

Ireland's Emerging Cyber Crisis: An Online, Decentralized Movement for Nationalist Violence and Anti-Immigrant/Muslim Attacks

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Key Takeaways

- In recent years, Ireland has seen an influx of immigrants and refugees during an ongoing housing crisis fueled by labor shortages. The majority of those affected by the housing crisis are Irish nationals.
- A campaign of real-world mobilizations has arisen in wake of the refugee and housing crisis, with hundreds of protests in Ireland between November 2022 and April 2023. Migrants are being physically assaulted, demonstrating the movement's potential for violence.
- In the Cyber-social domain these mobilizations are rapidly spurring a decentralized social movement which uses hashtags such as #Irelandisfull, and references Ireland along with white identitarian/supremacy terms and the Great Replacement conspiracy.
- These terms have nearly doubled since November of 2022 and Ireland now appears as an emerging online flashpoint for global ethnic nationalist movements.
- Along with these terms, NCRI notes surges in inflammatory generalizations about immigrants, and misrepresent immigrants as collectively dangerous, despite no significant correlation between the arrival of migrants and crime rates in Ireland.¹
- Complete with cartoonish and violent memes on subcultural forums and White genocide conspiracy theories, NCRI assesses that should this online, ultra-nationalist, anti-immigrant movement continue growing in its current trajectory, Ireland will face dramatic increases in anti-immigrant and anti-democratic mobilizations and violence

¹<https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/social-affairs/2023/03/15/no-link-between-asylum-seekers-and-increased-crime-authorities-state/>

Introduction

In July 2021, a UK national named Mark Wolf was arrested after being caught in possession of firearm parts and guides for printing 3D weapons.² The 37-year old far-right sympathizer intended to use his 3D printer to create an arsenal of weapons to use in a terror attack near Dublin, Ireland.³ Wolf had also contacted a company to purchase explosives sold for civilian use in excavation.³ Not only did he have the weapons necessary to commit an attack, he also had a clear motive.

Other materials collected during his arrest included neo-Nazi flags and videos of extreme violence against people of color.³ Wolf was also found with a video recording of the mass shootings that occurred at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, in 2019.³ The Christchurch attacks were motivated by the “Great Replacement” theory which claims that a “global elite” are replacing white majorities in Europe with immigrants.⁴ Based on the materials found at his arrest, Wolf was likely influenced by this same ideology.

While the Irish national police prevented the attack, Wolf’s connections to the same theories that incited other far-right attacks is concerning. It adds another case to the trend of white genocide conspiracy theories and anti-immigrant sentiments provoking fatal terror attacks. A similar attack against the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh was motivated by an anti-semitic conspiracy theory that George Soros was funding the 2017 Honduran migrant caravan to destabilize Western democracy.⁵ The 2019 terrorist attack against an El Paso Walmart was also inspired by the Christchurch shooting and motivated by similar anti-immigrant ideology.⁶ The correlation between the dissemination of Great Replacement theories and subsequent occurrences of anti-immigrant sentiment and terrorist attacks is evident.

Online activity plays a crucial role in generating support for violent attacks and increasing their frequency. Previous research conducted by the NCRI revealed a surge in Great Replacement discourse on Twitter preceding the Pittsburgh Tree of Life attack, suggesting that such online activity may serve as an indicator of future violence. Given the recent controversy and rise in anti-immigrant sentiment and online engagement linked to the #IrelandIsFull campaign in Ireland, the NCRI investigated the digital traces of Great Replacement enthusiasm in Ireland. The research conducted specifically focused on the propagation of white genocide conspiracy theories and the use of sweeping generalizations targeting migrants and refugees.

² <https://www.irishcentral.com/news/mark-wolf-terrorist-attack-ireland#.ZD1YENWAOxQ.twitter>

³ <https://www.irishtimes.com/crime-law/2023/04/17/far-right-terror-suspect-was-planning-to-purchase-explosives-in-ireland-gardai-believe/>

⁴ <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/08/06/christchurch-endures-extremist-touchstone-investigators-probe-suspected-el-paso-manifesto/>

⁵ <https://www.vox.com/2018/11/2/15946556/antisemitism-enlightenment-george-soros-conspiracy-theory-globalist>

⁶ <https://apnews.com/article/australia-race-and-ethnicity-el-paso-new-zealand-mosque-attacks-tx-state-wire-e256dbf73bf043ec9ae49af18c4a33c3>

Background

Since October 2022, an anti-immigration protest movement has gained traction in Ireland, indicating a noticeable growth in societal opposition towards immigration. This movement has been fueled by the recent influx of immigrants and refugees into Ireland, coupled with a burgeoning housing crisis that has left many Irish nationals homeless.⁷ Accusations that foreigners are receiving preferential treatment have incited hundreds of protests between October 2022 and April 2023, and there is currently no evidence to suggest its decline or waning influence.² The movement was organized on Twitter using hashtags like #IrelandIsFull and #MakeIrelandSafeAgain, and has been circulated on ultra-nationalist Telegram channels. These channels spread malicious narratives warning of the dangers of allowing migrants to continue to enter the country, attempting to justify discriminatory rhetoric by labeling migrants as criminals.

