

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

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Abstract: *This study investigates the development of eschatological discourse within an online community during a major societal crisis. While previous research has linked eschatology to crisis, few studies have examined its discursive and temporal dynamics during specific crises. Focusing on eschatological posts related to COVID-19 on 4chan's "politically incorrect" board, we identify prominent eschatological topics and trace their evolution before, during, and after the initial US lockdown in 2020. Our analysis reveals a marked surge in eschatological activity during the pandemic, supporting the association between crisis and eschatological discourse. Using topic modeling, co-occurrence analysis, and close readings of exemplary posts, we identify recurring themes including disaster, economy, health, resources, moral decline, religion, and conspiracy. A longitudinal analysis reveals a three-phase pattern: before lockdown, discourse centers on war, disaster, and foreign threats (e.g., China); during lockdown, it shifts to immediate concerns about health, economy, and moral decline; and after lockdown, it moves toward abstract topics concerning evil and conspiratorial interpretations of the political landscape. This pattern suggests a discursive adaptation process, in which eschatological narratives transition from worst-case imaginaries to proximate crisis experiences, and ultimately toward ideological reinterpretation. These findings demonstrate how eschatological meaning-making on /pol/ serves not only to predict and explain crises, but also to sustain oppositional group identity. The study contributes to a deeper understanding of how eschatological discourse adapts over time in response to societal events. Future research is needed to explore the broader applicability of our findings for understanding a general relationship between eschatology and crisis.*

Keywords: *Crisis; Eschatology; Far-right ideology; Covid-19; 4chan; Discursive adaptation*

INTRODUCTION:

Beliefs about the impending *end times* are commonly observed in response to major societal crises. Economic deprivation,

disease outbreaks, natural disasters, and climatic shifts have all been associated with eschatologically charged revolutionism and religious awakenings throughout Western history (Cohn, 1970 [1957], pp. 281-286;

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Jenkins, 2021, p. 5; Lerner, 1981). Similarly, the major conflicts of the 20th century sparked a resurgence of eschatological theology (Case, 1918; Schwöbel, 2000; Walls, 2007). The 21st century too has seen its fair share of conflicts and crises, with the COVID pandemic arguably towering over the others in terms of scale. Reminiscent of the bubonic plague outbreak in the mid-1300s, the COVID pandemic rolled over the world, first as rumors, then as a concretely experienced calamity (Jenkins, 2021, p. 65). Such epidemics appear to be particularly fertile grounds for eschatological ideas that enable communities to interpret and address uncontrollable threats, foster solidarity, and coordinate collective action, e.g., by postulating the future defeat of evil, the end of suffering, and a better world to come (Lietaert Peerbolte, 2021; Petersen & Geertz, 2023). To understand how epidemic outbreaks like the COVID-19 pandemic impact eschatological discourses, we map and track eschatological discussions in a large corpus of user-generated data before, during, and after the initial lockdown period in 2020.

While historians have provided invaluable theoretical perspectives on the general relationship between societal crisis and eschatological discourse (e.g., Cohn, 1970; Jenkins, 2021), such accounts are predominantly characterized by attempts to explain religious upheavals retrospectively by examining societal or ecological conditions driving recorded eschatological activity. Based on historical material, authored often by influential eschatological orators or church- and state authorities, these top-down approaches remain temporally removed from unfolding crisis situations and are thus largely insensitive to the real-time discursive processes occurring at lower levels of society. We know,

therefore, little about what eschatological crisis discourse actually contains. In reality, other important topics or references, such as the availability of basic resources or the use of other eschatologically relevant narrative traditions, may display shorter trend patterns and thus remain unregistered in the historical record. Accessing these low-level discursive tendencies and unfolding the details of crisis-induced eschatological discourse necessitates a bottom-up approach with a high level of detail.

Likewise, another empirically understudied matter is the temporal dynamics of eschatological discourse. It is commonly held that eschatological discourse, initially driven by highly enthusiastic eschatological interpretations, is an inherently fragile phenomenon bound to morph into a more stable form of political ideology or individualized soteriology (Weber, 1972 [1921], p. 315; Worsley, 1970 [1957], p. 294). While this may be true, an empirical understanding of exactly how the eschatological discourse transforms and stabilizes over time will require high-resolution longitudinal data. The partial relocation of the everyday discursive activity of “ordinary people” onto social media platforms and online political discussion boards offers a new and unique opportunity to map and track how eschatological narratives are invoked, adapted, and sustained in online discourse during periods of societal crisis. The question, then, is where to find such material?

Sociologists and historians have noted that the appeal of eschatological narratives is particularly strong within oppositional communities, within which members perceive themselves as marginalized relative to the majority (Cohn, 1970 [1957]; Hobsbawm, 1978 [1959]; Jenkins, 2021, p. 17; Lanternari, 1963 [1960]; Worsley,

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1970). For the opposition, eschatological narratives are not just used to cope with perceived marginalization, but are also used to reinforce group identity by framing members and representatives of the majority as malevolent conspirators or moral degenerates threatening an idealized way of life. This inherently political dimension of eschatology, epitomized by the Antichrist's spreading dominion or the promiscuity of the *Whore of Babylon*, has motivated a continuous production of eschatological interpretations of cultural and political figures, institutions, and technologies (Fuller, 1996; Jenkins, 2003; Knowles, 2018; Thomas & Zhang, 2020). As sociological research indicates, eschatological interpretations of the socio-political environment appear to thrive particularly well in conservative Christian groups and on the far right more generally (Harding, 1994; Kaplan, 1997; Kaplan & Weinberg, 1998; White, 2001). Here, eschatology serves both as a means of consolidating group identity in opposition to mainstream society and as what Harding describes as a "narrative mode of *knowing history*," through which "current events and the daily news [become] composed of (...) signs that the world is approaching the end of human history" (Harding, 1994, p. 14; 19).

Today, the construction and proliferation of far-right ideology and oppositional narratives predominantly exist as an online phenomenon. One of the most popular far right oppositional platforms, the infamous 4chan /pol/ board, is littered with eschatological narratives of various kinds; from novel, platform-specific eschatologies (e.g. the impending civil war, or, *boogaloo*), to reproductions of well-known narratives derived from, for instance, the Christian apocalyptic tradition (Petersen & Baun, Forthcoming). Being a self-proclaimed discussion board for "news, world events,

and political issues" (Anonymous, 2017), the 4chan /pol/ board constitutes, in many ways, a contemporary online version of what Harding described: Users are highly preoccupied with reporting on and interpreting societal crises, such as the COVID pandemic, attempting to understand them within existing far-right ideological, religious, and cultural frames. This collective endeavor is characterized by heated discussions, sensationalism, and controversial language use, all shaped by platform-specific affordances incentivizing controversy, engagement, and relevance (Bernstein et al., 2011; Bovan & Mikašinović-Komšo, 2024; Nagle, 2017; Tuters & Hagen, 2020). 4chan /pol/ is thus an ideal place to study *in detail* crisis-induced eschatological discourses and their longitudinal developments during a widespread societal crisis.

In this study, we examine the eschatological activity during the COVID-19 crisis on the 4chan /pol/ board. In brief, we apply a combination of topic modeling techniques, close reading, and longitudinal co-occurrence analysis to answer three important questions: 1) Was the COVID-19 crisis characterized by increased eschatological activity? 2) What are the main topics in COVID-related eschatological discourse? 3) How do different kinds of eschatological topics evolve before, during, and after COVID-19 came to the US in 2020?

METHODS

Data collection

To locate and collect eschatologically relevant data on 4chan /pol/, we must first identify the dominant eschatological framework in the American cultural context, as this shapes how "the end" is imagined, referenced, and discussed. In a Western context, the primary source for popular eschatology remains the Christian

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apocalyptic literature, particularly the *Book of Revelation*. Literal readings of this text, propagated by premillennialist theology, arguably constitute the dominant framework by which “the end” is imagined in contemporary Western culture and imagination (e.g., Lindsey’s *Late Great Planet Earth* (1970) or the wildly popular *Left Behind* franchise). Sociological data support the popularity of Christian eschatology. A recent poll by Pew Research Center suggests that 40% of US adults agree with statements that humanity is currently living in the end times, and 10% of the population expects the literal return of Christ during their lifetime (Diamant, 2022). While the Book of Revelation originally presents a complex narrative saturated by dramatic visions, esoteric imagery, and a vivid array of eschatological agents, centuries of popular reception have distilled its core storyline into a simple and widely recognized battle between good and evil: The end of the world is marked by the spread and dominance of evil, manifesting in catastrophic events such as wars, epidemics, and natural disasters. This culminates in the rise of a powerful figure—commonly identified as the Antichrist—who deceives and corrupts humanity, leading to moral and societal decay. At the height of evil’s dominion, Christ returns to defeat the forces of evil in a climactic battle, after which the living and dead are judged, and a new heaven and earth are established. Premillennialist interpretations also often include the “rapture,” a dramatic extraction of righteous Christians before the end times’ catastrophic events begin.

To isolate this eschatological narrative on 4chan /pol/, we adopted a query-based data collection approach aimed at capturing eschatologically relevant posts. Utilizing the 4CAT data capturing and analysis toolkit (Peeters et al., 2021), we developed

a word list for the query input containing both Christian eschatological expressions (*second coming*; *judgement day*; *Armageddon*) and more commonplace references to an eschatological period (*apocalypse*; *end times*, “*the end is near*”). The list was specifically designed to identify posts referencing a future eschatological period and/or future eschatological events while leaving other eschatologically themed expressions (e.g., *antichrist* or *whore of Babylon*) undetermined during data collection. This approach ensured that the captured posts were eschatologically relevant while allowing space for other narrative elements to emerge organically from the data. After an initial round of data collection, the dataset was reviewed to assess the relevance of the selected terms and to determine whether additional expressions commonly used on 4chan’s /pol/ board could enhance the detection of well-established eschatological content. For instance, *tribulation* and *rapture*—both terms primarily associated with premillennialist beliefs about the catastrophic period preceding Christ’s second coming (tribulation) and the removal (rapture) of “true Christians” before, during, or after the tribulation—were initially absent from the list but were added after inspection. Conversely, the proverbial trigram “the end is near” was removed after review, as its broad applicability extended beyond eschatological discourse. Following this refinement process, a final expert-curated list was established, consisting of the following terms: *apocalypse*, *end times*, “*end times*,” *Armageddon*, “*second coming*,” “*judgment day*,” *rapture*, and *tribulation*. After data collection, the dataset was preprocessed to ensure textual consistency and reduce noise. First, domain-specific stopwords (*anon*, *pol*,

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thread, *kek*) were added to SpaCy's default stopwords list. Each post was then tokenized, lemmatized, and filtered to remove stopwords, URLs, references to other posts, and other semantically irrelevant numerical strings. To optimize processing, posts with fewer than five words were excluded, and duplicate or empty entries were removed. The resulting dataset consists of 197,987 posts containing eschatological references over the span of eight years, from January 1, 2015, to December 31, 2022. A subset was extracted to conduct targeted analysis of the COVID-19 period (91,221 posts from January 1, 2019, to December 31, 2021). Note that even after the removal of duplicates, further inspection of the COVID subset revealed groups of near duplicates. To locate and remove these for our analysis of COVID-related eschatological posts, we employed a MinHash Locality Sensitive Hashing (LSH) algorithm to form groups based on content similarity. Groups with more than ten members were flagged as large duplicates, and all posts in these groups were removed from the dataset to retain only unique or less-frequently repeated content, leaving the final dataset at 90,197 eschatological posts in the Covid period.

Data analysis

Data analysis was conducted in three steps, each targeting distinct questions pertaining to 1) the relationship between eschatological discourse and COVID-19 relative to the general activity on the platform, 2) the content of eschatological discourse, and 3) the longitudinal distribution of this content.

Step 1: Comparing eschatological activity with overall 4chan's /pol/ activity. To examine the general relationship between eschatological activity and societal crises, we first compared the time-series of eschatological

posts with the overall posting activity on 4chan's /pol/ board. For this purpose, we normalized the eschatological post rate using overall post-rate data from 4stats API (the API access has in the meantime been closed, but we have made the post rate data available in the repository, see section on data availability). The resulting plot visualized in a monthly time series (Figure 1) shows how the ratio of eschatological activity on 4chan's /pol/ board does not follow directly from the overall platform trends.

Step 2: Mapping the topics related to COVID-eschatology. To map the eschatological topics specifically related to the COVID-19 crisis, we reduced the period of interest to cover three phases of the COVID crisis:

Phase 1 (December 31, 2019 – February 26, 2020) represents the pre-lockdown period, which spans from the initial reporting of COVID-19 by Chinese officials to the first recorded instance of the virus spreading in communities within the United States (WHO, 2024).

Phase 2 (February 26, 2020 – May 15, 2020) captures the lockdown period, beginning with the initial spread of the virus and extending to the first state-level lifting of restrictions and lockdown policies (Moreland et al., 2020).

