



Search Medium

Write



★ Get unlimited access to all of Medium for less than \$1/week. [Become a member](#)



Mapping the transphobia/far-right Twitter nexus



Ada Blockadia · Follow

8 min read · May 23



322



1



The convergence between “gender critical” anti-trans activists and the far right is becoming increasingly apparent. Posie Parker’s Let Women Speak rallies are attended by anti-abortion campaigners and Sieg Heil-ing Nazis. The LGB Alliance have found a new home at 55 Tufton Street alongside neoliberal and climate-misinformation think tanks. And fascist group Patriotic Alternative (PA) have been leading anti-drag protests.

Speaking at PA’s conference in November 2022, founding neo-Nazi Mark Collett declared that opposition to Drag Queen Story Hour was PA’s “single most important campaign” of that year. One key reason was that transphobia was resonating much more widely than their standard racism: “This one single campaign reached out to more people than anything else

we did,” said Collett, “and it made important inroads with new people — with people we don’t normally get our message across to.” In other words, the fascists are forging alliances with non-fascist groups through a shared commitment to transphobia.

Collett is extremely committed to fighting the “Rainbow of Poison” that is the “LGBT agenda”. Why? Because according to Collett, trans people are sent by Jews to suppress white birth rates, accelerating the extinction of the “white race”. Speaking on a livestream in January 2023, Collett said,

“The idea that you can wake up one day as a man then decide to be a woman is the ultimate nonsense, it’s the ultimate heresy, it’s the ultimate finger in the eye to the natural order of the universe, and that’s why they’re so intent on pushing it. [...] Our enemies [primarily jewish people] want that because then these [white] children grow up damaged for life, they will never be able to form healthy relationships, they will never be able to have babies, they will never be able to form traditional nuclear families, and all of this hits us hard where it counts: in the demographics.”

S uccessfully fighting transphobia requires understanding the alliances and divisions both within the anti-trans movement itself and between the anti-trans movement and the (far) right. There are already some fantastic resources documenting individual links — check out [Trans Safety Network](#), [Transgender Action Block](#), and the YouTuber [Shaun](#) — but what

can we learn about the network as a whole?

In February, just before Elon restricted access to the Twitter API, I downloaded the most recent 200 likes from over 260 mostly British anti-trans, reactionary, and far-right accounts, using that data to build an interaction network. In Figure 1, each circle (a node) represents a Twitter account and each line represents a like. For example, there is a line between Mark Collett and Graham Linehan because Collett liked one of Linehan's tweets.

