amarasingam, 2020).

Canadian right-wing extremists, despite sharing many similarities with their United States counterparts, notably their consistent repurposing of right-wing extremist political slogans and mottos, differ in their less stringent emphasis on gun rights and apocalyptic preparation plans. Instead, many Canadian adherents to right-wing extremist causes champion an anti-governmental stance, a deep-rooted supremacist belief in the superiority of what they see as Canadian culture above all others in the country in direct opposition to multiculturalist ideology of the 1970s and the Multiculturalism Act of 1988, and White nationalism, an ideology that presupposes that there is a concerted effort by a Jewish globalist elite and neoliberal governments across the world to restrict the political and demographic power of the White race through mass immigration schemes from the Global South (Momani & Deschamps, 2021). The coronavirus pandemic has further exacerbated hateful speech in Canadian society as right-wing extremists continue to use the virus to blame immigrants and racialized Canadians for the disease, the resulting lockdown measures, and their perceived loss of freedom and rights because of public health initiatives.

Online right-wing extremist mobilization thus considers these positions by expressing strong xenophobic, racist, and otherwise hateful sentiments that speak directly to economic and cultural anxieties felt by some Canadians. It therefore becomes critically important to study how these White supremacists and ethnonationalist groups conceive of racialized Canadians and immigrants as well as what political demands are articulated in these circles to bring Canada closer to their own utopic vision for the country. One such vehicle from which right-wing extremists discuss and organize around such issues is Stormfront Canada, a subsection of Stormfront, the longest-running White ethnonationalist hub on the Internet, currently with over 368,000 members and almost fourteen million posts at time of writing.

Analyzing such a community can also provide a detailed account of the White supremacist tropes used to justify the political demands expressed in these communities through their members' recontextualization of news and events as they develop at various scales (local, national, and international) due to the nature of a topical messaging board like Stormfront Canada that presents itself as an all-purpose community hub for White supremacists and ethnonationalists. By considering how political, cultural, and economic developments in Canada and abroad are discussed in this community, it becomes possible to discern how disinformation is utilized to lash out at specific racial groups in an effort to maintain White hegemony and its assumed racial hierarchies. Instances of racist and xenophobic hateful rhetoric can also be used to examine how Stormfront Canada community members conceive of the 'Other' and establish *in-group* and *out-group* power dynamics.

1.1. Ethnonationalism in the Digital Age

Digital landscapes have changed tremendously over the past three decades. In 1994, the year of Stormfront's founding, only two percent of Canadians reported using the Internet on a regular basis. In a 1998 interview on ABC News' Nightline with Gina Smith, Stormfront founder Don Black acknowledged the power of the Internet in recruiting members into White ethnonationalism, stating that: "We previously could only reach people with pamphlets and by sending tabloid papers to a limited number of people, or holding rallies with no more than a few hundred people—now we can reach potentially millions of people." Canadians access the Internet now more than ever, with the World Bank reporting in 2020 that over 92% of all Canadians use the Internet. With more than 200,000 monthly visits to the website, Stormfront positions itself as the leading hate website in the world in terms of visitors and audience retention with an average of over seven pages visited per visitor. Canadian traffic to this community is numbered in the thousands, with over 6,000 monthly visitors being from Canada from December 2022 to February 2023 (SimilarWeb, 2023). The website's popularity remains steady despite the increasing competition from new communication channels for neo-fascists and the far-right like Terrorgram, Fascist Forge, and the Atomwaffen Division. These new players in the White ethnonationalist digital sphere were born out of the now defunct Iron March website. While these new avenues for White ethnonationalists to participate in virtual communities compete with Stormfront in terms of users, there is a clear difference between these groups and Stormfront. The Iron March splinter groups are part of a transnational alliance of militant neo-fascist accelerationist groups with the goal to overthrow current modern societies, which they understand as unredeemable due to its crossing of an imagined threshold of moral degeneracy, and profit from the ensuing apocalyptic chaos where a White ethnonationalist utopia can be allegedly secured (Upchurch, 2021). Stormfront, instead, welcomes recruits no matter their current ideological involvement with White ethnonationalism in the hopes of enlisting more people into their ranks.

This increasing popularity of Stormfront as a vehicle for the public to gain exposure to the White ethnonationalist movement calls for further research on the community and the political and ideological tenets that are propagated on the messaging board. Scholarly attention has been predominantly focused on the United States (Bowman-Grieve, 2009; Brindle, 2016; De Koster & Houtman, 2008; Hartzell, 2020) and Australian sections of the website (Bliuc et al., 2019) as well as the sections not marked by regional or national identifiers, with much less attention given to Stormfront Canada as its own inner-community within Stormfront. Instead, prominent Canadian research on Canadian right-wing extremism in the country has methodologically relied on interviews to document the movement (Perry & Scrivens, 2016, 2018), with some using digital platforms to research specific strains of right-wing extremism operating within particular provincial contexts like in Quebec (Tanner et al., 2020; Tanner & Campana, 2014, 2020) or social media websites such as Facebook (Scrivens & Amarasingam, 2020) and Twitter (Momani & Deschamps, 2021).

My research positions itself as a focused analysis of the content found in the Canadian sections of Stormfront and the political demands articulated by its members to bring Canada closer to their White ethnonationalist vision for the country, as well as how they conceive and draw from White supremacist tropes to inform their understanding of the 'Other.' I have chosen to conduct a thematic analysis of all four messaging boards that make up Stormfront Canada using forum threads and replies posted to the website in 2021, with a particular focus on hate propelled towards perceived out-groups, Canadian right-wing extremist politics, and White ethnonationalist disinformation. I have performed my data collection

and coded my data in such a way as to allow for a quantitative analysis of both user activity within this digital space and the predominant topics discussed on Stormfront Canada. This analysis was done to answer three research questions:

- How do registered members of Stormfront Canada conceive of the 'Other'?
- What political demands are championed by registered members of Stormfront Canada to align Canada with their right-wing extremist utopic vision for the country in 2021?
- How do White supremacist tropes inform political demands made by registered members of Stormfront Canada?

This section presents an overview of the theoretical underpinnings of thematic analysis used to study right-wing extremist activity online, both in terms of the movement's positioning as a fringe political minority within Canada and the use of White supremacist beliefs to inform the political and ideological positions of its members. I also discuss some ethical considerations entailed in conducting Internet research on right-wing extremist communities. I then detail my methodology in collecting my data and the specifics of my coding process. I finish this section with a discussion of the importance of this study and map the remaining sections of this thesis.

1.2. Theoretical Underpinnings of Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis is a qualitative methodology that focuses on determining, analyzing, and understanding patterns of meaning from a given data corpus (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Initially a poorly defined method despite its widespread use in qualitative research, thematic analysis is best understood as a broad category of methods that can be subdivided into three leading and distinct perspectives in conducting research: coding reliability; reflexivity; and codebook thematic analysis (Braun et al., 2019).

Coding reliability in thematic analysis relies on a coding frame developed by the researcher(s) prior to beginning the coding process. This frame is comprised of each code used in a study with an accompanying code description, notes on what should typically be included or excluded from a given code, and examples. The themes generated from a dataset are created beforehand and applied independently by a team of researchers to verify the reliability of the coding frame. In ideal terms, each researcher participating in the coding process should generally arrive to similar coding results (Braun et al., 2019; Guest et al., 2012). Braun et al. (2019) argue that coding reliability approaches, in trying to control for researcher bias by cross-testing coding results against each participating researcher, relies heavily on what Kidder and Fine (1987) conceptualized as "small q" qualitative research: "qualitative research conceptualized as tools and techniques, not as a paradigm or underlying philosophy for research" (Braun et al., 2019, p. 848).

Reflexive thematic analysis embraces the researcher's subjectivity by allowing the researcher to interpret their data within the context of their scholarly training and interests while acknowledging how personal experiences and background can influence qualitative analysis of a given data corpus. Typically, researchers are invited to share how their positionality and ideological commitments contribute to generating their qualitative analysis of their data. The coding process, in direct opposition to both coding reliability approaches and codebook thematic analysis, is seen as an organic and dynamic process by which codes can be generated and then modified as the researcher becomes more comfortable with their data. Closer engagement with data as a study progresses towards completion is understood as naturally leading to more complex conceptualizations of data and thus richer descriptions within the analysis of the

researcher's themes. In contrast to coding reliability, reflexive thematic analysis adopts a fully qualitative approach (big 'Q') in that it understands the meaning of data as situated within a specific sociocultural context, that truth and reality are multiple, and that objectivity on the researcher's part is not only impossible to achieve but is also an important piece of the puzzle in qualitative research (Braun et al., 2019; Kidder & Fine, 1987).

Lastly, codebook thematic analysis is conceptualized by Braun et al. (2019) as borrowing from both coding reliability approaches and reflexive thematic analysis. This last perspective of thematic analysis adopts the qualitative commitments of reflexive thematic analysis while engaging with the structured approach outlined by coding reliability without necessarily sharing the methods used by the latter approach in ensuring reliability. Codebooks are created before the analysis of data and can be refined as the researcher codes their data. No matter the approach taken, thematic analysis is not a rigid methodology that requires complete adherence to one of these techniques. I heed the advice of Brooks et al. (2015) that thematic analysis can be conducted in a myriad of different ways and researchers should not feel trapped by specific guidelines offered by other researchers. For the purposes of my study, I adopt a codebook approach to my qualitative analysis and coding process.

I appreciate the fact that researchers all belong to their own social, political, and cultural contexts that are complexified by their social positionings, and that these variables influence qualitative research in their own way. However, there are potential repercussions in sharing personal information in an open-access document on this topic (Gilbert, 2022; Lee, 2017; Pauwels, 2021). I am aware of researcher subjectivity and the various ways my position in society impacts my research interests and my ability to operate and conduct research within right-wing extremist *milieus*. I continue to believe that the negative risks associated with such an exposition of my personal details far outweighs the minutiae of putting this information into words through a semi-permanent medium like York University's Yorkspace where electronic versions of students' thesis and dissertations are stored and made available to any Internet visitor.

No matter the thematic coding approach, discussions over what constitutes a theme is subject to debate. Braun and Clark (2006, 2019) conceptualized themes to be the reflection of a pattern of shared meaning that centrally organizes singular data items and the implicit ideas contained within these into an organizing concept. Another conceptualization of themes involves summarizing data items within a dataset into a "domain summary" wherein semantic themes are identified and offer understandings of the meaning as presented by research participants themselves. Given my own study's objectives and research questions, my themes are primarily domain summaries in that they provide an overview of the broad topics discussed within the Stormfront Canada community in 2021.

1.3. Internet Research and Stormfront Canada

The reasons for my focus on Stormfront Canada instead of other digital Canadian right-wing extremist groups for purposes of this study are twofold. First, research in this field conducted online can bring several challenges relating to access depending on the social media platform or website chosen. Content moderation on mainstream social media platforms has significant risks in terms of reliability for researchers as relevant content can be pulled at any time by large technology companies for breaching their terms of service which often include stipulations about hate speech, inciting violence, and harassment (Dredge, 2015). Many far right and other extremist groups take measures as a result to

conceal the communities they participate in by listing their groups as private, making the process of finding these communities particularly hard. These groups are seldom found by simply searching for them using Facebook's search feature and are instead found through algorithmic recommendations to users already partaking in such communities (Paul, 2021). Invitations to these private groups are required to see and interact with the content posted to these circles, with some groups allowing non-invitees to submit a screening form to ensure new members are ideologically similar to the tenets of the relevant group. Second, the anonymity provided by Stormfront is unparalleled relative to other social media platforms. The website itself does not require visitors to register to view forum posts and replies, making public access to a virtually endless amount of data possible. Research has shown that online anonymity, or deindividuation, increases the tendency by which Internet users produce more aggressive and offensive statements than they would offline. By virtue of not requiring a phone number, an address, or even a profile picture, Stormfront permits users to indulge in complete anonymity as they share with candor their extreme opinions with fellow community members without concern for social desirability (Glaser et al., 2002). This effect, in addition to the self-hosted status of Stormfront that does not bind it to the guidelines and terms of service of centralized platforms like Facebook or Twitter, grants researchers the ability to analyze right-wing extremist content without the challenges of censorship and limited access to the data they need.

This public access to user-generated content does not come without its ethical considerations. Digital communications between community members on Stormfront and other online messaging boards may be understood to be private in nature as the authors of this content did not necessarily intend for outsiders to have access to their personal communications. Research that involves downloading, categorizing, and analyzing content en masse like mine could also be seen as intrusive. Upon consideration, however, I heed to founder/webmaster Don Black's own recommendations for Stormfront users in their participation on the website to be cognizant that Stormfront is a public forum and that it specifically allows unregistered visitors to have access to most content posted to the messaging board. Under the Guidelines for Posting section of the website, Black states to new members that (emphasis in original):

"Before you post **anything**, remember that words have consequences, both for you and others. This is true even if they're posted pseudonymously on a discussion board.

Don't post anything you wouldn't want attributed to you in a court of law, quoted on the front page of the New York Times, or read by your mother. Don't come back in a few months or years and ask us to delete all your posts because you can't take the heat or you've "changed your mind." It wouldn't make much difference anyway, since public posts are cached by search engines and recorded by countless other people with varying motives" (Black, 2001).

Despite these privacy expectations set by Stormfront's founder, the incredibly sensitive nature of the digital communications shared on the website remains. Following the Charlottesville Unite the Right protests in 2017, many online activists took steps to identify right-wing extremist marchers photographed on the scene by media and then proceeded to dox protestors by publishing their personal information (current workplace, social media accounts, address, and other identifiable information) with many reaching out to their employers to get them disciplined or fired. This attempt at extrajudicial retribution following what many saw as an egregious affront to the racial justice developments happening in the

United States post-Civil Rights era puts into question the necessity for researchers to leave identifiable information of the online communities they study within their finished manuscripts or publications (Hawkes, 2017). For purposes of this study, I have taken extra steps to ensure that the statements by Stormfront Canada users are devoid of any identifiers, whether they be their forum usernames, location information, or their profile pictures. While these steps would not completely prevent a determined person to find the forum posts that are used as examples, this *juste milieu* allows this study to clearly showcase the examples from which the analysis is conducted, but also allows for a modicum of privacy to be respected despite the public nature of Stormfront (Franzke et al., 2020).

One of the reasons for which I chose to conduct research on an online community with no face-to-face interviews was the issue of trust. Anonymized interviews through video conferencing software is possible (Schils & Verhage, 2017; Winterbotham & Pearson, 2020). However, I did not have the technological knowledge to protect the anonymity of potential participants during the interviews as to ensure their identities were unknown to even myself. The mistrust extremist communities have for outsiders coupled with the social undesirability of their opinions make it even harder for researchers to recruit participants. There is also a case to be made that digital communities like Stormfront already allow individuals to exchange political ideas with other members within levels of anonymity that are deemed acceptable to the individual (e.g., one can share their location data or choose not to; use their real names; or even give away other personal identity markers). My study has taken steps to conceal identifiable information both in the choice of data collection method (public forums with anonymized user profiles) and the presentation of my analysis (with personal identity markers removed).

My personal safety was also considered in my decision to not individually connect with Stormfront Canada users. Parts of my identity are the subject of much deliberation within this community, which may create friction with some members as I have found numerous instances of prejudiced statements as I collected my dataset that directly pertain to some of the characteristics that make up my personal identity.

1.4. Data Collection and Coding

My research's unit of data collection were forum threads and replies made by users active on Stormfront Canada and its three subsections: Canadian General Discussion, Canadian News, and Canadian Politics and Activism. Threads and replies from January 1 to December 31, 2021, were collected and tabulated on Excel with their associated metadata, notably thread posting dates, titles, and views as well as user participation quantified by number of users participating in each thread and which users participated. The studied year 2021 was selected as it was characterized by COVID-19 and lockdown measures enacted by all levels of government in Canada, as well as a growing climate of political divisiveness south of the border with President Joe Biden's inauguration and continued conflict- and climate-related displacements worldwide leading to migratory stress in the Global North, especially the United States and the European Union. While the latter issues did not directly pertain to Canada, Canadian White ethnonationalism should be understood as a national ethno-ideology developed in tandem with other adherents living in other countries. The Internet's worldwide reach has enabled a new level of global connectiveness between right-wing extremist groups inside and outside Canada, and White ethnonationalists develop and cement their ideological beliefs through interactions with both domestic and international White ethnonationalists (Beirich, 2022). This point notwithstanding, Canada also experienced its own localized

experiences with migrants entering the country through the irregular border crossing at Roxham Road in Saint-Bernard-de-Lacolle in Quebec (Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2023).

Forum threads were tabulated on Excel according to the section they were posted in, their creation date, the username of the original poster, the thread name, the number of replies and unique users that contributed to the discussion in 2021, and lastly the total number of views for each forum thread. Views were impossible to quantify for only the studied year, thus total view numbers should be understood as the total number of views generated from the creation date of a forum thread up to the moment that the forum thread was entered into Excel. The data collection process took place within two months starting in October 2022 and ending in early December 2022. These forum threads were saved in a portable document format (PDF) and their naming scheme was standardized chronologically according to the messaging board they belonged to. A total of 289 threads and 987 replies were compiled, catalogued, and coded from all four messaging boards. This activity was generated by 145 users over a period of one calendar year. After saving these forum threads as .pdf files and organizing them on Excel, I imported them into MaxQDA Analytics Pro 2022, a coding analysis software. Below is a summary of activity markers for the studied year.

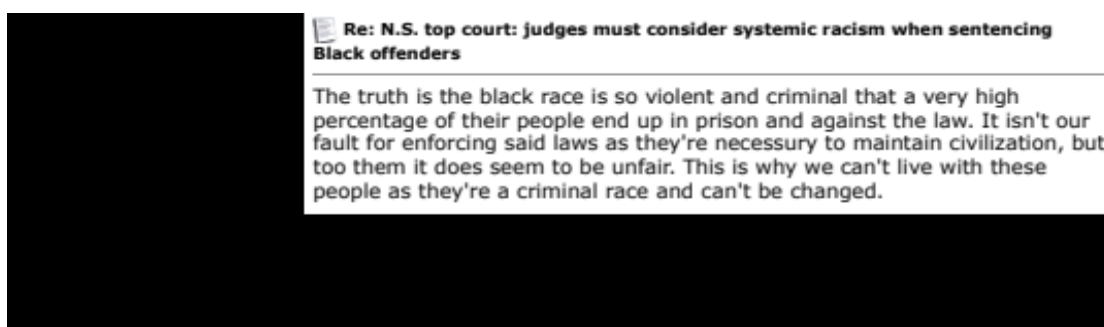
Table 1: Stormfront Canada 2021: Summary of Activity Markers			
Messaging Board	# of Threads	# of Replies	# of Views
Stormfront Canada	7	26	10,372
Canadian General Discussion	32	177	31,249
Canadian News	230	662	110,813
Canadian Politics and Activism	20	122	20,211
Total	289	987	172,645

(Source: Christian Costanzo-Vignale, 2023)

Next, I uniformly applied the following inductive coding process. First, I assigned a thematic code according to the main topic of discussion for each given thread. For instance, the thread posted on December 30, 2021, in the Canadian News messaging board, titled “The misleading claim that 150,000 Indigenous children were forced to attend residential schools” was assigned the code *Thread/First Nations, Indigenous Issues/Residential Schools*. It is to be understood that in this case, the code *Residential Schools* is the main topic of discussion of the thread, and that *Thread* and *First Nations, Indigenous Issues* are analytical codes. Some analytical codes also doubled as thematic codes when forum threads could not reasonably be broken down into a more specific thematic code. For instance, a forum thread posted in April 2021 on Stormfront Canada called “KKK,rat,spray-painted on Calgary home in possible hate-motivated attack: police” was coded as *Thread/Crime/Hate Crime* as there was no indication of any demographic identifier for the victim(s) or perpetrator(s), both on the forum thread and on the linked *Global News* article on the incident, which, had that information been included, would have allowed me to further break down the forum thread topic into a more specific thematic code.

Second, I applied an inductive values coding approach for the forum replies under each collected forum thread. Replies with offensive content, whether xenophobic, racist, sexist, transphobic, homophobic, or sexist in nature, were coded under the “Replies/Offensive Speech” analytical code with added specificity depending on the type of offensive speech. For example, a reply (reproduced in Figure 1) was coded with *Replies/Offensive Speech/Racism/Against Black People*. This was done to further enrich the potential conclusions of a thematic quantitative overview of the Stormfront Canada community as with more specific codes it is possible to demonstrate which groups, in this example, are targeted by offensive speech by Stormfront Canada users.

Figure 1: Data Collection Example



A Stormfront Canada reply to a news article reporting on judicial proceedings with regards to racialized defendants. This reply was coded as *Replies/Offensive Speech/Racism/Against Black People* (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

In addition to this process, I recorded the number of users that participated in each thread as well as their usernames. This compilation was done for two reasons. It allowed me to visualize genuine user participation on the four messaging boards outside of lurkers (i.e., anonymous Stormfront Canada users that do not participate in community discussions). Gathering this data also granted me the ability to illustrate how close-knit this right-wing extremist online space is and show quantitatively how many threads were started by the same users throughout the studied year. However, a common problem in online messaging boards is that old threads will sometimes be *revived* by a user replying to a discussion thread that has not seen any new activity in weeks, months, and sometimes years. This process is colloquially known online as *necroing* or reanimating a thread that has long since served its purpose (Newport, 2020). In my case study, some threads posted late in 2021 contained replies that spilled well into the following year and beyond. For purposes of coding, these replies were discarded as they were outside of the studied year.

1.5. Importance of this Study

The objective of this research is to analyse White ethnonationalist politics vis-à-vis its conceptualizations of the Other in an independently hosted virtual community where in-group perceptions of a racialized out-group are not neutered due to the enforcement of sitewide policies against hate speech. The *laissez-faire* approach to content moderation of the Canadian bulletin boards on Stormfront allows for an unfiltered thematic analysis of the content found within this White ethnonationalist community.

