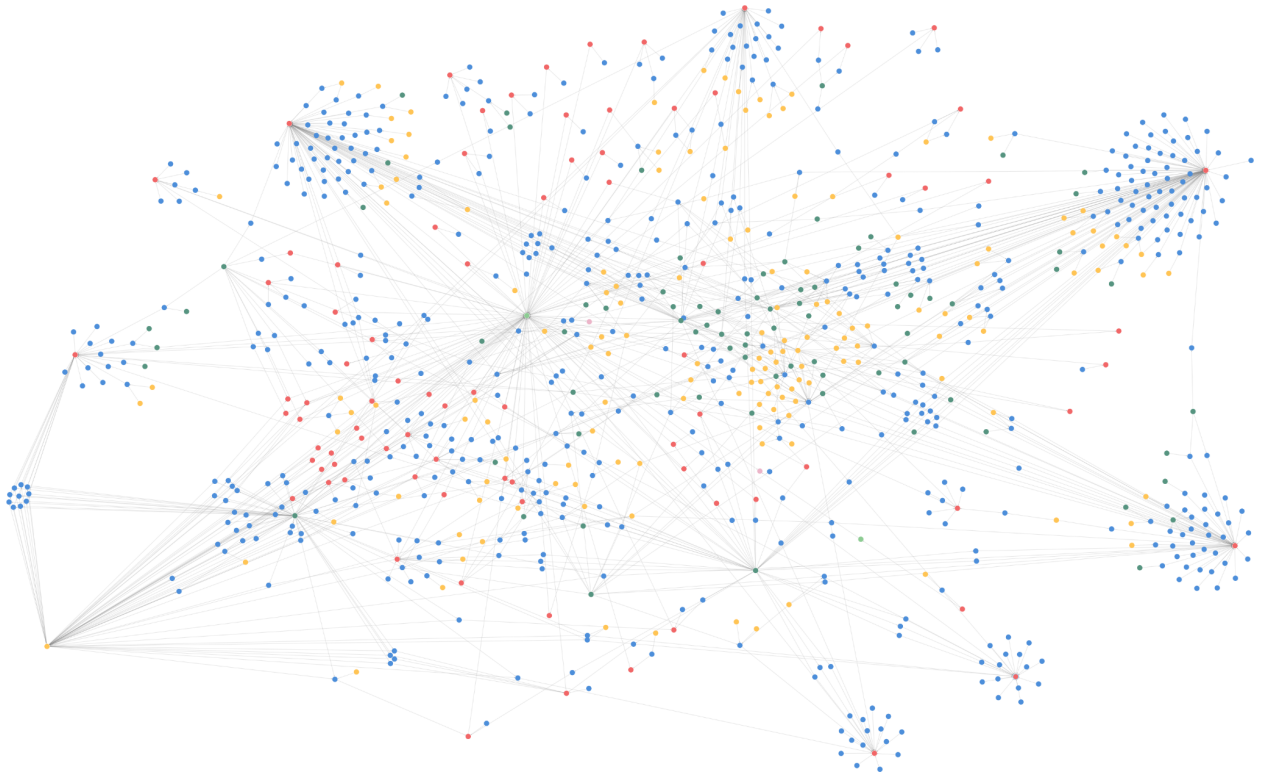


# Aotearoa New Zealand Hate Map



By the  
Khalifa Ihler Institute  
with support from  
InternetNZ and Glitterpill LLC



[www.hatemap.io](http://www.hatemap.io)

*Kotahi te kowhāo o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro ma te miro whero me te miro pango.*  
There is but one eye of the needle through which the white, the red and the black threads pass.  
– Pōtatau Te Wherowhero

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*Thanks to InternetNZ for funding the production of this report and the underlying dataset, and to Glitterpill LLC for providing technical services and expertise.*



# Our Kaupapa (purpose)

At the Khalifa Ihler Institute and at Glitterpill, we define violent extremism as the violent denial of diversity. To counter this, we promote the dignity, rights, and value of all human life.

Through our work on the Hate Map, we aim to make data on the violent denial of diversity in Aotearoa New Zealand, accessible and visible to all, especially to communities most impacted by conspiracy theories, disinformation, hate speech, racism, and white supremacy. By publishing this data and by mapping behaviors, groups, individuals, and networks that threaten diversity, we hope to help further empower communities in acting to keep each other safe and confronting conspiracy, hatred, and racism collectively, especially those working on anti-fascist and anti-racist kaupapa as [tangata whenua](#) and [tangata Tiriti](#), [tauiwi](#) and [tangata moana](#).

The proliferation of hate speech and hate crimes poses a significant threat to social cohesion, democratic values, and collective and individual well-being. It is imperative to develop effective tools capable of detecting, understanding, and combating such activities. Traditional approaches often focus on either online or offline contexts but fail to capture the complex interplay between them. Furthermore, many databases that are currently available focus only on the most extreme and egregious events that rise to the attention of mass media but do not capture the precursors to these acts of direct violence.

As extremism scholar J.M. Berger (2018) states in this helpful analogy from his book, *Extremism*,<sup>1</sup> “extremism represents a spectrum of beliefs,” of which policymakers and activists tend to focus only on the most violent portion; however, it “emerges from social ecosystems in a manner analogous to weather. No two hurricanes are exactly alike, but we can recognize them when they form, follow them through the stages, and estimate their future behavior – imperfectly. But we cannot understand hurricanes if we don’t understand tropical storms, and we cannot understand storms if we do not understand wind and water.” Berger goes on to suggest that to understand the emergence of violent extremist movements, we must understand the complex interplay between their component elements, which currently does not exist in a systematic, wide-scale manner in publicly available databases.

Our solution bridges this gap by creating a comprehensive graph database that incorporates various data sources collected via collaborations and human open-source intelligence (OSINT), enabling a holistic analysis of hate-related incidents and the nuances of hate speech both online and offline. Our data collection particularly focussed on incidents over the last five years. We have also included historical incidents that could be verified through media and public records. We plan to expand on historical incidents in the Hate Map for Aotearoa New Zealand in the future. We chose events related to discrimination and hate speech and events that we view as hate crimes. We also included protest activity related to conspiracy and disinformation. We used a variety of methods including literature and media reviews, OSINT, and consultation with activists, academics and community members, especially those who are

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<sup>1</sup> [https://books.google.com.au/books/about/Extremism.html?id=Z5lnDwAAQBAJ&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.com.au/books/about/Extremism.html?id=Z5lnDwAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y)

on the frontlines against hate. We also focussed on incidents where Māori are targeted, for practicing our culture, expressing our identity and living peacefully on our whenua. Throughout our data, groups and names will reoccur: Those we define as “super influencers”, individuals who use their offline and online platforms to spread conspiracy or hatred and incite others to violence.

This project contributes to a deeper understanding of the complex nature of hate speech and hate crimes by considering both their online and offline dimensions. The developed graph database and analysis model will empower activists, scholars, law enforcement agencies, policy-makers, and civil society organizations with actionable intelligence, enabling them to proactively combat and prevent hate-related incidents. A public-facing version of the database developed for this project will be made available on [www.hatemap.io](http://www.hatemap.io)

In conclusion, our project seeks to address the pressing societal challenge of hate speech and hate crimes by proposing an innovative solution that integrates events, people, and groups in a multi-modal social network analysis model. By combining advanced data analytics techniques with comprehensive data integration, our graph database aims to identify hotspots of hate speech and hate crimes, facilitating evidence-based decision-making and fostering a more inclusive and tolerant society. The Hate Map in Aotearoa New Zealand will be a pilot for the Hate Map globally. Building on this initial research, findings and methodology we will seek to expand the dataset to further cover hateful movements in the rest of the world. We will also continue building on our findings in Aotearoa New Zealand, with the hope of making the Hate Map a useful tool for everyone in Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond who seek to fight back against hate.

The Hate Map is an ongoing project that we will continue to update, and you may find some events missing. Please contact us at [contact@hatemap.io](mailto:contact@hatemap.io) for additions to the map.

## On Normative and Non-Normative Events

The categorization of events in the realm of contentious politics is significantly influenced by Charles Tilly's conceptual framework on “repertoires of contention”. These repertoires refer to pre-established patterns or “scripts” of political action, wherein groups or social movements collectively engage to spotlight or address specific issues. Tilly further characterizes these repertoires as modes of collective action, describing them as the “entire range of means a group employs to present various claims to distinct individuals” (Tilly, 1986: 2).

For our analytical purposes, we incorporate insights from Wright (2001) and Shuman et al. (from “Disrupting the System Constructively”) to distinguish events based on two primary dimensions:

1. Whether the collective actions exhibited during the event adhere to societal norms.
2. The nature of these actions - violent or non-violent.

This distinction yields three prominent classifications for collective action events:

- **Normative, Non-violent Action (NNV):** Defined by Shuman et al as “any action that is within socially accepted and legal norms of society and is also nonviolent, such as peaceful demonstrations, rallies, or petitions.” (p. 5). This may also include examples of people tied to extremist views or groups running for office. Examples include the following:
  - **EXAMPLE:**
    - This is normative and non-violent because it involves a petition—something that is allowed in society and accepted as a “tolerated” performance of contentious politics in most political regimes (Tilly, 2003).
- **Non-normative, Non-violent Action (NNNV):** Defined by Shuman et al as “forms of action that are not societally normative but also not violent, such as strikes, sit-ins, blocking roads, etc., that violate norms or laws in order to disrupt usual cooperative relations.” (p. 5) These actions are more contentious than the first category, and may include civil disobedience, disruption, intimidation, etc. Examples include the following:
  - **EXAMPLE:** [“Members of white nationalist group show up at NHC school board meeting”](#)
    - This would be *non-normative* because they attended “in colors”, were armed (per our local journalist contact), and were masked for purposes of intimidation and disrupting public meetings.
    - This would also be considered *non-violent* because although they WERE armed, they did not directly engage or attempt to engage in overt threats or violence against persons.
- **Non-normative, Violent Action (VA):** Defined by Shuman et al as “action that is violent, such as riots or property destruction.” (p. 5).
  - **EXAMPLES:**
    - *Terrorism:* May 14, 2022 Buffalo, NY terrorist attack. The attack was motivated by both hate and violent extremism. There is no question about this classification, [as the shooter left a manifesto clearly explaining his plans.](#)
    - *Violent Clashes/Brawls/Demonstrations:* July 20, 2022. [A Take Back America “Take Action Tour” Rally turns into a violent clash between protesters and counter-protesters](#)
    - *Hate/Bias Crime (Violent):* July 24, 2022. [A Chinese father was verbally and physically attacked in Auckland, New Zealand.](#)

This framework serves as our analytical lens to understand and classify various events within the broader spectrum of contentious politics.

# Database Descriptives

The database built for this project provides a comprehensive overview of 584 events that transpired over an expansive timeframe, spanning from July 1985 to August 2023. This extensive data range ensures a diverse understanding of the nature and trends of events over nearly four decades. A significant portion of the events (23.29%) were classified as non-normative/violent, while 20.38% were non-normative/non-violent, and 11.64% were normative/non-violent. The remaining events are not specified within the provided descriptives and might encompass other categories or are yet to be classified.

An interesting observation based on our dataset is the relatively high proportion of non-normative events, irrespective of whether they were violent (136 events) or non-violent (119 events). This potentially indicates a trend towards events that deviate from the norm, suggesting underlying social, cultural, or political shifts over the period under study. Such events might mirror broader societal tensions or changing cultural norms. While we have sought a variety of incidents of diverse classifications it may also be a result of bias in our methodology which largely is based on accessing open and public sources of information where non-normative events may be overrepresented. Future research can delve into qualitative aspects to discern the reasons behind such classifications and adjust for methodological bias.

The 151 individuals attending these events present an average of roughly 2.6 events attended per individual. This implies that there might be recurring attendees or key figures who are consistently involved in these events. These individuals could play significant roles in the propagation, organization, or leadership of such events. Further analyses might explore the roles, motivations, and impacts of these recurring attendees.

The dataset also reveals that the events were attended by 77 different groups. The diversity of groups highlights a plethora of interests, causes, or motivations behind these events. However, considering the total number of events, this equates to an average of approximately 7.6 events per group, suggesting that some groups might be more active or influential than others. Detailed examinations of the most active groups could provide insights into their objectives, strategies, and influence over time.

Moreover, the geographical dispersion of the events, as indicated by their occurrence in 83 different cities, suggests a widespread and potentially national nature of the events. This geographic diversity might point to universal themes or issues resonating across different regions or cities. It would be intriguing to investigate if certain cities tend to host specific types of events more than others, or if patterns of events correlate with certain city-specific demographics, political climates, or historical events.

Ultimately, due to lack of access to systematic data prior to the year 2016, we chose to focus on the time period from 2019 to present. Data collected from that period was significantly more

robust and in-depth, and this also allowed for an analysis that focused primarily on Aotearoa New Zealand in the wake of the Christchurch Mosque terrorist attack.

Upon narrowing the scope to the period from 2019 to August 2023, we observed that 507 events were recorded. This signifies that approximately 87% of the events from the entire database occurred within this recent 4-year span, indicating a substantial increase in event frequency. Concurrently, fewer groups (59) were documented in this period compared to the entirety of the database (77).

