



Online Domestic Extremism in Canada Data Briefing – June to November 2025

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Online Domestic Extremism in Canada

This briefing paper details analysis of Canadian domestic extremists' online activity between 1 June and 30 November 2025. It explores the platforms they are active on, the topics which galvanize them, and the ways in which they target communities in Canada. It is part of a multi-year study which will provide ongoing insight into Canadian domestic extremist activity through the ongoing delivery of analytical briefs.

ISD used its **definition of domestic extremism** (see Annex) to decide if accounts and channels should be included. This definition states that **extremism can be pursued through violent or non-violent means**. It thereby complements efforts addressing political violence and terrorism by considering the broader risks to democracy, rights, and social cohesion posed by non-violent extremism. This broader focus also aims to highlight the continuum of ideologies and activities that inspire violence and illuminate different pathways to radicalization. A full breakdown of the methodology employed can be found in the **technical Annex**.

Key Findings

Account Analysis

- ISD has so far identified **749 domestic extremist social media accounts and channels** in Canada across 8 platforms. Where permitted by API's, we gathered data from 442 active accounts and channels in Canada which published 1,064,966 posts between 1 June and 30 November 2025. This included 691,942 posts on X, 341,092 on Telegram, 22,903 on Facebook, 5,198 on Instagram, and 3,831 on YouTube.
- X remains the most important platform for Canadian domestic extremists, with anti-government, anti-Muslim and ethnonationalists favouring the use of the platform. Telegram, by contrast, is the platform of choice for accelerationist accounts, as well as Neo-Nazis and White Supremacists.
- ISD identified **134 of the active accounts and channels as ethnonationalists** (314,439 posts), **132 as white supremacists** (238,004 posts), **65 as anti-Muslim extremists** (191,759 posts), **52 as anti-government extremists** (169,582 posts), **49 as Neo-Nazis** (43,573 posts), **32 as Christian Nationalists** (21,327 posts), **25 as extreme right accelerationists** (25,273 posts) and **10 as male supremacists** (13,061 posts).

- **Ethnonationalist accounts had the highest numbers of accounts, volume of posts and engagement numbers.** Similarly, anti-Muslim accounts also have substantial reach, accumulating the second highest number of engagements on their posts. Male supremacist accounts continue to have a disproportionate influence, generating more than four million engagements from just ten accounts, with the highest level of engagements per post.

Key Topics

- There is a continued interest among Canadian domestic extremists in the perceived institutional and cultural decline in Canada remains one of the core ideas for Canadian domestic extremists. Similarly, the promotion of misogyny, anti-black racism and anti-migrant sentiment are often coupled with discussions of a threat to white identity.
- Other prominent themes included conspiratorial theories, including among the supporters of Romana Didulo, and those interested in anti-vaccination narratives. At the same time, there was a continued interest among Canadian domestic extremists in international conflicts. The assassination of Charlie Kirk in October likewise triggered significant discussion, including around alleged media bias against Kirk, but also manifesting in calls in violent rhetoric predicting a civil war and calling for a "public execution" of Kirk's killer.

Hate Speech

- Of the 1,064,966 posts made by domestic extremist accounts and channels between 1 June 2025 and 30 November 2025, 30,702 (2.9% of the total) were classified as containing hate speech (defined in the **methodological annex** of this report).

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- Of these hateful posts, **34.5% were targeted at migrants** (10,598 posts), **16.7% at Jewish people** (5,134 posts), **16.2% at Muslims** (4,987 posts), **15.9% at the LGBTQ community** (4,873 posts), **14.3% at Asian Canadians** (4,377 posts), **5.7% at Black Canadians** (1,743 posts), **4.4% at Indigenous communities** (1,359), and **0.6% at Arab Canadians** (176 posts).

Violent Speech

- Of the 1,064,966 posts made by the domestic extremist accounts and channels between 1 June 2025 and 30 November 2025, **0.42% were classified as containing violent speech** (4,557 posts), such as threatening language, incitement to violence or glorification of violence.
- The largest spike in violent speech was between 10 (150 posts) and 11 (155 posts) September 2025, coinciding with the assassination of Charlie Kirk, with popular violent posts claiming Kirk's death would lead to civil war and posts calling for a "public execution" for Kirk's killer. Violent speech also peaked on 9 June (39 posts) and 22 June (42 posts), with posts largely calling for violence against protestors organizing around ICE raids in Los Angeles.

Note on Account Categorisation

ISD analysts categorised all accounts and channels included into the following sub-categories: White supremacist, Ethnonationalist, Christian Nationalist, Anti-Muslim Extremists, Male Supremacism, Anti-Government Extremism. For white supremacists, ISD additionally coded for two sub-categories, Neo-Nazi and extreme right accelerationists (i.e. all Neo-Nazis are coded as white supremacists though not vice versa). Accounts and channels could also be ethnonationalist and Christian Nationalist, as these categories sometimes but not always; overlap. Otherwise, accounts and channels have been assigned to one sub-category.

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1 Account Analysis

Overall, ISD has so far identified **749** domestic extremist social media accounts and channels in Canada. This includes **304 on X, 160 on Telegram, 151 on Facebook, 40 on YouTube, 31 on TikTok, 22 on Gab, 29 on Instagram** and **12 on Rumble**.