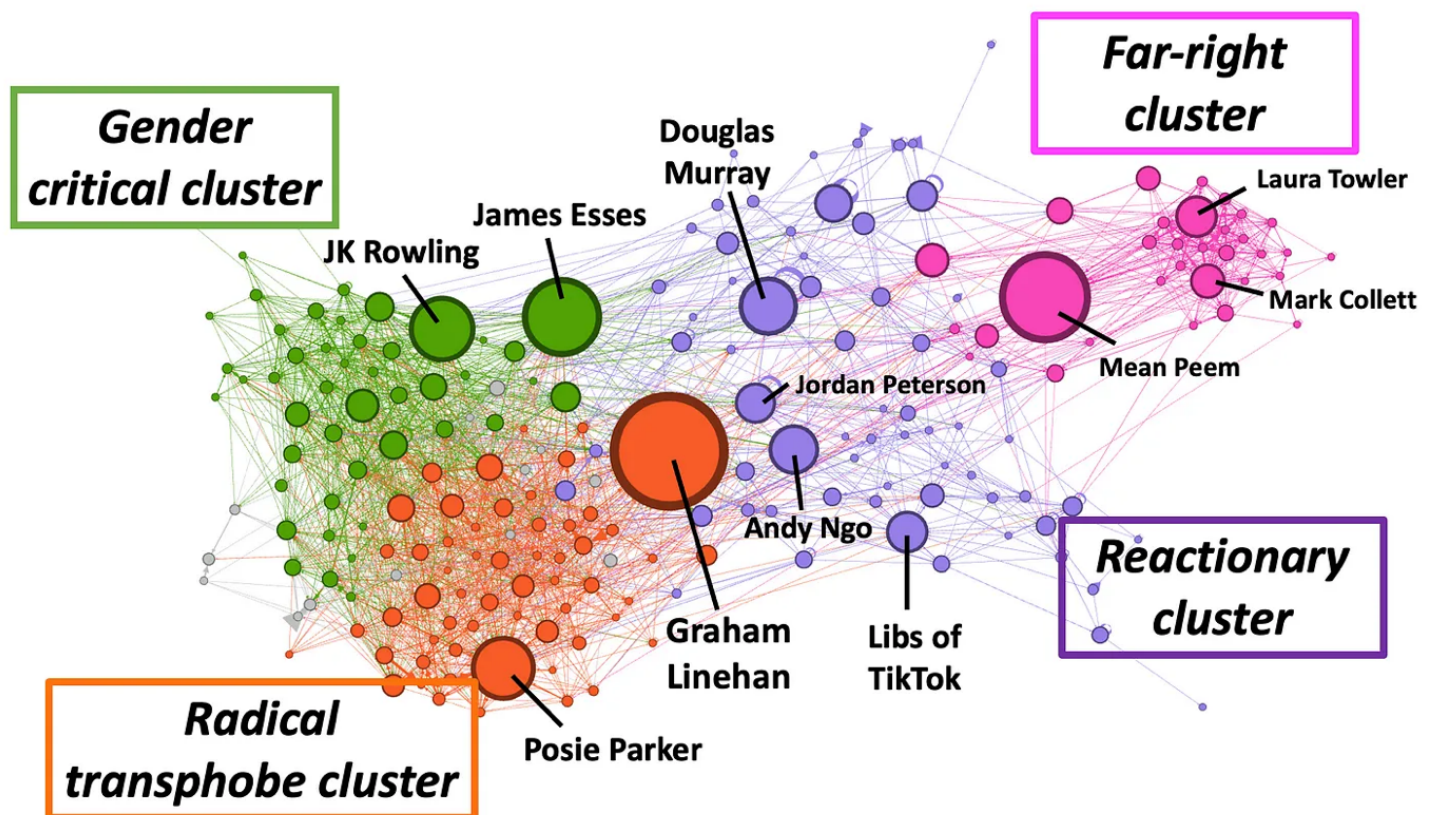


Figure 1: Overall interaction network.

The size of each node is based on *betweenness centrality*, telling us how

important an account is for holding the whole network together. The colours, meanwhile, are based on a community detection algorithm which looks for densely-connected groups of accounts; i.e., accounts that are intensely liking each other's tweets. We pick up four main clusters: a "gender critical" cluster who "just have some concerns" about trans people (e.g., JK Rowling, the LGB Alliance, Helen Joyce, Kathleen Stock, and Maya Forstater); a radical transphobe cluster who don't even pretend they don't hate trans people (e.g., Posie Parker, Graham Linehan, and Trans Widows); a reactionary cluster including the likes of Douglas Murray, Jordan Peterson, and Nigel Farage; and a far-right cluster featuring the members of Patriotic Alternative. (Note: "gender critical" and "radical transphobe" are labels I have assigned to broad clusters of connectivity within the anti-trans network — it does not suggest any fundamental split within the anti-trans movement as a whole). Accounts are positioned next to those they interact most closely with, and we can see that the reactionary cluster appears to mediate between far-right and anti-trans clusters.

Although anti-trans accounts primarily engage with content from within their bubble, we also see them liking tweets from "alt-lite" figures. Particularly popular are climate-denying incel icon and proponent of "enforced monogamy" Jordan Peterson as well as anti-antifa Andy Ngô, a figure who also attracts attention from — *quelle surprise!* — actual fascists including PA co-founder Laura Towler (Fig. 2).