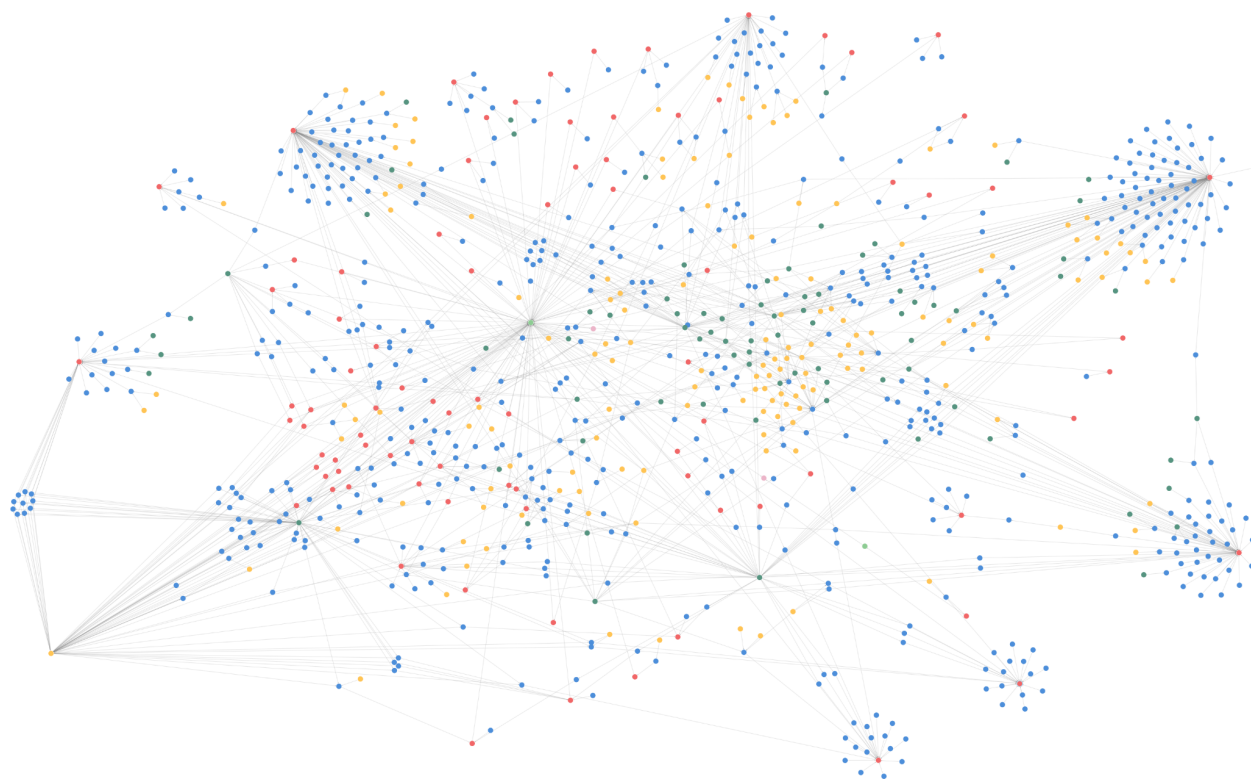
The documented 124 individuals within this 4-year span further emphasizes this increased activity, as this number represents approximately 82% of the total individuals attending events since 1985.

These data present a rich tapestry of events that have transpired over the years. The marked increase in the number of events, particularly in the recent period from 2019–2023, underscores the dynamic and evolving nature of these occurrences. The interplay between normative and non-normative events, coupled with the presence or absence of violence, offers a nuanced perspective, and the diversity in individual and group participation provides layers of depth that could form the foundation for further research and exploration.

*The bliss of freedom enjoyed by those who have power should never mean the right to cause pain to those who are comparatively powerless. And no one's exercise of free speech should make another feel less free.*

– Dr Moana Jackson

# Current Landscape of Hate



The above network graph indicates the relationship between events (blue), individuals (yellow), groups (green) and cities (red) in Aotearoa New Zealand. This gives us an overview of how events rooted in hate are distributed throughout the country, and who key actors and groups are. This and more data can be explored in greater detail on [www.hatemap.io](http://www.hatemap.io).

Four years after the terrorist attack on Christchurch mosques on 15 March, 2019, by an Australian neo-Nazi, hate has only become more visible online and offline in Aotearoa New Zealand. Political discourse is increasingly polarised and violent,<sup>2</sup> especially in regard to issues related to Māori and te Tiriti o Waitangi, such as Co-Governance,<sup>34</sup> Three Waters,<sup>5</sup> He Puapua,<sup>6</sup> and health system reform. The targeting of gender and sexual diversity and the Rainbow

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2

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/brian-tamaki-disruption-campaign-church-and-political-leader-wants-to-break-parliament-apart/G5HVITZ6KBDMHFAODPZDWHQ3R4/>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.tiritibasedfutures.info/exploring-co-governance>

<sup>4</sup> <https://mailchi.mp/e1fbfc46b0a4/support-co-governance>

<sup>5</sup> <https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/what-the-hell-is-three-waters-an-explainer/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/explained/125740914/the-contentious-he-puapua-plan-explained>



Community is also escalating<sup>7</sup> and under attack by the far-right.<sup>8</sup> Many of the talking points about these issues come directly from conspiracists and white supremacists and are increasingly adopted by anti-vaccination groups and right-wing parties as they pivot to new issues and prepare for the 14 October 2023 general election. Grievance politics have overtaken discourse since the pandemic, and conspiracy theorists are moving from health disinformation to transphobia and climate disinformation, which is reflected in our data.<sup>9</sup>

Online and offline harassment and violent threats have become the norm in academia, activism, journalism, and politics in Aotearoa New Zealand. Journalists are frequently threatened for doing their jobs.<sup>10</sup> Threats against politicians have increased significantly over 2022-2023 and peaked during the parliament occupation.<sup>11</sup> After former Prime Minister The Right Honourable Dame Jacinda Ardern GNZM resigned, it was reported that she was likely to require an unprecedented level of security due to the huge volume of violent misogyny and threats directed at her during her time in office.<sup>12</sup>

Women are targeted<sup>13</sup> simply for being “women in public,” online and offline.<sup>14</sup> [Wāhine](#) Māori are especially vulnerable to abuse and assault for wearing [moko kauae](#). We have also recorded instances of [tane](#) Māori being racially abused and violently assaulted for wearing [mataora](#). Pasifik communities have been targeted at the highest level, with MP David Seymour doubling down on a “joke” about bombing the Ministry of Pacific Peoples.<sup>15</sup>

Academic freedoms are under threat from conspiracists and the far-right. We have documented incidents of conspiracist and far-right extremist Damien de Ment receiving trespass notices from New Zealand Police for two different universities, after he harassed and recorded employees, whom he had also helped incite hate campaigns and threats against

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<sup>7</sup> <https://thedisinfoproject.org/2023/05/05/working-paper-transgressive-transitions/>

<sup>8</sup>

<https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2023/04/police-ask-rainbow-community-to-report-threats-violence-after-posie-parker-visit.html>

<sup>9</sup> <https://ojs.aut.ac.nz/pacific-journalism-review/article/view/1308>

<sup>10</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/opinion/300776395/abuse-of-journalists-shows-how-ugly-our-civil-discourse-has-become>

<sup>11</sup>

<https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2023/02/threats-against-politicians-jacinda-ardern-jump-massively-over-past-year-peaked-during-parliament-protest.html>

<sup>12</sup> <https://time.com/6250008/jacinda-ardern-ongoing-security-threats/>

<sup>13</sup> <https://thespinoff.co.nz/society/25-07-2023/speaking-out-about-the-silencing-of-women>

<sup>14</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/300379571/we-cant-rely-on-the-police-mori-women-on-edge-after-escalating-threats>

<sup>15</sup>

<https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/politics/2023/08/act-leader-david-seymour-refuses-to-apologise-for-clearly-not-serious-guy-fawkes-joke.html>

online. Academics have also been threatened by Hindutva trolls<sup>16</sup> for daring to publish on the subject, even when the authors are Hindu. Some have been labeled “terrorists” by their own community.<sup>17</sup>

The targeting of academics and activists by the far-right is also of immense concern. Those who stand against disinformation, extremism, and hate are being targeted at their homes and workplaces or stalked in the street. From racist and threatening calls and being followed home,<sup>18</sup> to notes in letterboxes,<sup>19</sup> to having their homes broken into,<sup>20</sup> activism and speaking out in Aotearoa has become more dangerous. As [The Manaaki Collective](#), an organization set up to help protect and support activists working on human rights and Treaty justice in Aotearoa, has noted, they are facing "unprecedented demand" for their services.<sup>21</sup>

At the time of this writing, conspiracy theorist Richard Sivell has been on the run for more than a year<sup>22</sup> on charges of threatening to kill former Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, but he still manages to post regularly to conspiracist and far-right Telegram channels. One Telegram channel adds academics, activists, healthcare workers, journalists, and politicians to a "Nuremberg"<sup>23</sup> list to be tried for "crimes against humanity" and executed. Voyager Internet currently hosts a similar “Nuremberg” website.

A 2021 ISD Global report found that "On a per-person basis, New Zealand extremists have posted almost twice as much as their counterparts in the UK and Australia. American extremists are (by far) the most prolific" and that "Far-right Facebook pages in New Zealand have more followers per capita (757 per 100,000 Internet users) than Australia (399), Canada (252), the US (233) and the UK (220)."<sup>24</sup>

*The rhetoric has become so extreme in the online spaces he occupied that once horrifying threats are now unremarkable, and it has become impossible to distinguish between an idle*

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<sup>16</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/massey-university-professor-hit-by-right-wing-hindu-trolls/LQQH4V7YFFVXBRWRO3VECGXUW4/>

<sup>17</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/massey-research-paper-on-hindutva-leads-to-trolling-persecution-and-threats/ETX6SQDHFMCYWSWODSK3UIXTQE/>

<sup>18</sup>

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.odt.co.nz/news/dunedin/activist-refuses-be-cowed-racist-threatening-letters>

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.starobserver.com.au/news/225337-2/225341>

<sup>21</sup> <https://x.com/manaakithe/status/1696020459530416467>

<sup>22</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/300943542/hes-on-the-run-from-police-but-that-may-not-have-stopped-richard-sivell-from-posting-online>

<sup>23</sup> <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/300917125/nuremberg-20s-strange-path-to-new-zealand>

<sup>24</sup>

<https://www.isdglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/NZ-Online-Extremism-Findings-Report.pdf>

*threat and a statement of intent.*

- Charlie Mitchell, Graham Philip: A true believer who planned in public, Stuff, 2 December 2022<sup>25</sup>

Our ongoing work on the Hate Map for Aotearoa New Zealand makes behaviours and history where hatred and violence are repeatedly incited visible and identifies who the most frequent offenders are. By learning from the past, we can better predict risks in the future and can use analysis to help identify hot spots to dedicate resources. The governments and general public of Aotearoa New Zealand, and Australia were blindsided by the 15 March, 2019, terrorist attacks on Christchurch mosques, whereas Muslim advocates and antifascists had been warning for many years that unchecked Islamophobia would result in such an attack. We must not sleepwalk into another attack.

*Kia whakatōmuri te haere whakamua*

I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past.

– Māori whakataukī

## Brian Tamaki in 2004, 2022, and Today

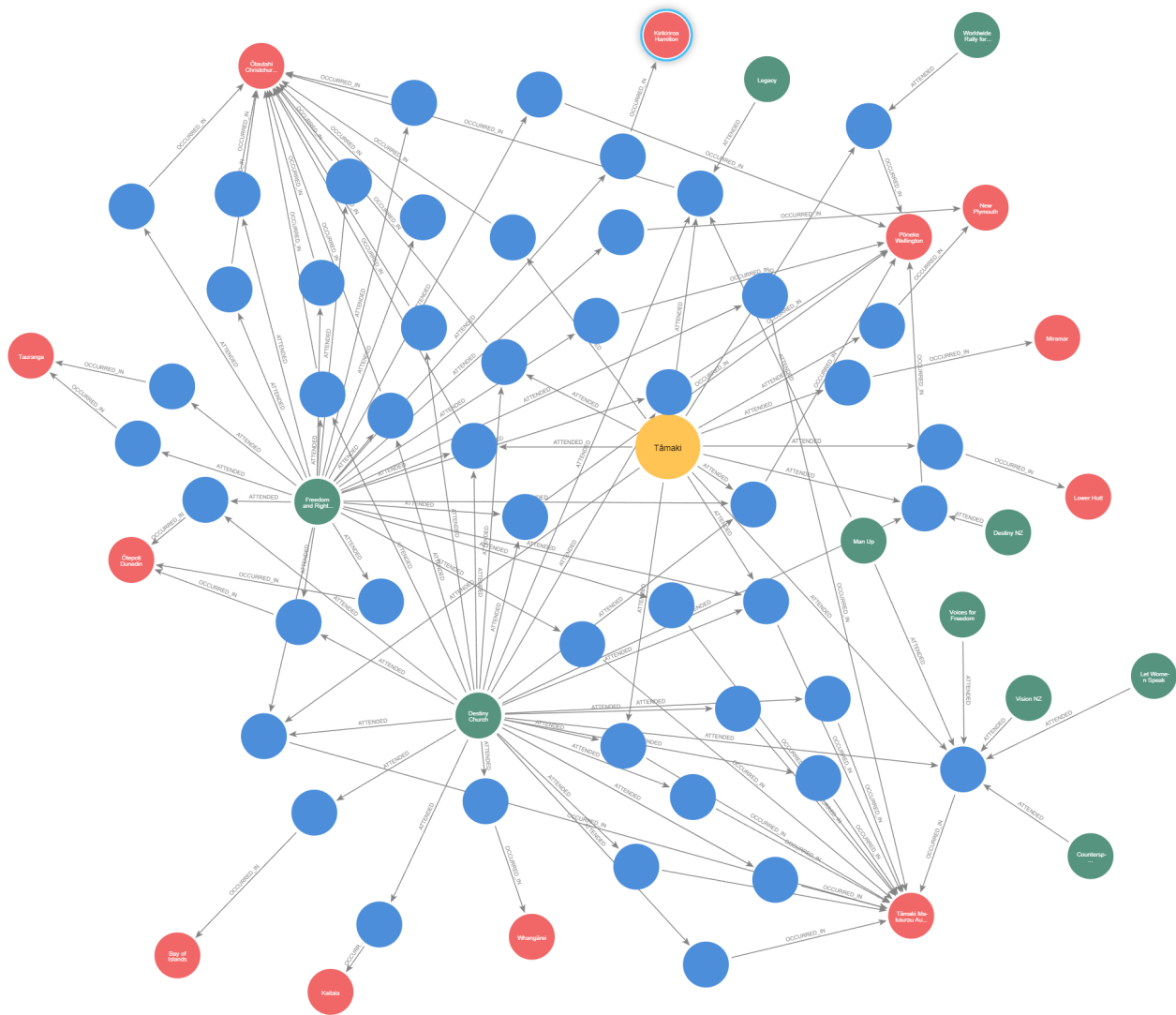
On 23 August 2004, Christian fundamentalist leader and far-right activist Brian Tamaki and Destiny Church led a 5000-strong “Enough Is Enough” protest in Pōneke Wellington against a proposed civil unions bill giving gay civil unions legal recognition. Marchers wore black t-shirts printed with "Enough Is Enough" and black tracksuit pants, drawing comparisons to Nazi stormtroopers in New Zealand media. Counter-protestors were abused by the Destiny Church march. Wairarapa MP Georgina Beyer, the world's first openly whakawahine (transgender) member of parliament, confronted the Destiny Church march. She gave a stirring speech,<sup>26</sup> looking them in the eye, and told them, "Your hatred is totally intolerable!"