Of these, 442 were active during the period of data collection. This includes 244 on X, 125 on Telegram, 36 on Facebook, 24 on YouTube, and 13 on Instagram. Using the API’s provided by these platforms, ISD collected 1,064,966 posts from the 442 Canadian domestic extremist accounts and channels active between 1 June 2025 and 30 November 2025. This included 691,942 posts on X, 341,092 on Telegram, 22,903 on Facebook, 5,198 on Instagram, and 3,831 on YouTube.

Of these channels ISD analysts identified 134 as ethnonationalists (314,439 posts), 132 as white supremacists (238,004 posts), 65 as anti-Muslim extremists (191,759 posts), 52 as anti-government extremists (169,582 posts), 49 as Neo-Nazis (43,573 posts), 32 as Christian Nationalists (21,327 posts), 25 as extreme right accelerationists (25,273 posts) and 10 as male supremacists (13,061 posts). Definitions for these categories are provided in the **Annex** of the report.

Table 1: Statistics per sub-ideology

Sub-Ideology	Posts	Active accounts	Total engagement
Accelerationists	25,273	25	447,987
Anti-Government	169,582	52	8,898,599
Anti-Muslim	191,759	65	37,638,761
Christian Nationalists	21,327	32	4,713,876
Ethnonationalist	314,439	134	61,946,861
Male Supremacist	13,061	10	4,180,550
Neo-Nazis	43,573	49	1,318,015
White Supremacists	238,004	132	10,330,371

Figure 1: Active accounts per sub-ideology



Figure 2: Number of posts per sub-ideology



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Figure 3: Total engagement per sub-ideology



Figure 4: Number of posts published by Canadian domestic extremist accounts over time



As in other reporting periods, ethnonationalist accounts dominated in terms of active accounts, the numbers of posts published, and the engagement gained on these posts. Anti-Muslim accounts, the third highest in terms of active accounts and number of posts were the second most engaged set of accounts. These insights indicate that ethnonationalist and anti-Muslim networks are highly active, with messaging resonating with their audiences. Male supremacists continue to accrue a disproportionate level of engagement on a small number of posts, making them a small but highly influential network.

Anti-government and white supremacist accounts shared high numbers of posts, but failed to generate engagement

on these posts, showing low levels of activity within their networks. Accelerationist, Neo-Nazi and Christian nationalist accounts remain among the least prolific accounts, failing to generate significant engagement.

The average number of posts per day increased from 5,149 per day between 1 June and 30 August 2025 to 6,497 between 1 September and 30 November 2025. This is due to the number of new, active accounts added to the dataset at the beginning of September after account expansion.

While the volume of posts remained relatively steady between 1 June and 31 August, there were a number of dates where spikes in conversations were observed.

On June 5, there were 6,272 posts (the second-highest single day), influenced by a number of national and international news stories, including [Elon Musk’s feud with President Trump](#) and his disclosure that Trump is “in the Epstein files”. [Tommy Robinson’s court case in London](#), which was [covered by Rebel News](#), also contributed to the spike on this day. Both of these observations point towards the continuation of an international trend, where Canadian domestic extremists are galvanized by activity taking place in other contexts.

Spikes were also observed on June 23 – 25 (6,347 posts on the 24th), coinciding with the 2025 NATO summit in The Hague. Highly engaged posts on these days included clips [criticising Mark Carney’s answers from the NATO press conference](#), with one [YouTube post](#) calling him “arrogant”, pointing towards ongoing hostility to the current administration amongst domestic extremists.

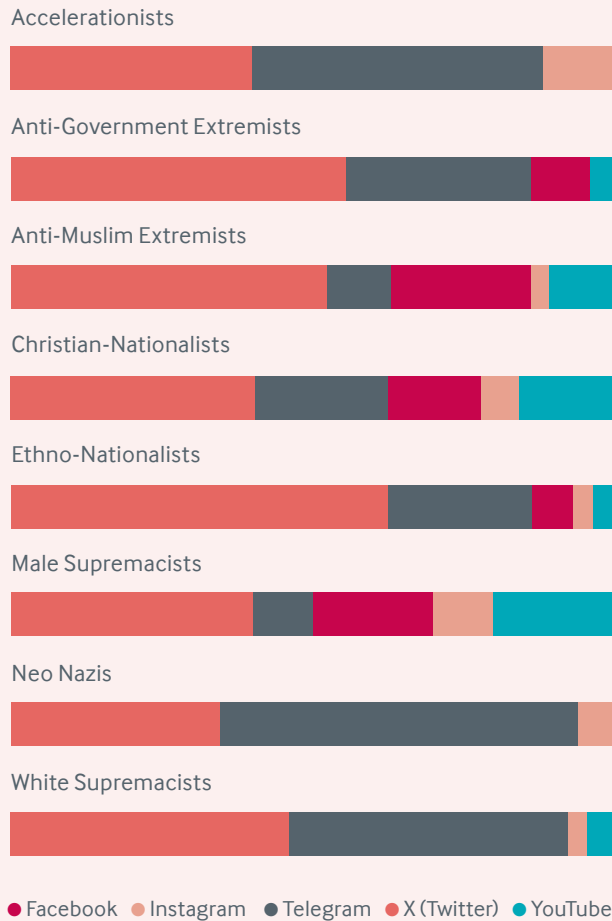
The highest number of posts in the entire six-month time period were observed on 10 September 2025, driven by discussions about the assassination of Charlie Kirk which occurred on that day. Many accounts posted tributes to Kirk, while others attempted to assign blame. One prominent account on X [posted a clip of Charlie Kirk](#) talking about his want for the US to be a Christian Nationalist country along with the caption “This is why they killed Charlie Kirk”. Another post, by [Tyson Hockley](#), a young conservative influencer, said, “Liberals are mentally ill. When have you ever seen a conservative shoot someone dead over their beliefs? RIP Charlie Kirk”.