Online research within this field in Canada is nascent and this study is positioned to supplement current understandings of how one right-wing extremist community discusses its position in relation to marginalized and racialized communities through discussions of local, national, and international news that made headlines between January 1st and December 31st, 2021. By using an approach to thematic analysis that included keeping quantitative records of the community's activity, this research also presents the intimate nature of this White ethnonationalist group as most forum threads and replies left on the website were authored by a very small proportion of the users who have used the website within the data sample.

While law enforcement agencies across Canada have been characterized as generally being apathetic to policing right-wing extremist groups (Perry & Scrivens, 2018), the Canadian Security and Intelligence Services (2021) has in recent years acknowledged the growing threat that ideologically motivated terrorism poses to Canadians. In deconstructing a right-wing extremist community's political aspirations and main ideological tenets, this study expands on the information we have of established right-wing extremist networks operating in Canada.

1.6. Mapping

I dedicate the second section of this thesis to an overview of the available literature on Canadian right-wing extremism and explore the conditions that allow the movement's ideologies to proliferate in the country. I also present the history of the case-study that is the subject of this research, highlight the similarities and differences between White supremacy and ethnonationalism, as well as provide scholarly insight about the many facets involved in the discursive construction of the Other and ensuing dissemination of this image to the general population. I close the section with the importance of conducting online research on right-wing extremist groups and activities.

The third section begins the quantitative analysis of the data collected from my case-study. I separate into four categories the community based on user activity and discuss the close-knit nature of the group. The section is then divided into two parts. The first part covers the various codes used to categorize the topics of discussions for forum threads posted to the bulletin board between January 1st and December 31st, 2021. My findings show that the four main categories of discussion held between community members within the studied year were, in order of frequency, anti-hate initiatives, politics, crime, and health within the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. In the second part, I repeat the presentation conducted in the first part for forum replies left by community members within the same time frame as collected forum threads. The main themes of these replies were, in order of frequency, disinformation and historical negationism, offensive and hateful speech, and lastly the political demands of Stormfront Canada members.

The fourth section is divided into two subsections of qualitative analysis. In one subsection, I discuss the main processes used by community members to discursively construct out-groups, which include beliefs in White supremacy, biological determinism, racial essentialism, as well as a routine use of dehumanizing language and historical negationism, which involves a malicious reanalysis of history using fabricated evidence to delegitimize well-established academic interpretations of historical events (Reichstadt, 2015). These ideological constructions of the Other rely on a worldview shaped by the Great Replacement theory that envisions our world divided into two oppositional groups. These are the transnational White supremacist communities across the world mobilizing against an alleged coalition of

racialized immigrants, activists, and gender and sexual minorities led by an elusive cabal of Jewish elites operating at a global scale to subvert public institutions and power structures to exterminate White populations globally. The last subsection pertains to the political demands of this right-wing extremist community in fighting against this perceived coming racial war and civilizational clash between these oppositional groups. The community's political aspirations are divided into adaptive and militant political demands. Community members promoting adaptive solutions to the White ethnonationalist 'struggle' advocate for political measures in line within current political systems because they operate from the assumption that the current power held by White ethnonationalist groups in Canada will continue to be minimal. These demands are largely non-violent in that they entail concentrating the right-wing extremist vote into select political parties that most closely resembles their vision for Canada or internal migration schemes to achieve a simple majority (51%) of votes to achieve the peaceful separation of a Canadian province from the country to create an ethnostate. Militant political demands forgo respecting current democratic political processes and instead promote the violent takeover of the Canadian political apparatus to create an ethnostate. Once established, community members envision their White ethnonationalist state restricting non-White immigration and banning racialized individuals or persons identifying within the gender and sexual minority identity umbrella. More violent political demands include the destruction of democracy in favour of fascism, a complete overhaul of the judicial system into a punitive court system where ethnic, gender, and sexual minorities are controlled, and the purging (either in the form of forced expulsion from the country or genocide) of racialized populations.

I conclude this research by sharing my thoughts on the increasing threat that the weaponization of the Internet by right-wing extremist actors to disseminate their ideological beliefs poses to netizens globally. I end with a call for sustained scholarly attention in documenting the innerworkings of the Canadian right-wing extremist movement to better inform policy makers and researchers in developing deradicalization programmes to combat hate.

2. Understanding Canadian Right-Wing Extremism

This section begins by tackling the right-wing extremist umbrella term, its definition, and the in-group and out-group framework by which these groups conceive of their worldviews. This framework is then explained through a brief review of the Canadian context that allows right-wing extremist groups to proliferate in Canada and comfortably spread their hateful ideologies. The state of contemporary Canadian research on right-wing extremism is then presented, which is followed by an introduction of the history of the case-study for this research. Next, an overview of some of the literature on conceptualizations of the Other and historical negationism, one of the many techniques used by right-wing extremists to delegitimize out-groups, is presented. It finishes with outlining the importance of the present study.

2.1. Defining Canadian Right-Wing Extremism

Literature on Canadian right-wing extremism employs various monikers to write about the movement. These terms include the radical right (Bowman-Grieve, 2009), the alternative right (Neville & Langlois, 2021), the far-right (Crosby, 2021; Reichstadt, 2015; Tanner & Campana, 2020), and the extreme-right

(Conway, 2017). The variety of names used to describe this movement illustrates the field's large scope as right-wing extremist actors come from a multitude of different local contexts that influence the particularities of their ideological tenets and demands made to conform society to their ideals.

Terminology aside, a key similarity between these various groups that compose the right-wing extremist umbrella is the establishment of an in-group and out-group framework in line with one or a series of group identities that delimit an 'us' against a 'them' that is discursively constructed as anathema to the in-group. Extremism, then, is a belief system narratively constructed within an in-group, where the group's "success or survival can never be separated from the need for hostile action against an out-group" (Berger, 2018, p. 44). This belief system can stem from different communal identifiers used by individuals to mobilize against perceived hostile out-groups differentiated by shared racial or ethnic identities, national attachment to a shared history, and religion, among other identifiers (Berger, 2018).

Extremist groups can shape their in-group in ways that include different kinds of identifiers. This is the case for White ethnonationalists who fashion their in-group dynamics by combining their belief in White hegemony with the supremacy of the nation-state they reside in. While White ethnonationalist groups come in a variety of different forms, a central worldview unites them ideologically. Bowman-Grieve (2009) argues that this unity stems from a shared worldview that describes a victimized in-group of racially-conscious White populations that exist in defiance of a racialized coalition of hostile out-groups that threaten them. Other unifying beliefs include the false spatial sense of precedence over these out-groups ("we were here first!"), vilification of racialized communities and interracial relationships, as well as a belief in a shared apocalyptic future where a civilization clash between races will unfold which requires the continued mobilization and preparation of White populations in this conceptualized battlefield for survival. This racial clash is believed to be orchestrated by a transnational and secretive group of Jewish elites who are allegedly in control of existing public institutions and other seats of power. Lastly, right-wing extremist movements in Canada construct a past that highlights the accomplishments of their in-group and White Europeans more broadly, while also minimizing or denying legitimate out-group historical grievances and injustices like the Holocaust or the realities of the residential school system in Canada (Bowman-Grieve, 2009).

Right-wing extremism in Canada can also include other out-group constructions outside of race, ethnicity, and nationality. Beliefs in the stratification of society according to traditional gender expectations and vocal opposition to non-heterosexual identities are also part of these groups and lead to disdain toward gender and sexual minorities and feminists. Recently, events hosted by drag artists have led to outrage among the 'religious right,' a facet of right-wing extremism that opposes LGBT activists and constructs this out-group by characterizing transgender persons as child predators and groomers (Gilmore, 2023).

The particularities of each right-wing extremist group are varied and catch-all definitions are difficult to apply as different groups will behave in accordance with their specific constructions of the out-group or 'Other' that characterizes their worldviews differently. For purposes of this research, I employ Perry and Scriven's (2016, p. 821) description of right-wing extremism as it takes into account the ideological diversity of these groups:

"We suggest that RWE [right-wing extremism] is a loose movement, animated by a racially, ethnically, and sexually defined nationalism. This nationalism is typically framed in terms of White power, and is grounded in xenophobic and exclusionary understandings of the

perceived threats posed by such groups as non-Whites, Jews, immigrants, homosexuals, and feminists. As a pawn of the Jews, the state is perceived to be an illegitimate power serving the interests of all but the White man. To this end, extremists are willing to assume both an offensive and defensive stance in the interests of ‘preserving’ their heritage and their ‘homeland.’”

2.2. A Climate That Promotes Hate

The conditions that proliferate such beliefs in Canada are multiple. Perry and Scrivens (2018) analysis of interview responses by right-wing extremists found that these are the normativity of racism in the country, a political culture that enables intolerance to persist and multiply, as well as weak and apathetic law enforcement. The first condition, the authors argue, rests on a Canadian history ripe with state-supported racial injustices against Indigenous peoples and racialized immigrants. This history, which is embraced by right-wing extremists in this country, promoted the stratification of society through a strict White supremacist racial hierarchy that conceived of racialized persons and communities as heathens, savages, and obstacles to modernity (Perry & Scrivens, 2018). Institutionalized racism persisted well into the twentieth century in official immigration policy, with the 1952 Immigration Act permitting the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and senior bureaucrats to act outside of the provisions legislated by Parliament to render foreign migrants inadmissible to Canada based on their ethnicity or nationality. This process was feasible through the use of order-of-councils to circumvent existing frameworks to prohibit entry into the country and was manipulated in ways going as far as citing “climatic suitability” as a potential reason for barring migrants (Parent & Ellis, 2015, p. 4). An excerpt from the 1958 director of the Immigration Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration reads:

“It is not by accident that coloured British subjects other than negligible numbers from the United Kingdom are excluded from Canada... they do not assimilate readily and pretty much vegetate to a low standard of living... many cannot adapt themselves to our climatic conditions” (Mooten, 2021, p. 9).

Perry and Scrivens (2018) suggest that this history normalizes the mistreatment of communities that do not conform to White racial hierarchy, and that right-wing extremists manipulate this normalization to appeal to a broad and receptive audience. This is in spite of a concerted effort by the Canadian government in the later half of the twentieth century to introduce multiculturalism, diversity, and inclusion as fundamental Canadian values. Perry and Scrivens (2018) cite polling data showing that widespread antipathy toward Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus by the public creates fertile ground for right-wing extremists to spread their racist views. Prevailing fears of the negative effects of migration, namely wage depression and decreased employment opportunities, are used by right-wing extremist groups to further stigmatize immigrants through an economic lens in an effort to recruit receptive Canadians in adopting their right-wing extremist racist worldview (Perry & Scrivens, 2018). Canadian political culture is also said to enable this climate of hatred as electoral candidates informed ideologically by right-wing extremism or the movement’s beliefs legitimize spatial intolerance where hatred can be rhetorically

debated in the public marketplace of ideas (Perry & Scrivens, 2018).¹ This legitimization enables such views to be presented to the public alongside less radical political positions, further normalizing intolerance as a justifiable political view like any other and presenting institutional challenges against racialized Canadians (Perry & Scrivens, 2018). During the 2015 federal election, for instance, the Conservative Party of Canada headed by then Prime Minister Stephen Harper legitimized xenophobia and Islamophobic perceptions of Muslims by promising the creation of a national government hotline which would have enabled anyone to call state authorities to report ‘barbaric practices’ (Keenan, 2015).

Lastly, Perry and Scrivens (2018) argue that a pervasive apathetic attitude by law enforcement to right-wing extremism and the threats to public safety that the movement generates, especially towards racialized communities, creates a comfortable environment for right-wing extremist groups to enact violence upon these perceived out-groups. Through interviews with law enforcement workers, the authors found that police agency representatives reported widespread inertia and neglect on this issue, with many stating that right-wing extremism poses no risk to the general public despite grievances put forward by racialized communities and anti-hate activists (Perry & Scrivens, 2018).

2.3. Constructing the Other

In discursively constructing the narratives and imagined characteristics of the *in-group* and *out-group* framework emblematic of White ethnonationalists and other right-wing extremist groups, White supremacists partake in orientalism, which Edward Said (1978) argues is an exercise in self-affirmation of Western hegemony over a constructed subservient, feminized, despotic, degenerate, and otherwise backwards Other. Orientalism is thus the process by which a hegemonic power projects regimes of beliefs, values, and meanings into an otherized population that does not participate in this descriptive enterprise, a projection that through its iterative nature becomes accepted as unequivocal truth (Said, 1978). As such, conceptions of the Orient, or of the Other, allow scholarly inquiry into these narratives to unveil more information about the authors of said perceptions than about the targeted out-group. In other words, by studying how the Other is conceptualized by the White ethnonationalist movement and other right-wing extremist groups, one can intimately learn more about the members’ regimes of beliefs and values that inform or justify their worldviews and ensuing political demands to mold our societies towards their fantasized ideals.

In addition to Said’s (1978) *Orientalism* comes Sara Ahmed’s (2004) *affective economies*, which analyzes the process by which negative emotions become attached to constructions of the racialized Other. Emotions, Ahmed (2004) argues, are not just personal feelings but can be directed by social actors in shaping how individuals relate to others. Fear, hate, and anxiety can become ‘sticky’ as they become

¹ Spatial intolerance is a term used by Perry and Scrivens (2018) to discuss the spatial element intrinsic in right-wing extremist ideologies. White ethnonationalism, among other right-wing extremist belief systems, stress the importance of enforcing racialized boundaries wherein racialized others are excluded under the threat of physical or institutionalized violence of entering and participating in activities within these racialized spaces. The maintenance of these racialized boundaries through violence—assaults, police brutality, and dehumanizing language—ensures that “white people, and people of colour, Christians and non-Christians, native-born and immigrants will inhabit their appropriate places in physical and cultural terms. The boundaries are [thus] preserved.” (Perry & Scrivens, 2018) In this example’s case, institutionalized tools to police the use of public and private spaces by racialized Canadians like hotlines ensure that racialized boundaries establishes more accessible means to control how others use space.

bundled with objects, bodies, and symbols, potentially increasing their emotional value as they circulate in society. This economy of emotions can work in tandem with hate and fear to create a narrative or historicized fantasy that generates hateful affective responses and fixes them to demographic groups. Orientalism and affective economies thus reaffirm the negative qualities associated with racialized Others and justifies at all scales—the White supremacist mind, the community, and the nation—the conceptualized inherent status of subjugation of the Other by the hegemonic White ‘us’ (Ahmed, 2004). This exclusionary and binary framework by which the White ethnonationalist worldview is conceived is thus foundational to the narrative adopted by right-wing extremist groups that adopts wholesale an imagined superiority of the White race, and circulates through a negative affective economy the continued discursive construction of the weak, uncivilized, and hostile racialized Other whose only imagined objective is the complete destruction of a civilized White hegemon (Bowman-Grieve, 2009).

A common thread within the right-wing extremist movement is a conspiratorial and contrarian historical belief system by which interpretations of historical events are maliciously recontextualized to dismiss the extent or outright deny the existence of historical grievances held by marginalized communities that compose the conceived out-group following institutionalized discrimination (Bowman-Grieve, 2009; Reichstadt, 2015). This practice has been referred to as historical revisionism, but the term historical negationism seems more appropriate. Revisionism, on one hand, is the process by which new evidence about a given historical episode allows historians to introduce novel academic interpretations of established events. Negationism, on the other hand, is a pseudoscientific reinterpretation of historical events that can be used for a myriad of purposes (Reichstadt, 2015).² Within the context of right-wing extremism, it serves to cast a shadow of doubt over accepted historical facts to delegitimize the ability of marginalized groups to define themselves and allows right-wing extremist groups to deceptively clean the symbols of their nationalist ideologies—the state, the nation, and the White race—of any historical or present wrongdoing (Carrasco, 2020).

The negationist doctrine involves the non-acceptance of established facts mixed with a “strategy of distortion” by which historical fabrications are intertwined within the presentation of a given historical event (Reichstadt, 2015, p. 53). This methodology is characterized by an adversarial attitude towards what negationists refer to as ‘official narratives’ articulated through claims about an overarching attempt by institutional bodies and out-groups (most commonly Jewish) to suppress ‘alternative’ facts and push lies. But it also exhibits what Reichstadt (2015, p. 49) deems an “inversion of victimhood” wherein victims of historical injustices are charged with benefitting from the ‘lie’ of ‘official narratives,’ as well as accusations of hidden motives held by knowledge institutions and out-groups in promoting ‘official narratives’ to seek to unfairly punish the White race. Traditionally, historical negationism was associated with Holocaust deniers, who by virtue of presenting the genocide as ‘alleged’ or its tools as ‘so-called’ gas chambers or death camps, present a malicious reinterpretation of events that seeks to legitimize the idea that an enigmatic faction of Jewish elites conspired to enrich themselves and the state of Israel at the expense of White Germans and Palestinians by propagating an ‘official narrative’ that positions these two populations

² Historical negationism is a term that can be used interchangeably with historical denialism. Reichstadt (2015) explains that historical negationism was coined by Henry Rousso in his book *The Vichy Syndrome* (1987) to “designate the stance of those self-styled ‘revisionists’ who denied or professed major doubts about the industrial-scale extermination of the Jews of Europe by Nazi Germany.” This term was later applied to historical negationists who used pseudoscientific methodologies to contest or deny the historical veracity of other crimes against humanity (Reichstadt, 2015).

and their states as perpetrators (Reichstadt, 2015). Within the context of right-wing extremist movements established in settler-states, historical negationism can take the form of denying colonial atrocities and exploitation of Indigenous nations by colonial authorities (Carrasco, 2020).

2.4. Canadian Right-Wing Extremism

Scholars conducting research on Canadian right-wing extremism have decried numerous times that the field in its current iteration has many gaps (Parent & Ellis, 2015; Perry & Scrivens, 2016), as much of the scholarly attention dedicated to right-wing extremism has typically focused on the movement in the United States and Europe (Momani & Deschamps, 2021). Historically, researchers have documented the rise and fall in prominence of traditional right-wing extremist networks operating in the country in the twentieth century, which included the Ku Klux Klan and its chapters in Western Canada and Ontario (Perry & Scrivens, 2016), neo-Nazi skinhead youth subcultures (Tanner & Campana, 2014; Young & Craig, 1997), Adrien Arcand and the fascist movement he led in the 1930s (Théorêt, 2019), and the White supremacist Heritage Front (Burstow, 2003).

Contemporary research within the field has embraced Internet research methods and highlighted the increasing use of social media by right-wing extremists to disseminate their ideologies to supporters and the public, with some crediting the electoral victory of the Trump campaign in 2016 as the catalyst for both the mainstreaming of hate and a renewed interest in online right-wing extremist research (Momani & Deschamps, 2021; Perry & Scrivens, 2019; Scrivens & Amarasingam, 2020). Hart et al. (2021, p. 8) find that, immediately following the 2016 election, Canadian right-wing extremist groups grew bolder as they posted xenophobic flyers featuring slogans such as “Tired of anti-white propaganda? You are not alone” and “It’s only racist when white people do it.” These flyers, Hart et al. (2021) argue, were a possible indicator that right-wing extremists mobilizing within Canada believed the political climate to be much more permissible than before for hateful rhetoric against racialized Canadians. Coined the “Trump Effect,” Perry and Scrivens (2019) argue that the lines between mainstream political discourse and extremism had become blurred, and that the Trump campaign had direct repercussions on right-wing extremist activity in Canada, with multiple instances of hateful flyers posted around telephone poles in urban centres, anti-Semitic and racist graffiti appearing across the country, vandalism, violence, and ultimately culminating in early 2017 with a mass-shooting at the *Centre Culturel Islamique de Québec* where a radicalized right-wing extremist murdered six worshippers to the mosque and injured nineteen more (Perry & Scrivens, 2019).

This study heeds Conway’s (2017) recommendations that further research is needed to explore the contribution that the Internet has had on extremist movements, particularly as it relates to right-wing extremism, and the author’s call for extremist research outside of the typically studied online jihadist movement within the wider context of the War on Terror, Al-Qa’ida, and the Islamic State’s rise following the Arab Spring in the early 2010s (Conway, 2017). As will be presented next, there is a long history of right-wing extremist groups using the Internet as a platform to congregate with likeminded peers and disseminate their ideologies to potential recruits. This last point, Conway (2017) argues, makes the Internet an important space for extremist research as a milieu that facilitates transnational radicalization efforts conducted by extremist groups.

2.5. Stormfront and Stormfront Canada

Don Black, a former American Nazi Party member and Grand Wizard of the Alabama charter of the Ku Klux Klan alongside the likes of David Duke, was one of the first White supremacists and ethnonationalists to understand the rising importance of the Internet in the late 1990s for rallying White supremacists across the United States into a centralized community forum named Stormfront (Swain & Nieli, 2003). Despite mishaps with the law and political blunders in Alabama, Black founded the website in 1995 after learning how to program in a Texan federal prison where he was incarcerated for three years starting in 1981 following a failed plot to overthrow the government of the Caribbean island-nation of Dominica with other White supremacists. Black wanted to create an online presence for alternative pro-White media that would act as a counter to what he perceived to be a hostile liberal media environment controlled by Jewish interests hellbent on shaming Whites for the country's present and historical relationship with other racialized groups. In an appeal to the principle of self-determination and European exceptionalism, Black pitted White supremacist factions against mainstream currents of racial justice and equality by affirming the right of White people to rule the country as they saw fit with the goal of establishing a White ethnostate. Black's explanations for the creation of Stormfront thus relied on a subdued manifestation of White supremacy wherein explicit racist policies and White hegemony were to be communicated to the public through a veneer of euphemisms and borrowed language from activist circles to insinuate that this ultimate political goal of a separate nation for White Americans was a noble goal. After all, Black exploited his media appearances in the 1990s to assuage critics by claiming that self-determination applies to all ethnic groups in the world, and that he would support the establishment of a nation-state for every racial group, with the condition that a White ethnostate be tolerated both in public discourse but also in actuality once a White state was established (Swain & Nieli, 2003).