Brian Tamaki is over-represented in our data, appearing 16 times, and Destiny Church and the Freedom and Rights Coalition appearing 18 times. We know there are many more incidents linked to Brian Tamaki and Destiny Church and Man Up, including historical incidents. We will be working on adding more of these to the Hate Map over time.

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<sup>25</sup> <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/130633710/graham-philip-a-true-believer-who-planned-in-public>

<sup>26</sup> <https://youtu.be/vbbMUPyKFW4>



The above graph illustrates Brian Tāmaki's (yellow) participation in events (blue), the cities where events (red) took place, and the groups (green) that took part in these events, including Destiny Church and the Freedom of Rights Coalition.

18 years later, on 23 August 2022, Brian Tamaki again led a protest of the Freedom and Rights Coalition (TFRC) and Destiny Church followers in the New Zealand Parliament. He was hoping to recapture the energy of the anti-mandate occupation at the Wellington Parliament earlier in the year, in which he and TFRC played a major organizing role. He staged a “people’s court” and a "mock trial" in front of parliament with a fake "judge" Rick Southey<sup>27</sup> complete with a gavel prop, to prosecute government ministers for “crimes against humanity” related to conspiracies about COVID-19 vaccination mandates and lockdowns.

27

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/parliament-protest-judge-under-review-by-health-provider-employee/N6XTZM56MR6XGNUCUJVWXFULCY/>

In conspiracy circles, “crimes against humanity” are punishable by execution. The protest in August 2022 was reminiscent of the occupation of Parliament in February and March 2022, where protestors erected a gallows and chalked the message 'Hang 'em High' to be seen from the windows of Parliament.

In August 2022, "witnesses" addressed the crowd and the "judge" asked the crowd for their verdicts. The crowd yelled, "Guilty". The fake judge, Rick Southey, a Destiny Church member, was employed at the time as a non-clinical national manager of Whānau Ora Community Clinic – a key provider of COVID-19 services in Auckland. His employment was reviewed after his actions at the protest.<sup>28</sup>

Brian Tamaki told the media on the day, "It's a symbolic act to get rid of a dictator, it's a symbolic act to harm a group in society ... they have a lot of meaning."

Georgina Beyer was there on 23 August 2022, too, by chance, in her last public appearance before she passed away.<sup>29</sup> She counter-protested with hundreds of others, led by the Pōneke Anti-Fascist Coalition. She generously gave a speech,<sup>30</sup> reminding the counter-protestors that it was 18 years to the day since the Enough Is Enough march.

*"On that day I stood on the landing on the steps of parliament along with 150 of the civil union supporters who were crushed around the Seddon statue, being abused horribly by the 8000 that turned up that day to rail against the moral decay of this country under the leadership of Brian Tāmaki and the Destiny Church.*

*But folks, we won that battle.*

*It has taken eighteen years for that man to pull up the courage again to drag this ragtag mob to come here again today to rail against some other issues, but never forget that this Trump apologist that he is, an apologist for that kind of attitude, is not tolerated in this country, sure as hell isn't tolerated by those of us gathered here today...we are a country of freedom and rights and many of us have fought long and hard for many many decades to gain the rights that we've earned in this place called Parliament. We have had to tolerate the abuse, the violence and the hatred, and we rose above it. So your presence here today to let them know that we are going to keep an eye on you mate, and you and your rag-tag bunch of hangers-on, are nothing but wankers."*

She told the crowd of counter-protestors assembled, *"Feel proud and feel strong and feel supported out there because what you are doing is on the right side of history."*

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<sup>28</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/ministry-wants-explanation-about-contracted-fake-judge-at-parliament-protest/6FWCTMBDAPNK5AZZKPZJSBHJOA/>

<sup>29</sup> <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/131423616/obituary-fearless-beyer-trailblazing-politician>

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/ponekeantifa/videos/626071825702579/>

In late August 2023, Brian Tamaki, who recently co-founded the new Freedoms New Zealand political party, claimed God had given him a vision of how he should run a disruptive campaign to "break apart" Parliament and its "lying politicians." When questioned by the media about whether the use of violence was acceptable in such a campaign, Tamaki insisted it wasn't. He knows how his audience, primed on messages of "spiritual warfare," will receive this dog whistle.<sup>31</sup> Newshub reported in mid-September that of the 20 political parties running in the general election, eight appear to be linked to the Tamakis or anti-government fringe groups.<sup>32</sup> Tamaki and the Freedom and Rights Coalition have also recently teamed up with Julian Batchelor for a series of Stop Co-Governance street marches later in September 2023.

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<sup>31</sup>

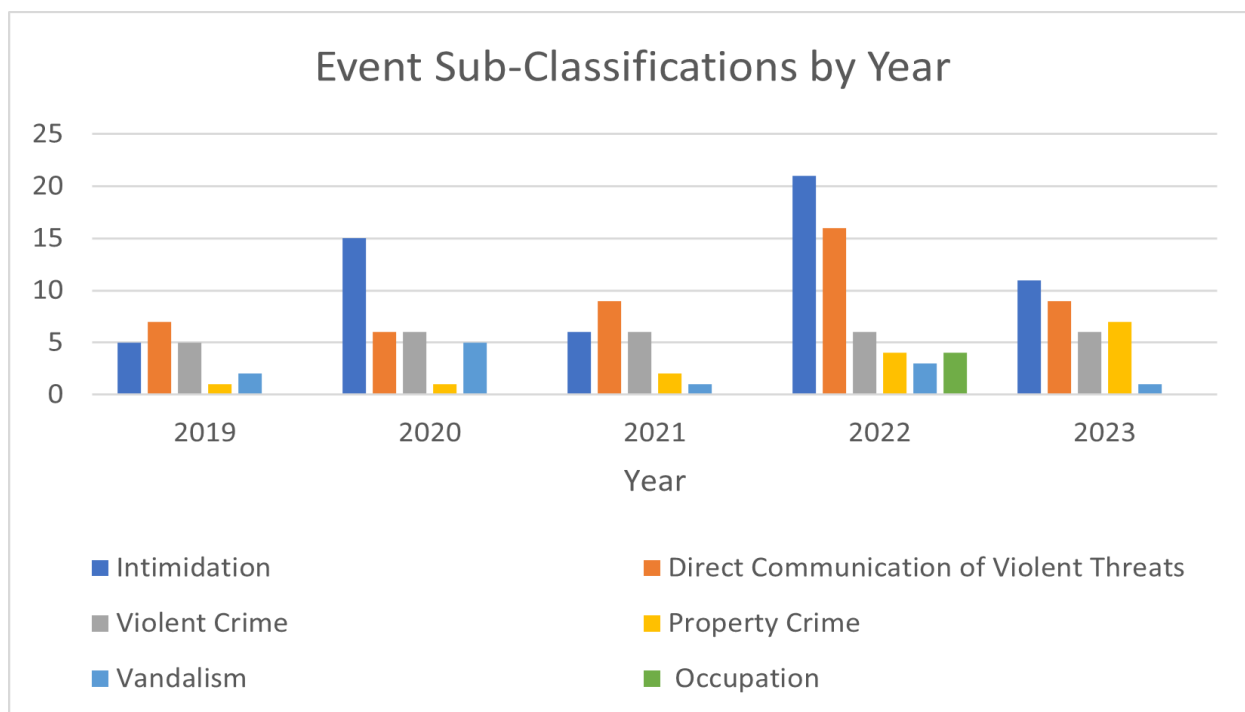
<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/brian-tamaki-disruption-campaign-church-and-political-leader-wants-to-break-parliament-apart/G5HVITZ6KBDMHFAODPZDWHQ3R4/>

<sup>32</sup>

<https://www.1news.co.nz/2023/09/15/nearly-half-of-political-parties-linked-to-tamakis-or-protest-groups/>

# Hate Crime and Hate Speech

Our mapping of hate crimes in Aotearoa New Zealand for the Hate Map, includes 29 incidents of violent crime between 2019 and 2023 and 88 events in total that involved non-normative violence. Whether historical crimes by neo-Nazis or more recent attacks by homophobes and racists, our data shows a disturbing trend of largely opportunistic, often street-based violent assaults in Aotearoa New Zealand. Victims are also vulnerable on public transport and even while driving their own vehicles.

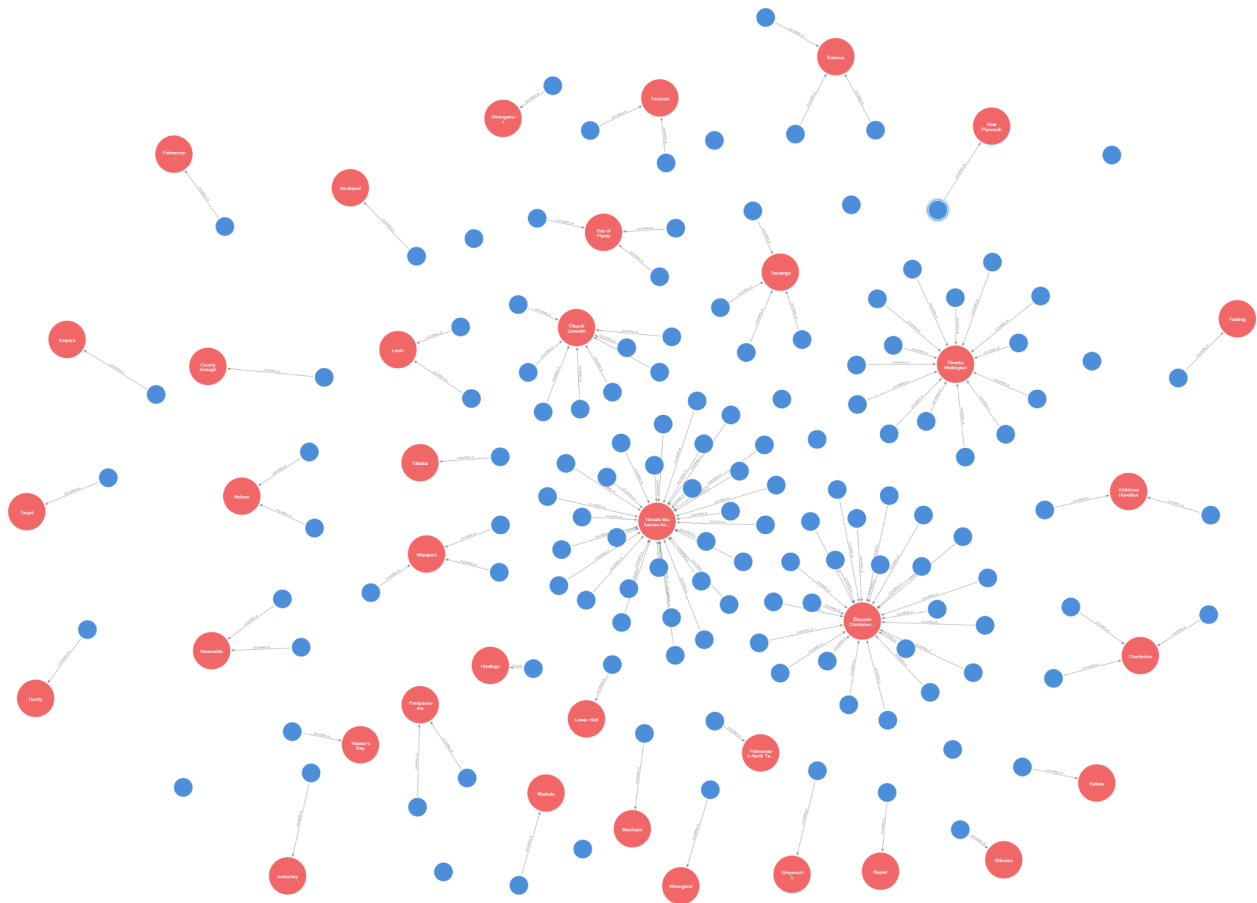


The above graph shows the classifications of incidents recorded in our database by year, demonstrating a marked uptick in 2022. The numbers from 2023 are incomplete.

The current regime of recording of hate crimes by New Zealand police began in 2019 after the terrorist attacks by an Australian neo-Nazi on Christchurch mosques on 15 March, 2019, and was a key recommendation of the Royal Commission into the attacks. Prior to this, a snapshot of hate crimes was reported annually by the Human Rights Commission between the years 2002 to 2013. These were summarised in 2019 in the Human Rights Commission report *It Happened Here*,<sup>33</sup> which we have also gratefully drawn on to include some historical incidents in our data.

33

[https://hrc-nz-resources.s3.ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/files/1515/6047/9685/It\\_Happened\\_Here\\_Reports\\_of\\_race\\_and\\_religious\\_hate\\_crime\\_in\\_New\\_Zealand\\_2004-2012.pdf](https://hrc-nz-resources.s3.ap-southeast-2.amazonaws.com/files/1515/6047/9685/It_Happened_Here_Reports_of_race_and_religious_hate_crime_in_New_Zealand_2004-2012.pdf)



The above graph shows an overview of the geographic spread of violent incidents (blue) by city (red) . Identified key clusters include Tāmaki Makaurau Auckland, Ōtautahi Christchurch and Ōtepoti Dunedin.

The ability for police to flag the "hate type" in their database was implemented in June 2020.<sup>34</sup> Hate type is recorded as: age, disability, gender identity, multiple, race/ethnicity, religion/fait, sexual orientation, or not known. 'Race/ethnicity' was the largest characteristic where hate was seen as a motivation behind the offense. When we have reviewed reporting on hate crimes, courts and police are still reluctant to assign a motivation of hatred or racism to an attack, and even racially motivated assaults are rarely prosecuted as hate crimes.

34

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/300578418/race-relations-commissioner-says-police-need-to-do-better-as-reported-hate-crime-numbers-rise>



In December 2020,<sup>35</sup> it was reported that data revealed a lack of understanding among the majority of police staff about how to classify hate crimes properly. Notably, 43 percent of hate crime complaints had been reclassified as incidents rather than criminal offenses. In some cases, complaints were downgraded to lesser offenses. Conversely, about 15 percent of complaints were escalated to higher offense levels than warranted. Alarming, only four out of 10 hate crime complaints were being appropriately addressed.

In June 2023, The Guardian reported<sup>36</sup> that nearly 7000 hate crimes had been recorded by police since the start of 2022. Racism and homophobia were the key drivers in these hate crimes.