Another spike was observed between 4 and 7 November,

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Figure 5: Number of accounts per platform per sub-ideology



driven by a number of different events and news stories, including the acquittal of Tommy Robinson for terror offences in London, covered by [Ezra Levant of Rebel News](#). The conclusion of a high-profile Supreme Court case regarding the [culling of hundreds of ostriches in a farm in British Columbia](#) also drove posts.

X (formerly Twitter) remains the most important platform for Canadian domestic extremists, with anti-government, anti-Muslim and ethnonationalists favouring the use of the platform. Telegram is the platform of choice for accelerationist accounts, as well as Neo-Nazis and White Supremacists. While YouTube and Instagram are underutilised by many Canadian domestic extremists, male supremacist accounts have generated significant engagement on these platforms.

2 Hate speech

To better understand the ways domestic extremists target different communities, we used Natural Language Processing to classify hate speech in the messages gathered targeting Jewish people, migrants, Muslims, Asian Canadians, Black people, Indigenous communities, Arab Canadians and LGBTQ communities. A full breakdown of the methodology employed can be found in the technical Annex.

Between 1 June 2025 and 30 November 2025, domestic extremist accounts and channels generated 1,064,966 posts, of which 30,702 (2.9% of the total) were classified as containing hate speech. The first three months of this period (June to August) contained 11,552 hateful posts, while the next three months (September to November) contained 19,150 such posts. This 65.8% rise is due to the number of new, active accounts added to the dataset at the beginning of September after account expansion. However, it should be noted that the percentage of hateful posts likewise rose from 2.4% to 3.2% between the two quarters analysed for this report. The following section highlights some of the events which spikes in hateful posts, contributing to this increase.

Across all hateful posts between 1 June 2025 and 30 November 2025, 10,598 (34.5%) were targeted at migrants, 5,134 (16.7%) at Jewish people, 4,987 (16.2%) at Muslims, 4,873 (15.9%) at the LGBTQ community, 4,377 (14.3%) at Asian Canadians, 1,743 (5.7%) at Black Canadians, 1,359 (4.4%) at Indigenous communities, and

Table 2: Number and percentage of hateful posts in the first four data briefings on Canadian extremists

Reporting Period	Total Posts	Hateful Posts	% Hateful
1 January – 30 August 2024	1,022,427	13,055	1.4%
1 September – 30 Nov. 2024	282,288	9,894	3.5%
1 December – 28 February 2025	413,288	9,512	2.3%
1 March – 31 May 2025	440,010	8,463	1.9%
1 June – 31 August 2025	473,713	11,552	2.4%
1 September – 30 Nov. 2025	591,253	19,150	3.2%

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176 (0.6%) at Arab Canadians. Anti-migrant hate continued to be the most common form of hate speech among Canadian domestic extremists, with the overall volume of such content rising by 88.3% between June to August 2025 and the preceding quarter.

Hateful posts targeting migrants increased even further between September and November 2025, rising by 61.2% compared to the previous quarter. As during previous quarters, calls for mass deportations of migrants have become an increasingly common narrative among Canadian domestic extremists. For example, one high-engagement post read: “invaders fighting invaders, indian on mulsim [sic] deport both groups and no more problem.”

The September to November 2025 monitoring period also saw significant increases in hate targeting other minority groups compared to the previous quarter, with anti-LGBTQ hate rising by 28.1%, anti-Asian hate by 37.1%, anti-Muslim hate by 90.4%, antisemitism by 103.6%, anti-Black hate by 87.1%, anti-Indigenous hate by 152.9%, and anti-Arab hate by 93.3%.

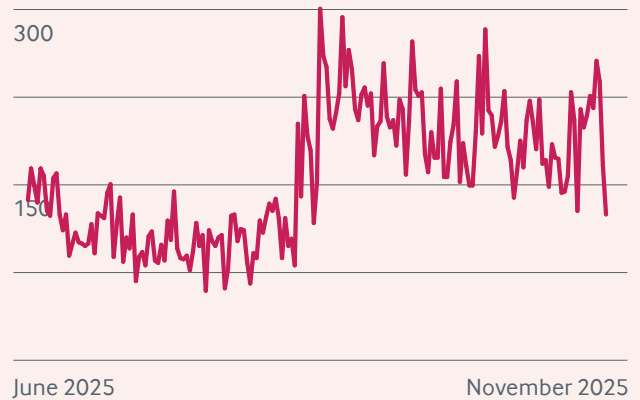
During the June to November monitoring period, a noticeable rise in hate speech occurred between 27 August and 1 September. This period saw an outsized amount of hate demonizing the transgender community following the Annunciation Catholic Church shooting which took place in Minneapolis on August 27. After the perpetrator of that attack was identified as trans, numerous Canadian domestic extremists latched on to the incident to claim that trans people were disproportionately responsible for terrorism, with some claiming that they should be banned from schools or society writ large. For example, one post claimed that “transgender behavior is mental illness always with undertones of/or overt violence”, while another argued that “child abusers, rapists, and killers have found sanctuary in gender ideology.” Reactions to this event continued to drive spikes in hate speech over the following two days, demonstrating how offline incidents – including those occurring in foreign countries – can stoke outbursts of online hate in Canada.