At the time of its public release in 1994, Stormfront was the only White supremacist website of its kind among the 3,000 websites that constituted the Internet back then (LaFrance, 2015). Nicknamed the first hate website by the Southern Poverty Law Center (2023), its popularity has not wavered as it remains one of the most visited White supremacist hubs online. Almost 375,000 registered members as of March 2023 have created over 1,096,000 forum threads and generated more than 14,215,000 replies on the website. The highest number of concurrent users on the website reached over 280,000 in November 2022. These numbers set Stormfront apart from all other White supremacist websites online in terms of potential outreach, with subcommunities on the platform representing over 15 countries and regions in 13 languages, with Stormfront Canada constituting one of them, as well as mainstream exposure by way of scholarly attention on White supremacist activity online (Bowman-Grieve, 2009; Bright et al., 2021; Hartzell, 2020). This 21st century transnational coalition of White supremacists, which became possible to maintain and grow because of the Internet, brings in supporters from across the globe, marking a clear separation from its predecessors that were limited in space and time and in specific historical and cultural contexts as was the Ku Klux Klan in North America or the White Liberation Movement in South Africa.

By virtue of the first mover advantage, Stormfront was able to pivot as a valuable resource for White supremacists and ethnonationalists to mobilize in their respective countries to disseminate right-wing extremist talking points and propaganda, with some turning to violence after visiting the website and becoming ideologically entrenched in White supremacist rhetoric (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2023). The Southern Law Poverty Center (2014) based in the United States conducted a five-year survey

of police reports and news associated with Stormfront members between 2009 and 2014 and found that users of the website were responsible for over one hundred murders globally. Such was the case of Anders Behring Breivik, an active user of Stormfront, who murdered 77 people in 2011 in Norway with military-grade weapons and explosives, and Wade Michael Page who, in 2012, killed 6 people in a Sikh temple in Wisconsin before committing suicide (Beirich, 2014; Bever, 2021).

Stormfront is more than just a White supremacist webpage, however. It is a virtual bulletin board with its own community that serves as a resource for White supremacists and ethnonationalists to congregate with like-minded peers, share personal stories and issues, organize for collective action, and browse topical news framed through a White supremacist lens that favours the dissemination of right-wing extremist talking points and political ideologies with no outside challenge by mainstream discourses on race (Bright et al., 2021). Members regularly spread misinformation as they recontextualize reality within their personalized, right-wing extremist worldviews. The website itself is a breeding ground for violent extremists to take up arms against marginalized minorities they conceive as subhuman and devoid of any subjective characteristics, with racial slurs and epithets used commonly on Stormfront. Content moderation is limited, with guidelines clearly stating that racist vocabulary is discouraged but a cursory look at any of the most popular threads on the website show that moderators do not apply the rules universally. Racialized communities and migrants are routinely villainized and made fun of through visual memes that showcase racist caricatures of people of colour and lengthy discussions blaming them for the shifting mainstream discourse on race that White supremacists believe is displacing White hegemony.

The construction and ensuing hatred of the racialized 'Other' on Stormfront Canada takes on forms that are rarely seen on mainstream social media platforms and news networks. White ethnonationalists on the website often go on long and detailed racist tirades, blaming immigrants and racialized populations for their own personal and professional failures. Community members frequently ascribe physical illness and malaise to simply sharing the same air as the people they despise, with one user stating that they will "never forget the feeling of tightness in my chest while moving through a dominantly non-White shopping mall or train... Vancouver will be a Eurasian city in a couple of generations." Another user, in response to a thread about interracial relationships, described encountering a multiracial couple and their child as "gross," and that they had to "look away in disgust and contain my rage every time I see them and I feel sick inside." Attached to this last reply was a White supremacist comic panel implying that Jewish elites were conspiring to influence the broader White public in choosing partners outside of their race. Ultimately, Stormfront Canada users indulge in their bigotry as the most active threads on the website are the most heinous in their language. Members are explicitly xenophobic, racist, antisemitic, homophobic, transphobic, as well as sexist, and are proud to be so.

Stormfront Canada acts as the gathering place of choice for Canadian Stormfront users to access news and discussions about Canada and its specific historical and sociocultural context. The Canadian community participates in the main bulletin board, Stormfront Canada, but also in three further subsections with self-explanatory names, Canadian General Discussion, Canadian News, and Canadian Politics and Activism. While these bulletin boards are mostly used by Canadians, I have found that some of the most active users of all four boards are from abroad. This should be taken with a grain of salt, however, as location data is self-reported on Stormfront, and users are encouraged to somewhat conceal their identities for fears of being doxed (having otherwise private online information be revealed publicly and associated with a public person). One key difference between the main Stormfront bulletin board and its Canadian subforums is in terms of content moderation. Stormfront Canada has a special rule that

forbids any use of epithets of any kind for fears of being found in violation of federal Canadian hate speech laws (Section 318 of the Canadian Criminal Code) that make offenders liable for up to two years of imprisonment (Criminal Code, 1985; Stormfront Moderator, 2020). I have found multiple instances where this content moderation rule was not respected, especially in forum threads about interracial relationships as well as news articles on migration from the Global South to Canada.

2.6. White Supremacy and White Ethnonationalism, Two Faces of the Same Coin?

Stormfront advertises itself as a digital haven for White ethnonationalists across the world to mingle and exchange their unique perspectives informed by their own regional contexts within a global platform. This transnational community cloaks its controversial ideologies by marking a clear line in the sand between the traditional White supremacy that pervades pre-Internet White supremacist movements like the Ku Klux Klan, and the White ethnonationalism (usually used interchangeably with White separatism or nationalism) espoused on Stormfront. White ethnonationalism is an incarnation of White supremacy constructed on the common ideas of physical racial segregation through the superiority of the White race and its political separation from other racialized communities through the formation of a White ethnostate. As Hartzell (2020, p. 131) puts it, “White nationalists argue that, unlike White supremacists who are fueled by hatred of other races, they are driven by a desire to protect and preserve White identity and culture, which they argue is threatened by diversity and multiculturalism.” This semantic argument thus imbues White ethnonationalists with an arms-length distance to White supremacy to the eyes of lurkers on Stormfront Canada, presenting its assumptions and theoretical framework as an evolution of White supremacy, without the hateful rhetoric, that casts a wide net on curious visitors to the website for recruitment purposes. Stormfront Canada may present itself as the rational alternative to White supremacist groups online, but it is fundamentally an exercise in White hegemony cloaked through the idea that its political aims as a community are nothing but reasonable demands. In their words and as seen on the frontpage of Stormfront, “*We are White Nationalists, who support true diversity and a homeland for all peoples, including ours.*” (Stormfront.org, 2023, emphasis in original). This slogan is nothing but a façade for the uninitiated, as the content of the 2021 forum threads and replies collected for this study prove the White supremacist language many of the users employ to argue for White supremacy is well-represented in the dataset.

The next section presents my quantitative results of my coding process and the distribution of thematic codes assigned to forum threads and replies. I also illustrate the insularity of the Stormfront Canada community by quantifying the total amount of user activity generated on a per-user basis.

3. The Numbers Behind Hate

Before delving into the quantitative results, it is important to discuss the limitations of a quantitative overview of Stormfront Canada, starting with the lack of clear demographic markers for users. Nationality, gender, place of residence, age, and religion are impossible to quantify in a virtual community that relies on users to provide this information themselves, especially in the case of an extremist community like Stormfront Canada where fear of offline repercussions for online speech incentivises personal anonymity and abstraction of one’s identity (Holtz et al., 2012). Forum threads about meeting in-person are often

filled with community members mocking the original posters for trying to dox users, with accusations of being a Canadian Security Intelligence Services undercover agent running around. It is important to understand that the quantitative overview of Stormfront Canada provided below can only be representative of the image community members have created and maintained for themselves, whether this image is truthful or dishonest. This is why quotes from my dataset of forum posts and replies will be used to show examples of coded categories without any alterations. Additionally, my own bias comes into play. Thematic coding is inherently subjective and is impacted by the researcher's personal judgements on what is relevant for the purposes of their study (Clifford et al., 2010). The research questions of this study revolve around disinformation (White supremacist tropes), offensive speech (how is the 'Other' conceived on Stormfront Canada?) and politics (what political demands are articulated in the community?). Other researchers could use the same dataset created for this research to study how gender norms are created and observed on Stormfront Canada, or how members perceive their own wellbeing and health in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic, among other research questions relevant to the studied community.

In sum, while the quantitative findings below do provide substantive insights on the activity and the content of their discussions in the studied year for the Stormfront Canada community, I cannot ascertain with any certitude that every user can be linked to one or multiple persons in the offline world, nor can I make any observations on the demographics of this community by extrapolating from the data I collected. Lastly, my own research interests guide the direction of the quantitative analysis as I have chosen to focus on a selection of the topics covered on Stormfront Canada in the studied year.

I begin this section with an overview of Stormfront Canada users by their level of activity on the website using the frequency that each individual user posts new threads or leaves a reply on a thread to one of the four messaging boards that make up the Canadian community. I organize posters and repliers according to rare, occasional, frequent, or super activity. I then move on to cover the overall themes of discussion presented within forum threads created in 2021 and focus on the four major thematic categories (anti-hate initiatives, politics, health, and crime) by frequency. In the remaining part, I continue with the frequency of forum replies and cover the three major analytical categories (disinformation, offensive speech, and politics) and present the subcodes for each coding category covered. The complete list of codes used in this study are available in appendices. Appendix A covers all codes used for forum threads, and Appendix B presents all the codes used for forum replies. The frequency of each code is presented in this section with parentheses following each code to save space and make writing less cluttered.

3.1. User Activity

Forum threads posted in 2021 to Stormfront Canada and its three subsections were generated by 47 users. Most of these threads were created by a small subset of these users. 25 community members only posted once in the entire studied year. These are represented as 'rare posters' in the below table. This means that the rest of the 264 threads were posted by 22 unique users. 16 out of those 22 users created equal or fewer than five threads in total for 2021, totaling 46 threads for the 'occasional posters' group. Frequent posters who posted more than 5 threads but less than 20 accounted for 48 threads. Lastly, 2 posters generated 170 threads out of the total 289 threads posted in 2021. This proportion represents a little under 59 percent of all threads posted in the studied year. See the table below for a visual summarization of the above numbers.

Table 2: Summary of Posted Threads by User Group in 2021 on Stormfront Canada

Posters (# of Threads Posted)	# of Users	Total Threads	Cumulative Total	% of Total
Rare Posters (less than 2)	25	25	25	8.65%
Occasional Posters (2-5)	16	46	71	15.92%
Frequent Posters (6-20)	4	48	119	16.61%
Super Posters (21-108)	2	170	289	58.82%

(Source: Christian Costanzo-Vignale. 2023)

I counted user participation within forum threads differently. First, I created four tables on Excel for each messaging board and assigned a score of one for every user that participated in each thread. These tables are not available for consultation as they cannot be anonymized reliably without losing context. This means that user participation as it pertains to replies is not to be understood as the number of times a user left a reply across all four messaging boards but rather as having left at least one reply in a thread. Multiple replies in the same thread are not counted as an additional weighted score to determine user participation on Stormfront Canada for purposes of this study. Thus, this means that the cumulative total of all replies left on all four messaging boards that make up Stormfront Canada is 979, despite the total collected replies being 987.

These 979 replies were posted by 145 users across the studied year. A similar distribution of user participation as was found for forum threads is present for posted replies. 86 users, represented by the 'rare repliers' class in Table 3, posted one or two replies in 2021, totaling 103 replies for this group. Community members with equal or less than ten replies but above two replies are numbered at 39 users and are labelled as 'occasional repliers.' This group contributed 170 replies. Frequent repliers, which are Stormfront Canada users that have posted more than 10 but equal or less than 35 replies, account for 14 users in total with 287 replies. Lastly, super repliers, or users who have posted more than 35 replies in the studied year, are responsible for 419 replies despite this group only consisting of 6 users. It is important to note that super repliers and super posters, as with other groups present in Table 3 and their respective counterparts in Table 2, are not fully constituted of the same community members in both groups. Some forum users partake in a lot of back-and-forth with other members within forum discussions but may not initiate these conversations themselves by posting threads. Only one of the most active users within the community belonged to both the super replier and super posted categories.

Table 3: Summary of Posted Replies by User Group in 2021 on Stormfront Canada

Repliers (# of Replies Posted)	# of Users	Total Replies	Cumulative Total	% of Total
Rare Repliers (less than 2)	86	103	103	10.52%
Occasional Repliers (2-10)	39	170	273	17.36%
Frequent Repliers (11-35)	14	287	560	29.32%
Super Repliers (36-110)	6	419	979	42.80%

(Source: Christian Costanzo-Vignale, 2023)

This distribution of user-generated content by authorship on Stormfront Canada for 2021 mirrors other studies of online right-wing extremist spaces. Kleinberg et al. (2021) conducted a quantitative longitudinal study of Stormfront.org that aimed to illustrate the unequal distribution of user-generated content by authorship posted between 2001 and 2015. The authors observed that a small subset of users (10%) contributed over 80% of all user-generated content and that this minority of posters created forum posts that were longer, as well as more extreme and negative in language (Kleinberg et al., 2021). Stephane J. Baele et al. (2023) found that 17 online extremist messaging boards of various stripes—right-wing extremism, Salafi-jihadist groups, and incel communities— contained a clique of super/hyper posters that occupied dominant roles in forum discussions. They argue for a minority influence model akin to that of Moscovici et al. (1985) wherein influential community leaders guide political discussions and promote extremist ideas to members who express doubt or partial adherence to their respective communities' ethos (Baele et al., 2023).

Consider the following forum replies from a forum thread created by a super replier on the Canadian Politics and Activism section of Stormfront Canada. The original poster argues that the Canadian state is led by inefficient and unqualified political leaders. In a sarcastic response, a frequent replier refuses to lay blame solely on the Jewish cabal community members imagine as responsible for the Great Replacement superconspiracy. Instead, the user adds that White Canadian voters must share the blame for electing parties that support racialized immigration from the Global South. This dissenting opinion is met by multiple influential community leaders (super repliers) enforcing Stormfront Canada's leading beliefs that Jews are ultimately responsible for an imagined White genocide. For clarity, the second reply is the one from the frequent replier who challenges the status quo, and all the other replies were posted by community members belonging to the super replier group.

Figure 2: Challenging the Status Quo (Part 1)

04-09-2021, 02:50 PM #1

Our Kakistocracy

Finally I found it, after always talking about it but never knowing that there was a word for it. I found the word kakistocracy which means: "government by the least suitable or competent citizens of a state." It is the proverbial "Rule of the stupid" or more literally "Rule of the worst."

We seem to live in the days of the intentional kakistocracy of Canada which I will just call KakiCanada from now on.

Things are not going a whole lot better South of the Canadian border.



O'bummer

04-09-2021, 07:53 PM #2

Hold on a second, I have a question 😊

WHO elects this evil "government of the least suitable or competent citizens of a state" ???? WHO does it? Aliens? Androids? Robots??

Or, dare I say, may be CANADIANS do it after all? 😊

May be CANADIANS vote for those politicians who bring millions of newcomers and refugees in annually?

04-13-2021, 04:52 PM #3

Re: Our Kakistocracy

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED] [↗](#)
Hold on a second, I have a question 😊

WHO elects this evil "government of the least suitable or competent citizens of a state" ???? WHO does it? Aliens? Androids? Robots??

Or, dare I say, may be CANADIANS do it after all? 😊

May be CANADIANS vote for those politicians who bring millions of newcomers and refugees in annually?

You made a similar idiotic post a while back to which the moderator gave you the perfect response. Either you didn't read it or you couldn't get the message through your thick head. So here it is again.

Figure 3: Challenging the Status Quo (Part 2)

04-14-2021, 10:24 AM #4

Re: Our Kakistocracy

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED]

You made a similar idiotic post a while back to which the moderator gave you the perfect response. Either you didn't read it or you couldn't get the message through your thick head. So here it is again.

[REDACTED] is under permanent remoderation until such time as I see any trend towards worthwhile contributions to this forum from him. In the meantime, I'll let through most posts that don't outright break the rules. Chances are, that means we're going to see mostly worthless garbage from him.

04-29-2021, 06:35 PM #5

Re: Our Kakistocracy

It is virtually as if [REDACTED] is posting the same post over and over again as if he were a robot. A fool and his posts are easily dismissed/ignored/not missed.

Quote

A Stormfront Canada thread where a frequent replier sarcastically challenges the status quo held by the community that a Jewish group of elites are responsible for the current Canadian political system and that mass immigration is promoted by this same group. The user instead points the finger to White Canadian voters for supporting political parties that support racialized immigration. (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

In sum, empirical data collected by various studies on online right-wing extremist communities corroborate the minority-influence model wherein a small subset of influential members occupy strategic positions within their communities and enforce a particular understanding of the extreme views in line with Stormfront Canada’s interpretation of White ethnonationalism. However, this research project cannot corroborate the quantitative results found by Kleinberg *et al.* (2021) and Baele *et al.* (2023). While my dataset does contain an overabundance of forum threads and replies created by a small group of centrally positioned community members, it is difficult to make further claims about the statistical significance of my results as I did not employ methods that would allow me to test how influential this minority of super repliers/posters are.

3.2. Forum Threads

A total of 289 forum threads were compiled and coded according to the primary topic discussed in each thread. Forum threads can often resemble focus groups in that a topic of discussion is generated by an original poster and then community members can choose to participate and exchange their views on the subject (Holtz *et al.*, 2012). It is usually seen as quite rude to derail a community discussion on a topic by posting off-topic replies within a thread dedicated to a particular subject. Despite some rare instances of Stormfront Canada users replying to threads with irrelevant information, none of these occurrences detracted enough from the topic at hand to warrant different coding processes to track these anomalies. For all cases, the thematic and analytical codes used in my coding process represent the discussion topics in good faith as they were originally presented. Table 4 presents an overview of the largest categories of topics discussed on Stormfront Canada.

Table 4: Stormfront Canada 2021: Forum Thread Coding Results		
Analytical Code	Total	Percentage
Anti-Hate Initiatives	85	29.41%
Politics	53	18.34%
Crime	41	14.19%
Health	33	11.42%
Immigration & Integration	14	4.84%
Systemic Racism	13	4.50%
Community	13	4.50%
Whites as Victims	10	3.46%
First Nations, Indigenous Issues	4	1.38%
Environment, Disasters & Climate Change	3	1.04%
Media	3	1.04%
Education	2	0.69%
Economy	2	0.69%
Transgender Issues	2	0.69%
Miscellaneous	11	3.81%
Total	289	100.00%

(Source: Christian Costanzo-Vignale, 2023)

Anti-Hate Initiatives

Measures taken by Canadian institutions, municipalities, governments, and private entities to combat racial injustice and promote diversity and social justice public life and in the workplace have captivated Stormfront Canada users in 2021. Forum threads on anti-hate initiatives represent almost 30 percent of the entire sample (85 out of 289). All instances of forum threads posted about this subject matter were posted to the *Canadian News* subsection of Stormfront Canada, with no thread in another section being dedicated to this topic in the rest of the dataset. Of these threads, 81 were posted by super posters while 2 were posted by frequent posters. Most coded forum threads on anti-hate initiatives were about anti-racism specifically (52 out of 85), with many dedicated to reporting ongoing developments in the public and private sector about new programmes, funds, and training with various goals ranging from increasing training for law enforcement regarding bias and racism (8), to new financial strategies to invest in local organizations tasked with fighting racism and prejudice (24). Punitive interventions by institutions and corporations against employees who have shown racist prejudice against others have also led to discussions on Stormfront Canada (8). In the background of these initiatives is the growing trend for decisional bodies within public institutions and municipalities to formally distance themselves from the colonial vestiges of this country by renaming placenames and changing colonial symbols like the rebranding of Ryerson University into Toronto Metropolitan University in 2021 (Rancic, 2022). News reports on these issues were covered 14 times in the community. For other forms of anti-hate initiatives, coverage was sparse relative to the ones about racism: antisemitism (4), homophobia (3), islamophobia (4), sexism (1), and transphobia (2). All in all, reports on anti-hate initiatives foment a lot of hatred against racialized groups in Canada and the organizations that take such actions. However, these virulent reactions are not unexpected as some studies on White ethnonationalist digital spaces report a general sense of unease and fear with what members of this movement see as a cultural threat, and an encroachment by racialized groups in what they perceive to be traditionally White spaces, that threatens the integrity of White hegemonic power structures and spaces (Glaser et al., 2002; Perry & Scrivens, 2019).