Housing Crisis

Ireland is facing a housing shortage, with a deficit of almost 250,000 houses.⁸ Concurrently, property prices and rent have been increasing over the past few years. As a result, at the start of 2023, 11,754 individuals in Ireland were living in emergency accommodations; about two thirds were Irish, 22% were from the EU, and 17% were from outside of the EU.³ In response, the Irish government constructed 29,851 residential units as of 2022 and plans on constructing another 29,000 residential units for 2023.³ Other measures, such as a temporary eviction ban, have also been introduced to ameliorate the crisis; however, pressures continue to rise as the housing crisis persists, especially with the sudden influx of immigrants and refugees.

Immigration and Refugees

Immigration rates in Ireland have risen in recent years, coinciding with the current housing crisis. The Central Statistics Office reported that as of April 2022, Ireland had seen 120,700 immigrants arrive, the most since 2007, while only 59,600 have emigrated from Ireland. The net positive migration has ultimately led to the largest population increase since 2008.⁹ The immigrants entering Ireland are mainly from the EU, with Poland producing the largest amount of immigrants, followed by the UK and Eastern European nations.¹⁰ As of March 2023, Ireland has also accepted 78,121 Ukrainian refugees.¹¹

⁷<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jan/22/anti-immigration-protesters-march-dublin-ireland-refugees>

⁸<https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/housing-planning/2023/03/23/irelands-housing-crisis-facts-and-figures-all-you-need-to-know/>

⁹<https://www.schengenvisa.info.com/news/ireland-experiences-population-growth-due-to-increasing-immigration-rates/>

¹⁰<https://migrants-refugees.va/country-profile/ireland/#:~:text=According%20to%20the%202021%20Central,Canada%20and%20the%20United%20States.>

¹¹ <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ireland/#transnational-issues>

There has also been a sizable influx of Muslim immigrants in recent years; between 2002 and 2016, the number of Muslims in Ireland increased by over 40,000.¹² While Muslims only comprise about 1.3% of the Irish population, attitudes towards Muslim immigrants are harsher than those towards white European immigrants.⁷ A study conducted by the Economic and Social Review found that 10% of those surveyed responded that they did not want to allow Caucasian immigrants in the country, while 25% responded that they would not want to allow more Muslim immigrants to come to Ireland. This disparity demonstrates an anti-Islam sentiment in Ireland, exacerbating the effects of the #IrelandIsFull movement.

Political Context

The ongoing housing crisis and stagnant wages have thus led to an increase in anti-refugee sentiment in Irish politics, with far-right activists directing their anger surrounding immigration and the housing crisis toward the ruling parties.¹³ This includes Sinn Féin, a center-left leaning party that has been criticized for its border policies and support for migrants.¹⁴ The far-right Irish Freedom Party and Irish National Party have capitalized on the rise in anti-immigration sentiment, reposting #IrelandIsFull and #MakeIrelandSafeAgain tweets. One post on the party's main account even claimed "Multiculturalism and diversity are bad for social cohesion. They make your community more dangerous" (Fig. 1).¹⁵ While the Irish Freedom Party and National Party have not had many electoral victories, the normalization of anti-immigrant sentiment fuels the #IrelandIsFull movement and spreads discriminatory rhetoric in the form of gross generalizations.



Fig. 1: Example of an Irish Freedom Party tweet generalizing migrants and claiming multiculturalism is bad for Ireland

¹² <https://www.esr.ie/article/view/1251>

¹³ <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2023/mar/21/ireland-anti-refugee-protests-far-right-uk-politics>

¹⁴ <https://twitter.com/RealMessageEire/status/1645852543535271955>

¹⁵ <https://twitter.com/IrexitFreedom/status/1651539024555769856>

#IrelandIsFull Twitter Campaign

The spike indicates how immigration and the housing crisis both impacted Twitter activity and led to the development of a decentralized anti-immigration campaign. While #IrelandIsFull first surfaced in late June 2022, the #IrelandIsFull movement did not gain momentum until October 2022 (see appendix Fig. 20-22). The NCRI recorded an initial spike in related hashtags in mid-November 2022 (Fig. 3). The hashtags surged again in January 2023, and remained high until the beginning of March 2023. The four major hashtags observed were #IrelandIsFull, #IrelandForTheIrish, #MakeIrelandSafeAgain, and #EastWall (referencing the inner-city area in Dublin that was the starting place of the anti-immigration protests).

Each spike the NCRI detected corresponded to a major protest organized by the #IrelandIsFull movement. Figure 2 shows the rise in the number of protest demonstrations beginning in January 2023, namely the Mullingar and Dublin protests, which coincide with the spikes in Twitter activity. The relationship between protests and surges of inflammatory online activity suggests the movement garners the most attention following large demonstrations, therefore future large protests may be significant predictors of spikes in #IrelandIsFull activity on Twitter.

