



THEY ARE US, BUT WHO ARE WE?

Individual versus structural constructions of white supremacy in the New Zealand mainstream news media following the Christchurch killings

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Attestation

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed: Ben Moore

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Abstract

On March 15, 2019, 51 people in two mosques in Christchurch, NZ were killed by a white supremacist extremist. This thesis applies content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA) to a sample of articles from two New Zealand mainstream news media outlets, which mention white supremacy, from the three months following the Christchurch killings. The goal is to understand the extent to which white supremacy was constructed as a structural issue or an issue with individuals or groups. The research found that it was overwhelmingly the latter. Although there was some attempt to consider the structural nature of white supremacy, discussion of individuals and groups consistently undermined it. In this way, white supremacists were 'othered' from the hegemonic norm; leaving the western, Eurocentric culture upon which structural white supremacy is based largely unexamined. This thesis argues that white supremacy is indeed part of the underlying structure of Aotearoa New Zealand, and that the news media's predominant focus on individual over structural manifestations only perpetuates the power of white supremacy as an invisible hegemonic ideological structure.

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1. Introduction

This thesis is concerned with understanding the extent to which Aotearoa New Zealand's mainstream news media construct white supremacy as a structural issue or as an individual issue. To explore this, I gathered a sample of 113 texts from the two most popular news outlets, *Stuff* and *The New Zealand Herald*, which both distribute their content online and through newspapers. The sample was gathered from a period of time following Aotearoa New Zealand's worst mass-murder at a single person's hands in recorded history: the March 15, 2019 killings of 51 people at two mosques in Christchurch. The killer released a set of writings to explain his motivation in which he described his white supremacist beliefs (Shakir, 2019) and so the topic of white supremacy was of particular interest to the population of Aotearoa New Zealand ¹.

1.2. *Why this topic?*

In chapter 2, the literature review, this thesis will argue that race is a construct but has real and damaging consequences, of which structural white supremacy is a distinct example; that contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand is based upon white supremacist structures; and that white supremacy expands beyond race and into other social categorisations including religion, specifically Islam for the purposes of this study. I am an English immigrant to Aotearoa New Zealand or what some people may refer to as a settler or modern colonist. The Christchurch killer's use of a social category of which I am a part to justify the murder of people outside of

¹ Distribution and possession of content from the killer's writings, often referred to as his 'manifesto', are illegal under the Films, Videos, Publications and Classifications Act (Department of Internal Affairs, n.d.). Any information on the content has been obtained through legitimate reporting and is referenced appropriately.

that social category was what initially drew me to the topic. I felt driven to address this use of an artificial grouping that is a beneficiary of social power inequity to exact violence upon a religious grouping that has been a victim of the social power inequity (see: section 2.11 of literature review).

This research is concerned with all aspects of white supremacy, which extend beyond race. As noted in section 2.2.1 of the literature review, it is closely aligned with the patriarchy, Christonormativity, heteronormativity, and gender binary among others. This is what I will refer to as the hegemonic regime of white supremacy. The place of Islam in these hegemonic white supremacist structures is given particular consideration as Muslims were the targeted group for the killings that spurred this research. Though the killing could be correctly classified as Islamophobic, the killer's racially charged motivation means the issue extends beyond religion and enters the scope of the examination of white supremacy.

In the wake of the killings, I felt that structural white supremacy and the killer's white supremacist beliefs were likely interrelated. The fact that Muslim people were chosen as the victims reinforced this because Islamophobia plays a large role in modern white supremacy and permeates much of western culture, as evidenced in section 2.11 of the literature review. Yet, it seemed that there was a lack of coverage of structural white supremacy in news media's reporting around the issue, both in relation to Islam and more generally. This hunch was deepened when the slogan "this is not us" was popularised, based on Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern's claim that the killer was an aberration whose beliefs had no relation at all to any of New Zealand's history, legislation, or social structures.

With this research, I aimed to understand whether my experience of structural white supremacy being generally under-discussed was supported by evidence, to develop some understanding of the ramifications of the othering of white supremacist extremist killers, and to address some of the power imbalance that exists in Aotearoa New Zealand based on racial groupings. To this end, a critical approach has been taken in this analysis.

1.3. The research approach

The sample was gained through the Newztext data base and encompassed the three months from the date of the killings, inclusive. It was focused specifically on articles that use the term 'white supremacy' or derivatives such as 'white supremacist'. The analysis of the sample was undertaken using an integrated methodological approach, combining content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA). Krippendorff (2019) / Neuendorf's (2017) approach to content analysis was used for its strength in providing a general overview of a large number of texts. I identified terms or concepts that are either related to the research question or are recurring within the sample and counted how many articles within the sample that they occurred within. This allowed for a holistic view of the sample and the relative importance that was placed on each concept.

I used the understanding gained from the content analysis to conduct a closer analysis on the ways in which the terms or concepts were used through CDA. I conducted a close reading of the sample and applied CDA socio-linguistic tools as outlined by van Dijk (2001) and Richardson (2007) to sections from the texts that demonstrated the ways in which these terms and concepts were constructing meaning. This step allowed for a deeper analysis of the content of the entire sample through qualitative analysis while retaining a broader perspective. It also provided insight into how various terms and concepts created meaning in conjunction with each other.

The final step in the analysis was through a closer CDA analysis of four articles that represent various ways that white supremacy is constructed in the sample. This leverages the tools described by van Dijk (2001) and Richardson (2007) but also Wodak's (2001) discourse historical and Fairclough and Fairclough's (2012) argumentation analysis approaches. The analyses of these articles provide a deeper understanding of the ways that white supremacy was constructed, exploring the tension between structure and agency in detail.

1.4. The findings

There were three main findings from of this research which are outlined in more detail in the discussion, chapter 5. The first is that any mention of structural white supremacy is superficial and derailed by individual-blaming rhetoric. There is very little reference to structural white supremacy within the sample, and where it is mentioned, it is constrained by references to individuals and small groups of people as examples of the problem to the exclusion of the wider culture, as well as assertions that changing attitudes is a solution without reference to how those attitudes should extend into political, legislative or advocative action.

The second main finding is that a good/bad binary is used to construct white supremacists as an 'other' that is distanced from the members of the hegemonic regime. The Christchurch killer and other white supremacist extremists are constructed as a 'bad' other whose actions and beliefs are disconnected from the 'good' New Zealand culture, or western culture entirely, and its history. Emphasis is placed upon violent actions and the tragedy of them, while the social structures that contributed to those actions are ignored in place of an affirmation of the benevolence of New Zealand culture.

The third finding is that Eurocentrism and whiteness remain unexamined maintaining their normative invisibility. Western culture generally, and Aotearoa New Zealand culture specifically, is uncriticised and the Christchurch killer's belief in its supremacy is never contested. Voices outside of the hegemonic regime, whether as sources in articles or giving speeches that are reported on, are given prominence when they confirm this – when expressing forgiveness for example – and are downplayed or derided when contradicting this. The few occasions where social science academics present a critical view of social structures are provided within equivocating discourse that detracts from the criticism.

The construction of white supremacy in the mainstream media of Aotearoa New Zealand following the Christchurch killings serves to maintain and extend the view that white supremacy only exists at the level of individual attitudes and beliefs. It reinforces that there is

no connection between the hegemonic culture of the west and the people who take violent action in the name of that culture. It promotes the invisibility of whiteness by failing to examine the culture in which violent white supremacist extremists exist within. This is especially notable as it is a stark contrast to the cultural examination that peoples outside the hegemonic regime, particularly Muslims and Māori, have endured within the mainstream media.

1.6. Notes on terminology

Throughout this research, I will follow the convention of avoiding naming the Christchurch killer except in one section. In 5.3, the discussion speaks to the question of tolerance and how caricaturing can serve to distance white supremacist actions from the hegemonic regime. In this context, it would be disingenuous to present the discourse of the killer being a morally terrible human, but human nonetheless, while dehumanising him. However, it is restricted to this section as I believe that while it is necessary there, I also have no desire to popularise his name in any meaningful way.

The term 'Christchurch killings' is used throughout the thesis. This was preferred over other terms, such as terrorist attack, murders, shootings (although this term is used at times) or others, because it was felt that 'killings' provided both an accurate representation of the reality of what happened while also maintaining some level of academic distance. This choice is not a judgement on the veracity of other choices of terminology.

1.5. An outline of the thesis

This thesis is organised in the following way. Introduction, literature review, research design, discussion, conclusion. The current chapter, Chapter 1 is an introduction to the research and provides an explanation of the inspiration, purpose, and findings of this research in brief terms.

Chapter 2 is a comprehensive literature review of the scholarship as it relates to this project. This chapter is structured to flow through the concepts relevant to this research from a general level into more specifics in a way where each section is informing the ones to follow. For this reason, an examination of the scholarship around the relationship between Islam and the hegemonic regime is intentionally placed in at the end of the chapter as it is best served by having the fullest context. Concepts covered include race, whiteness, structure and agency, white supremacy, individualism, ethnicity and nationality, nationalism and Eurocentrism. These are followed by an exploration of the white supremacist nature of various institutions, with particular emphasis on the mainstream news media. Then, Aotearoa New Zealand and its relation to white supremacy is explained, before the relationship between Islam, Christianity and white supremacy is explored.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the research design. An introduction offers a brief outline of the research question, the sample and the approach to analysis that I took. Following this is an outline of the sample collection and refinement method, detailing how a sample of articles about white supremacy were selected. Both the main methodology used, critical discourse analysis (CDA), and the secondary methodology, content analysis, are described, explaining how they suit an analysis related to ideological concepts, the individual and the structure, and social power distribution. Sections on author bias and methodological, environmental and personal restrictions conclude this chapter.

Chapter 4 covers the findings from the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the sample. The statistical data gained from the content analysis are presented. This is followed by an examination of the context of the major findings through closer reading of sections from the sample. It concludes with a CDA of four articles that are representative of various viewpoints from the sample, two news reports and two opinion pieces that cover an attempt at structural discourse, the way white supremacist groups are covered outside of subjectively violent actions, a highly individualistic perspective of white supremacy, and how a social science perspective is represented.

Chapter 5 presents the three main findings of the research as outlined in the section above, providing examples from the sample and the scholarship to explain these findings in detail. Finally, chapter 6 is the conclusion that briefly looks at the research as a whole, explores ramifications of the findings and makes suggestions for further research.