Politics

As federal political parties campaigned across the country for the 2021 Canadian election, community members debated which political party the community should rally behind, with many espousing support for the People's Party of Canada (see Section 4.2). Forum threads about politics represent 18 percent of the sample (53 out of 289) and over half of these posts (33) were created by super posters (16) and frequent posters (17). Political discussions were not reserved to the *Canadian Politics and Activism* subsection of the Canadian messaging board and were created across all four messaging boards of Stormfront Canada. Of the 53 political forum threads, 28 were about electoral politics. The distribution of threads where the primary focus of discussion was a federal political party was as follows: the Conservative Party of Canada (6), the Liberal Party of Canada (5), the People's Party of Canada (4), the Canadian Nationalist Front and Canadian Nationalist Party (5), the Green Party of Canada (2), and the New Democratic Party (1). Coverage on these different political parties was varied. All five coded forum threads about the Liberal Party of Canada were critical of both Prime Minister Justin Trudeau and Liberal parliamentarians, while discussions on the Conservative Party of Canada oscillated between reporting electoral promises by Erin O'Toole, then leader of the party, and debates on whether to pledge the community's support behind the conservatives or the People's Party of Canada. Maxime Bernier's People's Party of Canada received the most positive coverage out of all political parties, with 3 out of 4 coded segments representing forum threads where his party was discussed positively as the party that

best represented White ethnonationalist views as perceived by Stormfront Canada members in 2021. Other forum posts about electoral politics include discussions of the United States Republican Party (2), municipal elections in Toronto (1) and Calgary (1), and a forum thread following the 2021 Canadian federal election to discuss the results (1). The remaining coded forum threads in this category spoke of diversity in government (6), foreign nations (3), the military (2), foreign aid (2), right-wing extremist protests (1), right-wing extremist denouncement of multiculturalism (1), anger against the proposed decriminalization of drugs and narcotics by the city of Toronto (1), government apologies to both Italian Canadians for their internment during the Second World War (1) and to Indian immigrants aboard the SS Komagata Maru in 1914 (1), reconciliation efforts by the Trudeau government with regards to First Nations (1), a poll to know what 'Old-Stock Anglophones' thought of Quebec and its politics (1), criticisms against the Canadian political system (1), anger directed at the government for passing legislation that declared the Proud Boys a terrorist organization (1), outrage over Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's comments about Fidel Castro's passing (1), the creation of the African Canadian Senate Group, which sparked outrage (1), and lastly, a forum post persuading white ethnonationalists to secede from Canada by migrating and outnumbering local communities in low population provinces and territories (1).

Crime

News coverage and discussion on criminal activity in Canada and abroad was another popular topic of discussion (41) on Stormfront Canada in 2021, representing over 14 percent of the sample (41 out of 289). Frequent posters (6) and super posters (25) accounted for more than three-quarters (31) of all forum threads in this coding category. These discussions were hosted on both *Canadian News* (38) and *Canadian General Discussion* (3). Forum threads about hate-motivated criminal acts were the most discussed topic under the 'crime' category (18 out of 41), with many threads dedicated to hate crimes against Jews (7) and a lesser number for Muslims (2), Sikhs (1), Central Asians (1), Indigenous people (1), and transgender people (1). A limitation of coding these forum threads was that some news reports posted to Stormfront Canada were not specific as to who the targets were following a hateful crime, making it impossible for me to code these discussions (5) with more demographic detail. Forum threads about crimes where the primary focus of conversation is the perpetrator of said crime were coded under the analytical code 'Thread/Crime/Committed By' with more specificity depending on the forum thread. The distribution of codes under this category is as follows: crimes committed by racialized groups (where the primary focus is on the race of the perpetrator) (7), crimes committed by Jewish people (1), migrants (where the primary focus is on the immigration status of the perpetrator and not their race) (1), and White people (1). The year 2021 also saw a mediatized surge of arson across the country on Christian religious sites as news coverage of unearthed mass Indigenous graves and the trauma felt by survivors of residential schools increased across the country (Thompson, 2021). Forum threads documenting these incidents were few in number, with arson committed against religious sites accounting for 2 posts, and 1 post for a non-specific arson case in British Columbia. The remaining codes under this category are related to defaced statues and monuments (5), drugs and narcotics (1), and treatment of incarcerated White supremacists (1).

Health and the COVID-19 Pandemic

As the COVID-19 pandemic ravaged the world in 2021, Stormfront Canada community members turned to conspiracies as they discussed the health measures taken across the country to deal with the spread of the virus and its impacts on vulnerable populations. Forum threads about health constituted over 11% of coded forum threads (33 out of 289) and over three-quarters (26) were posted by frequent posters (7)

and super posters (19). These discussions were posted to *Canadian Politics & Activism*, *Canadian News*, and *Canadian General Discussion*. The community was mostly preoccupied with the effects of the pandemic on both their persons but also their beliefs, with 32 forum threads (97% of forum threads coded under 'Health') dedicated to discussions about vaccines (11), violations of health measures (8), the use of masks to limit transmission of the virus (3), financial aid (2), debates over the health measures (2), misinformation about the repercussions of violating health measures (1)³ and anti-lockdown protests (1).

In sum, the major discussion topics for Stormfront Canada in 2021 are politics, crime, anti-hate initiatives, and health. Of the remaining categories of coded forum threads, notable discussions include the ones coded under 'Immigration & Integration' (14 out of 289) and 'Whites as Victims' (10 out of 289) categories. For 'Immigration and Integration,' community exchanges were mostly about refugees and the community's disdain for them (5), immigration statistics (3), and others (6). These discussions were done with the backdrop of the refugee crisis following the United States' military withdrawal from Afghanistan and the ensuing Taliban takeover of the capital, as well as the Quebec Roxham Road irregular border crossing where some asylum seekers traversing the United States enter Canada to claim asylum. For 'Whites as Victims,' discussions revolved around the White ethnonationalist belief of the Great Replacement, which argues that White hegemonic power is receding at the hands of a coordinated globalist Jewish cabal with the goal of complete demographic and cultural replacement of Whites with racialized groups from the Global South (see Section 4).

3.3. Forum Replies

A total of 979 replies posted to Stormfront Canada and its three subsections were compiled and tabulated. These replies were then read in their entirety and coded according to the general themes and ideas presented within them, generating a total of 601 coded segments. Some replies were assigned multiple codes as users bring their own opinions and understandings of the issues discussed with other members. Many replies were discarded for coding purposes as they were not relevant to the research questions and objectives or were simply not conducive to coding due to their brevity or incoherence (for instance, a reply consisting only of three words calling another user's reply funny, or the posting of a YouTube link in a reply with no user-generated caption or comment about the digital media shared). Table 5 summarizes the coding results for Stormfront Canada forum replies.

³ The forum thread in question was a discussion of an article reported by a small publication based in India called GreatGameIndia. This website is known for spreading falsehoods and disinformation on the COVID-19 pandemic, notably reporting in 2020 the supposed bioengineering of the virus by Chinese scientists and purposeful spreading of the disease across the world for Chinese geopolitical gain (Klepper et al., 2021). The article posted to Stormfront Canada claimed that the Canadian government was systematically enforcing a policy of forceful quarantines in secret locations not known to the people impacted (GreatGameIndia Staff, 2021).

Table 5: Stormfront Canada 2021: Forum Reply Coding Results		
Analytical Code	Total	Percentage
Disinformation	328	54.67%
Offensive Speech	142	23.67%
Politics	71	11.81%
White Traitors	22	3.67%
Identity Politics	19	3.17%
Grassroots Mobilization	14	2.33%
Involuntary Celibate	3	0.50%
Crime	2	0.33%
Total	601	100%

(Source: Christian Costanzo-Vignale, 2023)

Disinformation and Historical Negationism

Disinformation is by far the most coded analytical category of the dataset, representing over half of all coded forum reply segments on Stormfront Canada in 2021 (328 out of 601). Park *et al.* (2020) differentiate misinformation and disinformation by the content's intent to harm and deceive. The authors argue that disinformation is a deliberate "manipulation of information that purposefully aims to mislead and misinform" while misinformation represents "inaccurate [and] false information that is the result of honest mistakes or of negligence" (Park et al., 2020, p. 163–164). Park *et al.* (2020, p. 163) define deception in this context "by the motivation to change or reinforce audiences' affective, behavioural, and cognitive responses by creating content that promotes falsehoods and non-factual information to achieve political, ideological, financial, or other goals." In framing their arguments using false narratives about marginalized communities, Stormfront Canada users propagate harmful information aimed at discrediting the subject of these forum posts and replies. The examples taken from the dataset to illustrate the content of this online space often feature such narratives.

The biggest source of disinformation used by community members to discuss their understandings of the world and the various topics posted to the messaging board is conspiratorial in nature (180 out of 601). By far the most significant conspiracy theory and I argue the *raison d'être* for Stormfront Canada is the Great Replacement (70 out of 328), a conspiratorial and apocalyptic worldview that discursively constructs the image of victimized White people living in the Global North (see Section 4). This in-group victimization and out-group hostility paves the way for conspiratorial antisemitic scapegoating (55 out of 328), with accusations that the Canadian political system is ruled by a Zionist controlled government (ZOG, 16 out of 55), digital exchanges between users blaming a worldwide coalition of Jewish elites for establishing a New World Order (commonly abbreviated to NWO, 24) Holocaust denial (4), and accusing fellow community members of being Jewish and infiltrating Stormfront Canada's ranks to dox right-wing extremist users of the platform (4). COVID-19 pandemic conspiracies about vaccines and the virus being a bioweapon created and spread by the People's Republic of China (16)

were also widely shared. The remaining coded forum replies under this category are accusations of hate-crime perpetrators, politicians, and right-wing extremist protestors being political plants, or actors in ‘false flags’ events, with ulterior motives to paint right-wing extremism negatively (10), allegations that immigration is a ploy by the Liberal Party of Canada in securing the next generation of voters (6), conspiracies about Justin Trudeau being the son of Fidel Castro (4), the promotion of communism by the federal government (4), claims that systemic racism as experienced by racialized group is a lie (4), homophobic conspiracies about gays being pedophiles (2), corrupted media in favour of racialized groups (1), transphobic conspiracies about the ‘transexual agenda’ (1), mass voter fraud by left-wing electors (1), a conspiracy that alleges that foreign adoptions by wealthy North Americans of Chinese children are coordinated by the People’s Republic of China with the goal to pass down Western wealth for the benefit of the state (1), and, lastly, a conspiracy that claims gun rights are at risk in the United States because the state is using hypnosis to force ‘innocent’ serial killers in committing mass shootings to sway public opinion away from supporting gun rights (1).

Another significant coded category within the disinformation code is one I named ‘Whites as Victims.’ This class of codes was named as such because a recurring theme of these replies was statements about a perceived unfair or undue marginalization of White people living in Canada (in-group victimization) followed by an accusation that racialized Canadians, by virtue of their alleged Jewish globalist benefactors, are supplanting White hegemonic power with their own, thus justifying virulent hate and violence against these groups (out-group hostility) (Ekman, 2022). The thematic code most used under this is ‘White Intolerance’ (75), which was used for forum replies where users state that there is a concerted effort to be intolerant to White people by society (31), by public institutions, political parties, and governments (23), by private organizations or individuals (12), and by the press (9). Other coded instances of White victimization include claims that White people are professionally marginalized because of the colour of their skin (12), that White women are choosing not to date White men (8), that there is systemic racism against White people (7), with one case alleging that pro-White student associations are being unfairly treated by universities due to a perceived universal anti-White sentiment within public institutions. The remaining codes under this category are, in order of significance, law enforcement agencies being anti-White (4), replies condemning Prime Minister Trudeau for calling Canada a ‘post national state’ to subvert White hegemony (4), xenophobic accusations against the Liberal Party of Canada of using multiculturalism and mass migration schemes to invite violent anti-White criminals (3), affirmative action to increase the participation of racialized groups in sport associations as explicitly anti-White (2), coerced homosexuality for White men to reduce fertility rates among White couples (2), unfair treatment of White students in universities (1), and accusations against racialized groups taking advantage of the Canadian welfare system (1).

Historical negationism was also a coded category under disinformation. Coded segments within this code (20 out of 328) include a pervasive denial of the atrocities of the residential school system and a whitewashing of the mistreatment and dispossession of First Nations in Canada (13), with many supporting the residential school system and adopting at face value the adage of the White Man’s burden typical of New Imperialism emanating in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Some even go as far as adopting the Solutrean hypothesis, an unproven anthropological claim that posits that a European tribe of Stone Age *homo sapiens* transited from the south of France to North America by way of ancient seafaring technology (see Figure 4). This theory has little scientific evidence backing its conclusions, but has been repurposed by White supremacists to discredit Indigenous land claims in Canada and elsewhere

in the Americas (Raff, 2018). Other instances of historical negationism consist of denial that the enslavement of Black people in Canada happened (4) and the complete absolution of Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany of all wrongdoing during the Second World War and the years leading to it (1). The remaining codes under disinformation are Islamophobic misinformation (3) which include portrayals of Muslims as terrorists, pro-slavery, and misogynists, and, lastly, claims that the Canadian government was coordinating with the provinces to pass legislation that would physically and financially harm people who have voluntarily decided not to get any of the Health Canada approved COVID-19 vaccinations (2).

Figure 4: Pre-Columbian Misinformation

03-09-2021, 11:24 AM #6

Re: Black history must become part of Ontario's curriculum to help fight racism in schools, advocates say

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED] [↗](#)

There isn't a level of history that correlates with 400 years of black achievement because they adopted western culture and moved out of mud huts, without contributing anything consequential to modern Canadian life.


You know what's literally not in the curriculum, Louis Reil. Or Native American history that represents the 15,000 years they have been here.

Not true. Most Indians immigrated to Canada in the 1700's. Since the dispelling of the Yukon Find, it appears most Indians immigrated to North America about 2000 years ago. Those people then moved on to South America. IF you believe in the land bridge theory.

According to most Indian oral history such as the Inca, Iroquois and even the Aztec texts and paintings, the original ancient white people were exterminated.

Massacred by war. Eaten by Indians. Sacrificed to Rak Mool.
The women were often taken as sex slaves.

Last edited by [REDACTED] 03-09-2021 at 12:11 PM.

 Quote

A Stormfront Canada reply to a news article on introducing an anti-racist curriculum in Ontario schools. The replier insinuates that there existed an 'ancient White people' living in the Americas (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

Offensive and Hateful Speech

Replies with malicious, derogatory, prejudiced, and otherwise offensive statements about demographic groups were coded under 'Offensive Speech' (142 out of 601). The group most targeted by hate on Stormfront Canada are by far racialized groups (64 out of 142), with racism against Black communities being the most represented trope/code in this category (31), spanning Stormfront Canada and its three subsections. The insults range from appeals to racial essentialism, to deceptive statistics to argue that Black people are prone to crime, and ending with slurs against both Black people and White Canadians who are in interracial relationships. Racism against the Indigenous peoples of Canada was also coded (11) and were mostly stereotyping Indigenous peoples as alcoholics, mocked and whitewashed their history, and lastly promoted the superiority of the White race above the First Nations in an explicit attempt to question their claims to indigeneity in Canada. The remaining targets for racist remarks by Stormfront Canada members are non-specific racialized groups (9), East-Asians (6), South Asians (4), non-region-specific Asians (2), and Latinos (1).

Xenophobic remarks (38) are the next most coded replies under this category with the brunt of the hate directed against racialized migrants in general (24), no matter their reasoning for migrating to Canada. Muslim immigrants were also spoken of in derogatory ways in the community (5), while non-region-specific Anti-Asian (3) and South Asian (1) xenophobia were also present in the dataset. Instances of non-specific targeted xenophobic language against immigrants (5) was coded separately (referring to migrants as 'trash' or 'invasive'). In most coded segments in 'Xenophobia,' Stormfront Canada community members refer to foreigners with terminology reminiscent of war and battle, presenting migrants as *invaders*, *vandals*, or part of a *horde* of assailants. This narrative furthers the in-group victimization and out-group hostility that is characteristic of White ethnonationalist movements, and on virtue of the language used, strips migrants from personhood and instead reserves *humanity* for fellow whites (see Section 4).

Antisemitism (20), on the other hand, revolved around scapegoating Jewish communities and linking them to superconspiracies for their alleged involvement in capturing the world's economic and political structures for their benefit, founding communism and propagating it to the world, as well as accusations of Jewish propagandizing young White Canadians into vehemently opposing the racial consciousness espoused on Stormfront Canada. All instances of coded antisemitic forum replies were connected to conspiratorial content, with some alluding to wanting a return to the mistreatment of Jewish people and the eventual state-led genocide that characterized Nazi Germany. Many of these antisemitic comments dehumanize and otherize Jewish people. In most cases in the dataset, the removal of personhood as was the case with xenophobic coded reply segments was also present in antisemitic content.

Offensive speech against gender and sexual minorities was also found on Stormfront Canada within the studied year. Transphobia (8) and homophobia (4) in coded forum replies were both characterized by a recurring reference to pedophilia and grooming young children, with one comment even going as far as to say that Canadian LGBT associations support the legalization of molestation as a core tenet. Transphobic comments gravitate around the use of slurs to demonize transgender and gender non-conforming communities, complaints about inclusive language, and concerns that teaching gender outside of prescribed traditional gender norms would corrupt children. All cases of homophobia and transphobia except for one were found in the Canadian News section. Overall, conversations about

gender and sexual minorities on Stormfront Canada were in response to news articles and these discussions revolved around fear (for White children), hate (for gender and sexual minorities), and disgust (challenging traditional gender and sexual norms).

Lastly, forum replies with Islamophobic content (8), in similar ways to the other instances of offensive speech explored above, were centred on presenting Muslims as a monolithic bloc. Comments include the mischaracterization of all Muslims as hard-right zealots with values that are fundamentally opposed to Canadian values, stating that Sharia Law (as understood by the right-wing extremist members of Stormfront Canada) and by extension, all denominations and branches of Islam, advocate for slavery, terrorism, and the dispossession and silencing of women. Islamophobic content also tied in with xenophobia as news articles during the studied year reported extensively on the capture of the Afghani capital of Kabul by Taliban forces and the ensuing refugee crisis, with some equating Muslim refugees to garbage, and others feeling disgust at seeing more hijabi women in public.

The Political Demands of Stormfront Canada

The coding results illustrating the frequent use of disinformation within Stormfront Canada communications between members show that, for many users, reality is constructed through an open denial of established facts about the world. Extremist worldviews become clouded by competing denialist claims about historical and ongoing events happening around the globe. These false narratives thus inform the political demands made by Stormfront Canada users to mobilize their peers and potential recruits against the *out-groups* they conceive as hostile to their cause. The following exposition of political demands coded from forum replies shared within the community should be understood as political solutions to problems that they believe are grounded in facts.


Forum replies about electoral politics or containing formulated political demands were coded under the 'Politics' umbrella analytical code and represented a little over 11 percent of the sample (71 out of 601). Electoral discourse on Stormfront Canada (13 out of 71) was concentrated on news articles and discussions about the then upcoming 2021 Canadian federal election. Many of the comments were about the community's preoccupation with immigration and border controls, and debates about which federal political party best represented Stormfront Canada's political and social ideologies ensued. Most of the forum replies under this category (9 out of 13) made reference to the respective member's discontent with the available options in their ridings as they felt they were not properly represented in the political platforms presented by any of the running political parties. Some (3 out of 13) rejected the election all together, citing democracy's failure in advocating for White ethnonationalist political beliefs such as the racial preservation of the demographic majority status of the White race over other racialized groups and the maintenance of White hegemony over all public and private institutions. Lastly, one comment celebrated the rising success of the People's Party of Canada (formed in 2018) in the last two federal elections in securing more votes at the ballot boxes. In all forum replies coded under electoral politics, the language used to describe the election and the political parties participating in it revolves around a breaking point between two opposing groups, the *noble* White defender protecting their country against a tidal wave of immigration from the Global South. Below is one such example of a Stormfront Canada user decrying the slow democratic pace of the Canadian government to engage and support White ethnonationalist political beliefs and presenting the alleged chaotic situation at the Canadian border with the United States as beyond the capacity of our current political system.

Figure 5: Private Vigilante Border Patrol

11-23-2021, 01:43 PM #1

Quebec's Roxham Road reopens to Illegal Crossings of Invasive Species after pandemic ban and we must act now!

[Canadian Nationalist Front: Quebec's Roxham Road reopens to Illegal Crossings of Invasive Species after pandemic ban and we must act now!](#)



We're suggesting to all organizations and allies to send as many of our people to the illegal border crossings in Quebec to stop the illegal crossings of Invasive Species that are damaging our society and our population Eco-system by any means necessary within the law! We can no longer wait for a party like the PPC to save our country from invasion because that victory could take some time so we must take actions now before it's too late! Land owners in the areas have already agreed to allow our people to set up citizens border patrol camps on their private property to stop them.

A Stormfront Canada user promotes circumventing established border controls for a private border control group led by White ethnonationalists within the movement. (Source: Stormfront.org 2021)

The following discussion of the results of my coding process for political demands should be understood as a representation of the political demands explicitly promoted on Stormfront Canada. The design of this study prevents the clarification of any forum messages posted to the community beyond what is available when the data was collected. This means that some political demands, like the replacement of Canadian liberal democracy for fascism, can be implied from some forum replies but unless explicitly stated by the user I have not coded it as such. I want the coding process to reflect the White ethnonationalist discourse within this community faithfully as it is presented. In one thread about a 2021 news article reporting on the death of a police officer in Toronto, a user responded to the article by saying: "The sooner we bring back the death penalty[,], the better. After hanging a few terrorists and supportive politicians we can get this country back in shape" (Stormfront.org 2021). In this example, the

reply was coded as a political demand supporting the death penalty but was not coded to include the implicit demands set forth by the use of “we can get this country back in shape” which may involve fascism, racist policies, or other forms of prejudiced legislation against racialized communities that is typical of the political demands promoted by Stormfront Canada members. I acknowledge that much of the subtext is ignored by virtue of not reading between the lines here, but short of follow-up interviews with the users in question it becomes impossible to gauge what exactly is meant by comments like these.

The most frequent political demands by Stormfront Canada community members involve repressive control of racialized Canadians living in the country. Some users call for the immediate, complete, and violent deportation of all racialized groups living in Canada (9). Others want restrictions to be legislated around interracial relationships between White people and people of colour (5), which they believe is the ultimate betrayal of White ethnonationalist values (Bowman-Grieve, 2009). The ensuing hatred that follows these conversations is one filled with racial slurs and renewed calls for White parents to teach their children to choose their heterosexual partners with race in mind. Calls for a return to racial segregation in Canada (6) were present in the dataset. These include segregating schools, workplaces, and sports, but also television shows, movies, and popular commercials. One user advocated for the complete physical separation of Indigenous communities from White Canadians and wanted reserves to become open-air prisons (see Figure 6). Notable other political demands of this type include racial genocide (2), banning all racialized immigration (3), a violent revolution against the Canadian political status quo (2), disenfranchising racialized groups (1), the creation of a Canadian ethnostate (1) that would span the entirety of the country (as opposed to a scenario where a province or territory secedes from Canada to the benefit of White ethnonationalists), and the replacement of democracy for fascism (1).