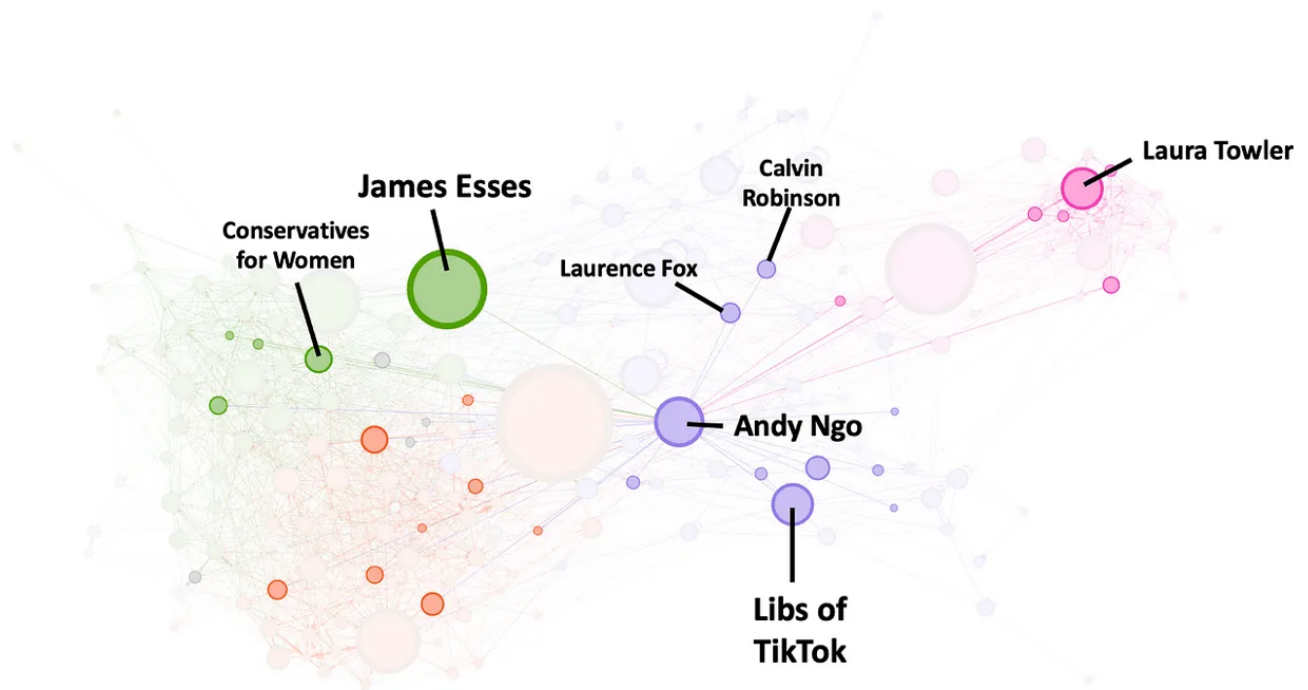


Figure 2: Accounts liking or liked by Andy Ngô.

Andy Ngô is also liked by Libs of TikTok, an account that has been pivotal in pushing the “groomers” narrative. In many ways, the two accounts share a similar approach: stoke up hatred of a particular group, then laser-focus attention on a particular individual or organisation and let your followers do the rest. But whereas Ngô doxes seventeen-year-olds, Libs of TikTok targets children’s hospitals providing care for trans kids, inspiring bomb threats. Chaya Raichik, who runs the account, told Fox News, “The LGBTQ community has become this cult [...] They’re evil people. And they want to groom kids.” Although the account does get some traction with British anti-trans accounts, it is primarily liked by reactionaries including climate-denying TalkRadio host Julia Hartley-Brewer and GB News deacon Calvin Robinson. However, considering JK Rowling has liked Libs of TikTok tweets

in the past, the account might be more influential amongst the British anti-trans movement than is reflected in this sample.