In August 2023, Newsroom<sup>37</sup> reported that a police data analysis had uncovered more than 1400 instances of unclassified hate crimes, revealing an ongoing failure by frontline police and station staff to identify hate-motivated incidents accurately. The data obtained through the Official Information Act indicates that between July 2022 and April 2023, the National Intelligence Application (NIA) database had 1413 untagged records as hate incidents, only recognized and categorized correctly by a subsequent data quality team. Similarly, the Communication and Resources Deployment (CARD) database contained 1236 records that lacked appropriate hate flags. Over time, the data quality improved with increased training and awareness of how to record hate crimes and changes to IT systems to make it easier for police personnel.

Through our review of media reporting and the hate crime statistics provided by New Zealand Police transparency reports, we believe that hate crimes are underreported in New Zealand media. This is understandable in a small country with a small media landscape. Still, greater police transparency is required in order to provide communities and minorities with information for their own safety. With extra resourcing and tools, this reporting could be done without putting victims further at risk. Most communities are not going to search out statistics about hate crimes or relate to them as numbers, but they will relate to personal stories of victims or stories about the threats where they live.

Frequently, hate incidents reported in the media initially attract attention because a victim or bystander posts about them on social media, and their post goes viral. When hate crimes are reported in the media, advocates and victims have called over and over again for the strengthening of hate crime and hate speech laws, which have been repeatedly delayed and

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<sup>35</sup>

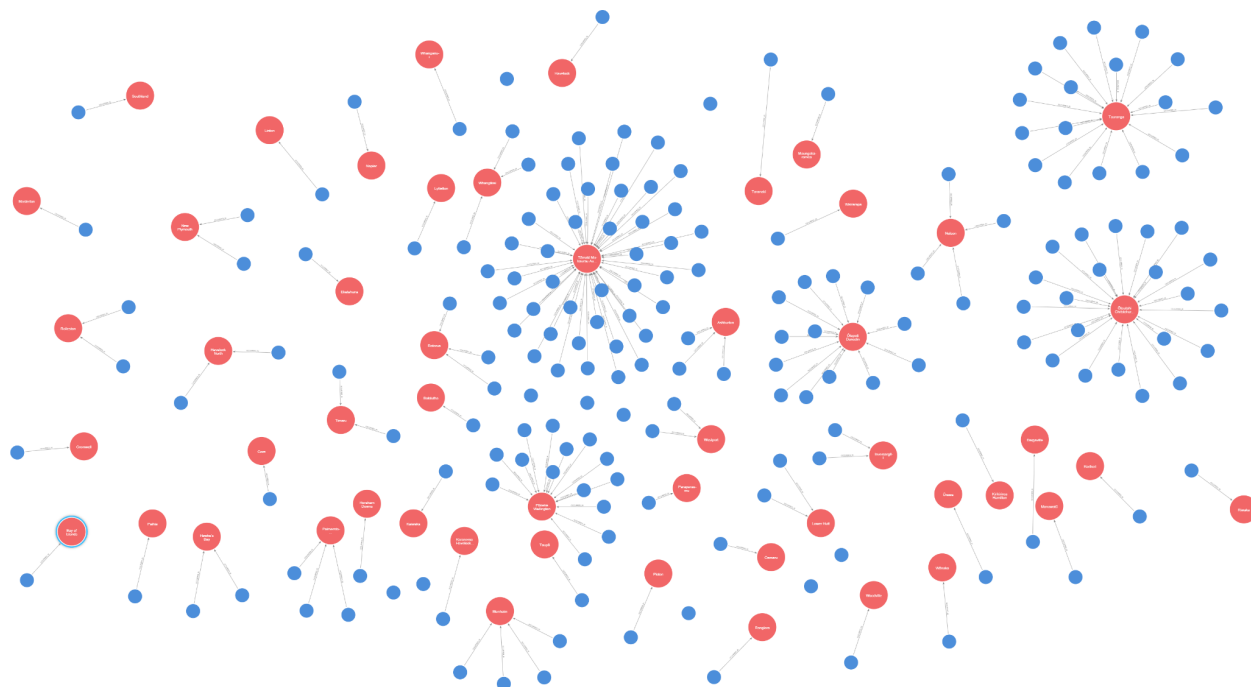
<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/431996/hate-crimes-almost-half-complaints-to-police-wrongly-downgraded>

<sup>36</sup>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/08/exclusive-racism-homophobia-fuelling-thousands-of-crimes-in-new-zealand-each-year-figures-show>

<sup>37</sup> <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/hundreds-of-hate-crimes-missed-when-they-happen>

now withdrawn.<sup>38</sup> Often, victims speak of police delays in investigating, even when a suspect or identifying information is known.



The above graph shows our findings on the spread of non-violent incidents (blue) of hate (normative and non-normative) by cities (red), the geographic distribution is similar to that of violent incidents, but the presence of 3+ events in the city of Tauranga, Blenheim and Palmerston North are also noteworthy.

A social media post also sparked the Independent Police Conduct Authority (IPCA) and the Privacy Commission (OPC)<sup>39</sup> into the widespread illegal practice of police photographing [rangatahi](#) Māori without their or their parents' or caregivers' consent. Massey University politics lecturer John-James Carberry wrote a Facebook post about his 14-year-old relative who was photographed in the street by police in Wairarapa, reaching out online to find out if others had experienced this too. His post resulted in a flood of responses from others whose [tamariki](#) had been treated similarly.<sup>40</sup> If not for his Facebook post, the extent of racial profiling

<sup>38</sup>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/feb/09/new-zealand-government-under-fire-after-shelving-christchurch-hate-speech-reforms>

<sup>39</sup>

<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/474366/police-illegally-photographing-youth-maori-a-widespread-practice-investigation-finds>

<sup>40</sup>

<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/433285/questions-raised-after-police-officers-stop-youths-to-take-their-photos>

uncovered in the inquiry<sup>41</sup> may never have happened. Police practice and procedure was found to have breached both New Zealand and international law covering the treatment of children and young people.

Hate crime statistics published in New Zealand Police transparency reports are divorced from the real-world harm of hate and violence, and these statistics do not record **behavior** or **place**. Hate-motivated crime statistics are recorded against ethnicity, gender, or sexual orientation, but where are these hate crimes occurring? Are they more frequently occurring in certain towns or cities? Are they occurring at educational institutions, places of worship, or on the street? Who are the perpetrators? How many of these hate-motivated crimes involve physical violence? How many of these hate-motivated crimes are charged and prosecuted? We don't know because hate crimes are obscured when they are presented simply as statistics. Through publishing our data, we hope to make more of these behaviors, locations, and trends visible.

A next step for the Hate Map will be submitting Official Information Act requests regarding the outcome of a large number of hate crimes, particularly violent assaults, to follow up on whether arrests were made, or charges laid, or the outcomes of cases and trials.

## Violent hate crime

Below are three case studies of violent hate crimes in Aotearoa New Zealand over the last five years. We have chosen these recent examples as illustrative of hate motivated, opportunistic and often street based, racist violence in Aotearoa New Zealand.

### Attack on Chinese New Zealand family

In a rare hate crime prosecution that initially wasn't prosecuted as a hate crime, Fraser Milne, a 21-year-old man, pleaded guilty on 24 May 2019 to dangerous driving, injuring with intent to cause grievous bodily harm and four charges of injuring with reckless disregard for safety, after engaging in a racially motivated speed chase against a Chinese New Zealand family on 4 March 2018.

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<sup>41</sup>

<https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/22275588/embargoed-8-september-2022-ipca-and-opc-joint-inquiry-into-police-photographing-of-members-of-the-public.pdf>

The incident occurred when the family was on their way to go blueberry picking. Milne, driving aggressively, blamed the family for a minor accident and demanded payment for damage to his car. Feeling threatened, the family locked themselves in their car, but Milne continued to pursue them, making racist remarks and threatening their lives. The chase ended in a violent collision between the two cars, resulting in injuries to all family members, and two children were ejected from the car. One child's skull was fractured. All five victims were hospitalised and suffered moderate injuries. Milne showed no remorse or assistance after the crash. He was later arrested, where he continued to make racist statements to the police. The family continued to live in fear, worried that Milne would find and harm them. Milne told police he felt like killing the driver. Milne was sentenced on 19 July 2019. Prosecutors argued that the incident was "racially motivated" but Justice Sally Fitzgerald said "it would be quite wrong" to describe it as a hate crime. Milne was sentenced to two years and six months in prison and disqualified from driving for a year after his release.

On 1 May 2020, Milne had more than two years added to his sentence after the Solicitor-General appealed the sentence handed down on the grounds it was "manifestly inadequate" and the Court of Appeal ruled it a "hate crime". The crown had challenged the "excessive" 30 percent discount for personal mitigating factors and the discount of 21 percent for the guilty pleas two weeks prior to trial. The Court of Appeal judges lowered his discount for personal mitigating circumstances to 20 percent, and his discount for guilty pleas was reduced to 15 percent. The outcome was a sentence of four years nine months' imprisonment on the most serious charge.<sup>42</sup>

## Violent assault on a Māori man, targeting his mataora

Haraia Bowen-Hakaraia experienced a terrifying racially motivated attack when two men in a lime green Suzuki Swift-like hatchback targeted him at a Levin intersection on 4 September 2021. The attackers verbally abused him, including racist slurs, and then physically assaulted him in his car. They repeatedly punched him for what felt like several minutes, stole his wallet and car keys, and then fled the scene. He suffered a black eye, bloody nose and swelling to his face.

Bowen-Hakaraia described the incident like a scene from a horror movie and recalled how the attackers targeted his mataora during the assault. He was deeply hurt not only by the attack but also by the lack of assistance from bystanders in passing cars who did not stop to help, despite his desperate pleas.

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<sup>42</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/112967149/family-fear-for-their-lives-after-man-rammed-the-m-in-racist-roadrage-attack>

The police forensically examined his car and he was told a fingerprint found on the vehicle belonged to a person who matched his description of one of the attackers. The police classified the incident as robbery by assault, despite Bowen-Hakaraia knowing he experienced a racist attack.<sup>43</sup> In January 2022 it was reported that two pakeha male offenders were charged with assault.<sup>44</sup> We will be submitting an Official Information Act request regarding this case, as there was no follow up reporting in the media about the outcome of the case.

## Racist attack on mother and three-week-old baby

On 17 December 2022 in Ōtautahi Christchurch, a 3-week-old baby and their mother were attacked while lying in a tent in Scarborough Park. According to witnesses, a young man reportedly jumped on the tent, injuring the mother and causing distress to the baby. After the attack, the man is said to have made racist comments, including telling the family to "go back to your country" and ridiculing their English-speaking abilities.

The baby was taken to the hospital for evaluation but remained unharmed, while the mother suffered a sore neck and a foot cut. The man, accompanied by a group, fled the scene in a car but was pursued by a group of individuals, including Christchurch imam Gamal Fouda. They managed to detain the attacker and subsequently called the police.

The incident was described as a possible "hate crime" due to the alleged racist comments made by the assailant. Fouda reported that the police indicated the man would be charged with a "hate crime with intentions to harm a baby."

An 18-year-old man was arrested. He appeared in court in January 2023 charged with common assault and was granted interim name suppression. We will also be submitting an Official Information Act request regarding this case, among many others.

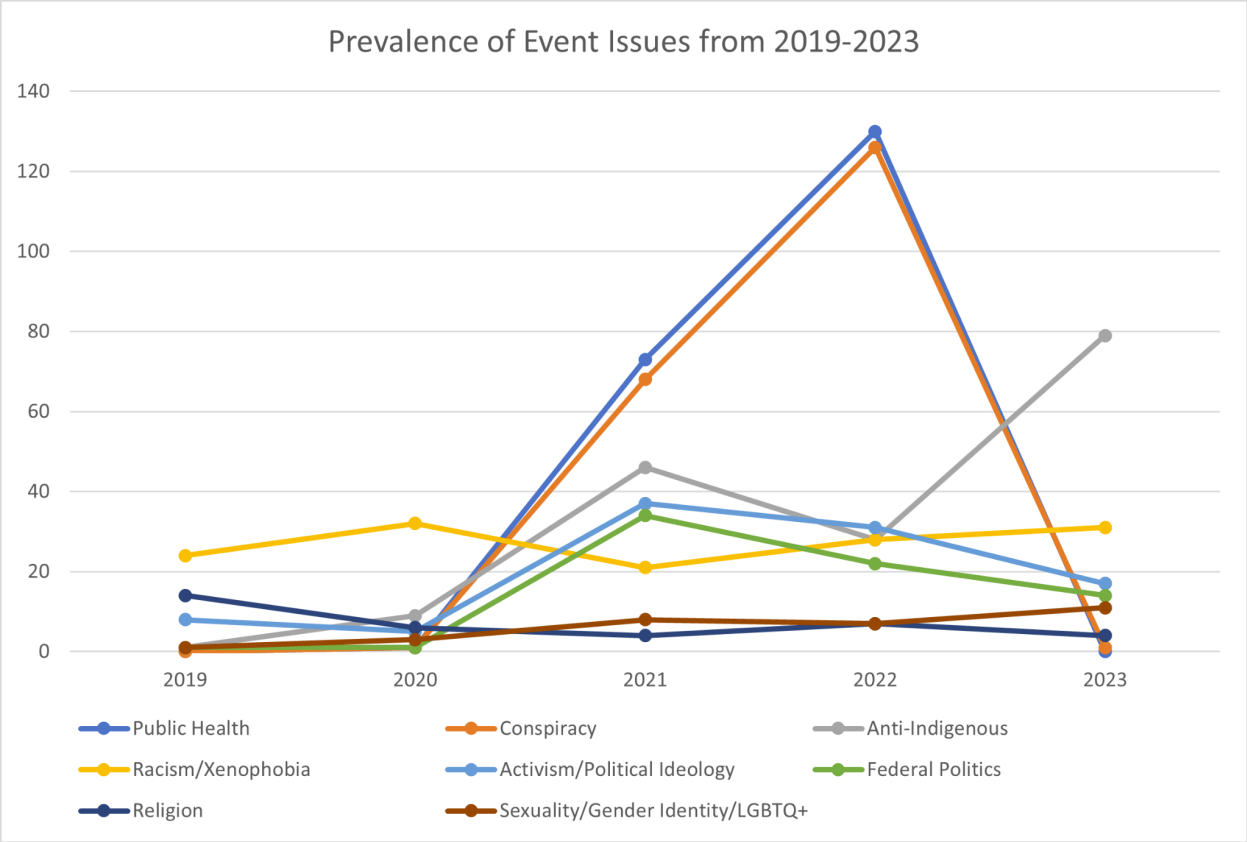
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<sup>43</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/300406326/appeal-for-assailants-of-racial-attack-to-face-full-brunt-of-the-law>

<sup>44</sup> <https://youtu.be/92xNvyoc8R0>

# Database Event Issues Reflect Troubling Trends



In our data, we identified several events that involved normative protest, non-normative acts such as civil disobedience, and non-normative violent acts. In addition to cataloging events, we also collected data on what the stated purpose of the event was; in other words, what was the purpose of the event? What issues was the event meant to highlight?

