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She Drops: How QAnon Conspiracy Theories Legitimize Coordinated and Targeted Gender Based Violence

Marc-André Argentino, Adnan Raja & Aoife Gallagher

About the authors

Marc-André Argentino is a PhD candidate at Concordia University, Montreal, in the Individualized program where he is supervised by professors in the departments of Theological Studies, the Centre for Engineering in Society and the Institute of Information System Engineering. He is a fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization and is also a fellow at the the Accelerationist Research Consortium.

Adnan Raja is a PhD researcher at Concordia University's Centre for Engineering in Society, in Montreal, Canada. Adnan's research examines the digital infrastructures and discourses (mainstream and alternative) that allow extremist, misogynistic, racist and conspiratorial communities to emerge and coalesce, as well as the technical/policy interventions and frameworks can be used to identify, understand and mitigate hate, harassment and other forms of violence online. The critical exploration, development, evaluation and testing of digital methods and tools are a central part of Adnan's current research. Adnan is an associate fellow at the Global Network on Extremism & Technology (GNET).

Aoife Gallagher is an Analyst on ISD's Digital Analysis Unit, focusing on the intersection between far-right extremism, disinformation and conspiracy theories and using a mixture of data analysis, open-source intelligence and investigative techniques to understand the online ecosystem where these ideas flourish and spread. Previously, Aoife was a journalist with the online news agency, Storyful.

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Executive Summary

Followers of the QAnon ideology believe that they are at war with the deep state; wealthy, prominent elites, whom they believe to be complicit, if not outright engaged in nefarious and horrendous acts of corruption, manipulation and child exploitation. These elites often include politicians, celebrities, wealthy members of society, media figures, and philanthropists. In this war, the perceived stakes and crimes legitimize QAnon adherents' harassment and demonization of individuals at the centre of these narratives and myths.

Since QAnon's rise to prominence, several high-profile celebrities have found themselves at the centre of these conspiratorial narratives, and therefore, the focus of coordinated harassment campaigns, brigading, dogpiling and general targets of — at times persistent — slander and hate. This has led researchers who examine the digital information ecosystem to ask whether QAnon-coordinated harassment operates like other forms of targeted hate and harassment online. More specifically, researchers have posed the question of whether vulnerable identity groups are faced with particularly egregious experiences, as is often the case, with QAnon building off existing institutional forms of violence. In this report, the authors assess the role of gender-based violence (GBV) against prominent celebrities targeted by the QAnon community.

This report examines six case studies involving celebrity figures, all of whom at one time or another have been targets of the QAnon community and victims of hateful, disparaging and false narratives. To provide insight into how differently this form of harassment and targeting manifests through a gendered analytical lens, these case studies paired celebrities into three sets — one male and one female in each.In this report, based on analysis conducted in early 2021, we examine celebrities who were of particular significance to the QAnon community's conspiracy theories in late 2019 and into the end of 2020: Chrissy Teigen, Tom Hanks, Ellen DeGeneres, Anderson Cooper, Jussie Smollett, and Oprah Winfrey.

Examining upwards of 9 million posts and mentions across Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter confirmed the suspicion that the most prominent type of harassment came in the form of brigading individual targets with accusations and slanderous mentions of paedophilia, often with graphic and disturbing language

in their accusations (e.g., including references to rape, abduction, etc.). Traditional forms of hate speech were also present, at times operating through coded language or references to identity-based hate (racism, antisemitism, sexism, etc.) but were not the focus of this research and were far less frequent in the data set. The researchers did consider these as key contextual knowledge.

Gender-based, racist and anti-LGBTQ+ hate and rhetoric were all present in the dataset. Analysis indicated that there was often increased volume in all forms of harassment and hate targeting women in each of the case study pairs. This highlights a concerning trend in online GBV research, emphasising that even in cases where identity-based hate is less prominent than expected, harassing behaviour like brigading and targeted hate of other forms are still, on balance, a greater concern for women online. It is also clear that race plays a further amplifying role, with women of colour noting more direct forms of GBV hate, as well as the compounding impact of troubling racist tropes present in the data. More in-depth analysis is required to understand the racial dynamic of hate and harassment of this type.

Key incidences and events turned the attention of these online communities towards celebrities they believed to be implicated in conspiratorial narratives (i.e. flashpoints). These unrelated negative stories allowed the QAnon community to adapt each incident to their existing disinformation narrative and allowed the community to leverage these moments, increasing the volume of harassing posts, mentions and activities directed towards their targets. Further, narratives and framing of individuals through this prism of good and bad, those empowered to harass as an act of social good, and those labelled deserving of harassment and demonization due to their perceived guilt, are powerful tools.

Once an individual is labelled and perception is hardened in narratives about their alleged role in paedophilia and/or sex trafficking, a baseline of demonization is created. They act as markers and guidelines for who should be targeted, what their "crime" is, and therefore allows for informal (and at times formal) coordination for how the community should act. It legitimizes targeted hate and harassment, and provides a built-in justification for any concomitant racist, sexist, homophobic speech or GBV.

Key Findings

- **Coordinated hate and harassment by QAnon adherents targeting prominent individuals included forms of high-volume brigading.**

  - High volumes of slanderous, troubling accusations, and false, disparaging remarks related to paedophilia were the most common type of hateful content. Brigading acted as the most notable and troubling aspect of harassment in the study. Individuals targeted were faced with coordinated hateful and violent content, and amplification of negative sentiments, leading in some cases to targets responding, either through corrective messaging or through potentially contributing to deplatforming and self-censorship.

  - Qualitative analysis showed that flashpoints acted as key focusing events for violence. This meant that negative or critical but unrelated incidents about the targeted celebrity covered in the media would focus the attention of the QAnon community on the celebrity. These events were leveraged by adapting the incident into the existing conspiracy theory to amplify and "prove" the celebrity's demonization. This allowed QAnon adherents to exploit this sentiment, reframe the cause, and harass the celebrity target at a significant volume. An example in our case study is that of the news of Tom Hanks' COVID-19 diagnosis and Greek passport, where sharp increases in QAnon-related terms and references to Hanks being a paedophile occurred in parallel.

- **Gender-based hate and harassment (and other identity-based violence) were still present and concerning, according to both quantitative and qualitative analysis.**

  - While largely secondary in quantitative data results, indications were that gender, race and sexual orientation acted as determining factors in higher incidences of hate and harassment, despite lower than expected volumes. Of the three, gender was the strongest indicator. In each pairing (one each of male and female celebrity per set) the female celebrity in the pair (Teigen, DeGeneres, and Winfrey, respectively) showed a higher percentage of QAnon-related terms, reference to Teigen being a paedophile, and online harassment on Twitter, with Teigen's mentions being close to ten times the volume of her counterpart, Hanks. DeGeneres' was two times her male counterpart and Winfrey five times. In each dataset when looking at women in the case study, female abuse terms made up a significant percentage of their respective overall terms (Teigen - 32.2%, DeGeneres - 30% and Winfrey - 19.1%).

  - Anti-LGBTQ+ terms were most prominent in the case of Jussie Smollett, an American actor and singer who was convicted of filing a false police report after claiming he had been the victim of a racist and homophobic attack. What is notable is the significant difference between the rate of anti-LGBTQ+ mentions targeted at Smollett when compared to other members of the LGBTQ+ community represented in the case studies (i.e., DeGeneres and Cooper).

  - A consistent, though at times low-level, theme amongst all cases is the presence of antisemitic hate. These tropes remained present in almost all cases, linking each celebrity figure with a conspiracy tied to global elites and/or "Jews," further perpetuating this troubling trend of hate towards the Jewish community being rooted in conspiracy theories.

- **Narrative hardening and bridging is a powerful tool in creating persistent baseline demonization and harassment, as well as acting as a coordinating mechanism.**

  - CrowdTangle data collection found lists of individuals as targets, providing a clear marker for the community and an important tool in coordinating harassment of these individuals on the list (including those in our case study).

  - Some celebrity case studies highlighted how persistent and prolonged this form of harassment can be. Teigen, Hanks and Cooper, in particular, had their names deeply embedded in conspiracy narratives and QAnon myths, leading to sustained baseline hate and harassment including prominent peaks. Each of these individuals also found family members indirectly targeted (Hanks' wife, Cooper's family and mother, and Teigen's husband).

- Facebook and Instagram posts often used less overtly violent language as compared to comment sections. This phenomenon requires further analysis and would benefit from greater access to data from Meta. The lack of access to comments sections, often a key data source in analysing this form of brigading, was therefore only assessed qualitatively and would benefit from thorough, independent quantitative analysis to understand the full breadth of this dynamic.

- **Hate and harassment remained consistent and operated on a cross-platform basis.**

  - Examining the prevalence of this behaviour targeting the six case studies across Facebook (groups and pages), Instagram and Twitter, showed that this activity was not restricted to one platform.

Introduction

QAnon primarily emerged through dedicated online message boards for discussing a myriad of conspiracy theories. In 2017, an anonymous user with the screen name "Q Clearance Patriot" posted a series of conspiracy theories and allegedly "leaked" government and military documents to the online forum 4Chan.[1] This poster claimed that elected representatives from the United States Democratic Party were aliens belonging to an underground Satanic cabal, responsible for molesting, sacrificing, and eating children. Further, the poster claimed that then-President Donald Trump was the only person capable of dismantling the cabal and saving the United States. Since then, almost 5,000 posts or 'drops' from the user known as 'Q' have been left on 4Chan and similar anonymous message boards 8Chan and 8kun.

At the behest of both 'Q' and influential members of the movement, QAnon supporters watch out for purported secret clues from President Trump, 'deciphering' cryptic, often religiously charged, 'QDrops' to learn more about the underground cabal, who are framed as the key players destroying the world and working against QAnon adherents. This deciphering process goes beyond the level of the individual. These posts have been interpreted by QAnon adherents in a multitude of ways, meaning the movement has evolved into a master narrative capable of describing a wide range of complicated events in a simple and straightforward manner. Consequently, a non-falsifiable worldview has emerged for followers of the movement, marked by a strong distinction between the worlds of good and bad.

QAnon has evolved into a conspiratorial and anti-establishment ideology rooted in a quasi-apocalyptic desire to destroy the existing, corrupt world and usher in a promised golden age.[2] Adherents believe there is a covert war against a sinister cabal of satanic paedophiles, and that there will be a great reckoning when these evil deep state actors will be rounded up, arrested and executed. QAnon's diversified and increasingly broad base of support means that it continually absorbs other conspiracy theories[3] that have fed into other globalist anti-government movements, amongst them the beliefs of 1990s militia movements about the 'New World Order' and the anti-government apocalypticism[4] and religious fervour of the Branch Davidians.

Since its inception, QAnon has been at the forefront of spreading harmful conspiracy theories that have become a threat to public health[5] and a public safety[6] risk. QAnon narratives continue to be promulgated by an ever-growing and highly influential group of right-wing American politicians. QAnon made its official political debut in the United States in the 2020 election. While former President Donald Trump has been accused of implicitly endorsing[7] or approving[8] support for QAnon in the past, according to Alex Kaplan, 97 people ran for office in the US general election with links to the conspiracy theory, and another 54 are running for office in 2022.[9] Consequently, QAnon theories have entered into mainstream political discourse with repeated, regular news media coverage. This coverage has grown, especially in response to the Capitol Hill insurrection, motivated at least in part by QAnon conspiracies purporting election fraud, social media platforms such as Twitter, Reddit, YouTube, TikTok, Instagram and Facebook and others now censor QAnon content to minimise its spread and attendant real-world mobilisations by supporters.