2. Literature review: With great power comes greater power

2.1. Introduction

In writing a literature review, making a decision about the order in which to place the concepts covered is already a difficult decision, made no easier in this work by the eclectic mixture of interrelating points that are involved for an event with the social weight of the Christchurch killing and the news texts reporting on it. As a result, there is some back and forth to be aware of, particularly around the need to switch between global and local to Aotearoa New Zealand perspectives. The order of the sections that follow do not denote a ranking of importance or relevance, but are an attempt to guide a reader through the complex conceptual building blocks in a way that develops understanding toward the research and scholarship that frames the analysis at the centre of this research.

While race plays a dominant role in exploring white supremacy, it is only one part. As is noted in section 2.2.1, the white supremacist hegemonic regime is made many interrelating aspects of the distribution of social power, such as gender, sexuality, class and, importantly for this study, religion. In fact, although race may have been the self-proclaimed motive of the killer, the people he killed were targeted for their Islamic beliefs. The relationship between Islam and the hegemonic regime is reserved until the final section to allow for the fullest context possible. This decision is outlined in more detail at the outset of the section, 2.11.

The literature review begins with definitions of the key object of the analysis, that is white supremacy and whiteness. This section provides an explanation of white supremacy at a simplistic and then sociological level, delivers a brief history of race as is relevant, and then a more specific discussion of the structural nature of white supremacy. This section should set up the reader with at least a basic understanding of what is meant by the term 'representations of white supremacy'.

With the object defined, an explanation of the framework of the research will follow, looking at the academic work on the individual and structures and how they relate to white supremacy. It will outline how white supremacy has shifted over time, what scholarship states is the problematic nature of individualism in regard to race, as well as introducing Žižek's (2008) theory of subjective and objective violence and Berger's (2018) work on extremism as they relate to the individual / structural spectrum. The interrelation between individual and structural white supremacy is then examined through a look into academic research on white supremacy in Aotearoa New Zealand and how focus on individuals can work to cover structural inequities.

With the two primary concepts outlined, the literature review returns to race, examining the scholarship about the problematic nature of attempting to place people into categories based on skin colour, cultural differences or geography. It provides the definitions of race, ethnicity and nationality that this research will assume in the face of this.

The literature review then turns to examining some of the component parts of white supremacy, specifically Eurocentrism and nationalism. An explanation of Eurocentrism begins the section in order to set the context for global white supremacy and the rise of white ethnonationalism. The discussion of the literature around nationalism and ethnonationalism explores the fragmented and contradictory nature of the ideology and includes a brief look into the more beneficial nature of civic nationalism. It also lays out the inherent hypocrisy of how white ethnonationalism has become increasingly globalised in its contemporary form.

In a break from theory, the review then provides more grounded examples of the white supremacist nature of various institutions, looking at studies and reports that provide evidence for this. The findings presented in this section show the pervasive nature of white supremacy in the foundational structures of western society, in particular. The institutions covered are education, law and justice, political systems, capitalism and corporations, and non-government organisations, although it is noted that this is far from an exhaustive list and excludes the news media which is covered in more depth in the following section.

As the texts that this research is analysing are produced from the mainstream news media, this section covers that institution in much more detail. It explains what the terms 'mainstream' and 'news media' refer to and how the outlets chosen for this research fit into that category. Scholarship into how the news media works to construct reality is reviewed, as well as that which examines how this affects non-hegemonic racial and ethnic groups and the western-centric nature of Aotearoa news media. Representations of Islam and Muslims in the news media are also examined; more discussion of Islam is found in the final section before the conclusion.

After much discussion of global academic research and how it relates to Aotearoa New Zealand, a more detailed section on the country provides the historical and social context within which the Christchurch killing and its local news coverage was produced. A general outline of the country and its role in global organisations precedes a more in-depth review of its colonisation, the legal precedence for it and ongoing legislative structures that uphold the imperialist, white supremacist values that colonisation imported. This section applies the concepts derived from the previous literature to a New Zealand context.

To develop the context of the experience of non-European and non-indigenous peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand, a review of the literature around three waves of immigration is presented. These are eighteenth century Chinese immigration, mid-twentieth century Pacific Islander immigration, and late-twentieth to early twenty-first century Muslim immigration. This section serves to reveal a pattern of individual and structural responses to non-colonist migrants that frames the socio-cultural environment of the Christchurch killing.

With this array of interrelating concepts presented and examined, there is a sufficient basis of understanding to present the relationship between the Christian west and Islam. The final section serves to bring the previous ones together as they relate to the community that was tragically targeted in the Christchurch killing. A brief history of the Crusades is established as a context of the values that colonisation imported into New Zealand. The link between white

supremacy extremism and Crusader imagery is presented, along with how the same imagery is located in Christchurch itself. The post-9/11 geopolitics and New Zealand's role within them are explored along with how this fed structural white supremacy and the condemnation of Islam.

Through this literature review and its structuring, the functioning of structural white supremacy and its intersection with individual attitudes both globally and locally to Aotearoa New Zealand will fall into relief. There is, of course, more academic research on each of these areas than could possibly be covered in this review, and more areas that could be covered in general. However, what is presented is the literature that is most relevant to the analysis of representations of white supremacy in New Zealand's mainstream media, and the extent to which it is presented as an individual or a structural phenomenon.

2.2. Defining white supremacy and whiteness

The literature shows that as the cultural meanings of whiteness have changed, so too have meanings of white supremacy. By tracing these changes, we can gain an understanding of how white supremacy exists today and the difficulties that are presented when discussing white supremacy in a media or academic context. This section will provide an outline of white supremacy in order to establish a definitional understanding of this key concept of this research. It will begin with a basic description of white supremacy and its place in a wider power structure, which will be followed by a contemporary sociological perspective. A history of race will follow (though a more thorough explanation of race can be found in section 2.5, titled 'Race, other categories and CRT'). The section ends with a brief description of structural white supremacy, which sets up many of the concepts that are explored later in this literature review.

2.2.1. In brief

At the most superficial level, white supremacy is a belief that white people are inherently superior to non-white people and so the former should have power over the latter (OED, 2015). This belief rests on the contention that racial categories are an immutable reality that can be observed and that whiteness is the most valuable and normal of these categories and therefore deserves the most power (Barkan, 1991; R. Dyer, 1997). This power structure, with whiteness at the top, is intrinsically linked with other social hierarchies including patriarchy, heteronormativity, and Christonormativity; each, like race, present a cultural ideal of normal resulting in a Christian, straight, white, cis-gendered male as a representation of a baseline, standard, normal human (R. Dyer, 1997). This can be seen in adding a bow to make Pac-Man into Ms. Pac-Man (Kowert et al., 2017); in images of Jesus as blonde, blue-eyed and pink-skinned (Pittman & Boyles, 2019); in the expectation that people who are non-heterosexual or gender non-conforming announce this by 'coming out' (Pecoraro, 2020); or in the prevalence of skin-lightening products for sale worldwide (McCarthy, 2020).

However, these beliefs are not simply a matter of the individuals' ideologies but also concern social and cultural structures. White supremacy, Layla Saad (2020) claims, "is not just an attitude or a way of thinking. It also extends to how systems and institutions are structured to uphold this white dominance" (p.12). DiAngelo (2018) states that "white supremacy is a descriptive and useful term to capture the all-encompassing centrality and assumed superiority of people defined and perceived as white and the practices based on this assumption" (p. 28). Mills (1999) is more specific, describing white supremacy as "a political system, a particular power structure of formal or informal rule, socio-economic privilege, and norms for the differential distribution of material wealth and opportunities, benefits and burdens, rights and duties" (p. 3).

These definitions are a distinctly sociological perspective; for many, the term white supremacy is reserved for radical individuals or groups who explicitly advocate for and promote the

superiority of white people (DiAngelo, 2018). It is this gulf of understanding between the social science academy and the general consciousness that this research is primarily concerned with. To accurately define white supremacy and comprehend this divide in understanding, it is vital to explain whiteness and provide a brief history of how it came to be.

2.2.2. The history of race

Race is a social construct, however, this fact does not lessen the impact it has had on populations globally (Banton, 1966; Callister, 2011; DiAngelo, 2018; Du Bois, 1897; Frankenberg, 1997; Guess, 2006; hooks, 1992; Mills, 1997, and many more). What it means to be a white person is different to any other racial grouping as, throughout a history of imperialism and subjugation, whiteness has positioned itself as normative and therefore invisible (R. Dyer, 1997). This was not always the case. The aggrandisement of race as a concept came in the eighteenth century when many scientific scholars attempted to apply zoological classification to humans based on physical attributes, resulting in the categories black, brown, yellow, red and white (Barkan, 1991).

What quickly followed was “political domination buttressed by biological rationalization (which) proliferated during the second half of the nineteenth century” (Barkan, 1991, p. 16). Whiteness was blatant; a taxonomical category used to establish the dominance of a group, certain Europeans, over others (Mills, 1997). Scientific racism, as it has come to be known, was used to justify the treatment of non-whites as an inferior other, prominent examples being colonisation, the continued slavery of Native Americans and people abducted from the Caribbean and Africa in the USA, and the Nazi-inspired genocidal eugenics that particularly targeted Jewish people (Barkan, 1991). Over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, slavery was slowly delegitimised globally (Rodriguez, 1997) and by the 1930’s, the killing of 6 million Jews and 5.5 million others at the hand of the German Nazi Government came to be seen as “the most savage and significant single crime in recorded history” (Landau, 2016, p. 3). It was throughout this time that whiteness, and white supremacy with it, began to shift into invisibility,

which Mills (1997) describes as the shift from *de jure*, “according to law” (OED, n.d.-b, para. 3), to *de facto*, “as a matter of fact” (OED, n.d., para. 5).

Mills (1997) uses the Nazi genocide as an example of how global white supremacy has been used to distance the hegemonic population from taking any fault for terrible doings that can be traced directly to imperialist ideals. He quotes Amié Césaire stating, “[Hitler’s crime is] that he applied to Europe colonist procedures which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of Algeria, the coolies of India, and the blacks of Africa” (pp. 103 – 104). The USA’s approach to eugenics and immigration served as a model for the Nazi government and there was “broad coverage in Nazi propaganda of American scientists who expressed support for Germany’s new policy of race improvement” (Kühl, 1994, p. xiiv).

The extremeness of this example serves to highlight how violence that fits within the white supremacist framework underpinning a colonist nation’s culture can be implicitly justified, and any links with our own past heavily downplayed. It would take another 20 years after the downfall of the Nazi Government before legal segregation of black US residents would end in 1964 (History.com, 2018) and the shift from *de jure* to *de facto* white supremacy cemented itself in the countries collectively known as ‘The West’ - the United States, much of Europe, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Kurth, 2003).