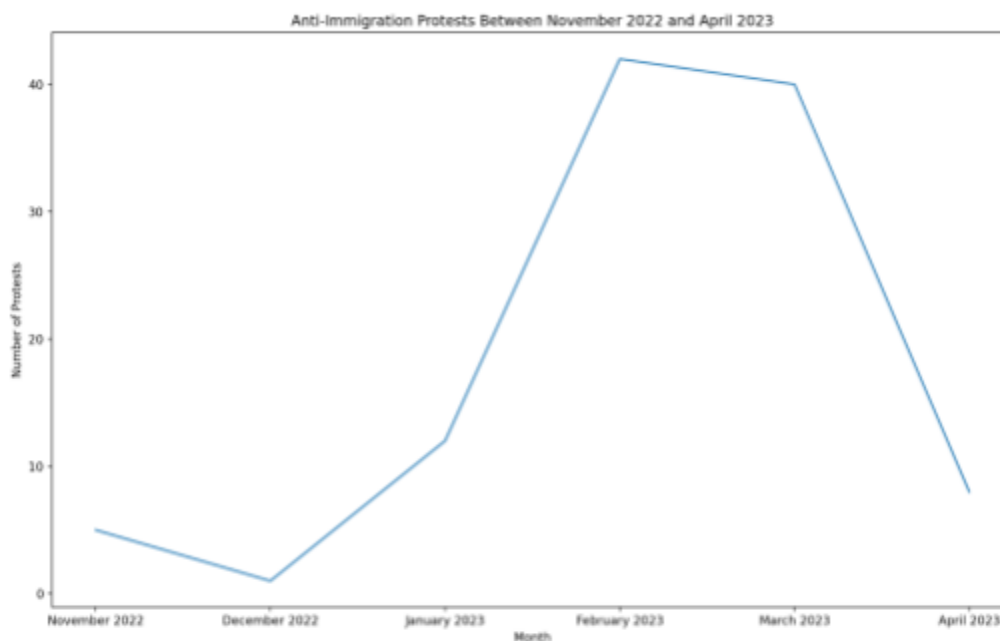
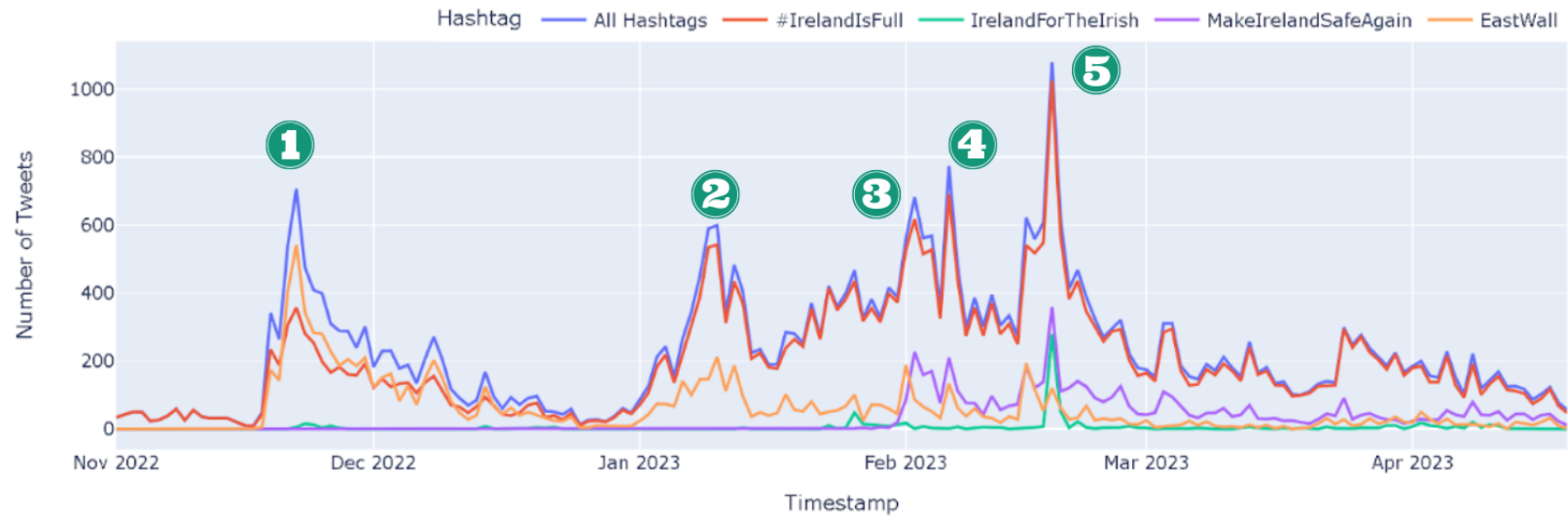


Fig. 2: Protest activity from November 2022 to April 2023 as reported by irelandisfull.com

'Ireland is Full' Related Hashtags



gript
@griptmedia

Steenson said tonight's protest was just a "small taste of what is to come" if the Government continues to ignore the demands of the local community. He said that "protests will escalate, not just in East Wall, or in Dublin but countrywide."



gript.ie
WATCH: East Wall protests escalate, block Port Tunnel after Minister insists ...
Local spokesman, Malachy Steenson said that tonight's protest was just a "small taste of what is to come" if the government continued to ignore the ...