Other significant spikes in hate speech occurred on September 8 (299 hateful posts) and October 23 (289 hateful posts), both of which were largely driven by influential extremist accounts posting material that

Table 3: Hate Speech by domestic extremists, broken down by target group

Target of Hate Speech	1 Jun – 31 Aug.	1 Sep. – 30 Nov.
Anti-Migrant	4,057	6,541
Anti-LGBTQ	2,136	2,737
Anti-Asian	1,846	2,531
Anti-Muslim	1,717	3,270
Antisemitic	1,691	3,443
Anti-Black	607	1,136
Anti-Indigenous	385	974
Anti-Arab	60	116

Figure 6: Number of hateful posts published by Canadian domestic extremist accounts over time



targeted South Asians in Canada. On both dates, high-profile Canadian extremist accounts claimed that Indians were disproportionately responsible for truck-related collisions and deaths, which drove considerable engagement. One post claimed that “a pajeet with a truck” was a “highly dangerous combination.” Such posts demonstrate how a small number of highly influential accounts can rapidly amplify hateful narratives, triggering spikes in hate speech that ripple across the broader online ecosystem of Canadian domestic extremists.

Of the 30,702 hateful posts identified by ISD between 1 June 2025 and 30 November 2025, 22,169 were posted

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Treemaps showing the number of posts per ideology per target hate group

Please note that ideology annotations are non-mutually exclusive - i.e. an account (and hence, any posts created by that account) can belong to multiple ideologies. Hence, figures within each per-hate target group treemap do not necessarily sum to the overall, un-broken-down, count for that target group.

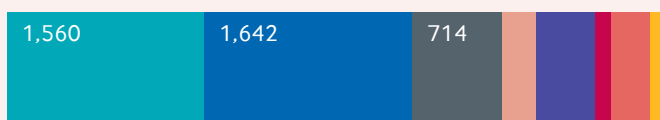
Anti-Migrant



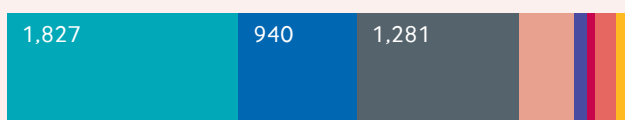
Antisemitic



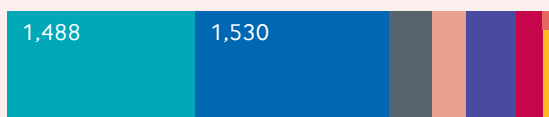
Anti-LGBT



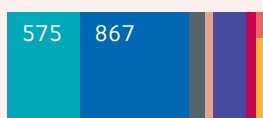
Anti-Muslim



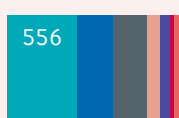
Anti-Asian



Anti-Black



Anti-First Nations



Anti-Arab



- Accelerationist
- Anti-Government extremist
- Anti-Muslim extremist
- Christian-Nationalist
- Ethno-Nationalist
- Male Supremacist
- Neo-Nazi
- White Supremacist

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on X, 8,013 on Telegram, 390 on Facebook, 67 on Instagram, and 63 on YouTube. X hosted the most hateful content targeting each minority group examined in this report (i.e., migrants, the LGBTQ community, Asian Canadians, Muslims, Jews, Black Canadians, Indigenous peoples, and Arab Canadians). Across platforms, X accounted for 71.5% of total hate speech among Canadian domestic extremists, while Telegram accounted for 26.8% of such material. Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube hosted marginal amounts of hateful content compared to these platforms.

Across ideological categories, white supremacists produced the highest volume of posts containing hate speech (10,582 posts), closely followed by ethnonationalists (9,958 posts). White supremacists produced the highest number of hateful posts targeting Jews, the LGBTQ community, Asians, Black people, and Arabs, while ethnonationalists published the most hate against migrants, Muslims, and Indigenous communities. Notably, white supremacists produced 57.9% of antisemitic content during this reporting period across all extremist categories.

3 Violent Speech

To better understand the ways domestic extremists target different communities we used Natural Language Processing to classify violent speech such as threats of, incitement to, and glorification of violence. A full breakdown of the methodology employed can be found in the technical Annex.

Over the six-month period, from 1 June 2025 to 30 November 2025, a total of 4,557 posts were classified as containing violent speech. This accounts for 0.42% of the 1,064,966 posts made by domestic extremist accounts and channels throughout the entire time period.

Of the 473,713 posts made by the domestic extremist accounts and channels between 1 June 2025 and 31 August 2025, 1,688 (0.36%) were classified as containing violent speech.

The largest spike was between 10 (150 posts) and 11 (155 posts) September 2025, coinciding with the assassination of Charlie Kirk. Popular violent posts at this time fell into

Table 5: Breakdown of violent speech for four three-month periods

Reporting Period	Total Posts	Violent Posts	% Violent
1 Dec 2024 – 28 Feb 2025	413,288	1,500	0.36
1 Mar – 31 May 2025	444,010	1,299	0.29
1 June – 31 August 2025	473,713	1,688	0.36
1 Sept – 20 November 2025	591,253	2,869	0.49

Figure 7: Violent speech by Canadian domestic extremists, volume over time



several categories; posts which described the killing of Kirk, posts which highlighted people celebrating Kirk’s killing, posts claiming Kirk’s death would lead to civil war and posts calling for a “public execution” for Kirk’s killer.