Figure 6: Racial Segregation in Canada

11-20-2021, 05:11 AM #8

Re: Trudeau visits First Nation to apologize after holiday snub

Quote:

Originally Posted by [REDACTED] [Grey Owl - Wikipedia](#)

I don't know why anybody would want to associate with those people. I am not a fan of them, I never have been and I never will desire their company. Canada has a real problem with them, and at the very least I think they should never be allowed to leave the reservations. At the VERY least.

You'd never see me crying over the fake residential school "bodies found" or ever wanting to give some drunk indian a hand out. Let em rot.

It also sickens me to see so many White people hold these this loser race in such high regard. What, you want Canada to be filled with Metis? They are just as degenerate as the race traitors that even created that mess of a race to begin with.

A Stormfront Canada user calls for the physical separation of Indigenous Canadians and White Canadians by forcing Indigenous communities to reserves. (Source: Stormfront.org 2021)

Some political demands made on Stormfront Canada were not directed at our current government but instead were formulated to encourage others to participate with the community in securing better political representation and independence for White ethnonationalists from the state. Schemes to publicize the idea of community members to move to provinces or territories with low population numbers (2) like Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, the Yukon, and Alberta, which White ethnonationalists assume would likely join its movement due to the province representing an electoral stronghold for the Conservative Party of Canada. Discussions on the best province or territory to form a local White ethnonationalist majority have, in one instance, devolved into a debate about which province or territory would be the easiest to secede from Canada to create an ethnostate out of provincial or territorial borders (1). This secession hinges on an interpretation of the *Clarity Act* of 2000 which assumes that White ethnonationalists could become the majority of a given province which would give them the legitimate ability to secede from Canada. Others instead propose to form gated White communities (3) where the social and cultural elements of White ethnonationalism can become a lived reality for its residents. These areas are imagined to be rural communities in sparsely populated regions of Canada where outnumbering residents with Stormfront Canada members would lead to majority-rule in municipal politics. Electoral representation is also a source of annoyance for White ethnonationalists on Stormfront Canada as they do not feel fully represented by the current available options for federal political parties as covered earlier. In answering this political conundrum, some members advocate for concentrating the right-wing extremist vote towards the People's Party of Canada (3) which they believe would be most likely to advocate for their own political positions on abandoning multiculturalism as official state policy (4), banning vaccine passports as used during the COVID-19 pandemic and privatizing sections of our universal single-payer healthcare system (3), cutting foreign aid (1), leaving or reducing the involvement of Canada in the United Nations (1), and ending affirmative action and diversity schemes (1).

The remaining political demands in the dataset include restoration of the death penalty against political opponents to the Canadian White ethnonationalist cause (3), the abandonment of liberal democracy for absolute monarchism (1), expediting White immigration from select countries to increase the total population of White Canadians living in the country (1), a Canadian equivalent to the contemporary interpretation of the United States' Second Amendment that would ensure private citizens can purchase and use firearms (1), the arbitrary imprisonment of politicians supportive of current immigration policies (1), protecting controversial historical statues from activists by fundraising money from within the community to purchase the parks they were erected on (1), abolishing women's suffrage (1), and lastly the promotion of accelerationism (1), an ideological position that seeks to accelerate the perceived deterioration of material conditions and living standards of the general population in the hopes that systemic economic failures will usher in the conditions for a fascist ethnonationalist political regime to replace our current political system and social organization through violence (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2020).

The emphasis on the contribution of the most active community members to generating this content for the studied year was done as to make it clear that most user-generated discussions on the website is created by a small subsection of the overall list of Stormfront Canada members. Taken together, frequent and super posters (6 users out of 47 posters) initiated over three-quarters of all discussions on the Canadian messaging boards (218 out of 289 forum threads), while frequent and super repliers (20 users out of 145 repliers) contributed a little less than three-quarters of all replies posted to the forums

(706 out of 979 forum replies). The vast majority of themes that Stormfront Canada users discussed in 2021 are related to anti-hate initiatives, politics, health, and crime (a combined 212 out of 289 forum threads). The analytical categories developed from the forum replies between members coded for purposes of this study include disinformation, offensive speech, and politics, which represent over 90 percent of all codes generated from the coding process (541 out of 601 coded forum replies).

4. Disinformation, Politics, and the Other

This section is divided into two parts. The first part exposes the White ethnonationalist worldview that is foundational to the discursive construction of out-groups on behalf of the Stormfront Canada community. Various belief systems specific to right-wing extremism as espoused by the group are explored and discussed as they relate to conceptualizations by White ethnonationalists of the Other. In the second part, I present the political demands advocated by the community in two categories: militant and adaptive demands. These categories are not mutually exclusive, meaning that members believe in political measures that can be taken in the present despite the current marginalized status of White ethnonationalism as an ideology in Canada, while also debating what the community's utopic vision for the country is should conditions change in favour of the White ethnonationalist cause. In most cases, community members believe that major societal change can only happen through violent means taken by Canadian right-wing extremists to force society into accepting its political ideas.

4.1. Shaping the Other

According to Barkun (2003), conspiracy theories can be categorized in three different ways: event conspiracies, systemic conspiracies and superconspiracies. Event conspiracies craft a narrative from a specific event or set of events of historical or political significance that involves a group of conspirators seeking to accomplish a precise objective. Examples of these include the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre in September 2001 or the disappearance of the Malaysia Airlines flight 370 in March 2014. Systemic conspiracies expand event conspiracies into a group of conspirators with broad, ill-defined, and ever-changing goals that may go as far as complete and total control over the entire planet. As Barkun (2003) notes, the objectives of these conspirators are complex and comprehensive, but the conspirators themselves are simple in nature. Freemasons, "Illuminati," and other secretive societies as well as religious groups, whether on an institutional level (the Catholic Church) or as individuals (Jewish people) are believed, depending on the conspiracy theory, to be gaining access to key institutions to depose existing power structures in favour of their own objectives. Superconspiracies mold both previous categories into one super category. Conspiratorial narratives of events are used as supporting evidence for beliefs that involve the hierarchical control by an evil hegemonic power over subservient individual or institutional actors. A key feature of this last type of conspiracies is the operation of this conspiratorial apparatus in complete secrecy – powerful but hidden from plain view (Barkun, 2003).

The Great Replacement theory is a superconspiracy that rose to new heights of mainstream popularity after the release of a book bearing its name by French philosopher Renaud Camus in 2012. An influential yet controversial figure within the French right-wing extremist Identitarian movement, Camus

(2012) argued that European civilization and its western and fundamentally Christian identity were at risk of demographic extinction through the combination of low birth rates in the Global North and mass migration from other regions of the world, with a predominant focus on Muslim-majority countries. This prophecy is then followed by a societal and political upheaval of biblical proportions that transfers power from *native* European populations to a pluralistic coalition of migrants due to a perceived failure by liberal democracies to have protected the essence of European identity and its national varieties (in Camus' case, the French identity) (Bergmann, 2021). This conspiracy theory is believed to be unfolding in front of our very eyes by White ethnonationalists. Citing a perceived increase in violent crimes against White Canadians by racialized persons, whether citizens or immigrants (the distinction is not appreciated by White ethnonationalists), as well as affirmative action initiatives and ethnic diversity schemes, Stormfront Canada members will try to connect the abstract foundations of the 'replacement' theory, that is, the globalist Jewish group that is supposedly in control of all public institutions in many governments with the goal to reduce White populations worldwide, to grounded facts in an attempt to portray racialized communities as anathema to western civilization and all it stands for. In other words, this superconspiracy requires creating a "reality" or "truth" of this perceived cultural and ethnic incompatibility between racial groups, and many users will use isolated criminal activity and institutional programs to promote non-White participation in the public and private sector to demonstrate the 'real world' effects of this supposed civilizational clash (Ekman, 2022). Critical to these arguments are the constructions of enemy actors predicated by negative emotional appeals to fear and hate (Ahmed, 2004).

The word essence here is particularly important in understanding the clash between multiculturalist and ethnonativist views of citizenship. The first, which is the official stance of the Canadian government through the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* of 1988, involves expanding a given country's national identity to include groups of various cultural backgrounds. The second, referred to as *jure sanguinis* or citizenship by descent, creates a hierarchical view of national identity and by extension citizenship by dividing *rightful* citizens from residents through, crudely put, blood right based on genealogical lineage. The conflict between these two perspectives of citizenship is encapsulated clearly by Camus (2012) when he posits that it is ridiculous for a French hijabi woman to assert "*Je suis aussi française que vous!*" ("I am as French as you are!") and instead proclaims that French citizenship has been eroded from a status and right that transcends geography to instead mean territory. Camus (2012) understands that to be French is to be part of a race, set apart by a historical and cultural background underpinned by racial differences between what he considers to be French and immigrants (Bracke & Hernández Aguilar, 2020). It would be uncontroversial to say that Stormfront Canada, while not French and operating as a virtual Canadian community separate from France, mirrors this ethnonativist perspective of citizenship and asserts, as a group, a similar essentialization of Canadian racialized communities from which Camus (2012) derives his assertions. To be Canadian in the eyes of White supremacists on Stormfront Canada that adhere to this vision of the world is to possess a Canadian *essence*. This essence may mean different things to different community members, but broadly encapsulates the idea that one must be a White descendent of European settlers and part of a curated historical heritage and symbols that unite White Europeans under one group and places all others on the margins. These symbols vary but may include attachment to colonial vestiges like the Union Jack on the Ontario provincial flag and to important politicians that form the common national story of the Canadian

state like John A. Macdonald and Queen Victoria, among others. There is some nuance to this view, however, as White supremacists on Stormfront Canada will challenge the *in-group* status of other White Canadians who either do not show appreciation or contest this history, claiming instead that these individuals are White traitors working in conjunction with *lesser* races to see White people as a group lose their privileged (and from their perspective, earned) social status.

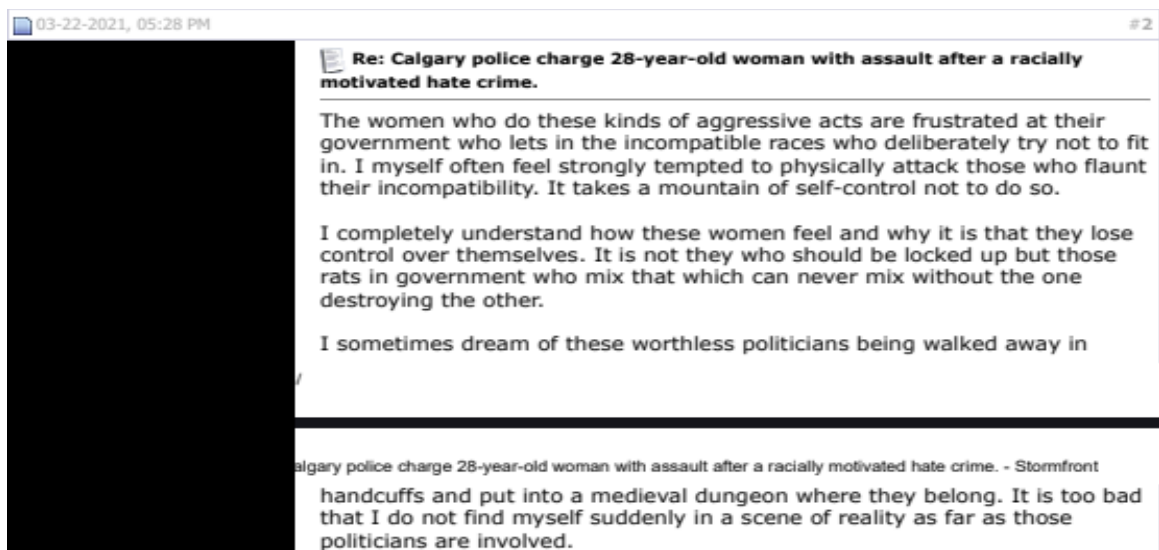
This process of essentialization relies on two different belief systems: biological determinism and racial essentialism. These two sets of beliefs both operate from the assumption that race is a biological certainty — physical markers on one's body are enough to discern and categorize people into social categories determined by race — despite the tremendous amount of research in the fields of history and the social sciences showing that race is a social construction relying on existing power structures for its continued existence (Byrd & Hughey, 2015). Biological determinism, in this sense, assumes that human characteristics, whether physical or psychological, are determined at birth by an individual's genes, and thus correlates race to genetic makeup. From this starting point, Byrd and Hughey (2015) argue that racial inequality is thus interpreted through this frame of reference as quasi-destiny, a horoscope of sorts wherein racialized communities are biologically predisposed to a life of subordination and inferiority in contrast to the racial hegemon that is destined for accomplishment and superiority by virtue of genes. Racial essentialism, working in conjunction with biological determinism, attributes human characteristics and social behaviours to a racial *essence*, immutable from individual-to-individual belonging to the same racial group. In short, race is understood by White supremacists through a biological framework that extends hierarchical power structures that elevate White populations above all else, and through this White supremacist perspective, assumes that racial inequality is a by-product and rightful consequence of undesirable social behaviours attributed to certain races that are reinforced by biological traits inherited at birth (Byrd & Hughey, 2015).

These two belief systems are combined into a reactionary consensus of dehumanization of the 'Other' along racial lines on Stormfront Canada, with many users adopting a language of cruelty, one where racialized persons are facetiously referred to as things, undeserving of humanity and the rights and privileges afforded to Canadian citizens. Dehumanization as a process impacts the vocabulary used to address its targets insofar as it isolates *humanity* as a trait only reserved for whoever is included in the *in-group*. It thus transforms the overall perception that Stormfront Canada users, in this instance, have of dehumanized people from humans to human *shells*, which are believed to be incapable of critical thought, unworthy of respect and dignity, and mindless in their aims (Smith, 2011). Humanity thus becomes a privilege, not a right, and this privilege is only afforded in the minds of White supremacists to a select few White individuals who are working in tandem with them to maintain the White race in a position of power. In addition to dehumanization is desocialization, which paints with wide brushes racial groups, transforming them into a generic crowd of others wherein individuals become associated with White supremacist conceptions of racial traits and dynamics. Black men are stereotypically imagined to be violent criminals with a penchant for thievery and vandalism. Black women are seen as promiscuous single mothers without support from their children's fathers, and this image is often characterized by the 'welfare queen' on the White taxpayer's dime. Muslims are envisioned to be vengeful terrorists or ardent activists intent on reforming the Global North into a series of Islamic theocracies (Bergmann, 2021). On Stormfront, the contrast between the responses left by users on forum threads reporting local crimes

when the latter are committed by White Canadians versus when members of racialized groups commit them is striking and a prime example of this process of dehumanization and desocialization.

The example below is one of many on Stormfront Canada where this contrast between who is entitled to humanity and who isn't occurs (Figure 7). On a forum thread about an article reporting an alleged hate-motivated assault by a White woman against two teenage Muslim girls in Calgary, users were quick to jump to the defense of the perpetrator, claiming through sweeping generalizations that the victims deserved the treatment they received as they are part of racial groups that are deemed "incompatible" to western civilization. Dehumanization along racial lines permeates Stormfront Canada, with many users reporting a general sense of unease around racialized persons as a bodied experience of physical anxiety. This dehumanization discourse has two immediate purposes. First, it centres European whiteness as the sole benefactor of humanity and the default 'good' from which non-belonging others must be excluded: both from whiteness, but also geographical lands claimed by European whiteness (the Global North) (Bracke & Hernández Aguilar, 2020). The White woman who was the alleged perpetrator in this news story is absolved of all responsibility and justified in her aggressive physical demeanor against the two racialized victims because politicians are extending whiteness to these 'Others' by "mix[ing] that which can never mix without destroying the other." In other words, the construction of an in-group victimization narrative for White Canadians on Stormfront Canada supersedes reported evidence in its dismissal of facts in favour of justifying the continued out-group hostility against racialized Canadians that White ethnonationalists require to make sense of the dualistic world they have conceived.

Figure 7: The Great Replacement Theory Justifies Violence



A Stormfront Canada reply to a news article reporting an alleged hate crime in Calgary, Alberta. The author frames the attack through the Great Replacement theory, and thus justifies the assault as an individual response to Canadian immigration and border policies that they fundamentally disagree with. The replier ends with a call to action against politicians who support the continued welcoming and integration of immigrants to Canada (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

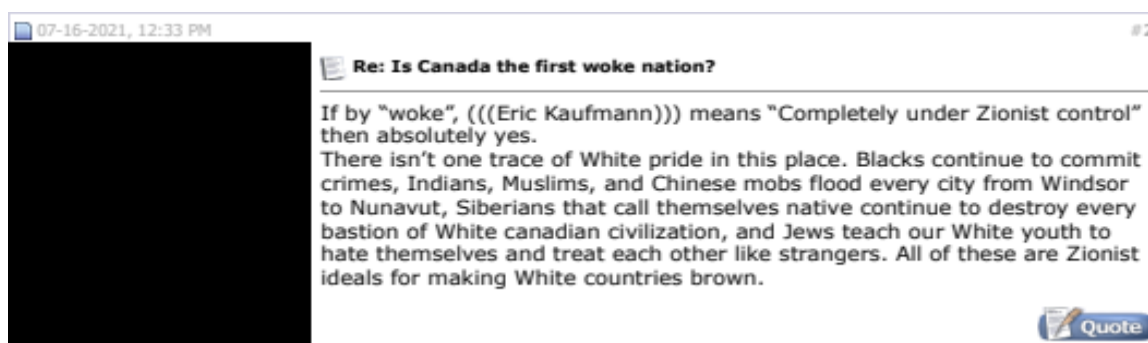
The molding of news reports involving racialized Canadians into White ethnonationalist examples of the power struggle between the forces of good and evil is commonplace on Stormfront Canada. Superusers often share news articles written by right-wing extremist publications that seek to provoke negative feelings and reactions to Canadian and international news on a plethora of current and recurring topics. From reporting on criminal acts committed by or against racialized Canadians in this country or anti-hate initiatives set up by institutions of all kinds, forum threads in this virtual community are often created to spark outrageous, and sometimes disproportionate, reactions to otherwise mundane news. For instance, a news article reporting on the ascension of Justice Mahmud Jamal to the position of Supreme Court of Canada justice, the first South Asian Canadian and racialized person to do so, was posted to the forum on June 18, 2021, and was met with vitriol by Stormfront Canada members. In this particular thread, users lament their future loss of rights and freedoms, condemn Canada for its perceived anti-White policies, and lastly signal that this is further proof that the Canadian government is committing a grand-scale genocide against White populations in Canada. This forum thread is but one example of how somewhat mundane news for most Canadians involving racialized communities become yet another instance for White ethnonationalists to use as evidence that this country is intentionally marginalizing Whites.

One key feature of this outrage discourse is the constant need to reformulate news and events to portray a receding White racial consciousness against a globalist Jewish elite that they claim is deliberately increasing immigration numbers to further reduce the total proportion of self-identifying White Europeans living in Canada. In this sense, forum users compare their adherence to the Canadian White ethnonationalist movement to a state of psychological awakening that enlightens their ideological and political opinions ahead of both racialized Canadians and other White Canadians who are not White supremacists themselves, the latter of which they classify as White *traitors*. There is a palpable feeling on Stormfront Canada that registered members and other White ethnonationalist supporters believe that they are part of an *in-group of awakened* White individuals at risk of extinction if they do not take matters into their own hands against a government they deem tyrannical and genocidal.

While a reasonable amount of skepticism should be used when reading news articles and reports on current events, Stormfront Canada users often derive extreme conclusions to assuage their fervent skepticism. For instance, on a forum thread where a user brings to the attention of the community that they have seen an increasing number of military recruitment ads in their day-to-day lives was met with conspiracy theories that the Canadian federal government was likely planning to subdue any resistance by Canadians against the COVID-19 pandemic-related health measures taken across the country by the provinces by deploying the military on protestors. Another user claimed that Trudeau, taking inspiration from Stalin, would begin a militarized operation that would see the complete annihilation of White Canadians from the country should the military be able to recruit sufficient numbers. Many forum threads, like these two examples where banal observations from active community members about the world and our country, turn into a cesspit of reactionary far right conspiratorial talking points that often devolve into name-calling and blaming Jewish and racialized communities living in Canada.

Skepticism takes an additional form on Stormfront Canada by virtue of the community's virulent hatred of Judaism and its followers. During the coding process, I found a few instances of forum threads started with the goal to discuss an upcoming book relevant to the messaging board or a news article about local or national Canadian news morph into a direct questioning of the author or journalist's point of view due to an imagined or real connection of the latter individual to the religion. Members often use coded language, colloquially known as *dog whistles*, to cloak otherwise meaningless symbols or words into secret phrases that only the people *in the know* would spot and understand. In a forum thread (see Figure 8), which covered an article Professor of politics Eric Kauffman wrote for the British news publication *The Telegraph*, users immediately attack his credibility by writing his name in triple parentheses. This Internet neologism may seem benign, but the triple parentheses have been used for almost a decade by right-wing extremist Internet users to signal to their political peers that the person whose name is written in between triple parentheses is Jewish and thus biased in favour of the *Zionist Controlled Government* (ZOG) they so adamantly dedicate their lives to fighting (Anti-Defamation League, 2022, 2023).

