

A dark grey silhouette of the New Zealand map is positioned on the left side of the page, partially overlapping the text. The map shows the North and South Islands.

**FROM GANGS TO GROUPUSCULES
AND SOLO-ACTOR TERRORISM:
NEW ZEALAND RADICAL RIGHT NARRATIVES AND
COUNTER-NARRATIVES IN THE CONTEXT
OF THE CHRISTCHURCH ATTACK**



The *CARR-Hedayah Radical Right Counter Narratives Project* is a year-long project between CARR and Hedayah that is funded by the EU STRIVE programme. It is designed to create one of the first comprehensive online toolkits for practitioners and civil society engaged in radical right extremist counter-narrative campaigns. It uses online research to map narratives in nine countries and regions (Australia, Canada, Germany, Hungary, New Zealand, Norway, Ukraine, United Kingdom, and the United States), proposes counter-narratives for these countries and regions, and advises on how to conduct such campaigns in an effective manner. This country report is one of such outputs.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. William Allchorn is a specialist on anti-Islamic protest movements and radical right social movements in the UK and Western Europe. His PhD thesis mapped political, policing, and local authority responses to the English Defence League in five UK locations. William has recently finished his first academic monograph with Routledge – looking at policy responses to the EDL and Britain First over the past decade. His previous published work has looked at the dynamics of activism within anti-Islam movements and counter-extremism responses towards such groups. William has taught undergraduate courses and given lectures on the radical right in Western Europe; both at the social movement and party political level. The previous consultancy has included delivering counter-narrative engagement sessions in the North East of England and putting together a ‘Countering Radical Right Narratives’ educational pack. As of April 2019, William Allchorn is the Associate Director of CARR.

The views expressed in this report are the opinions of the author, and do not necessarily reflect the views of Hedayah, the Centre for Analysis of the Radical Right or the European Union.

INTRODUCTION

At 1.40pm on 15 March 2019, Christchurch shooter, Brenton Heston Tarrant, approached the Al-Noor Mosque near the city's Hagley Park. Greeted by a septuagenarian usher at Friday prayers, Tarrant opened fire on worshippers for six minutes. He only stopped to reload and to gather more ammunition and weapons from his car outside before continuing his bloody rampage. Returning to his vehicle at 1.46pm, the terrorist then drove for seven minutes (6.5km) across town to the Linwood Islamic Centre, where he began firing through the Centre's windows at worshippers gathering inside.¹ Challenged by a congregant, Tarrant then fled the scene of his second massacre at 1.56pm before being arrested at 1.59pm. Whilst the use of livestreaming and the transnational nature of the attacker's networks set a trend for radical right terrorism in 2019 & 2020,² a vital detail remains unique to Christchurch: It is the site of one of the most deadly radical right terror attacks within recent history. In total, 51 people were killed and another 50 seriously wounded.³ A week after the one-year anniversary of his shooting spree, Tarrant unexpectedly pleaded guilty to 51 charges of murder, 40 charges of attempted murder, and one charge of terrorism (unexpectedly

because by pleading this way he forfeited a jury trial and thereby a potential platform for his radical right extremist views.⁴)

Notwithstanding this appalling act, New Zealand's recent history has been peppered with (albeit isolated) instances of radical right extremist⁵ violence. After the terrorist violence inflicted upon worshippers at the Al-Noor Mosque and Linwood Islamic Centre on 15 March 2019, much greater attention has been given to right-wing violent extremism. Historically, in New Zealand, this extremism has ranged from white skinhead gangs, such as the New Zealand's Southern Cross Hammerskins, to radical right parties like National Front, and on to more recent and active identitarian groupuscules⁶ such as Action Zealanda. Collectively, both extremist lone actors and radical right groups have been painting a concerning threat picture for some time now.⁷ Indeed, the (now defunct) neo-Nazi 'Fourth Reich' group (originally formed by inmates inside Christchurch prison in early 1993) went on a killing spree in the late 1990s to early 2000s murdering a Māori sportsman, a gay man, a Korean tourist and a white female between 1997 and 2010.⁸ In addition, a

¹ Bostock, B., Corcoran, K., & Logan, B., 'This timeline of the Christchurch mosque terror attacks shows how New Zealand's deadliest shooting unfolded', *Insider*, 19 March 2019, online at: <https://www.insider.com/christchurch-shooting-timeline-49-killed-new-zealand-mosques-2019-3>.

² See the following: Macklin, G., 'The Christchurch Attacks: Livestream Terror in the Viral Video Age', *CTC Sentinel*, July 2019, 12 (6), online at: <https://ctc.usma.edu/christchurch-attacks-livestream-terror-viral-video-age/>; & Macklin, G., 'The El Paso Terrorist Attack: The Chain Reaction of Global Right-Wing Terror', *CTC Sentinel*, December 2019, 12(11), online at: <https://ctc.usma.edu/el-paso-terrorist-attack-chain-reaction-global-right-wing-terror/>.

³ Fattal, I., 'New Zealand Went More Than 20 Years Between Mass Shootings', *The Atlantic*, 15 March 2019, online at: <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2019/03/new-zealands-history-mass-shootings-christchurch/585052/>.

⁴ *BBC News*, 'Christchurch shootings: Brenton Tarrant pleads guilty to 51 murders', 26 March 2020, online at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-52044013>.

⁵ Here 'radical right extremism' is used to describe a broad plethora of cognate paramilitary groups, groupuscules and lone-actor terrorists that could be considered as harbouring violent nativist, authoritarian and (sometimes) non-violent populist policy ideas (Mudde, *Populist Radical Right in Europe*, 2007). Radical Right Extremism includes individuals and groups who actively "espouse violence" and "seek the overthrow of liberal democracy" entirely (Eatwell 2003, *Ten Theories of the Extreme Right*, 14) rather than those who offer "a critique of the constitutional order without any anti-democratic behaviour or intention" (Carter 2005, *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure?*, 22). Those with such a propensity towards violence and/or anti-system values are historically referred to as the extreme right rather than the radical right, and such individuals and groups range from non-violent anti-Islam groups to a range of formally constituted neo-fascist and neo-Nazi political parties that inspire terrorist action, as well as lone-actor terrorists.

⁶ Here, 'Groupuscules' are defined as tiny, often neo-Nazi, bands of radical right extremists that establish a milieu with reference points that stretch out internationally as well as into the past as well (Jackson 2014, *National Action and National Socialism for the 21st Century*, 101).

⁷ Indeed, this is not just at the street-level, as white supremacist prison gangs were becoming a growing concern at the time of writing. See George Block, 'White power inmates on the rise in New Zealand prisons', *Stuff.co.nz*, 4 January 2020, online at: www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/117595591/white-power-inmates-on-the-rise-in-new-zealand-prisons.

⁸ Battersby, J. & Ball, R., 'Christchurch in the context of New Zealand terrorism and right-wing extremism', *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 14:3, 2019, 191-207, cited p.198.

decade earlier a neo-Nazi activist murdered the son of New Zealand cricketer Richard Motz in Christchurch.⁹ Unsurprisingly, then, in the runup to the Christchurch attacks, security practitioners were most concerned about a small bloc of white supremacist extremist individuals that posed a danger from this side of the ideological spectrum. These radicalised cells were “fervent firearms owners” with “high capability” to carry out an attack, which was assisted by the widespread availability of online radical right content. This concern was summarised by one official claiming: “When I look at our extreme Right Wing stuff, with very little effort, it took five minutes on google, no intelligence work.”¹⁰

This country report focuses on the movement and scope for violent radical right extremism in New Zealand, as well as the current narratives propagated by street movements and fringe movements. The first part surveys the activities of twelve key radical right groups and the narratives that they advance. Drawing upon several case studies, the second part then suggests guidance for (and examples of) counter-narratives in relation to the radical right in New Zealand’s violent narratives, as well as an analysis of existing counter-narrative campaigns. Finally, this report concludes with recommendations going forward on how to conduct counter-messaging campaigns that reduce the scope of radical right extremist propaganda.

⁹ Leask, A., ‘Christchurch triple fatal: Dead teens’ link to high-profile murder-suicide’, *New Zealand Herald*, 17 January 2019, online at: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=12191435.

¹⁰ Battersby & Ball (2019), pp. 201-202.

PART ONE RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS AND NARRATIVES IN NEW ZEALAND

ANTI-MAORI, ANTI-IMMIGRANT, ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT, CHAUVINIST, AND BLOOD AND SOIL ENVIRONMENTALIST SENTIMENTS

With a concerning collection of groupuscules and white supremacist gangs, radical right activism in New Zealand paints a worrying picture in terms of violent extremism. Exposed to violent rhetoric present in the street movements and at the groupuscular level, each face of radical right extremism mobilises around a common set of ethno-nationalist, anti-establishment, chauvinist as well as blood-and-soil environmentalist narratives. Below is a chart listing twelve radical right

organisations and influencers that have been active in recent years; organised according to the mainstreamness of their ideology and propensity for violence. Their profiles include examples of these groups' key narratives that they are presenting at the present moment and a summary of these narratives appears in Table 1. These groups represent what one set of authors described as New Zealand's "undulating" and fragmented radical right extremist scene.¹¹

¹¹ Ibid, p .201.