On 9 June (39 posts) and 22 June (42 posts) violent speech also spiked. On 9 June these posts largely related to unrest in Los Angeles following protests against mass deportations, with Canadian domestic extremist accounts calling for the “extermination” of protestors or for law enforcement and the military to “BEAT THEIR FUCKING AS*E” [sic]. In another post with high levels of engagement but unrelated to the riots, a Canadian domestic extremist speculated “that a mass casualty event is inevitable and very likely coming soon”, in response to a video of Muslims praying during a pro-Palestine protest in Montreal.

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The other spike in violent speech observed on 22 June was not driven by one specific event. High-traction posts suggested national borders should be enforced with “lethal violence”, or argued Canadians should arm themselves to resist perceived tyranny by the liberal government of Mark Carney. Another high-traction post claimed it was “time to annihilate the Global Intifada.”

Another spike was noted on 20 November 2025, where 49 violent posts were shared. The majority of these posts referred to statements made by US President Donald Trump, who suggested that Democratic lawmakers who urged military members to refuse illegal orders should be executed.

4 Key Topics

The following section outlines the findings of ISD’s qualitative analysis of key topics among Canadian domestic extremists between 1 June 2025 and 30 November 2025 identified through LLM assisted automated topic modelling (outlined in detail in the **Annex**).

This analysis illustrates that narratives related to a perceived institutional and cultural decline in Canada remains one of the core ideas for Canadian domestic extremists. Similarly, the promotion of misogyny, anti-black racism and anti-migrant sentiment are often coupled with discussions of a threat to white identity. Conspiratorial rhetoric was common as well, including among the supporters of Romana Didulo, and those interested in anti-vaccination narratives. At the same time, there was a continued interest among Canadian domestic extremists in international conflicts. There was a very strong overlap between themes discussed by domestic extremists between 1 June and 30 November 2025, and themes identified in previous briefings. The assassination of Charlie Kirk in October likewise triggered significant discussion.

Canadian Decline

Canadian domestic extremists expressed a pervasive sense of political discontent with the direction of Canada, describing it as dominated by government incompetence and corruption. For example, one post lamented that “Canada is in a dire state compared to how it was even a decade ago. It’s sad bros.” Posts strongly opposed alleged “globalist” influences and progressive ideologies, which

Table 5: Total number of posts per top specific topics

Canadian Decline	10,082
Cryptocurrencies	7,118
Russia-Ukraine Conflict	5,406
Misogyny	4,976
Romana Didulo	4,884
White Identity and Anti-Black Racism	4,720
Anti-Immigration and Pro-Deportation	3,785
Anti-Vaccination	3,498
Assassination of Charlie Kirk	3,324
Anti-Carney	3,089

are seen as eroding national identity. Accounts called for political overhaul and resistance against perceived government overreach.

Cryptocurrencies

While not an intrinsically political topic, Canadian domestic extremists closely followed and discussed cryptocurrency markets, especially around Bitcoin, investment strategy shifts, and institutional interest in the crypto space. There is an emphasis on market speculation related to global political and economic shifts and the increasing role of memecoins.

Russia-Ukraine Conflict

As in previous research periods, Canadian domestic extremists frequently explored the ongoing Russia-Ukraine conflict, with emphasis on military tactics and geopolitical intricacies. Other topics of discussion included Russia’s infrastructure attacks in Ukraine and the influence of international actors like Trump, and the impact of his reductions on military aid.

Misogyny

Canadian domestic extremists often exhibited misogynistic attitudes and attacked female public figures using sexist insults. Key narratives include conspiracy theories and critical commentary on women’s mental stability and physical appearance.

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Romana Didulo

One prominent theme of discussion was Romana Didulo, the leader of a sovereigntist conspiracy movement, and self-described Queen of the 'Kingdom of Canada'. Her doctrine emphasizes Natural Law over conventional governance, advocating for alternative justice and financial systems under her Royal Decrees: "Natural Law requires transparency, no warrant needed for financial forensic audit of financial institutions, of lawyer-client privilege, same to apply to car rentals, hotels, not just for telecom companies - Natural Law cancels out hidden agendas." Supporters of Didulo express unwavering loyalty, viewing her as the antidote to a perceived corrupted political system, in the following post for example: "Thank you for all you are doing to guide the We The People of The Kingdom of Canada and the World."

White Identity and Anti-Black Racism

Canadian domestic extremists regularly discussed white identity, including claims of superiority compared to other groups. Over the monitoring period, expressions of anti-Black sentiments were particularly common. For example, posts argued that "Racism is the first line of defense." "Other frequent themes included perceptions of media bias, claims of white identity being undermined and whites' alleged loss of social status – for example one post claimed that "The mass media is the most potent weapon of the anti-White 🇺🇸 system."

Anti-Immigration and Pro-Deportation

As in many previous monitoring periods, Canadian domestic extremists expressed vehement opposition to immigration, advocating for remigration or deportation of immigrants to their countries of origin. Posts associated immigrants with economic issues, crime and housing shortages. Many accounts promoted the idea that assimilation is a myth, particularly with large immigrant numbers, and deportation was in turn the only viable solution.

Anti-Vaccination

Anti-vaccination narratives continue to be prominent among a subset of Canadian domestic extremists focused on conspiracy theorists. Posts expressed distrust towards COVID-19 vaccines, particularly focusing on the mRNA, while also criticising broader pharmaceutical practices, pointing to alleged data manipulation, financial incentives for medical professionals and the influence of pharmaceutical companies on public health policies.