Clearly, QAnon has evolved substantially since its ignominious beginnings as a fringe online community. Today, QAnon represents an established, offline political and religious movement with a shared sense of purpose, agency and belonging, combined with an overwhelming desire for social change. United by a shared belief the American way of life is under siege, QAnon supporters feel a moral duty to uncover the truth about the supposed cabal and fight back— in effect, creating a decentralised violent ideology that has materialised into a possible threat to domestic security.[10]

Often mentioned but under-analysed is that QAnon adherents believe they are in an information war against the deep state. This has led to brigading, harassment campaigns, defamation and slandering of various individuals in positions of power and prominence. These include politicians, journalists, academics, actors, singers, and the wealthy, among others. To that end, this project sought to examine the role gender has played in the online harassment targeted against women of influence. Women play important roles in ideologically motivated violent extremist (IMVE) movements[11] across the board[12]. As Argentino and Crawford wrote, "Women play an important part in radical and violent extremist movements; however, since men carry out the majority of violent attacks, women as extremist actors are often

overlooked. Women do not simply follow the men into an extremist group; nor are their roles limited to raising children according to a violent ideology. Women also take part in violent operational activities, as well as actively radicalizing others into movements by using their influence."[13] Women play an important role in QAnon since the movement's early days.[14] Therefore, the gender dynamics for adherents are unique and notable in the context of QAnon as compared to other ideologically motivated violent extremist movements.

IMVE movements have also shown themselves to be perpetrators of gender-based violence and harassment[15] often targeting those they see as representing a perceived threat to patriarchal norms and privileged status of the dominant identity group (race, ethnicity, religious, class, gender/sexuality, etc.). It is also understood that gender-based violence, harassment, sexism and misogyny is not just a function of men targeting women, and that women can participate in and perpetuate this type of violence, through supporting misogynistic and patriarchal systems, as well as through internalised sexism.[16] What a closer examination of cases like QAnon and gender-based analysis of IMVE movements may tell us, is whether there is any difference between, or notable insights into, how groups like QAnon engage in targeted harassment and whether gender-based violence may or may not manifest itself in their targeted harassment.

Considering this, we ask, **How and in what way are prominent and influential women who are targeted by QAnon facing hate and harassment, and is there anything unique, notable or distinct about the way that they are being targeted?**

Literature Review

Research on hate and harassment online, and particularly gender-based harassment, has brought much more insight into how this functions as a problem in the digital ecosystem, as well as the true lived experience of those targeted. Much of this discussion around definitions, concepts and the frameworks for analysis are still being negotiated amongst the research community, with terms like *gendered cyberhate, gendered e-bile, cyber violence against women and girls (VAW or VAWG), gender-based violence online, and gender-based targeted harassment* all having been used in various literatures.[17] Unfortunately, platforms have also been unable to develop sound definitions for what constitutes gender-based harassment[18].

What is well understood is that harassment online, particularly gender-based targeted harassment, has profound impacts on those being targeted, the choices they make online, and those who witness this harassment. Abuse of this type that flies under the threshold for significant legal or policy action has shown to push women to "censor themselves online by avoiding certain topics, softening their opinions, limiting their participation,"[19] all in an effort to avoid online harassment.[20] Misogynistic behaviour, particularly when intersecting with other forms of systemic abuse leveraged by harassers (racism, ableism, anti-LGBTQ+, etc.) functions in coordination with acts of targeted harassment to amplify hostility and threat. Misogyny online is in this way no different, in that it disciplines communities and individuals into patriarchal status quos.

One of the most troubling and traumatic aspects of this type of harassment is the extended and persistent experience faced much more often by women than by men. In fact, many forms of targeted gender-based harassment extend over long periods, sometimes years. This persistence does not account for the general ongoing abuse, hate and harassment faced by women and gender-diverse individuals (particularly women of colour) when online.

In this case, the QAnon conspiracy theory acts as a marker of who targets are and what type of hate and harassment they should face, defining the parameters and baseline for their abuse through the construction of conspiratorial narratives. Gender-based harassment attacks the target's credibility and status and

communicates to the wider public, in this case other QAnon adherents, that this individual is immoral, corrupt or otherwise unfit as an upstanding member of society (e.g. likely criminal), and therefore worthy of dog-piling, brigading and coordinated harassment.[21]

Project Approach

To perform this research, the authors chose to focus on non-political (i.e. celebrity, and therefore not political in an official capacity) actors targeted by QAnon. These individuals were selected based on their prominence in QAnon conspiracy theories and their appearance in QDrops, as well as multimedia content created by QAnon adherents. They also represent a common trope in QAnon conspiracy theories, which is that they are viewed as elite, powerful and famous. Furthermore, the authors chose to select gender pairs for the purpose of comparison in this study. To that end, two celebrities who were targeted the most by QAnon were selected (Chrissy Teigen and Tom Hanks), two African Americans were selected to examine the role of racial terms (Oprah Winfrey and Jussie Smollett), as well as two members of the LGBTQ+ community to examine for anti-LGBTQ+ narratives (Anderson Cooper and Ellen DeGeneres).

These case comparisons were not meant to be perfect mirrors of one another, nor were they intended to represent ideal comparative test cases as if done in a vacuum. Rather, they represent a useful method of understanding the particular dynamics of gender-based violence engaged in by the QAnon community, including how targeted hate and harassment manifests across men and women, while considering intersectional identity impacts.

As noted above, these individuals were selected based on their prominence in QAnon conspiracy theories and their appearance in QDrops. A preliminary assessment was made for each case to determine how their role in QAnon conspiracy theories and the harassment they may face might look at scale. Once selected the cases were analysed looking at their mentions within QAnon conversations across three social media platforms: Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram.

The authors developed an approach to identifying hateful and offensive terms targeting subjects using a lexicon derived from previous research on the detection of hate online.[22] Davidson et al. (2017) employs a lexicon built from Hatebase.org.[23] The authors took this lexicon as a starting point, updating the terms based on previous research and a preliminary assessment of the information environment, being careful not to overcorrect for our particular study.[24] The purpose of this lexicon was not to adapt it to the QAnon information space specifically,

but to determine whether we could identify hateful and offensive language from more standardised approaches in our dataset. See appendix for the full list of terms.

The authors also recognised that hate and harassment are distinct and at times overlapping concepts that must be considered as such, and generalised and directed hate as subcategories also operate and manifest differently.[25] For this reason, the authors used the hate lexicon to automate and scale the identification of any hateful and offensive terms directed at each of the actor case studies, with a secondary analysis done manually to identify: a) false positives/negatives of the lexical application; and b) forms of harassment that were not identified by our automated analysis. This analysis identified the abundance of posts referring to our case study subjects as paedophiles. This resulted in the building of a second set of terms to specifically identify this form of harassment (see appendix).

QAnon Harrassment: Case Studies

Tom Hanks

The root of the QAnon conspiracy theory asserting Tom Hanks is a paedophile dates back to claims made by Sarah Ruth Ashcroft, a leading celebrity of the satanic ritual abuse (SRA) community. In December 2017, Ashcroft tweeted an accusation of Tom Hanks being a paedophile and hinted that he had abused her. In July 2018, Ashcroft expanded on these claims, saying that she had been purchased by Tom Hanks at the age of 13 and used "for sex as a disassociated mind control doll". None of these allegations are true. However the claims she made were enough for QAnon decoders to dig into Hanks and within a week the conspiracy theory spread widely on Twitter, in QAnon subreddits and on YouTube, where the top search results for Hanks' name accused him of being a paedophile.[26] After Hanks caught COVID-19 in March 2020, new iterations of the conspiracy theory emerged, some claiming he was suffering from a shortage of adrenochrome, while others alleged he had been arrested on paedophilia charges in Australia.[27]

Chrissy Teigen

Similar to Tom Hanks, Chrissy Teigen has faced ongoing coordinated harassment and abuse from the QAnon community since the movement's early days. The attacks against Teigen were spearheaded by QAnon influencer Liz Crokin, who tweeted a number of claims about both Teigen and husband John Legend being involved in child abuse and/or paedophilia in December 2017. The harassment continued when Teigen and Legend's names were included on fake flights logs allegedly belonging to convicted sex offender Jeffrey Epstein.[28] The extent of the targeted and ongoing harassment campaign led to Teigen blocking[29] over one million Twitter accounts in consideration of her and her family's safety. Teigen eventually left Twitter for a short time in March 2021 citing the abuse and hatred she was subject to on the platform.[30]

Ellen DeGeneres

During the COVID-19 pandemic, QAnon began spreading multiple claims that the coronavirus was a government operation used as cover for the mass arrests of the "cabal" of paedophiles. This conspiracy theory was widely debunked.[31][32][33] Nevertheless, Ellen DeGeneres was one of the individuals that QAnon claimed to be on house arrest after a picture of her at home with bunched up sweatpants was used as "evidence" of an ankle monitor. Because of this, and the negative media attention Ellen received throughout 2020, DeGeneres was targeted and harassed by QAnon adherents believing her to be a paedophile. During a QAnon protest on Hollywood Blvd and Vine, on August 22nd, DeGeneres' star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame was vandalised with the word "pedo" written over it.

Anderson Cooper

Anderson Cooper was featured in QAnon conspiracy theories since early 2018. Cooper was targeted, not only because of his role as a CNN news anchor, but due to being a descendant of the wealthy Vanderbilt family. Within QAnon ecosystems, claims circulated about Cooper working with the CIA while studying at Yale and being a participant in Operation Mockingbird, an alleged CIA operation that recruited journalists to spread propaganda during the Cold War. He is often seen as the face of the deep state's information operation, covering up child trafficking and pushing the CIA's agenda. Conspiracy theories about Cooper and the Vanderbilts are also mentioned in the popular QAnon propaganda film 'Fall of the Cabal.'

Oprah Winfrey

Similar to claims made about Ellen DeGeneres, Oprah Winfrey was also the target of the QAnon-inspired conspiracy theories alleging that COVID-19 was being used to cover up the mass arrests of elites. On March 18, 2020, QAnon and Oprah began trending on Twitter after a conspiracy theory circulated claiming that she was arrested and her house raided by police after they found secret tunnels with children under her house. The "Oprah Raid" went viral after both QAnon followers and non-QAnon accounts amplified it. The fall out of the viral Oprah narrative was impactful enough for Oprah to make a public statement debunking the claims.[34]

Jussie Smollett

Following the filing of a false police report in January 2019 in which Jussie Smollett claimed he had been the victim of a hate crime, Smollett became a key figure in another conspiracy repeated by QAnon adherents. This conspiracy theory centred on a belief that Democrats or the "leftist elites" had helped orchestrate the hoax. These claims were bolstered by that fact that, after the attack was initially reported by Smollett, but before it became known by police it was staged, the US Senate passed Bill S.488, making lynching a federal crime. Senators Cory Booker and Tim Scott, and then Senator Kamala Harris introduced the bill. This resulted in a cacophony of different conspiracy theories claiming the senators were involved in manufacturing the incident to increase support for the bill. One of these theories falsely claimed that Kamala Harris was Smollett's aunt.[35]

Methodology

Facebook and Instagram Data Collection

Using historical datasets gathered through CrowdTangle, researchers collected posts from QAnon affiliated Facebook pages and groups and Instagram accounts, with posts dating from October 2017 - August 2020.

Posts per Platform

Instagram	310,122
Facebook Groups	7,727,877
Facebook Pages	908,056

These posts were searched for keywords and phrases mentioning each of the six case studies - Tom Hanks, Chrissy Teigen, Ellen DeGeneres, Anderson Cooper, Oprah Winfrey, and Jussie Smollett. See appendix for the list of terms searched. Due to the large number of posts made by QAnon Facebook Groups, we selected the month with the most posts mentioning each individual as our period of analysis. This resulted in three datasets for each case study - one each for Facebook pages, Facebook groups and Instagram posts.

In order to understand the abusive terms used to describe each of our case studies, we searched each of the datasets for the hate terms and paedophile-related terms. Facebook pages and Instagram posts were searched across the entire timespan of the dataset (see table 1).