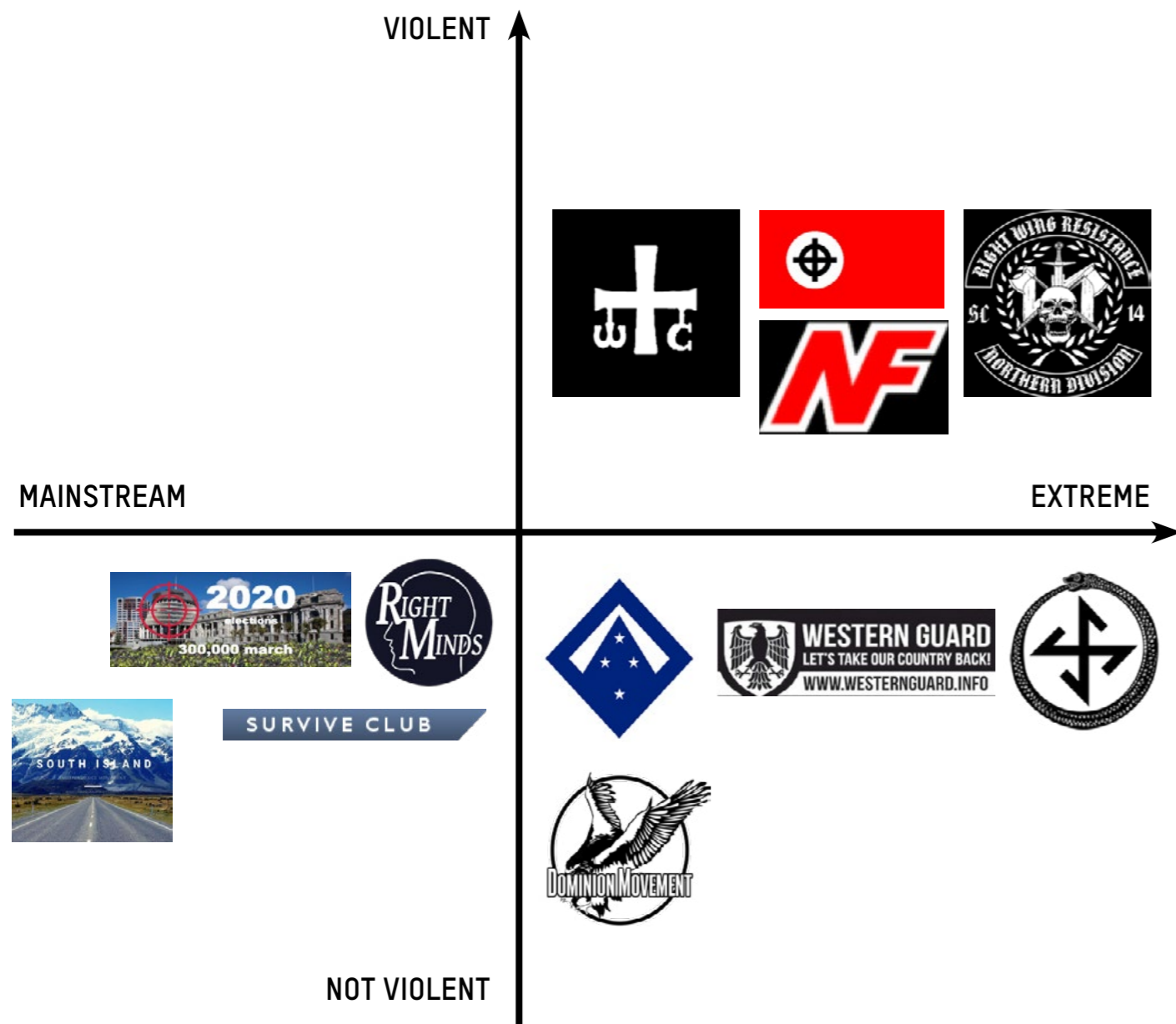


FIGURE 1 A matrix of radical right groups based on the level of violence and extremity in their narratives

(Horizontal Axis: Mainstreamness of Narratives¹², Vertical Axis: Incidence of Violence¹³)

¹² For the purpose of this report, ‘mainstreamness’ can be measured by the adoption of moderate narratives (usually involving a broad issue agenda, anti-establishment populism and electoralism) compared to clearly extreme, esoteric positions and modus operandi (e.g. street activism and terrorism) taken by fringe groups (De Lange, Akkerman and Rooduijn 2016).

¹³ For the purposes of this report, a group is classified as violent if there is evidence of documented, direct acts of violence against a specific group or target. Here, ‘violence’ is measured as part of the narrative logics within a group and its mode of activism. Whilst the dominant trend within these groups has been toward non-violent forms of rhetoric and activism, neo-Nazi groups (such as Unit 88 and the Fourth Reich) have historically shown more overt trends of violent activism; perpetrated indiscriminately against outsiders and innocent bystanders.

TABLE 1: Overview of Radical Right Extremist Narratives in New Zealand


EXTREMIST NARRATIVE	DEFINITION	EXAMPLE
Anti-Establishment Sentiment	Here, ‘Anti-Establishment Sentiment’ is defined as a sustained critique of political, media and business elites, often dressed up in conspiratorial language.	“We stand against UN Migration Pact - and the Globalist elite - Mass Migration.” (Yellow Vests New Zealand)
Anti-Globalist Sentiment	Here, ‘Anti-Globalist Sentiment’ is defined as a sustained critique of globalisation and others forms of internationalism, based on anti-elitist sentiments.	“Western Guard stands indomitably opposed to the tyranny of globalism, a system under which nations are stripped of their heritage and people.” (Western Guard)
Anti-Māori Sentiment	Here, ‘Anti-Māori Sentiment’ is defined as particularly strident views against the rights of Māori citizens. In particular, such hatred might involve certain forms of historical revisionism and selectivism, and a critique of bicultural treaties.	“Are we only supposed to remember the supposed crimes of our ancestors, our apparent trickery and the supposed theft of Māori land, the phoney victims of British oppression?” (Dominion Movement)
Anti-Semitism	Here, ‘Anti-Semitism’ is defined as expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment, including anti-Zionist positions.	“[Jews] killed the son of God and [are] the child of Satan.” (Wargus Christi)
Aryanism	Here, ‘Aryanism’ is defined as the belief in an ethnically pure northern European race, based on biological characteristics.	“We do believe in the connection between Blood and Soil and thus our Aryan homelands are vital. We are born from these lands and our forefathers shed their Blood to hand it to us.” (Black Order)
Autochtonism	Here, ‘Autochtonism’ is defined as a desire of being native to a region. The desire may be real but notion of being native imagined. (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, Autochtonism, 2020, online at: https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/autochthonism .)	“Our focus is on the Kaupapa - our Nation! - You are welcome to join and welcome to leave! We bless you on the way out! And Yes, we are Christians.” (Yellow Vests New Zealand)

Chauvinism	Here, 'Chauvinism' is defined as actual or performative forms of violent masculinity, often in connection with ideas of virility and racial purity.	"Every member, every male must swear to a conduct and that is to love and protect their family. Provide food[,] clothes, roof and be prepared to defend them - even if it cost him his life." (Survive Club)
Christianism	Here, 'Christianism' is defined as a civilizational and traditionalist interpretation of Christianity that sees the Christian religion as the defining feature of the 'nation' and/or Western Civilisation.	"Would be initiates must possess a knowledge of Christian religion, a commitment to athleticism, and the fanaticism to improve themselves by these things to the glory of God." (Wargus Christi)
Civic Nationalism	Here, 'civic nationalism' is defined as a voluntaristic vision of the national community based on common institutions, territory, economic and legal systems. It differs from ethno-nationalism, which focuses on deterministic characteristics such as language, creed, race and community of birth. (Halikiopoulou et al, <i>The Civic Zeitgeist</i> , 2013, online at: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2012.00550.x .)	"It's not about being against immigration in general but about having people who will want to fit in, who will want to integrate and will want to participate in our society without turning it into the society that they left for a reason." (Right Minds NZ)
Economic Protectionism	Here, 'economic protectionism' is defined as a position on trading relationships that privileges domestic production over foreign exports.	"In order to grow a stronger South Island and better secure our chances of actually achieving independence, we need to build and fortify our own internal Southern Economy." (SIIM)
Ethno-Nationalism	Here, 'Ethno-Nationalism' is defined as a belief in the unanimity of the nation and an ethnic in-group.	"If current trends continue, whites will soon be a minority in this country." (RWR)
Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory	Here, the 'Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory' refers to the writings of Renaud Camus and the belief in a demographic replacement of native Europeans by non-European migrants, deemed to be facilitated by ruling elites.	"Demographic replacement is being brought about by corporations and business that care more about importing foreign cheap labour to maximise their own profits[...] Action Zealandia hopes to create a unified voice for concerned NZ Europeans and halt this ongoing replacement." (Action Zealandia)

Identitarianism	According to José Pedro Zúquete (<i>The Identitarians</i> , 2018), Identitarians are a "quickly growing ethno-cultural transnational movement [aimed at "preserving" Europe's ethno-cultural heritage in New Zealand] that, in diverse forms, originated in France and Italy and has spread into southern, central, and northern Europe."	"Our own stickers and posters spread the message of hope, strength, and identity all over New Zealand. Our website has articles and reports chronicling the many things we accomplish together, our thoughts on political and cultural developments, and deeper explorations of identity in 21st century New Zealand." (Dominion Movement)
Islamophobia	Here, 'Islamophobia' is defined as "anti-Muslim hatred...motivated by hostility or bias towards people perceived to be Muslim." (Feldman & Allchorn, <i>Working Definition of Anti-Muslim Hatred</i> , online at: https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2019/05/15/a-working-definition-of-anti-muslim-hatred-summary/ .)	"Like Islam, Judaism is a diametrical enemy of Christ." (Wargus Christi)
Militarism	Here, 'Militarism' is defined as the pursuit of "maintaining a strong military organization in aggressive preparedness for [a real or imagined] war." (Collins 2020, <i>Militarism</i> , online at: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/militarism .)	"At Survive Club, we want to prepare for anything, so we train and build our supplies, we organise things like a military operation. Anyone who wants to link with us on this level is welcome to do so." (Survive Club)
Misogyny	Here, 'Misogyny' is defined as extreme antipathy or hatred towards a female 'other,' usually related to a perceived endangered notions of traditional masculinity.	"Satan simply works through the jews (and women+gays)." (Wargus Christi)
Neo-Fascism	Here, 'neo-fascism' is used to describe an ultra-nationalist ideology that adheres to the concept of palingenesis, or the idea that the nation is reborn after a time of moral decadence and decay. (Griffin, <i>The Nature of Fascism</i> , 1991)	"'Culture' as a life-form is bequeathed through the generations and is built upon in each generation (or is eroded in periods of decadence). Hence, every member of the cultural organism by virtue of his birthright is entitled to fully appreciate his cultural heritage, regardless of his income or social background." (NZNF)
Neo-Nazism	Here, 'neo-Nazism' is defined as the adherence to the ideology of national socialism post-Hitler, including rejections of left-liberalism and right-wing conservatism.	"National-Socialism is so revolutionary and so important because it is a practical means to construct a balanced pagan, warrior, society and so create a new race of higher beings – a new type of person – thereby continuing the creative work of Nature." (Black Order)