Phase 3 (May 15, 2020 – December 31, 2021) marks the post-lockdown period, running up until late 2021, when over 70% of the U.S. population had received at least one dose of a COVID-

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19 vaccine, and vaccination rates began to plateau (Pariseault, 2021).¹

These phases provide a general framework focused on the initial onset of the COVID-19 crisis in the US and the subsequent normalization period. As such, the phases serve as a simplified temporal segmentation rather than a comprehensive representation of the dynamic and ongoing nature of the pandemic. The entire 3-year data window resulted in a subset of 91,221 posts containing eschatological references from January 1, 2019, to December 31, 2021.

We then devised a multi-component analytical approach: First, we employed BERTopic to identify the most salient topics within the COVID subset. BERTopic produces highly interpretable topic representations due to its utilization of Class-based Term Frequency-Inverse Document Frequency (c-TF-IDF) data, a technique for extracting the most distinctive terms at the topic level by treating each topic, generated based on embedding similarities, as a single aggregated unit. Unlike standard TF-IDF, which calculates term importance based on how frequently a word appears in an individual document (*term frequency*) relative to a group of documents (*document frequency*), c-TF-IDF computes term significance across clusters of documents, ensuring that the most characteristic words for each topic are emphasized while downweighing terms common across multiple topics (Grootendorst, 2022).

To further ensure that the eschatological posts in that period were related to COVID-19, we filtered the dataset based on a co-

occurrence analysis leveraging the c-TF-IDF data from the topic modeling to specifically examine the co-occurrence of salient topic terms alongside terms referring to the pandemic. These references were derived from the COVID-topic identified in the topic modeling (see appendix) and include common-place references (*covid*, *covid-19*, *corona*, *virus*, *coronavirus*) alongside more platform-specific or critical expressions like *flu* and *coronachan*, the latter referring to a popular 4chan meme depicting an Anthropomorphic, deity-like version of the COVID-19 virus (often in the form of a manga-style female with bat wings). To avoid a skewed data representation due to overrepresented query terms, we filtered out eschatological terms specifically used during data collection. Salient terms co-occurring with COVID-related terms were clustered using Louvain community detection, which were, in turn, manually merged and labeled based on semantic similarity assessments (Figure 2).

Step 3: Tracking longitudinal developments of eschatological topics related to COVID-19. To examine the longitudinal development of the clustered topic items co-occurring with references to the COVID-19 pandemic, we first aggregated weekly co-occurrence data for each cluster and visualized these in time-series plots for visual inspection (Figure 3). In order to investigate how particular topics developed before, during, and after the lockdown period, the co-occurrence frequencies were categorized into three distinct phases defined by overall COVID-19 developments in the US (see section

¹ These phases provide a general framework focused on the initial onset of the COVID-19 crisis and the subsequent normalization period. They emphasize broad transitions, such as the pre-lockdown, lockdown, and post-lockdown stages, without accounting for the nuances of later developments,

such as the reintroduction of restrictions, localized outbreaks, the emergence of new virus variants, or other fluctuating parameters. As such, the phases serve as a simplified temporal segmentation rather than a comprehensive representation of the dynamic and ongoing nature of the pandemic.

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above). Within each phase, raw frequencies were normalized by dividing the activity of each cluster (c) by the total activity for that phase (p), enabling proportional comparisons across clusters:

Normalized activity for c in p = raw activity for c in p / all activity in p

These normalized values were then used to rank clusters within each phase based on their proportional dominance, highlighting their relative importance during each phase (Figure 4). Finally, each cluster was assigned to a category corresponding to the phase in which it exhibited the highest normalized activity compared to its activity in other phases, providing a phase-specific categorization of clusters based on their most dominant phase (Figure 4). Scripts and datasets are available at the data repository (see data availability section).

RESULTS

Eschatological activity time-series

The initial analysis of the relationship between eschatological activity and overall activity on 4chan /pol/ yields two important insights: First, we observe that eschatological activity appears to be distinct from overall platform activity. The largest spikes in the overall activity coincide with the two latest US election periods (late 2016; late 2020), reflecting the platform's general preoccupation with US politics. The eschatological activity, however, shows a different trajectory, suggesting a relative independence from the general political discourse on 4chan. Second, we find that eschatological activity clearly peaks during the first half of 2020, coinciding with the period around the COVID-19 lockdown. From a purely frequency-based perspective, then, these findings appear to support a general association between eschatological discourse and the Covid pandemic.

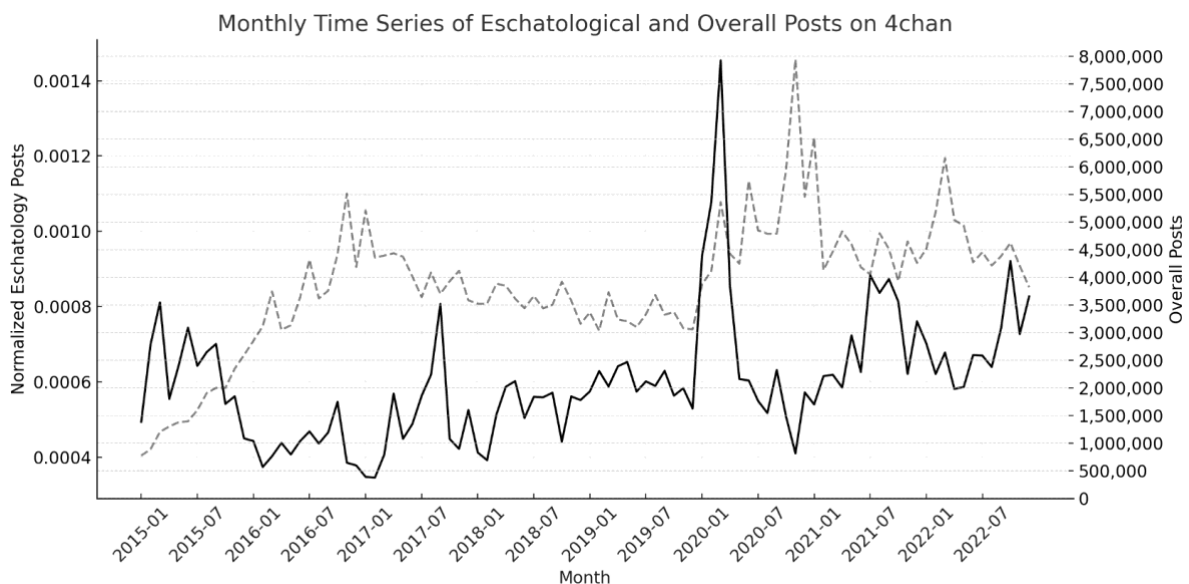


Figure 1: Time series illustrating the frequency of posts containing eschatological expressions. The dashed line (right y-axis) represents total user activity per month on 4chan's /pol/ board, while the solid line (left y-axis) shows the normalized frequency of eschatological posts relative to total posts. Note that the two lines are not directly comparable. The figure highlights two key observations: (a) eschatological posts do not mirror the overall activity trends on /pol/, and (b) eschatological expressions were particularly prominent during the COVID-19 pandemic period.

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Mapping COVID-eschatological topics on 4chan/pol/: a c-TF-IDF-based co-occurrence analysis

The c-TF-IDF-based co-occurrence analysis offers detailed insights into the most salient themes specifically related to the pandemic. Drawing on close readings of representative posts, we outline each of the topic clusters that co-occur with references to COVID-19, ranked by salience and illustrated with concrete examples. For an overview of topics, co-occurrence clusters, and key examples, see the supplementary

material (Appendix, tables 1; 2). It is important to note that these clusters are densely interconnected (see between-entity co-occurrence edges in Figure 2), indicating that many posts reference multiple eschatological themes, both in connection to and independent of the COVID pandemic. Although presented as distinct for analytical purposes, the following topics should be understood as interacting clusters of thematically related discourse, with which users engage pragmatically to construct shared interpretations of the ongoing crisis.

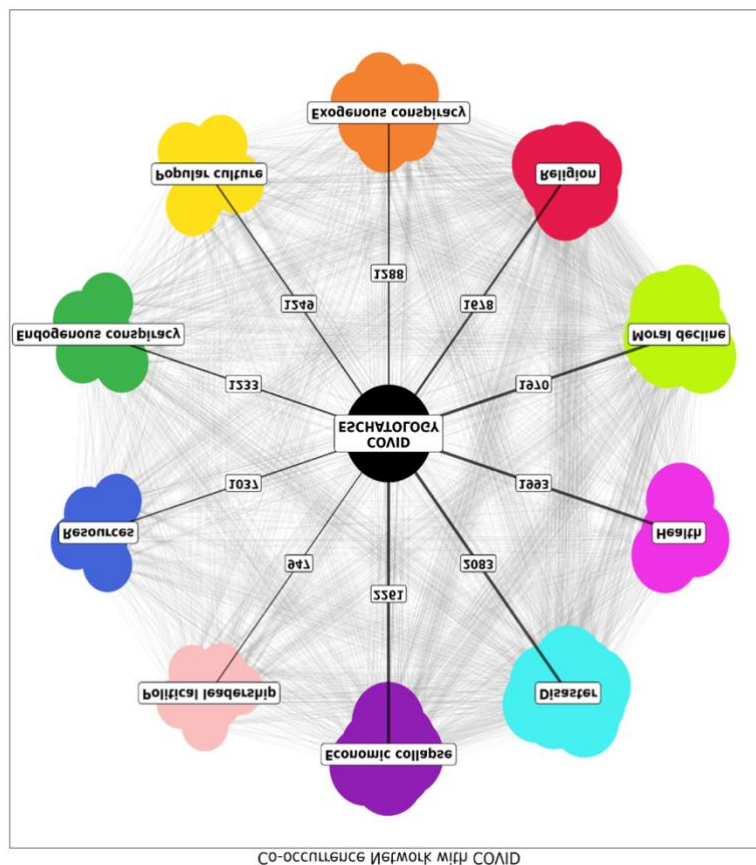


Figure 2: Co-occurrence network illustrating the ten most central topics in COVID-related eschatological posts: Economic collapse; Disaster; Health; Moral decline; Religion; Conspiracy (exogenous and endogenous); Popular culture; Resources; and Political leadership. Clusters are arranged in clockwise order, with descending total co-occurrence weight relative to 'COVID,' (indicated by edge thickness). The network is derived from a co-occurrence analysis of COVID-related terms (covid, covid-19, corona, virus, coronavirus, flu).

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Economic collapse. The most popular theme in eschatological discussions related to the COVID-19 pandemic concerns its economic impact, both locally and globally. A significant portion of these discussions focuses on the job market, with some incorporating personal accounts of unemployment.

“ I lost my job to [derogatory slur directed at people of color], my friends all moved on thanks to fucking lockdowns, country is going to shit thanks to globohomo’s [corporate, political and cultural elites believed to promote monoculturalism and one-world-governance, Ed.]. I have no girlfriend. I have no life. I have no future. (...) Now the apocalypse is right around the corner, and I couldn’t be happier.” (Anonymous user, April 2021)

The topic is, however, dominated by broad economic concerns regarding the potential for widespread societal or civilizational collapse, either as a direct consequence of the actual disease or as part of a malevolently orchestrated and controlled undoing of current societal structures, as observed in this example:

“The Black Horse, Famine, comes second when the globalist economy crumbles and the supply lines of modern civilization collapse. The Black Swan event has already occurred, the markets have to catch up to reality, but so much fiat money is being pumped into the system to hold this back, for now.” (Anonymous user, February 2020)

Disaster. The second most salient topic cluster centers on discussions linking the COVID-19 pandemic to a broader array of historical, contemporary, and potential future crises, including climate change,

plague, famine, and nuclear war—the latter often framed through concerns about escalating aggression from Russia and North Korea. References to biblical passages describing widespread catastrophe are particularly common and serve to establish biblically sanctioned connections between the pandemic and other global crises:

“For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places. All these are the beginning of sorrows.” (Matthew 24:7-8). >Coronavirus >Ebola >Climate change, uncontrollable wildfires in Australia >Many wars and conflict in Mid East, North Africa, Central Africa >Iran vs USA war rumours, would shut down oil deliveries from the Gulf region >Pakistan vs India war rumours >Many more potential flashpoints for conflict (Ukraine, South China Sea, North Korea) (...) *All the signs of the end times are here anons. Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is coming back VERY soon.”* (Anonymous user, February 2020)

Health. Unsurprisingly, one of the most salient topics centers on health-related concerns, including the capacity of healthcare systems, the impact of sanitary guidelines, and disease mortality. Symptomatic of the general discourse surrounding COVID-19 on 4chan /pol/, and as the example below illustrates, such discussions often exhibit a dual tendency to both downplay the severity of the disease itself and to emphasize the broader systemic vulnerabilities exposed by the pandemic. Rather than focusing on the direct health consequences of COVID-19, the user positions the virus as one component within a larger narrative of

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societal collapse, linking globalization, health, and cascading global crises into a unified vision of civilizational decline:

“Here is our future: Every 15-30 years, a new highly infectious disease blasts its way around the world and becomes endemic. Healthcare will struggle to keep up as costs grow, number of patients rises faster than modern hospitals can treat them, and the global economy will be impacted more and more by the effects of widespread illness (...). It's these mild sicknesses like flu and coronavirus that we should fear. The conclusion is obvious. Globalization is going to drag the life expectancy back by 10 or 15 years this century. Combined with this germ apocalypse, climate change, war, political instability, and every other danger to our civilization, we will quietly revert to the 19th century in terms of technology and quality of life. You're going to see the start of this in your lifetime.” (Anonymous user, March 2020)

In another example, a user expresses very clearly the discrepancy between what is considered an overexaggerated mainstream reaction to the pandemic and the user's personal experience of the situation:

“Apocalypse on TV; peace and quiet in the hospital near me; old people are out in parks playing chess and shit; I had ""covid"" allegedly and it felt like nothing. In the last 2 years I think I wore a mask for a cumulative of 3 hours” (Anonymous user, Oct 2021).