2.2.3. Structural white supremacy

Although all people are theoretically equal in law, white supremacy continues and whiteness has evolved in order to maintain supremacy without the need for legislation. “To maintain a system of institutionalized inequality it is necessary to develop some ceremonial expression of super- and subordination which is regularly re-enacted” (Guess, 2006, p. 671) and much of whiteness revolves around these expressions. The cultural norms of whiteness revolve around individualism, control, hierarchy, and dualistic thinking among other things (Katz, 1985).

With these norms, those who are in power deserve to be in power, and those who are not are victims only of their own inability to meet these criteria – historical and institutional factors are dismissed (Frankenberg, 1993). When white supremacy is challenged, the combination of white cultural norms and their invisibility combine into a response process that DiAngelo (2018) terms ‘White Fragility’. DiAngelo’s *White Fragility* (2018) performs an in-depth analysis on the ways in which white people are adept at avoiding having difficult conversations about race. She describes how systems of oppression “can withstand and adjust to challenges and still maintain inequality” (p. 40). White cultural norms become rhetoric: individualism becomes the argument that “racism is simply personal prejudice”; control becomes “I will be the judge of whether racism has occurred”; hierarchy becomes “society is fine the way it is”; dualistic thinking leads to “Racists are bad ... are you saying that I am a bad person” (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 121). If an action or act of communication can be explained or dismissed through any of these strategies or the others that DiAngelo identifies, it cannot be racist. The racist effects of the cultural norms are dismissed under those same norms. The structural reality of white supremacy is hidden, diverted, or dismissed through the permeation of individualism within the structure itself.

2.2.4. In summary

The attribute of whiteness, despite being socially constructed, has become one that is associated with power and privilege for those who possess it. For some period of history, whiteness was seen as the top of a biological hierarchy and therefore used that belief as justification for terrors against others. Over time, this perspective fell out of favour and further research found a lack of biological or social scientific evidence that whiteness confers any substantial superiority over any other category of human. However, it continues to play a major role in the way that societies are structured. In order to maintain the power established in early days of overt supremacy, it shifted to a more covert form – from *de jure* to *de facto*; from the frank rhetoric of individuals and groups to subtler methods that permeate social

consciousness. This individual / structural difference is a primary focus of this research and so the following section examines the literature concerning this in more detail.

2.3. Structure, agency and the hegemony

This section will provide brief context for understanding structure and agency in a social sciences context, how they are considered in this research, and how they relate to the concept of hegemony. Various scholars will be drawn on to explore the ways that the tension between structure and agency has been explored including the social contract and the racial contract, as well as concepts of recursion and morphogenesis.

2.3.1. Understanding structure and agency

While this research primarily refers to structure and individualism, it is closely aligned with a concept at the core of social science: the tension between agency and structure. To what extent are people autonomous agents who make their own decisions at every step of life, and to what extent are they products of the cultural environments that they are born into, and raised and live within? Attempting to identify where one ends and the other starts for any given situation is a difficult task; as Archer (1996) describes it, “when we examine Systemic influences upon us, human agency appears as a ghost in the machine; on the other hand, the investigation of our cultural products views ghostly agents as creating the machine” (p. 143).

One way that theorists have attempted to conflate the concepts of structure and agency is by stating that the former is simply a result of the latter. The ‘social contract’ is an early form of this discussion, outlined in Locke, Hume and Rousseau (1960). It posits that people (although perhaps ‘white men’ would be a better choice of term) came together out of a ‘state of nature’ and decided that structure and hierarchy would be favourable. Structure, particularly western structures, are an inevitable outcome of human agency.

Mills (1997) points out that due to the theory's "obfuscation of the ugly realities of group power and domination, it is, if unsupplemented, a profoundly misleading account of the way the modern world actually is and came to be" (p.3) referencing the myriad of ways that this philosophical school ignores the issues this presents in relation to colonisation, imperialism, racism, slavery and other ways that structures have been forced upon unwilling subjects. The idea of a contract does not work for those without the power to agree to it, and yet they are still subject to the injustices that it causes to them, often without the agency to be able to escape those injustices.

It would be an absolute absurdity to make a definitive statement declaring, for example, that 'humans are one third agency and two thirds structure.' Such a comment is to entirely misunderstand the concept. In fact, the two concepts are not dichotomous at all but interdependent or, as Giddens (1984) describes it:

Human social activities, like some self-reproducing items in nature, are recursive. That is to say, they are not brought into being by social actors but continually recreated by them via the very means whereby they express themselves as actors. In and through their activities agents reproduce the conditions that make these activities possible (p. 2).

Structures effect agents who effect structures who effect agents and so forth. However, this is not to claim that these two forces are equally powerful in any given situation or that this recursion is static. Archer (1996) terms this morphogenesis, "the complex interchanges that produce change in a system's given form, structure or state (morphostasis being the reverse), but it has an end-product, structural elaboration, which is quite different from Giddens's (1984) social system as merely a 'visible pattern'" (p. 105). She describes a need for analytical dualism, an intentional mindfulness of both structure and agency and the "dialectical interplay" (p. 105) between them.

2.3.2. Hegemony

The concept of hegemony is attributed to Antonio Gramsci as a part of his Quaderni del Carcere works from the 1920s and '30s. Bates (1975) sums the concept up as “political leadership based on the consent of the led, a consent which is secured by the diffusion and popularization of the world view of the ruling class” (p. 352). The term has evolved to become, as used at times in this research, a general term for the people who consist of that consenting ruling class (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). In the case of western countries, the ruling class are those who claim descendancy from the European imperialists of the past (see: section 2.2, ‘Defining white supremacy and whiteness’), although this is not always the case. For example, the hegemonic group of China is different to that of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Due to its foundation in European cultures, the hegemony of western countries has come to be known as ‘white hegemony’ by many critical race activists and scholars (e.g. Cobas et al., 2015; Dua & Lawrence, 2000; Keskinen, 2018). This means that the prevailing cultural norms for western countries are those aligned with ‘whiteness’ and the values associated with that racial category; a category which has worked to render itself invisible in order to maintain its hegemonic status. In other words, white supremacy has become hegemonic, and the hegemonic regime is white supremacist. It is with this understanding that the value of examining the effects of structures upon people’s actions, and the difficulty presented by that undertaking, becomes clear.

2.4. Individual vs structural white supremacy

As stated above, the existence of individuals’ or groups’ white supremacist actions can help to obscure how it is engrained into state and global systems and institutions. It is important to differentiate between white supremacy as an action taken by individuals or groups, and white supremacy as a basis of global structures and institutions. The former, will be referred to as

individual white supremacy and the latter *structural* white supremacy, although scholars have used other terms such as Mills' (1997) *de jure* and *de facto*. Individual white supremacy is the kind that makes headlines; groups in white hoods, social media comments telling people of colour to 'go home', speaking racial slurs to a person's face. Structural white supremacy is the nature of society revolving around Eurocentric norms that lead to inequities in education, justice, housing etc. (see the section titled 'White supremacist institutions').

As the focus of this research is the framing of white supremacy as individual or structural, by using these terms as descriptors it serves to provide that framework throughout this discussion. Society and the individual exist in dialogue, one constantly informing the other; as an individual is part of society, so society is made up of individuals (Elliott & Turner, 2012). Similarly, individual and structural white supremacy are not binary – they are part of the same whole, informing and reflecting each other.

2.4.1. In brief

Katz (1985) describes rugged individualism as one of the basic beliefs of whiteness, so the first part of this section will explore how this individualism feeds into structural white supremacy looking at examples within Aotearoa New Zealand. This will lead into Žižek's (2008) concept of subjective and objective violence and how it relates to individual and structural white supremacy. A brief explanation of how the concept of extremism illustrates the relationship between these two forms of white supremacy and their interdependency precedes a demonstration of how this has expressed itself in academic research on white supremacy in New Zealand. This section should provide an understanding of the individual / structural white supremacy spectrum and how it frames this research.

2.4.2. The problem with individualism

Individualism is the concept that each person, no matter the cultural and economic context they lived in, is wholly responsible for their own success or failure (DiAngelo, 2018). DiAngelo

(2018) outlines the ways in which the concept of individualism feeds into cultural, structural white supremacy. It is used to celebrate our own successes while putting down others' failures, decontextualised from the cultural factors that may have helped or hindered each person. DiAngelo (2018) also points out that, paradoxically, each person recognises culturally defined groups such as race and class but insists that they do not matter, while at the same defining anyone outside the hegemonic white population with culturally loaded terms. DiAngelo (2018) describes "how individualism allowed white people to exempt themselves from the forces of socialization" as one of the 'pillars of whiteness' (p. 3).

As Steve Matthewman (2017) points out, this perspective is prevalent in Aotearoa New Zealand. He describes several instances of politicians downplaying Māori ethnic identity and deriding policies that help the disadvantaged indigenous people as "race-based favouritism" (p. 93). This rhetoric relies on the concept of individualism; it ignores the engrained historical favouritism that the majority white population have gained through on-going colonisation and insists that each person should be judged based on their individual merit. As an example of how individualism expresses itself, Hobson's Pledge (2020) is a movement that aims to abolish any legislation that is targeted toward social support of Māori people, justifying this with the ideal that all people should be equal under the law. The assumption is that equality exists at the level of the individual and that providing support targeted toward a group is creating a privileged status for that group. The privileges that white people have due to the structures in place (Matthewman, 2017) are not considered privileges because those structures are the norm (see section on whiteness).

This perspective is not limited to fringe, loosely organised groups. In 2004, a small scale experiment by *The New Zealand Herald* found a "strikingly consistent call from European New Zealanders" that structural support for Māori "had gone too far" (Cumming, 2004, para. 12). That basic tenet of white culture, that individuals are responsible for their own success and happiness (Katz, 1985), works to discount the disadvantages for Māori and the advantages for the colonists that the established structures confer. To borrow from C. W. Mills (1997), in

this example *de facto* privilege remains unexamined, while any *de jure* benefits that are working to balance *de facto* violence are considered unconscionable. This leads into the how violence can be considered when approaching white supremacy from a structural perspective.