Twitter Data Collection

For the Twitter analysis, in order to identify the analysis period, searches were performed for mentions of Tom Hanks, Chrissy Teigen, Ellen DeGeneres, Anderson Cooper, Oprah Winfrey and Jussie Smollett within QAnon conversation (see appendix for query) between October 2017 and October 2020, yielding over 160,000 mentions. The month in which mentions of each individual was the highest was chosen as the analysis period (see table 1 and figures 1-6).

Search queries (see appendix) were performed to collect all mentions of each individual on Twitter across each analysis period. QAnon-related Boolean searches were built for each individual to extract the relevant QAnon mentions for each (see appendix). For example, the word 'typewriter' was included in the Tom Hanks QAnon query, #cancelteigen was included in Chrissy Teigen's QAnon query. Extracting specific QAnon mentions allowed us to determine how much Twitter conversation about each individual consisted of QAnon mentions.

Identification of abusive language

For the purposes of this project, Hatebase's database was used to identify abusive language. We built on this database through our own research, and compiled a list of terms and phrases relevant to this project. This list contains subsets of words relevant to racial, sexual, and gender-based abuse (see appendix for the full list).
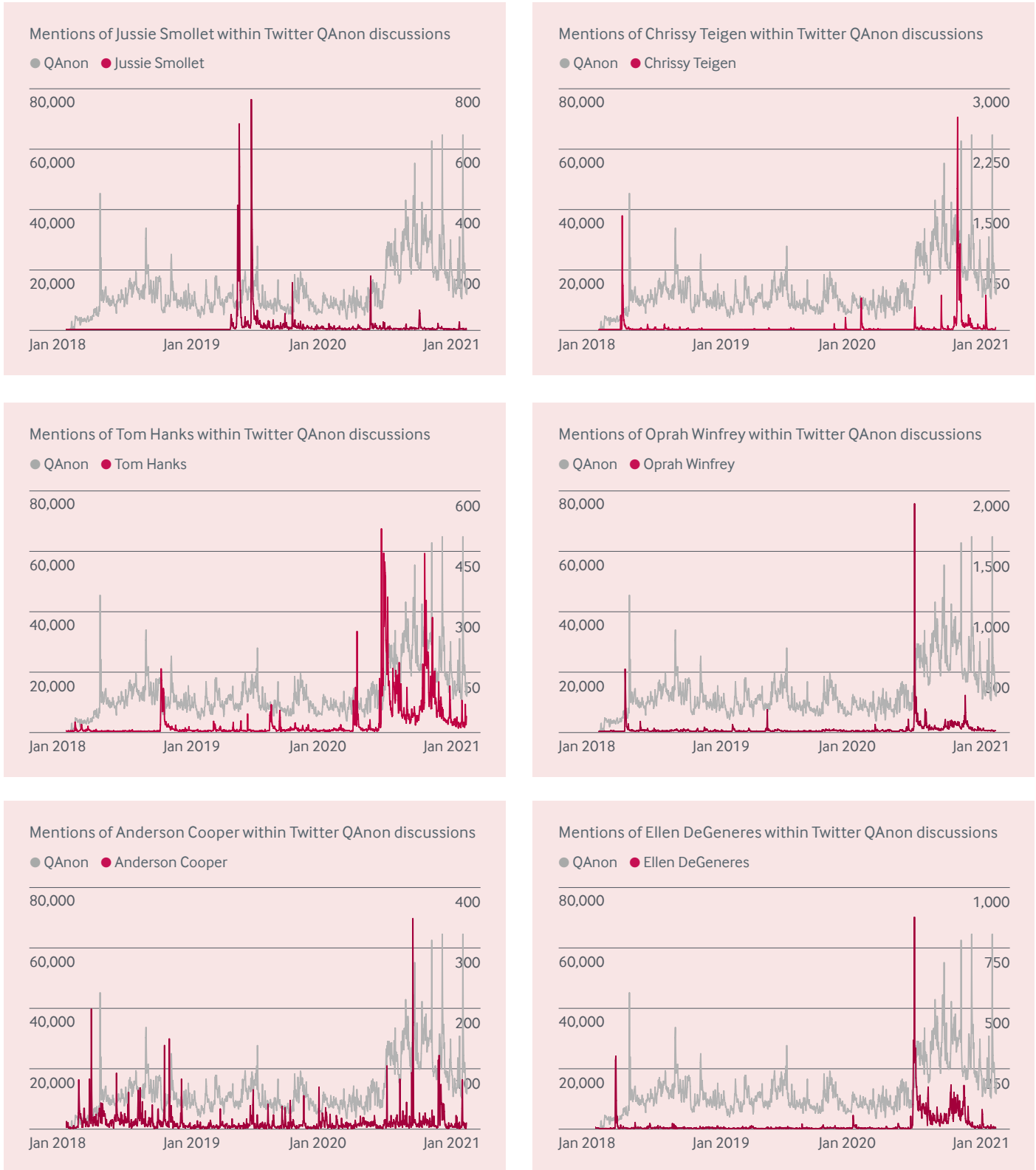
Some of the keywords in this list captured posts that did not contain abuse directed at our individuals of interest. For example, the keyword "slave" was intended to identify racial abuse directed at the Black community; however, many of the posts identified referred to QAnon narratives of child slavery and ritual abuse instead.

In addition to this set of abusive keywords, we searched our data for posts containing keywords relevant to paedophilia (see appendix for query). This was done to allow us to analyse how the QAnon community discusses and targets individuals who have become relevant to the conspiracy theory.

Table 1 Time periods analysed for each case study and dataset

Case Study	Facebook Groups	Facebook Pages	Instagram	Twitter
Tom Hanks	12/03/2020 - 12/04/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	28/02/2020 - 28/03/2020
Chrissy Teigen	01/07/2020 - 01/08/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	04/07/2020 - 04/08/2020
Ellen DeGeneres	07/07/2020 - 07/08/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	08/03/2020 - 08/04/2020
Anderson Cooper	14/07/2020 - 14/08/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	22/05/2020 - 22/06/2020
Oprah Winfrey	15/03/2020 - 15/04/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	04/03/2020 - 04/04/2020
Jussie Smollett	26/03/2019 - 26/04/2019	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	30/10/2017- 19/08/2020	12/03/2019 - 12/04/2019

Figures 1 - 6: Mentions of each of the case studies in QAnon conversation between October 2017 and October 2020 (QAnon mentions on left axis, case study mentions on right axis.)

Mentions of Jussie Smollet within Twitter QAnon discussions

Mentions of Chrissy Teigen within Twitter QAnon discussions

Mentions of Tom Hanks within Twitter QAnon discussions

Mentions of Oprah Winfrey within Twitter QAnon discussions

Mentions of Anderson Cooper within Twitter QAnon discussions

Mentions of Ellen DeGeneres within Twitter QAnon discussions

Findings

Twitter findings

Table 2 Breakdown of the type of abuse identified relating to each case study in Twitter mentions

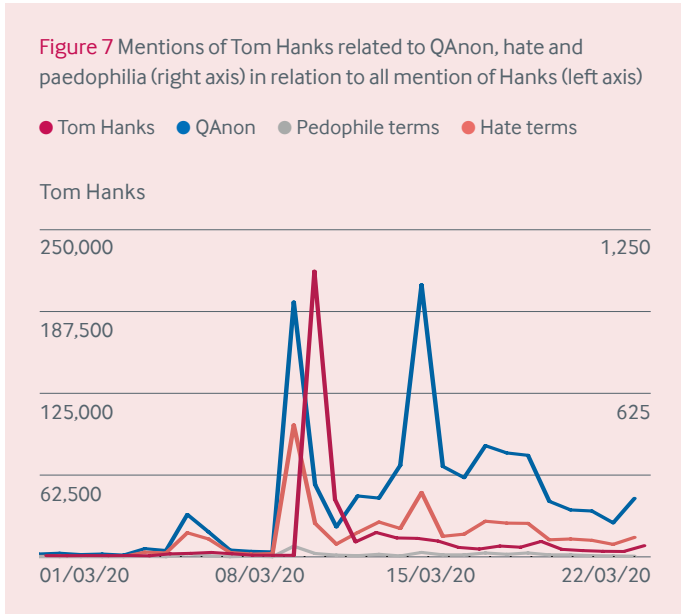|	Chrissy Teigen	Tom Hanks	Ellen DeGeneres	Anderson Cooper	Jussie Smollett	Oprah Winfrey
Total mentions	419174	413728	154481	94472	365955	160084
QAnon mentions	10.20%	1.50%	2.50%	0.67%	0.55%	5.90%
Paedophile mentions	53%	36.90%	26.50%	18.40%	8.72%	17.40%
Hate mentions	5.20%	3%	2.70%	5.30%	2.50%	4.40%
Anti-LGBTQ++	2.70%	1.60%	12.30%	3%	25.50%	1.40%
Violence	39%	42.60%	30.20%	47%	25.50%	40.20%
General hate	26%	29%	19.80%	15.60%	29.40%	19.60%
Anti-Black	1.30%	5%	1.90%	9.40%	4%	16.70%
Anti-White	0.10%	0%	0%	3.10%	0%	0%
Anti-Asian	0.50%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Anti-Arab	0	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Anti-Semitic	0.63%	2.20%	0.93%	9.40%	9.80%	5%
Anti-Latino	0	0	0	0%	0%	0
Female abuse	32.30%	12.60%	30%	15.60%	5.90%	19.10%
Male abuse	0.05%	0%	0%	0	0%	0
Paedophile terms (within hate)	53.60%	54%	33.30%	28.10%	33.30%	23%

Tom Hanks vs Chrissy Teigen

In the periods analysed, Twitter data reveals that 10.2% of Chrissy Teigen mentions on Twitter contained references to QAnon, while only 1.5% of Tom Hanks mentions contained QAnon references. Where 53% of Chrissy Teigen QAnon mentions contained references to paedophilia, this number was 36.9% for Tom Hanks. 5.2% of Chrissy Teigen QAnon mentions contained words associated with hate, whereas 3% of Tom Hanks QAnon mentions were classified as containing hate references.

The most common category of hate references used in mentions of both Teigen and Hanks were those that referenced violence. These terms were most commonly used to describe supposed crimes committed by both Hanks and Teigen, as opposed to threatening them. Furthermore, keywords associated with female hate or abuse accounted for 32.3% of Teigen's hate mentions,

with the majority of these words directed at Teigen. Terms categorised as 'general hate' were present in 26% of Teigen's hate mentions and 29% of Hanks'. The most-commonly used word was 'idiot', which was used to describe QAnon followers' beliefs in the accusations against both Teigen and Hanks as opposed to using the word to describe the individuals in an abusive manner. Antisemitic words and phrases were used more than three times more against Hanks than Teigen.
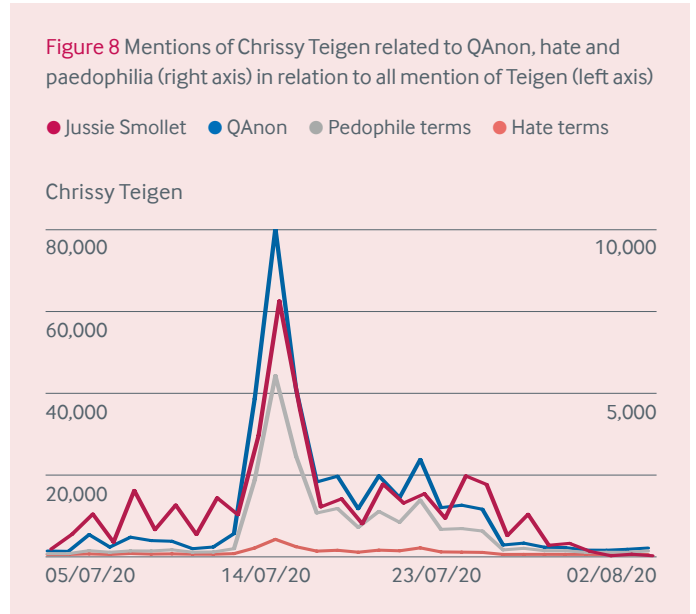
Tom Hanks