Assassination of Charlie Kirk

One major event that triggered discussions among Canadian domestic extremists was the assassination of conservative influencer Charlie Kirk. Canadian domestic extremists scrutinised alleged media bias against Kirk, while also discussing issues around political violence and the challenges regarding freedom of speech, with one post arguing that "Free speech died when they killed Charlie Kirk."

Anti-Carney

Canadian domestic extremist continued to criticise Canadian Prime Minister Mark Carney for his economic and political strategies. They raised concerns over Carney's supposed inability to secure new trade deals, particularly with the US, and his perceived favouritism towards corporate interests over national economic stability. His administration is accused of misleading Canadians with claims of fiscal health while fostering corporate welfare, resulting in public distrust and economic instability marked by rising unemployment. Critics also highlight Carney's secretive international activities and his government's opaque dealings which fuel public discontent.

5 Geographic Overview

Identifying the places extremists mention online helps identify potential targets, recruitment areas and local grievances. This can therefore support efforts to prevent extremist mobilisation and aid more effective and targeted security and policy responses.

To identify places within and outside of Canada that were heavily referenced by domestic extremists, ISD collected all mentions of countries (excluding Canada) as well as provinces and cities within Canada between 1 June and 30 November 2025.

The top three provinces mentioned were Ontario (15,967), Alberta (9,076), and British Columbia (7,421). Several of the most widely shared posts referencing Ontario focused on a case involving a homeowner facing criminal charges after assaulting a home invader with a weapon, which domestic extremists framed as evidence of a supposedly broken criminal justice system in Canada. Prominent posts about Alberta continued to debate whether the province should separate from Canada and join the United States as its 51st state. Meanwhile, several

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Table 6: Provinces most frequently mentioned by Canadian domestic extremists

Ontario		15,967
Alberta		9,076
British Columbia		7,421
Quebec		5,483
Saskatchewan		2,312
Nova Scotia		1,370
Manitoba		987
New Brunswick		437
Newfoundland and Labrador		247
Prince Edward Island		195

Table 7: Canadian cities most frequently mentioned by Canadian domestic extremists

Ottawa		4,483
Toronto		4,122
Montreal		1,925
Calgary		1,523
Vancouver		1,252
Brampton		983
Edmonton		850
Richmond		843
Winnipeg		417
Kamloops		355

high-engagement posts related to B.C. promoted claims that the discovery of mass unmarked graves at the Kamloops Residential School was a hoax.

The top three most mentioned cities by Canadian domestic extremists were Ottawa (4,483), Toronto (4,122) and Montreal (1,925). Non-major cities that drew outsized attention included Richmond, Saskatchewan (843 posts), where conspiracy theorist resident Romana Didulo generated numerous highly engaging posts, and Kamloops (355 posts, see above).

The most frequently referenced foreign country by Canadian domestic extremists was the United States, appearing in 47,216 posts during the monitoring period. Many high-engagement posts focused on the ongoing trade negotiations between US President Donald Trump and Prime Minister Mark Carney, with extremists characterizing the discussions as imbalanced and portraying Carney as being outwitted and easily bullied by Trump accepting unfavourable outcomes. The second most mentioned foreign country was the United Kingdom, where a significant amount of discussion focused on the perceived mistreatment of British far-right activist Tommy Robinson by the UK criminal justice system, with some extremists casting him as a hero. Israel, Palestine and Iran also generated substantial attention, accounting for a combined 20,123 posts.

Table 8: Countries most frequently mentioned by Canadian domestic extremists

Country	Mentions	Country	Mentions
United States	47,216	China	5,607
United Kingdom	15,476	Iran	5,515
Israel	10,447	Spain	4,700
Ukraine	6,967	Palestine	4,161
Russia	5,807	India	4,154

Mentions of Israel and Iran countries spiked during the escalation of hostilities between them in June, with some extremists openly celebrating Trump’s decision to strike Iranian nuclear facilities. Mentions of Israel and Palestine spike again during the negotiations leading to a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas in October 2025.

Methodological Annex

Definitional Framework and Thresholds for Inclusion
Often, extremism has been narrowly framed around security threats related to terrorism and violent extremism. By contrast, ISD has sought to conceptualise extremism as an ideology centred around social identity that promotes supremacy of an in-group, justifies

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discrimination of out-groups and therefore runs counter to the very idea of universal human rights. This definition complements efforts focused on political violence and terrorism, and considers the broader risks to democracy, rights and social cohesion presented by the non-violent promotion of extremist ideologies. At the same time, the definition draws a key distinction between radical critiques of the status quo that do not promote supremacist or authoritarian societies and extremist ideologies which do.

- **ISD’s Definition of Extremism** is the advocacy of political and social change in line with a system of belief that claims the superiority and dominance of one identity-based ‘in-group’ over an ‘out-group.’ Extremism advances a dehumanising ‘othering’ mindset incompatible with pluralism and universal human rights and can be pursued through violent or non-violent means.

These quarterly data briefings focus specifically on domestic extremism. ISD has developed a definition of **domestic extremism** that is rooted in our definition of extremism and informed by complementary work led by Professor Barbara Perry and right-wing extremism expert Cas Mudde.

Domestic extremism is a belief system that is characterised by its reference to racial, ethnic, cultural supremacy which advocates a system of belief in inequality based on an alleged difference and the perceived threat posed by out-groups. This extremism is often framed in terms of white power and commonly exhibits nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy, misogyny, hate against minority communities, and strong state advocacy.