Moral decline. Another popular topic is primarily concerned with identity-political

issues, particularly regarding race, gender, and sexuality. Aligning with the general reactionary discourse on 4chan /pol/, the increasing diversification of individual identities is interpreted by /pol/ users as indicative of a more general process of moral and ethnic degeneration, in which Western societies are seen as increasingly deviating from idealized norms. This sentiment frequently manifests through references to “clown world,” an expression used to convey the perceived absurdity and meaninglessness of contemporary society (see Petersen & Baun, forthcoming). COVID-19 restrictions and the general panic surrounding the pandemic are, in this context, perceived as absurd and yet another indication of this declining societal tendency:

“All that will be left will be bots, who never knew they were signing their souls and sovereignty over, and will never realize they were injected with antibodies for a new virus that would be released on the rest who wouldn't comply. (...) white men have been armed to the fucking teeth for 150+ years and haven't done shit about the decline. Bring on the apocalypse” (Anonymous user, Sep 2020).

Religion. As expected, we find a cluster of references to religious agents and concepts, mostly derived from or relating to the Christian apocalyptic tradition (e.g., God, Christ, Satan, Antichrist, Mark of the Beast, Evil). This topic constructs a strongly dualistic framework, in which COVID-19 and state-mandated vaccination programs are discussed as manifestations of biblical prophecies. A particularly recurrent narrative involves the interpretation of vaccine mandates as the fulfillment of the Mark of the Beast prophecy from the Book of Revelation (Revelation 13:16–17):

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“The Covid gene therapy injection is the Mark of the Beast. Anyone who takes it will be damned to hell for all eternity. Satan acts as a spiritual attractor, through which all of the fragments of God that chose to do evil can be destroyed or separated from God forever. When this harvest, or refiner's fire, is complete, only the parts of God willingly chosen to love him and follow his commandments will remain, rendering God only infinite Goodness, forever. Anyone who loves the world is not of God, and those who are of God do not love the world. It is better to die than to take the Mark of the Beast. Only Jesus Christ can save you from your destiny in the lake of fire. Repent! For the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.” (Anonymous user, Dec 2021).

Conspiracy (endogenous/exogenous). We find two topics concerned with perceived threats to an imagined ‘ingroup’, articulated in the form of conspiratorial narratives claiming that powerful exogenous or endogenous influences with malevolent intentions are behind the manufacturing and dissemination of the virus or of COVID vaccines. The endogenous conspiracy cluster includes items such as *jews*, *elite*, *leftists*, and *vaccines*. It draws heavily on an already prevalent conspiratorial culture on 4chan /pol/, in which it is commonly claimed that a Jewish or communist cabal, intimately related to both the cultural and political elite in the Western world, is secretly orchestrating major societal events and tendencies, including the COVID-19 pandemic:

“There is a Great Reset plan that is in play right now. (...) The ruling elite and billionaires are all in on it. COVID-19 and its variants are one

of the weapons being used to break us down and dissolve our laws and freedoms. Every facet of life has been bribed and paid for. MSM [Main Stream Media, ed] and journalism is at an all-time low. It's never been so washed up, biased, and bought up to tell such lies ever in the history of mankind. (...) I think we are playing out the end times from the bible. (...) We are at a catastrophe right now.”

Another example shows how the perceived discrepancy between alarmist mainstream policies and individual crisis experience constitutes a segway for conspiratorial speculations about the “real purpose” of the pandemic, to which unknowing individuals must “wake up”.

“IT'S A FUCKING NOTHINGBURGUER [an overly hyped event or situation that ultimately turns out to be insignificant] (...) If there is not a fucking zombie apocalypse outside my window and the police shooting the infected, there is no fucking reason for the world economy and society to eat itself alive trying to contain it. Say it with me: IT'S. JUST. A FLU. You dumb fucks are taking part in the biggest political hoax in history, an obvious ploy to start a world government (...). Nobody is actually sick, nobody is actually dying (...), people need to wake up. There is no money for food or rent anymore, government is printing trillions of dollars, and nobody will know what the fuck is going to happen after this crisis.” (Anonymous user, March 2020).

With its references to endogenous conspiracism, health, economy, and zombie apocalypse, this post exemplifies the highly

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interconnected nature of the identified thematic clusters. In contrast, the exogenous conspiracy cluster deals primarily with *external influences* claimed to cover up the origins and purpose of COVID-19 or wield it as a weapon against the US and the West in general. Discussions about exogenous influences center primarily on China, the Chinese Communist Party, and Russia, and are heavily influenced by well-established anticommunist tropes:

“It’s official. Coronachan is an economic bioweapon created by slanted commies because of trade. China will now halt all biomedical manufacturing and shipments to the U.S., which is like 90% of the supply. We will get far more overwhelmed than Italy. It’s time to deal with the communist scourge of the east...THE RED MENACE. Guarantee you this is only the beginning. Xi Jinping will be the herald of Gog and Magog. We are in the end times, boys.
(Anonymous user, March 2020).

Pop-culture. We also find a topic characterized by pop-cultural references, particularly to apocalyptic and disaster-related representations such as zombie movies, series, and games. This cluster appears in two distinct ways: In some instances, users simply engage in information-sharing, using the pandemic as an opportunity to discuss, for instance, their favorite zombie franchises. In other cases, pop-cultural disaster representations are interpreted as either eerie worst-case premonitions of near-future catastrophes or as manipulation techniques (so-called “psyops”) designed to prime the population to act in certain ways during malevolently orchestrated societal crises:

“For the past few years, it was cultivated in the masses’ minds the ‘zombie apocalypse’ thing. Zombie

apocalypse games, movies, series, etc., governments all around the world are facing social security system collapse due to the population getting older. Suddenly: Coronavirus. Stay at home, stop producing, stop living”
(Anonymous user, March 2020).

Resources. This cluster of posts consists of pragmatic discussions about access to essential supplies such as food, toilet paper, and fuel, as well as survivalist necessities like firearms and bunkers. The focus of this cluster spans widely, from discussions on the availability of everyday essentials to survivalist fantasies about how the pandemic and its economic and socio-political consequences will finally necessitate and legitimize emergency prepping and off-the-grid living:

I haven’t bought any masks. I did buy several cases of lighters for 43\$ each, cartons of cigs, bulk beans, rice, flour, and salt, some other stuff that keeps a long time. Corona Chan happened just in time. (...) I don’t know, I’m feeling pretty comfy, I say let the apocalypse begin.”

(Anonymous user, March 2020).

Political leadership. The last cluster concerns political leadership, in which users discuss pandemic developments in relation to the unfolding political landscape in the US. A particular concern is how the pandemic is supposed to be understood in light of the ongoing cultural and political conflicts between “lefties” and conservatives, Trump and the democrats, or “normies” and “based” individuals of the cultural opposition:

“World goes into lockdown >BLM riots and coup against Trump > COVID passports being rolled out.

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Is it just me, or does all of this seem very anti-Christian and end-times-like? (Anonymous user, Aug 2021).

Tracking the temporal dynamics of COVID-eschatological topics

By tracking co-occurrences longitudinally and plotting the observed topics on a timeline, we see distinct temporal trajectories of each topic. As shown in Figure 3, they appear to correlate with different phases of the pandemic: The first phase (the pre-lockdown phase) is dominated primarily by discussions relating the COVID-19 pandemic to other historical, contemporary, or potential crisis situations (*Disaster* topic) and exogenous conspiracy theories regarding the origins

and purpose of the virus. The observed spike occurred after the initial reports of COVID-19 by Chinese officials and before the first recorded communal spread in the United States. The second phase (the lockdown phase) is characterized by heightened activity in topics related to health and mortality discussions, as well as discussions concerning the economic consequences of the pandemic. The frequency of posts in this phase decreases around the time of the first state-level easing of restrictions, beginning a post-lockdown phase in which most topics decrease drastically in frequency (*health* and *economic collapse*), yet maintain a relatively stable frequency.

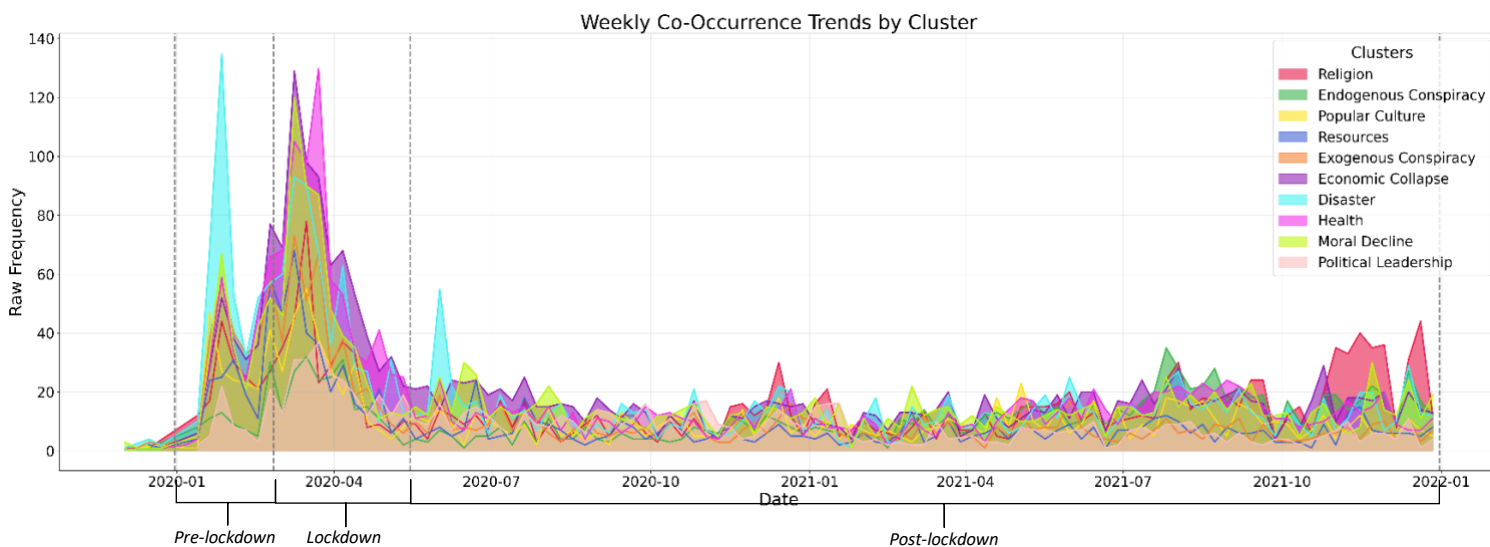


Figure 3: Temporal developments in cluster activity over the pandemic period. The figure presents raw weekly co-occurrence frequencies for all 10 clusters from December 1, 2019, to December 31, 2021.