Taking a closer look at Tom Hanks, 1.6% (3 mentions) contained references to anti-LGBTQ+ hate terms with just one of these being relevant. 42.6% (77 mentions) of hate mentions contained references to violence, particularly rape, which was featured in 82% of those mentions. These mentions imply Hanks' guilt of the crimes as opposed to wishing the crime on him. 29% (53 mentions) of hate

Figure 7 Mentions of Tom Hanks related to QAnon, hate and paedophilia (right axis) in relation to all mention of Hanks (left axis)

● Tom Hanks   ● QAnon   ● Pedophile terms   ● Hate terms

Figure 8 Mentions of Chrissy Teigen related to QAnon, hate and paedophilia (right axis) in relation to all mention of Teigen (left axis)

● Jussie Smollet   ● QAnon   ● Pedophile terms   ● Hate terms

mentions contain general hate terms, namely the use of the term 'idiot', mentioned in 55% of them. Interestingly, besides three posts, all mentions of the word 'idiot' were used to describe the QAnon community's growing belief in Tom Hanks' alleged sex crimes. 5% (9 mentions) of posts contained anti-Black terms, the most prominent of which was the use of the word 'nigga', which had three distinct uses - to describe those who believe in QAnon, as a conversational term not referring to any particular person or group, and as a term to describe Tom Hanks, alongside threats. In general, these terms were not used to express anti-Black sentiment. There were no anti-white, anti-Asian, or anti-Arab hate mentions. A total of 4 posts (2.2%) containing antisemitic references were found, referencing the 'Jews' or 'globalist' forces. Use of terms associated with female abuse accounted for 12.6% (22 mentions) of hate mentions. 30% of these were directed at QAnon believers, while 26% were referring directly to either Hanks, his son, or his wife. 54% of hate terms also contain references to paedophilia.

Figure 7 shows that the spikes referencing Tom Hanks, QAnon and paedophile occur simultaneously and are linked to specific events of importance within the QAnon community, such as when Tom Hanks got COVID-19 and when he received a Greek passport. Following incidents where QAnon claimed Hanks was a paedophile, the posts mentioning paedophilia did not return to their pre-event levels, but rather stabilised to a constant until the next event. Once the label has been

applied to an individual, how that individual is perceived creates a baseline level of demonization. This perception in the community makes the individuals, in this case Tom Hanks, easier to demonize and target with harassment.

Chrissy Teigen
When breaking down the hate mentions for Chrissy Teigen 2.7% of these terms contain anti-LGBTQ+ references; 17% of these anti-LGBTQ+ terms were used to describe John Legend as gay. Moreover, 14% of the posts contained anti-trans speech suggesting Teigen is a Thai "ladyboy". 15% were pushback to the abuse against Teigen and Legend, implying that they were in fact closeted gays. 39% of hate terms contain references to violent assault and/or rape with these mentions mostly implicating Teigen in the crimes of rape and murder, as opposed to wishing those crimes on her. A further 26% of hate terms contained general hate references, with 71% of these containing the word 'idiot'. The term was used in a number of distinct ways - the first being quotes of a tweet sent by Teigen herself in which she refers to the online abuse saying: "I cannot f**king STAND you idiots anymore and I'm worried for my family." The second use of the term was directed at her in an abusive manner and the third use of the term was directed at those abusing Teigen. Further results from this analysis can be found in the appendix.

This final number is not surprising, as the entire harassment campaign around Teigen was founded on

Figure 9 Mentions of Ellen DeGeneres related to QAnon, hate and paedophilia (right axis) in relation to all mention of DeGeneres (left axis)
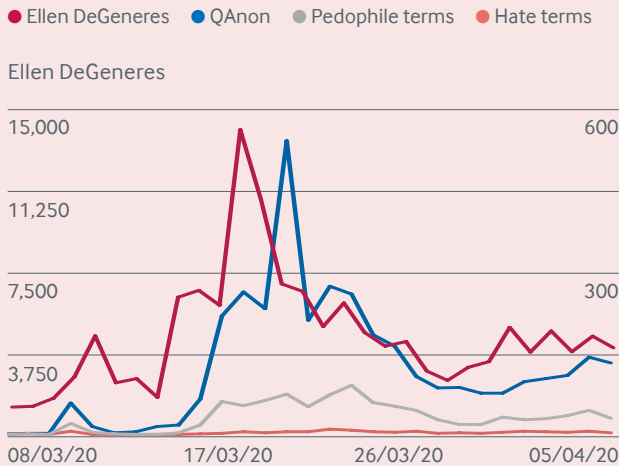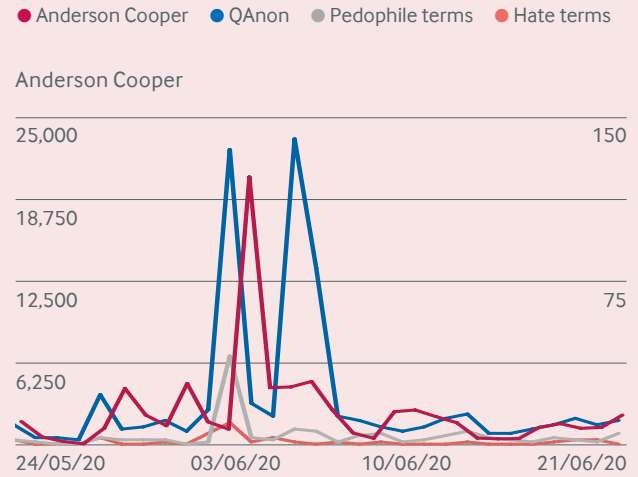
● Ellen DeGeneres ● QAnon ● Pedophile terms ● Hate terms

Figure 10 Mentions of Anderson Cooper related to QAnon, hate and paedophilia (right axis) in relation to all mention of Cooper (left axis)

● Anderson Cooper ● QAnon ● Pedophile terms ● Hate terms

the conspiracy theory that she and Legend were fleeing to Tokyo to avoid paedophilia charges. The long-term sustained harassment of this campaign, however, has had severe impacts on Teigen and her family.

Ellen DeGeneres Vs Anderson Cooper

In the periods analysed, 2.5% of Ellen DeGeneres mentions on Twitter contained references to QAnon, while only 0.67% of Anderson Cooper mentions contained QAnon references. 26.5% of DeGeneres' QAnon mentions contained references to paedophilia. This number was 18.4% for Cooper. 2.7% of DeGeneres' mentions contained words associated with hate while 5.3% of Cooper's QAnon mentions were classified as containing hate references. Anti-LGBTQ+ words were used in 12.3% of DeGeneres' hate mentions, with more than one third of these containing directed abuse towards her. Just 3% (note, this is just 1 mention) of Cooper's mentions contained anti-LGBTQ+ words directed towards him. Keywords associated with violence were the most commonly used hate words, with these being used to describe alleged crimes of both Cooper and DeGeneres, as opposed to threatening them.

Ellen DeGeneres

12.3% of the hate terms targeting Ellen DeGeneres used anti-LGBTQ+ hate terms, with 38.5% of these containing direct abuse targeted towards DeGeneres. 30.2% of hate mentions contained references to violence, with 75% of these containing the word 'rape', used to describe

alleged crimes committed by DeGeneres, as opposed to threats against her. 19.8% of hate mentions contained general hate terms. 38% of these were terms used to attack QAnon followers and beliefs. Anti-Black terms were present in 1.9% of hate posts, with only 50% constituting the use of the term against DeGeneres, but not in a hateful manner. 0.93% of mentions contained an antisemitic reference which refers to the 'globalist' elites being battled by Trump. 30% of hate mentions contained keywords associated with female harassment and abuse, with 87.5% of these consisting of the word 'bitch'. 33.3% of hate mentions also contained references to paedophilia.

Anderson Cooper

Though also part of the LGTBQ+ community, only 3% of the hate content targeting Anderson Cooper contained anti-LGBTQ+ terms. One particular mention directed hate both at Cooper and the entire LGBTQ+ community. 47% of hate mentions contained keywords associated with violence, 78.5% of which used the term 'rape'. The majority (72%) of mentions of the word rape actually accused Donald Trump of the crime through his association with Jeffrey Epstein. 15.6% of mentions contained general hate terms, with 60% of these directed at Cooper, calling him a 'savage', and 'idiot'. 9.4% contained anti-Black keywords, the most common of which was the use of the term 'nigga'. This was found to be used by communities representing themselves as Black users on Twitter to refer to Cooper, while accusing

Figure 11 Mentions of Oprah Winfrey related to QAnon, hate and paedophilia (right axis) in relation to all mention of Winfrey (left axis)
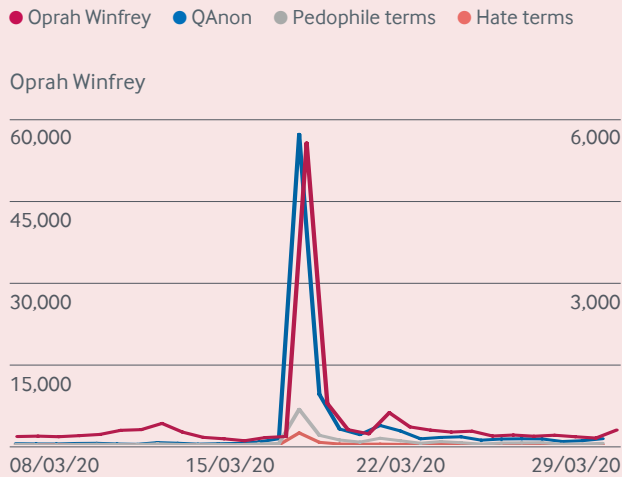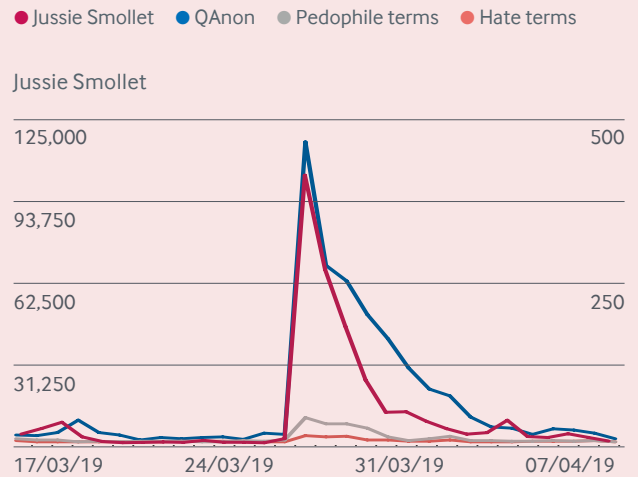
● Oprah Winfrey ● QAnon ● Pedophile terms ● Hate terms

Figure 12 Mentions of Jussie Smollett related to QAnon, hate and paedophilia (right axis) in relation to all mention of Smollett (left axis)

● Jussie Smollet ● QAnon ● Pedophile terms ● Hate terms

him of sex crimes against children. 3.1% contained anti-white terms. These were not used against Cooper and instead were used when discussing the ethnicity of the Comet Ping Pong shooter. 9.4% (3 mentions) contained references deemed antisemitic. One of these was irrelevant, while the two remaining were references to 'globalist' forces. Terms associated with gender-based violence were present in 15.6% of 'hate' mentions. 40% of these were uses of the word 'cunt' to describe Cooper.