Satanism	Here, 'Satanism' is defined as occult practices that include the worship of Satan and rejection of Judeo-Christian religions, in favour of Nazism.	"So then: rant away at us – throw at us dumb words and epithets; we Satanists do not care. Those who cannot ignore words are not the ones for us; those who cannot defy all labels are still trapped by Nazarene duality – little though they realise it." (Black Order)
Separatist Nationalism	Here, 'Separatist Nationalism' is defined as the goal or aspiration for sub-national autonomy within a pre-existing nation state.	"Complete South Island Independence from the North Island & the Wellingtonian Government." (SIIM)
Survivalism	Here, 'Survivalism' is defined as a "retreat to self-sufficient and well-armed rural settlements in anticipation of a general breakdown of society." (Britannica, 2020, <i>Survivalism</i> , online at: https://www.britannica.com/topic/survivalism .)	"It's up to what you do to prepare. When your life is threatened there is no more need for money or for your expensive items. The real currency will be food and water." (Survive Club)
Masculinism	Here, 'Masculinism' is defined as a performed form of masculine identity, usually perceived in relation to grievances of 'male marginalisation' and 'male-only' issues.	"September was jam-packed in the Dominion Movement. We kicked the month off with a long-awaited boxing match between two of our guys putting each other to the test. After a thrilling match we had our victor, and we all headed to a nearby bar to celebrate." (Dominion Movement)
Violence	Here, 'Violence' is defined as the threat of actual or real physical attack against an individual or people group based on their racial or religious characteristics.	"I desire a violent, domineering, fearless, and ferocious upcoming generation. It must be able to bear pain. It must show no signs whatsoever of weakness or tenderness. The free and magnificent predator must once again glint from their eyes." (Black Order)
Western Chauvinism	Here, 'Western Chauvinism' is defined as a form of civilisationism where the 'West' is privileged over the 'East.' (Brubaker, 2017, <i>Between Nationalism and Civilizationism</i> , online at: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01419870.2017.1294700 .)	"Sign up to stay informed and receive updates about new articles, events, and other ongoing[sic] in the fight for freedom, justice, and Western Civilization right here in God's Own." (Right Minds NZ)

White Supremacism	Here, 'White Supremacism' is defined as a belief in white dominance over people of other backgrounds. It is often connected to beliefs about 'white endangerment' and 'white genocide' conspiracy theories.	"If current trends continue, whites will soon be a minority in this country." (RWR)
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NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL FRONT

FOUNDER
Colin Ansell

MEMBERSHIP
Under 30 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- White Supremacism
- Ethno-Nationalism
- Neo-Fascism
- Anti-Māori Sentiment




RIGHT WING RESISTANCE

FOUNDER
Kyle Chapman

MEMBERSHIP
50-100 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- White Supremacism
- Ethno-Nationalism
- Neo-Nazism



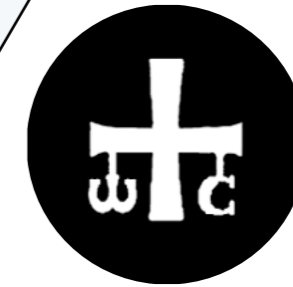
UNIT 88

FOUNDER
Colin Ansell

MEMBERSHIP
30-40 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- Neo-Nazism
- White Supremacism
- Violence



WARGUS CHRISTI

FOUNDER
Daniel Waring

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Christianism
- Anti-Semitism
- Misogyny
- Islamophobia



DESCRIPTION

Formed as a replica of Britain's National Front in 1967, the New Zealand branch eventually emerged in 1977 proper from a local group of activists who opposed the bi-culturalism associated with Māori communities on one hand, and the multiculturalism associated with immigration on the other.¹⁴ Initially encouraging its members to infiltrate mainstream parties, the New Zealand National Front has historically struggled to mobilise on the street and at the ballot box (gaining 1.9% of the vote at Christchurch's 2004 Mayoral Contest¹⁵), and only mustering 45 supporters at a rally in Wellington to protest changes to the New Zealand flag in the same year.¹⁶ In October 2017, a rally of National Front and Right Wing Resistance (see below) members protesting outside Parliament was disrupted by a counter protest, despite this, the protest itself passed off fairly peacefully compared with previous iterations of the same event nine years earlier.¹⁷ Whilst the New Zealand National Front is not itself influential, it is instead the white supremacist and white nationalist narratives which are of greatest concern. Above all, it is important to take note of the notion of 'white genocide' used to make multiculturalism and diversity a wedge issue. In the wake of the Christchurch attacks, however, the New Zealand National Front attempted to distance itself from the massacre, suggesting that it did not "condone or agree" with the attacker's beliefs or the "wanton murder of innocent people."¹⁸

NEW ZEALAND NATIONAL FRONT

FOUNDER
Colin Ansell

MEMBERSHIP
Under 30 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

White Supremacism

Ethno-Nationalism

Neo-Fascism

Anti-Māori Sentiment

NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

White Supremacism:
"Diversity = White Genocide."

-A placard *used* at the New Zealand National Front's October 2017 protest.¹⁹

Ethno-Nationalism:
"You have taken the first step towards becoming a member of the leading organisation in New Zealand concerned with the preservation and advancement of unique New Zealand European culture."

-An *excerpt* from the New Zealand National Front's (now defunct) website homepage.²⁰

Neo-Fascism:
"Culture' as a life-form is bequeathed through the generations and is built upon in each generation (or is eroded in periods of decadence). Hence, every member of the cultural organism by virtue of his birthright is entitled to fully appreciate his cultural heritage, regardless of his income or social background."

-An *excerpt* from the New Zealand National Front's (now defunct) 'Policies' webpage.²¹

Anti-Māori Sentiment:
"While Euro-New Zealanders are brainwashed into believing they are collectively guilty for colonialism, the historic reality is that the forefathers of most of us came to this land from Britain to escape an unjust economic system."

-An *excerpt* from the New Zealand National Front's (now defunct) 'Policies' webpage.²²



DESCRIPTION

Founded in June 2009 by the former leader of the New Zealand National Front, Kyle Chapman, Right Wing Resistance (RWR) rose to notoriety due to street patrols in New Brighton, South Island, and was directed at Polynesian youths and Asian migrants.²⁴ In October of that year, around 30 RWR and NZNF activists joined the New Zealand National Front for a 'flag day' celebration.²⁵ Two years later, reports suggested that the group was responsible for distributing anti-immigrant flyers in Christchurch and Auckland. Despite posing the question 'Immigration or Invasion?' and trying to recruit new members through a phone number and email address, Chapman defended the action merely as a recruitment drive.²⁶ More worryingly, in November of the same year a dozen balaclava-clad RWR members forced themselves into a candidate meeting in Christchurch. They threatened to disrupt nationwide polling booths and claimed that the publicity stunt was designed to draw attention to how the government was "running the country into the ground."²⁷ Added to this stunt a year later, however, was an incidence of violence, with a stabbing taking place at RWR's annual 2016 flag day march.²⁸ Whilst now limited to small-scale forms of activism, RWR's heavily militaristic dress and direct-action style of activism caused great concern and demonstrated signs of violent intent. Also, of concern is the transnational reach of the group's activism, which inspires similar formations in the USA, Scandinavia and the UK. It is important to note the significant online profile of the group that has led to its proliferation outside of the New Zealand context.²⁹

RIGHT WING RESISTANCE

FOUNDER
Kyle Chapman

MEMBERSHIP
50-100 (est.)²³

IDEOLOGY

White Supremacism

Ethno-Nationalism

Neo-Nazism

NARRATIVE EXAMPLES

White Supremacism:
"If current trends continue, whites will soon be a minority in this country."

- An *excerpt* from RWR's 2011 'Asian Invasion' Posters.³⁰

Ethno-Nationalism:
"We're not about going around bashing up Polynesians or Asians. We'd probably say 'Hey, what are you doing? That's not really the white way.'"

- Member of RWR *talking* to a reporter at its October 2009 vigilante patrols.³¹

Neo-Nazism:
"We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children."

- Phrase modified from *Mein Kampf*, relating to the 14 words displayed on RWR's logo.

¹⁴ For more information about its formation and for the other activities of similar groups at this time, see: Spoonley, P., *The Politics of Nostalgia: Racism and the Extreme Right in New Zealand*, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1987), p. 149

¹⁵ Christ Church City Council, 'Declaration of Results of Elections', 9 October 2014, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20131022152155/http://www1.ccc.govt.nz/council/proceedings/2004/october/Clause1Attachment.pdf>

¹⁶ Chapman, K., 'Two groups poles apart to rally at Parliament,' *NZ Herald*, 23 October 2004, online at: https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=3603497

¹⁷ Ibid & Nightingale, M. 'Clashes outside parliament as protesters face National Front,' *NZ Herald*, 28 October 2017, https://www.nzherald.co.nz/politics/news/article.cfm?c_id=280&objectid=119377727

¹⁸ Radio New Zealand, 'Christchurch terror attack: Anti-immigration websites taken down after shootings', *RNZ.co.nz*, 16 March 2019, online at: <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/chch-terror/384867/christchurch-terror-attack-anti-immigration-websites-taken-down-after-shootings>

¹⁹ Nightingale, M. Op Cit, 2017.

²⁰ *New Zealand National Front*, 'Home Page', online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20041027022438/http://www.nationalfront.org.nz/>

²¹ *New Zealand National Front*, 'Principles of Policy' Page, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20041110010458/http://www.nationalfront.org.nz/policy.php>

²² Ibid.

²³ Spoonley, P. Comments to Author Via Email, March 2020, Leeds, UK.

²⁴ *New Zealand National Front*, 'Principles of Policy' Page, Op Cit.

²⁵ Hume, T., 'Far-right leader Kyle Chapman returns', *Stuff.co.nz*, 25 October 2009, online at: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/2998598/Far-right-leader-Kyle-Chapman-returns>

²⁶ Lynch, K., Op Cit., 12 January 2011.


²⁷ Lynch, K. "Guerrillas" in camo gear 'spoil' meeting', *Press.Co.Nz*, 23 November 2011, online at: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/election-2011/6015012/Guerrillas-in-camo-gear-spoil-meeting>

²⁸ Sherwood, S., 'Man stabbed at Right Wing Resistance party in Christchurch', *Stuff.Co.Nz*, 24 October 2016, online at: <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/85672679/man-stabbed-at-right-wing-resistance-party-in-christchurch>

²⁹ Spoonley, P. (2019) Comments to Author Via Email. Leeds, UK.