Figure 8: The Language of the Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory



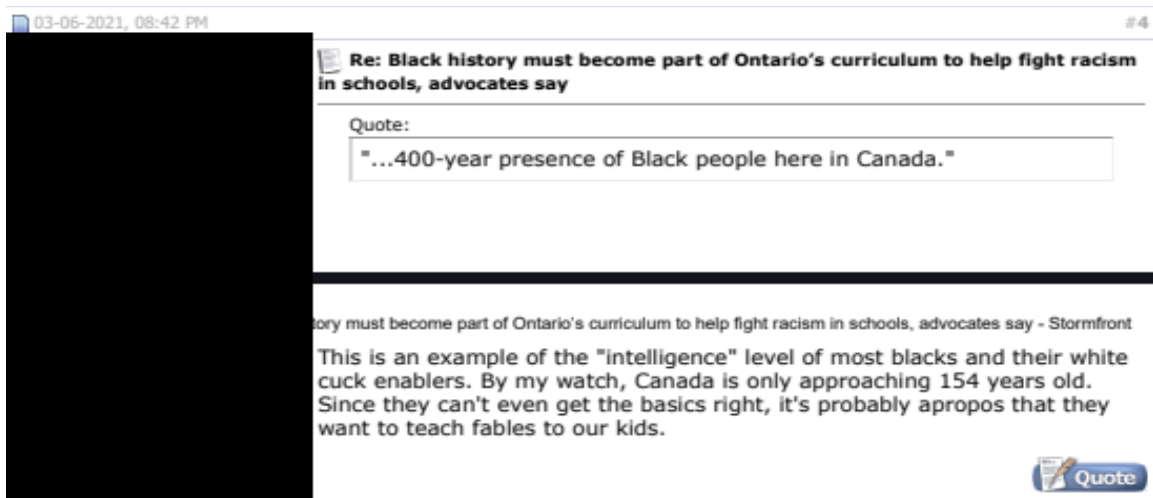
A Stormfront Canada reply to an opinion piece by Eric Kauffman, professor of politics at Birkbeck, University of London. The replier uses echoes (or the triple parentheses) to communicate to other users that the author of the opinion piece is Jewish. The rest of the reply is dedicated to a racist tirade against many racialized demographic groups conceived to threaten the foundation of the Canadian settler-state, and ends with a reference to the Great Replacement theory (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

Despite an engagement by registered members of Stormfront Canada to adhere to the virtual community's rules, which include a mention for users to be careful in posting provocative, violent, and otherwise dangerous speech against protected classes in Canada for fear of reprisal by the judicial system due to hate speech laws in the country, members continue to blatantly incite violence against racialized Canadians. They often do so by crafting narratives that position White communities in Canada as prey backed into a corner, justified in using what they posit as self-defence against an aggressive, non-complacent and directed racialized invader characterized above as congregating in "mobs." These stories, as the above reply shows, serve to further cement the idea for members of Stormfront Canada that White Canadian exceptionalism requires an active process of violent defense against its critiques – left-leaning activists, journalists, members of racialized minorities, and some federal and provincial politicians.

Arguments against this White supremacist view are dismissed by invoking disinformation, such as the use of “Siberians” to dispossess Indigenous communities from their land rights through the reapplication of *terra nullis* to justify the violent takeover of the geographical lands within present-day Canada by White settlers.

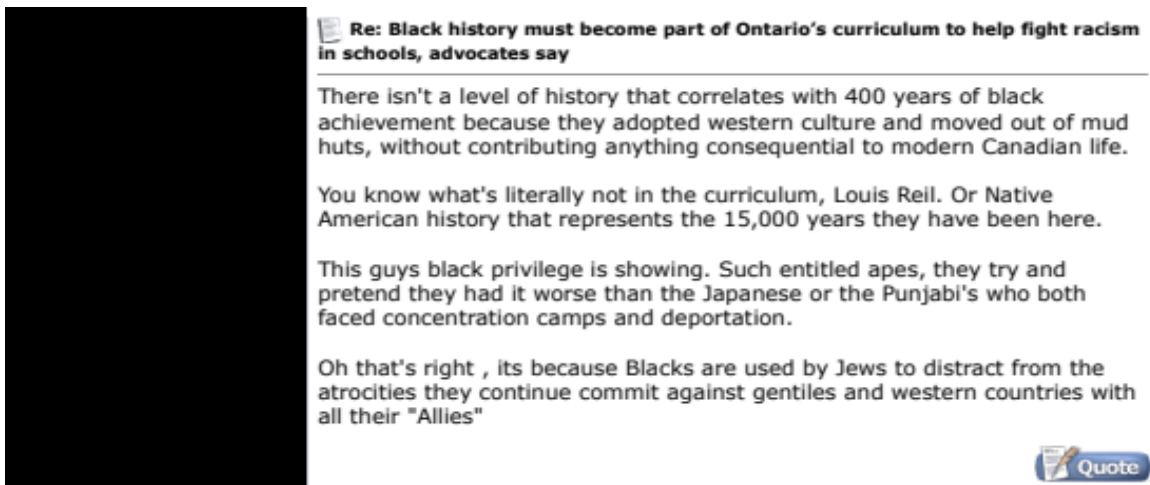
This disinformation veil is often achieved through instances of historical negationism. In contrast to historical revisionism which is an academic reinterpretation of historical events by historians as new evidence becomes available, negationism implies a malicious recontextualization of legitimate and fabricated historical records for nefarious reasons (Reichstadt, 2015). By delimiting the playing field of what constitutes reality and what doesn't in constructing their arguments, Stormfront Canada users willingly absolve White Canadians and the Canadian state from the historical and ongoing ills caused by British and French colonization of the country. The imagined 'Other' is believed to unjustifiably claim victimhood, which members see as a properly characterizing White Canadians who are the *real* victims in their apocalyptic vision of the world that pits White populations against all racialized populations. Below are two examples of this. In Figure 9, the author of the forum reply negates all racial injustices experienced by Black Canadians by denying the multiple centuries of settlement and integration by Black communities in this country. The member does so by a simple process of arithmetic, by deducing that the history of Canada begins at its confederation between the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick in 1867. The 'Other' is then ridiculed for not operating within the historical confines of this user's historical negationism. In Figure 10, a user demonizes Black Canadians as pawns of an imagined Jewish plot to control the world that is typical of historical negationists that deny the historical veracity of the Holocaust and other genocides and injustices. In insulting Black Canadians, the user perpetuates colonial understandings of colonized peoples as having been socially, culturally, and technologically 'uplifted' by imperial powers from a state of backwardness. This construction of Western colonialism as a positive, paternalistic, and otherwise charitable endeavour is repeated ad nauseum on Stormfront Canada when discussions pertain to the colonized 'Other,' with Indigenous communities and Black Canadians facing the brunt of this rebranding of colonialism in this community. This perspective reinforces the already cemented idea of the 'Other' benefitting from the economic and political systems in our societies, and by virtue of denying in part or entirely the atrocities and mistreatment of racialized communities living in Canada by colonial authorities, this benefit is seen as undue reparations for a fabricated historical and on-going ill experienced by racialized Canadians.

Figure 9: Canadian History Begins at Confederation



A Stormfront Canada reply to a news article on introducing an anti-racist curriculum in Ontario schools. The replier delimits Canada's history to Confederation, and thus justifies racist conduct against Black Canadians (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

Figure 10: Colonial Paternalism and Racism



A Stormfront Canada reply to a news article on introducing an anti-racist curriculum in Ontario schools. The replier adopts the White Man's Burden introduced by New Imperialism from the late 19th and early 20th century. Racialized populations are seen as incapable of technological and sociocultural change under this ideology, and as such become ripe targets to paternalizing racism (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

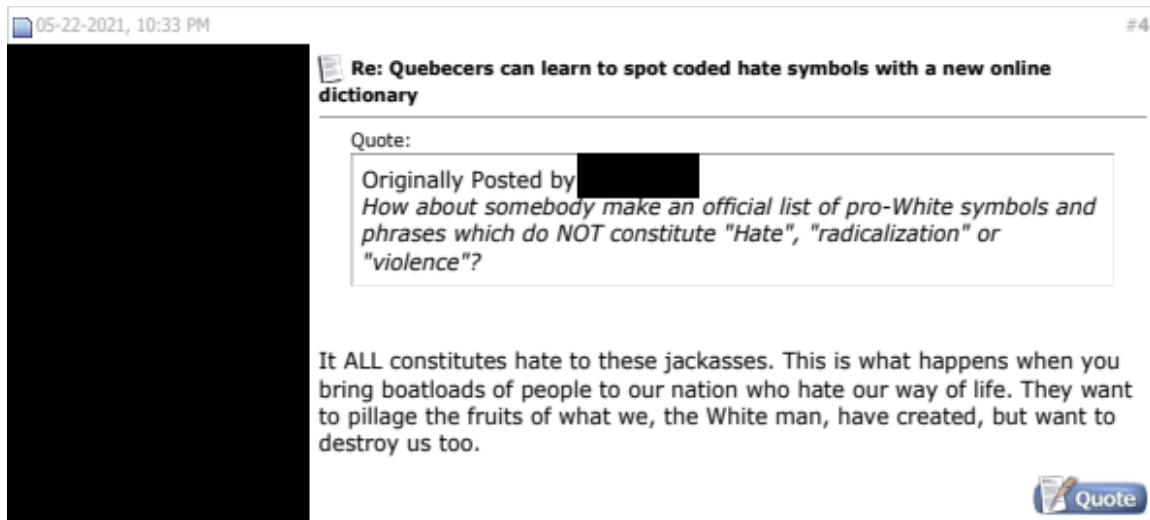
In addition to the neutering of historical injustices against racialized communities are the discursive xenophobic constructions of the migrant used on Stormfront Canada to describe the imminent and long-term threat that the integration of migrants in Canada poses within the White ethnonationalist framework. Refugees and immigrants alike are conceived through the Great Replacement superconspiracy as pawns for a ring of Jewish elites to dispossess and disenfranchise White Canadians through a zero-sum understanding of the economy.

By asserting the need for Canada to become an ethnostate, White ethnonationalists visualize Canadian soil as a battleground for control of scarce resources and land between demographic groups delimited by race and origin. The language used to write about migrants on Stormfront Canada, in conjunction with the racism espoused against racialized individuals, further dehumanizes migrants. Refugees become invaders, pillagers, or terrorists, and their entrance into the country is rhetorically compared to the United States-led invasion of northern France during the Second World War on D-Day. Under this view, the use of social welfare programs or government-funded education and healthcare is seen as threatening the financial solvency (and thus resources) of both the state and individuals. Despite reports by the Canadian government (2018) showing that immigration is a net boon to the country that welcomes migrants by virtue of increasing the absolute number of producers (employed Canadians) and consumers and thus positively stimulating demand for goods and services (and the incentive for private and public organizations in providing these things), immigrants are conceived as economic drains by community members. In Figure 11, a user conceives of migrants as pillagers of an economy they are not entitled to and insinuates in the same argument that all Canadian economic growth is the direct result of investments funded by White Canadians. The Great Replacement's prophecy of ultimate destruction by racialized migrants working under an elusive cabal of Jewish elites is repeated, reminding other users that migration as a process can always be connected to the superconspiracy without fault. In Figure 12, a member participates in a forum thread covering the withdrawal of United States and NATO troops from Kabul, Afghanistan, where Muslim refugees are immediately demeaned as freeloaders for seeking refuge in Canada from Taliban reprisals following the city's capture. The reply author essentializes Muslim migrants as inherently prone to committing terrorist acts and follows these statements with personal safety tips when in their presence.

In Figure 7 (p. 39) and 12, users express physical discomfort and unease as they interact with racialized groups in public. In affectively constructing the Other, both reply authors attempt to portray the threat brought upon White ethnonationalists by racialized persons as worthy of altering one's social and physical behaviour in their presence. The bodied experience shared by the two users serves to bridge the gap between the discursive construction of the Other as dangerous, evil, and vicious, with the physical reality experienced within the vicinity of said Other. This construction, in addition to the processes of historical negationism, dehumanization, desocialization, and interpretation of the world through the Great Replacement superconspiracy, further legitimizes the in-group victimization and out-group hostility framework utilized by White ethnonationalists to justify their extreme views on racialized communities and the politics they conceive to 'deal' with this existential threat. Figure 7 in particular illustrates what Perry and Scrivens (2018) conceive as racialized boundaries used in conjunction with other constructions of the Other to delineate exclusionary spaces predicated on race where in-groups and out-groups belong or not. These spatial borders, they argue, justify the hostility against out-groups for transgressing

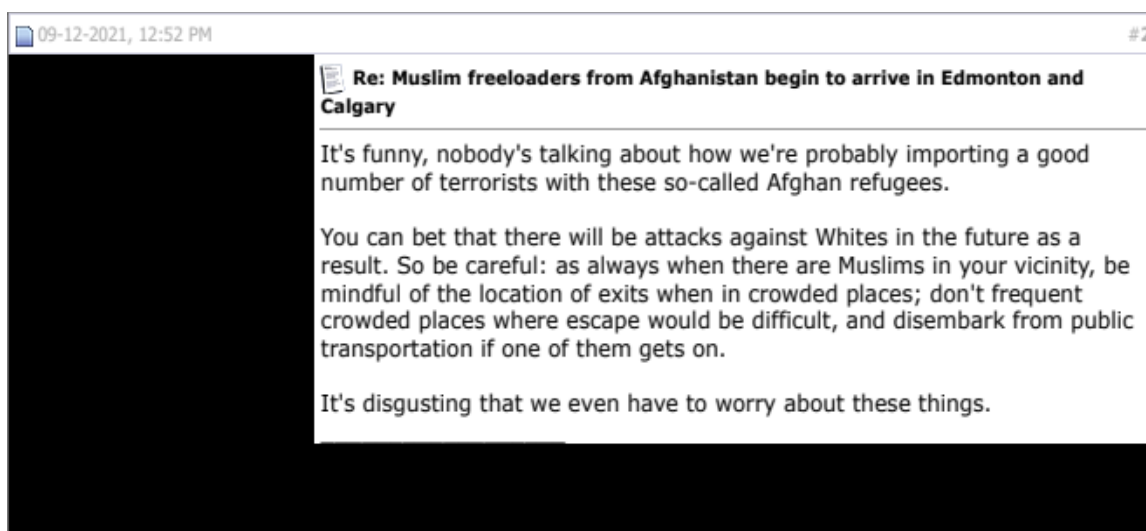
boundaries created by an in-group for the latter's exclusive use (Perry & Scrivens, 2018). The reply author makes it clear in their comment, wherein they directly refer to the non-conformity of the use of exclusionary spaces by a racialized person, which warrants a hostile and aggressive response to contain a perceived spatial threat. Of course, White Canadian ethnonationalists on Stormfront believe that the racialized boundary should be extended to encapsulate the entire country, and that the mere presence of said out-group in any capacity within Canada is a threat to both the movement and White Canadians at large.

Figure 11: Refugees as Invaders and Pillagers



A Stormfront Canada reply to a news article on introducing an anti-racist curriculum in Ontario schools. The replier adopts the White Man's Burden introduced by New Imperialism from the late 19th and early 20th century. Racialized populations are seen as incapable of technological and sociocultural change under this ideology, and as such become ripe targets to paternalizing racism (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

Figure 12: Muslim Essentialization



A Stormfront Canada reply to a news article on the capture of Kabul by Taliban forces. The replier essentializes Muslims as inherently prone to conducting terrorist acts. A general sense of unease and danger is communicated by the reply author as they recommend behavioural changes to other White ethnonationalists should they be in the presence of Muslims in public (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

In sum, White ethnonationalists on Stormfront Canada routinely conceive of the Other through the Great Replacement superconspiracy as a villainous invading force driven by a collective purpose to supplant 'native' White Canadians demographically, culturally, and economically from *their* country. This presentation of an *in-group* victimization and *out-group* hostility framework between White Canadians and racialized communities relies on the conceptualization of Canada as a settler-state where White hegemony should reign and racialized others are uninvited evil pawns for a group of Jewish elites believed to be responsible for the Great Replacement (Ekman, 2022). Through processes of racial essentialization and biological determinism, White ethnonationalists justify their position as racial hegemon and rationalize racial injustices as the rightful result of undesirable social behaviours by racialized communities that are the product of intrinsic biological traits (Byrd & Hughey, 2015). Humanity as a characteristic inherent to humans is reserved for racially conscious White Canadians already involved, or somewhat interested in, the White ethnonationalist movement. White Canadians who do not adhere to the main ideological tenets of White ethnonationalism, notably the disdain for interracial relationships, the belief in the superiority of the White race, and the demand for the creation of a Canadian White ethnostate, are routinely shamed and demeaned in digital communications between members of this community. In justifying the out-group hostility framework against racialized persons, White ethnonationalists structure their conceptions of the Other through historical negationism. This purposeful and malicious recontextualization of historical and ongoing racial injustices serves to paint racialized Others as taking undue advantage of the Canadian state and its equity policies as anti-hate initiatives, diversity schemes, social programs and other political tools are used to integrate and support racialized communities in participating within the Canadian economy and society more broadly. Lastly, the integration of embodied

experiences with appeals to negative emotions like discomfort and insecurity further legitimizes the out-group hostility framework used to portray the racialized Other as physically threatening to White ethnonationalists.

4.2. Politics of War

A worldview shaped by the Great Replacement superconspiracy invites believers to see a binary world pitting the forces of good against evil. The 'good' side is perceived as a transnational White ethnonationalist coalition working in tandem within their own regional contexts, with an opposing force led by a group of Jewish elites composed of racialized individuals and White *traitors* who defend them. This world domination plot requires a process of active defense by right-wing extremist actors who conceive of opposition to their movement and ideological tenets as anathema to their understanding of the world. The White ethnonationalist discursive constructions of what they consider the enemy rely on pseudoscientific biological explanations to justify racial hierarchies, making compromise impossible between these two forces as dehumanization processes entail White ethnonationalists perceiving racialized communities as entirely unhuman. Despite the perception that this apocalyptic prophecy of a race war is currently happening, and the argument that it constitutes a 'white genocide,' Stormfront Canada members are divided when it comes to advocating for solutions or tactics to fight this alleged evil. Many users undoubtedly support militant resistance through racial genocide, violent uprisings, and ultimately a revolution against the Canadian liberal democracy they see as the source of the neutering of both racial consciousness among White Canadians and the political relevance of White supremacy in the country. Yet many instead promote adaptation measures to this conceptualized reality by enacting self-imposed racial segregation of White ethnonationalists away from racialized minorities by creating private gated White communities around existing urban centres or incorporating lands in the northern Canadian territories where White supremacy can become an uncontested lived reality for locals.

The presentation of the militant and adaptive White ethnonationalist political demands should not be understood as there being two monolithic and mutually exclusive groups on Stormfront Canada in open conflict about which path forward is best for the community. Many of the adaptive political demands espoused by some users are made after internalizing the idea that the political and cultural climate for White supremacists in Canada will not improve for their sake, and that immigration schemes and cultural inclusion initiatives will only intensify. But this assumption, should conditions improve favourably for Stormfront Canada users and Canadian White ethnonationalists more broadly, does not prevent members promoting adaptive measures against the state from advocating for more violent and repressive militant political demands in line with the goal of overthrowing the Canadian government in favour of an ethnostate ruled by White supremacists.

Militant political demands by Stormfront Canada members are a serious departure from current major federal parties' platforms. Many users promote a sliding scale of violence against racialized communities in Canada from disenfranchisement, to forced deportation, to racial genocide. This imagined future is thought to be achieved differently depending on the member, but most fall along the line of violent revolution and complete takeover of the Canadian political apparatus by White supremacists at the expense of all other racialized groups living in the country. This overthrow of liberal democracy in

favour of fascism is believed to bring several benefits to the White ethnonationalist cause, starting with the displacement of racialized communities from their homes, workplaces, and schools, and ending with their total disappearance from the public sphere, with news and entertainment networks, as well as sports leagues, prohibiting the showcasing of people of colour in any capacity. Labour and businesses would also be separated along racial lines, with favouritism in the workforce being given to White applicants, whom Stormfront Canada members believe to be more productive and less inclined to commit fraud. This physical segregation between races in all gathering spaces is seen as a critical step in establishing a White ethnostate in Canada.

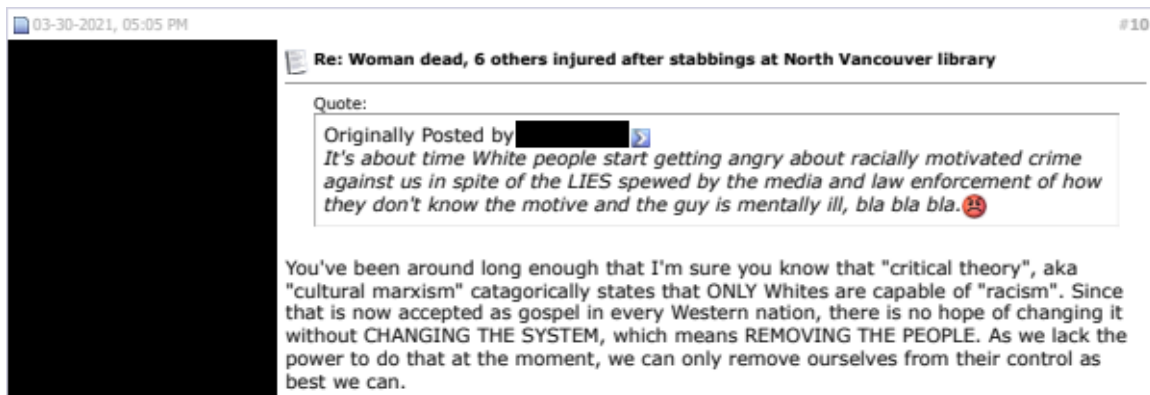
Militant members also seek to introduce significant reforms to Canada's immigration programs, starting with a complete reversal of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988 which saw the uplifting of the legal and social status of Canadians from all national and cultural backgrounds and enshrined into law protections against racial and cultural discrimination for all Canadians. Seen as an affront to the national supremacy of English Canadians, and to some extent, French Canadians (Stormfront Canada is predominantly English-speaking, and little attention is given to the linguistic duality of the Canadian state), multiculturalism as state policy is argued by members to be destructive to the hegemonic status of White Canadians and understood as a tool for the government to propagandize a multiculturalist national identity that runs contrary to the ethnostate aspirations of White supremacists in the community. Immigration would be severely reduced under this new regime, with ironclad blockades against racialized immigrants from the Global South. Instead, community members foresee a future where immigration by White Europeans from across the world would be expedited to 'correct' what they perceive as decades of demographic shifts away from a supermajority of White Canadians to the current multicultural Canadian composition of the country's population, which they abhor. In addition to this White European immigration scheme would be an ill-defined shift away from current abortion policies to a more repressive forced birth scheme to increase White birth rates in Canada. The use of ill-defined here is to communicate the fact that digital exchanges on Stormfront Canada are rarely thorough enough to explicitly delimit the reach and intent of some political demands made by users on the website. Community discussions on abortion regularly referred to the medical practice as White genocide and painted with wide brushes doctors who performed abortions and the politicians who funded reproductive healthcare as active participants of the Great Replacement conspiracy theory. It was thus inferred that community members supported the legislative ban of abortion in the name of increasing White Canadian birth rates.