2.4.3. Žižek and violence

Žižek (2008) separates violence into two distinct categories that reflect the individual/structural binary: subjective violence, which has an easily identifiable perpetrator; and objective violence, which encapsulates the negative effects of communication in general and the negative consequences of the economic and political system as it exists. One Singaporean New Zealander's view of living in New Zealand as a person of colour exemplifies this difference:

Minorities have been persecuted everywhere. Muslims and Jews and Blacks the most, but even Asians. Often, we just are prepared to be attacked, maybe just not with guns at a place of worship. I often talk to my girlfriend about how sometimes when we're out and about, I am prepared for ... maybe not physical altercations but verbal abuse, because she's White and I'm Asian. (Teh, 2019, para. 1)

A person yelling racial slurs at a romantically involved couple from different ethnic backgrounds is an act of subjective violence – there is a person taking an action that causes distress to another person; that same couple having to live with fear and devote psychological resources to being aware that they may be harassed (DiAngelo, 2018), is objective violence imposed on that person and his partner by white supremacy culture.

To apply this to a more specific example, the Christchurch killer's action of killing 50 Muslims in Christchurch was a terrible act of subjective violence and therefore received a huge amount of media coverage, not just in Aotearoa New Zealand, but internationally. However, before the attack, the coverage of the day-to-day terror that many Muslim's lived in went uncovered by

the media and largely ignored by law enforcement. Stephens et al (2019) describe this in detail:

Muslims have experienced rising levels of discrimination in recent years along with an increase in online vitriol from the far-right. The Islamic Women's Council of New Zealand had warned the government of the risks their community faced for five years preceding the attacks. They were met with inaction and the downplaying of their concerns, an experience shared by others. Security agencies disregarded far-right groups, while Muslim communities were under close scrutiny. Muslim voices were ignored in New Zealand (p. 13).

This quote reveals that Muslims had been the focus of objective violence for some time; violence that was either ignored or tacitly endorsed due to the structures in place. As victims of this kind of violence, there was little to no interest from institutions. It took an act of brutal subjective violence at the hands of an individual white supremacist extremist to make something newsworthy. Indeed, the term 'extremist' itself begins to unveil the relationship between individual and structural white supremacy.

2.4.4. Extremism

Simplistically, an extremist is someone who takes an ideology or belief to an extreme (OED, n.d.-c, para. 1) but, as J. M. Berger (2018) points out, "Few movements are born extreme. Most emerge from mainstream identities that affirm the merits of an in-group – pride in a heritage or the values of a religion – without stipulating that the in-group must take hostile action against an out-group" (2018, p. 39). In his definition of extremism, Berger (2018) makes it clear that extremism is a spectrum – to become radicalised into violent extremism, there must be a base set of beliefs from which to begin. What makes white supremacist extremism perhaps unique among other forms, is that that base set of beliefs are those that are foundational for much of the West.

An individual white supremacist extremist, such as the Christchurch shooter, is taking structural white supremacy to an extreme level. The base ideology of a person who commits violent actions in the name of white supremacy, a white supremacy extremist, comes from the hegemonic system that they exist within. If we are to understand individual white supremacy, we must understand structural white supremacy. Berger (2018) makes an analogy to the weather:

we cannot understand hurricanes if we do not understand tropical storms, and we cannot understand storms if we do not understand wind and water. In the same way, we need to understand the component elements that make up extremist ideologies in order to understand how extremist movements work (p. 39).

2.4.5. Interdependency

It bears repeating that individual white supremacy and structural white supremacy do not exist independently from each other. The latter informs the former and the former drives the latter. They are interdependent and, as DiAngelo (2018) explains, even using the term white supremacy to describe white supremacist structures can cause offence further rendering those structures invisible. Žižek's (2008) explanation of subjective and objective violence is necessary because harm caused by structural inequality is so often not seen as truly harmful. Furthermore, when these realities are exposed, those in power use strategies enabled by structural white supremacy to keep them from being exposed – what DiAngelo (2018) describes as white fragility. These responses divert, refute and ignore these claims, which “limits people's ability to for authentic connections across racial lines and perpetuates a cycle that keeps racism in place” and maintains white equilibrium, “a cocoon of racial comfort, centrality, superiority, entitlement, racial apathy, and obliviousness, all rooted in an identity of being good people free of racism” (p. 111).

2.4.6. Don't talk about the white supremacists

While Aotearoa New Zealand's foundations are built upon systemic white supremacy, there has also long been a presence of white supremacist extremist groups. However, as this section will show, it has often been downplayed.

Paul Spoonley (1987) published a book that looked at the extreme right in New Zealand from the 1880s to the 1980's. It is an extensive piece of literature that covers many groups and organisations with explicitly white supremacist ideologies. This 22-year-old text is the only available academic work with a focus on these groups and the effects they have on New Zealand culture. Spoonley's (1987) book avoids the term white supremacy, opting for the much broader term "racism" instead. He offers no explanation as to why he chooses not to refer to white supremacy and in his explanatory chapter, under the heading *Racism and Anti-Semitism*, he spares only one third of this section for racism, while the rest is devoted to the latter.

Throughout the book, each reference to racism is almost immediately linked to, or supplanted by discussion of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is a problem with these groups and should be examined, but doing to the exclusion of the role of white supremacy more generally downplays the role of the ideology. In his final conclusion, Spoonley (1987) explains that right-wing extremist groups are explicitly racist and concerned with racial "contamination" (i.e. the watering down of the superior white blood), but that this is "very minor" in New Zealand and lacked good leadership (p. 264). It could be that his understanding of white supremacist ideology was still rooted in ethnic terms rather than cultural and he wanted to be sure to include those who may be ethnically white but still persecuted, such as many Jewish people. However, in a list of 84 right-wing extremist groups, six include the word "white" in their name, along with others such as Ku Klux Klan, National Front, Aid Rhodesia Movement, League of Empire Loyalists, and the Selective Immigration Society that have unavoidably white supremacist inference (pp. 302-307).

2.4.7. Hiding structural supremacy

Spoonley's (1987) argument is that petty bourgeoisie groups have far more influence, especially politically, and systemic white supremacy does more damage than those expressing explicitly racist ideals in earnest. While this is a valid position, he makes little effort to find or examine any connections between the two. The downplaying of white supremacist extremist groups implies, though does not explicitly state, that systemic white supremacy and individual white supremacy have little to no connection; a standpoint that DiAngelo (2018) argues supports the false good/bad binary, the assertion that someone cannot be racist if they are a 'good person' and any racist person is a 'bad person', which "only serves to protect the processes it describes and obscures the mechanisms of racial inequality" (p. 33). She claims that this is "the most effective adaptation of racism in recent history" (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 69).

Matthewman (2017) (who also avoids using the term 'white supremacy') demonstrates one result of this binary in a reference to a study that shows that, while those within the hegemonic regime will support symbolic aspects of the Māori culture, such as pōwhiri and haka, they do not support structural changes, such as education scholarships. The literature shows that individual white supremacist ideology in New Zealand has been under-researched and downplayed, which supports systemic white supremacy, which effects minority populations living in Aotearoa.

2.4.8. In summary

Individualism, as a fundamental tenet of whiteness, is a powerful cultural belief that places the onus of a person's struggles on themselves and maintains the focus of violence on the subjective; individual white supremacy is rendered the most visible form of white supremacy just as subjective violence is the most visible form of violence. As Berger's (2018) work on extremism shows, there must be a baseline from which extremists can be radicalised, and yet the relationship between individual white supremacy and structural white supremacy has gone largely ignored in Aotearoa New Zealand with the former being dismissed as minor

groups with no influence from or on the latter. The avoidance of using the term white supremacy to describe social structures and the rejection of structural changes, preferring symbolic ones, work to maintain the power inequity between racial groupings. While the term 'race' has been briefly examined in the previous section, the following section will provide more depth for establishing its definition, along with other terms used to categorise humans.

2.5. Race, other categories and CRT

In this section, some of the terms that are used to categorise humans by their socio-cultural grouping will be examined. Race is just one of these categories and is often used as a catch-all. For the sake of clarity, the following sub-sections will explain how race will be considered in this research, as well as the terms ethnicity and nationality.

2.5.1. Arbitrary categories

In order to understand fully the concept of white supremacy, it is important to observe the differences in three key terms: race, ethnicity and nationality. While these terms are often used interchangeably, there are distinct differences and will be used with a particular meaning in this research. These terms are used to group humans and are socially constructed based on differentiators that are arbitrary at best. What, for example, is 'Chinese'? A race, an ethnicity, a nationality or some combination? The answer would likely change depending on who you ask, which exposes the constructed nature of categorisation itself. Much of science fiction has explored this idea. For example, (though far from perfectly executed) the television show *Star Trek* is set in a post-racial world where differences between human beings have become unimportant in the face of the various species from other planets, which provides a lens through which the show's creative team could examine race allegorically (Kwan, 2007).

The point being that when faced with a bigger 'other' than humanity that is not easily dominated, the intrinsically irrelevant nature of these categories falls into sharp relief. And yet,

because they are consistently treated as fundamentally important in the functioning of societies across the Earth, they have become so. In the USA, a question on the 2020 census was about 'race', with the options given as "*White; Black or African American; American Indian or Alaska Native; Chinese; Filipino; Asian Indian; Vietnamese; Korean; Japanese; other Asian; Native Hawaiian; Samoan; Chamorro; other Pacific Islander; some other race*" (US Census Bureau, n.d., para. 15). This list is a mixture of what this research considers racial categories (white, black), ethnic categories (Pacific Islander, Asian Indian, other Asian etc), and nationalities (Vietnamese, Samoan, Korean etc.). As these terms are defined, it is imperative to understand that these definitions are for the sake of simplicity only; they are not exhaustive or objectively accurate descriptions.

2.5.2. Race

Race, in its earliest incarnation and through to today, is primarily concerned with superficial biological differences, such as skin colour (Spickard, 2005). In fact, skin colour is often how we label races, with the categories of black, red, yellow, brown and white being recognised in some of the earliest work of race researchers (Barkan, 1991). It is important to note that beyond any superficial aesthetic difference, there is no biological evidence for differences between races (Barkan, 1991; DiAngelo, 2018; Spickard, 2005). Even these labels have transformed over time with the term 'Caucasian' shifting to 'white', or the way that Italians and Irish were once not considered white and then became assimilated into that racial grouping (Barkan, 1991).

Use of these terms can be seen as offensive; in particular, 'yellow' which "has been used in the past to evoke exoticism and danger in regards to specifically East Asian people" (Mizes-Tan & Miller, 2020, para. 4) but, considering the scientific dismissal of race as a useful differentiator (Barkan, 1991), use of any of these terms comes with social implications that are relevant for any discussion about race and this will be considered in its use.