³⁰ Steward, I. 'Right-wing vigilantes on patrol in Christchurch', *Stuff.co.nz*, 29 October 2009, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/2999197/Right-wing-vigilantes-on-patrol-in-Christchurch>

³¹ Lynch, K., 'White supremacist flyers offend' *Stuff.co.nz*, 12 January 2011, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20110113100908/http://www.stuff.co.nz/the-press/news/christchurch/4532423/White-supremacist-flyers-offend>

DESCRIPTION	
	Formed in the late 1990s in Auckland, the 88 group were seen as one of the most violent neo-Nazi skinhead groups at the time (training in fighting and self-defence as well as conducting attacks on Somali refugee families). ³² Using the numerology of 88 to signify 'HH,' or "Heil Hitler," the group also distributed pro-Nazi literature, which was investigated by New Zealand's Race Relations office in 1997. ³³ After plans for a large National Meeting for White Nationalists from around New Zealand in their Auckland base was discovered in 1998, the group disbanded and tried to form their own chapters of the Texas-based Hammerskins Nations movement. Victims of poor organisation and an improving economy, ³⁴ ex-Unit 88 members have since formed other groups like the Frontline Skinheads, while others have joined the Psycho Skins (also now defunct). Though largely inactive, Unit 88 is a cautionary lesson in radical right violent activism, with police reports suggesting that white supremacist gangs would regularly roam and recruit new members on New Zealand's streets. ³⁵
UNIT 88	
FOUNDER Colin Ansell	
MEMBERSHIP 30-40 (est.)	
IDEOLOGY	
Neo-Nazism	Neo-Nazism: "The Celtic cross is probably the most popular symbol among (seemingly not only) European Neo-Nazis." <i>—Description of Celtic cross used by Unit 88 as its emblem on a website dedicated to interrogating radical right extremist iconography.³⁶</i>
White Supremacism	White Supremacism: "We have a youth division. We want to teach them to keep their blood pure, to keep ancestral lines pure. This is not racist - this is purist." <i>—Pamphlet distributed by Unit 88 in 1997.³⁷</i>
Violence	Violence: "Police said the gang, which reportedly has bases in several cities on both islands, was circulating literature urging members to 'waste' non-whites." <i>—An excerpt from news report at the time suggesting more violent motives by Unit 88 and other racist skinhead groups.³⁸</i>
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	

DESCRIPTION	
	Describing itself as a "martial-monastic Christian brotherhood" and founded by the neo-Nazi Daniel Waring, Wargus Christi formed in 2018 and became a key point of concern among experts and policymakers. Principally a radical right body-building club, in mid-December 2019 it was discovered that one of its activists was a New Zealand Defense Forces weapons specialist. He was taken into military custody for his involvement in the group. ³⁹ Launched in September 2019, Wargus Christi's Facebook page has become a source of homophobic, antisemitic, misogynist, and Islamophobic rhetoric. ⁴⁰ Moreover, it was also discovered that members of the group's Discord channel could be found as far afield as the US, UK, and Europe. ⁴¹ Most concerning is the violent imagery and background of the group's leader, Daniel Waring. In a December 2019 Facebook post, the group published a meme threatening violence on "fornicators" and advocates of "premarital sex." ⁴² In 2010, Waring was convicted of vandalising a church in Feilding, a town in the Manawatū District of North Island. ⁴³
WARGUS CHRISTI	
FOUNDER Daniel Waring	
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	
IDEOLOGY	
Christianism	Christianism: "Would be initiates must possess a knowledge of Christian religion, a commitment to athleticism, and the fanaticism to improve themselves by these things to the glory of God." <i>—A Comment by a member of Wargus Christi's Discord Server.⁴⁴</i>
Anti-Semitism	Anti-Semitism: "[Jews] killed the son of God and [are] the child of Satan." <i>—A Wargus Christi Telegram Post.⁴⁵</i>
Misogyny	Misogyny: "Satan simply works through the Jews (and women+gays)." <i>—A Wargus Christi Telegram Post.⁴⁶</i>
Islamophobia	Islamophobia: "Like Islam, Judaism is a diametrical enemy of Christ." <i>—A Wargus Christi October 2019 Facebook Post.⁴⁷</i>
NARRATIVE EXAMPLES	

³² Harmer, B, 'WYSIWYG New Zealand News', 22 November 1997, online at: https://web.archive.org/web/20081119155233/http://wysiwygnews.com/1997_News/1997November22.html.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Gilbert, J, Patched: The History of Gangs in New Zealand. Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press, 2013.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ CWR Flags, 'Neo-Nazi Flag Symbolism', online at: https://www.cwrflags.com/fotw/flags/qt-z_sym.html#cac.

³⁷ Barber, D, 'Upsurge in racism worries authorities', New Zealand Herald, 29 November 1997, online at: <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/24/053.html>.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Daadler, M, 'Soldier with far-right ties in military custody', *Newsroom*, 18 December 2019, online at: <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2019/12/18/952975/soldier-with-far-right-ties-in-military-custody>.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ *Unicorn Riot*, Twitter Post, 19 December 2019, online at: https://twitter.com/UR_Ninja/status/1207555074743926784.

⁴² Alexander Reid Ross, Twitter Post, 17 December 2019, online at: <https://twitter.com/areidross/status/1207061282894925824/photo/1>.

⁴³ Sutton, J, 'Neo-Nazi in attack on church', *Stuff.co.nz*, 14 July 2010, online at: <http://www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/news/3914200/Neo-Nazi-in-attack-on-church>.


⁴⁴ *Unicorn Riot*, 'Discord Leaks', online at: <https://discordleaks.unicornriot.ninja/discord/search?q=christian&s=181>.

⁴⁵ Daadler, M, 'Soldier with far-right ties arrested at Linton Military Camp', *Stuff.Co.Nz*, 18 December 2019, online at: <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/118280866/soldier-with-farright-ties-arrested-at-linton-military-camp>.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN NEW ZEALAND




THE BLACK ORDER

FOUNDER
Kerry Bolton

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Neo-Nazism
- Satanism
- Aryanism
- Violence



THE DOMINION MOVEMENT


FOUNDER
Unknown

MEMBERSHIP
Under 30

IDEOLOGY

- Identitarianism
- Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory
- Ethno-Nationalism
- Masculinism
- Anti-Māori Sentiment

EXTREME RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN NEW ZEALAND




ACTION ZEALANDIA

LEADER
Unknown

MEMBERSHIP
50-100 (est.)

IDEOLOGY

- Identitarianism
- Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory
- Masculinism
- Anti-Māori Sentiment



WESTERN GUARD

FOUNDER
Unknown

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- White Supremacism
- Anti-Globalist Sentiment
- Ethno-Nationalism

	
THE BLACK ORDER	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p> <p>Described in one scholarly account as a National Socialist “mail order ministry”, Black Order (or to give it its full name: ‘The Black Order of Pan Europa’) was set up in New Zealand as a successor to Order of the Left Hand Path and as an international distributor of the English-based group, the Order of the Nine Angles.⁴⁸ In recent years, it has met with some international success: a U.S. ‘nexion’, or group, was founded and lodges were later established in Britain, France, Italy, Finland, Sweden, Germany, and Australia.⁴⁹ The U.S. group subsequently fell out with that in New Zealand in September 1996 over the latter’s acceptance of homosexual members and considered changing its name to the ‘White Order.’⁵⁰ The New Zealand group’s quarterly membership bulletin, “The Flaming Sword,” and its successor, “The Nexus,” contain studies of Thulianism, Himmler’s Wewelsburg, tributes to old SS leaders, “a reprint of the ONA Mass of Heresy [and] contributions from [neo-Nazi ideologue] David Myatt on the galactic empire, aeonic strategy, and the cosmological magic of National Socialism.”⁵¹ Though not prominent in New Zealand itself, two scholars writing at the time of its emergence described the Black Order as “a remarkably influential purveyor of National Socialist-oriented occultism throughout the world.”⁵² Its website is still running,⁵³ and has established connections with violent radical right groups in the UK and further afield. Bolton, its leader, and a prolific author, strikes a somewhat lonely profile in New Zealand radical right extremist circles. A one-time neo-Nazi activist and author of ‘Thinkers of the Right: Challenging Materialism,’ his current activity appears to be concentrated on commenting on identitarian websites.⁵⁴</p>
FOUNDER Kerry Bolton	
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Neo-Nazism: “National-Socialism is so revolutionary and so important because it is a practical means to construct a balanced pagan, warrior, society and so create a new race of higher beings – a new type of person – thereby continuing the creative work of Nature.” <i>- An excerpt from Black Order ‘Paganism and National Socialism’ blogpost.⁵⁵</i></p>
Neo-Nazism	<p>Satanism: “So then: rant away at us – throw at us dumb words and epithets; we Satanists do not care. Those who cannot ignore words are not the ones for us; those who cannot defy all labels are still trapped by Nazarene duality – little though they realise it.” <i>- An excerpt from Black Order ‘The Heresy of Satanism and its Links with Northern Paganism’ blogpost.⁵⁶</i></p>
Satanism	
Aryanism	<p>Aryanism: “We do believe in the connection between Blood and Soil and thus our Aryan homelands are vital. We are born from these lands and our forefathers shed their Blood to hand it to us.” <i>- An excerpt from Black Order Website’s ‘A Sinister Dialogue’ Section.⁵⁷</i></p>
Violence	<p>Violence: “I desire a violent, domineering, fearless, and ferocious upcoming generation. It must be able to bear pain. It must show no signs whatsoever of weakness or tenderness. The free and magnificent predator must once again glint from their eyes.” <i>-An excerpt from Black Order website, quoting Hitler.⁵⁸</i></p>

⁴⁸ Kaplan, J & Weinberg, L.G., *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right*, London: Rutgers University Press, 1998, P143.
⁴⁹ Goodrick-Clarke, N., *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the Politics of Identity*. New York: New York University Press, 2003, P. 227.
⁵⁰ Kaplan, J & Weinberg, L.G., *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right*. London: Rutgers University Press, 1998, P.219.
⁵¹ Goodrick-Clarke, N., *Black Sun: Aryan Cults, Esoteric Nazism, and the Politics of Identity*. New York: New York University Press, 2003, PP.227-28.
⁵² Kaplan, J & Weinberg, L.G., *The Emergence of a Euro-American Radical Right*. London: Rutgers University Press, 1998, P. 144.
⁵³ For the Black Order website, see: <https://nexion88.theblackorder.org/>.
⁵⁴ Spoonley, P, Comments to Author Via Email, December 2019, Leeds, UK.
⁵⁵ *The Black Order*, ‘Paganism & National-Socialism’, 25 October 2019, online at: <https://nexion88.theblackorder.org/paganism-national-socialism/>.
⁵⁶ *The Black Order*, ‘The Heresy of Satanism and its Links with Northern Paganism’, 17 April 2019, online at: <https://nexion88.theblackorder.org/the-heresy-of-satanism-and-its-links-with-northern-paganism/>.
⁵⁷ *The Black Order*, ‘A Sinister Dialogue: Questions to the Black Order’, online at: <https://nexion88.theblackorder.org/a-sinister-dialogue/>.
⁵⁸ *The Black Order*, ‘The Black Order of Pan Europa’, online at: <https://nexion88.theblackorder.org/the-black-order/>.