3:41 PM · Nov 28, 2022

1

NOV 22, 2022
EAST WALL

NP The National Party
@NationalPartyIE

House The Irish, Not The World!
Local National Party members active at the protest in #Ballymun this evening. To get involved visit nationalparty.ie/join #HouseTheIrish



2:42 PM · Jan 8, 2023 · 10.8K Views

2

JAN 9 - JAN 10, 2023
BALLYMUN PROTEST

Irish Freedom Party
@IrexitFreedom

Mullingar says NO to the new Plantation of Ireland. Protests are spreading around the country. #Irishfreedom #IrelandsFull



3:56 PM · Feb 2, 2023 · 21.7K Views

3

FEB 2, 2023
MULLINGAR PROTEST

TheLiberal.ie
@TheLiberal.ie

Today's the day! Major migrant protests planned for around Ireland today with the biggest starting in Dublin at 2pm #IrelandIsFull - theLiberal.ie/todays-the-day...



3:30 AM · Feb 6, 2023 · 72.8K Views

4

FEB 6, 2023
DUBLIN PROTEST

RTÉ News
@rtenews

Thousands of people are participating in a march in support of diversity and opposition to racism. The 'Ireland for All' solidarity march in Dublin was organised by a coalition that includes community groups, trade unions and political parties | Read more: bit.ly/3S7dIF



12:58K Views Report COLMAN O'SULLIVAN 0:05 / 1:57

5

FEB 18, 2023
IRELAND FOR ALL MARCH

Fig. 3: Twitter Spikes from November 2022 - April 2023 with coinciding protests

Crime and Generalizations

Current Crime Rates

The idea that the influx of migrants directly causes crime spikes, is not reflected in crime rates in Ireland. The #IrelandIsFull movement has depicted migrants as criminals, and in particular, sexual offenders. The number of recorded crime offenses by the police in Ireland has slightly decreased from 2020 to 2021 by about 0.4%.¹⁶ Sexual offenses have seen an increase of around 5.5% from 2021 to 2022.¹⁷ However, this is no different from previous years' fluctuations in sexual offenses. In fact, one of the largest spikes of the previous decade occurred in 2010 when sexual offenses went up by 48.9% compared to 2009.¹⁷ Within the same timeframe, immigration decreased by 43%.¹⁶ Additionally, the Irish Department of Justice has declared there is no evidence of a link between an increase in crime and the total number of asylum seekers.¹⁸

Generalizations

Despite no significant correlation between the arrival of migrants and crime rates, this type of anti-migrant rhetoric is still circulated by accounts on Twitter and Telegram. With many users making generalizations about migrants that further the narrative that migrants are criminals, particularly, male migrants committing sexual crimes (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4: A user blames a rise in stabbings, riots, and rapes on the influx of "asylum seekers."

¹⁶ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/945336/overall-crime-offences-in-ireland/>

¹⁷ <https://www.statista.com/statistics/945269/sex-offences-in-ireland/>

¹⁸ <https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/social-affairs/2023/03/15/no-link-between-asylum-seekers-and-increased-crime-authorities-state/>

The tweet below (Fig. 5), posted April 20, 2023, has 95,000 views and over 1,200 likes. The Twitter account @OffgridIreland comments on this video about the sexual assault of a woman in the streets of Waterford, stating that these crimes are being “committed by unvetted undocumented savages from the third world.” The account places responsibility squarely on migrants. Some factions within the #IrelandisFull movement continue to utilize references to unconnected sexual assaults and violent attacks as a strategic approach to marginalize migrants within Irish society and portray them as a perceived threat. The Institute for Strategic Dialogue (ISD) reported that from December 2022-February 2023, there were “877 unique tweets posted by 545 authors that mentioned rapes and/or sexual assaults supposedly carried out in Ireland by migrants.”¹⁹

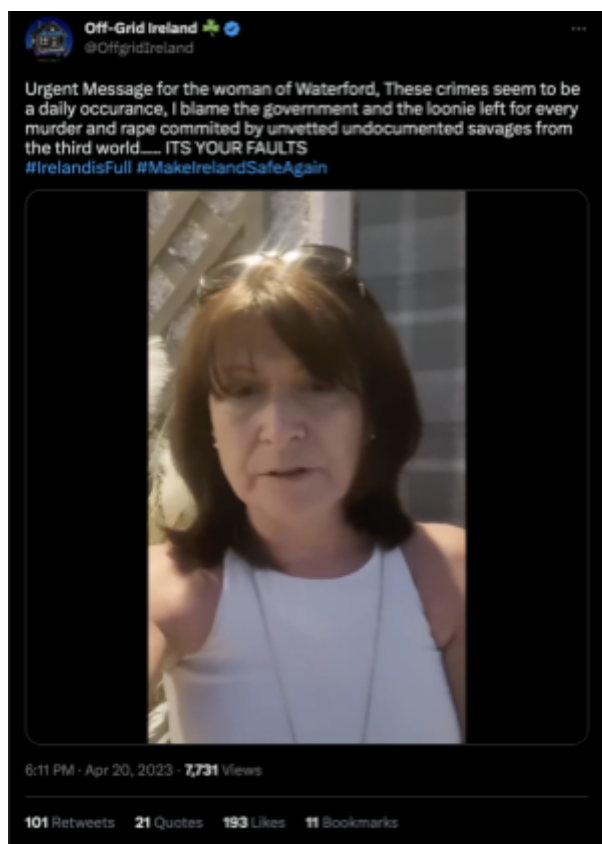


Fig. 5: Video of a resident of Waterford claiming undocumented immigrants are responsible for a rise in murder and sexual assault in her community