2.5.3. Nationality

Where race is pseudo-biologically determined, nationality is, on the surface, geographically determined by a belonging to a nation. It is also “joined by specific ties of cultural homogeneity, animated by consciousness of kind, and by fundamentally similar, shared mores” (Spira, 2002, p. 248). In essence, although someone might live in a country, they might not be considered truly *of* that country unless they agree to follow certain cultural norms. For example, while a person of European descent born in Aotearoa New Zealand might consider themselves a New Zealander, or more commonly a Kiwi, they might not extend that same label to someone who has a different background; anecdotally, I have had conversations with people who refer to themselves as a Kiwi but second-generation immigrants as Asian, even if that may be not how they refer to themselves. I myself am a British citizen who has lived as a permanent resident in New Zealand for 90% of my lifetime; am I British, a New Zealander or both?

Similarly, a person descended from the indigenous people of Aotearoa may think of themselves as Māori first or identify with an iwi (tribe) before they identify as a New Zealand national; then again, they might not. While there are certain expectations upon someone claiming a nationality, there are also certain aspects that are more malleable, such as skin colour, religion, moral code, clothing style, or language spoken (although at least one may be expected, such as English for the case of those seeking Australian citizenship [Fozdar & Low, 2015]) (Spira, 2002). While nationality seems like the most simplistic of the three terms in consideration, this discussion illustrates the complexity of the term. In terms of this research, nationality will simply refer to where someone primarily resides, unless differentiation is needed.

2.5.4. Ethnicity

“Ethnicity normally refers to a belief in putative descent: that is, a belief in something which may or may not be real. It is a perception of commonality and belonging supported by a myth of common ancestry” (Conversi, 2002b, p. 2). It is *belief* that defines ethnicity; it is not restricted

by any actual genetic descent and relies on those who profess the ideology to define who is included or excluded. It can come from any group in any part of the world whether Sikhs in India (Deol, 2019), Pushtuns in Pakistan (Ghufran, 2009), the Northern Irish (Hayes & Nagle, 2018) or Black people in the USA (hooks, 1992). However, ethnicity is usually a combination of race and nationality, as well as common descent and cultural practice (Conversi, 2002a; Spira, 2002).

While ethnicity is often self-selected, this is not without social restriction; while ostensibly anyone can *claim* to be of any ethnicity, there are often social repercussions if the claim is not founded on a perceived heritage. Randall L. Kennedy's (1999) discussion of who can use the highly offensive term 'nigger' is an illuminating exploration of the social restrictions of ethnic identification. Its discourse around the reclamation of this term by the people it sought to oppress highlights the power imbalance between Black people and the hegemonic regime in the USA. This power imbalance, regardless of whether it is described as racial, ethnic or nationalist, inspired the growth of an academic response called critical race theory (D. A. Bell, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

2.5.6. In summary

Although race, nationality and ethnicity are flawed and constructed ideas, and are often used interchangeably, they maintain a place of prominence in our perception of identity. The actions of the Christchurch killer are evidence of this. For the sake of simplicity, this research will consider race as it relates to colour categories, black, red, yellow, brown and white; nationality as geographical place of residence and/or birth; and ethnicity as whatever the person self-identifies as, noting where needed where the flaws and issues may arise. The next section examines a problematic result of this socio-cultural categorisation of humans: nationalism.

2.6. Eurocentrism and nationalism

The Christchurch killer described himself as an ethnonationalist (Campbell, 2019). So far, much of this literature review has provided background toward understanding what this term means. This section approaches this directly, working toward defining nationalism and ethnonationalism and some of the concepts around it. The first of these concepts is Eurocentrism, a foundational aspect of both structural white supremacy and white ethnonationalism. What follows is an illustration of the contradictions and complexities of understanding nationalism and ethnonationalism, including a discussion of the more benign civic nationalism and the ironic globalisation of western nationalism.

2.6.1. Eurocentrism

One of the most foundational aspects of white supremacy as a whole is the prevalence of Eurocentrism, “the massively self-obsessed assumption that only European ideas are viable ... Europeans always know best.” (Wintle, 2020, p. 6). As Wintle (2020) points out, Eurocentrism is somewhat of a misnomer in the contemporary colonialist global structure, as the non-European West has become one of the major driving forces. Like whiteness and structural white supremacy, Eurocentrism began as a justification for colonialism and has become normalised to the point of unobservability (Shohat & Stam, 2014). “The principal iniquity of Eurocentrism is that its effects go unrecognized and that we are seldom properly aware of the nature and extent of its mechanisms” (Wintle, 2020, p. 6).

Eurocentrism has been incredibly influential on the world’s population since the mid-sixteenth century and its influence has not considerably waned (Wintle, 2020). “As an ideological substratum common to colonialist, imperialist, and racist discourse, Eurocentrism is a form of vestigial thinking which permeates and structures contemporary practices and representations even after the formal end of colonialism,” (Shohat & Stam, 2014, p. 2). Eurocentrism is concerned not just with individuals, but every component part of what constitutes a society: art and literature, political structures, cultural norms, history and, of course, race among

everything else; the European or Western perspective of these concepts becomes the norm and all are measured against it (Shohat & Stam, 2014; Wintle, 2020).

“Eurocentrism is a form of ethnocentrism, in which attention is focussed on oneself or one’s community, which appears more important and better than other entities,” (Wintle, 2020, p. 49). The danger of this ethnocentrism, Wintle (2020) explains, comes along with power imbalance, and the West has long held significant power on the global stage thanks to the export of Western capitalism. Another major export is the concept of the nation-state, “a homogenous nation governed by its own sovereign state – where each state contains one nation,” (Rock, n.d., para. 11). The advent of globalisation is reducing the appeal of the nation-state, but it remains “a dangerous aspiration” Wintle (2020) even today. In fact, even as globalisation progresses, anti-globalisation rhetoric has become more prevalent (Tsatsanis, 2011). Breuilly (2018) points out the irony that globalisation “shaped nationalism and nation-state formation which continually changed as one element of a global process” (p. 20). The result of an inherent belief in the superiority of Western culture and the emphasis on the nation-state is nationalism, a geographically bound version of Eurocentrism – “Eurocentrism and nationalism can be seen as two sides of exactly the same coin,” (Wintle, 2020, p. 132).

2.6.2. Defining nationalism?

Nationalism, while simple on the surface, is a particularly complex ideology. A simple definition would be “the belief that every nation has a right to a state, and, therefore, control of a piece of territory” and “the geopolitical situation is perceived to be unjust, if a nation does not have its own state” (Flint, 2017, p. 111) . The complications begin in the attempt to understand each component piece of this definition. A state is a political unit with sovereignty over a territory (Flint, 2017) and a nation is “a named human population sharing an historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy, and common legal rights and duties for all members” (Smith 1991 as cited in Flint, 2017, p. 107), not to be confused with ethnic groups or race. In general usage, the term ‘nation’ is also problematic

as, in many cases, “using the term nation instead of state is a form of geopolitical representation that is intended to make us loyal to the state” (Flint, 2017, p. 107). Nationalism is almost fractal; each time you zoom in you find another set of concepts that are nebulous, often misused, and entirely socially constructed.

This is a common conundrum in scholarship around nationalism and as a result, “In contrast to the immense influence that nationalism has exerted on the modern world, plausible theory about it is conspicuously meagre” (Anderson, 2016, p. 13). In lieu of attempting to define the indefinable, this research will consider nationalism a fallacious strawman that states and people alike use to promote the inclusion of ‘like’ and exclusion of ‘other’ (Flint, 2017) to justify policy, actions and ideology.

2.6.3. Ethnonationalism

Ethnonationalism is a more specific term, though only barely less difficult to define. While in some regards, “there is no difference” between nationalism and ethnonationalism “if nationalism is used in its pristine sense” (Connor, 1994, p. xi), this perspective is problematic when attempting to understand ethnicity-inspired nationalism. Ethnonationalism may be better defined as a kind of nationalism that involves “ethnic favoritism” (Conversi, 2002b, p. 2), or a preference for the population of a nation to be primarily or exclusively those of a certain ethnicity. However, for this research the most relevant form of ethnonationalism is white ethnonationalism.

The Christchurch shooter described himself as an ethnonationalist with the ethnicity he favours being ‘white’ (B. Johnson, 2019). As mentioned above, whiteness holds a unique position among ethnic designations, but not just because of its hegemonic position. It also has no common link to any geographical bounds. Where one ‘white’ person may live their entire lifespan in Saint Petersburg, Russia; another might be a Spanish emigrant from Costa del Sol who has lived in London for eight years. Culturally, these two would have many differences and would likely consider their ethnicities Russian and Spanish, respectively, before ‘white’.

However, according to USA census data (though it codes for race rather than ethnicity) 76.3% of the population reports themselves to be white (*U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts*, n.d.).

In a continuation of misnomers, white people are observationally not white in colour. I am a freckled pink while the skin of one of my sibling's is a deeper hue that we refer to as olive. Culturally disparate, regionally disparate and disparate in hue, to ascribe the label of whiteness to any group is erroneous. When the term 'white ethnonationalism' is unpacked it breaks down completely: nationalism is a fallacy, ethnicity is choice, and whiteness is a myth. And yet, in Christchurch, Aotearoa 50 people were killed in the name of white nationalism in a country in which the 'white' population is a result of colonisation.

2.6.4. Civic nationalism

In an important comparison to nationalism defined by ethnic means, Fozdar and Low (2015) outline a form that is more acceptable in contemporary liberal societies: civic nationalism, or "an ideological commitment to a common destiny and government through shared civic institutions" (p. 524). Anybody can be a part of a nation, no matter their religious, cultural or ethnic background, as long as they are willing to follow the rules of that nation. This contrasts with ethnonationalism and allows for a superficially inclusive sense of national belonging. Fozdar and Low (2015) note that civic nationalism can be seen as positive influence on a population that encourages cohesion, especially for countries with high immigration levels as acceptance and multiculturalism often play a significant role. The juxtaposition between civic and ethnonationalism is noteworthy, as they represent a constant conversation, conscious or not, present in the discourse in any nation's society. However, they also describe a "slippage" (p. 525) between these two forms, as "the distinction between ethnic and civic nationalism is also infused with a spatial geography that is decidedly Eurocentric" (p. 525).

By necessity, any nationalism is exclusive and, where civic nationalist discourse aims for inclusion, "the comparatively civil, liberal discourse of commitment to law and the state's institutions may in some instances be more reflective of a growing imperative to sanitise

exclusionary statements than of a newer, more inclusive model of national belonging” (Fozdar & Low, 2015, p. 538). In fact, the research Fozdar and Low (2015) conducted found that in many cases, ethnonationalist discourse was wrapped in the language of civic nationalism; the participants were tolerant of cultural differences only up to a point, whereupon there was an expectation of assimilation. Conversations about the civic institution of the law are used as a Trojan horse for discomfort with cultural differences:

civic constructions of national belonging, embedded in the simple demand that migrants follow the law, are complexly recruited for what are essentially culturalist ends ... Rather than giving way to nationalist, or postnational, inclusion, the nation’s boundaries solidify in terms of civic and legal imperatives, discursively recruited for ethno-nationalist ends (p. 540).