	
THE DOMINION MOVEMENT	<p style="text-align: center;">DESCRIPTION</p> <p>In existence only between February 2018 and March 2019, the Dominion Movement (DM) described itself as a “grass-roots identitarian activist organisation committed to the revitalisation of our country and our people: White New Zealanders.” Engaging in ‘postering’ and ‘stickering’, outdoor training exercises (such as hiking and martial arts), and clean-up operations, DM became infamous for its leaflets in the Manawatu town of Feilding, bearing the slogans “reclaim your past, seize your future,” “our inheritance and our legacy” and “we are growing stronger.”⁵⁹ Like other radical right groups in the Australasian continent at the time of reporting, DM rallied around the issue of white South African farmers.⁶¹ Notable also were the global alt-right influencers Lauren Southern and Stefan Molyneux coming to speak in Auckland in July 2018.⁶² The website for the group was shut down⁶³ (alongside that for the New Zealand National Front) in the aftermath of the mosque shootings on 15 March 2019. Researchers note that DM members have now migrated to other radical right extremist groups, with strong evidence that DM members have become part of Action Zealandia in particular.⁶⁴ More recently and chillingly, revelations have surfaced of a former co-founder of the group, a soldier, being charged with sharing military information and found to be a member of the above Wargus Christ group.⁶⁵</p>
FOUNDER Unknown	
MEMBERSHIP Under 30	<p style="text-align: center;">NARRATIVE EXAMPLES</p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Identitarianism: “Our own stickers and posters spread the message of hope, strength, and identity all over New Zealand. Our website has articles and reports chronicling the many things we accomplish together, our thoughts on political and cultural developments, and deeper explorations of identity in 21st century New Zealand.” <i>- An excerpt from the Dominion Movement ‘About’ webpage.⁶⁶</i></p>
Identitarianism	<p>Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory: “Cultural Marxist subversives advocate for dangerous and repulsive causes like transgenderism and mass immigration [...] They support the globalist effort to replace the diversity of mankind with a rootless, undifferentiated, mongrelised humanity.” <i>- An excerpt from the Dominion Movement ‘About’ webpage.⁶⁷</i></p>
Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory	<p>Ethno-Nationalism: “We stand for a great national rejuvenation; a return to the essential and eternal values of family, community, and nation.” <i>- An excerpt from the Dominion Movement ‘About’ webpage.⁶⁸</i></p>
Ethno-Nationalism	
Masculinism	<p>Masculinism: “September was jam-packed in the Dominion Movement. We kicked the month off with a long-awaited boxing match between two of our guys putting each other to the test. After a thrilling match we had our victor, and we all headed to a nearby bar to celebrate.” <i>- An excerpt from the Dominion Movement ‘September Action Report’ webpage.⁶⁹</i></p>
Anti-Māori Sentiment	<p>Anti-Māori Sentiment: “Are we only supposed to remember the supposed crimes of our ancestors, our apparent trickery and the supposed theft of Māori land, the phoney victims of British oppression?” <i>- An excerpt from the Dominion Movement ‘Remembrance’ webpage⁷⁰</i></p>

⁵⁹ *The Dominion Movement*, Op Cit, 22 August 2018.
⁶⁰ Kilminster, S., ‘Leaflets promoting white New Zealanders are racist and alarming, resident says’, STUFF.CONZ, 17 December 2018, online at: <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/109405603/leaflets-promoting-white-new-zealanders-are-racist-and-alarming-resident-says>.
⁶¹ *The Dominion Movement*, Op Cit, September 2018.
⁶² *The Dominion Movement*, ‘July Action Report’, July 2018, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20180809092646/https://www.dominion-movement.com/monthly-action-report/>.
⁶³ *The Dominion Movement*, ‘Announcement’, 15 March 2019, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20190315144908/https://www.dominion-movement.com/>.
⁶⁴ Spoonley, P, Comments to Author Via Email, March 2020, Leeds, UK.
⁶⁵ Kerr, F & Manch T., ‘Soldier alleged to have traded military information was leader of white nationalist group’, STUFF.CONZ 22 January 2020, online at: <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/118952222/soldier-alleged-to-have-traded-military-information-was-leader-of-white-nationalist-group>.
⁶⁶ *The Dominion Movement*, ‘The Dominion Movement: A Primer’, 22 August 2018, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20181003143942/https://www.dominion-movement.com/articles/2018/8/the-dominion-movement-a-primer>.
⁶⁷ Ibid.
⁶⁸ Ibid.
⁶⁹ *The Dominion Movement*, ‘September Action Report’, September 2018, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20181003170803/https://www.dominion-movement.com/monthly-action-report/2018/9/september-action-report>.
⁷⁰ *The Dominion Movement*, ‘Remembrance’, 7 August 2018, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20181003171017/https://www.dominion-movement.com/articles/2018/8/remembrance>.


	DESCRIPTION
	<p>Founded in the wake of the Christchurch Mosque attacks, Action Zealanda (AZ) replaced the Dominion Movement as New Zealand's leading identitarian group. Mainly involved with outdoor training exercises (such as hiking and martial arts), 'stickering' and clean-up operations similar to its predecessor, Action Zealanda's main goal is to 'create a positive community and brotherhood of young European New Zealanders.'⁷² In August 2019 it was reported that Action Zealanda was recruiting on 4chan where one member of the group claimed that AZ would never be bought with 'Jewish money' and that the group needed to maintain 'good optics' for recruiting purposes.⁷³ Mixing radical right ethno-nationalism with environmental concerns, Action Zealanda dabbles in the same historical and demographic conspiracy theories as the larger, European chapters of Generation Identity. It also asserts that 'Action Zealanda hopes to create a unified voice for concerned NZ Europeans and halt this ongoing replacement.'⁷⁴ Most concerning of all is its more chauvinistic tendencies and the crisis framing of its key narratives. This means, respectively, that female members are not permitted,⁷⁵ alongside the fanciful suggestion that 'European identity is under threat within New Zealand.'⁷⁶ The current online followership consists of 612 on Twitter, 73 on Facebook, and 51 members of their Telegram channel. As one expert notes, it has a very active online presence and frequently posts lengthy and rather academic-sounding articles relating to various issues of identity.⁷⁷</p>
ACTION ZEALANDIA	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
LEADER Unknown	<p>Identitarianism: "European identity is under threat within New Zealand." <i>- An excerpt from the 'Ideals' Section of Action Zealanda's website.⁷⁸</i></p>
MEMBERSHIP 50-100 (est.) ⁷¹	<p>Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory: "Demographic replacement is being brought about by corporations and business that care more about importing foreign cheap labour to maximise their own profits... Action Zealanda hopes to create a unified voice for concerned NZ Europeans and halt this ongoing replacement." <i>- An excerpt from the 'Ideals' Section of the Action Zealanda website.⁷⁹</i></p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Masculinism: "Strong men are the foundation of strong communities and successful families... Having fit and educated men will shape the success of the movement." <i>- An excerpt from the 'Ideals' Section of the Action Zealanda website.⁸⁰</i></p>
Identitarianism	<p>Anti-Māori Sentiment: "Its [sic] unfortunate that the rights gained by the British and passed on the Māori when they gained the Rights and Privileges of British subjects following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi are now under threat by some powerful Māori for political gain." <i>- An excerpt from 'Who is looking to ban free speech?' Article on Action Zealanda Website.⁸¹</i></p>
Great Replacement Conspiracy Theory	
Masculinism	
Anti-Māori Sentiment	

⁷¹ Spoonley, P, Comments to Author Via Email, March 2020, Leeds, UK.
⁷² Admin H, Op Cit., 27 May 2019.
⁷³ Daalder, M., 'White supremacists still active in NZ,' Newsroom.Co.Nz, 10 August 2019, online at: <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2019/08/10/747406/white-supremacists-still-active-in-new-zealand>.
⁷⁴ Admin H, Op Cit., 27 May 2019.
⁷⁵ Ibid.
⁷⁶ Ibid.
⁷⁷ Spoonley, P, Comments to Author Via Email, December 2019, Leeds, UK.
⁷⁸ Admin H, 'Ideals', Action Zealanda Website, 27 May 2019, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200531072807/https://action-zealandia.com/ideals>.
⁷⁹ Ibid.
⁸⁰ Ibid.
⁸¹ Admin H, 'Who is Looking to Ban Free Speech?', Action Zealanda Website, 28 July 2018, online at: <https://action-zealandia.com/articles/who-is-looking-to-ban-free-speech>.

	DESCRIPTION
	<p>Emerging in early 2017, Western Guard came to prominence for its racist propaganda and leafleting stunts at Auckland University. Coming just weeks after news of the creation of an 'Auckland University European Students Association,' the group distributed posters reading "White Lives Matter! Let's take our country back" and "Hey White Man! Only you can prevent white genocide."⁸² Drawing inspiration from Vanguard America, "whose knowledge and actions were a guiding force for the creation of our organization and this declaration of intent," the white supremacist group's website suggests advocacy against multiculturalism and globalism, to be replaced by a "strong social order based on natural truths."⁸³ Largely initiated as a publicity stunt, the group soon went into abeyance after an initial flurry of activity.⁸⁴ Linking itself into the broader radical right extremist eco-system, however, the group was defended by the occult neo-Nazi ideologue, Kerry Bolton, on the radical right extremist website <i>Counter Currents</i>.⁸⁵ According to the Internet Archive, the last time the group's website was active was 7 November 2018.⁸⁶ With no new reports of its offline activism, the group is practically defunct.</p>
WESTERN GUARD	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
FOUNDER Unknown	<p>White Supremacism: "Hey White Man! Only you can prevent white genocide." <i>- Text on a poster distributed by Western Guard group at Auckland University campus.⁸⁷</i></p>
FOLLOWERSHIP Unknown	<p>Anti-Globalist Sentiment: "Western Guard stands indomitably opposed to the tyranny of globalism, a system under which nations are stripped of their heritage and people..." <i>- An excerpt from 'What Western Guard Stands For' article on Western Guard's (now defunct) website.⁸⁸</i></p>
IDEOLOGY	<p>Ethno-Nationalism: "A multicultural nation is no nation at all, but a collection of smaller ethnic nations ruled over by an increasingly overbearing State." <i>- An excerpt from 'What Western Guard Stands For' article on Western Guard's (now defunct) website.⁸⁹</i></p>
White Supremacism	
Anti-Globalist Sentiment	
Ethno-Nationalism	

⁸² Satherley, D. 'White supremacist posters on display at Auckland University,' *NewsHub*, 20 March 2017, online at: <https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2017/03/white-supremacist-posters-on-display-at-auckland-university.html>.
⁸³ Western Guard Website, 'Blog' Section, 2017, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170323225823/http://westernguard.info/blog/>.
⁸⁴ Ibid.
⁸⁵ Bolton, K., 'An Open Letter to the Race Relations Commissioner of New Zealand', *Counter Currents*, 23 March 2017, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170324055743/http://www.counter-currents.com/2017/03/an-open-letter-to-the-race-relations-commissioner-of-new-zealand/>.
⁸⁶ Western Guard Website, 'Info' Section, 2017, online at: https://web.archive.org/web/2018*/http://westernguard.info/.
⁸⁷ Satherley, D., Op Cit.
⁸⁸ Western Guard Website, 'What the Western Guard Stands For' Blog, 16 March 2017, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20170323184419/http://westernguard.info/2017/03/what-western-guard-stands-for>.
⁸⁹ Ibid.

