



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A wolf in sheep's clothing: a mixed-methods analysis of the far-right alt-tech social media movement

Collins, J.E.

Citation

Collins, J. E. (2025, September 30). *A wolf in sheep's clothing: a mixed-methods analysis of the far-right alt-tech social media movement*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4261963>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4261963>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

**A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing: A Mixed-Methods Analysis of the Far-Right
Alt-Tech Social Media Movement**

Jonathan Collins

A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing
A Mixed-Methods Analysis of the Far-Right Alt-Tech Social Media Movement

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 30 september 2025
klokke 13.00 uur
door
Jonathan Elan Collins
geboren te Toronto
in 1996

Promotor

Prof.dr. J.J.M. van Holsteijn

Co-promotores

Dr. V. Tsagkroni

Dr. S. Rezaeedyakenari

Promotiecommissie

Prof.dr. B.A. Barendregt (Decaan Graduate School, Voorzitter)

Prof.dr. B.W. Schuurman

Prof. S.J. Baele (Université Louvain-la-Neuve)

Dr. S.L. Carthy

Prof. M. Conway (Dublin City University)

Dr. M.F. Meffert

Acknowledgements

What a journey these four years have been. As I sit here (currently living the dream as a researcher in Tokyo, Japan) reminiscing on my PhD experiences, many names come into my head to which I am eternally grateful for.

Starting where it all began at Charles University, Emil was paramount for my initial journey towards the PhD. Not only did he actively contribute to my work's progress with many walks and coffees in Prague, but his comments on my master's thesis as the opponent gave me the motivation to pursue a career in academia. Another name to thank is Vitek, who consistently thought of me when it came to funding. Without his efforts in providing me with adequate financial support, allowing me to focus on my research, I would not have been as successful as I was in the PhD.

Moving onto my second home, Leiden University, where I found the academic guidance that has propelled my abilities (and publications) to great heights. Although I have told them many times via video calls and in-person, Billy, Joop, and Babak, have spoiled me as supervisors. I cannot express how much their feedback and encouragement throughout the last 3 years has helped me improve. From full mark-ups (pages of red) on my articles to positive remarks and confidence-building comments, they were there for me in every step of the journey. Billy deserves a special shoutout as my day-to-day contact, whose care transcended academics, being there whenever I needed a voice of reason. A wonderful human being through and through. Thank you to all three of you (once again).

My family is the bedrock in which I could pursue my academic career. Switching from engineering to history during my bachelor's probably set off a couple of alarms, but my parents continued to believe in me and supported my unorthodox scholarly transition. Even when my thesis' ideas came off as esoteric or difficult to grasp, they always had questions or comments for me. As my biggest

cheerleaders, they were never shy to share my academic successes with friends and family. As a symbol of their unconditional support, we co-created the cover for this thesis. The same can be said for my sister, brother-in-law, and niece, whose daily breakfast facetimes provided much-needed encouragement during difficult times.

There are many friends and colleagues who were invaluable during my PhD. A special thank you to Kristián – for the many discussions, beers, co-writings, article ideas, grant fundings, and conspiracies discussed – to Tereza – for our countless Mama Coffee talks and the fantastic emotional and academic support you provided throughout – to Kledi – for the rich scholarly discussions, boundless opportunity for rants, and for pushing each other to be our best academic versions – and to Cat – for consistently making my day brighter and providing a much-needed (unfortunately French) Canadian energy in Prague.

To my love and ‘engagee’, Natália, your support throughout these four years is immeasurable. I cannot imagine a PhD world (and regular one too) without you, your constant advocacy, and unconditional belief. Through every step of the process, including the many highs and lows that inherently come with a PhD, you were there for me. You push and inspire me to be a better academic and (more importantly) person each day. No number of words can summarize how much you mean to me. I hope to have many more years in which I can continue to show my thanks.