This is not an idiosyncrasy of Australian nationals and Fozdar and Low (2015) point to a similar phenomenon happening throughout Europe and in New Zealand.

2.6.5. The globalisation of white nationalism

Hyman (2020) points that white supremacy of today is a “transnational phenomenon that, in part, draws its strength from the adoption of an international, rather than a regionally or nationally defined, concept of white nationalism” (p. 187). In other words, white nationalism has been globalised. As Hyman (2020) notes, the convicted killer of nine black Christian worshippers in 2015 in Charleston, South Carolina, USA wore South African apartheid imagery. The Christchurch killer displayed the Nordic symbol the black sun, which was used by the Nazi Government and is now a widely used neo-Nazi symbol (Global News, 2019).

It is into this that in 2016, Donald Trump was elected president of the USA with the nationalistic slogan ‘Make America Great Again’ and became a symbol of the desire to reclaim the USA “from non-white immigrants and internationalist liberal elites” (Geary et al., 2020, p. 1). Trump equivocated over denouncing white nationalists at a rally in Charlottesville, by which “White

supremacists and anti-Semites must have been further encouraged” (Hyman, 2020, p. 217). The Christchurch shooter in his writings spoke of Trump in the terms of a rally point for white supremacy (Al Jazeera, 2019). Whiteness, white supremacy, eurocentrism and white nationalism may all be nebulous, indefinable, academically disproven, and often misused in rhetoric but this trail and its effects are clearly visible.

2.6.6. In summary

Eurocentrism is fundamental to structural white supremacy and individual white ethnonationalism. The assertion that European values are the most valuable and correct is so pervasive that, despite being a malleable and contradictory ideology, white nationalism has, conversely, become an international phenomenon. Although not all nationalism is inherently harmful and civic nationalism can have some beneficial effects on social cohesion, it contains the potential for exclusion over inclusion. White supremacist extremist individuals have taken imagery and ideology from historical and structural white supremacy to promote and justify their violent actions. Imagery and its relationship to white supremacy extremists is examined in more depth in section 2.11, titled ‘Islam, Christianity and white supremacy’ but the following chapter lays out in more detail how structural white supremacy presents itself in the institutions that underpin society.

2.7. *White supremacist institutions*

The structural nature of white supremacy has been referenced frequently in this literature review but even without social theory on race, ethnicity, etc, this imbalance can be observed in the institutions that form the social fabric on which communities rest, particularly through the western countries. As noted in the section on extremism, it is required that there is a set of foundational beliefs that a person can be pushed to the extreme of. In the case of white supremacist extremism, it is the hegemonic social norms that permeate throughout the global

population. This section lays out just some examples of the white supremacist nature of education, law and justice, political systems, capitalism and corporations, and non-government organisations. The news media will be discussed in greater depth in the following section. These examples are true of, but not exclusive to, New Zealand, a nation in the South Pacific, with a Dutch name, yet distinctly British institutions thanks to its colonisation at the hand of European imperialism (see more in section 2.9, 'New Zealand').

2.7.1. Education

The systems that we use to educate our children and young adults in the west, and much of the rest of the world, have undergone little change for over 200 years (Gray, 2008), despite the fact that there are more people from more diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds attending them (Roser & Ortiz-Ospina, 2016). Schools in many parts of the western world are still segregated by race (Bonal & Bellei, 2018) and many minority populations, especially indigenous ones, are consistently underserved (Carnoy & Rothstein, 2018). This, plus other factors, has meant certain populations are less likely to gain higher paying, and higher status jobs.

2.7.2. Law and justice

As Solomon and Martin (2019) succinctly put it “Minorities worldwide disproportionately find themselves in conflict with (or singled out by) law enforcement actions” (p. 9). For example, in Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori make up 13% of the population but account for nearly 40% of police apprehensions (New Zealand Police, 2021). Minorities in western countries are also more likely to be given a harsher sentence for the same crime than their white counterparts (Morrison, 2009). There is also a disparity in the ethnic makeup of the populations of western countries and that of their police forces, for example in Aotearoa New Zealand (New Zealand Police, 2017), the USA (Governing, 2015) and the UK (Government of the United Kingdom, 2020). Together, these differences lead to an association between certain minority groups and

crime in the perspective of those who make up the hegemonic regime which supports bias against racial or ethnic groups (Ghandnoosh, 2014).

2.7.3. Political systems

The political system of the west is, without exception, some form of democracy; “a system of government in which laws, policies, leadership, and major undertakings of a state or other polity are directly or indirectly decided by the ‘people’” (Dahl, 2020, para. 2). In very simplistic terms, this involves elections through which each person is allowed to cast a vote for their chosen representatives with whoever gaining the majority of votes, gaining the power to make decisions that affect the population of a country (Dahl, 2020). This can lead to ‘the tyranny of the majority’ which John Stuart Mills (1859/2011) describes as “the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them” (p. 8). This is most evident in countries where nationalist leaders are voted into power such as Donald Trump, and the number of nationalist parties is rising globally (Bieber, 2018) alongside the number of refugees (UNHCR Statistics Team et al., 2018).

2.7.4. Capitalism and corporations

Corporations are the result of a system that prioritises the accumulation of capital; the more capital, the more power and the less likely you are to be one of the 10 million people a year who die due to what Gary Leech calls (2012) capitalism’s structural genocide. Wealthy companies and individuals are also able to use their power to lobby governments for policy changes that benefit them (Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). With the global racial wealth gap (Institute for Policy Studies, 2020), the link with structural white supremacy is clear. At a macro level, when attempting to gain employment, research has found that having a ‘non-white sounding’ name can reduce a person’s chances of obtaining a job in western countries (Banerjee et al., 2017) and white men make up the vast majority of leadership of large corporations (S. Jones, 2017).

2.7.5. Non-government organisations (NGOs)

An NGO is a not-for-profit organisation that is independent from any nation's government and works for a humanitarian cause (Folger, 2020). 87% of NGO leaders internationally are white (Battalia Winston, 2017) and reliance on donations and grants for funding means that NGOs can be compelled to conform to the expectations of donors under the "implicit or explicit threats to withdraw funding should their activity become too radical" (Bloodgood & Tremblay-Boire, 2017, p. 401). The United Nations, a not-for-profit intergovernmental organisation that proclaims two of its five main aims are to "Maintain International Peace and Security" and "Protect Human Rights" did not include any right-wing or white supremacist extremist groups on its list of 1962 people and 455 groups of designated terrorists at the time of the Christchurch killings (Strang, 2019).

2.7.6. And more

Western society, including Aotearoa New Zealand, was founded on institutions exported through imperialist white supremacy, and these institutions each have white supremacist aspects within them as illustrated above. Those five examples of institutions are only briefly described, and it is not an exhaustive list. Healthcare, housing, transport and more all have aspects that feed into systemic white supremacy (see: DiAngelo, 2018; Mills, 1997; Thompson-Miller & Ducey, 2017). Moreover, these systems are not independent but operate interconnectedly to form the basis of western and global society. The institution of the mainstream news media is a primary focus of this research and so will be discussed in greater detail in the following section.

2.8. News Media and White Supremacy

As an analysis of representations of white supremacy in the mainstream news media, understanding where these two concepts overlap will help to establish a basis of understanding of representations. This section offers a discussion of the mainstream news media including how it influences and is influenced by social factors, and how it relates to minority groups in general and to Islam specifically. The relationship between Islam and the west will be covered in more detail in the final section of this literature review but the portrayal of Islam in the mainstream news media requires exploration in relation to the content discussed within this section. To begin with, what is the mainstream news media?

2.8.1. What is mainstream media?

The term 'mainstream' is a term that is often used and rarely defined. One definition of the 'mainstream news media' is outlets that have "wide-reaching circulation that generally results in what media consumers are likely to find" (Cissel, 2012, p. 70). This definition also includes that the outlets are owned by large conglomerates, although the digital age and Aotearoa New Zealand's relatively small population means that privately-owned, independent outlets can have a wide reach. 'Wide-reaching' is also a nebulous term; should it be measured in average number of readers per article? Average number of shares across social media? Inclusion of newspapers, television or radio news? Prominence in Google search results? Unfortunately, there is no firm answer. However, as the two outlets that this research is concerned with, Stuff and The New Zealand Herald, have the largest audiences in New Zealand (Nielson, 2018), this would position them as mainstream news media under any definition.

2.8.2. What is news?

At the most basic level, news is "The report or account of recent (esp. important or interesting) events or occurrences, brought or coming to one as new information" (OED, 2003, para. 2). Similarly, Stephens (1988) defines it as "new information about a subject of some public

interest that is shared with some portion of the public” (quoted in Volkmer, 1999, p. 19). Richardson (2007) says that if journalism does not “help citizens to understand the world and their positions within it – *it stops being journalism*” (p. 8) but himself notes that this could extend to almost any form of text. Manning (2000) suggests a more exclusive description and states that news should communicate “to the public, up-to-date information from home and abroad, in order to sustain political discussion” (p. 2), yet makes no mention of whether this includes celebrity or sports news. McQuail (2010) forgoes the effort of ascribing a purpose to the news media and instead points to its complexity as support for the importance of analysing the meaning delivered by news media. For simplicity, this research will consider news media to be the collection and dissemination of information about events and issues that are meaningful to the consumers of, and the individuals and organisations within, the media.

Various factors govern the choices of which events and issues are covered as news. These include, but are not limited to, relevance to the expected audience, magnitude of effect, the perceived power of the people, and institutions or organisations involved; as well as institutional factors, such as news outlets’ agendas and journalists’ interests (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O’Neill, 2017). This means that what events and issues that people view as important to stay informed are, at least in part, constructed by the choices that members of the media complex make. This construction, like all mass media, then influences consumers’ opinions, actions and identities, to a greater or lesser extent (McQuail, 2010).