¹⁹ https://www.isdglobal.org/digital_dispatches/anti-migrant-tiktok-videos-trending-in-ireland/

Hate Crimes and Crimes Against Migrants

There have been several violent hate crimes committed against immigrants in connection to the recent #IrelandIsFull protests related to the inflated narrative about the criminality of migrants. There were three separate incidents in Dublin in January and February 2023 motivated by alleged or actual crimes against Irish citizens, mainly women, in which immigrant men were attacked by anti-immigrant crowds.²⁰ In February 2023, the ISD found that “the spread of videos doxxing and intimidating migrants in Ireland has already resulted in real-life harm and the proliferation of fear and stigmatization of migrants.”²¹

The number of hate crimes in Ireland have practically doubled from 2019. In 2021, 297 of the 448 hate crimes recorded by the Garda were racist and xenophobic hate crimes compared to 160 of the 251 in 2019.²² Although Tweets from the #IrelandIsFull movement do not actively call for violence, the NCRI predicts an increased likelihood of violence against immigrants directly connected to the anti-immigrant rhetoric and hate spread by the movement.

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²⁰ <https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/man-accused-sexually-assaulting-girl-29151749>
<https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-41063030.html>

²¹ https://www.isdglobal.org/digital_dispatches/anti-migrant-tiktok-videos-trending-in-ireland/

²² <https://hatecrime.osce.org/ireland?year=2021>

Telegram Activity

In addition to Twitter OSINT, the NCRI conducted an investigation of ultra-national Irish Telegram channels, revealing a pattern in which such channels and their posts consistently propagate the notion that immigrants pose a threat to Irish citizens, especially Irish women. One prominent Telegram user who goes by the name “The Irish Git” has a channel with over 17,000 subscribers. In one of the videos posted, the user discusses alleged cases of male immigrants masturbating in public and states that “When that stops satisfying them, guess what next—they’ll want the *real* thing”, implying immigrant men would assault and rape Irish women. The video received over 8,000 views (Fig. 6).

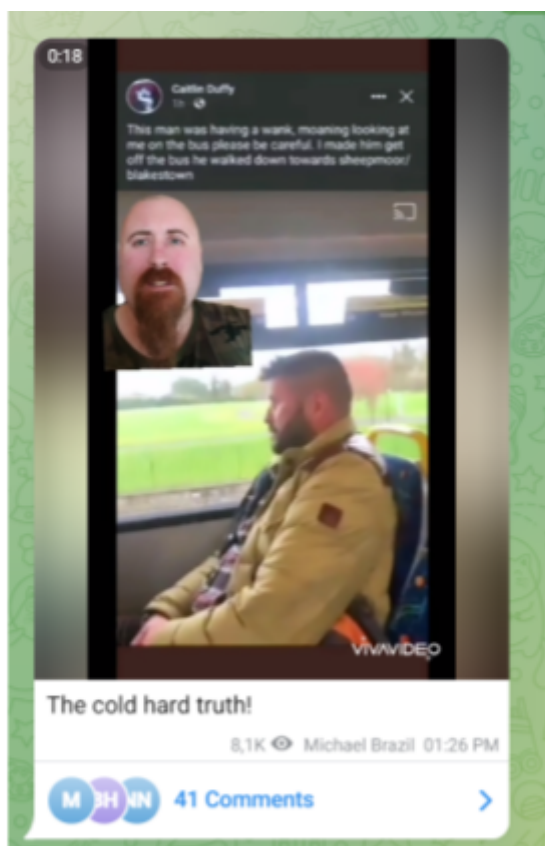


Fig. 6: Popular Telegram user shares a video on how male immigrants will begin to sexually assault Irish women.

Two channels, “Late Stage Ireland” and “Archiving Irish Diversity Stuff (AIDS),” connect support for the Irish Republican Army (IRA) to anti-immigrant sentiment. “Late Stage Ireland” with 5,867 subscribers has, like other channels, promoted anti-immigrant content and recruits youth through a campaign: The “*YoungFella Uprising*” which suggests that Ireland’s male youth act to protect its nation and women (Fig. 7-9).



Fig. 7: A meme that shows the Republicans standing up for Ireland while showing liberals keeping Ireland down.