In believing that the Canadian federal government is a Zionist-controlled government (Z.O.G.) and thus accountable to an elusive Jewish league of elites that aims to topple White hegemony and exterminate White Canadians, Stormfront Canada members see the judicial system as a powerful tool for the government to uplift racialized communities in the country and repress the White ethnonationalist movement. Militant users seek to transform the courts into a punitive and oppressive judicial system where the lives of racialized Canadians are heavily policed in what White ethnonationalists see as retribution for years of favourable treatment for the benefit of racialized communities by the Canadian state. Beginning with the criminalization of interracial relationships and continuing with a legislated system of racial segregation akin to the United States Jim Crow era, when Black Americans were prohibited from sharing recreational facilities, schools, churches, and other public services with White Americans. While many Stormfront Canada users would be satisfied with this outcome, others promote

even stricter regulations against racialized communities living in the country and their White supporters. This new fascist judicial system would reintroduce capital punishment to arbitrarily punish the imagined perpetrators of the Great Replacement conspiracy theory and its alleged proponents (White 'traitors' who do not subscribe to White ethnonationalist ideologies and conceptions of the world). By virtue of not conceiving same-sex partnerships as being able to procreate 'naturally' (without the help of a surrogate), some members promote the idea that gender and sexual minorities under this Canadian ethnostate should be executed by the state for not supporting the ideals of the movement, including the promotion of increasing fertility rates for White Canadians to fill the void left by the prohibition of racialized immigration to Canada.

These political aspirations are all underpinned by the same final goal of physically removing racialized Canadians from the country entirely. Many members promote racial deportation as a means of establishing an ethnostate by removing 'undesirables' from public life. Declarations in favour of deportation on Stormfront Canada in the dataset were not thorough enough to discuss the specifics of what members believe would be the best way to go about deporting millions of racialized Canadians. Others instead advocate for similar genocidal policies emblematic of Nazi Germany during the Second World War, which would see the mass killings of all racialized Canadians with no distinction made between groups. In any case, these violent political demands are understood as aspirations for what *could be*, and not as realistic objectives. Oftentimes, members indulge in thought experiments where they ponder over the best path forward for their imagined Canadian utopia but agree in the end that the likelihood of such a cascading series of events in their favour occurring is abysmally small.

Figure 13: Racial Deportation as a Moonshot Objective



A Stormfront Canada reply to a news article on a series of stabbings in Vancouver. The replier acquiesces that White ethnonationalists lack the power to deport or organize mass killings of millions of racialized Canadians to establish a Canadian ethnostate (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

In the meantime, many Stormfront Canada users promote adaptive measures within our liberal democracy by arguing for participating in electoral politics through demographic concentration schemes in which White ethnonationalists can secure political power through existing political frameworks at all scales (municipal, provincial, and federal). For some, the desire for racial segregation is so intense that they organize on the website to identify towns, often unincorporated municipalities in one of the three Canadian northern territories, where an exodus of urban White supremacists would significantly alter the local political landscape and demographic makeup positively for their cause. Through the takeover of a plurality of electoral votes to install White supremacist representatives to local councils and school boards, members believe that White ethnonationalist belief systems can become a lived reality for residents despite the 'outside' world's continued dismissal of their White supremacist ideologies. Other discussions contemplate which Canadian province or territory would be easiest to supplant local communities with White ethnonationalists from across the country. Long lists of pros and cons for each jurisdiction constitute the backdrop of these debates, with many registered members from other messaging boards on Stormfront affiliated to other nationalities, notably the Australian (Stormfront Downunder) and the United States general forums entertaining the idea in solidarity with their Canadian White ethnonationalist partners.⁴ Through a careful reading of the Clarity Act of 2000, Stormfront Canada members theorize that engineering the conditions for a White ethnonationalist plurality of voters within a Canadian province could lead to a referendum on independence and subsequent secession discussions with the Canadian government to ultimately create an independent White ethnostate free from federal interference. These demographic concentration schemes all operate from the same desire of creating offline communities where White ethnonationalist ideas can be translated into lived experiences without consequences from our law system that penalizes hate speech and discrimination based on intrinsic personal characteristics (e.g., race, sexuality, gender, etc.).

Provincial and federal electoral politics, however, do not operate at the same local scale as municipal politics. They are not as susceptible to these organized demographic concentration plans as the sheer number of Canadians who are not adherents to the cause vastly outnumber White ethnonationalists and ultimately would require a herculean effort from supporters to convince the masses in supporting their cause. Stormfront Canada users who believe in the efficacy of adaptive measures will attempt to rally other community members to consolidate the White ethnonationalist vote into federal parties they believe will most likely push forward motions that are in alignment with their cause. This translates to many lending their support for Maxime Bernier's People's Party of Canada, but many Conservative Party of Canada supporters on the website will instead promote concentrating the right-wing extremist vote on the latter as the former, a fringe party that received less than five percent of the total vote in the 2021 Canadian federal election, stands to perform worse in first-past-the-post electoral systems. This is due to the political reality that electoral wins in Canada are decided based on a candidate receiving a plurality of

⁴ Geolocation data on Stormfront for individual users is self-reported, thus making it impossible to ascertain with confidence that it is accurate. However, these forum threads about White ethnonationalist demographic concentration schemes featured user activity from users outside of the community that were active on other messaging boards on the website. By measuring user activity as part of the quantitative analysis presented in Section 3, I can reasonably infer that these users were not Canadians, or at least, were not active participants within the Canadian White ethnonationalist community on Stormfront.

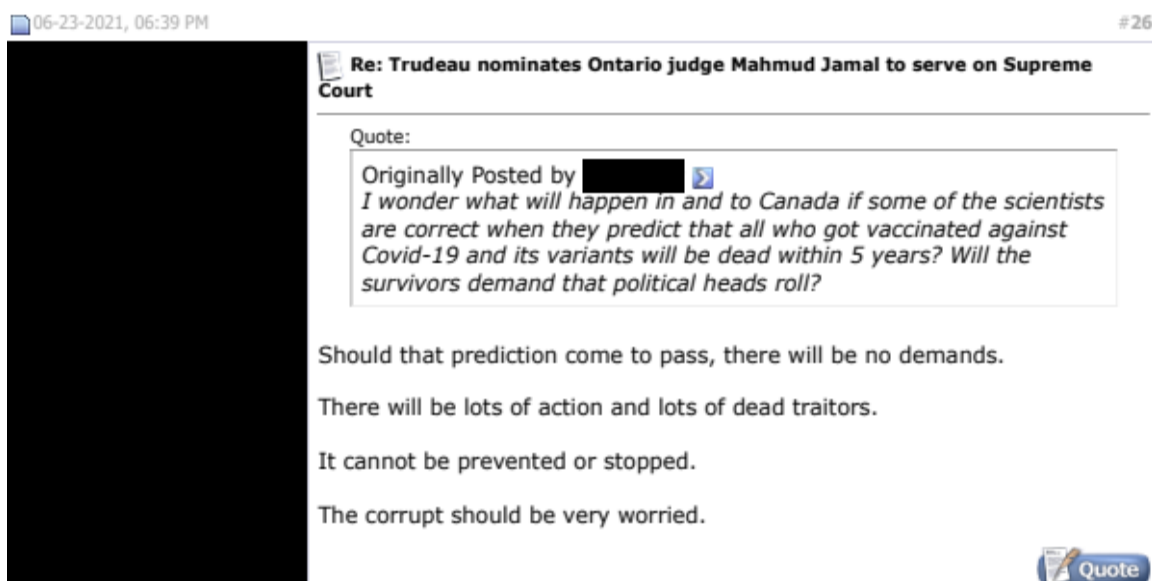
the votes in the district they represent. The Canadian right-wing vote is already concentrated in the Conservative Party of Canada, and splitting this vote among voters on that side of the political spectrum stands to reduce the chances of this political party beating the other parties in each electoral district it is running candidates in (Tasker, 2021). Stormfront Canada members are disillusioned with their personal and communal impact on electoral politics beyond municipal scales as their numbers are few and their ideologies are contested by the public at large as extreme and unpalatable.

In addressing the widespread sense of defeatism experienced by this community as they grapple with the facts on the ground of their movement — their small numbers, geographical spread, and lack of social desirability for their ideologies in Canada — a few turn to supporting accelerating the material and social degradation of existing political and social systems as a last resort in their bleak understanding of the future for the White race. They believe that the destabilization caused by such a societal collapse through mass uprisings will generate an opportunity for the community to act quickly and decisively in creating the conditions for a White ethnonationalist state to emerge from the rubble caused by such a series of events. Accelerationists believe that violence, disruption, and the radicalization of White Canadians is possible by deliberately promoting racial conflicts to recruit ‘fence sitters’ who do not adhere to their belief systems but are thought to be potential supporters should the right conditions be purposefully materialized. They also envision the chaos caused by a civilizational collapse to create the perfect conditions for a future where White ethnonationalists can take power by force, without need to compromise with the forces of evil they see as anathema to their utopia — racialized Canadians, Jews, Muslims, gender and sexual minorities, and others — who by virtue of their identities are perceived as enemies to the White ethnonationalist belief systems of racial supremacy and heteropatriarchy. In Figure 14, a user participates in a forum thread that devolved into a discussion of the merits of a conspiracy theory that prophesizes that millions of vaccinated Canadians will die in the five years following inoculation with any COVID-19 vaccine product distributed to the general population amid the pandemic. The chaos and instability created by a societal collapse following this mass death event is seen gleefully as an opportunity for White ethnonationalists to sweep into power. The consequences of such a collapse, no matter its initial reasons for occurring, are never discussed.

White ethnonationalists on Stormfront Canada seldom write about how the state they envision emerging from either a societal collapse or through legislative means (secession from Canada) would handle foreign affairs. The transnational White ethnonationalist movement, despite being represented in many different localities with its own regional contexts, remains inherently isolationist in nature. Stormfront Canada community members do see White Europeans from other countries as equals within their White supremacist racial hierarchy, but rarely discuss what multilateral diplomatic relationships would look like should an ethnonationalist world order materialize. The political demands made on the topic are discussed within the present context and assumes that the former societal collapse never happens. One of these demands includes Canada unilaterally leaving the United Nations. The justification for this relies on the worldview prescribed by the Great Replacement superconspiracy that merges their perception of a malevolent Jewish group of elites with the United Nations as an organization that promotes and enacts change in favour of this group to the detriment of the White ethnonationalist movement and White Canadians. In promoting social justice, denouncing racial inequality, fighting poverty in the Global South, and protecting the rights of refugees, the United Nations is seen as a pawn

for Jewish interests to support racialized communities across the world in immigrating to the Global North and thus it is seen as condoning the demographic replacement of White Europeans in these countries. The other foreign affairs political demand calls for the gutting of Canadian foreign aid contributions to poorer countries. Community members believe that White Canadians are the sole contributors to government coffers, and that the Canadian government, in promoting the deliberate impoverishment and disenfranchisement of White Canadians, sends billions of taxpayer money to foreign countries to enrich racialized communities Stormfront Canada members see as undeserving.

Figure 14: Societal Collapse as an Opportunity for the Movement



A Stormfront Canada reply to a news article reporting the nomination of Justice Mahmud Jamal to the Canadian Supreme Court. The replier responds to another user who mentioned reading about a conspiracy that theorizes that COVID-19 vaccines will cause the death of millions in the following five years after the initial inoculation. The reply author imagines the chaos following this event as an opportunity for the White ethnonationalist movement to gain power and establish a state from the rubble of the ensuing societal collapse (Source: Stormfront.org, 2021).

4.3. White Ethnonationalist Ethos

White ethnonationalists on Stormfront Canada rely on the Great Replacement superconspiracy to discursively construct the Other past the typical White supremacist tropes of biological determinism, racial essentialism, and the dehumanization and desocialization of the racialized Other. By using the theory as the starting point of their analysis, members engage with a worldview that pits opposing forces of good and evil in a civilizational clash between White ethnonationalists and other racially conscious White communities against a coalition of racialized populations led by an elusive group of Jewish elites. This ominous group is believed to have infiltrated key public institutions and seats of power in the Global

North and other international organizations like the United Nations. The language used in discussions of the superconspiracy is one of battle and war, where victory is conceived as the triumph of both the White race and the elimination of an enemy conceived as anathema to the White ethnonationalist cause, while defeat would mean the complete demographic eradication of White populations in Canada and abroad. This appeal to immediacy due to the superconspiracy's promise of a future where racial conflict and the ensuing societal collapse is guaranteed creates an atmosphere where the end justifies the violent means discussed on Stormfront Canada to maintain and expand White hegemony in our societies. In constructing the Other, Stormfront Canada community members engage in deliberate historical negationism where historical events are recontextualized to paint with broad strokes what White ethnonationalists conceive as undue reparations for events that they argue have not been as severe as reported by mainstream historical accounts of these events or as simply never happening. White ethnonationalists are thus able to navigate conversations about settler-state accountability of past and present racial injustices with ease as the empirical evidence of these events is put into question nonchalantly. The Other is thus perceived as opportunistic and illegitimately abusing the generosity of White *traitors* who support racialized Canadians and a Canadian national identity predicated on multiculturalism and the celebration of racial and cultural difference. The community also participates in discursively attaching negative emotions of fear, discomfort, and horror to constructions of the Other by relying on White supremacist racial hierarchies. These tropes — emphasizing biological determinism, racial essentialism, dehumanization and desocialization — are used to justify the hatred and intolerance of the racialized Other past the arguments prescribed by the Great Replacement's worldview. Through whitewashing the past and instilling a negative affective construction of the Other among the movement's adherents, White ethnonationalists construct a present that justifies the in-group victimization and out-group hostility paradigm that is emblematic of the White ethnonationalist movement as it is presented on Stormfront Canada.

This framework paves the way for militant political aspirations against the state and racialized Canadians. These political demands operate within a sliding scale of violence starting at racial segregation and ending with mass deportations or racial genocide. Common to all members is a rejection of the multiculturalist Canadian national identity introduced with the Multiculturalism Act of 1988 and a strong desire for White ethnonationalists to capture key positions of power by overthrowing the Canadian liberal democracy in favour of the establishment of a fascist Canadian ethnostate. Community members also support a reversal of current healthcare legislation on abortion to boost fertility rates among White Canadians. Adaptive measures proposed by community members involve the resettlement of White ethnonationalists to unincorporated or small municipalities where the movement can attain a plurality of votes in local councils and school boards which would enable them to enact their ideologies in their everyday lives. Stormfront Canada users also coordinate with other White ethnonationalists on the website to debate the best province to direct these demographic concentration schemes of the movement for the eventuality that they achieve a simple majority (50 + 1%) to then be able to secede under the Clarity Act of 2000. These adaptive political demands also include calls from within the movement to concentrate their votes into two federal political parties which they believe best represent their interests: the Conservative Party of Canada and the People's Party of Canada. For some members, the goals of the movement are perceived as impossible to achieve unless the opportunity arises for the White ethnonationalist cause to seize power in the event of a societal collapse. These accelerationist

community members see the current world order as impossible to topple and believe that such a collapse would create the chaos needed for the movement to achieve its political and social objectives of intensifying the consequences of White hegemony on racialized Canadians and creating a society that adopts the White ethnonationalist ethos wholeheartedly with no compromise.

5. Conclusion

This section concludes this work by synthesizing the main research outcomes of this study in connection with the research questions highlighted in the first section of this thesis. I also discuss the contributions brought by this research to our scholarly understanding of right-wing extremism in Canada and its online presence, and briefly address the methodological limitations of this study.

This research explored the major themes of discussion that were identified following an exhaustive data collection process of all forum threads and replies left on the Stormfront Canada bulletin board and its three sister subsections, *Canadian General Discussion*, *Canadian News*, and *Canadian Politics and Activism*. This overview of the topics that preoccupied a virtual Canadian right-wing extremist community in 2021 allowed for an analysis of the discursive narratives about the Other that circulate within this group, and the political demands espoused by members to suppress out-groups comprised of racialized and migrant populations, gender and sexual minorities, feminists, and activists, among others. It aimed to explore a Canadian right-wing extremist community's conceptualizations of the Other and follow the political discussions hosted on the messaging boards to investigate the political demands made by community members to deal with the perceived threat of White genocide they associate with racialized migrants and Canadians.

Through an in-depth thematic analysis of publicly available digital communications exchanged between members, it was found that forum users conceive of racial out-groups through multiple exclusionary thought processes. These include racial essentialization, biological determinism, and dehumanization. These processes are underpinned by a racist worldview predicated on a language of survival and eminent violent confrontation between White supremacist communities and racialized out-groups. The Great Replacement superconspiracy acts as the backbone of this perspective of the world (Ekman, 2022). Conspiracy theorists who adhere to this worldview believe that a coalition of racialized populations operating at a planetary scale are led by a globalist group of elusive and evil Jewish elites determined to exterminate White populations across the world. Members of this community regularly partake in historical negationism to construct an in-group image that is unaccountable to historical racial injustices committed by settler-states and colonial powers, and in doing so, delegitimize historical grievances held by racialized out-groups and negatively portray these groups as opportunistic and untrustworthy. This worldview and malicious construction of history serve to further the White ethnonationalist framework of victimized White in-groups fighting for their survival against a discursively constructed racialized hostile out-group (Ekman, 2022).

This series of belief systems are translated into violent political demands that seek to establish a Canadian ethnostate predicated on the forced expulsion of racialized populations from public life. Confiscation of property held by these groups, deportation, and genocide are all imagined to constitute the first steps taken by this new state. The political demands espoused by members of this community

aim to control and repress out-groups. Many members debate on adaptive measures that could be taken by the community in creating the conditions necessary to establish a lived reality in line with White ethnonationalist beliefs. Demographic concentration schemes in rural municipalities and in provinces theorized to be the most accepting of their belief systems are devised in the meantime as many members do not believe that the current state of their movement would permit the establishment of an ethnostate. In rare cases, accelerationism is promoted to hasten the conditions that members believe would catapult the movement's political relevance. Within this imagined chaos, some users conceive of a future where this civilizational collapse can be blamed on racialized out-groups and thus convince more White Canadians to join the movement in achieving its stated goals of establishing an ethnostate (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2020).

This research also investigated the distribution of user-generated content by authorship on Stormfront Canada. The quantitative results exposed in the third section of this work indicate that most forum posts ($n = 170$ threads out of 289 total threads, representing 58.82% of the sample) were created by two active community members, while a plurality of forum replies were left by a small group of six influential users ($n = 419$ replies out of 979 total replies, representing 42.80% of the sample). However striking these findings may seem, the research design of this study did not permit additional testing to qualify how influential these members were in cementing and promoting group beliefs and distorted worldviews to others aside from speculating that the frequency of their replies made their statements impossible to miss for users who frequent the website.

In addition to measuring the community's membership, this thesis presented the main themes discussed in forum threads posted to Stormfront Canada in 2021. These conversations revolved around anti-hate initiatives and diversity schemes, politics, crime, and health, with other discussion topics representing less than 10% of the sample. Most coded forum replies left by community members during the studied year contained conspirational content rooted in antisemitism or xenophobia. These range from tying the community's beliefs in the Great Replacement superconspiracy to its imagined Jewish perpetrators, to accusing the People's Republic of China and its citizens of purposefully spreading the COVID-19 pandemic to weaken Canada and other Global North countries community members perceive as "White nations." The next two forum reply coding categories in terms of frequency were offensive language targeted at racialized groups, and political demands expressed by community members to align Canada with their radical utopic vision for the country. These three coding categories account for 90% of all forum replies posted in 2021.

Researching a White supremacist Canadian online community was not without its share of surprises. Despite Stormfront Canada's commitment to promoting a patriarchal, heteronormative, and racist worldview where cisgender heterosexual White Canadian men are socially positioned above all others, the disdain expressed by community members against White Canadians who do not support White supremacy rivals the hate voiced against racialized Canadians in forum threads and user replies. Scornful and defeatist attitudes fill these community discussions as members condemn White Canadians for supporting political parties that promote programs to increase immigration and policies that assist in migrant integration within Canadian society. Stormfront Canada users lament what they see as lack of solidarity on the behalf of White Canadians for not explicitly associating with White supremacist beliefs. These declarations colourfully paint these White Canadians as race traitors, with some advocating that they be the subject of the same repressive measures Stormfront Canada users support enacting on racialized Canadians. I was also surprised by many forum replies condemning the pandemic measures

taken by federal and provincial governments, citing the perceived increase in authoritarianism and removal of freedoms as understood by community members. These same reply authors would then, elsewhere on the website, advocate for the centralization of power and authority in the hands of a fascist state. While this research was not concerned with how members of extremist communities experience and deal with cognitive dissonance, I hypothesize from my findings that Stormfront Canada users do not conceive of these two opposing beliefs as contradictory. Instead, the suspension of freedoms for racialized others they consider inferior to themselves is gleefully seen as a step toward state-enforced White ethnonationalism, while the perceived limitation of their freedoms are understood as supporting evidence of their personalized conspirational worldviews where Jewish elites are imagined to be in control of key public institutions with the explicit goals of subjugating White populations globally.