Our data found several patterns among the issues around which events were organized. Of particular interest are the rapid increase and decrease of two issues at the height of the COVID-19 pandemic: Public Health and Conspiracies. These classifications were most prevalent at events protesting lockdowns, mask mandates, and similar strategies intended to reduce spread of the virus.

The relative lack of events organized around issues related to public health prior to the pandemic’s genesis in 2020, but it is also notable that these events peaked in 2022 and had nearly disappeared by 2023. It is also notable that we see what could be the beginning of a troubling increase in Anti-Indigenous events at the same time that prevalence of public health related events have waned.

Based on analysis and in-depth ethnographies from our work in the United States and Europe, we suspect that these patterns are not unrelated. In our research, we have noted that concerns related to government action to reduce the spread of COVID-19 facilitated the radicalization of many individuals who would have been unlikely to encounter extremist groups otherwise. Conspiratorial thinking is the lifeblood of any extremist group, and the willingness of individuals to adopt COVID-19 conspiracies created a cognitive opening that extremists and fringe politicians were keen to capitalize on. Once individuals began to self-identify with extremist groups, and as the original concerns relating to public health became less salient, these newly-radicalized individuals began to redirect their efforts toward issues defined by extremists or fringe political groups.

## Rising Anti-Māori Hate Speech

As Dr. Rawiri Taonui told The Guardian in June,<sup>45</sup> the number of offenses recorded by New Zealand Police as hate crimes against Māori, Pacific and Middle Eastern people does not reflect the real picture. He said, "That probably has to do with the fact that those groups would have a greater reluctance to engage with the police because of the perceived history of their treatment by the police." Dr Taonui suggested government commission cross-population surveys to quantify everyday incidents of prejudice and hate that did not rise to the level of a criminal report.

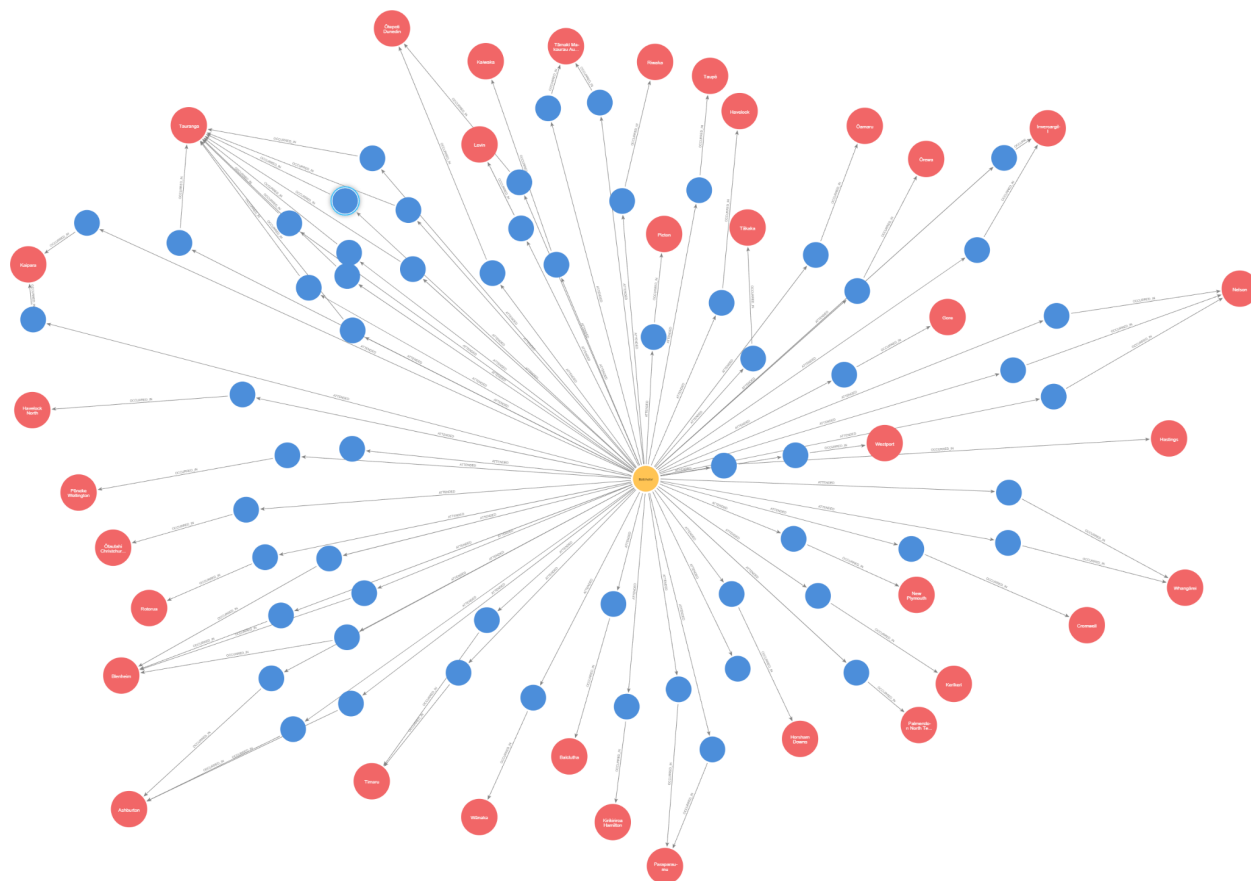
We have attempted to do this in the Hate Map in a small way as a start by including incidents of racial abuse of Māori who wear [moko kauae](#) or [mataora](#). We have also included incidents of [whānau](#) Māori being targeted at their [whare](#) by racist graffiti or threats from neighbors.

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<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/jun/08/exclusive-racism-homophobia-fuelling-thousands-of-crimes-in-new-zealand-each-year-figures-show>

# Julian Batchelor and Stop Co-Governance



*Julian Batchelor is a significant individual in our findings, tied to numerous events in the data. The graph above shows Batchelor's (yellow) relationship to events (blue) and the cities in which they took place (red) this gives an indication both of geographic spread, and concentration of Batchelor's activities.*

Since the beginning of 2023, we have closely followed the Stop Co-Governance tour of Christian evangelist and real estate agent Julian Batchelor. Julian Batchelor started his career on the right in 1994, complaining about Tāmaki Makaurau's first gay Pride parade in a letter-writing campaign<sup>46</sup> and in 1997, he defended the screening by Potters House Christian Fellowship of an R18 classified film to youth under the age of 16, claiming he was not aware of the classification.<sup>47</sup> The homophobic film screened spread disinformation about the AIDS epidemic and LGBTQI+ people and claimed that all gay men were pedophiles, targeting children.

Now Māori, Co-Governance, and te Tiriti o Waitangi are the target of Julian Batchelor's

<sup>46</sup> <https://archive.md/U3gzg>

<sup>47</sup> <https://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10063/1204/thesis.pdf?sequence=1>



disinformation and hate speech. His anger with Māori appears to stem from a dispute over [whenua](#) he purchased that was designated as [wahi tapu](#).<sup>48</sup> Batchelor has traveled Te Ika-a-Māui (North Island) and Te Waipounamu (South Island), holding meetings where he gives long sermons about the “evils” of Co-Governance and spreading disinformation about te Tiriti o Waitangi. Over time more conspiratorial thinking has crept into his sermons, such as the racist conspiracy that a race of Celts pre-dated Māori arrival in Aotearoa.<sup>49</sup> He also devotes sections of his talks to complaining about activists he personally dislikes. He has recruited a small army of volunteers to letterbox his Stop Co-Governance booklets and invitations to his meetings. These booklets have been referred to the Electoral Commission<sup>50</sup> by historian Buddy Mikaere to investigate whether they have breached the electoral act and the complaint is now being assessed by New Zealand Police.<sup>51</sup>

Co-Governance is a shared governance arrangement where te Tiriti o Waitangi partners have equal seats at a decision-making table. Co-governance has been practised in Aotearoa New Zealand for over a decade. Julian Batchelor claims that Co-Governance is "apartheid" and is part of a hostile takeover by "Māori elites." Whenever he is asked who the "Māori elite" are, he aims his vitriol at [hapū](#), [iwi](#), [rangatira](#), politicians, Māori participating in democratic bodies or processes, and seemingly, any Māori who drives a nice car. The trope that a shadowy elite force is trying to implement totalitarianism has its roots in Antisemitism.<sup>52</sup> ‘Activists’ are now also on the receiving end of his ire, after counter-protests and disruptions of his events all over the [motu](#) by community members concerned that a pulpit in their town will be given to a super spreader of disinformation and hatred. While the majority of attendees at his meetings are older [Pākehā](#), Pākehā allies of all ages also turn out in droves to oppose him.

Julian Batchelor has compared Māori activists, including Pere Huriwai-Seger from Aotearoa Liberation League to "ISIS", falsely claiming Huriwai-Seger is "leading Māori astray, radicalising them like ISIS did, remember ISIS, we have Māori activists who are purveyors of false information, wrong information, radicalising many young people and they're becoming violent."<sup>53</sup> Aotearoa Liberation League’s [kaupapa](#) is based on Parihakatanga.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> <https://archive.md/UJAtC>

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<https://www.stuff.co.nz/entertainment/tv-radio/106407948/tvzn-doco-claiming-celts-were-here-before-mori-has-been-removed-from-ondemand-service>

<sup>50</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/taranaki-daily-news/news/132693599/dangerous-anti-cogovernance-booklet-might-be-in-breach-of-electoral-act>

<sup>51</sup> <https://archive.md/wvExO>

<sup>52</sup> <https://www.isdglobal.org/explainers/new-world-order-explainer/>

<sup>53</sup> <https://twitter.com/AotearoaLib/status/1693873079326507181>

<sup>54</sup> <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/occupation-pacifist-settlement-at-parihaka>

Julian Batchelor's private (unlicensed)<sup>55</sup> security personnel for his events has included far-right activist Kyle Chapman,<sup>56</sup> formerly a neo-Nazi leader of the National Front and Right Wing Resistance, Chris McCabe, also a former member of the National Front,<sup>57</sup> white supremacist Lee Williams and homophobic street preacher Lincoln Russ.<sup>58</sup> His meetings have turned violent on a number of occasions, with assaults on counter-protestors inside and outside the meetings. At a meeting in Palmerston North, Victoria Jakobs was assaulted as she attempted to disrupt the meeting with a small sign and a whistle.<sup>59</sup> She was forcefully grabbed and dragged out of the meeting with one attendee yelling "pull her pants down". Jakobs was left with bruising, a possible concussion and loose teeth. At another meeting in Golden Bay, Lee Williams was involved in a violent scuffle.<sup>60</sup>

In some cities and towns when Māori try to enter a meeting after they've been letterboxed with a Stop Co-Governance booklet and an invitation to a meeting, they are refused entry based<sup>61</sup> on skin colour and whether they have [moko](#) or not. In Blenheim, filmmaker Keelan Walker was told by Batchelor he couldn't come in because he wasn't "a good Māori" who would sit there and listen and "be respectful all the way through." Because of the level of disruption and opposition to his meetings and repeated cancellations by venues, Julian Batchelor has now taken to holding many of his meetings in private homes or live streaming them on Facebook.

Julian Batchelor has described te reo Māori and the sharing and teaching of Māori culture as "brainwashing"<sup>62</sup> and "grooming".<sup>63</sup> He has compared the greeting "Kia Ora" to "Heil Hitler".<sup>64</sup> An activist heard him compare Māori to "locusts" at a meeting in Invercargill.<sup>65</sup> On a recent livestream, he said, "Like cancer, New Zealand needs to go into Co-Governance remission, it

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<sup>55</sup> <https://archive.md/mPYIB>

<sup>56</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/canterbury/132498139/accusations-of-racism-from-protesters-as-stop-cogovernance-event-bars-mori-women>

<sup>57</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/politics/stop-co-governance-tour-has-ex-national-front-organiser-who-believes-white-people-are-being-targeted/6FLNXOQA6BESVFLVHLNMTCKR6I/>

<sup>58</sup> <https://archive.li/X6ijU>

<sup>59</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/manawatu-standard/news/300933786/pull-her-pants-down-woman-dragged-from-palmerston-north-anti-cogovernance-meeting>

<sup>60</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/golden-bay-stop-co-governance-meeting-ends-with-fracas/D2UT23EJL5F2NI3Q2W7LKKC6AI/>

<sup>61</sup> <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/ldr/492464/maori-refused-entry-to-stop-co-governance-meeting>

<sup>62</sup>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20230831133421/https://stopcogovernance.kiwi/blog/brainwashing-make-no-mistake-they-are-out-to-capture-the-minds-of-our-young-people/>

<sup>63</sup>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20230831161849/https://stopcogovernance.kiwi/blog/2023-set-to-be-year-of-heavy-psychological-warfare-through-the-media/>

<sup>64</sup>

<sup>65</sup> <https://archive.md/5MyZK>

needs to be taken out completely”. He has compared Māori to “primitive savages”.<sup>66</sup> This is in line with genocidal language observed in Rwanda, Bosnia, and during the Holocaust<sup>67</sup>.

Even more concerningly, Batchelor repeatedly references a civil war to prevent an “elite Māori takeover.” Batchelor says on one side of his mouth that he is non-violent, and on the other side of his mouth, he tells his audience he receives calls from his followers who are buying firearms in preparation. He is planting the seed for his audience to *also* go out and buy firearms. When New Zealand police made a statement<sup>68</sup> to say there was nothing to substantiate his claims, Batchelor took to his blog to say they were lying.<sup>69</sup> During a cup of tea break on a recent livestream when he didn’t know he could still be heard, a meeting attendee asked Batchelor, “I do agree with you being, you know, by the brain and by the pen over the sword, but I often look at the American Revolution, they were a bit the same way until push came to shove and they kinda had to get the swords out, so what's your perspective on that?”

Julian Batchelor answered, “Well I hope that day never comes in New Zealand, *but it might*.”