To further explore the relationship between each of the three phases and the eschatological clusters, we categorized each cluster based on its proportional activity in each of the three phases (Figure 4). *Disaster*, *Exogenous conspiracy*, and, to a lesser extent, *Popular culture* and *Resources* exhibited their highest proportional activity relative to the other phases in phase 1 (pre-lockdown). These

topics were less prominent in phase 2, in which *Economy* and *Health* increased in proportional dominance. Finally, the post-lockdown phase (phase 3) is characterized by an increase in the proportional dominance of topics related to *Religion*, *Endogenous conspiracy*, and *Political leadership*. The time-series visualization of normalized co-occurrence frequencies aggregated at the phase-group level (Figure

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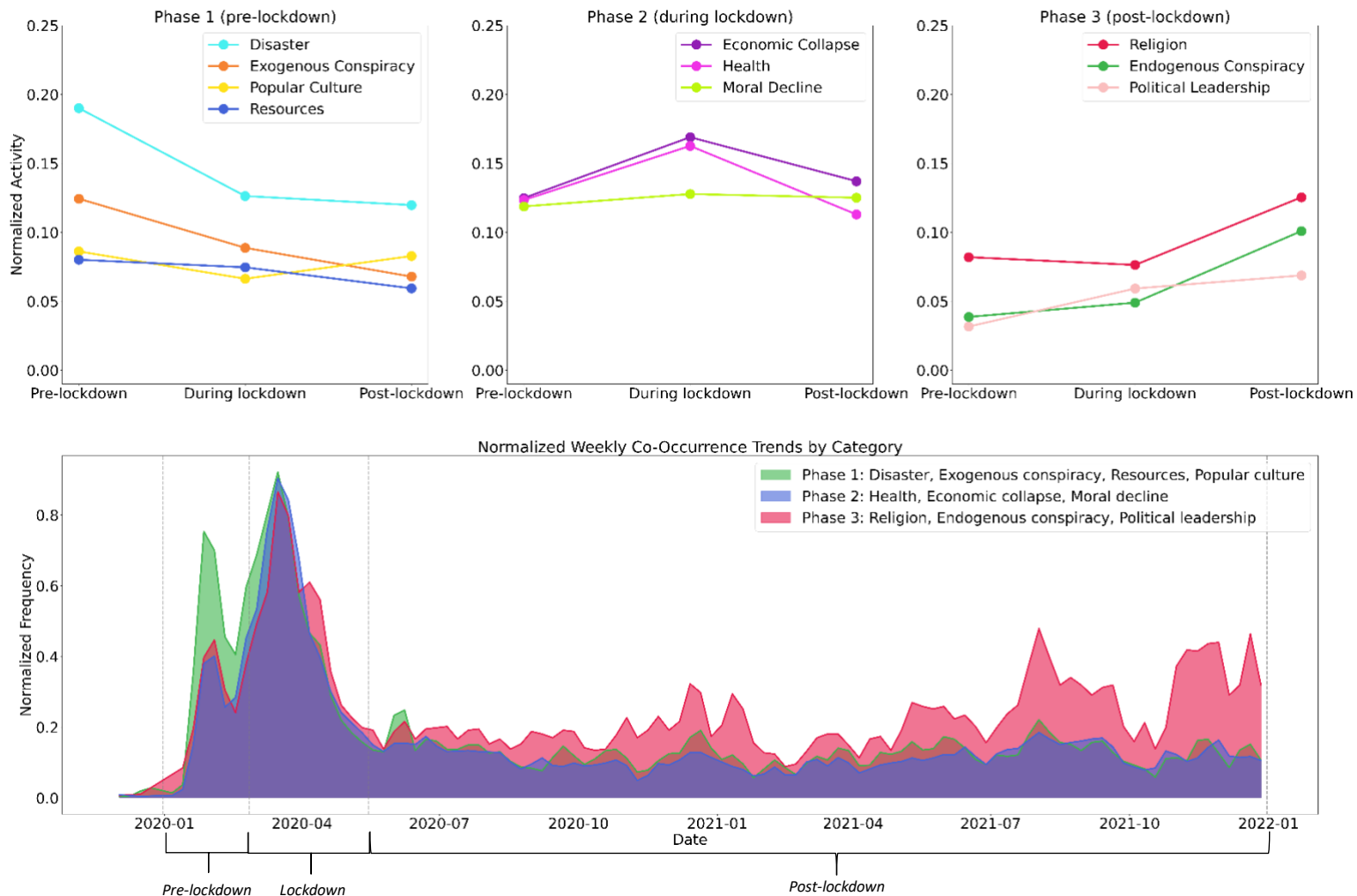


Figure 4: Combined visualization of trends in cluster activity across the initial phases of the COVID-19 pandemic. The top row presents normalized co-occurrence frequencies between entity-clusters (topics) and COVID expressions, grouped by the phase in which they exhibited peak normalized activity relative to their activity in other phases. Normalization was calculated within each phase by dividing each cluster's activity by the total activity across all clusters in that phase. The bottom row displays a time series plot of normalized weekly co-occurrence frequencies, aggregated based on the phase groups highlighted above.

4) highlights these discursive shifts, illustrating how each phase exhibits a distinct signature of topic proportions, even as clusters maintain some level of activity across all phases.

Discussion

Our findings support the general assumption that eschatological narratives tend to intensify in response to societal crises, specifically, in this case, the outbreak of COVID-19. On 4chan /pol/,

eschatological activity peaked during the early stages of the pandemic and appears largely decoupled from the platform's dominant political discussions (see Figure 1). This observation raises important questions about which specific aspects of a crisis are most likely to trigger eschatological engagement. The subsequent analysis identified several expected as well as underexamined aspects of eschatological crisis discourse related to COVID-19.

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*Enthusiasm, conspiracism, and
eschatological meaning-making*

First, we find that the COVID-related eschatological discourse on 4chan focuses on the economic consequences of the pandemic (Economic collapse). This supports previous findings that low-level eschatological sentiments thrive at the intersection of (experienced) material and social deprivation and acute social disruption (Cohn, 1970 [1957], p. 282). Importantly, concerns about the economic consequences of the pandemic are coupled with an increasingly skeptical attitude toward the severity of the pandemic itself, thus framing the economic consequences of exaggerated state-mandated lockdown policies as the actual eschatologically significant crisis. Second, we observe that COVID-eschatology is frequently associated with other forms of crisis, either based on *resemblance* (e.g. other disease outbreaks such as the bubonic plague), *causality* (e.g. COVID-19 leading to increased geopolitical tensions and, in worst case, nuclear warfare), *proximity* (e.g. COVID appears alongside other crises, such as climate crisis), or, more general associations based on shared symbolic value (e.g. COVID and climate change are both “hoaxes” and thus, to the trained eye, both indicative of the elite’s masterplan to gain global control). This supports previous observations that eschatological narratives often lend themselves to crisis interpretation by mirroring the intersectional nature of large-scale crises (Jenkins, 2021, pp. 7-12). Additionally, the salience of the *zombie apocalypse* trope identified in our analysis points to the role of disaster-themed popular culture as an available reservoir for constructing shared representations of large-scale crisis. As argued by horror researcher Mathias Clasen, zombie-apocalyptic fictions (as well as other pop-cultural representations

of disaster) may constitute appealing imaginative playgrounds for simulating behavioral strategies for worst-case scenarios (Clasen, 2010, 2017, 2019). The sustained salience of the zombie trope—both in the initial pandemic period and beyond—suggests its practical applicability and, more importantly, its cultural availability as a framework for simulating worst-case scenarios. Its salience alongside more conventional crisis representations highlights the pragmatic nature of eschatological discourse, in which users draw on a variety of relevant symbolic resources to construct and negotiate collective understandings of crisis.

While these primary concerns are unsurprising and constitute previously described aspects of eschatological crisis discourse, we find the focus on *local* and *individual* pragmatic concerns within many of the most articulated topics to be a salient, yet underexamined component of such discourses. Notably, users frequently express personal experiences—such as job loss, financial instability, personal health, and doubts about the severity of the disease based on one’s own experiences—alongside eschatological appraisals of the crisis. Similarly, topics such as resource availability and the necessity of individual self-preparation are particularly prevalent in the pandemic’s first phases, appearing not in isolation, but in tandem with broader and more general eschatological interpretations of the situation in its totality. While constituting perhaps unsurprising elements of debates regarding the consequences of a global, yet locally experienced, pandemic, we find the salience of individual-level perspectives within the explicitly eschatological discourse on /pol/ to constitute an overlooked element of crisis eschatology. One reason for the absence of such topics within historical accounts of crisis-induced eschatological activity is arguably due to

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the limited availability of data concerning individual-level crisis experience. The prevalence of individual-level perspectives points perhaps to a general meaning-making function of eschatological narratives. As described by psychologist Crystal Park (2010), individual meaning-making involves attempts to reconcile the situational meaning of specific experiences—stressful or disruptive ones—with an individual's broader global meaning structures. Such attempts at reconciliation of different levels of meaning are motivated by an urge to alleviate the psychological distress that arises from experiencing a discrepancy between situational and global meaning. On 4chan's /pol/ board, these meaning-making efforts unfold within a discursive environment shaped by, on the one hand, the board's dominant ethos of anti-establishment sentiment and hostility toward perceived mainstream norms, and, on the other, the broader cultural and political context of the American and Western Right, in which conspiratorial and eschatological interpretations of social and political developments are long-standing and culturally sanctioned. Within this environment, users seek to reconcile individual-level crisis experiences with dominant interpretational frameworks, giving rise to and traction to those frameworks that best accommodate current crisis developments.

This process is particularly evident in one of the primary points of contestation in the eschatological discourse, namely between eschatologically enthusiastic interpretations of the crisis and conspiracism. A considerable number of posts containing eschatological expressions use these to mock users perceived as excessively alarmist in their interpretation of unfolding sociopolitical events, while advocating a conspiratorial interpretation. These points of contestation exemplify in

many ways a contemporary online version of what the American historian Richard Landes (Landes, 2011, p. 37) has described as the *dynamics of the apocalyptic curve*: eschatologically enthusiastic interpretations of the environment, disruptive as they are to existing orders, inevitably provoke counter-narratives from "rationalizing" interlocutors seeking to uphold dominant interpretations and preserve established social structures. However, within the oppositional cultural environment of 4chan's /pol/ board, eschatological alarmism is not primarily countered by a defense of mainstream political consensus but rather by an alternative eschatological discourse rooted in /pol/'s prevailing ideology of anti-authoritarianism and conspiracism. In this context, the notion that societal crises hold latent transformative potential threatens to undermine the fundamentally pessimistic orientation toward the future that arguably constitutes one of the existential foundations of the platform. As Landes (2011) notes, such counternarratives are an integral part and central driver of eschatological culture and an important, yet often omitted, dimension to include in analyses of eschatology.

Positioning conspiracism as a counternarrative articulated in response to eschatologically enthusiastic positions offers a nuanced perspective to existing social-scientific explanations for the proliferation of conspiracism, particularly as it relates to the COVID-19 pandemic. Conspiratorial interpretations of the pandemic, it is argued, proliferated because the suddenness and scale of the COVID-19 crisis created an informational vacuum conducive to the proliferation of alternative and all-encompassing explanatory frameworks (Douglas, 2021; van Mulukom et al., 2022). Moreover, minimally regulated platforms like 4chan and similar sites often take center stage when

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accounting for the emergence of such alternative explanations (Bodner, 2020; Papakyriakopoulos et al., 2020; Shahsavari et al., 2020). Consistent with existing research, we find conspiracism to be a salient cluster in our analysis, thus supporting a general association between the pandemic and conspiracism on 4chan /pol/. As such, the pandemic may be understood primarily as an occasion to re-actualize existing conspiratorial narratives. For instance, where the popular *New World Order* (NWO) and Zionist Occupied Government (ZOG) conspiracy theories both enjoy stable and privileged positions within online conspiratorial milieus, the COVID-crisis, with its aggressive government policies, provides a fertile context for these to gain even more historical relevance and eschatological urgency. However, our analysis also indicates that conspiracy theories regarding COVID-19 as a malevolently planned event appear primarily as pessimistic *responses* to eschatological enthusiasm. As such, in the context of 4chan /pol/, they appear not only as interpretative models proliferating under conditions of informational ambiguity, but as discursive-strategic correctives deployed to regulate and realign the eschatological discourse in accordance with the board's dominant ideological orientation. This regulatory perspective on conspiracism points to the necessity of accounting for the discursive milieu in which conspiratorial postulates are uttered, which greatly determines their rhetorical function.

Our analysis provides additional nuances to the study of conspiracism by differentiating between exogenous and endogenous conspiracism and highlighting the longitudinal differences between these. Perhaps unsurprisingly, exogenous conspiracy theories related to COVID primarily target China and the Chinese Communist Party. This conspiracy thrives during the pandemic's early phase, even

before the lockdown of US states, when news about COVID-19 in both traditional and social media frequently co-occurs with references to China (i.e., the Trump administration's use of the label 'Chinese virus', underlining the virus's early entanglement within already strained geopolitical relations). In contrast, endogenous conspiracy theories primarily target familiar far-right antagonist figures and dominate the discourse *after* the initial lockdown period, particularly in response to the emergence of state-mandated vaccination programs. While exogenous conspiracies thrive in the chaotic media environment of the pandemic's early phase, the more stable and enduring endogenous conspiracy topic persists well beyond its highest peak, exhibiting greater residual activity across phases compared to its exogenous twin (see Figure 4). The temporal displacement between these two forms of conspiracism within the overall eschatological discourse points to how the pandemic is gradually embedded within the socio-political climate of the US as it develops into a locally experienced crisis. At the local level, the pandemic is re-ascribed to well-established antagonist figures of the far-right, such as the Democratic elite, globalists, and "the Jew," thereby aligning it with familiar points of contestation in far-right systemic critique—from so-called "PC culture" to anxieties about an ever-expanding deep state. By foregrounding this internal pluralism and its relationship to eschatological meaning-making, our analysis encourages a more differentiated understanding of far-right conspiracism and invites further inquiry into how various discursive forms interact, compete, and evolve in collective processes of negotiation during crisis situations.