The biggest node is Graham Linehan, co-creator of Father Ted and The IT Crowd who has been consumed by his transphobia. Linehan's tweets have been liked by over a third of anti-trans accounts in the sample (especially radical transphobes) and he also attracts interest from reactionary and far-right accounts with large platforms, such as Julia Hartley-Brewer and PA members Mark Collett and Meen Peam (aka Jamie Brown) (Fig. 3). So although Linehan does not like any accounts outside the anti-trans bubble, at least during this snapshot (he was still retweeting Andy Ngô over the same time period), the fact that his content is also of such interest to reactionary and far-right accounts suggests that his brand of transphobia may be a convergence point between anti-trans and far-right actors. Moreover, Linehan already seems to be vulnerable to conspiratorial thinking and it would not be surprising to see him slide into the arms of the far right as his career and personal life further unravel, exposing the anti-trans movement to increasingly extreme content as he does so.

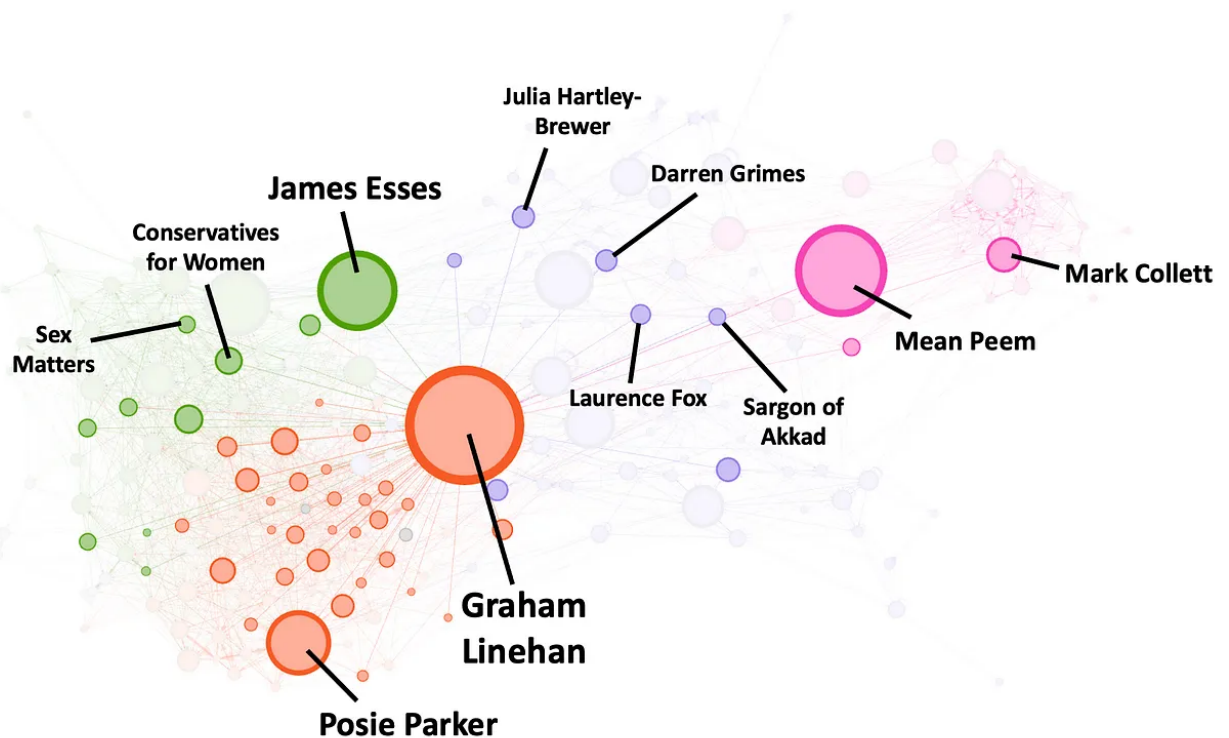


Figure 3: Accounts liking or liked by Graham Linehan.

In this sample, JK Rowling and Posie Parker engaged with little content outside of the anti-trans bubble (although JKR did like a tweet from right-wing troll Catturd2). But whilst Parker received little engagement from the outside, Rowling's tweets were liked by numerous reactionary and alt-lite accounts including Priti Patel, Julia Hartley-Brewer, hard-right think tank the Bruges Group, the Free Speech Union, a PA activist (Mean Peem), Douglas Murray, Jordan Peterson, anti-abortion activist Caroline Farrow, and "white-power Barbie" Brittany Pettibone (Fig. 4).