Julian Batchelor has created his own version of the Great Replacement conspiracy theory<sup>70</sup> that a “Māori elite” will enact a replacement of the rest of the population of Aotearoa, even though Māori are a minority on our own whenua. We are disturbed that this narrative and rhetoric is instilling fear and hatred in his followers<sup>71</sup> and others it spreads to online. This narrative is reminiscent of the Great Replacement conspiracy theory<sup>72</sup> and rhetoric about Muslims as “invaders” that led to the terrorist attack on Christchurch mosques on 15 March, 2019, and has inspired much violence in Europe and beyond. Julian Batchelor also speaks about his conspiracy of a “Māori elite” in the way Antisemites talk about Jews. When he says “Māori elite” (his favourite catchphrase) one could easily swap it out for “Globalists”, “Satanic cabal” or “Jews”.

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<sup>66</sup> <https://archive.li/DPzle>

<sup>67</sup>

<https://theconversation.com/incitement-to-violence-is-rarely-explicit-here-are-some-techniques-people-use-to-breed-hate-153585>

<sup>68</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/invercargill-mayor-nobby-clark-throws-weight-behind-stop-co-governance-tour-police-say-claims-people-arming-themselves-untrue/IGG6PF5DJFATHDOYENUALIFKE4/>

<sup>69</sup>

<https://web.archive.org/save/https://www.stopcogovernance.kiwi/blog/the-police-are-lying/>

<sup>70</sup>

<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2022/05/17/racist-great-replacement-conspiracy-theory-explained>

<sup>71</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/bay-of-plenty-times/news/rawiri-waititi-believes-stop-co-governance-meetings-at-mount-maunganui-instilling-fear-in-people/5SN2MPIXX5GNTEAUJMHWJEY3HA/>

<sup>72</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/may/17/great-replacement-theory-explainer>

At least four complaints have been made to the Human Rights Commission about Julian Batchelor but his Stop Co-Governance roadshow continues, offline and online.<sup>73</sup> Whether it is the weakness of current hate speech legislation or an unwillingness to prosecute, his hate speech has only been allowed to fester and grow. For this reason, we have included as many incidents as possible, relating to Julian Batchelor and the Stop Co-Governance roadshow, in the Hate Map. We will continue to monitor and update this.

While we believe Julian Batchelor himself intends to remain peaceful, his words are part of a phenomenon known as stochastic terrorism, which is the public demonisation of a group that incites random violence against that group.<sup>74</sup> Through our understanding of the behaviours and radicalisation process of extremist attackers around the world, we see a significant risk to Māori from a follower incited by Batchelor's rhetoric. We should not ignore his frequent references to "New Zealand becoming the Zimbabwe of the South Pacific", either. From Dylann Roof<sup>75</sup> to Richard Palmeter,<sup>76</sup> mass shooters and white supremacists often wear patches of the Rhodesian army.<sup>77</sup>

*Kia whakatoāhuri te haere whakamua*

I walk backwards into the future with my eyes fixed on my past.

– Māori whakataukī

Julian Batchelor choosing 'former' neo-Nazi Kyle Chapman as his (unlicensed) private security at the same time as making predictions of civil war with Māori and publicly stating his followers are arming themselves in preparation is no coincidence. Chapman confessed to a series of arsons between 1987 and 1992, including a kura and the fire-bombing of a marae, for which he was convicted.<sup>78</sup> On 8 September 2023, Kyle Chapman was raided and arrested for unlawful possession of firearms and ammunition.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/pou-tiaki/131573350/complaints-made-to-human-rights-commission-and-attorney-general-over-anti-cogovernance-talks>

<sup>74</sup>

<https://theconversation.com/the-stabbing-attack-at-the-university-of-waterloo-underscores-the-dangers-of-polarizing-rhetoric-about-gender-208904>

<sup>75</sup>

<https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2018/10/28/analyzing-terrorists-social-media-manifesto-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooters-posts-gab>

<sup>76</sup>

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/racist-jacksonville-shooter-wore-rhodesian-army-patch-symbol-white-sup-rcna102134>

<sup>77</sup> <https://archive.md/xI7kv>

<sup>78</sup>

<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/385647/far-right-groups-dispersing-after-mosque-attacks-ex-leader-kyle-chapman>

<sup>79</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/132915998/far-right-activist-arrested-on-firearms-and-ammunition-charges>

## Threats to Pasifik communities

Based on our research we have found reason to believe hate crimes and hate speech against Pasifik communities are underreported in the media and to police, despite 237 incidents recorded by police between January 2022 and April 2023.<sup>80</sup> Pasifik people are frequently scapegoated, whether for COVID-19 clusters in South Auckland or targeted in violent “jokes” by MP David Seymour. There is strong reason to believe that Pasifik communities are also less likely to report incidents to the police, as they have less reason to trust the police<sup>81</sup>. The Dawn Raids apology in 2021 is a start,<sup>82</sup> but it does not offer overnight healing or immediately grant trust in the government or the police. Academic Dylan Asafo has called for an independent inquiry and a report of recommendations for reform and redress by the government, to allow "for a true reckoning with the impacts of the Dawn Raids on Pacific peoples."<sup>83</sup>

In a high-profile incident, Samoan New Zealand poet Tusiata Avia experienced a huge racist backlash after being profiled by Stuff and reading a poem about Captain James Cook, titled "250th anniversary of James Cook's arrival in New Zealand." Racists objected to the language in her poem describing the death of Captain Cook and chose to interpret it as a threat against white people. After the publication of the article, 11 complaints were made to the New Zealand Media Council claiming Stuff was “inciting racial violence and hatred” and "race-baiting" by publishing the poem. One complainant said the poem was "borderline terrorism" and compared it to videos of ISIS beheadings. The complaints were not upheld.

## Threats to the Rainbow community

Aotearoa New Zealand has seen three counter-protests against drag queen story hour events over the last year, with one led by Counterspin Media and another organised by neo-Nazi Kyle Chapman and attended by former Action Zealandia member and neo-Nazi Sam Brittenden.

Two high-profile hate crimes against the Rainbow Community included in the Hate Map are the vandalism of the Pink Church in Greymouth with Antisemitic and homophobic graffiti, and the arson of the Tauranga Rainbow Youth and Gender Dynamix building. In the case of the

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<sup>80</sup>

<https://digitalcommons.unomaha.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1113&context=criminaljusticefacpub>

<sup>81</sup> <https://interactives.stuff.co.nz/2020/12/unwarranted-police-searches-racial-bias-justice/>

<sup>82</sup>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/aug/02/jacinda-ardern-apologises-for-new-zealand-dawn-raids-on-pasifika-people-in-1970s>

<sup>83</sup> <https://e-tangata.co.nz/comment-and-analysis/empty-gestures/>

Pink Church, two of the four offenders escaped conviction.<sup>84</sup> Police took four months to arrest a fourth offender and charge him,<sup>85</sup> because Wellington Police initially decided it wasn't "worthy" to locate and charge him. In the case of the arson of the Tauranga Rainbow Youth and Gender Dynamix building, the judge found it wasn't a hate crime because of the reduced mental and intellectual capabilities of the offenders.<sup>86</sup>

The visit of far-right transphobe Posie Parker to Aotearoa New Zealand for a Let Women Speak event in March accelerated hatred against the Rainbow Community, especially transgender people.<sup>87</sup> Her event in Tāmaki Makaurau (Auckland) followed the high-profile support for her event in Melbourne by the neo-Nazi active club National Socialist Network, with black-clad neo-Nazis Sieg Heiling on the steps of Victoria's Parliament.<sup>88</sup> Despite being hugely outnumbered by counter-protestors in Tāmaki Makaurau, her visit has given a social license to hate speech with conspiracists and transphobes feeling empowered to act on their hatred, including threatening violence. The Let Women Speak event in Tāmaki Makaurau was attended by a number of far-right activists, including Counterspin Media, Warren Knott, James Rossiter, Thomas Richards, and Dane Alexander Lokes, who pleaded guilty to the vandalism of the Pink Church.

Trans and intersex activist Eliana Rubashkyn was charged with assault after infiltrating the event and pouring a bottle of tomato juice on Posie Parker at the rotunda. They are currently awaiting trial. Posie Parker planned to come back to Aotearoa New Zealand for the trial to incite more hate speech and violence but has since decided against it.

Prior to the aborted Let Women Speak event in Tāmaki Makaurau, Gender Minorities Aotearoa, InsideOUT Kōara and Auckland Pride jointly filed a judicial review application seeking an interim order preventing Posie Parker's arrival until the judicial review could be heard in its totality. Their application was denied. Immigration New Zealand had earlier announced that Posie Parker did not meet the high threshold to be considered an excluded person under

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<sup>84</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/129948097/two-men-escape-conviction-for-homophobic-anti-semitic-attack-on-greymouths-pink-church>

<sup>85</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/130711512/fourth-man-arrested-four-months-after-homophobic-attack-on-pink-church>

<sup>86</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/bay-of-plenty-times/news/arsonists-who-torched-tauranga-rainbow-youth-and-gender-dynamix-building-sentenced/O6WBUFV5CZFDRFVPKYJOHTFRME/>

<sup>87</sup>

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2023/mar/25/anti-trans-activist-posie-parker-ends-new-zealand-tour-after-violent-protests-erupt>

<sup>88</sup> <https://youtu.be/JBy93QX7ysE>

section 16 of the Immigration Act 2009.<sup>89</sup> The event resulted in violence as feared. On the side of the LGBTQ+ protestors, a 21-year-old Gisborne resident, who has name suppression, punched a 71-year-old woman in the head. This assault was caught on video. He was charged with assault in April and plead guilty on 10 August 2023. A protest warden was assaulted, put in a headlock and shoved by a Posie Parker supporter, Ross Campbell. Members of Destiny Church assaulted a number of protestors. Greens MP Marama Davidson was hit by a motorbike, driven by a member of Destiny Church, in the stomach.<sup>90</sup> This assault was caught on video and has been referred to the police.

## Threats to faith communities

### Antisemitism

The online Antisemitism of the conspiracy movement and the far-right became glaringly visible offline during the occupation at Wellington Parliament in February and March 2022. A swastika was drawn on a statue at parliament, along with other messages targeting Jews. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern has been frequently referred to as "Jewcinda". The Jewish community has been scapegoated, targeted and vilified, by conspiracists, including QAnon cultists, believing in health and political conspiracy theories about "global elites", "satanic cabals" and a "New World Order", all coded language for "Jews". Antisemitic conspiracies and speech are normalised among the conspiratorial and far-right milieu in Aotearoa New Zealand. Jewish communities have been targeted through Antisemitic graffiti.<sup>91</sup>

In our data there are a number of historical incidents in the early 2000s of the desecration and vandalism of Jewish cemeteries and an arson attack on a Jewish chapel. Some of these incidents were linked to the National Front.

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<sup>89</sup>

<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/486618/high-court-rules-decision-to-allow-british-anti-transgender-activist-posie-parker-into-country-was-lawful>

<sup>90</sup>

<https://thespinoff.co.nz/politics/07-09-2023/he-actually-hit-me-the-moment-marama-davidson-was-struck-by-a-motorbike>

<sup>91</sup>

[https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/swastikas-spray-painted-outside-jewish-congregation-in-wellington/17NRECAW5LKOOGMGEYHSGYGYHO/?c\\_id=1&objectid=12302512](https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/swastikas-spray-painted-outside-jewish-congregation-in-wellington/17NRECAW5LKOOGMGEYHSGYGYHO/?c_id=1&objectid=12302512)

## Islamophobia

On 1 March 2020, Sam Brittenden, then a member of Action Zealania, posted a threatening message to the Al Noor Mosque on the Telegram channel "Brenton Tarrant's lads."<sup>92</sup> The post included a selfie of Brittenden wearing a balaclava skull mask and sunglasses, seated in a car across the road from the mosque, with worshippers visible in the mosque doorway. The message accompanying the image contained offensive content, including a threat to kill the mosque's worshippers and a gun emoji. This image was widely distributed across Telegram and Instagram by the international far-right.

On 4 March, 2020, Brittenden was arrested after a search warrant was executed at his address in Christchurch. The following day, he appeared in Christchurch District Court before Judge Tony Couch on a charge of failing to assist with a search warrant. He was granted bail with specific conditions, such as not entering Hagley Park and not possessing or using firearms or restricted weapons.

In July 2020, it was reported that Brittenden had refused to provide the passcode to his cellphone during a police raid on his residence following the threat. On 20 July, 2020, he pleaded guilty to the charge of failing to assist the police with a search power at a Redcliffs address in Christchurch on 4 March, without a reasonable excuse. It's worth noting that he was not charged specifically for the mosque threat, which prompted increased police patrols around the Al Noor and Linwood mosques. The image associated with the threat was referred to the Chief Censor to determine if it should be classified as objectionable material. As a result, Brittenden was fined \$500, in addition to court costs, for his actions. He was never held accountable for making a terror threat to Al Noor mosque.

## A violent assault against a Sikh worker

In August this year Singh, a Sikh pizza shop worker, was brutally assaulted by three men armed with baseball bats while taking out the trash at a pizza shop in Amberley, New Zealand. The victim, a recent immigrant from India, was gagged, dragged and left unconscious and badly injured in the attack. The assault sparked a police investigation, with authorities appealing for information from the public. The victim's colleagues and the local community rallied around him, expressing concern for his well-being and condemning the violence. The motive for the attack remains unclear, though it was speculated that it could be racially motivated or related to an incident a week prior when Singh's car was damaged while it was parked. A group had tried

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<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/crime/120027717/teen-arrested-after-al-noor-mosque-threat-a-member-of-white-nationalist-group>



to steal his car and he caught them in the act and they ran away.<sup>93</sup> There are no updates on the case at this time.

## Educational institutions

Educational institutions are not always safe for students in Aotearoa New Zealand, and as we have discussed earlier in the report, academics are also increasingly unsafe at work. We have documented 26 incidents from 2019–2023.