Oprah Winfrey Vs Jussie Smollett

In the period analysed, 5.9% of Oprah Winfrey mentions on Twitter contained references to QAnon, while only 0.55% of Jussie Smollett mentions contained QAnon references. 17.4% of Winfrey's QAnon mentions contained references to paedophilia. This number was 8.72% for Smollett, the lowest of any individual. 4.4% of Winfrey's mentions contained words associated with hate while 2.5% of Smollett's QAnon mentions were classified as containing hate references. Winfrey's mentions contained the largest number of phrases associated with anti-Black discourse, however, these were not used in a derogatory or abusive way against Winfrey.

Oprah Winfrey

When analysing Oprah's hate mentions, only 1.4% contain anti-LGBTQ+ keywords, with just one of these mentions using it in a derogatory way directed at Oprah. Four of these posts implied intolerance towards the LGBTQ+

community, without targeting a certain person. 40.2% of mentions contained words related to violence. 100% of these mentions contained the word 'rape' or 'rapist'. 54.7% of these mentions contained mentions of one or more people, accusing Oprah of guilt by her association with them (Harvey Weinstein, Jeffrey Epstein, David Geffen, John of God, Peter Nygard). 19.6% of mentions contained general hate keywords, the most common of which was the use of the word idiot, which made up 62% of mentions. 90% of mentions containing the word 'idiot' were using the word to describe belief in QAnon. Just 9.7% were used by QAnon followers to refer to people not believing the claims about Oprah. 16.7% contained anti-Black keywords, with 82.9% of these consisting of uses of the word 'nigga'. The word was used as a casual reference and colloquial replacement for the word 'people'. 5.5% of mentions contained antisemitic keywords: 61.9% of these used the word 'Jews' in a derogatory fashion. It is worth noting that 84.6% of these posts were an identical spam-like post, repeated through the data set. Further, 23.8% used the word 'globalist', which was always used as an insulting term, with two mentions using the word directly against Oprah. Finally, 19.1% contained female abuse words, with use of the word 'bitch' making up 82.5% of this sample. 82.3% of the mentions containing the word 'bitch' were used to refer directly to Oprah.

Jussie Smollett

Jussie Smollett stands at odds with some of the other case studies. In the analysis of his hate mentions, 25.5%

of them contained references to anti-LGBTQ+ terms, with 38.5% of these mentions using anti-LGBTQ+ terms to attack Smollett. For example, in one post Smollett is referred to as a 'fag' and in another he is called a 'racist gay pedo'. Anti-LGBTQ+ terms were also used to imply that because Smollett is gay, he will not face prosecution for his crimes. 25.5% of hate mentions contained references to violence, however, only 30% of these referred to Smollett and these questioned whether he had been the victim of, or, was guilty of rape. The remainder of references using violent terms referred to people other than Smollett, including Bill Cosby and Harvey Weinstein. 29.4% of hate mentions contained references to general hate, with one third of these using the word 'idiot' to directly refer to Smollett. 4% of hate mentions contained references to anti-Black keywords, one of which used it as a racist dog whistle. Antisemitic keywords were present in 9.8% of hate mentions, with 80% of these using the term globalist. 5.9% contained terms associated with female harassment and abuse, with just one of these (out of 3) using the word 'bitch' directly against Smollett. 33.3% of hate mentions contained references to paedophilia, however, only one mention used the term to refer to Smollett with the majority of uses referring to other people, including Michael Jackson and R Kelly.

Facebook and Instagram

Facebook presented an analytical challenge, as researchers had access to the original posts, but not to the comments on these posts, which are crucial to analysing the type of behaviour identified in this report. Similarly on Instagram, comments were not available in the data the researchers had access to, which is crucial to this type of analysis.

Furthermore, on Instagram, stories (temporary posts available for 24 hours) and highlights (versions of stories saved by a user) are not available as a data source for qualitative analysis. Therefore, qualitative assessment of Facebook and Instagram posts about the individuals was performed by the authors.

Facebook

A key feature of harassment on Facebook is within the comment sections of a specific post. What we found in our research was that a user on a QAnon group or page would post a link from mainstream media, or a meme, or a specific picture related to an event from the news or geopolitical event, which was then attributed to one

of the targets mentioned in our research. Most of the harassment or violent language would take place in the comment sections. This behaviour would not always be obvious based on the post in which the individual was mentioned. This provides a challenge when it comes to the quantitative analysis of the information, as there is limited access to comment data.

Thus, based on a qualitative assessment of these posts, the key elements we found were that:

A) Targeted harassment took place as a flashpoint (in the sense the individual would be targeted based on a news event). This was particularly the case with Ellen DeGeneres, Jussie Smollett, and Oprah Winfrey. Following an incident that made the news these individuals would be targeted for a short period, after which this behaviour would quickly decline. There would be a low level of activity that would continue for an indeterminate period of time as they would be recycled in various memes or news stories, however, this was not a continued effort of harassment.

B) In the cases of Tom Hanks, Anderson Cooper, and Chrissy Teigen, the type of harassment that these individuals experienced was more prolonged. All three individuals featured prominently in core QAnon mythology as highlighted above. Though there are peaks of intense activity and key periods of harassment for these individuals, we see that the sustained harassment occurs longitudinally, even though the reason for harassment and the type of harassment evolves with the movement. Over time these individuals, as well as others, have found themselves on a list of individuals 'Q' or QAnon adherents believed to have been arrested, or killed, or sought for arrest by white hats and those associated with Q and President Trump. If these popular individuals are featured on this list and are already the targets of QAnon's harassment architecture, anyone else that is found on that list is guilty by association of the same crimes.

Within the data collected by the researchers thanks to CrowdTangle, we have found that lists of individuals as targets featured prominently in the harassment behaviour we researched. One of these lists featured a number of individuals core to the QAnon conspiracy theory and others adjacent to it. We found that these individuals adjacent to the conspiracy theory were some

of the more popular enemies of QAnon on the list, and so were also targets for harassment and hate. It is important to highlight that this type of harassment does not meet the threshold for action according to the current iteration of Facebook's policies. However, this type of long-term sustained harassment is a form of violence.

A key feature that makes harassment difficult to identify on Facebook, and other platforms, is that some of this content is embedded in images or memes. While a meme or the text in a meme might not get flagged to Facebook by itself, taken into account alongside a flashpoint, they can be very harmful, especially if the language found in the image is only known to insiders of the community.

Though there are key individuals targeted for a flashpoint incident, more often than not the type of harassment that we see from QAnon is sustained. To that end the harm does not always happen immediately, but accrues due to the longevity of the campaign. Additionally, an individual that is high profile might have resources available to them to combat or deal with some of the pressures of being harassed at this level; however, the average individual who may be the target of harassment does not have the tools or capacity to deal with it. By the time the platforms act, the damage is done.

Instagram
Instagram provides its own threat vector when it comes to analysing harassment from QAnon. The most obvious way to harass an individual is to target them directly on posts from their own account, something specifically noted with the current case studies. There are, however, other ways to engage in harassment and abuse on the platform. This can involve feeding an ecosystem that will amplify a narrative or a sentiment of hate towards these individuals. In this way, Instagram provides insular networks and communities whereby individuals sharing similar ideologies and beliefs can come together.

The harassment of someone like Chrissy Teigen occurs on a daily basis, although individuals may talk about the person without necessarily tagging them. QAnon influencers on Instagram, especially in the pastel QAnon community, have been able to target Chrissy Teigen by mentioning her supposed involvement in the QAnon conspiracy within their stories or in their Instagram highlights. These elements are not necessarily visible to a wider public unless a user chose to follow these

accounts and clicked on their stories on their highlights. Nevertheless, they do create a culture of harassment that foments over a long period, which then creates a perception of the target individual within the wider QAnon community. It further augments in-group out-group dynamics making Chrissy Teigen, or others, pariahs and targets for their harassment. This creates a challenge, not only for researchers as there is no way to necessarily measure the reach and impact of stories and highlights, but also in the ability to measure the networks on Instagram making it quite difficult to fully comprehend the potential for harm. The way that Instagram functions does provide a way to soften the image of the message even though it may use violent language and to that end, the harm can be done especially during a flashpoint. Where there is a sentiment of hate towards individuals built over a period of time, then released in a single moment, this can create a more violent reaction than there would have been without this wider environment.

Discussion

The data highlights that the use of hate language and harassment by QAnon users is predominantly linked to the fact that QAnon has labelled these individuals as paedophiles, rather than their traditional characteristics (gender, race, sexual orientation) that would make them a target of hate and harassment.

Conspiracy theories serve two functions: 1) they demonize the groups of alleged evil conspirators and 2) they idealise the groups that are targeted by the evil conspirators. Therefore, QAnon adherents project onto those who are associated with the deep state or are labelled as paedophiles, characteristics which QAnon adherents refuse to recognise in themselves. In doing so QAnon adherents can label themselves as victims of an evil global plot, and thus unburden themselves, as well as put a positive spin on their own problematic characteristics.

As Michael Butter writes, "If someone rejected Barack Obama as president because he was black, and was bent on preventing Hillary Clinton from succeeding him because she was a woman, they exposed themselves, quite rightly, to accusations of racism and sexism. If they saw Obama and Clinton as puppets of the New World Order, on the other hand, they could shrug off such criticisms, at least in their own minds."[36] The same goes for QAnon adherents, who justify the hate and harassment they spread by their targets' perceived guilt as paedophile collaborators of the deep state. This is compounded by the societal perception of paedophiles; Imhoff and Jahnke's 2017 study of punitive attitudes against paedophiles found that participants expressed stronger punitive attitudes when the paedophile label was present.[37] Not only are we culturally primed to perceive negatively anyone labelled as a paedophile, but this scapegoating and dehumanization is compounded due to the central ideological belief of QAnon.

Additionally, the fantasy that QAnon adherents are fighting against paedophilia, because the deep state prevents governments from stopping these acts, helps to shape the QAnon warrior myth. This fantasy enables an expression of righteousness, a sense of superiority (over those blind to the evil the deep state commits), and contributes to the unconscious assumption that the hate and harassment that QAnon adherents are targeting individuals with contributes to the greater good of society and humanity. Though the label of paedophiles and its association of celebrities (with various conspiracy theories about them being secret paedophiles) falls outside of the existing body of research and platform or government policies regarding hate and harassment, the data analysed for this project appears to indicate that this phenomenon cannot be overlooked. This slow dehumanisation creates initial pathways for further radicalisation and potential violent actions. The insurrection of 6 January is a stark reminder of the potential offline impact of online conspiracy theories.

The cognitive and emotional implications of the paedophile label cannot be ignored: labelling the other as a paedophile leads frequently to an angry emotional reaction, which can lead to negative behavioural tendencies.[38] Victimisation, e.g. of children by paedophiles, can evoke anger,[39] and when a person is angry about perceived disadvantage they are more likely to want to help fix that disadvantage.[40] This cognitive behavioural pattern is demonstrated through the targeting and brigading by QAnon supporters of those they perceive as elites victimising children. Moreover, it can be seen in the co-option of 'save the children' narratives by QAnon and the significant mobilisation this resulted in globally. These narratives push individuals to act against what they perceive as the source of children being victimised. As Kurt Braddock highlights, "if an anger appeal is designed to motivate target audiences to do something, those audiences must believe that (a) they are able to perform some sort of behaviour that will alleviate their anger, and (b) the behaviour being recommended would be effective."[41] At its core QAnon is structured around the concept that anonymous people are fighting in a digital war against the deep state and its elites. To that end harassment, brigading and the dissemination of propaganda are legitimate and effective weapons. By targeting elites they perceive are paedophiles, people feel like they are "participating" in the digital war and actually achieving some sort of victory. This participation not only gives them a sense of accomplishment, but also gives them an outlet to satisfy their anger.

This type of behaviour from QAnon is not limited to gender-based violence, but also likely plays a role in how ideologies like QAnon can pose a threat to democratic institutions. The same mechanism was likely at play as QAnon amplified the 'Great Reset' and the Dominion voter fraud conspiracy theory, particularly when those theories were amplified by individuals in positions of power.