This definition is necessarily broad and captures a range of extremist subcultures and harmful activity, which is reflective of the diversity of groups and trends within domestic extremism. It should be noted that our definition is not limited to illegal content and behaviour but overlaps and intersects with several existing legal categories. Our definition of extremism encapsulates a spectrum of activity and related frameworks which are relevant to different stakeholders. This is intentional, as it is hoped that our analysis will demonstrate the continuum of ideologies and activity which inspires different types

of harm, and evidence pathways to radicalization and violence.

Legal but harmful	Criminal	National security
Conspiracy theories	Hate crime	IMVE
Mis/disinformation	Illegal hate speech	PMVE
Hate speech below criminal threshold	Online abuse	RMVE
	Harassment	
	Property destruction	
	Incitement to violence	

Account Discovery

These quarterly data briefings draw on analysis across the digital ecosystem occupied by domestic extremists, including quantitative insights from Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, X and Telegram, as well as qualitative insights from platforms that do not offer API access.

ISD originally identified a list of seed accounts and channels belonging to Canadian domestic extremists for the first data briefing covering the period from January to August 2024. These were identified through a three-step process:

- ISD drew on existing lists of domestic extremists from [previous projects](#) analysing right-wing extremism in Canada, as well as an extensive review of existing research and reporting on extremist mobilisation in Canada.
- With its technology partner CASM, ISD conducted an automated account discovery analysis to identify accounts and channels that were recommended by or engaged with known Canadian domestic extremists.
- ISD analysts then reviewed these accounts and channels against our definitional thresholds for domestic extremism.

ISD and CASM are now replicating this exercise on a quarterly basis to identify newly emerging accounts and channels missed or non-existent during the initial set-up phase.

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Categorisation of accounts and channels

ISD drew on its definition of domestic extremism to guide its' decisions about if a group, individual or community should be classified as domestic extremist. Decisions were made based on if an account or channel analysed:

- a. Is clearly based in Canada
- and
- b. Explicitly self-identify as right-wing extremists (or as "domestic extremists") or
 - c. Can be clearly characterised as such based on existing literature and previous research or
 - d. Can be clearly characterised as such based on a review of a sample of content they have produced.

In the latter case, ISD ensured that the group, individual or community has posted 5 or more pieces of content that clearly promote features such as nationalism, racism, xenophobia, anti-democracy or strong state advocacy. ISD analysts recorded a rationale in the coding document with relevant screenshots.

Also included were accounts associated with movements with transnational adherents known to have an impact on Canada (e.g. Terrorgram).

To account for the ideological heterogeneity within domestic extremism, ISD additionally identified ideological sub-categories. ISD analysts have therefore categorised the following sub-categories:

- **White supremacist:** White supremacists believe in the superiority of whites over people of colour and advocate that white people should be politically and socially dominant over people of colour. This can extend to a belief in the need for violence against, or even the genocide of, people of colour.
- **Sub-Categories of white supremacists¹:**
 - **Neo-Nazi:** A movement promoting National Socialist ideology and symbols.
 - **Extreme Right Accelerationist:** 'Accelerationism' is a term used by white supremacists and other extremist groups to refer to "their desire to hasten

the collapse of society as we know it". Generally, acceleration is used in the context of white genocide conspiracy theories, which believes white people are under threat and are being systematically targeted through e.g. immigration and other means. A collapse of modern societal structures and political systems is seen as the only means through which to stop these perceived injustices against white people. Indeed, many accelerationist groups desire this collapse and call for replacing modern society.

- **Ethnonationalist:** Ethnonationalism is a form of nationalism where the nation is defined in terms of ethnicity. Central to ethnonationalism is the belief that nations are tied together by a shared heritage and culture that is based on ethnicity. Ethnonationalists are often marked by implicit rather than explicit racism, and rarely promote overt supremacism.
- **Christian Nationalist:** According to US academic Cynthia Miller-Idriss, Christian Nationalism is based on the proposition that your country 'is and should remain a Christian nation and that Christianity should be prioritized by the state.' Christian Nationalists therefore explicitly reject the separation between the Church and the state.
- **Anti-Muslim Extremists:** The anti-Muslim movement is a loose network of groups and individuals who share the fear that Western cultures are threatened by an 'Islamic takeover'. Anti-Muslim groups are marked by their opposition to Islam as an ideology, and Muslims as a people.
- **Male Supremacism:** The manosphere is a loose collection of movements marked by their overt and extreme misogyny. Movements include 'incels', Men Going Their Own Way (MGTOW) and men's rights activists (MRAs).
- **Anti-Government Extremism:** Sovereignists are marked by their and militia groups rejection of court and state authority. Joining these groups together is the rejection of the authority of the federal state, and commonly adherence to a range of conspiracy theories. In some instances, sovereignists may mobilise as militia.

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Hate speech

As with extremism, there are a wide range of definitions of hate or hate crime offered by legislators, advocacy and community groups or social media companies. Usually, hate speech is differentiated from offensive speech, based on the understanding that in democracies offensive speech must be permitted. However, speech that threatens individual's rights or may cause violence against certain groups can be regulated and prevented—often through the frame of illegal hate speech.

