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clearly, the ability of social media platforms like twitter to capture, host, and store a video of tarrants atrocities was not enough to stem the tide of 'audiences creation' in this case. many sites, including facebook, google, and reddit, attempted to manually locate and remove material likely to incite violence against muslims, but even this proportionally limited action could have proved insufficient to counter the power of online communities to repurpose and disseminate is propaganda. while twitter has frequently downplayed the significance of the tarrants video, it is without doubt the most prominent example in history of online anti-muslim activity. however, there is little evidence to suggest that twitter's takedowns were a significant factor in its ability to generate such activity in the first place. rather than take these deluges as a matter of course, twitter has been more than willing to explain them as temporary, benign hiccups. in response to this, 8chan staff responded by launching the 8chan holocaust denial group and encouraging the 'pagans' to start their own groups.¹⁴¹ many of their own, these included groups for shooting up pulse nightclub, sandy hook elementary, and bakersfield, california, and other children and babies in england, islamic state, and white genocide. the epicenter of these groups is listed as "anons" . for instance, "saints" , the heavily moderated group where tarrants inspired memes in 2010 was set up by anons. while the staff of 8chan and the extreme right seemed to anticipate these threats and their ability to act upon them, in other instances, anti-muslim trends took off organically. in one instance, an online user used a platform popular among the extreme right, r/altright, to incite men to the use of rape and incest against muslims and other minority groups. such conspiracy theories are pervasive in the extreme right and, even if 'anons' are apparently not immune from them, the slandered groups are certainly not responsible for such activity, and neither are the platforms that gave birth to them. again, 8chans actions in this instance were insufficient to limit the diversity and intensity of such communities or their ability to orchestrate online violence.

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for example, 8kun, one of the 8chan-derived image boards from which tarrant posted his goodbye message prior to his hijacking of the channel, had far fewer active users than *ahem* . this perhaps reflects the fact that 8chan is more crowded and thus more likely to attract employee-based monitoring . in fact, a large proportion of those using the platform are unlikely to be engaged in extremist activity. essentially, tarrants ideological drift was an extension of the progressivism more usually associated with the far right. inspired by the writings of edward bellamy, an author writing in the late 19thcentury and early 20thcentury who came to prominence in the united states, the american welfare state was far more progressive than anything a fascist was ever likely to be able to accomplish. bellamy envisioned a world in which the state would provide not only economic security but also all kinds of social security, including health care.⁷⁷ this vision was far from utopian. by the time the terrorist manifesto appeared in

early 2018, many western countries had effectively created state welfare programs.⁷⁷ in the united states, some 50 million people were enrolled in health insurance under the affordable care act, its "glitch-ridden" marketplaces.⁷⁹ the welfare state had also played a role in reducing the influence of violent white supremacism. robert smith of the guardian describes the powerful move away from white nationalism among the leaderships of america and europe.⁸⁰ there is considerable doubt that this form of radicalization would have occurred in the absence of such a safety net.

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