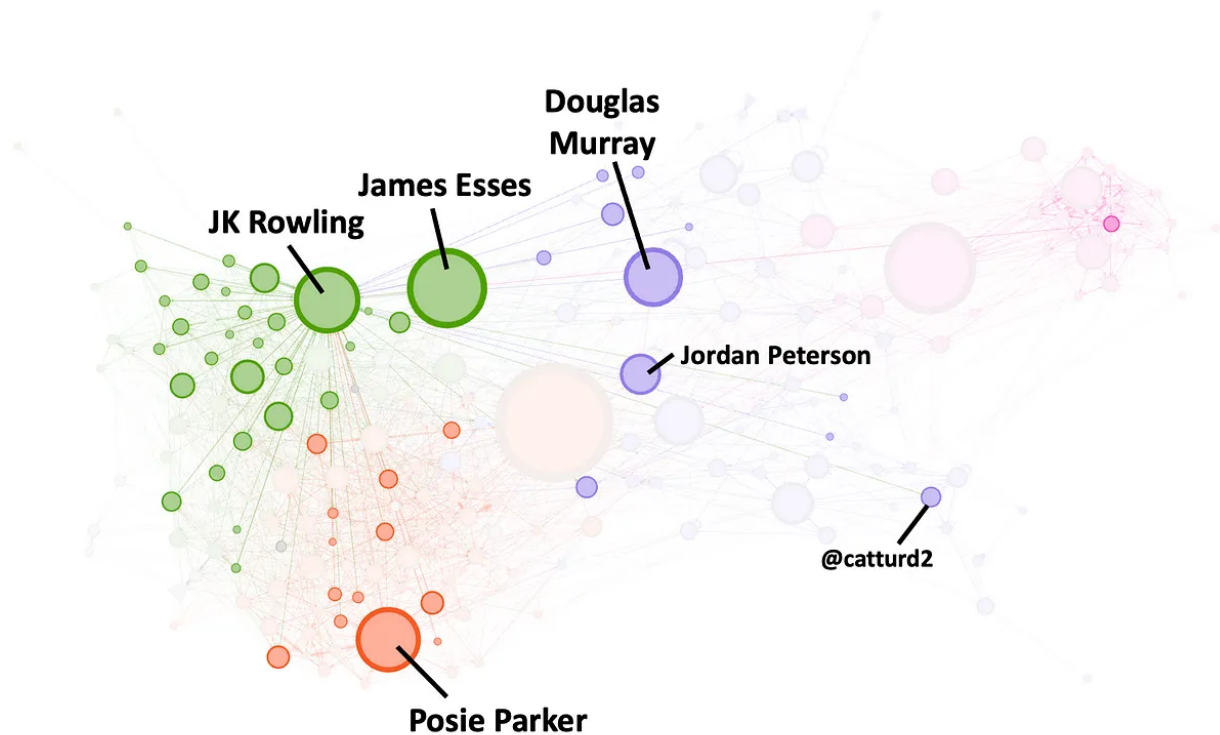


Figure 4: Accounts liking or liked by JK Rowling.

By contrast, the gender critical psychotherapist and David Icke collaborator James Esses does seem to be engaging strongly with reactionary content (Fig. 5). He has liked tweets from Nigel Farage, Jordan Peterson, Andy Ngô, and Douglas Murray, whose writing has been described as “an intellectual version of the ‘great replacement’ conspiracy theory advocated by white nationalists”. Although he is not directly interacting with the far right itself, Esses’ interest in these figures combined with his influence amongst anti-trans accounts suggests that he may be a key channel for mainstreaming a broader range of reactionary ideologies amongst the anti-trans movement.