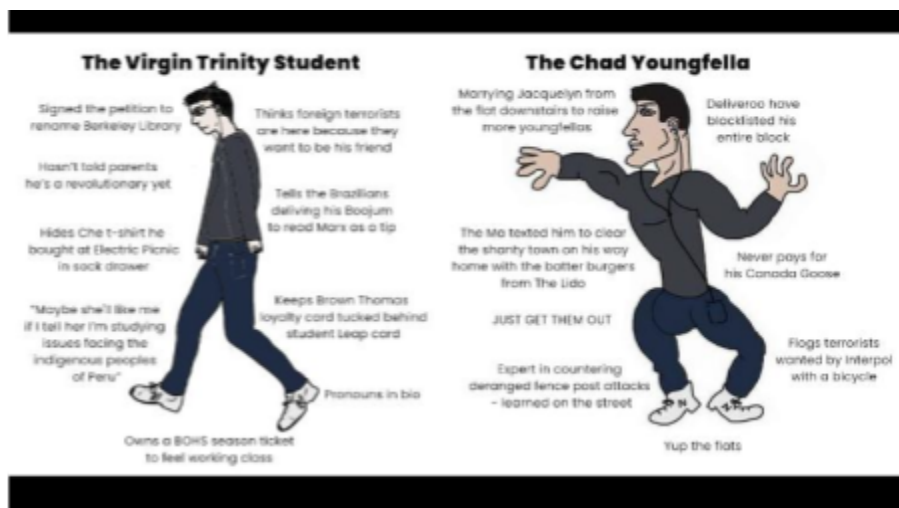


Fig. 8: A 4chan inspired meme depicting Irish liberal male youth as virgins and the "YoungFella" as a "chad"



Fig. 9: Two posts mention the "YoungFella" movement and claim it successful.

Tommy Robinson and “Plantation 2: Rise of the Celts”

The English far-right activist named Stephen Yaxley-Lennon, who goes by the pseudonym Tommy Robinson, released a documentary on March 17, 2023. Robinson considers himself a journalist, but he has various ties to fascist and white nationalist groups as well as numerous criminal convictions.²³

Robinson’s film, *Plantation 2: Rise of the Celts*, argues that the migrants are “unvetted, illegal, fighting age men” being let into the country “en masse” who in turn have been contributing to the rise in sexual crime within the nation.²⁴ Robinson has promoted the documentary on his Telegram channel alongside posts referencing instances of migrant violence against Irish citizens as well as Irish protests against immigrants and ‘wins’ for the Ireland is Full movement (Fig. 13). In reference to a video of an alleged rape of a woman by a migrant, Robinson and his admin encouraged investigation into the perpetrator and action against him, stating “I’ll do what I want. I’m not controlled.”

In his Telegram channel, with nearly 150,000 subscribers, Robinson has made overt connections to the “plantation” conspiracy theory, pointing to certain migrant homes as being “plantations.” The practice of “plantation” originated in 16th and 17th-century Ireland; it refers to English attempts to consolidate power in Ireland by incentivizing English and Scottish migration to counter indigenous authority.²⁵ The use of the term “plantation” today by the #IrelandIsFull movement implies that “real” Irish culture and citizens are being overridden and oppressed by their government through the influx of immigrants.²² Robinson has encouraged Irish citizens to stand up for their families and communities, calling for action against migrants and support from the Irish police. Robinson’s large audience and strong anti-immigrant stance makes him a popular figure in the Ireland is Full movement.

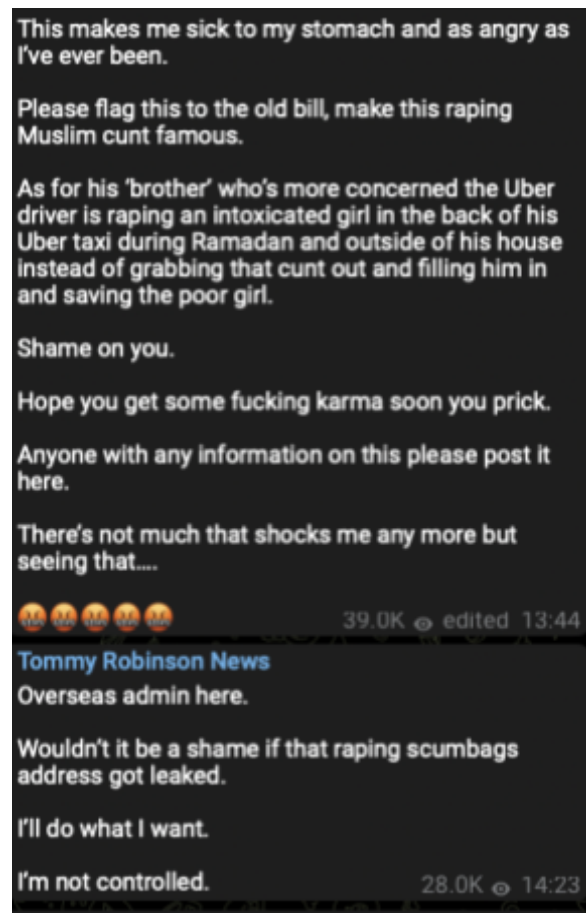


Fig. 10: Robinson encourages the doxxing of a migrant he alleges is a rapist

²³<https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/social-affairs/2023/02/17/tommy-robinson-profile-convicted-criminal-is-one-of-uks-most-prominent-far-right-activists/>

²⁴ <https://odysee.com/Plantation2RiseOfTheCelts:1>

²⁵<https://www.rte.ie/brainstorm/2022/1213/1341505-far-right-ireland-refugees-plantation-history-racism-misinformation/>

White Genocide Conspiracy Theories

White genocide or white replacement theories circulate around the belief that there is a deliberate plot by those in power to dilute and replace the white race.²⁶ The *Great Replacement* and the *Kalergi Plan* are two white genocide conspiracy theories frequently disseminated by the #IrelandIsFull movement.