MAINSTREAM RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN NEW ZEALAND




SOUTH ISLAND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

FOUNDER
Solomon Tor-Kilsen

FOLLOWERSHIP
14,234 (*Facebook*)

IDEOLOGY

- Separatist Nationalism
- Anti-Globalism
- Economic Protectionism



SURVIVE CLUB


FOUNDER
Kyle Chapman

MEMBERSHIP
Unknown

IDEOLOGY

- Survivalism
- Militarism
- Chauvinism

MAINSTREAM RADICAL RIGHT GROUPS IN NEW ZEALAND




YELLOW VESTS NEW ZEALAND

FOUNDERS
Bonita Belworthy
Stephanie Harawira

ONLINE MEMBERSHIP
584

IDEOLOGY

- Ethno-Nationalism
- Anti-Establishment Sentiment
- Autochtonism



RIGHT MINDS NZ

FOUNDER
Dieuwe de Boer

ONLINE MEMBERSHIP
3,569
2,751 (*Facebook*),
373 (*Twitter*) & 445 (*YouTube*)

IDEOLOGY

- Western Chauvinism
- Civic Nationalism
- Anti-Globalist Sentiment
- Anti-Māori Sentiment

	DESCRIPTION
SOUTH ISLAND INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT	<p>Founded in late 2013, the South Island Independence Movement has become a lightning rod for discontent aimed at immigrants, minority religious groups and the New Zealand government.⁹⁰ As noted by the online movement's founder, Solomon Tor-Kilsen, the first few years of the group's activities saw it struggle for attention, only "attracting a few dozen likes and members". Instead, it acted as "a platform to share news and articles" related to South Island's independence cause.⁹¹ According to Tor-Kilsen, it was only after the Brexit Referendum, the election of Donald Trump and a more gradual rise of the transnational radical right that the group started receiving heightened followership and attention. According to the group's 'About' webpage, by the end of 2016 "[p]eople around the world suddenly became inspired to the fact, that they, the people, could stand up and make a difference."⁹² It now claims to have 1,100 members and 11,500 Facebook-likes. While not radical right extremist in outlook, concerns have been raised about the racist and conspiratorial elements of content shared on its Facebook page as well as its crossover with anti-establishment themes propagated by radical right actors in New Zealand context.⁹³ In particular, its criticism of the UN migration pact has the potential to become a lightning rod for radical right extremist actors.</p>
FOUNDER Solomon Tor-Kilsen	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP 14,234 (<i>Facebook</i>)	<p>Separatist Nationalism: "Complete South Island Independence from the North Island & the Wellingtonian Government." - <i>One of the SIIM's key claims, as cited on its website.</i>⁹⁴</p>
IDEOLOGY Separatist Nationalism	<p>Anti-Globalism: "Leave the UN, TPPA and other Internationalist Trade Deals and Globalist Organisations." - <i>One of the SIIM's key policies, as cited on its website.</i>⁹⁵</p>
Anti-Globalism	<p>Economic Protectionism: "In order to grow a stronger South Island and better secure our chances of actually achieving independence, we need to build and fortify our own internal Southern Economy." - <i>One of the SIIM's key demands, as cited on its website.</i>⁹⁶</p>
Economic Protectionism	

SURVIVE CLUB	DESCRIPTION
SURVIVE CLUB	<p>Established in 2010 by the former New Zealand National Front Leader, Kyle Chapman, Survive Club was set up with the "primary purpose to warn everyone about the possibilities of disaster."⁹⁷ Denying being a militia and any links to racist groups, the group told reporters that internal conflict could destabilise the country, initially pointing the finger at gangs.⁹⁸ Yet it has since come to light that the group teaches hand-to-hand combat and runs a so-called 'Fight Club.' The group also denies any correlation between their activities and the so-called 'training camps' that were designed to demonstrate the vigour and battle readiness of its members. While not directly connected to violent extremist groups, then, Survive Club's militaristic techniques and crisis narratives suggested potential vigilantism with the potential to fuel extremist narratives.⁹⁹ Such activist groups often give rise to a dangerous form of chauvinism, as seen in other radical right extremist groups, for instance: "We're patriarchal people. We defend our own and at the end of the day. We'll be surviving."¹⁰⁰</p>
FOUNDER Kyle Chapman	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
MEMBERSHIP Unknown	<p>Survivalism: "It's up to what you do to prepare. When your life is threatened, there is no more need for money or for your expensive items. The real currency will be food and water." - <i>An excerpt from Survive Club's 'About Us' webpage.</i>¹⁰¹</p>
IDEOLOGY Survivalism	<p>Militarism: "At Survive Club, we want to prepare for anything, so we train and build our supplies, we organise things like a military operation. Anyone who wants to link with us on this level is welcome to do so." - <i>An excerpt from Survive Club's 'About Us' webpage.</i>¹⁰²</p>
Militarism	<p>Chauvinism: "Every member, every male must swear to a conduct and that is to love and protect their family. Provide food[,] clothes, roof and be prepared to defend them - even if it cost him his life." - <i>An excerpt from an interview with Survive Club member, Craig Stratton.</i>¹⁰³</p>
Chauvinism	

⁹⁰ Hudson, D., 'Racist concerns over SI Independence Site', *Otago Daily Times*, 6 July 2019, online at: <https://www.odt.co.nz/regions/racist-concerns-over-si-independence-site>.

⁹¹ *South Island Independence Movement*, 'About' Page, 2019, online at: <http://southislandmovement.com/about-the-movement/>.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Hudson, D., 'Racist concerns over SI Independence Site', *Otago Daily Times*, 6 July 2019, online at: <https://www.odt.co.nz/regions/racist-concerns-over-si-independence-site>.

⁹⁴ *South Island Independence Movement*, 'Welcome to SIIM' Page, 25 August 2019, online at: <http://southislandmovement.com/>.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Survive Club, Op Cit., 2009.

⁹⁸ *Newshub*, Op Cit., 27 August 2008, online at: <https://www.newshub.co.nz/nznews/rational-survivalists-or-racial-supremacists-2008082719>.

⁹⁹ See: Chapter 4 of J.M.Berger, *Extremism*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018 & Reed, A. & Dowling, J., 'The Role of Historical Narratives in Extremist Propaganda', *Defence Strategic Communications*, Volume 4, 2018, DOI 10.30966/2018.RIGA.4.3.

⁹⁷ Survive Club, Op Cit., 2009.

⁹⁸ *Newshub*, Op Cit., 27 August 2008, online at: <https://www.newshub.co.nz/nznews/rational-survivalists-or-racial-supremacists-2008082719>.

⁹⁹ See: Chapter 4 of J.M.Berger, *Extremism*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018 & Reed, A. & Dowling, J., 'The Role of Historical Narratives in Extremist Propaganda', *Defence Strategic Communications*, Volume 4, 2018, DOI 10.30966/2018.RIGA.4.3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Survive Club, 'About Us' Page, 24 January 2009, online at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20090124045058/http://surviveclub.org.nz/default.aspx?page=aboutUs>.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ *Newshub*, 'Rational survivalists, or racial supremacists?', 27 August 2008, online at: <https://www.newshub.co.nz/nznews/rational-survivalists-or-racial-supremacists-2008082719>.

DESCRIPTION	
	<p>Set up in December 2018, the Yellow Vests New Zealand Facebook mobilises against New Zealand signing the UN Migration Pact. It also aims to organise a 300,000-person march in time for the 2020 New Zealand elections. It rejects various international initiatives like Agenda 21, TPPA, and the use of 1080 (the latter is the name of a chemical used in New Zealand to control populations of possums, rats, stoats, and rabbits). Organised by the One-Party activist, Stephanie Harawira, the group is an example of an autochthonous movement, meaning it advocates for a kind of primordial, fundamental right to belong.¹⁰⁵ More problematic, however, is the (white) nativist ideology and politics of fear disseminated within its narratives. A fitting example is the suggestion that the UN Migration Pact will lead to immigration 'No Go Zones,' with the Yellow Vests calling upon followers in response "To protect our lands, our water, our airwaves, our borders, our national security, our sovereignty, our foods, our education, our health, our foods, our environment, our justice, our religious freedoms, our people, our culture, our kids."¹⁰⁶ Such survivalist rhetoric reinforces the immediacy of an allegedly existential problem in the mind of its followers, even without basic checks into the veracity of the narrative itself.</p>
YELLOW VESTS NEW ZEALAND	
FOUNDERS	
	Bonita Belworthy Stephanie Harawira
MEMBERSHIP	
	584 ¹⁰⁴
IDEOLOGY	
Ethno-Nationalism	
Anti-Establishment Sentiment	
Autochtonism	
	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
	<p>Ethno-Nationalism: "If you believe illegal immigrants have the same rights as citizens of your country, you should have no problem with someone breaking into your house in the middle of the night..." <i>- Post from Yellow Vests New Zealand member.¹⁰⁷</i></p> <p>Anti-Establishment Sentiment: "We stand against UN Migration Pact - and the Globalist elite - Mass Migration." <i>- Post from Yellow Vests New Zealand founder, Stephanie Harawira.¹⁰⁸</i></p> <p>Autochtonism: "Our focus is on the Kaupapa - our Nation! - You are welcome to join and welcome to leave! We bless you on the way out! And Yes, we are Christians." <i>- Post from Yellow Vests New Zealand founder, Stephanie Harawira.¹⁰⁹</i></p>