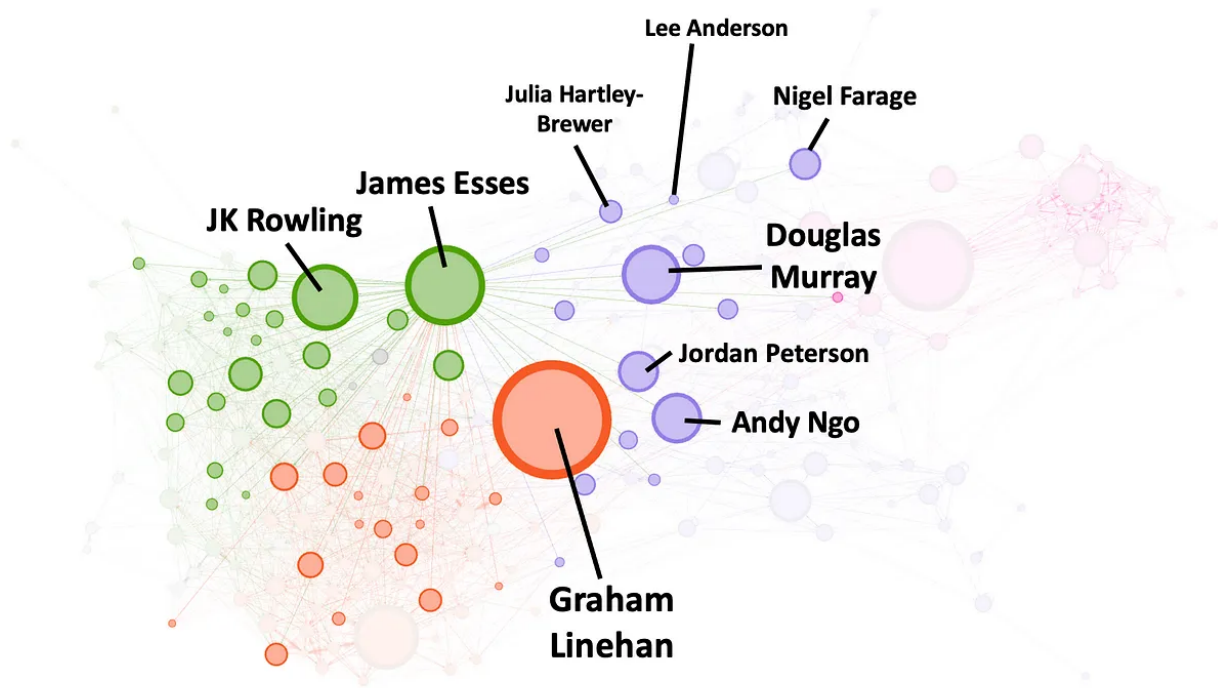


Figure 5: Accounts liking or liked by James Esses.

It is important to bear in mind that this analysis can only tell us about the interactions *between* accounts — it says nothing about the reactionary and far-right ideologies already embedded *within* the anti-trans movement. Additionally, this is only a brief snapshot of interactions and it is possible that a different picture would emerge from a wider timeframe and larger set of accounts. Unfortunately, expanding the analysis is no longer feasible given the restrictions now in force on Twitter's API.

It is not much of a surprise that a movement built upon denying trans people dignity and bodily autonomy is finding common ground with the right. The anti-trans movement has been scarily effective at mobilising far-right narratives: painting themselves as a silent majority (“let women speak”) protecting children from an all-powerful — perhaps paedophilic — international “trans lobby” which seeks to corrupt children with “gender ideology”. This is classic antisemitism. And even mainstream newspapers such as the Times are pushing these tropes, claiming that “Children are being sacrificed to appease the trans lobby,” an image with striking similarities to the blood libel conspiracy featured in Nazi propaganda.

Antisemitism also plays a key role in covid conspiracies, perhaps explaining the presence of anti-vaxxers at anti-trans protests. However, the two movements are also united by fixations on contamination, naturalness, and bodily purity. Fear of injecting a vaccine can easily morph into a fear of injecting hormones.