The temporal dynamics of crisis eschatology

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Viewed in aggregate, our findings indicate a phase-like development of crisis eschatology on 4chan /pol/, where eschatological discourse evolves from an initial focus on potential worst-case scenarios to the articulation of experienced or disputed crisis effects, and eventually to increasingly abstract interpretations of the political and even metaphysical significance of the pandemic. These phase-like discursive developments underscore two major points. Firstly, they provide empirical backing of what Barkun termed the “improvisational nature” of eschatology (Barkun, 2013, p. 18): As multifaceted cultural constructs, eschatological narratives enable individuals and communities to synthesize diverse knowledge domains across levels of abstraction, from individual experiences of deprivation and alienation to geopolitical power struggles, and align them under a common temporal orientation: the future dissolution and/or transformation of society. As Sturm and Albrecht (2021) argue, it is precisely the capacity of eschatological narratives to unify disparate narrative traditions and political agendas that facilitates their proliferation during societal crises like the COVID-19 pandemic.

Secondly, our findings underscore the flexibility and adaptive nature of such narratives: In close dialogue with the continuous flow of information from traditional news sources and other user-based platforms, users on 4chan’s /pol/ meticulously track crisis developments and engage in collective negotiation processes. To this end, eschatological narratives constitute efficient and readily accessible vocabularies for discussing the significance of a crisis as it unfolds: they provide templates for simulating worst-case scenarios; a vocabulary for articulating individual deprivation and cultural despair; and act as integrative frameworks for

embedding crises within broader sociopolitical conflicts. In the case of COVID-19, our findings illustrate how, over time, yet relatively quickly, the pandemic transforms into a battleground for contesting political legitimacy, morality, and the overall trajectory of Western societies—concerns that are already pervasive within the general discourse on 4chan’s /pol/. These findings cast new light on the dominant temporal model of eschatological culture described in the introduction (Weber, 1972 [1921], p. 315; Worsley, 1970 [1957], p. 294). Rather than forming static models of the social and political milieu, eschatological narratives do indeed evolve over time. Yet, while seldom aligning with how the immediate future manifests, eschatological narratives are not merely adapted in response to eschatological failure. Rather, they are continuously reshaped in response to the evolving socio-political context through ongoing discursive negotiation. Far from being fleeting or inherently fragile, eschatological narratives endure as a stable discursive resource within online subcultures, offering users a flexible framework for making sense of societal disruptions and fulfilling different interpretative functions across various phases of crisis discourse.

We sum up the temporal dynamics of crisis eschatology in the following table, highlighting how crisis phases give rise to different forms of epistemic needs, which in turn shape distinct discursive developments and eschatological expressions. In response to the informational ambiguity in phase 1 (pre-peak), eschatological narratives serve as shared repertoires for establishing and discussing worst-case crisis models in an attempt to forecast potential trajectories of the crisis. As the crisis reaches phase 2 (peak), users seek to situate individual crisis experience within broader explanatory frameworks, leading to an

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evaluation of established models in light of newly gained information. In our study, this manifested in individual accounts of the multifaceted consequences of the crisis (economic and social deprivation, for instance), as well as articulations of an observed discrepancy between individual experiences and dominant crisis discourse (i.e., “it’s just a flu”). In phase 3 (post-peak), the crisis is further consolidated into established ideological frameworks, within which it is integrated with other events and situations as elements within overarching metanarratives. In our study, this

manifested as increased dominance of endogenous conspiracy theories, dualist religious interpretations, and a tendency to relate the COVID pandemic to political situations and figures. Besides functioning as interpretative tools for navigating the uncertainty of a widespread crisis situation, some explanatory models, particularly those pertaining to conspiracism, also play a regulatory role in maintaining the dominant discursive and ideological orientation of the /pol/ board.

	Phase 1: Pre-peak	Phase 2: Peak	Phase 3: Post-peak
Crisis development	Informational ambiguity	Individual experience	Normalization
Epistemic needs	Anticipation	Evaluation	Post-hoc explanation / integration
Discursive development	Worst-case scenarios	Pragmatic / personal accounts: negotiation of new explanatory models	Meta-narratives
Crisis Eschatology	<i>“It’s the pale horse - the end times are here!”</i>	<i>“it’s just a flu – the real apocalypse is the lockdowns killing our economy.”</i>	<i>“it’s a part of the cabal’s plan to reach world domination.”</i>

Table 1: Outline of eschatological discourse development across three phases of the COVID-19 pandemic. It highlights how crisis developments serve as conditions for particular epistemic needs, which in turn prompt the construction, proliferation, and negotiation of discursive models capable of addressing epistemic needs and maintaining the dominant discursive and ideological orientation.

Methodological reflections

Our use of user-generated data and computationally assisted analytical strategies to investigate the relationship between eschatological discourse and societal crises comes with several limitations. Our primary objective was to explore how well-established eschatological narratives were mobilized during societal crises, particularly the

COVID-19 pandemic. To this end, we prioritized conceptual clarity over exhaustive data retrieval and conducted a query-based data collection strategy. While this method effectively ensured the retrieval of posts explicitly engaging in eschatological discourse, it was less sensitive to implicit references or platform-specific adaptations that fall outside predefined terms. For a broader mapping of

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platform-specific eschatological expressions on 4chan's /pol/ board, see Petersen & Baun (2025).

Regarding data constraints, it is essential to consider the analytical consequences of 4chan's platform constraints, particularly regarding the lack of diachronically stable user identifiers and authentication (Bernstein et al., 2011). First, this makes it impossible to reliably track individual engagement across discussions over time, meaning we cannot empirically assess individual motivations for engaging in eschatological discourse beyond isolated textual content. This requires any inference about user intent to rely on theoretical interpretation rather than direct observation. Second, anonymity allows for potential content manipulation, where individuals, groups, or bots may artificially amplify themes. To mitigate this, we applied duplicate and near-duplicate filtering, though this remains an approximate correction given the platform's structure.

Finally, there are methodological caveats in combining topic modeling and co-occurrence analysis. We employed the "paraphrase-MiniLM-L6-v2" embedding model (Reimers, 2019), optimized for semantic similarity tasks but not specifically trained on 4chan discourse, leading to a high proportion of outliers (37% in the COVID-19 subset). This limitation was, however, partially mitigated by leveraging c-TF-IDF data to extract salient terms across the entire dataset as input for co-occurrence analysis, ensuring co-occurrence relationships were identified based on salient terms across all posts. This approach can be improved in future work by model fine-tuning or the use of LLM-based embedding models. Additionally, while co-occurrence networks can highlight key thematic associations, they do not capture syntactic or semantic dependencies

between entities. Future studies could address this limitation by incorporating relation extraction methods (see Shahsavari et al., 2020; Tangherlini et al., 2020).

CONCLUSION

In this study, we employed a mixed analytical approach consisting of topic modeling, longitudinal co-occurrence analysis, and close reading to investigate eschatological discourses on 4chan's /pol/ board during the COVID-19 pandemic. With offset in the existing literature, we investigated: 1) whether a general association between eschatological discourse activity and societal crisis could be supported; 2) what topics such crisis-induced eschatology is concerned with; and 3) how such topics develop over time in response to situational developments. In response to the first question, we find support for a general link between increased eschatological activity and societal crisis on 4chan /pol/. Beyond this general finding (question 2), we find that discussions surrounding *economic collapse* and *crisis interconnections* are central to COVID-19 eschatology, thus reinforcing dominant claims in the existing literature (Cohn, 1970 [1957]; Jenkins, 2021). *Conspiracism* also emerges as a prominent dimension of COVID-related eschatological discourse, consistent with findings from previous research. However, our findings suggest that it does not merely coexist with eschatological narratives as a parallel interpretative framework but often functions as a regulatory rhetorical strategy deployed to temper or redirect eschatological enthusiasm in accordance with the board's dominant ideological orientation. This regulatory function becomes particularly evident in the distinction between exogenous and endogenous conspiracism: while exogenous conspiracy theories targeting external actors, such as China dominate the

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early phase of the pandemic, endogenous conspiracies focusing on familiar far-right antagonists such as globalist elites gain prominence over time, embedding the crisis within familiar ideological structures and reinforcing /pol/’s oppositional worldview.

More surprising was the finding that users deploy an eschatological vocabulary to express surprisingly pragmatic and individual concerns regarding the potential, felt, and disputed consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. While such concerns are unsurprising elements of public discourse during widespread societal crises, they constitute relatively underexplored aspects of crisis-induced eschatological activity and point to the utility and analytical value of a high-resolution approach. As users compare the dominant crisis discourse with their own experiences, they are prompted to evaluate and ultimately participate in a renegotiation of existing interpretative models, giving rise to alternative models better fit to accommodate local or experienced conditions, crisis developments, as well as the ever-present need to maintain the community’s broader ideological orientation and oppositional identity. Whether the model presented in this study is applicable for understanding crisis-induced eschatology beyond the COVID-

19 pandemic and beyond the peculiar discursive environment of 4chan /pol/ remains an open question that warrants further investigation. While many other crisis situations necessarily follow similar trajectories (pre-peak → peak → post-peak), the model’s emphasis on a pre-crisis phase in which communities become conceptually, yet not experientially aware of a crisis, might limit its applicability to epidemiologic crisis situations in which a given crisis spreads at a certain pace that allow for information to travel ahead. An eschatological upheaval triggered by an earthquake, for instance, might exhibit an alternative developmental trajectory. Future research could test this framework against other crisis contexts to determine whether eschatological discourse consistently follows a similar trajectory. Comparative studies across different platforms and cultural contexts could also shed light on how variations in media ecosystems, ideological orientations, and socio-political conditions shape eschatological discourses in times of crisis.

Data and Code Availability

All datasets and Python scripts used in this study are openly available via Zenodo at <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.15390584>.

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APPENDIX

Table 1: List of topics identified in the COVID-19 subset

Themes	Topics with keywords	Size (posts)
Religion & Eschatology 21,814	'god_jesus_christ_come'	19830
	'armageddon_battle_soon_vacation'	807
	'horseman_horse_conquest_pestilence'	541
	'apocalypse_boomer_happen_year'	376
	'hare_krishna_rama_ryan'	146
	'dream_night_weird_wake'	114
Jews, Judaism & Israel 11,048	'jews_israel_jewish_jew'	11048
War and disaster 6,462	'happen_year_fuck_come'	2878
	'climate_change_warming_global'	1142
	'nuclear_nuke_weapon_war'	746
	'asteroid_earth_solar_sun'	663
	'alien_ufo_invasion_beam'	264
	'volcano_yellowstone_earthquake_eruption'	258
	'wasteland_city_live_escape'	208
	'war_civil_world_wwiii'	175
	'plague_bubonic_black_locust'	128

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Popular culture 3,882	zombie_movie_apocalypse_dead'	2643
	'movie_apocalypto_film_hollywood'	359
	'game_play_video_fallout'	355
	ork_thing_world_know'	290
	'music_song_listen_album'	235
Resources and survivalism 3,074	'food_eat_meat_buy'	1630
	'gun_ammo_rifle_weapon'	678
	'car_gas_fuel_diesel'	373
	'toilet_paper_buy_roll',	262
	'bunker_billionaire_zealand_underground'	131
Ideology and politics 2,879	'trump_vote_biden_election'	1681
	'hitler_nazi_adolf_trump'	1023
	'communism_communist_capitalism_marxist'	175
Identity and moral decline 2,719	'woman_man_female_child'	1406
	'white_race_africa_black'	666
	'nigger_jogger_kill_purges'	292
	'clown_world_clownworld_live'	194
	'boomer_generation_die_shit'	161

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Covid and vaccines 2,152	'vaccine_vaccinate_covid_vaccination'	722
	'virus_fuck_deadly_viral'	278
	'mask_wear_filter_gas'	273
	'coronavirus_corona_virus_crown'	234
	'corona_chan_dont_theyre'	191
	'virus_death_flu_rate'	168
	'vaccine_zombie_prion_disease'	154
	'flu_season_death_bad'	132
Economic and societal breakdown 2,016	'gold_silver_currency_value'	1503
	'job_work_unemployment_worker'	274
	'store_company_retail_close'	137
	'society_collapse_civilization_rebuild'	102
Geopolitics 1,754	'china_chinese_virus_fuck',	1153
	'russia_russian_putin_russians'	344
	'europe_france_european_country',	147
	'Brazil_venezuela_bolsonaro_brazilian'	110
Outliers	embed_world_fuck_shit	33320

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Table 2: List of COVID-related topics

Topics	Entities	Examples	Timestamp	Post ID
Economic Collapse	currency; job market; society; collapse; civilization; business; retail; economy	<i>“How do I find a job in the post apocalypse world post coronachan and financial collapse? I was thinking maybe scrapping TVs and monitors for silver and gold inside them? Or platinum from catalytic converters from abandoned cars? What kind of jobs are gonna exist on the truly free market post societal collapse?”</i>	Wed 11 Mar 2020 05:46:25	247468645
		<i>“The Book of Revelations is a MIRROR of the end times. It is meant to be describing things backwards. The Pale Horse, Death, comes first, and is coronavirus.. it will ultimately kill a quarter of the world's population. The Black Horse, Famine, comes second when the globalist economy crumbles and the supply lines of modern civilization collapse. The Black Swan event has already occurred, the markets have to catch up to reality, but so much fiat money is being pumped into the system to hold this back.. for now. The Red Horse, War, is the resultant world chaos. It will be WW3, but in the wake of the aforementioned events. The White Horse, a savior? No probably the antichrist.”</i>	Mon 03 Feb 2020 06:53:21	242139000
		<i>“The current situation is designed by bad actors specifically to destroy trust in the current system, which seems counterintuitive, but with the right moves, could allow them control over the inevitable collapse, and allow them to maintain their positions through inevitable chaos, the economy is their only god and every measure they take has been a domino effect of short term solutions with long term downsides requiring more of the same trying to maintain a failing system originally caused by an aging population. If they've decided the system will be self-destructing their best option is to try and ride the wave, rather than hold back the tide, which requires a show and some patsy. True rulership is held by high IQ individuals who genuinely think they are serving a higher purpose and see themselves as antihero</i>	Thu 25 Nov 2021 17:09:30	349399108

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

saviours doing what must be done for long term sustainability. True rulership is held by the genuinely religious and they're literally trying to force the hand of God to produce a genuine spiritual leader by manufacturing end times to reclaim what knowledge arises in such times. The vaccines are specifically designed to be dodgy in order to make sure the low trust individuals do not receive them, allowing them to be eliminated by the "true virus", which comes later."