The methodological choices made within this work allowed me to collect unfiltered statements made by community members without needing to consider the limitations typically found in data collection methods involving interviews. These can include participants altering their interview responses due to perceived concerns over the social (un)desirability of their opinions, their judgments of the interviewer emanating from prejudiced beliefs (racism, homophobia, sexism, etc.), social and legal consequences for threatening speech about protected classes of people, and lastly, whether participants are being transparently honest as they answer interview questions (Dawson, 2019). Additionally, interviews with members of extremist groups can come with risks to the personal safety of the researcher(s) studying these communities (Pearson, 2023). The passive and remote observer role I adopted to collect my data allowed me to bypass these limitations and immediate risks.

There are a few methodological limitations that I recognize are inherent of the choices I made when designing this study. My exhaustive sampling method of forum threads and replies posted to Stormfront Canada in 2021 allowed me to make conclusions from my findings as they related to my research questions for the studied year. However, I understand that I cannot generalize the findings presented in this study to other years that were not the concern of this work. Stormfront itself is the longest running White ethnonationalist website in the world, and the collection of all data in one given year cannot lead to the definitive conclusions that a longitudinal research design could provide. I also was not able to follow up on any statements made by community members. Studying past digital communications with participants who are still alive to clarify or add to their forum responses allows for a potentially enriching exchange between researcher and participant, but doing the same as a complete observer cements these statements as static objects of study from the past that cannot be further complemented by follow up interviews. Lastly, I am a graduate student with a given time frame to conduct the fieldwork required to complete this research, and a complete profile of a community with user activity beginning in 2001 would be impossible to achieve by myself in the time I had.

Nevertheless, 2021 was marked by events at all scales—local, national, and international—that inspired many community discussions on Stormfront Canada. Notably, the continued effort to combat the COVID-19 pandemic worldwide and the start of the so-called Freedom Convoy protests, the inauguration of President Joe Biden which marked the end of former President Trump’s administration, and lastly the discovery of unmarked Indigenous gravesites related to the residential school system in Canada. These events, among others, became informal prompts for community members to share their thoughts about Canada and its demographics, their political ideologies and demands, and provided ample material for qualitative analysis.

This study contributes to the nascent literature on Canadian right-wing extremism by both quantifying the numbers of a prominent online community operating in this space and highlighting the main belief systems that support the foundations of the racist worldview Stormfront Canada members adhere to. This increased understanding of how Canadian right-wing extremism operates and constructs its imagined opponents is critical for policymakers and stakeholders within the intelligence community to craft policy proposals or strategies to mitigate the potential threat that right-wing extremist mobilization can pose against the increasing number of racialized migrants who move to Canada. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service states that it investigates ideologically motivated violent extremism to determine if “there is a threat of serious violence and the willingness to inspire others to kill; the actions are ideologically motivated; and those involved are attempting to affect societal change” (CSIS, 2023). The research findings analysed in this work suggest that Stormfront Canada meets the last two criteria. Community members routinely use White supremacist ideology to justify the logics of their mobilization against racialized groups, and the political demands they espouse would see Canada fundamentally move away from a liberal democracy to a fascist ethnostate. While many of these demands involve the forced removal (with some advocating genocide) of racialized groups from Canada, I will stray away from making definitive statements as to how credible this threat is. I argue, however, that close monitoring of communities built around ideologically motivated extremism is needed to ensure the continued safety of Canadians everywhere.

The research objectives aimed to illustrate and understand the perceptions held by an online extremist group against *out-groups* they consider diametrically opposed to their ideological motivations. In Section 3, I presented key user activity metrics demonstrating the high concentration of user-generated content created by super users. I briefly introduce literature on the minority influence model wherein a small subset of an extremist community can occupy strategic positions within this space to enforce dogmatic understandings of the prevailing ideologies that give these communities purpose. Future research into Canadian extremist spaces could explore these in-group dynamics in a similar fashion as Kleinberg *et al.* (2021)’s study on the minority influence model on Stormfront.org, which found that a small minority of users created 80% of all user-generated content on the website from 2001 to 2015 and that the posts and replies shared by these users used more extreme and negative language.

5.1. Closing Words

In a sharp contrast to the hateful messages left by Stormfront Canada members on the forum in 2021, an Ipsos poll (2021) conducted in the same year found that nearly all Canadians were in agreement that racism is harmful (96%), with the vast majority strongly agreeing with that statement (76%). In fact, almost nine in ten Canadians support more action by social media companies to remove hateful and racist messages from their platforms.

This research was conducted in a time where right-wing extremism is on the rise globally, with social media platforms serving as one of the leading ways right-wing extremist ideologies are disseminated to the public. Despite some commitments by technology giants Meta and Alphabet, right-wing extremism continues to proliferate across the Internet as social media algorithms are entrusted to feed its users content that increases total visit time on these websites (Harris, 2019; Wojcicki, 2017). The gradual nature of radical digital media consumption on platforms like YouTube enables new viewers of right-wing

extremist content to enter what has been coined the “alt-right pipeline” (Munn, 2019). This radicalization method describes the algorithmic process by which users are recommended progressively more extreme videos within the right-wing extremist umbrella, and as they engage with this content, fall into a rabbit hole of extremism that prescribes a worldview shaped by virtuous in-groups against imagined corrupt and degenerate out-groups defined by their opposition to ‘common-sense’ conservative values. These values are, in part, represented here within the present study: a belief in the superiority of the White race and its imagined traditional way of life, the inferiority of racialized and non-Christian religious groups, the disdain for non-heterosexual and non-cisgender identities, and ethnonationalist views of citizenship, among other views (Munn, 2019). Right-wing extremist content creators on these platforms benefit immensely from the algorithm’s main goal of increasing total visit time, and as such, frequently post long-form videos on a variety of subjects in the hopes of courting an increasingly radicalized audience. The technical environment within these platforms propels this pipeline forward as Munn (2019, sec. The alt-right pipeline) puts it:

“There is no sign indicating the switch from one ideology to another, no distinctive jolt when transitioning to the next waypoint in this process. The next video auto-plays. The next comment is shown. The next site is recommended. Based on the rules of recommendations, each piece of content must be familiar, suggested by a user’s previous history, but also novel, something not yet consumed. Thus, while these paths may fork and diverge, they ultimately shunt a user further along this pipeline.”

While this pipeline to right-wing extremist beliefs was not the concern of this research, it was the spark that led me to study a White ethnonationalist community using the Internet as a platform to mobilize. Stormfront Canada’s position as a self-hosted White ethnonationalist hub allows it to bypass the need to make the contents of its bulletin boards palatable for new visitors. The lack of filter on the part of its community members allowed me to research a right-wing extremist community in its most unconstrained form. This is not to say that this research case-study’s is inherently better to study the right-wing extremist movement and its beliefs than other social media websites where such ideologies also proliferate, but its unfiltered state made such a task accessible to me as a new researcher. In any case, I wanted to bridge what I saw as an overwhelming amount of scholarly attention dedicated to the United States’ sections of the website with the nascent Canadian literature on right-wing extremism operating within the country. I believe that a sustained scholarly effort to expose the inner workings of domestic right-wing extremist platforms and their numbers can enable researchers and policy makers to develop better preventive policy and deradicalization programmes to reduce the threat posed by right-wing extremism to Canadians (Pauwels, 2021; Schils & Verhage, 2017).

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Appendix A: Analytical and thematic codes assigned to Stormfront Canada threads created in 2021.

Stormfront Canada 2021 Threads Organized by Codes				
Thread Code Name	Analytical Subsection A	Analytical Subsection B	Thematic Code	Number of Assigned Codes
Community	Community Discussions	N/A	Workplace Discussions	1
Community	Community Discussions	Dating	Dating	2
Community	Community Discussions	Dating	Race-Mixing	1
Community	Community Discussions	N/A	State of White Ethnonationalism	3
Community	Grassroots Mobilization	N/A	Grassroots Mobilization	4
Community	Grassroots Mobilization	N/A	Foreign White Ethnonationalists	1
Community	Grassroots Mobilization	N/A	Private Security	1
			Total	12
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Renaming Places, Institutions, and Changing Symbols	N/A	Renaming Places, Institutions, and Changing Symbols	14
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Education	4
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	Education	Scholarships	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Affirmative Action	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Apologies	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Committees	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Law Enforcement	8
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Media Programming	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Punitive Measures	8
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Recognition	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Rejection of Hate	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Social Media	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Anti-Racism	N/A	Strategies & Finances	24

Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Anti-Semitism	N/A	Combatting Anti-Semitism	2
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Anti-Semitism	N/A	Education	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Anti-Semitism	N/A	Punitive Measures	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Homophobia	N/A	Education	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Homophobia	N/A	Punitive Measures	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Homophobia	N/A	Rejection of Hate	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Islamophobia	N/A	Combatting Islamophobia	3
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Islamophobia	N/A	Recognition and Day of Remembrance	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Sexism	N/A	Rejection of Hate	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Transphobia	N/A	Combatting Transphobia	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Combatting Transphobia	N/A	Education	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	COVID-19 Related	N/A	COVID-19 Related	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Criminal Code	N/A	Criminal Code	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Identifying Hate	N/A	Identifying Hate	1
Anti-Hate Initiatives	Settler Colonialism	N/A	Settler Colonialism	2
			Total	85
Crime	Crime	N/A	Crime	3
Crime	Arson	N/A	Arson	1
Crime	Arson	N/A	Churches	2
Crime	Committed By	N/A	Committed by White People	1
Crime	Committed By	N/A	Committed by BIPOC	7
Crime	Committed By	N/A	Committed by Jewish People	1
Crime	Committed By	N/A	Committed by Migrants	1
Crime	Defaced Statues and Monuments	N/A	Defaced Statues and Monuments	5
Crime	Drugs & Narcotics	N/A	Drugs & Narcotics	1
Crime	Hate Crime	N/A	Hate Crime	2
Crime	Hate Crime	N/A	Involving Central Asians	1
Crime	Hate Crime	N/A	Involving Indigenous People	1

Crime	Hate Crime	N/A	Involving Jewish People	7
Crime	Hate Crime	N/A	Involving Muslims	2
Crime	Hate Crime	N/A	Involving Sikhs	1
Crime	Hate Crime	N/A	Involving Transgender People	1
Crime	Hate Crime	N/A	Racism	3
Crime	Notorious White Supremacists	N/A	Notorious White Supremacists	1
			Total	41
Economy	Taxes	N/A	Taxes	1
Economy	Flows of Capital by non-Canadians	N/A	Flows of Capital by non-Canadians	1
			Total	2
Education	Education	N/A	Education	2
			Total	2
Environment, Disasters & Climate Change	Environment, Disasters & Climate Change	N/A	Environment	3
			Total	3
Indigenous Issues	Residential Schools	N/A	Residential Schools	4
			Total	4
Health	Mental Health	N/A	Mental Health	1
Health	COVID-19	N/A	COVID-19	4
Health	COVID-19	N/A	Anti-Health Measures	2
Health	COVID-19	N/A	Financial Aid (CERB, CESB, etc.)	2
Health	COVID-19	N/A	Anti-Lockdown Protests	1
Health	COVID-19	N/A	Masking	3
Health	COVID-19	N/A	Misinformation & Fake News	1
Health	COVID-19	Vaccines	Vaccines	5
Health	COVID-19	Vaccines	Vaccine Conspiracies	2
Health	COVID-19	Vaccines	Vaccine Passports	4
Health	COVID-19	N/A	Violation of Health Measures	8
			Total	33
Immigration & Integration	Border Enforcement	N/A	Border Enforcement	1
Immigration & Integration	Dual Citizenship	N/A	Dual Citizenship	1
Immigration & Integration	Housing	N/A	Housing	1

Immigration & Integration	Immigration Statistics	N/A	Immigration Statistics	3
Immigration & Integration	Political Plans	N/A	Political Plans	1
Immigration & Integration	Refugees	N/A	Refugees	5
Immigration & Integration	Social Integration	N/A	Social Integration	1
Immigration & Integration	White Immigration	N/A	White Immigration	1
			Total	14
Media	Media	N/A	Media Programming	1
Media	Right-Wing Extremist	N/A	Right-Wing Extremist	1
Media	Pro-Nazi Media	N/A	Pro-Nazi Media	1
			Total	3
Miscellaneous	Miscellaneous	N/A	Miscellaneous	5
Miscellaneous	Donations from White Supremacists	N/A	Donations from White Supremacists	1
Miscellaneous	Transportation Accidents	N/A	Transportation Accidents	1
Miscellaneous	Nazi Memorabilia and Flags	N/A	Nazi Memorabilia and Flags	4
			Total	11
Politics	Politics	N/A	Politics	2
Politics	Discussion of Foreign Nations	N/A	Discussion of Foreign Nations	3
Politics	Diversity in Government	N/A	Diversity in Government	6
Politics	Drugs & Narcotics	N/A	Drugs & Narcotics	1
Politics	Electoral Politics	USA	Republicans	2
Politics	Electoral Politics	Municipal	Municipal	2
Politics	Electoral Politics	Federal	2021 Canadian Election	1
Politics	Electoral Politics	Federal	Canadian Nationalist Front & Canadian Nationalist Party	5
Politics	Electoral Politics	Federal	Conservative Party of Canada	6
Politics	Electoral Politics	Federal	Green Party of Canada	2
Politics	Electoral Politics	Federal	Liberal Party of Canada	5
Politics	Electoral Politics	Federal	Neodemocratic Party	1
Politics	Electoral Politics	Federal	People's Party of Canada	4
Politics	Right-Wing Extremist Protests	N/A	Right-Wing Extremist Protests	1
Politics	Foreign Aid	N/A	Foreign Aid	2
Politics	Government Apologies & Reconciliation Efforts	N/A	Government Apologies & Reconciliation Efforts	3

Politics	Legislation to Curtail Right-Wing Extremist Activity	N/A	Legislation to Curtail Right-Wing Extremist Activity	1
Politics	Military	N/A	Military	2
Politics	Multiculturalism	N/A	Multiculturalism	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Secession from Canada	1
Politics	Political System	N/A	Political System	1
Politics	Quebec	N/A	Quebec	1
			Total	53
Systemic Racism	Systemic Racism	N/A	Systemic Racism	1
Systemic Racism	Against or About Indigenous People	N/A	Against or About Indigenous People	6
Systemic Racism	Against of About Black People	N/A	Against of About Black People	6
			Total	13
Transgender Issues	Transgender Issues	N/A	Transgender Issues	2
			Total	2
Whites as Victims	Whites as Victims	N/A	Whites as Victims	1
Whites as Victims	Great Replacement	N/A	Great Replacement	2
Whites as Victims	Education	N/A	Education	1
Whites as Victims	Systemic Racism Against Whites	N/A	Systemic Racism Against Whites	3
Whites as Victims	White Intolerance	N/A	White Intolerance	2
Whites as Victims	White Intolerance	N/A	Diversity as White Intolerance	1
			Total	10
			Grand Total	289

Appendix B: Analytical and thematic codes assigned to Stormfront Canada replies created in 2021.

Stormfront Canada 2021 Replies Organized by Codes				
Reply Code Name	Analytical Subsection A	Analytical Subsection B	Thematic Code	Number of Assigned Codes
Crime	Denial of Hate Crimes	N/A	Denial of Hate Crimes	2
			Total	2
Disinformation	Anti-Vax Discrimination	N/A	Anti-Vax Discrimination	2
Disinformation	Conspiracies	N/A	Conspiracies	3
Disinformation	Conspiracies	N/A	Adoption as Conquest	1
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Anti-Semitism	Anti-Semitism	6
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Anti-Semitism	Zionist-Controlled-Government (ZOG)	16
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Anti-Semitism	Jewish Infiltration in Right-Wing Extremist Circles	4
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Anti-Semitism	George Soros	1
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Anti-Semitism	Holocaust Denial	4
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Anti-Semitism	New World Order	24
Disinformation	Conspiracies	N/A	Communist Government	4
Disinformation	Conspiracies	N/A	COVID-19	16
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Electoral Politics	Immigration	6
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Electoral Politics	Voter Fraud	1
Disinformation	Conspiracies	N/A	False Flags	10
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Homophobia	Pedophilia	1
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Homophobia	"The Gay Agenda"	1
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Immigration	Easier Migration for BIPOC	1
Disinformation	Conspiracies	N/A	Justin Trudeau Fidel Castro	4
Disinformation	Conspiracies	N/A	Media	1
Disinformation	Conspiracies	N/A	Serial Killer Apologia	1

Disinformation	Conspiracies	N/A	Systemic Racism	4
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Transphobia	"The Transexual Agenda"	1
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Great Replacement	Great Replacement	65
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Great Replacement	Race-Mixing	2
Disinformation	Conspiracies	Great Replacement	Abortion	3
Disinformation	Historical Negationism	N/A	Historical Negationism	2
Disinformation	Historical Negationism	N/A	World War 2	1
Disinformation	Historical Negationism	N/A	Slavery in Canada & History of Black Canadian Communities	4
Disinformation	Historical Negationism	N/A	Residential Schools & Indigenous History	13
Disinformation	Islamophobia	N/A	Islamophobia	3
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Advertisement	2
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Affirmative Action	2
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Dating	8
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Homosexuality & Reproduction	2
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Justice System	2
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Labour	12
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Law Enforcement	4
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Migrant Terrorism	3
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Post-Nation State	4
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Systemic Racism	7
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	University	1
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	N/A	Welfare	1
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	White Intolerance	by Private Organizations or Individuals	12
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	White Intolerance	by Public Institutions, Governments, or Political Parties	23
Disinformation	Whites as Victims	White Intolerance	by Society/in General	31

Disinformation	Whites as Victims	White Intolerance	by the Press	9
			Total	328
Grassroots Mobilization	Grassroots Mobilization	N/A	Grassroots Mobilization	1
Grassroots Mobilization	Recruitment	N/A	Recruitment	1
Grassroots Mobilization	Recruitment	Recruitment	White Immigration	1
Grassroots Mobilization	Unified White 'Bloc'	N/A	Unified White 'Bloc'	7
Grassroots Mobilization	Boycotting	N/A	Boycotting	1
Grassroots Mobilization	Border Enforcement	N/A	Border Enforcement	3
			Total	14
Offensive Speech	Sexism	N/A	Impure Women	1
Offensive Speech	Anti-Semitism	N/A	Anti-Semitism	20
Offensive Speech	Homophobia	N/A	Homophobia	4
Offensive Speech	Islamophobia	N/A	Islamophobia	7
Offensive Speech	Racism	N/A	Racism	9
Offensive Speech	Racism	N/A	Anti-Indigenous	11
Offensive Speech	Racism	N/A	Against Latinos	1
Offensive Speech	Racism	N/A	Against Asians	2
Offensive Speech	Racism	N/A	Against South Asians	4
Offensive Speech	Racism	N/A	Against East-Asians	6
Offensive Speech	Racism	N/A	Against Black People	31
Offensive Speech	Transphobia	N/A	Transphobia	8
Offensive Speech	Xenophobia	N/A	Xenophobia	5
Offensive Speech	Xenophobia	N/A	South Asians	1
Offensive Speech	Xenophobia	N/A	Migrants	24
Offensive Speech	Xenophobia	N/A	Muslims	5
Offensive Speech	Xenophobia	N/A	Anti-East-Asians	3

			Total	142
Identity Politics	Identity Politics	N/A	Identity Politics	1
Identity Politics	"City People"	N/A	"City People"	2
Identity Politics	"The Far Left"	N/A	"The Far Left"	12
Identity Politics	Cancel Culture	N/A	Cancel Culture	4
			Total	19
Involuntary Celibate	Involuntary Celibate	N/A	Involuntary Celibate	1
Involuntary Celibate	"SJW" Women	N/A	"SJW" Women	1
Involuntary Celibate	Women Promiscuity	N/A	Women Promiscuity	1
			Total	3
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Abandoning Multiculturalism	4
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Accelerationism	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Advocating Racial Genocide	2
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Ban Interracial Relationships	4
Politics	Political Demand	Ban Interracial Relationships	Create Database of "Race Mixers"	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Concentrating Right-Wing Extremist Vote	3
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Cut Foreign Aid	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Death Penalty	3
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Disenfranchising BIPOC	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Expedite White Immigration	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Fascism	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Gated White Communities	3
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Gun Rights	1
Politics	Political Demand	Healthcare	Abolish Vaccine Passports	2

Politics	Political Demand	Healthcare	Privatization	1
Politics	Political Demand	Imprison Politicians	[...] For Pro-Immigration Policies	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Make Canada an Ethnostate	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Monarchism	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	No Affirmative Action Program	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	No Racialized Immigration	3
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Protect Controversial Statues	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Racial Deportation	9
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Racial Segregation	6
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Restrict Women's Rights	1
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Secession from Canada	2
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Violent Revolution	2
Politics	Political Demand	N/A	Leave the UN	1
Politics	Electoral Politics	N/A	Political "Wins.	1
Politics	Electoral Politics	N/A	Rejection of Electoral Politics	3
Politics	Electoral Politics	N/A	Unrepresented Right-Wing Extremist Movement	9
			Total	70
White Traitors	White Traitors	N/A	White Traitors	13
White Traitors	White Traitors	N/A	Interracial Relationships	9
			Total	22
			Grand Total	601