2.8.3. Constructing reality

How peoples are constructed in the mainstream news media can have far-reaching consequences to their experience in a society, whether this is done directly through definitive statements about a person or people, or more subtly through the choice of words and context that a media producer makes when discussing issues or events (van Dijk, 1991). Richardson (2007) provides an example of the latter in reference to an outlet describing military forces being described as ‘entering’ an opposing country’s city rather than ‘invading’, helping to

portray these forces as benevolent, rather than oppressive. The choices that are made not only about what is covered but in how it is communicated contribute to the influence of the news media on the people who consume it. An important aspect of this communication is the cultural background from which the news is produced.

Mainstream news media, particularly in Aotearoa New Zealand, has become increasingly globalised (Owen, 2016; Volkmer, 1999). Owen (2016) describes how this has led to the news media in New Zealand becoming Anglo-American and neo-colonial. He explains how this globalisation is, at least in part, due to the ownership of major news outlets moving “steadily towards foreign and transnational corporations, and, most recently, towards non-media-specific financial institutions, private equity firms and investment banks” (p. 104). With this has come a “domestication of world news into nation-centric frameworks” and, as a result, “the New Zealand mainstream news consumer is left with a fundamentally distorted and misleading window onto the world” (p. 108) with a tendency to focus on news from the UK, the USA and Australia. The reality that is constructed for Aotearoa New Zealand by the news media has become less specific to the country and its inhabitants and more aligned with the messaging that other western countries’ news media communicates.

2.8.4. News media and minorities

The globalisation of the news media makes it important to look at the wider context of representations of minorities before returning to New Zealand. An obvious topic for this section is the discussion of representation of Islam in the news media, which will be covered in greater depth following this more general discussion of the news media’s coverage of minorities.

Van Dijk (1991) provides an extensive overview of the nature of racism in the news media, much of which holds even today, nearly three decades years later (see: Ewart & O’Donnell, 2018). Many examples of this can be found in academic literature. Sommers et al. (2006) described how black survivors carrying food in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina were labelled ‘looters’ while white survivors had ‘found’ their similar items; Golan (2008) explored

how despite a massive number of newsworthy events happening across Africa in 2002 to 2004, there was minimal coverage by western news media; Gershon (2012) highlighted how news coverage of female minority members of congress was “less frequent and more negative than that of their peers” (p. 118); and Mădroane et al. (2020) described how the British news media othered and vilified non-British EU residents during the Brexit campaign.

The news media in Aotearoa New Zealand does not escape this trend in their representation of minority ethnic groups, particularly in relation to the archipelago’s indigenous people. “Indeed, it is not an overstatement to say that the negative representation of Māori in mainstream news is perhaps the most rigorously tested and consistently demonstrated finding in New Zealand media research” (Owen, 2016, p. 108). Nairn et al. (2012) found that in the less than 2% of news articles that they considered Māori stories, the majority “encourage viewers to think about Māori violence towards and abuse of babies and children in their care as if that were a defining characteristic of the people” (p. 46). The indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand, when they are covered in the country’s highly globalised media, are portrayed overwhelmingly negatively. Walker (2002) described this as the “ideological function of the press in supporting the hierarchy of Pākehā domination and Māori subordination in the colonial and post-modern era” (pp. 217-8).

2.8.5. The news media and Islam

The previous sub-section shows that minorities are consistently portrayed negatively in the western mainstream news; this one will explore that trend in relation to Islam and Muslims. Global context is vital to understanding the construction of Islam in the Aotearoa New Zealand mainstream media, particularly due to the nature of the country’s relationship with other western countries, which is examined in more detail in section 2.9, ‘New Zealand’. In brief, its history as a British colony positioned it as an ally in the first and second world wars (McGibbon, 2012a, 2012b) and, since then, it has a history of allyship with the UK, the USA, Canada and Australia and is today a member of the ‘Five-Eyes’ UKUSA alliance of these five countries that

shares security intelligence (GCSB, 2017). This alliance extended into the USA's invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq as a response to the '9/11' 2001 World Trade Center attack, for which New Zealand's military personnel were sent in support of the USA (Radio New Zealand, 2015). There remain New Zealand troops in both of these countries to this day (Ministry of Defence, 2020).

As noted above, the media landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand is highly westernised² and influenced by the media particularly of the USA and the UK. Following 9/11 and the invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 and then Iraq in 2003, the media portrayal of Islam and Muslims saw a drastic shift. In the USA and the UK, Muslims who lived outside of these countries were painted as adherents to a religion of violence and hatred, while those who lived within them were represented as peaceful worshippers (Ibrahim, 2010; Poole, 2006). However, the former kind of story far outnumbered the latter (Yusof et al., 2013). This framing was described as the 'war on terror frame', which has dominated news media since 9/11 (Norris et al., 2003a).

A consistent finding in Ibrahim's (2010) analysis of media in the USA and Poole's (2006) of the media in the UK is the association of Islam and Muslims with terrorism. This is also found in analyses of media in Canada (Kanji, 2018), Australia (Peter Manning, 2006), and Aotearoa New Zealand (Rahman & Emadi, 2018). A meta-analysis of 345 studies confirmed this was a trend across western media (Ahmed & Matthes, 2016). Rahman and Emadi's (2018) research found, through searching a database of New Zealand news stories, that "In 2014, there were five times more stories on Islam categorised as 'Islamic terrorism' rather than just 'Islam' to nearly seven times more in 2016" (p. 169). In examining the use of images of Muslims in the media they found "clear patterns of falsification, contradiction and negative representation" (p. 184).

² It is worth noting that in 2020 Stuff was sold to a local owner, though this occurred after the publication of the texts examined in this research (Malpass & Pullar-Strecker, 2020).

2.8.6. In summary

Mainstream news media, the most commonly consumed reporting on events and issues, constructs a framework that can shape consumers views of people or peoples. In the case of non-white minorities, this construction is nearly always negative, 'othering' them and positioning them as a threat to society. For the westernised news media of Aotearoa New Zealand this has notably been observed in the representation of the indigenous Māori. The position of New Zealand as a British colony and member of the UKUSA alliance, combined with the increasing domestication of media from the USA and the UK, has shaped the messaging of the media. This includes the framing of Islam and Muslims as violent terrorists, particularly following the 9/11 attacks and the allied invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq. The news media is and has always been an institution that reproduces *de facto* white supremacist ideology and helps to maintain the structural imbalance of power held by hegemonic people over non-white minorities. This research into news media texts was motivated by an attack in the Aotearoa New Zealand city of Christchurch and so the country's structures and history that are explored in the following section form a relevant context.

2.9. New Zealand

Although it sits on opposite side of the Earth from England, a pseudo-monarchist democracy and the originator of British values, it is these values that permeate the social fabric of New Zealand. With its Dutch-derived name and mixture of indigenous and European named cities and regions, the country exists as a representation of the earliest forms of globalisation and European imperialism. This section presents basic information about Aotearoa New Zealand and its place in the global community. This is followed by a description of the country's colonisation and importation of British values through law, in particular the controversial Tiriti o Waitangi (Treaty of Waitangi). This section aims to provide a context of the social structures in which the Christchurch attack in 2019 occurred.

2.9.1. Introducing Aotearoa New Zealand

Aotearoa New Zealand is an archipelago nation in the Pacific Ocean which consists of Te Ika-a-Māui the North Island, where about 75% of the population of ~4.7 million live (Stats NZ, 2019), Te Waipounamu the South Island, and other surrounding islands (Walrond, 2005). While only the name New Zealand has official status, the indigenous name, Aotearoa, is commonly used (Wilson, 2005). The name New Zealand is derived from the Latin name Nova Zeelandia, itself derived from the Dutch name Nieuw Zeeland, a name given to it by Dutch explorer Abel Tasman in 1646 (McKinnon, 2008).

The first people to settle Aotearoa New Zealand were the Māori who arrived some time before 1300 CE and lived in small iwi or tribes that acted independently of each other (Te Ahukaramū, 2005). In the 1800s it was colonised by the British and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi / te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840 saw it become a British colony under European law. It was considered a part of Britain until 1986 when it gained full independence (McIntyre, 2012). The country now operates independently but is also a constitutional monarchy under the British royal family and its legal system is based on the British model (Wilson, 2005). English is the most widely spoken language and although te reo Māori (the Māori language) and New Zealand sign language are both recognised as official languages (Bardsley, 2013), neither are compulsorily taught in schools.

2.9.2. Demographics

Aotearoa New Zealand is considered a part of the countries that make up the west (Kurth, 2003). According to the most recent census, the ethnic makeup is 70.2% European, 16.5% Māori, 15.1% Asian, 8.1% Pacific peoples, 1.5% Middle Eastern/Latin American/African, and 1.2% other. The religious makeup is 48.2% no religion, 36.5% Christian, 2.6% Hindu, 1.9% other, 1.3% Māori beliefs, 1.3% Muslim, 1.1% Buddhist, 0.4% new age spiritualism, and 0.1% Jewish (6.7% objected to answering) (Stats NZ, 2018). It has been considered a multicultural

country since non-European immigration rose in the 1970s, before which it was considered bicultural, though dominated by British values (J. Phillips, 2005a).

2.9.3. International organisation involvement

During World War I and II it was part of the Allied Forces and sent military to fight in various areas of the world against the Central Powers in the former and the Axis Powers in the latter due to its ties with Britain. In both wars, Māori forces were sent in separate battalions (McGibbon, 2012a, 2012b). Following World War II, Aotearoa New Zealand strengthened its alliance with the USA by joining the UKUSA intelligence alliance (also known as the Five Eyes) in 1956. Today it is a member of many international organisations, including the United Nations, NATO, and the Commonwealth of Nations (Central Intelligence Agency, n.d.).

Aotearoa New Zealand has a strong global presence, firm alliances with some of the richest countries, and has a relatively high wealth per capita (Statista, 2019). As a country, it is positioned well within the global hegemony.

2.9.4. Colonisation – The inception of white supremacy in New Zealand

The history of white supremacy in New Zealand dates back to European colonists' first encounters with the indigenous population: the Māori, or tangata whenua (people of the land). In a text detailing an interaction between the crew of the ship Endeavour and representatives from a Māori iwi in 1769 James Cook describes how, over a misunderstanding about two pieces of cloth, one of the crew shoots and kills a Māori man. Cook (1769) describes this as a "punishment a little too severe for the Crime," explaining that his crew member should have known how to "chastise trifling faults like this without taking away their lives" (in Calder, 1993). This is indicative of the perspective that white colonists brought to New Zealand – that this new population were in need of correction in order to learn the "correct" way of doing things: the European or 'white' way.