The *Great Replacement* theory states that non-white individuals are being brought into Western countries to demographically and culturally replace white voters and achieve a political agenda.²⁷ It is often tied to the white supremacist theory that the influx of immigrants, and particularly people of color, will lead to the extinction of the “white race.”²⁸ While the theory has international appeal, references to the *Great Replacement* in #IrelandIsFull tweets show how it is being coopted by the movement to justify anti-immigrant sentiment and claim Irish voices are being silenced (Fig. 14).



Fig. 11: Post that references the *Great Replacement* and claims that Irish nationalists are being labelled racist by speaking out against immigration

²⁶ <https://bridge.georgetown.edu/research/factsheet-great-replacement-white-genocide-conspiracy-theory/>

²⁷ <https://www.npr.org/2022/05/16/1099034094/what-is-the-great-replacement-theory>

The *Kalergi Plan* is a more Euro-centric white genocide theory based on Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi's book, *Pan-Europa*, which saw an ideal future Europe as racially integrated and unified.²⁸ Distortions and fabrications of Kalergi's book, made by Nazis and adopted by the European far-right, have claimed Kalergi planned to destroy white European civilization through migration and interracial marriage.¹⁰ This conspiracy frequently goes in hand with antisemitism.

The *Kalergi Plan* conspiracy theory has been adopted by some members of the #IrelandIsFull movement with certain posts (Fig. 15-16) receiving high levels of engagement.



Fig. 12: User shares an image asserting that the conspiracy theory, "Kalergi Plan", is in effect.



Fig. 13: User claims Kalergi Plan is real and affecting all of Europe and is a "judeo-communist" and globalist conspiracy.

²⁸<https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2022/jan/24/tiktok-posts/no-there-no-kalergi-plan-replace-europeans-migrant/>

White Supremacy



Fig. 14: Trendline of tweets from October 2022 - March 2023 mentioning white supremacy related terms (see appendix for terms).



Fig. 15: Twitter user blames politicians for a perceived rise in crime and claims Ireland did not have a crime problem before the influx of immigrants

As of October 2022, white supremacy term usage has more than doubled on Twitter (Fig. 17). NCRI examined the use of white identitarian and supremacy terms in conjunction with the use of the terms “Ireland” or “Irish” from October 2022 to the end of March 2023 (see appendix for white supremacy search terms). Irish users are increasingly showing support for white supremacy content and theories, furthering the narrative that the integrity, existence, and safety

of white Irish nationals are threatened by the influx of non-white immigration in Ireland. The “anti-white” narrative has been prominent amongst supporters of the #IrelandIsFull movement and continues to grow, with supporters expressing a desire for Ireland to remain “homogenous” to protect white Irish nationals (Fig. 18). This uptick in white supremacy, combined with the rise of IRA supporters, anti-immigrant populism, lone-wolf extremists, and online vitriol, has created an amplified far-right and ultra-national echo-chamber on Twitter and Telegram.

Conclusion



Fig. 16: Example of the intolerance and threat of retaliation expressed by some members of the Ireland Is Full movement

This report presents a comprehensive analysis of the #IrelandIsFull movement, which maintains a steadfast commitment to disseminating ultra-nationalist and anti-immigrant content that rejects the influx of more immigrants into Ireland (Fig. 19). The movement has gained momentum through the involvement of far-right activists like Tommy Robinson, the propagation of white genocide conspiracy theories like the Great Replacement, and the promulgation of generalized crime narratives that attribute perceived rises in crime to migration. Ultra-nationalist groups pose a risk of exacerbating tensions within online communities and localities throughout Irish towns and cities. These groups also pose a risk of spreading anti-immigrant rhetoric to new platforms where they could find large audiences.

As immigration pressures and the housing crisis persist in Ireland, the NCRI has undertaken an assessment to gauge the potential for further escalation of the #IrelandIsFull movement, which could precipitate an increase in hate crimes targeting immigrants. As of May 2023, the movement continues to inspire hate crimes and attacks on migrant communities. On May 12, 2023, far-right anti-immigrant activists claimed responsibility for setting fire to a makeshift refugee camp in Dublin.²⁹ Attacks such as this demonstrate the lasting effects of the movement and the violent threat some ultra-nationalist factions continue to pose to Irish communities.