The challenge presented by the findings is that this content falls between existing legal and policy frameworks. What the data points to is the content predominantly falling into the harm category rather than the explicitly violent category. The type of harm found in the targeting of influential women is that the narrative fantasies presented by QAnon could turn to offline violence. Importantly, the long-term harassment and brigading of these individuals can have significant psychological and emotional impacts, leading individuals to pull out of specific social media platforms to protect themselves, as was done by Chrissy Teigen in light of her harassment by QAnon and Pizzagate conspiracy theorists. This also highlights negative implications for social health and free expression, where individuals may decide to self-censor or limit opportunities to engage in spaces freely, changing both their opportunities, and experience, as well as the overall dynamic of spaces meant to be inclusive and representative. Though there is a consistent flow of hate and harassment towards these individuals, it intensifies when they are labelled as a paedophile. Though our case studies demonstrate online harmful content, the paedophilia narrative has also led to multiple incidents of offline violence, or offline mobilisation.

Though influencers are easily understood and studied in the context of this kind of harmful harassment and brigading, this can also be scaled down to the average individual. Though they likely fly under the radar of social media platforms, the potential harm toward an average netizen can be great, especially as they do not have a fan base to support them, nor do they have the visibility for platforms to act quickly. To that end the policies of social media companies need to consider the potential risk of this type of harm and develop policies and mitigation strategies targeted towards these issues, beyond censorship or banning.

Conclusion

In this study, these six celebrities found themselves caught at the centre of conspiracy narratives that accused them of child exploitation without any legitimate proof, leading to incidences of coordinated and targeted hate and harassment that not only showed moments of overwhelmingly high activity aligned with unrelated media events, but in several cases a prolonged baseline of harassment. Several notable insights emerge when considering this form of harassment through the lens of gender-based violence and misogyny.

Gender-Based Violence, Misogyny, and Racism

Markers of gendered harassment and hate traditionally found in online GBV analyses such as abusive language and threats, while present, were eclipsed by abusive and violent language in the form of accusations. Through a GBV lens we recognise that while the discourse is unique in this context, patterns of volume and prevalence of brigading harassment show gender still acts as a determining factor in who is targeted more often and more consistently.

Teigen's case is perhaps the best example of the critical role of GBV and misogyny in targeted harassment and abuse of female celebrities in this study, evidenced by quantitative and qualitative analysis. When examining Teigen's Twitter mentions, while total mentions are at levels similar to the comparison case, Hanks, QAnon-related references are 10x higher for Teigen. DeGeneres and Winfrey show similar results, though lower in magnitude. While brigading and violent language in the form of unfounded accusations is one type of harassment faced disproportionately by women in this dataset, as noted above, abusive language was still present.

Female abuse terms were significant proportions of the overall terms in datasets when looking at women in the case study (Teigen - 32.2%, DeGeneres - 30% and Winfrey - 19.1%). In a number of cases, this abuse was specifically directed at the individual. This form of misogyny also extends to some LGBTQ+-identifying members in our case study, most notably Smollett, who had similar terms used in mentions, though at much smaller percentages compared to the three women.

One additional finding that requires more in-depth examination is the nature of indirect abuse targeting individuals linked to celebrities. This form of indirect abuse, by "association" (in some cases this association was dubious and based on a discriminatory conspiracy — see the Smollett and Kamala Harris narrative) highlights the nature of GBV as being undeterred by boundaries, absence or lack of involvement. Qualitative content analysis showed Harris, Hanks' wife, and Cooper's mother were all referenced to low degrees. Each was referenced disparagingly and were seen as complicit and fair game in the community's (indirect) harassment.

Finally, the results highlighted that race is also a compounding factor, with Teigen and Winfrey facing the highest volume of mentions and the discrepancy between Smollett's experience of anti-LGBTQ+ mentions in comparison to others. This emphasises that people of colour, and women of colour in particular, face intersecting and compounding forms of hate and harassment due to embedded and systemic racism. This context is an important consideration in our analysis as insights here lean more at times on behaviour than overtly abusive language and terms.

Finally, we cannot ignore the continued use of antisemitic tropes as a constant baseline hate present throughout the dataset. While at low levels, it is worth considering that this once again is a racist theme in hateful content that finds a place in most all conspiratorial discourse.

Coordinated Harassment by Conspiratorial Communities

A notable finding in this report is the method by which harassment of targeted celebrity figures occurs: through coordinated narrative framing, sharing of target lists and brigading. The collective use of each of these techniques forms a pattern of prolonged, persistent, and concentrated harassment and targeted hate directed at and about celebrities.

Narrative framing is a powerful tool in justifying and legitimising coordinated hate. This type of framing creates clear markers for good and evil actors (good being the members of the QAnon community, and evil being the elites engaging in child exploitation). This essentially gives followers a road map for who is the target of their harassment, and why it is justified for the "greater good" to engage in, effectively, mob justice targeting these celebrity figures. These conspiratorial narratives also create a culture of harassment, fomenting hate and hardening perceptions of targeted celebrity figures. This

allows the community to use unrelated negative media events about the celebrity as further "evidence" and thus can be adapted to the existing narrative, thereby creating flashpoints for amplified harassment campaigns.

Narratives are not the only form of guidance and road mapping of harassment for the QAnon community. By way of CrowdTangle data, we noted the presence of lists in post-indicating targets for the community circulating on various social media sites.

Finally, the ability to coordinate and engage in brigading through narrative framing and lists allows this type of harassment to be sustained and persistent, unencumbered by platform boundaries. Across three mainstream social media platforms, we observed similar results in terms of content and behaviour that indicates harassment and violence experienced by the celebrity is difficult to escape by simply shifting into new digital spaces.

Further research and greater access to data are required to fully understand the extent to which GBV, brigading, and coordinated harassment can impact the experience of individuals online. Platforms must consider that, while more information will aid in better understanding the phenomenon, access to supportive resources and mechanisms to prevent and mitigate abuse of this type are critical, particularly as it pertains to the form of hate and harassment that falls below legal or policy thresholds. Unfortunately, this type of abuse if directed at average users with smaller audiences and less support infrastructures than celebrities, will be more vulnerable, and will have insufficient means to mitigate the detrimental effects on their life and person.

Glossary

Brigading: Originally this term referred to coordinated voting behaviour in an effort to make something seem artificially more or less popular. Now, brigading is used in reference to all forms of coordinated abusive engagement online. This engagement can come in the form of retweets, comments, quote tweets, email campaigns, messaging, etc.[42]

Misogyny: Primarily meant to police or enforce patriarchal order, its governing norms and expectations; this can also include what might be considered a type of deeply held prejudice towards women, embedded in the functions that enforce social patriarchal order[43].

Gender-Based Violence: Using Sida's definition, we define "gender-based violence as any harm or suffering that is perpetrated against a woman or girl, man or boy, and that has a negative impact on the physical, sexual or psychological health, development or identity of the person. The cause of the violence is founded in gender-based power inequalities and gender-based discrimination."[44]

Hate vs. Harassment: These two terms often overlap but denote two distinct forms of harmful behaviour. Harassment is seen as "targeted and repeated behaviour towards an individual or group of people that cause mental, physical or emotional stress." This can include threats, offensive language, disparaging remarks, etc.[45] In contrast, hate or hate speech operates more broadly as a term that may represent activities, behaviour and speech that may constitute a form of violence or discrimination towards a group or individual based on their identity group. These attacks focus on a person's identity which can include race, ethnicity, gender identity, religion, sexual orientation, disability, etc. "Hateful speech online often takes the form of ad hominem attacks, which invoke prejudicial feelings over intellectual arguments in order to avoid discussion of the topic at hand by attacking a person's character or attributes."[46]

Pizzagate: The 2016 forerunner conspiracy theory to QAnon that claimed Hillary Clinton and other prominent Democrats were running a child sex trafficking ring out of Comet Ping Pong, a Washington, DC, pizza restaurant. The conspiracy was based on the leaked emails of Hillary Clinton's campaign manager John Podesta.

QDrops: The posts made by the user(s) known as 'Q' on 4chan, 8chan, or 8kun; which are reposted on social media and aggregator sites. These drops form the canonical foundation of the QAnon ideology.

Appendix

FURTHER TEIGEN ANALYSIS

1.3% of hate mentions contained anti-Black keywords, with 21% of these directed at either Teigen or Legend as a form of abuse. 0.1% of hate mentions contained anti-white keywords, with just one of these posts amounting to a form of abuse, although directed at QAnon believers. 0.5% of hate mentions contained anti-Asian keywords, notably, the use of the term 'pancake face' as an Asian slur against Teigen, which made up 45% of these mentions. 0.63% of hate mentions contained anti-Semitic references, with 71% of these referring to Teigen and her purported involvement in a "globalist" or Jewish conspiracy theory of world domination. 32.3% of hate mentions contained keywords associated with female abuse, with 81% of these containing the word 'bitch', 9.4% containing the word 'cunt' and 5.5% containing the word 'whore'. This category is by far the largest example of targeted hate directed at Teigen, as opposed to the use of words to describe outside elements. 0.05% of mentions contained references to male abuse, but were not directed at Teigen. Finally, 54.6% of QAnon mentions contained references to paedophilia.

HATE TERMS (FULL QUERY)

(dyke OR dykes OR faggot OR faggots OR fags OR fag OR homo OR homos OR queer OR queers OR fag OR "batty boy" OR "batty boys" OR "batty men" OR "batty man" OR "chi chi man" OR "chi chi men" OR cocksucker OR cocksuckers OR fagbag OR fagbags OR fagdick OR fagdicks OR fagshit OR fagshits OR fairy OR fairies OR gay OR "gender bender" OR gaylord* OR homintern OR lesbian OR lesbians OR sissy OR pansy OR sodomite OR poof OR poofter OR bugger OR brownie OR fudgepacker OR "rug muncher" OR shemale OR ladyboy OR "fucking gay" OR "gay ass" OR cock OR raped OR rape OR rapist OR "be killed" OR "kill yourself" OR "kill all" OR "kill you" OR "fuck outta here" OR "fuck u talking" OR "fuck you too" OR "fucking hate you" OR "is a fucking" OR "you a lame" OR "you fuck wit" OR gimp OR gimps OR goober OR goobers OR gypo OR gypoes OR gypos OR gypped OR gyppy OR gypsy OR "half bred" OR "half breed" OR "half breeds" OR idiot* OR mutt OR pussy OR pussies OR retard* OR tard OR tards OR twat OR twats OR "beat him" OR "butt ugly" OR "hate all" OR inbred OR inbreeds OR savages OR slave OR blacks OR nigger OR niggers OR coon OR nigga OR niggas OR "jungle bunny" OR "spear chucker" OR coon OR coons OR Africoon OR Africoons OR americoon OR americoons OR ape OR apes OR "aunt jane" OR "aunt jemina" OR "aunt jemina" OR "aunt sally" OR "aunt mary" OR "banjo lips" OR "black barbie" OR "black barbies" OR "bix nood" OR "bix noods" OR "black invader" OR "black invaders" OR "blue gum" OR "blue gums" OR bootlip OR bootlips OR "bounty bar" OR chinig OR chinigs OR "cocoa puff" OR "cocoa puffs" OR darkey OR darkie OR deminigger OR deminiggers OR ghetto OR jigga OR jiggabo OR jiggaboo OR jiggaboos OR jigger OR kneegrow OR kneegroes OR "lawn jockey" OR "lawn jockey" OR monkey OR monkies OR mosshead OR mossheads OR "mud person" OR "mud persons" OR "mud duck" OR "mud ducks" OR nigress OR picaninny* OR picaninnies OR "race traitor" OR "race traitors" OR nappyhead OR negro OR nig OR nigga OR niglet OR nigglet OR wog OR wogs OR "brown invader" OR colored OR "trailer trash" OR "white ass" OR "white boy" OR "white person" OR "white trash" OR hillbilly OR hillbillies OR honkey OR honkeye OR honkie OR honkies OR honklet OR honklets OR squarehead* OR whitey OR whitie OR whiteys OR whities OR wigga OR wiggas OR chink OR chinks OR "bamboo coon" OR "bamboo coons" OR buckethead OR bucketheads OR chinig OR chinigs OR "curry muncher" OR "curry slurper" OR "curry stinker" OR gook OR gookette* OR gookie OR gookies OR gooklet OR gooklets OR gooks OR gooky OR lemonhead* OR pancake OR "pointy head" OR "pointy heads" OR ricepicker* OR "slant eye" OR "slant eyes" OR slit OR slits OR slopehead OR slopeheads OR squinty OR squinties OR zipperhead OR zipperheads OR zippohead* OR zip OR "diaper head" OR "diaper heads" OR jihadi OR jihadis OR muzzie OR muzzies OR muzzy OR raghead* OR "towel head" OR "towel heads" OR "allah akbar" OR "6 gorillion" OR "six gorillion" OR goyim OR globalist OR globalists OR goy OR hebe OR hebes OR hebro OR heeb OR heebs OR holohoax OR hooknose OR hooknosed OR hooknoses OR ike OR ikes OR ikey OR iky OR jew OR jews OR jewbag OR jewbags OR moch OR mochs OR mock OR mockey OR mockie OR mockies OR mocks OR mocky OR moxie OR moxies OR moxy OR yid OR yids OR ziojew OR zionazi OR zionazis OR zog OR wetback OR wetbacks OR "bean bandit" OR "bean bandits" OR beaner OR beaners OR "bans and cans" OR spic OR cunt OR bitch OR bint OR bints OR bitches OR feminazi OR feminazis OR kunt OR scag OR scags OR skag OR skags OR slag OR slags OR slut OR sluts OR whore OR whores OR hoe OR cocksucker OR cocksuckers)