Asian, South Asian and Muslim parents and their children were targeted<sup>94</sup> and vilified by racists throughout the pandemic, sometimes on school grounds.<sup>95</sup> Parents have also been targeted by racist abuse,<sup>96</sup> property damage and threats by other parents on school grounds.<sup>97</sup> These incidents have left parents and their children deeply shaken and afraid to do school drop-offs and pick-ups. When a Muslim mother who survived the 15 March, 2019 attack in Christchurch, was abused last year by an angry Pākehā woman during school drop-off and called a terrorist, police spoke to her assailant but never arrested or charged her, with police claiming there was a lack of evidence.<sup>98</sup>

A shocking incident occurred in February 2022 when Hoda Al-Jamaa, 17, a student at Otago Girls' High, was hospitalised with a concussion after having her hijab ripped off and being beaten by three girls who were also students at the school. The three girls approached Hoda and her friends and asked them how to swear in Arabic and began taunting them, before ripping off her hijab and beating her. The assault was filmed and the video shared among other students. Hoda said, "Two of the girls held me and one hit me and after I fell on the ground, she ... was still hitting my face and my body. I was waiting for the teacher to help me." She said her attackers also tried to assault her friends. Hoda's story went viral internationally and 75,000 people signed a Change.org petition calling for justice for her and her friends. The school

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<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/amberley-big-bites-pizza-attack-police-appeal-for-publics-help-investigating-senseless-beating/IDZ2QIS7RBETDPZKR5P54RMUKM/>

94

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/119225943/police-investigating-racist-coronavirus-email-say-xenophobia-will-not-be-tolerated>

95

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/119615575/pair-allegedly-yelled-coronavirus-at-schoolchildren-in-christchurch>

96

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/watch-auckland-woman-rationally-abuses-man-during-morning-school-run/DTDXGDGGO4T65EYPNIN24O5NII/>

97

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/second-racist-attack-in-auckland-off-duty-police-officer-abused-while-picking-up-kids-from-school/Z356AWISK6Z67CRWEZGHASGCN4/>

<sup>98</sup> <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/mum-shes-calling-us-killers>

principal Bridget Davidson said she could not share the outcome of the disciplinary process, but two of the students were reportedly expelled<sup>99</sup>.

Sunday school principal at Dunedin's Al Huda Mosque Nurul Thiyahuddin said it was not first time the girls had been subjected to abuse because of their faith.

"There were early signs that were showing in school previously – like the girls were being verbally abused, there was lots of swearing and their complaints were not dealt with," she said.

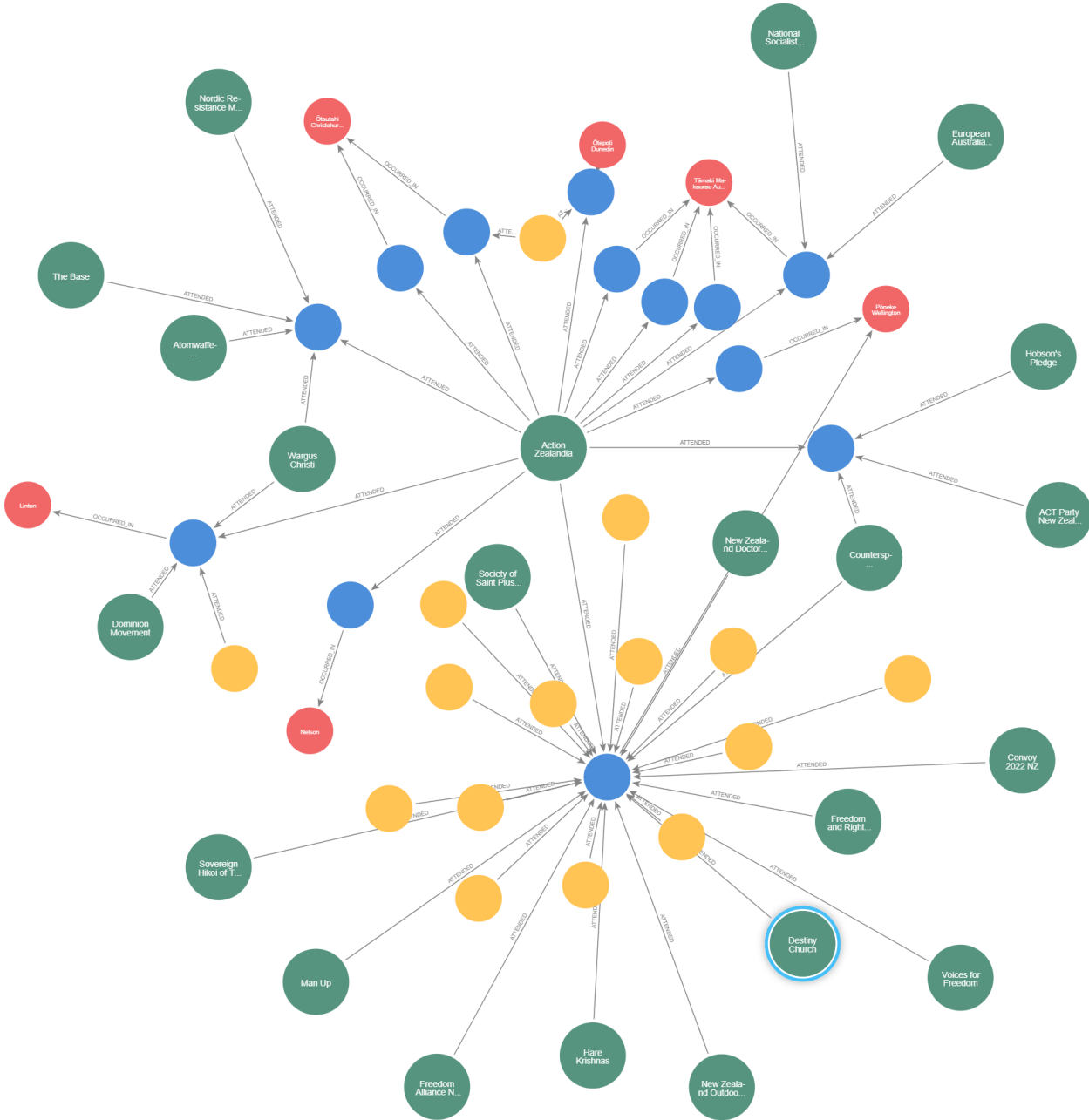
"There were complaints to the teachers but nothing was done. These are little signs that if dealt with early, may not have escalated to what we have seen. I felt it's a shame – it could have been prevented."

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99

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/justice-for-hoda-two-students-reportedly-expelled-from-otago-high-school-after-attack-on-muslim-schoolgirl/A66QTAAUIKNUKBRSFBI4PUTLNE/>

# Action Zealandia



The above graph demonstrates the relationship between Action Zealandia and other groups (green), individuals (yellow), events (blue) and the cities in which events took place (red). The event indicated furthest down on the graph was the 23-day occupation of Wellington Parliament in 2022.

Action Zealandia, Aotearoa New Zealand’s only public neo-Nazi group, is on the wane and researchers believe they are largely dormant as a group, though they continue to update their Telegram channel and occasionally publish podcasts. Of note is a meeting between members of

Action Zealandia and a member of the European Australian Movement/National Socialist Network in January 2023 in Tāmaki Makaurau. The Australian neo-Nazi they met with is from Adelaide, where a number of members of the Adelaide cell have been convicted of or are awaiting trial for terrorism offenses.<sup>100</sup> Action Zealandia members continue to network with Australian and other international neo-Nazis in Telegram chats.

Former Action Zealandia member and co-founder of the Dominion Movement (Action Zealandia's predecessor) "Johann Wolfe" is still waiting for trial on 17 charges, including espionage and possessing the Christchurch terrorist's livestream and manifesto.<sup>101</sup>

## Resistance, resilience and solidarity

We wish to [mihi](#) to the many on the frontline of activism and academia in Aotearoa New Zealand whose antifascist and anti-racist [mahi](#) informs our work and strengthens the data of this Hate Map. We consulted with and fact-checked with many people from across the [motu](#) and they provided valuable history, insight, and intelligence to inform the Hate Map. There is of course much more data to include and we will continue to update our online database with historical and current events.

Our goal with the Hate Map was also to map community solidarity and resistance to hatred and make note of this in our recording of incidents. We want to make sure histories of anti-racist and antifascist resistance, especially in the last five years, are recorded and accessible.

Aotearoa has a long way to go in challenging incidents of hate and racism, illustrated by a recent incident at a fundraiser run by the Kaimai Settlers Committee. A group wearing Ku Klux Klan costumes turned up to a quiz night, with one carrying a petrol canister.<sup>102</sup> Attendees at the event felt too shocked to say anything, and not one person spoke up. The organisers treated the costumes as normal, because of the collective silence.

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<sup>100</sup>

<https://www.abc.net.au/news/2023-06-02/neo-nazi-group-members-jailed-for-terror-planning/102426204>

<sup>101</sup>

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/126550030/spying-charges-reveal-soldier-had-defence-base-access-codes-christchurch-terror-video>

<sup>102</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/bay-of-plenty-times/news/kaimai-quiz-night-attendees-disgusted-over-groups-ku-klux-klan-costumes/2S7YR2G6NZAGXBGZP7XL25TH3I/>

Aotearoa also has a long history of challenging extremism and racism, from the Haka party incident,<sup>103</sup> to deplatforming white supremacists Lauren Southern and Stefan Molyneux through huge public pressure and a fierce but peaceful protest.<sup>104</sup>

Where places light up on the map with incidents of hate, they also often light up with [aroha](#) and [kotahitanga](#). Through taking collective action against fear and hatred, we live up to our collective potential in Te Ao Mārama, the world of light. Below, are some moving recent examples.

In June 2020 Ngahina Hohaia, a [wāhine](#) mau [moko](#) and visual artist from Parihaka was racially abused and assaulted on the [maunga](#) at Ōwairaka.<sup>105</sup> Within 48 hours of the assault, police decided not to press assault charges, citing a “plausible explanation” of “self-defense” from the alleged perpetrator. A large group of wāhine gathered in solidarity at the maunga to [karanga](#) and show solidarity with her. Waatea News reported:<sup>106</sup> "Greens co-leader Marama Davidson says it was a stunning gathering against racial violence that also affirmed the beauty and strength in the gift, of wearing [moko kauae](#). Poet Karlo Mila described the rolling Karanga as a ring of fire, a circle of power, a round of solidarity."

In April 2022 Havelock North mother Jay Scott (Ngāpuhi) was reduced to tears in a playground after being told by two women that her [moko kauae](#) scared children. The women told her to cover her [tā moko](#) with a mask or leave. Scott was in the playground with her four [tamariki](#). After posting about the incident on social media, she said she wanted to meet with them and educate them about the [mana](#) and history behind [moko kauae](#). She also wanted an apology but did not expect one to be forthcoming. On 1 May 2022,<sup>107</sup> hundreds of people attended a gathering at Havelock North Domain in solidarity with Jay Scott, in a reclamation of [mana](#) and to educate others. The event was organised by Helena Winiata, her sister Piri Galbraith and her mother Te Raina Ferris, who did not previously know Scott. "We came with [aroha](#), to share our stories and educate people by putting it out there. Jay was brave enough to put it out there. It's a fantastic turnout. This has been beautiful, and it came from Jay talking about it," Winiata said.

Across the [motu](#) in large cities and small towns, people, young and old, have turned up in the middle of the winter in freezing conditions and stayed long into the night to collectively stand

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<sup>103</sup> <https://e-tangata.co.nz/arts/the-haka-party-incident/>

<sup>104</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/cancelled-alt-right-activists-stefan-molyneux-and-lauren-southern-in-limbo-after-venue-backs-out-of-hosting-event/XCD453GSGLDMMGNE2SVEFGXXYA/>

<sup>105</sup>

<https://www.nzherald.co.nz/kahu/police-not-pressing-charges-after-maori-woman-alleges-racial-abuse-at-owairaka-mount-albert/ML7PPWV7PNHWXGJXKKZII3CFRA/>

<sup>106</sup> <https://waateanews.com/2020/06/21/karanga-puts-ring-of-fire-on-owairaka/>

<sup>107</sup> <https://archive.md/2sDIr>

against the hatred and racism of Julian Batchelor and the Stop Co-Governance tour. Together they have sung waiata, performed haka, and shared hot [kai](#) and tea.<sup>108</sup> Sometimes counter-protestors have numbered in the hundreds, sometimes in the dozens. In Wānaka at The Venue, three counter-protestors went inside to disrupt the meeting of more than 100 people, while outside three anti-hate speech protestors stood together with a dog called Ted in the fog and drizzle.

On 28 February 2022 in the fourth week of the anti-vaccine mandate protest and occupation at Parliament in Pōneke and in response to the desecration of the whenua, moana and tikanga as well as Pipitea Marae, a dawn ceremony was held. Descendants of Taranaki Whānui gathered, supported by the Kiingitanga. There, [tohunga](#) of Taranaki whānui ki Te Upoko o Te Ika recited [karakia](#) and [waiata](#) calling for peace and resolution of the protest at Parliament.<sup>109</sup> Pipitea Marae chair Kura Moeahu said, "This morning, we have laid down Te Kahu o Te Raukura – a cloak of aroha and peace over the Parliament grounds and our surrounding ancestral sites. Te Raukura contains the three feathers representing honour, peace, and goodwill – the same symbol used at Parihaka."<sup>110</sup>

Taranaki Whānui chair Kara Puketapu-Dentice spoke of the undermining and breaching of tikanga:

*"There is no honour in the desecration of our whenua, there is no honour in entering the marae through the back. It shows a flagrant disregard of tikanga – this is not how we do things.*

*Te Kahu o te Raukura can almost be akin to a rahui – a form of cultural protection over our whenua that says this area here – we set expectations around behaviour in this place but we have seen the disregard and the takahi of the mana of the whenua, this is a form of cultural protection affirming our mana and our rangatiratanga and our practice in our ways on our whenua," Puketapu-Dentice said.*

*"This is an opportunity to whakaea tērā wairua – so that we can make a stand and make our position incredibly clear of what we expect going forward. There is going to have to be a lot of healing for our whānau across the motu around this whole issue, but our expectation is that that healing will not happen on the grounds of Parliament, that healing will happen when they go home, back to their communities, alongside their people – that is where the healing will happen. People are more than welcome to come here and protest, but be an honourable guest on our whenua."*

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<sup>108</sup> <https://archive.md/jpD4l>

<sup>109</sup>

<https://www.teaonews.co.nz/2022/02/28/te-kahu-o-te-raukura-a-call-of-protection-and-peace-for-wellington/>

<sup>110</sup>

<https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/462434/te-kahu-o-te-raukura-laid-as-a-cloak-of-peace-over-parliament-grounds-and-ancestral-whenua>

Extremism, hate speech and violence must be confronted collectively for the sake of the health and the safety of our society: whether it is singing waiata in a cold, dark suburban street in Havelock North outside a meeting of racists, or in the chamber of parliament.