Over the course of this project, ISD will track the weaponization of targeted hate (including illegal hate speech) as a tactic used by domestic extremists in Canada. Hate speech spread by non-extremists is beyond the scope of this project. ISD defines targeted hate is activity which seeks to dehumanise, demonize, harass, threaten, or incite violence against an individual or community based on religion, ethnicity, race, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, disability, national origin or migrant status. Targeted hate may be considered a key tool for extremists to target members of an out-group, they consider inferior or intimidate political opponents. It should be noted that our definition does not exclusively cover illegal hate speech.

This definition is generally aligned with the definition in the Canadian Criminal Code, which argues that hate crime “needs to be expressed in a public way or place, targets a group of people that have a protected characteristic (race, religion, sexual orientation); uses extreme language to express hatred against that person/group because of their protected characteristic.”

ISD used keywords to filter each message in the overall dataset of 1,064,966 posts gathered across platforms: a message that did not have any keywords and phrases relevant to potential target groups was marked as not hateful, the rationale being that hate speech needs a recognisable target. Target groups from the previous briefing were Jewish people, migrants, Muslims, Asian Canadians, Black people, First Nations communities and Arab Canadians. For this briefing, LGBTQ communities were added as a target group.

These messages were then run through a LLM prompt classifier, based on the group the keyword was from. The LLM prompts were tested on a manually labelled dataset for each target, along with variations to the prompt such

as different wording and providing more guidance and examples. The labelled dataset itself was constructed with a label to identify if the message was hateful or not, and another label to state whether it was a ‘boundary case’, where it could be argued whether it fell into the hateful category. The evaluations took this into account and the results were evaluated both with and without the boundary cases, where the clear-cut messages were given priority to be correct over boundary cases. The two models that were used for this were GPT-4o and GPT-4o-mini.

Violent Speech Classifier

Violent speech encompasses any language that explicitly or implicitly endorses, incites, or glorifies physical harm or violence against individuals, groups, or entities, including infrastructure.

ISD and CASM trained a classifier to detect violent speech such as:

- 1. Direct Threats:** Statements that explicitly threaten physical harm to a specific individual or group.
- 2. Incitement to Violence:** Calls to action encouraging others to commit violence, even if not directed at a specific target.
- 3. Threatening Language:** Statements that create a sense of imminent danger through referencing an individual's safety or violent tropes without directly threatening an individual or group
- 4. Glorification of Violence:** Celebrating, endorsing, or praising violent actions or individuals who commit violence.
- 5. Violent Rhetoric:** Language that normalizes, trivializes, or romanticizes violence as a means of resolving disputes or achieving goals.
- 6. Hate Speech with a Call to Violence:** Language targeting a group based on race, religion, gender, etc., combined with a suggestion or call to violence.
- 7. Attacks Against Infrastructure:** Language advocating for harm to infrastructure or property damage likely to result in harm to people or disrupt essential services, such as attacks on utilities, transportation systems, or similar infrastructure.

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362 exact words/phrases were used to identify mentions of violence. These messages were then run through a LLM prompt classifier. The LLM prompts were tested on a manually labelled dataset for violent speech. The two models that were used for this were GPT-4o and GPT-4o-mini.

Topic Modelling

ISD collected 1,064,966 posts from 442 domestic extremist accounts and channels in Canada across X, Facebook, Telegram, YouTube and Instagram between 1 June and 30 November 2025.

The process of semantic mapping involves (1) computing numeric representations of messages that capture semantics of the text, (2) clustering message representations to identify groups of semantically similar messages, and (3) manually coding clusters into themes and subthemes. For computing numerical representations, we utilised “bge-m3”. For clustering we used a widely adopted approach of applying UMAP to simplify numerical representations to a lower-dimensional space, suitable for applying HDBSCAN to identify clusters. We utilised the BERTopic package to encapsulate this process.

We applied the semantic mapping pipeline to a representative sample of messages in the dataset: excluding all YouTube comments, taking a 5% random sample of 4Chan messages, and a 50% random sample per-platform of all other platforms - a total of 581,005 messages. We perform standard preprocessing techniques to (1) remove all hashtags, user mentions, emojis, and URLs from the text of the messages and (2) remove any subsequently empty messages. This resulted in 496,033 messages.

We performed a grid search of 48 configurations of clustering hyperparameters, and selected the configuration that (a) resulted in a suitable number of clusters for review, and (b) was considered the best fit to the data, in terms of minimising the number of unclustered points.

Semantic mapping resulted in 228 distinct clusters, with 53.8% (266,731) of the messages remaining unassigned to any cluster (assigned to an ‘outlier’ category). The outlier category acts as a bucket for messages that HDBSCAN doesn’t consider similar enough to any of the identified dense clusters, and due to the noisy nature of

social-media data is quite typical to be around half the dataset. This left us with 229,302 messages categorised into 228 clusters.

These clusters were subsequently manually assessed by analysts based on a random sample of 10-20 related comments and qualitatively grouped into subthemes and themes. The <TO_COMPLETE_BASED_ON_REPORT> most popular themes are analysed in the key narratives section above.

Named Entity Recognition (NER)

We used a language model from SpaCy (en_core_web_lg) to automatically find references to people, locations, and organizations in the text. Since this approach does not attempt to canonicalise extracted entities, we additionally apply the Mordecai3 geoparsing tool to the text to identify and map locations into countries, top-level Canadian administrative divisions (territories and provinces), and Canadian cities, where possible.

Endnotes

- 1 While all accounts and channels coded as Neo-Nazi or accelerationist were also coded as white supremacist, not all white supremacists were also coded as Neo-Nazis or accelerationists.

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