HATE TERMS (CATEGORISED)

ANTI-LGBTQ+: dyke OR dykes OR faggot OR faggots OR fags OR fag OR homo OR homos OR queer OR queers OR fag OR "batty boy" OR "batty boys" OR "batty men" OR "batty man" OR "chi chi man" OR "chi chi men" OR cocksucker OR cocksuckers OR fagbag OR fagbags OR fagdick OR fagdicks OR fagshit OR fagshits OR fairy OR fairies OR gay OR "gender bender" OR gaylord* OR homintern OR lesbian OR lesbians OR sissy OR pansy OR sodomite OR poof OR poofter OR bugger OR brownie OR fudgepacker OR "rug muncher" OR shemale OR ladyboy OR "fucking gay" OR "gay ass" OR cock

VIOLENCE: raped OR rape OR rapist OR "be killed" OR "kill yourself" OR "kill all" OR "kill you"

GENERAL HATE: "fuck outta here" OR "fuck u talking" OR "fuck you too" OR "fucking hate you" OR "is a fucking" OR "you a lame" OR "you fuck wit" OR gimp OR gimps OR goober OR goobers OR gypo OR gypoes OR gypos OR gypped OR gyppy OR gypsy OR "half bred" OR "half breed" OR "half breeds" OR idiot* OR mutt OR pussy OR pussies OR retard* OR tard OR tards OR twat OR twats OR "beat him" OR "butt ugly" OR "hate all" OR inbred OR inbreeds OR savages OR slave

ANTI-AFRICAN AMERICAN/BLACK: blacks OR nigger OR niggers OR coon OR nigga OR niggas OR "jungle bunny" OR "spear chucker" OR coon OR coons OR Africoon OR Africoons OR americoon OR americoons OR ape OR apes OR "aunt jane" OR "aunt jemina" OR "aunt jemina" OR "aunt sally" OR "aunt mary" OR "banjo lips" OR "black barbie" OR "black barbies" OR "bix nood" OR "bix noods" OR "black invader" OR "black invaders" OR "blue gum" OR "blue gums" OR bootlip OR bootlips OR "bounty bar" OR chinig OR chinigs OR "cocoa puff" OR "cocoa puffs" OR darkey OR darkie OR deminigger OR deminiggers OR ghetto OR jigga OR jiggabo OR jiggaboo OR jiggaboos OR jigger OR kneegrow OR kneegroes OR "lawn jockey" OR "lawn jockey" OR monkey OR monkies OR mosshead OR mossheads OR "mud person" OR "mud persons" OR "mud duck" OR "mud ducks" OR nigress OR picaninny* OR picaninnies OR "race traitor" OR "race traitors" OR nappyhead OR negro OR nig OR nigga OR niglet OR nigglet OR wog OR wogs OR "brown invader" OR colored

ANTI-WHITE: "trailer park" OR "white ass" OR "white boy" OR "white person" OR "white trash" OR hillbilly OR hillbillies OR honkey OR honkeye OR honkie OR honkies OR honklet OR honklets OR squarehead* OR whitey OR whitie OR whiteys OR whities OR wigga OR wiggas

ANTI-ASIAN: chink OR chinks OR "bamboo coon" OR "bamboo coons" OR buckethead OR bucketheads OR chinig OR chinigs OR "curry muncher" OR "curry slurper" OR "curry stinker" OR gook OR gookette* OR gookie OR gookies OR gooklet OR gooklets OR gooks OR gooky OR lemonhead* OR pancake OR "pointy head" OR "pointy heads" OR ricepicker* OR "slant eye" OR "slant eyes" OR slit OR slits OR slopehead OR slopeheads OR squinty OR squinties OR zipperhead OR zipperheads OR zippohead* OR zip

ANTI-ARAB: "diaper head" OR "diaper heads" OR jihadi OR jihadis OR muzzie OR muzzies OR muzzy OR raghead* OR "towel head" OR "towel heads" OR "allah akbar"

ANTISEMITIC: "6 gorillion" OR "six gorillion" OR goyim OR globalist OR globalists OR goy OR hebe OR hebes OR hebro OR heeb OR heebs OR holohoax OR hooknose OR hooknosed OR hooknoses OR ike OR ikes OR ikey OR iky OR jew OR jews OR jewbag OR jewbags OR moch OR mochs OR mock OR mockey OR mockie OR mockies OR mocks OR mocky OR moxie OR moxies OR moxy OR yid OR yids OR ziojew OR zionazi OR zionazis OR zog

ANTI-LATINO/HISPANIC: wetback OR wetbacks OR "bean bandit" OR "bean bandits" OR beaner OR beaners OR "bans and cans" OR spic

FEMALE ABUSE: cunt OR bitch OR bint OR bints OR bitches OR feminazi OR feminazis OR kunt OR scag OR scags OR skag OR skags OR slag OR slags OR slut OR sluts OR whore OR whores OR hoe

MALE ABUSE: cocksucker OR cocksuckers

PAEDOPHILE TERMS:
(pedo* OR paedophile OR paedo OR paedophile OR pedophilic)

TOM HANKS

Tom Hanks query: ("tom hanks" OR tomhanks OR hanks)

Tom Hanks QAnon query: (wwg1wga OR qanon OR followthewhiterabbit OR qsentme OR thestormiscoming OR thegreatawakening OR greatawakening OR weareQ OR fallofthecabal OR wherewegoonewegoall OR stormiscoming OR stormisuponus OR QAnon2019 OR qanon2020 OR wwg1wgaworldwide OR trusttheplan OR adrenochrome OR qarmy OR pedogate2020 OR qanonworldwide OR qarmyworldwide OR darktolight OR sheepnomore OR patriotsawakened OR thestormisuponus OR calmbeforethestorm OR thestorm OR wearethenews OR "where we go one we go all" OR "where we go 1 we go all" OR "the great awakening" OR QPatriot OR thestormishere OR "we are the news" OR pizzagate OR spygate OR qthestorm OR digitalsoldier OR wearethenewsnow OR deepstate OR epsteinisland OR pedowoodisreal OR adrenochrome OR starvemoloch OR pizzagateisreal OR qanon8chan OR qanon⬜⬜ OR qanonarmy OR thesepeoplearesick OR sheepnomore OR pedowood OR pedogate OR taketheoath OR pervywood OR outofshadows OR outoftheshadows OR fallofcabal OR pedo OR paedophile OR paedophile OR epstein OR lolita OR lolitaexpress OR epsteinisland OR "little st james" OR paedophilia OR pedos OR pizza OR pizzagate OR savethechildren OR savethechildren OR saveourchildren OR savethekids OR endhumantrafficking OR riseupforchildren OR Abramovic OR pedophilic OR wayfair* OR wayfairchildtrafficking OR "obama thing" OR satan OR satanic OR satanist OR satanists OR illuminati OR "spirit cooking" OR weiner OR "child sex" OR pizzagte OR "sex trafficking" OR "child trafficking" OR "human trafficking" OR "pineal gland" OR "human sacrifice" OR frazzledrip OR satanicritualabuse OR "satanic ritual abuse" OR MKUltra OR thesepeopleareevil OR thesepeoplearesick OR wayfairgate OR humantrafficking OR childtrafficking OR sextrafficking OR wayfairtrafficking OR typewriter OR typewriters OR ((kids OR children) AND (rape OR raped OR kill OR killed OR eat OR ate OR rapist OR murder OR murderer)))

CHRISSY TEIGEN

Chrissy Teigen: ("chrissy teigen" OR chrissyteigen OR "chrissy teigan" OR "chrissy Teigen" OR "chrissy Teigen")

Chrissy Teigen QAnon mentions: (wwg1wga OR qanon OR followthewhiterabbit OR qsentme OR thestormiscoming OR thegreatawakening OR greatawakening OR weareQ OR fallofthecabal OR wherewegoonewegoall OR stormiscoming OR stormisuponus OR QAnon2019 OR qanon2020 OR wwg1wgaworldwide OR trusttheplan OR adrenochrome OR qarmy OR pedogate2020 OR qanonworldwide OR qarmyworldwide OR darktolight OR sheepnomore OR patriotsawakened OR thestormisuponus OR calmbeforethestorm OR thestorm OR wearethenews OR "where we go one we go all" OR "where we go 1 we go all" OR "the great awakening" OR QPatriot OR thestormishere OR "we are the news" OR pizzagate OR spygate OR qthestorm OR digitalsoldier OR wearethenewsnow OR deepstate OR epsteinisland OR pedowoodisreal OR adrenochrome OR starvemoloch OR pizzagateisreal OR qanon8chan OR qanon⬜⬜ OR qanonarmy OR thesepeoplearesick OR sheepnomore OR pedowood OR pedogate OR taketheoath OR pervywood OR outofshadows OR outoftheshadows OR fallofcabal OR pedo OR paedophile OR paedophile OR epstein OR lolita OR lolitaexpress OR epsteinisland OR "little st james" OR paedophilia OR pedos OR pizza OR pizzagate OR savethechildren OR savethechildren OR saveourchildren OR savethekids OR endhumantrafficking OR riseupforchildren OR Abramovic OR pedophilic OR wayfair* OR wayfairchildtrafficking OR "obama thing" OR satan OR satanic OR "spirit cooking" OR weiner OR "child sex" OR pizzagte OR cancelteigen OR "sex trafficking" OR "child trafficking" OR "human trafficking" OR "pineal gland" OR "human sacrifice" OR frazzledrip OR satanicritualabuse OR "satanic ritual abuse" OR MKUltra OR thesepeopleareevil OR thesepeoplearesick OR wayfairgate OR humantrafficking OR childtrafficking OR sextrafficking OR wayfairtrafficking OR ((kids OR children) AND (rape OR raped OR kill OR killed OR eat OR ate OR rapist OR murder OR murderer)))

ELLEN DEGENERES

Ellen DeGeneres query: ("ellen degeneres" OR "ellen de genereas" OR theellenshow OR "ellen de generes" OR ellendegeneres)