"Avoid the vaccine. All you can do is to tell your friends and family and people you care for to avoid the vaccine. Whether they trust your advice or not is their choice. These are the end times bong! Satan's rule is soon coming to an end. Get right with God. They are going to target retirement pensioners, active welfare recipient boomers and welfare minorities the biggest burdensome groups on the UK economy. Of course if the US rises up in revolt, then that's your cue to crack the skulls of these modern day witch doctors! This is one of the main reasons why both internet media and legacy media companies quickly want to shut down any speech that goes against the COVID psyop narrative. The rich plan to inherit the earth in the west and COVID is their plan! Anyone or any institution that goes against the narrative will be traced tracked and sanctioned. Free speech, right to assembly, fundamental rights etc. have all been abolished because of the pandemic! The western ELITES unlike emperor XI have gone all in on genocide their own populations, there is no way out! The apocalypse is almost at hand!"

Thu 19 Nov 291821858
2020
22:37:00

"We're living after The Fall. You and I are the post-apocalyptic generation. Between 9/11, the wars in the Middle East, the Patriot Act, the explosion of technology and our entry into the "digital age," multiple iterations of economic collapse, Bush, Obama, Trump and Biden and the divide in American politics, "The Great Reset," the collapse of Western civilization, and this whole COVID mess, our world has fallen. There's no one great event to punctuate the transition, which is why the post-9/11 generation felt so long like a generation holding its breath and waiting for something to

Fri 02 Jul 328480220
2021
20:17:00

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

happen. But there have been many events that manifest as symptoms of the overarching, invisible downfall. It was slow. I can recall a time, vividly but blurrily, in the 1990's when things mostly weren't like this. The afterglow of the optimism of the 1980's thrived well into the 1990's, and the true children of the 90's were the big kids who were born in the mid-late 80's.

Children played outside. I experienced that, briefly, up until I was about 8. We got scraped up and bloody in the sun, we rode bikes around the neighborhood, and we knew and trusted our neighbors. Video games and TV existed, but we still played with physical toys. People weren't frightened and paranoid.

The first time I saw the adults around me truly frightened, as though things weren't under control, was 9/11. I lived in Las Vegas, so I don't have a story of it affecting me personally, but I saw the bodies falling from the towers live. Things rippled after that. Lots of people lost their jobs, or moved, or both. Homes were broken up. I had friends whose parents were in the Air Force. Lots of them. They all moved, or their parents and their older brothers and sisters went away. The house next door was empty and fell into ruin. The kids who were high-schoolers when I was a kid, a bunch of them went off to Iraq. Somehow everything got worse in Southern Nevada because something happened in New York City.”

*“>You are standing at the threshold of your own physical annihilation
Normally I would give a damn but...*

>I lost my job to lazy niggers

> my friends all moved on thanks to fucking lockdowns.

>my family is gone or too far away to personally see

>country is going to shit thanks to globohomo's

>nigs took all the local jobs

>I have no girlfriend

>I have no life

>I have no future

If it were any other time I might have given a damn, but now the apocalypse is right around the corner and I couldn't be happier.

Thu 08 Apr 315721166
2021
06:09:40

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

Disaster	science; “climate change”; nuclear; plague; Africa; pestilence; “the four horsemen”; crown; famine; war; civil war; humanity; earth	<i>“The Four Horsemen of the apocalypse symbolize the divine retribution that will come upon all of humanity before judgement day. Many sources state that the first harbinger of Last Judgement would be pestilence (plague), then war famine and death. The reason why this is important because usually in periods of great unrest war/unrest erupts first, but it seems that in our timeline judging by Corona virus the biblical prophesies are true. In not going to tell you to repent for your sins but I instead ask you to rejoice, for man will be relinquished from his prison which is that of earth's celestial hubris.”</i>	Sat 25 Jan 2020 04:24:16	240776052
		<i>“There will be multiple "horsemen". Here's MuttMerica: 10 million killed by Corona-Chan, 5 million dead from chimpouts, 10 million dead in FEMA camps, 5 million dead from civil war, 20 million dead from famine, 5 million dead from treatable diseases. 55 million dead, plus 30 million invaders will go back where they came from, plus America will Balkanize. Global side effects will include total financial collapse, Zombie Apocalypse in Africa due to us not feeding them or treating their Ebola, wars breaking out everywhere due to AmeriSharts not paying for the golems anymore. Bangladesh will be another Horseman because super high population density will encourage the virus to mutate into a strain which will be more contagious at the expense of a shorter asymptomatic time. This strain will kill 40% of victims. It will ultimately spread to every third world slum. China will be another Horseman because that if everyone has it in for them they might as well release all their other bioweapons, including viruses against wheat and corn. Israel may be another Horseman because they will try to start WWII before losing control of their golem. May release MERS-like virus against Arabs. France will be another Horseman because their nuclear power plant employees will be out sick (including strikes because fuck Macron's profiteering of this) and there will be an emergency affirmative action program for Somali nuclear engineers and 50 nuclear power plants will blow up, irradiating half of Europe, and allowing Turkroaches to take over. Screenshot this.”</i>	Thu 02 Apr 2020 17:57:42	251582985

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

"Here we are anons, Stage 2 of 4 has finally been enacted. COVID-19 is is the catalyst, just as 9-11 was the beginning of stage 1. The War on Virus has now begun and like the War on Terror IT IS GOING NO WHERE and its implications will be wide ranging and constantly evolving. Just as Al-Qaeda threat justifying the War on Terror has morphed into the ISIS, threat continuing its justification. Corona will eventually pass leaving little actual effect other than the cacophony go laws it leaves in its wake. But rest assured a new virus will quickly arise to take its place and justify the continued restrictions and controls on people. The Virus restrictions we are seeing now will soften as did the Terror laws but many will remain a firm part of our everyday life from now. (Expect large gatherings and events to be special treats now, and not the norm we were used to). Those of you born after the late 90's have no idea what life was like before the War on Terror began, and how its effects have shaped the controlling attitude of western governments in the modern world. Now for the big red pill. This is the second horseman of the apocalypse PESTILENCE, the plague. Soon the militant mindsets of the indoctrinated and climate focused youth will dominate the college age group and the third horseman will arrive, a new war in addition to the Terror and Disease will come to pass. A war on our very food and our energy production will be waged not from some external threat but by our own fanatical but short sighted eco warriors. The result of this will be a War On Climate that will bring with it only another horseman, FAMINE. Then next rider after that is Death, and Hell follows with him. We are witnessing the end of days, and We are all the cause, the action and the observer."

Sun 15 Mar 248183590
2020
06:38:14

"For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places. All these are the beginning of sorrows." (Matthew 24:7-8). >Coronavirus >Ebola >Climate change, uncontrollable wildfires in Australia >Many wars and conflict in Mid East, North Africa, Central Africa >Iran vs USA war rumours, would shut down oil deliveries from the Gulf region

Mon 03 Feb 242156049
2020
10:49:02

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

>Pakistan vs India war rumours >Many more potential flashpoints for conflict (Ukraine, South China Sea, North Korea) >Christian persecution approaching genocide levels >LGBT, atheists and others passing laws against Christians in the West >LGBT, atheists, pagans, Muslims, Hindus all have their hatred of Christ in common >Social media generation is full of boasters, covetous, lovers of themselves, false accusers etc. (2 Timothy 3:1-5) >Bible predicted the rise of veganism and vegetarianism (1 Timothy 4:3). All the signs of the end times are here anons. Jesus Christ the Son of God is coming back VERY soon (he revealed to me that he will be back on July 7th, 2020). Seek him NOW while he can still be found. If you seek him with a sincere heart and effort, he will reveal himself to you. Pray, fast and read the Word (the Bible). You need to form a personal relationship with the one true living God. Only the Holy Trinity, the Godhead is the true living God, all other "gods" are Satan's deceptions and lies. You do not want to be here for the tribulation period when God is pouring out his wrath on the Earth. But in case you do not make it for the rapture on July 7th, you can still survive. Just do NOT worship the beast or accept any marks of the beast (forehead or right arm), even if that means dying a gruesome death, for all those who endure till the end shall be saved."

Health

death;
disease;
hospital;
vehicle

*"Here is our future:
>Every 15-30 years a new highly infectious disease blasts it's way around the world and becomes endemic. Healthcare will struggle to keep up as costs grow, number of patients rise faster than modern hospitals can treat them, the global economy will be impacted more and more by the effects of widespread illness >Rates at which pandemics spread will only increase as volume of international travel increases, pop. density increases, and developing nations with worse healthcare systems become more connected >There is a good chance that some novel virus or bad strain of a known one hits and is worse than anything else, but this not very likely. An extremely deadly disease would be noticed quickly and be more easily contained. It's these mild sicknesses like flu and coronavirus that we should fear. The conclusion is obvious. Globalization is going to drag the life*

Tue 03 Mar 2020 03:44:20 246258894

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

expectancy back by 10 or 15 years this century. Combined with this germ apocalypse, climate change, war, political instability, and every other danger to our civilization will quietly result in us going back into the 19th century in terms of technology and quality of life. You're going to see the start of this in your lifetime."

"COVID19 AND LASSA FEVER IN AFRICA. HOLY FUCKING SHIT THIS REAY IS THE END TIMES >Lassa fever is a severe viral hemorrhagic fever (VHF) like Ebola and Marburg that occurs throughout the year in Nigeria and was declared an "active outbreak" by the Nigeria Centre for Disease Control (NCDC) five weeks into 2020. The epidemic which occurs during the annual dry season (roughly November through March) has spread across half the country. The Lassa fever virus is transmitted to humans through contact with food or household items contaminated with urine and feces of a rat. It's also known to spreads from person-to-person through contact with the body fluids and organs of infected persons, which has resulted in healthcare workers easily getting infected, some have died. The epidemic, whose rapid escalation started right from the second week of the year, had by the end of the ninth week seen 774 cases and 132 deaths spread across 26 of Nigeria's 36 states and the federal capital territory."

Mon 09 Mar 247159236
2020
05:47:40

"I've said this in a few of these threads, but without disputing that the virus is serious and leading to a crunch on resources -- I have a lot of friends & acquaintances in the medical profession and I have NEVER heard them say a positive or optimistic thing about healthcare. This is well before corona. To listen to them, you would think they are in a 24/7 apocalypse with untreated stab victims bleeding out in the halls and government stasi squads executing poor people without insurance. I think the reality is that healthcare, despite its advances, is still a messy and ugly business. They are surrounded by death and despair and it creates a pathologically blackpilled philosophy. In a world of limited resources, hospitals simply can't prep adequately for future pandemics with a 1% chance of happening; they are devoting all of their energy to the gazillion current needs in front of them."

Sun 29 Mar 250844308
2020
15:51:56

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

So when the black swan pandemic happens, a lot of people die due to resource constraints. It sucks but it's the way it is."

">US marching full steam into an apocalyptic breakdown of hospitals >no one cares. what is even happening ? why is BLM the only thing everyone talks about there when there are tens of thousands of COVID cases every day and the healthcare systems are on the brink of breaking down in some states ? Do these people not realize that hundreds of thousands of Americans can die because of this ?"

Sat 27 Jun 265148061
2020
19:01:34

*"IT'S A FUCKING NOTHINGBURGUER
AND ABSOLUTELY NOTHING YOU SAY WILL CHANGE THAT.*

If there is not a fucking zombie apocalypse outside my window and the police shooting the infected, there is no fucking reason for the world economy and society to eat itself alive trying to contain it. Say it with me:

*>IT'S
>JUST
>A
>FLU*

Sun 29 Mar 250890911
2020
21:30:05

You dumb fucks are taking part in the biggest political hoax in history, an obvious ploy to start a world government or to hide a stock market crash. This disease is a fucking joke, they are not even trying. Nobody is actually sick, nobody is actually dying, there are more people dying in a car crash every day in your country than dying from any virus from China. This shit has got to go, people need to wake up. There is no money for food or rent anymore, government is printing trillions of dollars and nobody will know what the fuck is going to happen after this crisis.