Abstract

The far-right encultures an expansive online network and content milieu that aims to cater for its participants' diverse needs. However, the counter-cultural activities and narratives connected to the movement triggered large tech corporations (Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon, and Microsoft) to act, deplatforming their content, systems, and userbase off their 'Big Tech' platforms. In reaction, an alternative ecosystem of websites (Alt-Tech) was developed to maintain sociality and to continue peddling an alternative ontology. And while millions of users flock to these spaces as bastions for far-right ideologies and communications, academic attention is sparse and fixated on one-dimensional extremist patterns of the phenomena. To bring research on Alt-Tech up to the level of other extreme platforms and communities, I aim to unpack the essential social drivers – community, collectives, narratives, and ontologies – which proliferate and maintain the success of one of these platforms, Gab Social. Through an experiential and holistic investigation into the behavioural dynamics of the platform's participants, the thesis unpacks the numerous processes mobilising, connecting, recruiting, and perpetuating these far-right environments. Told as a multi-encompassing storyline, through five published articles, capturing the different elements of the Gab Social's success, each chapter contributes an elaborate piece to the puzzle, from (1) the rise of far-right extremism to (2) the connection making means of Neo-Nazis, (3) the utilisation of insecurity to mobilise support, (4) the construction of identity and a unified community, and (5) the emotional connection to Gab Social as a new home. These findings culminate towards an overarching theoretical contribution, decentralised sociality. The research employs a qualitative mixed-methods approach – with netnography as the baseline – to examine these phenomena thoroughly, thematically, and interpretively.

Keywords: Far-Right, Social Media, Alt-Tech, Netnography, Online Extremism, Group Identity

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------------|
| Chapter 1..... | 1 |
| An Introduction to the Far-Right and their Online Activities | 1 |
| The Far-Right & The Online Ecosystem | 5 |
| Gab and Alternative Technology Platforms | 16 |
| Research Questions..... | 21 |
| Chapter Outline..... | 26 |
| Chapter 2..... | 37 |
| A Comparative Analysis on the Rise of Far-Right Extremism | 37 |
| Rapoport's Modern Waves of Terrorism Theory | 40 |
| Research Design: Evaluating the Next Wave | 42 |
| Analysis | 46 |
| International Nature | 46 |
| Amount of Activity | 47 |
| Prompting Cause | 53 |
| Common Predominant Energy | 61 |
| Chapter 3..... | 70 |
| Netnography's Role in Studying Online Extremist Movements | 70 |
| Netnography's application in the field and beyond..... | 72 |
| "Safe" Ethnography: Immersion, deepening, and experiential | 74 |
| Methodological Guidelines..... | 75 |
| Reconstructing Social Media Research & Multidisciplinary Integration..... | 78 |
| Thick Data and Different Content Types | 80 |
| Methodological Mixing Within the Thesis & Hermeneutic Research Process | 81 |
| Positionality Statement & Scholarly Evolution..... | 82 |
| Issues of Researcher Safety, Sensitivity, and Ethical Concerns | 84 |
| Empirical Case Study..... | 87 |
| Tracing The Networking of Neo-Nazis on Gab Social..... | 87 |
| Chapter 4..... | 105 |
| Analysing the UK's Far-Right Online Content During the Pandemic..... | 105 |
| The Far-Right, The United Kingdom, Insecurities, and COVID-19 | 109 |
| Michael Hogg's Uncertainty-Identity Theory | 114 |
| Methodology, Case Selection, & the UK | 118 |
| The Far-Right's Use of Insecurity: Inductive & Deductive Findings | 122 |
| Existential Threat | 122 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Confirmation Bias | 124 |
| Entitativity..... | 126 |
| Prototypicality | 127 |
| The Patterns of Toxic Communication: A Discussion on Far-Right Mobilisation | 128 |
| What Next? Policy Implications & Conclusion | 134 |
| Chapter 5..... | 146 |
| A Netnographic Examination of the Community Building Mechanisms..... | 146 |
| A Literature Review on Identity, Online Communications, & Community | 149 |
| Online Member Attachment Theory..... | 153 |
| Method..... | 157 |
| Analysis | 162 |
| Deductive, Inductive, and Interconnected Findings..... | 162 |
| Unifying Factors of Belonging | 165 |
| Establishing the Worldview | 168 |
| Who We Are and Are Not?..... | 170 |
| Discussion & In-Group Superiority Model | 172 |
| Chapter 6..... | 187 |
| Examining Emotional Belonging in Far-Right Social Media Space..... | 187 |
| Literature Review | 189 |
| Method..... | 193 |
| Analysis | 198 |
| A New Home: The Platform's Emotional Connections..... | 199 |
| Friends and family, free speech, and like-minded: the benefits of Gab Social..... | 205 |
| Identity and religiosity: how the community connects | 208 |
| A look at total Sentimentr Score | 210 |
| intergroup dynamics, competition, and community (self-)moderation..... | 214 |
| Chapter 7..... | 225 |
| Concluding Remarks: Re-theorising Far-Right Fringe Media..... | 225 |
| Decentralised Sociality: A new framework for researchers | 226 |
| Consequences and Dangers | 236 |
| Future Directions & Limitations | 241 |