Ellen DeGeneres QAnon query: (wwg1wga OR qanon OR followthewhiterabbit OR qsentme OR thestormiscoming OR thegreatawakening OR greatawakening OR weareQ OR fallofthecabal OR wherewegoonewegoall OR stormiscoming OR stormisuponus OR QAnon2019 OR qanon2020 OR wwg1wgaworldwide OR trusttheplan OR adrenochrome OR qarmy OR pedogate2020 OR qanonworldwide OR qarmyworldwide OR darktolight OR sheepnomore OR patriotsawakened OR thestormisuponus OR calmbeforethestorm OR thestorm OR wearethenews OR "where we go one we go all" OR "where we go 1 we go all" OR "the great awakening" OR QPatriot OR thestormishere OR "we are the news" OR pizzagate OR spygate OR qthestorm OR digitalsoldier OR wearethenewsnow OR deepstate OR epsteinisland OR pedowoodisreal OR adrenochrome OR starvemoloch OR pizzagateisreal OR qanon8chan OR qanon🐇🐇 OR qanonarmy OR thesepeoplearesick OR sheepnomore OR pedowood OR pedogate OR taketheoath OR pervywood OR outofshadows OR outoftheshadows OR fallofcabal OR pedo OR paedophile OR paedophile OR epstein OR lolita OR lolitaexpress OR epsteinisland OR "little st james" OR paedophilia OR pedos OR pizza OR pizzagate OR savethechildren OR savethechildren OR saveourchildren OR savethekids OR endhumantrafficking OR riseupforchildren OR Abramovic OR pedophilic OR wayfair* OR wayfairchildtrafficking OR "obama thing" OR satan OR satanic OR satanist OR satanists OR illuminati OR "spirit cooking" OR weiner OR "child sex" OR pizzagte OR "sex trafficking" OR "child trafficking" OR "human trafficking" OR "pineal gland" OR "human sacrifice" OR frazzledrip OR satanicritualabuse OR "satanic ritual abuse" OR MKUltra OR thesepeopleareevil OR thesepeoplearesick OR wayfairgate OR ((kids OR children) AND (rape OR raped OR kill OR killed OR eat OR ate OR rapist OR murder OR murderer)))

ANDERSON COOPER

Anderson Cooper query: ("anderson cooper" OR andersoncooper OR AC360)

Anderson Cooper QAnon query: (wwg1wga OR qanon OR followthewhiterabbit OR qsentme OR thestormiscoming OR thegreatawakening OR greatawakening OR weareQ OR fallofthecabal OR wherewegoonewegoall OR stormiscoming OR stormisuponus OR QAnon2019 OR qanon2020 OR wwg1wgaworldwide OR trusttheplan OR adrenochrome OR qarmy OR pedogate2020 OR qanonworldwide OR qarmyworldwide OR darktolight OR sheepnomore OR patriotsawakened OR thestormisuponus OR calmbeforethestorm OR thestorm OR wearethenews OR "where we go one we go all" OR "where we go 1 we go all" OR "the great awakening" OR QPatriot OR thestormishere OR "we are the news" OR pizzagate OR spygate OR qthestorm OR digitalsoldier OR wearethenewsnow OR deepstate OR epsteinisland OR pedowoodisreal OR adrenochrome OR starvemoloch OR pizzagateisreal OR qanon8chan OR qanon🐇🐇 OR qanonarmy OR thesepeoplearesick OR sheepnomore OR pedowood OR pedogate OR taketheoath OR pervywood OR outofshadows OR outoftheshadows OR fallofcabal OR pedo OR paedophile OR paedophile OR epstein OR lolita OR lolitaexpress OR epsteinisland OR "little st james" OR paedophilia OR pedos OR pizza OR pizzagate OR savethechildren OR savethechildren OR saveourchildren OR savethekids OR endhumantrafficking OR riseupforchildren OR Abramovic OR pedophilic OR wayfair* OR wayfairchildtrafficking OR "obama thing" OR satan OR satanic OR satanist OR satanists OR illuminati OR "spirit cooking" OR weiner OR "child sex" OR pizzagte OR "sex trafficking" OR "child trafficking" OR "human trafficking" OR "pineal gland" OR "human sacrifice" OR frazzledrip OR satanicritualabuse OR "satanic ritual abuse" OR MKUltra OR thesepeopleareevil OR thesepeoplearesick OR wayfairgate OR ((kids OR children) AND (rape OR raped OR kill OR killed OR eat OR ate OR rapist OR murder OR murderer)))

OPRAH WINFREY

Oprah Winfrey query: oprah OR "oprah winfrey" OR oprahwinfrey

Oprah Winfrey QAnon query:
(wwg1wga OR qanon OR followthewhiterabbit OR qsentme OR thestormiscoming OR thegreatawakening OR greatawakening OR weareQ OR fallofthecabal OR wherewegoonewegoall OR stormiscoming OR stormisuponus OR QAnon2019 OR qanon2020 OR wwg1wgaworldwide OR trusttheplan OR adrenochrome OR qarmy OR pedogate2020 OR qanonworldwide OR qarmyworldwide OR darktolight OR sheepnomore OR patriotsawakened OR thestormisuponus OR calmbeforethestorm OR thestorm OR wearethenews OR "where we go one we go all" OR "where we go 1 we go all" OR "the great awakening" OR QPatriot OR thestormishere OR "we are the news" OR pizzagate OR spygate OR qthestorm OR digitalsoldier OR wearethenewsnow OR deepstate OR epsteinisland OR pedowoodisreal OR adrenochrome OR starvemoloch OR pizzagateisreal OR qanon8chan OR qanon⬜⬜ OR qanonarmy OR thesepeoplearesick OR sheepnomore OR pedowood OR pedogate OR taketheoath OR pervywood OR outofshadows OR outoftheshadows OR fallofcabal OR pedo OR paedophile OR paedophile OR epstein OR lolita OR lolitaexpress OR epsteinisland OR "little st james" OR paedophilia OR pedos OR pizza OR pizzagate OR savethechildren OR savethechildren OR saveourchildren OR savethekids OR endhumantrafficking OR riseupforchildren OR Abramovic OR pedophilic OR wayfair* OR wayfairchildtrafficking OR "obama thing" OR satan OR satanic OR satanist OR satanists OR illuminati OR "spirit cooking" OR weiner OR "child sex" OR pizzagte OR "sex trafficking" OR "child trafficking" OR "human trafficking" OR "pineal gland" OR "human sacrifice" OR frazzledrip OR satanicritualabuse OR "satanic ritual abuse" OR MKUltra OR thesepeopleareevil OR thesepeoplearesick OR wayfairgate OR ((kids OR children) AND (rape OR raped OR kill OR killed OR eat OR ate OR rapist OR murder OR murderer)))

JUSSIE SMOLLETT

Jussie Smollett query: (jussie OR smollett OR jussiesmollett* OR "jessie smollett" OR "jessie smolett" OR "jessie smollet")

Jussie Smottett QAnon query: (wwg1wga OR qanon OR followthewhiterabbit OR qsentme OR thestormiscoming OR thegreatawakening OR greatawakening OR weareQ OR fallofthecabal OR wherewegoonewegoall OR stormiscoming OR stormisuponus OR QAnon2019 OR qanon2020 OR wwg1wgaworldwide OR trusttheplan OR adrenochrome OR qarmy OR pedogate2020 OR qanonworldwide OR qarmyworldwide OR darktolight OR sheepnomore OR patriotsawakened OR thestormisuponus OR calmbeforethestorm OR thestorm OR wearethenews OR "where we go one we go all" OR "where we go 1 we go all" OR "the great awakening" OR QPatriot OR thestormishere OR "we are the news" OR pizzagate OR spygate OR qthestorm OR digitalsoldier OR wearethenewsnow OR deepstate OR epsteinisland OR pedowoodisreal OR adrenochrome OR starvemoloch OR pizzagateisreal OR qanon8chan OR qanon⬜⬜ OR qanonarmy OR thesepeoplearesick OR sheepnomore OR pedowood OR pedogate OR taketheoath OR pervywood OR outofshadows OR outoftheshadows OR fallofcabal OR pedo OR paedophile OR paedophile OR lolita OR lolitaexpress OR epsteinisland OR "little st james" OR paedophilia OR pedos OR pizza OR pizzagate OR savethechildren OR savethechildren OR saveourchildren OR savethekids OR endhumantrafficking OR riseupforchildren OR Abramovic OR pedophilic OR wayfair* OR wayfairchildtrafficking OR satan OR satanic OR satanist OR satanists OR illuminati OR "spirit cooking" OR weiner OR "child sex" OR pizzagte OR "sex trafficking" OR "child trafficking" OR "human trafficking" OR "pineal gland" OR "human sacrifice" OR frazzledrip OR satanicritualabuse OR "satanic ritual abuse" OR MKUltra OR thesepeopleareevil OR thesepeoplearesick OR wayfairgate)

Footnotes

1   Rothschild, M. (2021). The storm is upon us : how QAnon became a movement, cult, and conspiracy theory of everything. London: Monoray.p. 3-6.

2   GNET Team. (2020). What is QAnon? [online] GNET. Available at: https://gnet-research.org/2020/10/15/what-is-qanon.

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4   Hall, J.R., Philip Daniel Schuyler and Trinh, S. (2000). Apocalypse Observed : religious movements, and violence in North America, Europe, and Japan. London ; New York: Routledge.

5   Argentino, M.-A. (2020). QAnon conspiracy theories about the coronavirus pandemic are a public health threat. [online] The Conversation. Available at: https://theconversation.com/qanon-conspiracy-theories-about-the-coronavirus-pandemic-are-a-public-health-threat-135515; Kovalčíková, N., Ramsey, Caitlyn (2021). QAnon and Anti-Vax Conspiracy Theories Pose a Threat to Democracy Beyond National Borders. [online] Available at: https://securingde-mocracy.gmfus.org/qanon-and-anti-vax-conspiracy-theories-pose-a-threat-to-democracy-beyond-national-borders/ [Accessed 5 Apr. 2021].

6   Amarasingam, A., Argentino, Marc-André (2020). The QAnon Conspiracy Theory: A Security Threat in the Making? [online] Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. Available at: https://ctc.usma.edu/the-qanon-conspiracy-theory-a-security-threat-in-the-making/; Argentino, M.-A., Crawford, B., Keen, F. and Rose, H. (2021). Far From Gone: The Evolution of Extremism in the First 100 Days of the Biden Administration. [online] Available at: https://icsr.info/wp-con-tent/uploads/2021/04/ICSR-Report-Far-From-Gone-The-Evolution-of-Extremism-in-the-First-100-Days-of-the-Biden-Administration.pdf [Accessed 27 Jul. 2021]; Jensen, M., Kane, S. (2021). QAnon Offenders in the United States | START.umd.edu. [online] Available at: https://start.umd.edu/publication/qanon-offenders-united-states [Accessed 25 Jul. 2022].

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10   Amarasingam, A., Argentino, Marc-André (2020). The QAnon Conspiracy Theory: A Security Threat in the Making? [online] Combating Terrorism Center at West Point. Available at: https://ctc.usma.edu/the-qanon-conspiracy-theory-a-security-threat-in-the-making/

11   Proponents of ideologically motivated violent extremism (IMVE) are driven by a range of influences rather than a singular belief system. IMVE radicalization is more often caused by a combination of ideas and grievances resulting in a personalized worldview that is inspired by a variety of sources including books, videos, online discussions, and conversations. The resulting worldview often centres on the willingness to incite, enable or mobilize to violence. These individuals and cells often act without a clear affiliation to a specific organized group or external guidance, but are nevertheless shaped by hateful voices and messages online that normalize and advocate violence; C.S.I.S (2021). CSIS Public Report 2020. [online] www.canada.ca. Available at: https://www.canada.ca/en/security-intelligence-service/corporate/publications/2020-public-report.html[Accessed 25 Jul. 2022].

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