THIS HAS TO STOP NOW. How can we stop this, /pol/?

For once you can actually do the right contrarian thing and help me end this hysteria."

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

Moral decline	sexual minorities; clownworld; black people; white people; women; men; children; Germany; race; boomer	<p><i>"American churches have been PSYOPed to hell since the 70s. >Satanic Panic from 70s to 90s without much emphasis on Satanic stuff and more just hating on whatever kids and teens like (Pokémon, dungeons and dragons etc.) >Greedy pastors who will push false doctrines such as the prosperity gospel or use Abraham's tribute to Melchizedek to convolutedly mean you have to give money to your church in order for God to listen to you. >Push of feminism/women are not accountable, and ""diversity"" >Lack of discipline to church members especially if they are female or non-white (especially if they are black) >Infection of (((Christian Zionism))) throughout most American churches since the 80s >American church establishments being out of touch and ignoring their true driving and fresh blood demographics (broken people from abused homes) and instead mainly focus on church goers who only go because they grew up doing so and drug addicts/alcoholics by doing stupid gimmicky stuff like laser lights and making their church music sound like pop music >Pushing of pre-trib rapture >Complying to COVID rules and not calling out the vaccine as the (((world)))'s version of the Mark of the Beast or at least the pilot of it"</i></p>	Tue 30 Mar 2021 18:27:21	314374324
		<p><i>"they've completely lost contact with reality but have to keep the scam going for their Jewish overlords pushing it all in accordance with their end times prophecies. SBS news literally just said that 'the experience of omicron infected ppl in Europe is appearing to be the opposite of south Africa', where omicron came from. Now remember the discoverer of omicron in south Africa said it was very mild and that was the line at first, so the only difference between Europe and south Africa is the vaxx rate, so people getting sick from omicron must be the vaxxed. It also said that Denmark is getting 'smashed' despite being 90pc vaxxed, and I saw here on pol today that Norway is putting more restrictions on despite being 90pc vaxxed as well. The bitches were then complaining about no one in London is wearing masks. These people are insane, it's a death cult, just stay the fuck away from them and let them kill themselves, I don't even care much anymore about the white race because they've proven literally most of them"</i></p>	Wed 15 Dec 2021 22:48:41	352289390

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

deserve to die for falling for this gigantic scam projected through talmudvision, fucking ridiculous clown shit etc. etc.”

*“unironically lolbert is the only option you have left as an American, republin*****s are just as bad as democrats and libertarian is the only party left with some common sense
I voted trump in 2016/20, but he has been a huge disappointment; obviously Gary Johnson is a faggot but if someone else decides to run I will vote for them in 2024*

wtf does the republican party do besides fuck everything up?

>faggot gay marriage and abortion still legal

>2A suppressed harder than ever before (bump stocks)

>immigration at apocalypse-tier levels

>Donald Trump literally just posting about black unemployment all day while conservative whites suffer under the hands of the negro and the kike

>Covid Hoax now enforced everywhere at the cost of the citizens

is there any fucking reason not to vote third party??? if democrats can cheat on every single election from here on out, am I even throwing my vote away anymore? the parties are both the exact same with the exact same policies (except the republicans like to LARP that they're on our side LOL)

*As a white guy, I can't run away, and any of you whites out there can't run either! There is nowhere to run to that globohomo will not reach out and destroy with its perversion. It's time to make a stand for the U.S.A. before we are all transplanted into the next version of globon*****r tyranny, and start making plans for post-America and what comes after.”*

“>All that will be left will be bots, who never knew they were signing their souls and sovereignty over and will never realize they were injected with anti-bodies for a new virus that would be released on the rest who wouldn't comply. don't care. white men have been armed to the fucking teeth for 150+ years and haven't done shit about the decline. Bring on the apocalypse.”

Mon 04 Jan 300034835
2021
08:00:32

Wed 09 Sep 276618529
2020
04:50:25

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

Religion	god; heaven; evil; NWO; Jesus; Christ; Satan; antichrist; “mark of the beast”; Christianity; Christians; bible; sun;	<p><i>“Repent, Blasphemer!</i> <i>I wrote a 500 page book with 783 sources exposing the Synagogue of Satan kikes, currently active as an international criminal syndicate, as prophesied by Jesus in Revelation 2: 9. I know thy works and tribulation and poverty (but thou art rich), and I know the blasphemy of them that say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan. I provide irrefutable and demonstrable proof that 9/11 was an inside job, and the Bible is supernaturally authored. The Covid gene therapy injection is the Mark of the Beast. Anyone who takes it will be damned to hell for all eternity. Satan acts as a spiritual attractor, through which all of the fragments of God which chose to do evil can be destroyed, or separated from God forever. When this harvest, or refiner's fire, is complete, only the parts of God willingly chose only to love him and follow his commandments will remain, rendering God only infinite Goodness, forever.</i></p> <p><i>Anyone who loves the world is not of God, and those who are of God do not love the world. It is better to die than to take the Mark of the Beast. Only Jesus Christ can save you from your destiny in the lake of fire. Repent! For the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.”</i></p> <p><i>“The Euphrates drying up happens towards the last third of the tribulation. The tribulation hasn't even begun. The first seal is the pale horse, the Antichrist conquering diplomatically (maybe the Antichrist exposing and destroying the "evil" Illuminati and NWO). The following horsemen kill a quarter of the world's population through starvation and war (WW3). THEN the mark of the beast is introduced. Even then plenty of other horrible stuff will happen before you get to the Euphrates drying up.</i></p> <p><i>Reminder the Antichrist will emerge from the (false) "light" side that defeats the "evil" side. The "evil" Illuminati and their terrible plans only exist so the Antichrist can expose and destroy them to gain your trust. The Antichrist will expose and destroy the vaccines, Covid hoax, NWO, etc. The Covid vaccine / passport and tyrannical NWO are decoy mark of the beasts / a decoy Antichrist kingdom. The Antichrist will stop the vaccine and NWO,</i></p>	Tue 21 Dec 2021 06:49:21	353016647
			Fri 15 Oct 2021 01:25:42	343438381

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

so then people will be fooled into thinking the Antichrist is Christ returning to stop what the NWO, the fake Antichrist kingdom.

People like OP are Satanic shills who want you to think we're much later in the tribulation than we actually are (the tribulation hasn't even begun). The purpose of this deception is to make you think you've already been living under the Antichrist rule so you'll hail the actual Antichrist as the Second Coming when he destroys the tyrannical NWO that you've been brainwashed into thinking is the Antichrist kingdom, when the Antichrist kingdom will be an actual physical paradise like the ethnostate you've always dreamed of.

Reminder to root your faith in Jesus Christ, NOT conspiracy theories. Knowledge in conspiracy theories will not protect you from Satan's deception, only faith in Christ will provide you with discernment to avoid it."

"Tribulation is about to start.

>world-wide 'coronavirus' deception

>world government 'great reset' schemes

>unsaved jews preparing their 3rd temple

>antichrist to be revealed

>civil war in mystery Babylon

>kings of the East building great army

>project 'bluebeam' rapture cover-story

>mark of the beast digital ID/currency tattoo

Are you ready?"

Thu 04 Feb 306524530
2021
08:33:08

">And I saw, and behold a white horse: and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown (corona) was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer.

The first four seals have been unleashed, brothers. The four horsemen (pestilence, war, famine, death) are racking up the body count slowly. I in every 8000 humans are infected by now. Produce is spoiling as farmers are

Mon 06 Apr 252138327
2020
03:09:18

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

unable to sell. The prices of commodities have changed. Soon the trumpets will begin."

Exogenous conspiracy	planet; aliens; space; Russia; Europe; European; China: "Chinese communist party"; Italy	<i>">be ccp >struggle to effectively manage young generation and Hong Kong, both of whom appeal to the rest of the world for sympathy and support >wait for flu season to hit >lock down country >round up and disappear anyone with a poor social credit rating, which you've been monitoring for years >when death count hits hundreds of thousands, tell the rest of the world its a super virulent flu >continue killing dissidents as rest of the world tries to corroborate why the mortality rate for this flu virus is .002 in every country outside China, but 30% in China"</i>	Sun 16 Feb 2020 18:36:34	244029883
		<i>">"Based" China dutifully fulfilled its role initiating the global psyop by spamming everyone with COVID apocalypse propaganda and demonstrating that a country can miraculously become "COVID free" via economy-destroying lockdowns and toxic "vaccines." Next, China will help everyone build back better with UN-approved Agenda 21 Smart Cities, via their Belt and Road Initiative. >Of course a world government exists, the UN was founded in 1942 and its IMF & World Bank in 1944. It exerts influence over nation-state governments in the same way that the federal government exerts influence over state governments, or state governments exert influence over local governments. That doesn't mean every single aspect of domestic politics or geopolitics is 100% controlled. >The entire point of Agenda 21, Smart Cities, CCP-style surveillance systems, the "Fourth Industrial Revolution," etc., is to bring everything under more centralized technocratic control than currently exists, in a more "official" capacity.</i>	Tue 28 Dec 2021 03:02:10	353911383

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

>These Nazbol types are either willfully ignorant or intentionally deceiving their audience, and ignorance really isn't an excuse when globalists present their entire agenda to people on a silver platter. Even total normies are beginning to see what's going on here — but I guess that's part of the problem for these contrarians.”

<p><i>“>Yeah its Russia spreading "wokeness Their Soviet propaganda teams spread it 20 years ago and even now they are doing it. Remember the BLM pages on Facebook were ran by Russian propaganda teams > Russian companies putting faggots, trannies, and niggers in everything See above >and let's not forget it was Russia who funded that lab in China to make Covid right? fuck you. Russia was behind COVID. How else would they make the vaccine first and have one of the lowest rates of COVID in the world? While the west has the highest. Russia is the great Satan, the great destroyer of man”</i></p>	<p>Tue 25 Jan 358126318 2022 21:24:46</p>
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<p><i>“Anyone else confused about which timeline we are on? >Second coming of Christ, the end times >Chinese spies steal bioweapon, mess up and release it by accident. Cover it up so they don't lose trade war when companies evacuate, fail to cover it up and now 300k people will die globally or more >Bluepilled influenza virus from bats, regular old pandemic, 2 million will die >Iranian bioweapon in retaliation for US occupation of middle east and Chinese colonization of Africa/genociding Muslims. Decide to bomb China with bioweapon to ruin US economy and kill Chinese people at the same time. Venezuela, Colombia, and terrorists are engaging in WW3 attack with Iran as the head of axis powers >zogbot project zephyr annihilation of the entire human population so the lizard people can use us as slaves, alien war happenings</i></p>	<p>Sun 05 Apr 252013702 2020 08:00:13</p>
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ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

>Military coup against Satan worshipping pedophiles and lizard people, coronavirus was just part of the plan, fake news. WW3 allies now including Mexico are draining their respective swamps, entire world becomes natsoc. Axis includes Iran, terrorists, refugees, illegals, and the drug cartel and its paid politicians/celebrities. The new NATO including US,CAN,MEX,JP, Philippines, former members of EU, allies enter the economy as it was directly after ww2”

*“I think Covid and Biden were the major signals that the end of the American century was on us.
don't expect much from us.
Enjoy being raped by Russia and China.
on the plus side it seems like the conditions for the second coming of Christ so.. there's that.
war of Gog and Magog (Turkey/Russia/Iran invading Israel and nobody in the world defends Israel) seems ripe now, before Biden the US would have defended Russia so the prophecy wouldn't have happened.
now it could happen at any time, especially now that Netanyahu is gone and that's what kept a good relationship between Israel and Russia.
America isn't in the bible so our run was going to be over at some point.
Get saved now before things really start going down.”*

Tue 17 Aug 334730905
2021
11:41:11

Popular culture

video;
game;
zombie;
film / cinema;
'brain'

*“Searched IMDB for “feature films” with the key word “virus” from 1970 to 2020...
2 in 1970s (Andromeda Strain was released in 1969)
3 in 1980s
8 in 1990s
21 in 2000s
21 in 2010s
I did not count about a dozen ‘B’ movies for the above numbers, and my scope didn’t reach in television series (there are a number of virus plots in tv series), or video games. Some examples:*

Sat 19 Dec 297508408
2020
16:16:43

ESCHATOLOGY AND CRISIS: A DATA-DRIVEN LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF ESCHATOLOGICAL DISCOURSES RELATING TO COVID-19 ON 4CHAN /POL/

Only (2019) post-apocalyptic romance, virus on comet spreads globally and kills off women, had cinema release, was on Netflix top ten most watched films July 2020

The Directive (2019) not a popular film, a pandemic wipes out humanity a lone survivor embarks on journey..