*Ki te kotahi te kākaho ka whati ki te kāpuia e kore e whati*

If there is but one reed it will break, but if it is bunched together it will not

– King Tāwhiao

## Recommendations

The increasing prevalence of hate speech and its dire consequences underscores the urgency of this problem: It is imperative for policymakers to address the complex challenge posed by hate speech. Addressing this issue requires a comprehensive and multi-faceted approach, encapsulated in the following evidence-based recommendations:

### 1. Strengthen Legal Frameworks

Governments should comprehensively define 'hate speech' in their legal frameworks to ensure that acts promoting hatred, discrimination, or violence against specific groups are penalized. While safeguarding freedom of expression, clear red lines should be established to demarcate between protected speech and hate speech that incites harm or violence. We recommend implementation of the following laws, regulations, and enforcement activities:

- Reform Hate Speech Legislation:
  - In light of Prime Minister Chris Hipkins' announcement regarding the withdrawal of reforms to hate speech legislation, there is a pressing need to prioritize the protection of religious communities, especially in the wake of the Christchurch mosque terrorist attack.
  - The legislation must be expanded to safeguard the Rainbow community, gender minorities, and disability communities. Considering the upcoming October 2023 general election, it's imperative that these reforms are addressed without further delays.
- Regulate Livestreaming on Social Media Platforms:
  - Strengthen regulations on lives streaming, especially given its role in drawing people to events like the 2022 occupation of Wellington Parliament grounds. Livestreams by outlets such as Counterspin Media, which openly feature threats

of violence,<sup>111 112 113</sup> must be dealt with more swiftly and decisively than has been the case.

- Platforms like Instagram and Facebook should be mandated to monitor and act against such instances promptly, and there needs to be a political push to regulate these platforms comprehensively.
- Empower the Chief Censor's Office:
  - Offer the Chief Censor's office broader authority to regulate and act against specific narratives within speech, especially those that spread unsubstantiated and harmful narratives.
  - Address narratives that foster division and conflict, like calls for civil wars over topics like Stop Co-Governance, to maintain societal peace and understanding.

## 2. Enhanced Monitoring and Reporting Mechanisms

Create or strengthen national bodies responsible for monitoring discrimination, hate speech, and the extremist behaviors which often follow. Encourage citizen reporting of hate speech incidents through online platforms, hotlines, and community outreach programs. Collaborate with tech companies, contractors, and researchers to develop algorithms and manual moderation mechanisms that detect and address hate speech online promptly.

## 3. Address Discrimination as a Crime Catalyst

Concur with scholars such as Tina Ngata, Arama Rata, and Dilwin Santos<sup>114</sup> on understanding discrimination as a significant contributor to crime. Recognize and act upon the chain of causation where hate speech can escalate to hate crime, in part by empowering community organizations with resources for education, advocacy, monitoring, and support, especially for racialized communities. Similarly, support should be provided to the gender-diverse communities and the Rainbow Community.

## 4. Community Engagement and Resilience

A valuable approach to deal with hate speech involves promoting community-led initiatives that foster dialogue between different groups, aiming to break down prejudices and misconceptions. Furthermore, support organizations that work towards rehabilitating individuals who were previously engaged in hate-driven activities, ensuring their reintegration into society as productive members. We suggest the following policy proscriptions to that end:

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<sup>111</sup>

<https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/new-zealand/2022/08/far-right-group-counterspin-media-booted-off-instagram-after-host-called-for-violence.html>

<sup>112</sup> <https://archive.md/McpQP>

<sup>113</sup> <https://archive.li/ur6hE>

<sup>114</sup> <https://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/content/race-based-hate-crime-aotearoa>



- Increase Funding for Social Cohesion
  - Amplify funding for projects aimed at enhancing social cohesion, as indicated in this report to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Terrorist Attack on Christchurch Mosques on 15 March 2019: <https://christchurchattack.royalcommission.nz/the-report/part-9-social-cohesion-and-embracing-diversity/introduction/>
  - Allocate resources for community groups that emphasize education on te Tiriti o Waitangi and the responsibilities and ethics of being tangata tiriti.

## 5. Promote Digital Equity and Inclusion

Champion and implement the [InternetNZ's five-point plan for digital inclusion](#). Given the radicalization trends via conspiracy theories and far-right ideologies on social media during the pandemic, efforts must be doubled to ensure digital equity. Address the prohibitive cost of cell phone data, which currently restricts many individuals to a limited internet experience, potentially subjecting them to misinformation on platforms like Facebook. Making internet access more affordable and expansive can diversify information sources, reducing the chance of radicalization.

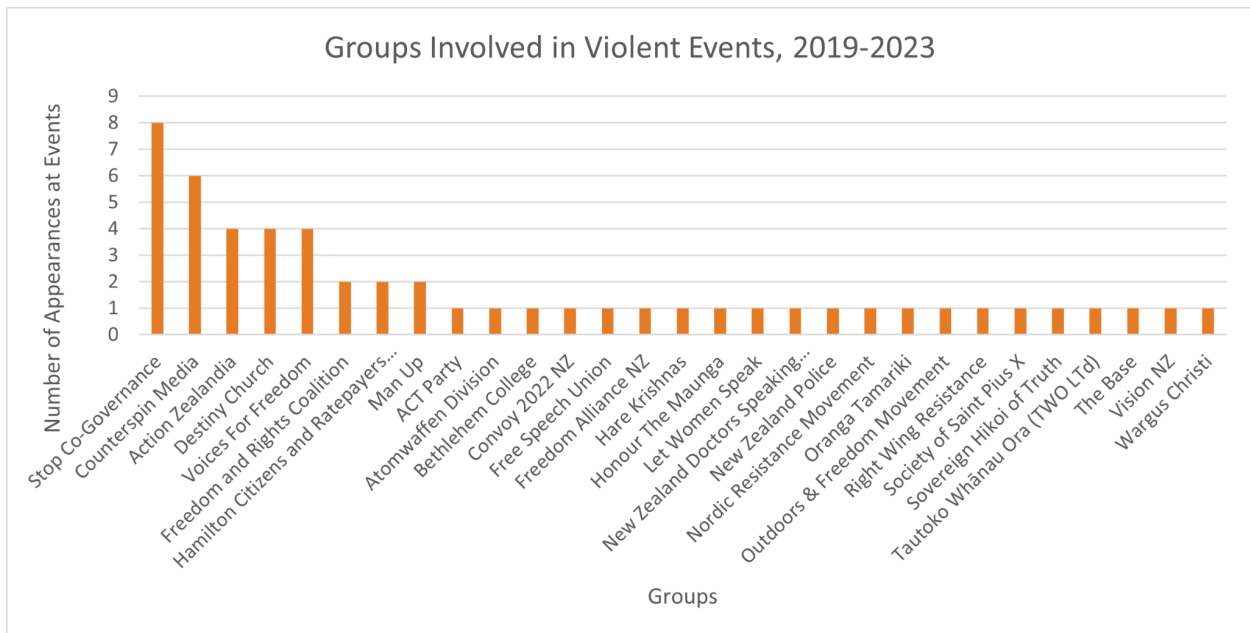
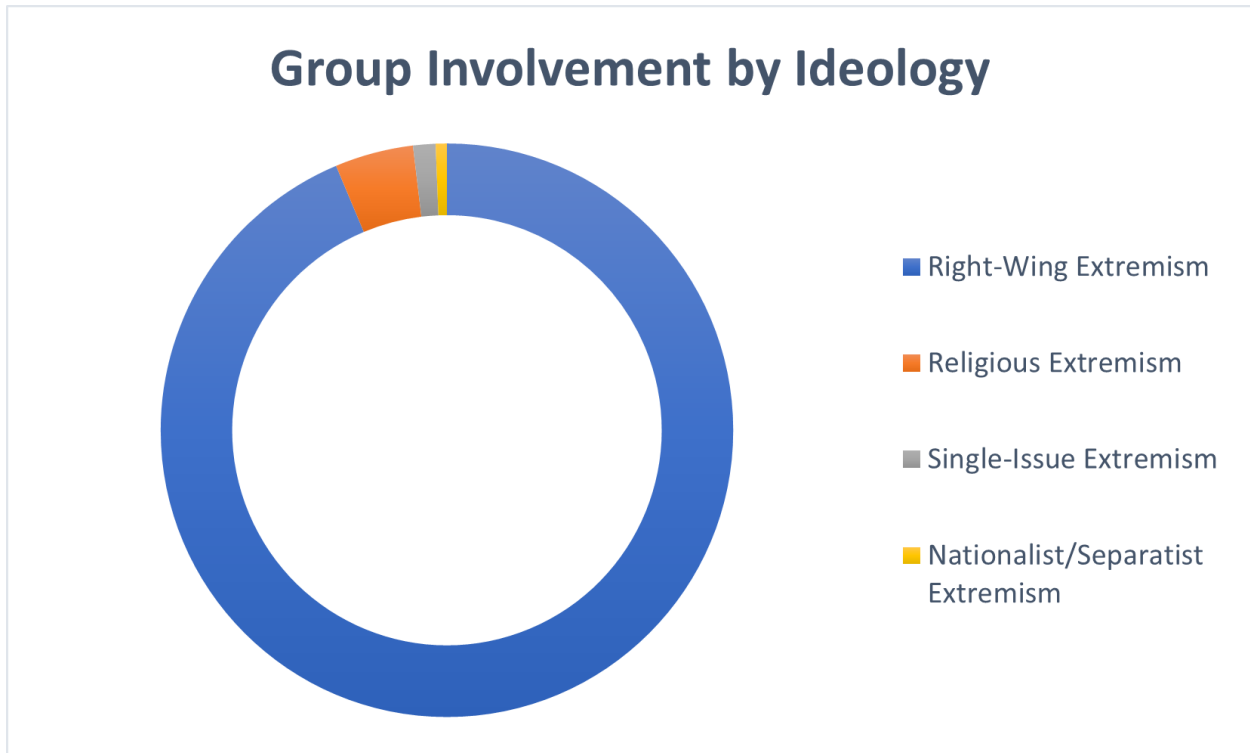
## 6. Research and Data Collection

Although research to support evidence-based policy decisions is often considered an afterthought, it is vital to ensure accurate, data-driven, timely responses to hate speech, hate crime, and discrimination. Without research, policymakers run the risk of improperly allocating resources or advocating ineffective policies. To support research and data collection, we recommend the following:

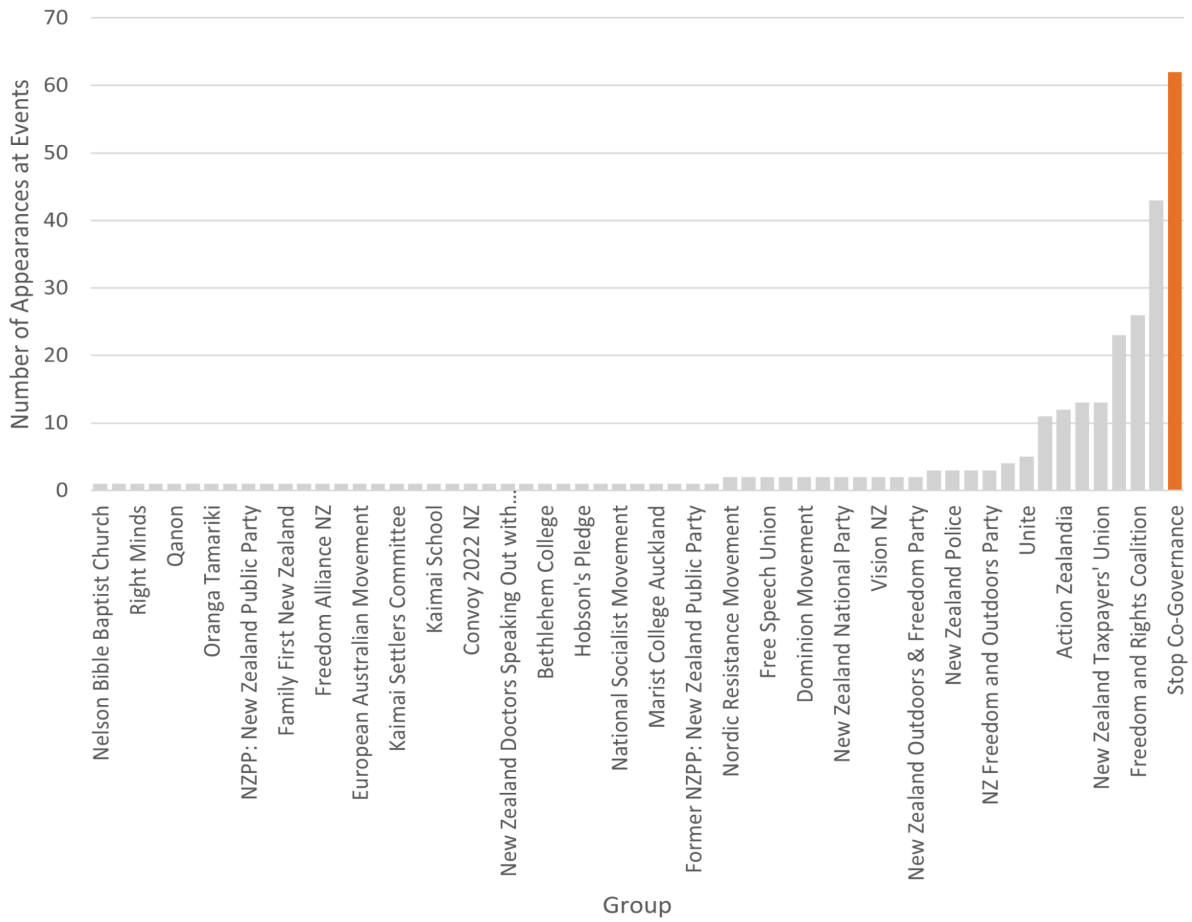
- Invest in research to understand the root causes and implications of hate speech better. This includes commissioning studies, surveys, and forming think-tanks to guide evidence-based policymaking.
- Governments can empower tech companies and grant makers to provide research funding and grant opportunities to address hate speech and hate crime.
- Establish a centralized database to log and track hate speech incidents, which can inform policymakers, researchers, and law enforcement agencies.

Addressing hate speech requires a multi-faceted approach, integrating legal measures, community engagement, and collaboration. By adopting these recommendations, we can collectively work towards a more tolerant, inclusive, and peaceful society, an Aotearoa Hou.

# Appendix: Database Charts



### Groups Involved in Any Event, 2019-2023



### Comparing Non-violent and Violent Events, 2019-2023