DESCRIPTION	
	<p>Formed in late 2016, Right Minds describes itself as "a broad church right-wing movement for New Zealand conservatives, libertarians, traditionalists, capitalists, and nationalists."¹¹¹ Founded by the Dutch-born, alt-right activist Dieuwe de Boer, it has (along with similar groups such as NZ Sovereignty and Yellow Vests New Zealand) emerged as a prominent advocate of scrapping the UN Migration agreement. It is also a vocal defender of other alt-right activists' free speech, allegedly under threat in New Zealand.¹¹² Worryingly, in March 2019 it was reported that de Boer acknowledged that there were overlaps between his movement and the Christchurch attacker: "we [both] favour nationalism and have an opposition to the United Nations. We want stronger controls on immigration. We haven't talked much about replacement, but I would definitely highlight that Western nations, in general, have low birth rates."¹¹³ De Boer also posted blogs critical of Islam and so-called 'Islamic ideology' in the wake of the Christchurch attack, which may be suggestive of a radicalisation of the site's rhetoric, post-Christchurch.¹¹⁴</p>
RIGHT MINDS NZ	
FOUNDER	
	Dieuwe de Boer
MEMBERSHIP	
	3,569 2,751 (Facebook), 373 (Twitter) 👍 445 (YouTube) ¹¹⁰
IDEOLOGY	
Western Chauvinism	
Civic Nationalism	
Anti-Globalist Sentiment	
Anti-Māori Sentiment	
	NARRATIVE EXAMPLES
	<p>Western Chauvinism: "Sign up to stay informed and receive updates about new articles, events, and other ongoings [sic] in the fight for freedom, justice, and Western Civilisation right here in God's Own." <i>- An excerpt from Right Minds NZ's website.¹¹⁵</i></p> <p>Civic Nationalism: "It's not about being against immigration in general but about having people who will want to fit in, who will want to integrate and will want to participate in our society without turning it into the society that they left for a reason." <i>- Comments by Right Minds NZ leader, Dieuwe de Boer, on the Australian-based Unshackled website.¹¹⁶</i></p> <p>Anti-Globalist Sentiment: "We're not really big fans of leftists, globalists, cronyists, fascists, communists, and SJWs [Social Justice Warriors]." <i>- An excerpt from Right Minds NZ's website.¹¹⁷</i></p> <p>Anti-Māori Sentiment: "It's not just about the number of births either, nearly half are now out of wedlock, for Māori it's nearly 80%, but that's a story for another time." <i>- An excerpt from Right Minds NZ's Blog titled 'Jacinda is Asked the Question of Our Time'.¹¹⁸</i></p>

¹⁰⁴ This is Yellow Vests New Zealand's public Facebook group, as of June 2020.

¹⁰⁵ See Geschiere, P., *The Perils of Belonging: Autochthony, Citizenship, and Exclusion in Africa and Europe*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

¹⁰⁶ 'Yellow Vests New Zealand', Public Facebook Page, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/yellowvestsnz/>.

¹⁰⁷ 'Yellow Vests New Zealand', Facebook Post, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/yellowvestsnz/permalink/1687752291324868>.

¹⁰⁸ 'Yellow Vests New Zealand', Facebook Post, online at: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/yellowvestsnz/permalink/2000859743347453/>.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Figures correct at time of initial report writing in January 2020.

¹¹¹ Right Minds Website, 'About Us' Page, Op Cit.

¹¹² Right Minds Article, 'The Day Free Speech in NZ Died', 2019, online at: <https://www.rightminds.nz/articles/day-free-speech-nz-died>.

¹¹³ Matthews, P., 'Radical losers and lone wolves: What drives the alt-right?', *Stuff.co.nz*, 23 March 2019, online at: <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-shooting/111387889/radical-losers-and-lone-wolves-what-drives-the-alt-right>.

¹¹⁴ Right Minds Article, 'The Victims of Christchurch Mosque Attacks Should Be Mourned, Not Politicised', 15 March 2019, online at: <https://www.rightminds.nz/articles/victims-christchurch-mosque-attacks-should-be-mourned-not-politicised>.

¹¹⁵ Right Minds Website, 'About Us' Page, 2019, online at: <https://www.rightminds.nz/about-us-our-mission>.

¹¹⁶ Beckford, G., 'New alt-right political groups hiding in plain sight - investigation', *Radio New Zealand*, 28 April 2019, online at: <https://www.rnz.co.nz/national/programmes/insight/audio/2018692368/new-alt-right-political-groups-hiding-in-plain-sight-investigation>.

¹¹⁷ Right Minds Website, 'About Us' Page, Op Cit.

¹¹⁸ De Boer, D., 'Jacinda is Asked the Question of Our Time', *Right Minds NZ*, 2 August 2017, online at: <https://www.rightminds.nz/articles/jacinda-asked-question-our-time>.

SUMMARY

Given the above survey of New Zealand-based radical right actors, it is apparent that key narratives centre upon ethno-nationalism and/or white supremacy, antisemitic and Islamophobic tropes, anti-establishment sentiment, environmentalism, and chauvinism at this present time. Notwithstanding the emphasis upon environmental conservation, this is largely in keeping with other radical right contexts in Europe, North America, and elsewhere. By contrast, historically speaking, radical right violence has been minimal in New Zealand, with few examples aside from the Fourth Reich, Philip Arps and, of course, the Christchurch shooter. This is not to say, however, that the social divisions manipulated by such narratives and supplemented by the presence of white supremacist prison gangs in the country will continue to fail in manifesting as political violence in the future.

Drawing upon the above extremist actor profiles in New Zealand, these narratives can be condensed into the following country-specific positions:

1. Anti-Māori Narratives: The European basis of New Zealand is undermined by the recognition of Māori as indigenous people through te reo Māori (the Māori language) and te ao Māori (the Māori world). Māori are given a wrongfully privileged status over whites as Tangata Whenua (People of

the Land), and the former must accept a situation whereby western European people are socially and politically dominant.

- 2. Anti-Immigrant Narrative:** Majority of ethnic identities are under threat from Muslim, Asian, and non-white migration; elites are complicit in a ‘white genocide’ that will invariably end in a ‘race war’ or a ‘great replacement’ of New Zealand-born Christian whites by non-whites and Muslims.¹¹⁹
- 3. Anti-Establishment Narrative:** Governments and multinational companies have too much power, especially in New Zealand cities; since their role is to ostensibly to keep ‘the people’ down, there is a revolutionary need to rise against them.¹²⁰
- 4. Chauvinist Narrative:** Societies are under threat because men cannot live ‘according to their nature;’ feminists and the LGBT community are considered race traitors and in response, New Zealand-based whites must return to a heteronormative past.
- 5. Environmentalist Narrative:** The earth is running out of resources and overcrowding by the overbreeding of non-whites is a tangible threat; not everyone will be able to hold out, it is vital to therefore ensure that ‘our’ (i.e. white) people survive.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ As one key expert on radical right extremism in New Zealand notes (Spoonley December 2019), white genocide is present but not as common as in European or North American contexts. See summary narratives in section three for key focus.

¹²⁰ As the same expert on radical right extremism in New Zealand notes, this is often associated with the belief in an international conspiracy, and traditionally has been connected with Jews and Jewish organisations (ibid).

¹²¹ Please note this was only espoused by the Dominion Group and Action Zealandia at the time of writing.

PART TWO

RADICAL RIGHT COUNTER-NARRATIVES IN NEW ZEALAND

TAPPING INTO ANTI-MAORI, ANTI-IMMIGRANT, ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT, CHAUVINIST, AND BLOOD AND SOIL ENVIRONMENTALIST SENTIMENTS

If attempting to construct counter-narratives in order to disrupt, delegitimise and/or devalue the appeal of the above narratives, it is useful to identify what we can call ‘entry points’ within the structure of extremist narratives in order to unpick their veracity, authenticity, and believability. Radical right counter-narratives are best constructed by breaking down such narratives into their orientation (i.e. who, what, where, how, and when), action (i.e. evaluation of orientation) and resolution (i.e. prescribed course of action).¹²² Whilst it might be unprofitable to contest the factual veracity of the orientation statement (see p. 6 of the RRCN Expert Workshop Report), both the action and solution sections of the narrative might be more profitably contested. The rationale behind this technique is that radical right extremists tend to do the most harm in how they interpret and offer solutions to what is happening ‘out there,’ and how they frame reality. Opinions are also a softer target than facts, and this maps onto how extremists use grievances to add their own ideological ‘twist’ on real world events. Therefore disputing the action and resolution statement are more profitable as it means practitioners are disputing the ideological interpretation of the truth (or factual reality) presented, rather than the reality itself. Below are some key counter-narratives that

could be deployed by practitioners to respond to the radical right extremist messages in New Zealand identified above:

1. **Anti-Māori Counter-narrative:** Emphasise the foundational nature of bicultural concepts (such as te reo Māori and te ao Māori) and legacies of the Treaty of Waitangi, the latter of which collectively ensured the rights of all New Zealanders. In addition, stress the importance of shared interests of Māori and Europeans through communal sporting programmes like cricket and rugby, especially the All Blacks. Recount positive Māori contributions to national prosperity, and examples of cross-cultural groups and initiatives, such as bicultural agreements. Use offline sporting initiatives to build solidarity at the grassroots and use online case-study examples of the above as an alternative narrative to the ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ propagated by radical right groups.
2. **Anti-Immigrant Counter-narrative:** Highlight the positive contribution of migrants and non-native-born nationals to New Zealand’s economy and culture, such as Scandinavians, who settled in Manawatu and Hawke’s Bay in the 1870s, and the Chinese migrants

¹²² This is a simplified version of a similar schema, laid out in: Labov, W., & Waletzky, J., ‘Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience’, *Journal of Narrative & Life History*, 7(1-4), 1997, 3-38, online at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/jnlh.7.02nar>

who were attracted by the gold rushes in the 1860s;¹²³ tackle prejudice and racism through ideas of nationhood that foster more open viewpoints and a less rigid conception of foreigners, refugees, and migrants through teaching about New Zealand's migrant history.