The Darkest Minds (2018) released to the big screen by 20th century fox with very poor review, a contagious disease kills 98% of kids, survivors have superpower abilities

Maze Runner Trilogy (2014, 2015, 2016) popular; won awards, plot involves the global pandemic caused by the “flare virus”

Mayhem (2017) an action comedy horror; received at film festival and later cinema with ok reviews, “ID-7” the “Red Eye” virus spreads globally, isn’t lethal, just makes people act on base desires

Resident Evil: The Final Chapter (2016) the zombie virus meme

Inferno (2016) Directed by Ron Howard, mad man creates a superweapon virus to reduce the Earth’s population, negative reviews

Viral (2016) slated for cinema release was released VOD, outbreak of “worm flu” kills off human pop

Diverge (2016) sci-fi thriller, deadly virus post-apocalyptic, wasn’t popular

Pandemic (2016) limited release, VOD, survivors of global pandemic do action stuff

Contracted and Contracted: Phase II (2013, 2015) – STD zombie virus, writer said he wanted to “tell a story within the virus/infection subgenre like we’ve never seen before”

“You guys should go watch the Birds of Prey movie. It may be the last good action film you see in a while before the Coronavirus/Covid-19 virus takes hold in America and you won’t be able to leave your house when many cities will be in lockdown or quarantine until maybe April. The same goes for the Gretel and Hansel movie, it may be the last good horror movie you see before the viral outbreaks start occurring in the U.S. Don’t forget to watch the Sonic, The Hedgehog live action movie.

Mon 24 Feb 245112753
2020
15:40:47

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After you guys watch the movie, head to Costco or to your local grocery store and buy food and supplies. FEMA and CDC's zombie apocalypse preparedness guide says to buy enough food, water and supplies for a couple of days. But you should really buy food to last for a couple of weeks or quite possibly a month or more.

On the /cvg/ threads(Coronavirus general threads) the covid-19 virus seems to be spreading a lot in many countries outside of China. South Korea, Japan, Iran, Italy sounds like they are getting more and more cases of the virus. Other countries like the U.S. are quite possibly downplaying the rate of infection so as not to make the public panic which would only make things worse. Even Anime and Video Games are being affected as some Anime shows are reporting episode delays and some video game companies are withdrawing from events due to concern over the covid-19 viral outbreaks.”

*“>for the past few years it was cultivated in the masses mind the "zombie apocalypse" thing
>zombie apocalypse games, movies, series, etc.
>governments all around the world facing social security system collapse due to the population getting older
>suddenly
>weird girl financed by le happy merchant appears, spreading apocalyptic prophecies
>and then
>coronavirus
>stay at home, stop producing, stop living”*

Fri 27 Mar 250402195
2020
01:37:13

“I hope everyone is ready for the real zombie apocalypse that's coming via prion diseases. It won't be like movies and TV, though. You'll be faced with zombies, but they won't look monster-ish. They'll look normal, but their brains will be fucked.

In a shocking new report on the COVID-19 vaccines, it has been discovered that the Pfizer coronavirus vaccine may have long term health

Tue 04 May 319968644
2021
15:04:36

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effects not previously disclosed, including “ALS, Alzheimer’s, and other neurological degenerative diseases.”

“In this paper the Pfizer COVID-19 vaccine was evaluated for the potential to induce prion-based disease in vaccine recipients.” Prion-based diseases are, according to the CDC, a form of neurodegenerative diseases, meaning that the Pfizer vaccine is potentially likely to cause long term damage and negative health effects with regards to the brain.”

Endogenous conspiracy	elite; bunker; vaccines; jews/Judaism; Israel; communism; socialism	<p><i>“Faggots...not a shill or a bot. I am 100% confident the silver and gold squeeze will work and COOMEX and LBMA will fail delivery leading to a metals panic and hyperinflation.</i></p> <p><i>The point I am making is that the deepstate elite won’t let it get that far. The giga billionaires have for a long time bought up property in New Zealand, completely psyoped the population of the kiwis using COVID to bring about mass surveillance and limit gun ownership. same thing with Australia.</i></p> <p><i>THEY WILL BURN THE GOYIM REDUCING THEM TO RADIOACTIVE ASH IN USA AND EUROPE IF IT MEANS THE DESTRUCTION OF CHINA AND RUSSIA!!!</i></p> <p><i>Covid GREAT RESET was their slow burn depopulation / economic contraction that they planned...but if the silver squeeze forces their hand....they will unleash a massive nuclear war and it will start by deliberately attacking China or Russia like the Gulf of Tonkin incident and rapidly escalating it to all out nuclear war.</i></p> <p><i>This will be planned and executed. Post nuclear apocalypse, USA will split into many countries just like Europe...but China and Russia will be totally destroyed. This biblical end times war is also prophesied by all 3 nut bag desert religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam.</i></p> <p><i>They may not have wanted a nuclear GREAT RESET...but keep a global metals squeeze will force an ultra-violent nuclear great reset!”</i></p>	Fri 19 Mar 2021 19:21:27 312781357
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<p><i>"In all honesty, if we are dealing with a Deus Ex scenario (elites making a virus only to provide the vaccine in order to control people) then I fully expect that "rapture" means dying to the virus. Which will be a good thing compared to the horrors that come next."</i></p>	<p>Fri 20 Mar 2020 23:01:23</p>	<p>249238037</p>
<p><i>"Corona is a hoax to implement the next stage of the NWO.</i></p> <p><i>>Lockdown</i></p> <p><i>>"Tested for Corona" to get your DNA on the database</i></p> <p><i>>Cashless Trackable National Crypto currency system</i></p> <p><i>>Radiate you with 5G to keep you witless and docile</i></p> <p><i>>Vaccinated</i></p> <p><i>Then all your biometric data will be combined on a chip that will be surgically implanted. Thats the mark of the beast"</i></p>	<p>Sat 04 Apr 2020 23:28:54</p>	<p>251958284</p>
<p><i>"From what we know, because it was leaked and record.</i></p> <p><i>There is a Great Reset plan that is in play right now. You can look at this in 3 quarters. We are 1/3 of the way there. Each increment is 2-4 years. The whole plan is to make a one world government controlled through an evolved form of communism that uses advanced technology. A communist technocracy. The ruling elite and billionaires are all in on it. Covid 19 and her variants is the one of the weapons being used to break us down and dissolve our laws and freedoms. Every facet of life has been bribed and paid for. Its also possible some of these people are being threatened with death and some have already been suicided.</i></p> <p><i>MSM and journalism is at an all-time low. Its never been so washed up, biased and bought up to tell such lies ever in the history of mankind. Something new to add. I think we are playing out the end times from the bible. I think most of us will die out. We are at a catastrophe right now. We won't bounce back for well over at least 200 years once this is all over. It's going to be like the 1700's in the new world all over again, except well have the internet and vidya."</i></p>	<p>Thu 02 Sep 2021 05:54:22</p>	<p>337270437</p>

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		<p><i>"yeah it's a clear cut NWO agenda. the game plan is there. next will be a REAL mass die off that they will attribute to Delta/Epsilon to hammer through massive forceful vaxxes via emergency laws. then they will link that together with the impending financial collapse. That way the economy will break down and the real apocalypse and mass die off into the billions start. They will attribute this to shortages and covid, but ultimately it's the vax. Then top up boosters are planned to be rolled out cause the fucking vax is not protecting against anything. now these top up's are genetically engineered to fit certain DNA profiles. guess what, all this is the long planned revenge of the jews for gassing them 80years ago."</i></p>	Mon 12 Jul 2021 21:22:29	329713233
Resources	<p>weapons; food/resources; supply; fuel; mask</p>	<p><i>"I haven't bought any masks. I did buy several cases of lighters for 43\$ each, cartons of cigs, bulk beans, rice, flour and salt, some other stuff that keeps a long time. corona chan happened just in time. I usually re-stock my emergency food this time of year anyways. so my family is eating up all last year's emergency supplies already. gotta get some stuff yet though. more pasta, more sauces still on my list. got several cases of ramen noodles last time out. Also I need to buy some more ammo. gonna stock up 7.62x39. i will use it up on range this summer anyways. All my firewood is done for next two years, so im good to go for heating/cooking fuel (i have a wood stove for primary heat source). I don't know I'm feelin pretty comfy, I say let the apocalypse begin."</i></p>	Mon 02 Mar 2020 06:43:02	246123390
		<p><i>"I'm going to go to sleep now since I haven't been getting much sleep due to all this Coronavirus stuff. I'll continue to prepare. Anyway, I live on Guam and hope the virus doesn't make it here even though it probably will since Guam is a tourist destination. I still won't buy a gun as I've said here in the last /cvg/ thread Also: 'I typed in "CDC WHO FEMA pamphlets booklets in the event of a viral outbreak" in the Google Search engine and got these links: 'Will these help? Kind of sounds like stuff other preppers who were in the /cvg/ threads have been saying: stock up on water, non-perishable foods,</i></p>	Thu 06 Feb 2020 21:54:20	242669285

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cleaning items, medical supplies, tools, etc. However, also says medication and your important documents.'"

"Your flabby neet lifestyles aren't going to offer you much protection in an ELE virus scenario. Even if you stay inside for months, you'll eventually have to crawl out of your shithole bedrooms to get food and supplies after your older caretakers die and you run out. You're not going to open that door to endless wealth and Utopia. You'll either be exposed to sickness and die, starve to death, be murdered for the food you have left by someone else who is starving to death, killed for the weapons you larp with but don't know how to actually use, or you'll be put to work as slave labor because you have no essential skills to offer otherwise. Worst case you're slaughtered and dressed and chunks of you are added to a community stew. You're soft, weak, and nothing more than cattle in a post-apocalyptic society. You better fucking hope this shit blows over, because you'll eventually be wishing you'd died with your parents or grandparents. "

Tue 10 Mar 2020
13:28:09 247347195

"2200kcal per day ideally, 50/50 protein and fat in diet. Multivitamins, calcium with vitamin D. Vitamin C(if you shit yourself you took too much). Dry milk, rice, and baking ingredients are cheap and keep well. Maybe some B12 vitamin, I think women need a bit extra of that, and iron too. Ideally you should prepare for 6 months, but if you don't have the funds then get whatever you can. Make sure you buy a water filter too, or learn how to make one yourself(cheaper and fairly simple), running out of water will fuck a lot of people up and force them to go out for rations. Lifestraw is a cheap filter, but the small one only lasts for so long so keep that in mind. Buy some extra water bottles for the first stretch.

Thu 05 Mar 2020
19:54:37 246666351

If you live in the city, disconnected your water/sewage, it may prevent infection, but ideally you don't want to be in the city to begin with.

If you get a mask, make sure it either has a particle filter(P3 rated) or can install one(some masks use a pre filter that you install a secondary filter on top of). Ideally you'll want a plastic mask, that you can disinfect with

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70%+ alcohol, as well as some plastic gloves. Ideally if you have to go outside, you want to wear a hazmat suit that can easily be disinfected.

Never touch your face, the virus enters your body through ears, eyes, nose, and mouth. Look up how to wash your hands like medical personnel, you have to do that right.

Get toilet paper, toothpaste, feminine hygiene product, medicine, and any other thing that you use that you don't want to run out of.

Even if you end up preparing for an apocalypse that never happens, most of this stuff you can just use like you normally would, or sell later. It's better to be prepared for a nothing burger, than being under-prepared for the chink bat soup boogaloo.”

Political leadership

Trump;
election;
leftists;
president;
Biden;
America

“Corona deaths increasing at a pace of 31% per day. If there are around 2200 deaths in America today it means it's going to be on track to reach over 10 million deaths in about a month's time.

*The funniest part about shills is that the disease is overwhelmingly in cities killing off trannies, fatties and n****rboomers- by the time it spreads out to rural areas we'll likely already have a fucking cure.*

Yet the media is here and so are the trannies shilling against Trump. They literally don't seem to understand this is an apocalypse for the left, they just keep shilling against the possible cure and the only president trying to help their asses.

Cut them off, Trump, let the leftists and shitskins die.”

“>PCR tests being revoked for emergency use because they can't tell the difference between covid and influenza.

> Flu at record lows across the globe

> Wtf is the real number of covid cases?

>Vaccine comes out. Fear monger the population to accept it.

> Vaccine is garbage doesn't work.

> Here anon take this oral therapeutic I swear it's not the same thing as ivermectin or hydroxychloroquine.

Sat 28 Mar 2020
14:40:09 250664883

Thu 29 Jul 2021
06:26:44 331927747

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- > *Literally same thing.*
- > *2022 new covid tests come out with new ivermectin wannabe drug.*
- > *Everyone praise Biden and big pharma like the bunch of mindless sheep you are.*
- > *Pfizer , Moderna, J&J, AstraZeneca all fucking laugh on how they robbed the world of trillions of \$\$\$ and you can't touch them.*
- > *Vanguard, Blackrock become bigger than God because they invested in all 4 of them.*
- > *Liberals bankrupt USA like the good puppets they are.*
- > *Washington DC (a corporation) is bought out by Blackrock/Vanguard*
- > *They now are the new America. Constitution does not apply anymore.*
- > *They own you they own you family they own it all and you will do as you are told.*
- > *APOCALYPSE.”*

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