²⁹<https://www.euronews.com/2023/05/13/far-right-anti-immigration-activists-take-credit-for-burning-dublin-refugee-camp>

Over the past six months, a surge in anti-immigrant protests has been observed, a trend that is likely to be further exacerbated by the circulation of white genocide theories and misrepresentations that unjustly portray immigrants as collectively dangerous. Recent violent attacks against immigrants raise concerns that online anti-immigrant content could incite future acts of violence at protests and large gatherings. Consequently, as long as the housing crisis persists alongside the Ireland is Full movement, Ireland faces an uncertain future, particularly concerning the well-being and prospects of migrants and asylum seekers.

The NCRI assesses that if trends continue in their current trajectory, anti-immigrant hate crimes are forthcoming in Ireland. Policymakers worldwide will soon be forced to reconcile with the real world impacts of online ultra-nationalist, anti-immigrant movements. To address the cyber domain of racial and ethnic hate, policymakers will need to pay more attention to the formation and evolution of these decentralized movements before online activity turns into real world violence.

Appendix

Early Trending #IrelandIsFull Tweets (June 2022)



Fig. 17: Early viral #IrelandIsFull tweet from Irish Freedom Party president Hermann Kelly



Fig. 18: Earliest recorded tweet using #IrelandIsFull



Fig. 19: Early tweet with hundreds of likes claiming "Ireland is Full" is not racist

Timeline:



Fig. 20: Timeline of key events related to the #IrelandIsFull movement and significant Twitter activity

Timeline Sources:

<i>Event Date:</i>	<i>Source*:</i>
November 6, 2022 Protest Week 1	https://www.kfmradio.com/news/localnews/locals-to-protest-against-the-housing-of-refugees-at-kill-equestrian-centre-following-a-fire-at-the-site-on-sunday/ @kfmradio - KFM Radio
November 13, 2022 Protest Week 2	@RealMessageEire - RM.tv
November 20, 2022 Protest Week 3	https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/dublin/2022/11/20/east-wall-residents-protest-against-new-refugee-accommodation/ @RealMessageEire - RM.tv
November 27, 2022 Protest Week 4	https://www.sundayworld.com/news/irish-news/east-wall-protesters-say-its-a-culture-war-as-they-lash-out-at-tampons-in-male-toilets/35213987.html @Klaus_Arminius - Klaus Arminius
December 6, 2022 Protest Week 5	@RealMessageEire - RM.tv
December 13, 2022 Protest Week 6	https://www.rte.ie/brainstorm/2022/1213/1341505-far-right-ireland-refugees-plantation-history-racism-misinformation/ @hermannkelly - Hermann Kelly
December 20, 2022 Protest Week 7	@DakotaSamsara - Dakota Samsara
December 27, 2022 Protest Week 8	https://www.sundayworld.com/news/irish-news/protest-to-be-held-at-dublin-school-over-false-claims-refugees-are-staying-there/863775413.html @Klaus_Arminius - Klaus Arminius

January 6, 2023 Protest Week 9	https://www.sundayworld.com/news/irish-news/ballymun-protest-scared-refugees-with-cha-nts-of-send-them-home-says-activist/1669580648.html @LOCthedreamer1 - Luke O'Connor
January 13, 2023 Protest Week 10	https://www.thecollegeview.com/2023/01/18/anti-refugee-protests-reject-far-right-ties/ @TheLiberal_ie - TheLiberal.ie
January 20, 2023 Protest Week 11	https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/social-affairs/2023/02/02/anti-immigrant-rally-in-finglas-totally-unrepresentative-of-community-locals-say/ @Legofsalmon70 - WE THE PEOPLE
January 27, 2023 Protest Week 12	https://www.sundayworld.com/news/irish-news/hundreds-march-through-dublin-city-centre-in-protest-against-asylum-seekers/296403641.html @TheLiberal_ie - TheLiberal.ie
February 6, 2023 Protest Week 13	https://gript.ie/watch-protests-across-the-country-on-immigration-policy-at-weekend/ @TheLiberal_ie - TheLiberal.ie
February 13, 2023 Protest Week 14	@ReallIrishCONS - IrishConservative
February 20, 2023 Protest Week 15	@RealMessageEire - RM.tv
February 27, 2023 Protest Week 16	@AndyGreensky - Andy Greensky
March 6, 2023 Protest Week 17	@vmax_14 - veronica
March 13, 2023 Protest Week 18	https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/2023/03/17/scuffles-as-gardai-block-small-far-right-group-from-dublin-st-patricks-day-parade/ @RealMessageEire - RM.tv

March 20, 2023 Protest Week 19	https://www.irishtimes.com/ireland/2023/03/24/protesters-blocking-bus-of-asylum-seekers-from-entering-columb-barracks/ @Klaus_Arminius - Klaus Arminius
March 27, 2023 Protest Week 20	https://www.irishmirror.ie/news/irish-news/dublin-airport-exit-blocked-protestors-29611370 @TheLiberal_ie - TheLiberal.ie
April 6, 2023 Protest Week 21	@sarahlmull82 - sarahlouisemulligan

*Not all events from verified accounts/corroborating sources

Twitter White Supremacy Search Terms

(ireland OR irish) (white OR greatreplacement OR \"great replacement\" OR antiwhite OR whitegenocide OR \"white genocide\" OR antiwhiteism OR slave OR slaves OR slavery)