3. **Anti-Establishment Counter-narrative:** Stress the democratic legitimacy of domestic institutions and the need to participate in order to change the political system. Give examples of productive grassroots movements and constructive political campaigns. Talk of efficiencies and benefits in the current system as well as risks of extra-parliamentary activism. Listen to and allay concerns of perceived undue government influence, particularly on the subject of gun rights and the UN Migration Pact.
4. **Chauvinist Counter-narrative:** Create a new, inclusive account of contemporary gender roles (including masculinity) in which feminists and LGBTQ+ activists have empowered rather than emasculated society. Here, use examples such as Kate Sheppard, a prominent member of New Zealand's Women Suffrage movement but also a key actor in the country's temperance movement. Another could be Marilyn Waring, a prominent LGBTQ+ activist and ecological sustainability campaigner, thus resonating with radical right extremists' environmental concerns outlined above. Move beyond a reductive view of masculinity to a notion of social construction.
5. **Environmentalist Counter-narrative:** Demonstrate a commitment to protecting the environment (i.e. you want the same result), without discussing birth rates or non-white immigration. Try to outline synergies with left-wing activities on the issue (e.g. topics of sustainability and maintenance of sites of natural beauty). Also, where possible, try to debunk false demographic pro-

jections and statistics by either well-targeted, humorous campaigns or explanation of false assumptions underlying such models.

Like in Australia, the radical right extremist threat has only been recognised recently. This means that there are few examples of formal programmes and interventions designed to mitigate or tackle head-on forms of radical right extremist terrorism and violence. Such a lacuna is obviously related to the low threat picture posed by radical right extremism and terrorism in general in New Zealand prior to the tragic events of 15 March 2019. It is, therefore, a propitious time for police, government, and civil society to redouble their efforts in thinking about how to prevent another similar attack through developing a radical right counter-narrative campaign.

Having said this, one of the best examples of radical right counter-narratives, or strategic communications relating to radical right extremism, came in the wake of the Christchurch terror attacks. As a policy advisor from New Zealand's Prime Minister Office expressed at the RRCN project's September 2019 expert workshop, New Zealand is "a diverse and young country, still shaping narratives of who they are as a nation."¹²⁴ The same advisor also stated that mass-casualty-style terror attacks are also new in the New Zealand context, with radical right terror attacks tending to be of the solo actor variety more recently.¹²⁵ Following the mosque shootings in March 2019, priorities in the immediate aftermath explicitly related to nation shaping through narratives and messaging ("what it means to be a New Zealander"), with a strict emphasis on inclusivity and tolerance. Such an emphasis of tolerance were demonstrated through the focus placed on authentically advanced narratives of inclusivity from the Prime Minister, and extended the notion to the local Muslim community that 'you are one of us' in the wake of such radical right attacks and atrocities.



FIGURE 6 New Zealand Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, talking to the families of victims after the Christchurch attack¹²⁷

Crucially, another key strand of New Zealand's post-Christchurch response was an emotive element. On the very day of the shooting, New Zealand's Prime Minister and its Police Commissioner directly interacted with the public in order to show "empathy, acceptance and reassurance."¹²⁸ This involved talking to the victims and not about the ideology or background of the terrorist perpetrator ("You are not one of us"), providing an excellent example of an alternative narrative. As a key strand of this powerful response, New Zealand's Prime Minister, Jacinda Ardern, visibly spent time with the families and victims of the massacre. (Such an act was no mere photo opportunity.) This, again, focussed media attention upon the victims, while assisting with community reassurance ("You are one of us") more broadly in what is an invariably fragile post-attack context.

Finally, a third key narrative in the post-attack response was a push for a "global response." Two months after the attack, for example, Emmanuel Macron and Jacinda Ardern met ministers from all G7 nations and the leaders of key internet platforms (including Google, Facebook, Microsoft and Twitter) in what was dubbed the "Christchurch call for action." This pledge saw New Zealand leading other assembled nations and key World Wide Web stakeholders to adopt a "plan of action" for preventing extremist or terrorist material from going viral online. In conjunction with this, domestically, New Zealand gun laws were tightened, circulation of the shooter's manifesto and attack video

were made illegal, and a Royal Commission of Inquiry was set up into the attacks, tasked with learning counter-terrorism lessons from the horrific attack.¹²⁹ Such an international agreement and call galvanised a global response around a set of norms which, in turn, have been instrumental in mobilising individual governments and companies to take action on right-wing extremism.

In consequence, the Christchurch attack and New Zealand's impassioned response to it witnessed a proactive shift in seizing the initiative against radical right violent extremism. It focused on everyday individuals and victims, thus derailing tabloid-type attempts to place the attacker at the heart of the national discussion. Narratives used at the time of the attack by Ardern show a high level of coherence and fidelity,¹³⁰ borne out in her interweaving micro-level narratives about individuals affected by the attack, while also operating at the macro level by reaffirming 'inclusive' and 'tolerant' aspects of New Zealand's national identity.¹³¹ Such a weaving of macro and micro ideas of New Zealand national identity demonstrated the power of administering an alternative narrative to foster a new sense of belonging and acceptance, refusing the anti-Muslim, exclusivist ideology of the terrorist perpetrator and instead placing a new onus on including migrant members of New Zealand's national community,¹³² and thus using language to demonstrate inclusive notions of New Zealand as a nation ("you are one of us").

¹²³ This is especially the case given that the 2018 New Zealand Census indicates that 27% of New Zealanders were born overseas, and this figure rises to 40% in the largest city, Auckland. (Spoonley 2020)

¹²⁴ Workshop Participant Presentation, 'Right-wing counter-narratives – York, 24-25 September 2019', RRCN Expert Workshop, 25 September 2019.

¹²⁵ Though some would dispute this: Battersby, J. & Ball, R., 'Christchurch in the context of New Zealand terrorism and right wing extremism', *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 14:3, 2019, 191-207, DOI: 10.1080/18335330.2019.1662077.

¹²⁶ For more on the importance of stories and culture in counter-terrorism, see: Glazzard, A., 'Losing the Plot: Narrative, Counter-Narrative and Violent Extremism', ICCT Research Paper, May 2017, online at: <https://icct.nl/publication/losing-the-plot-narrative-counter-narrative-and-violent-extremism/>.

¹²⁷ Berlinger, J., 'First Bodies returned to families as New Zealand PM calls for unity after Christchurch attack', CNN, 19 March 2019, online at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2019/03/19/asia/new-zealand-mosque-shooting-intl/index.html>.

¹²⁸ Workshop Participant Presentation (25 September 2019).

¹²⁹ This will now report in July 2020 due to an expanded budget and call for evidence. For more details, see: <https://christchurchattack.royalcommission.nz/>.

¹³⁰ See Fisher, W. R., *Human communication as narration: Toward a philosophy of reason, value, and action*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987.

¹³¹ Ardern, J., 'Ministerial Statements — Mosque Terror Attacks—Christchurch', NZ PARLIAMENT, 19 March 2019, online at: https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/rhr/combined/HansDeb_20190319_20190319_08.

¹³² This was further seen in the media and society through Ardern's wearing a burqa in the week after the attack, as well as the use of Arabic greetings, customs and calls to prayer in public spaces. See: Morrison, S., 'New Zealand women wear headscarves in powerful display of solidarity after mosque attacks', *Evening Standard*, 22 March 2019, online at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/world/headscarf-for-harmony-new-zealand-women-cover-their-hair-in-solidarity-with-muslim-community-in-a4098196.html>

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This report has provided a survey of narratives and potential counter-messaging to radical right extremism in New Zealand following the Christchurch terrorist attack. Moving from street-based activism to cellular-based groupuscules and online influence organisations, preceding sections have identified the problematic links between radical right extremist groups, survivalists, and gang culture in New Zealand. Other issues that appear to be animating radical right extremism at this time include the push back against gun restrictions in the post-Christchurch context and nativist opposition to the 2018 UN migration pact. These have fed threat narratives around a constellation of ethno-nationalist, white supremacist, antisemitic, Islamophobic, anti-establishment, environmentalist, and chauvinist concerns that map onto these mainstream issues and have (an albeit limited) violent potential.¹³³ In particular, chauvinism and the notion of an idealised strong and fearless man appear to be driving much of the extreme rhetoric amongst New Zealand's radical right.

It is worth reiterating that the government's response provides a unique case study of how practitioners can respond to these sorts of attacks. With counter-narratives in particular, practitioners would be advised to draw on the strategic communications response in New Zealand, especially by the Prime Minister's office and Police Commissioner in the immediate post-attack context. Here, a number of key lessons can be carried forward:

1. The importance of inclusive messaging around nationhood and identity in the immediate aftermath of a radical

right extremist attack, designed to shape mainstream discourse against that of the perpetrator.

2. The importance of leadership, especially at the top of Government, in creating and conveying these messages.
3. The importance of empathetic and emotive language when responding with a focus on victims rather than the radical right attacker.
4. And, the importance of a co-ordinated counter-messaging response that can help to delegitimise the perpetrator's ideological claims.

Finally, a number of core counter-narrative responses emerge from the New Zealand context that might be useful in addressing the constellation of ethno-nationalist, white supremacist, antisemitic, Islamophobic, anti-establishment, environmentalist and chauvinist messages propagated by the radical right in New Zealand at this present moment. These include (but are not limited to):

1. A demonstration of common Māori and European identities through building on bicultural agreements and sports activities.
2. An emphasis on the positive contributions of immigrants to the country's culture and prosperity.
3. Reinforcing the democratic legitimacy of domestic institutions and examples of elite listening to the 'people,' particularly on the subject of gun rights and the UN Migration Pact.
4. Telling the stories of feminist and LGBTQ+ activists (such as Kate Sheppard & Marilyn Waring) who have

enlarged the rights and plurality of ideas existing within New Zealand's democracy.

By mobilising these radical right counter-narratives and identifying new grievances that might be appropriated by this form of ideological extremism (in this, gun rights and UN migration compacts), NGOs, practitioners, and policy-makers will therefore be better equipped at dealing with radical right extremism in New Zealand moving forward. Reflecting on its response to terrorist atrocities, New Zealand has been given a rare moment to experience the terrible throes of radical right extremism in the present moment. In the future, therefore, it is vital that New Zealand police, governments, and NGOs avoid such a unique experience repeating itself by acting in a preventative manner when it comes radical right extremism. Such an approach will involve funding and facilitating countering violent extremism and counter-narrative projects that undermine the multiple prejudices and grievances that give rise to this form of activism in the first place. Only then will New Zealand halt the scourge of radical right extremism in its midst.

¹³³ According to recent polling and the World Talent Competitiveness Report, New Zealand is either #1 or #2 globally on tolerance towards minorities or immigrants. This is reinforced by the acceptance the Maori as the indigenous people of NZ with special and different rights to other citizens. Only 10-12% are anxious or opposed to Maori or foreigner rights. Hence, some academic experts argue that there is limited mobilisation potential for radical right extremists in New Zealand. (Spoonley December 2019)



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Radical Right