Enter transhumanism. Covid conspiracists have declared that the World Economic Forum (the billionaire organisation centred in the “Great Reset” conspiracy) “want[s] to redefine what it means to be human and determine for you your role and your future of being essentially a transhumanist cyborg integrated into this new control grid”. At the recent National Conservatism conference, self-styled “reactionary feminist” Mary Harrington railed against “transhumanist gender ‘affirmation’”. And mainstream gender critical author Helen Joyce has amplified the work of Jennifer Bilek, a figure who writes extensively about a perceived

intersection between “transgenderism”, transhumanism, and Judaism.

Whilst it is not clear how antisemitic and anti-trans ideologies will interact going forwards, there is a sense that continued mainstreaming of transphobia may channel antisemitism alongside it.

Since I downloaded this dataset, far-right figures such as Mark Collett have had their Twitter accounts suspended and PA has undergone a catastrophic split. We are yet to see how British fascism will be reforged and what this means for the trans liberation movement, but I think we can expect the far right to continue riding the wave of transphobia, mainstreaming a wider array of hate and further radicalising the anti-trans movement as they do so.

It is already abundantly clear that Posie Parker is no stranger to collaborating with the far right. And based on this analysis, figures such as James Esses and Graham Linehan may also serve as key far-right entry points into the anti-trans movement. Either way, the anti-trans movement has proven itself eminently capable of blocking trans rights with or without an alliance with the far right.

For more information on grassroots organising against transphobia, follow Transgender Action Block and Trans Safety Network.

Transgender

Open Source

Fascism

Anti Racism

Analysis



Written by **Ada Blockadia**

6 Followers

Follow



Recommended from Medium



 Jude Ellison S. Doyle 

 Anthony Eichberger in Prism & Pen

Category Crisis

Panics over detransitioners and the word “queer” show just how much we want life to...

🌟 · 8 min read · Jan 20

 1K  8  

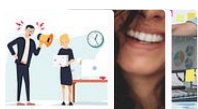
Gay Men Need To Shed Ourselves of ‘Purity Culture’

As long as consent, nurture, and respect are bulwarks—we can embrace liberating and...

🌟 · 6 min read · Jul 1

 1.1K  20  

Lists



Work 101

26 stories · 21 saves



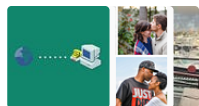
Icon Design

29 stories · 14 saves



New_Reading_List

174 stories · 16 saves



My Kind Of Medium (All-Time Faves)

38 stories · 28 saves





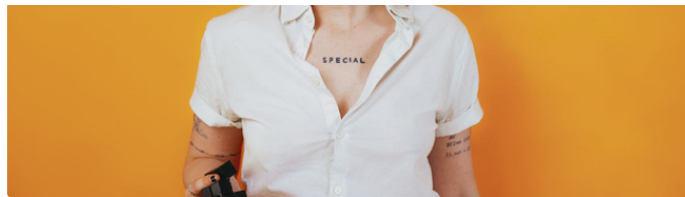
Unbecoming

How My Husband’s Sexuality Defined Our Marriage

And the lies I told myself

★ · 5 min read · May 17

6.9K 68



Kaylin Hamilton in Prism & Pen

Just a “Mentally Ill Male”? Why We Need to Talk About Cis-Ableism

Life at the intersection of transphobia, mental health stigma and neuro-ableism

★ · 7 min read · 6 days ago

844 10



Fay Wylde in Prism & Pen

‘Moms for Liberty’ Are Neo-Nazis With Wigs and Lipstick

The ‘moms’ have been coopted and infiltrated by hate groups using them as a...

★ · 9 min read · 5 days ago

2.5K 32



Eva Grape in Heart Affairs

One Month, No Sex— What It Taught Me About My Marriage.

Five lessons anyone married should know.

★ · 7 min read · May 23

3.6K 71

[See more recommendations](#)

[Help](#) [Status](#) [Writers](#) [Blog](#) [Careers](#) [Privacy](#) [Terms](#) [About](#) [Text to speech](#) [Teams](#)