2.9.5. Colonisation and the law

The literature shows that over the following two centuries, this perspective came to shape New Zealand in culture and law. For example, in a 1984 text Kelsey describes how in 1979, a group of Māori activists were arrested for using force to stop a group of young people from performing an annual “mock haka” by force, a final effort after a decade-long letter writing campaign failed. This trial, Kelsey (1984) writes, is one of several that “confronted the pakeha legal system with the poverty of its rhetoric” and highlights how “Arrogant and paternalistic notions of white supremacy are veiled behind such terms as ‘civilisation’. Any alternative society is ‘anarchy’ under which ‘civilized society’ (British society) will perish” (pp. 20-21).

Even early texts that are relatively progressive for their time represent the white supremacist perspectives that pervaded the beginning of colonisation in New Zealand. Christian missionary, botanist and politician William Colenso (1865/2001) wrote a physiological and psychological description of Māori people from his observational perspective. He claims that the Māori’s natural intelligence and morality is stunted by their cultural deficiencies (p. 30). At the conclusion of his work he recommends that the British stop bribing and tricking Māori into obedience and use the church instead; he advocates for a single law “for them as for Europeans” (p. 81). Today, this established cultural and legal perspective provides an ever-present backdrop to the discourse around white supremacy in New Zealand.

Perhaps the most internationally pervasive use of legislation for the spreading of white supremacist ideals is the Doctrine of Discovery; a common international law that was initiated through a Papal Bull by Pope Alexander VI and expounded on by European governments in the following years. Put simply, it came to be understood as providing legal permission for any Christian of European decent to lay claim to any territory they landed upon, so long as it was not yet inhabited by Christians (Miller & Ruru, 2009). Miller and Ruru (2009) explore the use of the Doctrine in depth through their comparative exploration of the ways in which it was implemented in the colonisation of North America and Aotearoa New Zealand. Their

discussion reveals that despite common protestations that the method of colonisation of New Zealand was “different, and thus better than other colonies in developing relationships with its Indigenous peoples” (p. 876), the legal history shows that rhetoric inspired by the 1455 Doctrine was just as prevalent throughout the country’s history and continues to be included to this day.

As an example of this, Miller and Ruru (2009) point to the 2004 Foreshore and Seabed controversy, during which “the New Zealand Parliament would not contemplate Indigenous ownership of the foreshore or seabed in any form. In doing so, it has blatantly resurrected the Doctrine of Discovery in New Zealand.” (p. 897). This continues even in 2019 as evidenced by the debate over land at Ihumātao between the mana whenua, the Crown, and a large construction corporation. A Radio New Zealand Article by Jo Moir (2019) states that as of November 18th 2019, the Auckland Council is considering buying the land from the corporation which may protect it from development, but also take it out of the hands of the mana whenua entirely. One criticism of ongoing reparations is that it has “dragged on too long” (Cumming, 2004, para. 48). However, the colonisation of New Zealand began around 400 years after the Doctrine was released and today, only around 200 years have passed since colonisation began.

2.9.6. Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Much of early British colonisation, i.e., the enforcement of its “superior” civilisation and taking of indigenous land, was conducted through force; Australia and South Africa are particularly poignant examples. Although there are plenty of examples of such violent events in New Zealand’s history, Kelsey (1984) points out that Britain felt the archipelago to be unimportant enough for such financially expensive attention and so the oppression of the Māori was primarily conducted through “rule of law” (p. 22). The Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi as the accepted Māori language version is named), is considered by many to be the founding document of a modern, colonised Aotearoa New Zealand and continues to frame the legal

and cultural argument around Māori rights to this day. Kelsey (1984) provides a detailed and accurate examination of the many flaws of the Te Tiriti and its original implementation (pp. 23-42) which takes from and has informed much of the conversation. This text highlights how the view that we should all just be 'One People Under Law' persists without thought for how this law is structured to benefit a specific cultural group.

While many representatives of Māori people now leverage the document that was used to trivialise Māori culture to attempt to rebalance the cultural playing field, texts that advocate for a homogenisation of New Zealanders now often reject it in favour of the modern legal and governmental systems. In an article published by National Business Review, Massey University Senior Lecturer Dr Brian McDonnell (Vaughan, 2019) is quoted as denouncing the use of Te Tiriti as a text that defines any part of New Zealand's national identity claiming that "moderate" (para. 5) New Zealanders should not use the document to define our national identity. He references his Māori descendancy (of the Ngai Tūhoe iwi) to place emphasis on his view that the document is "suffocating" (para. 8) for Māori people and makes them more dependent on the Government.

However, there is plenty published that disagrees with this assertion. In a series of oral essays published by news outlet Stuff, AUT Senior Lecturer and member of the Ngātikahu ki Whangaro iwi (tribe) Dr Ella Henry describes how even with Te Tiriti as a text that provides a foundation for claims of grievance, it is not giving her people any privilege over other New Zealand cultural groups but rather, subjecting them to a process "as bruising for us as the original grievance," (Skelton, 2018). These texts outline how the conversation that began at the moment of colonisation, of enforcing a culturally focused white supremacist ideology, continues today.

2.9.7. In summary

Despite Aotearoa New Zealand's distance from Europe, due to colonisation, western alliances, and continuing legislated suppression of people outside the hegemonic regime, it

maintains a structure of white supremacy that often expresses itself through individual attitudes at various levels. Given the link between structural white supremacy and white supremacy extremism (as established in previous sections), to describe the Christchurch killings as juxtaposed to the values of Aotearoa New Zealand would be an overstatement, at least. But the victims of the killings were not indigenous Māori or indeed any single racial, ethnic or national group – they were worshipers of a common religion; they were Muslims at mosques, Islamic places of worship. The following section links the ideas from this section to Islam by examining historical and contemporary attitudes to waves of immigration.

2.10. Immigration and reluctant multiculturalism

This section will reveal a pattern in the responses to immigration to Aotearoa New Zealand that exhibits and clarifies the white supremacist nature of its structures and further develops the relationship between these structures and individual white supremacist attitudes. This will be shown through the examination of three cases of immigration to Aotearoa New Zealand, Chinese people in the mid-late 19th century, Pacific Islanders in the mid-late 20th century, and Muslim immigrants in the late 20th and early 21st century. Scholars have shown how the country dominant population has resisted multiculturalism first overtly and then covertly through structural efforts.

2.10.1. Chinese immigration

Hannis (2011) describes how Chinese people were among the first to immigrate to New Zealand at the encouragement of the Dunedin Chamber of Commerce to work the gold-mines in 1865 (p. 252). 16 years later, a systematic effort to reverse this immigration was enacted, including a tax on Chinese immigrants among other legislation (Yong & Vosslander, 2018) all of which was surrounded by discourse from politicians of the day which, Steve Elers (2018) says "undeniably articulate an ideology of white supremacy" (p. 88).

In an essay, Elers (2018) examines the discourse of the period through the lens of critical race theory and points out some of the terms used to describe Chinese immigrants in the mass media of the day that enforced the ideology that the “yellow-peril” were inherently inferior to the British colonists. Terms include, “filthy,” “disgusting,” “a pest,” “evil,” and even plainly “inferior” (pp. 88 - 91). He goes on to describe the ways in which Chinese people were dehumanised by some of the most senior politicians, including former Premier George Marsden Waterhouse who likened Chinese people to ants and claimed they could breathe air that would be poisonous to Europeans (p. 91). The picture painted by Elers is a country where not only the indigenous people need to be controlled and subjugated, but any person whose culture differed from that of the British Empire.

2.10.2. Pacific Islander immigration

Just as labour needs catalysed the initial wave of Chinese immigration, Spoonley (2015) points out that a century later, in the 1960s, a deficit of labour led to a wave of immigration from the Polynesian Pacific Islands. He describes how, once there was an economic downturn, this immigration prompted a racialised response from the Government and a “moral panic” about overstayers (p.46). Ward and Lin (2005) also highlight this point and express how this led to the “infamous ‘dawn raids’” (p. 156) in which Pacific overstayers, particularly from the non-colonised Tonga and the recently independent Samoa, were forcibly removed from their homes in the early mornings and deported. The large influx of immigrants from Australia and the United Kingdom went un-criticised (Anae, 2015).

In contrast to the openly white supremacist commentary from the political leaders of the 19th century, the discourse from former Prime Ministers Norman Kirk, who initiated the dawn raids, and Robert Muldoon, who continued them, lacks these overtones. The academic work around the raids focuses more on the policy that was passed than what was said by politicians of the time, but the example of a 1975 campaign advertisement which portrays an animated person of colour getting angry and violent reflects such attitudes (J. Phillips, 2005b).

2.10.3. Muslim immigration

While there was an increase in immigration to Aotearoa New Zealand of people who identified as Muslim in the late 20th and early 21st century, it was due more to an increase in the refugee quota as opposed to a labour shortage (Nisa & Saenong, 2019). Jaimee Stuart (2014) found that discrimination is one of the most difficult challenges for Muslim immigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand because “they belong to a stigmatized group that often features negatively in international media, majority members potentially have preconceived and misinformed notions about this group” (p. 36). In order to be a part of New Zealand society, Muslim refugees have been expected to acculturate and a failure to do so more firmly linked them with the negative perceptions of Islam that the people within the hegemonic regime hold, and puts them at a greater risk of discrimination (Stuart, 2014)

Rahman and Emadi (2018), demonstrated that “In 2014, there were five times more (news) stories on Islam categorised as ‘Islamic terrorism’ rather than just ‘Islam’ to nearly seven times more in 2016.” (p. 169). Their work looked at media representations of Islam and Muslims in New Zealand outlets and found that there was a significant misrepresentation of the religion and its adherents; that they perpetuated the war on terror frame of journalism (Norris et al., 2003b). In 2010, the governing party chose to reject refugees from the Middle East or Africa as “Presumably refugees from such regions were assumed to be Muslim and potential “terrorists,”” (Humpage, 2019, p. 1692). Systemic white supremacy was recreated through the media and politics.

On March 15 of 2019, despite making up 1.1% of the population of Aotearoa New Zealand, Muslims were the target of the deadliest mass killing by single person in the country’s history, which was motivated by white supremacy extremist ideology.

2.10.4. The pattern

Despite the differences in these three cases, the literature reveals a clear pattern. Increased immigration at the behest of the Government, followed by discriminatory resistance to cultural or ethnic differences, and then rhetorical negativity and political intervention. The public perception is that a failure to assimilate into the white hegemonic system is a failure on the group itself, not the system. This is reflected in an essay which states that “Those who fail to come to terms with the dominant educational system... get locked into the vicious cycle of low individual and group self-esteem, unemployment, low income, family violence and continual familiarity with the police, courts and prisons” (Thakur, 1995, p. 277).

White supremacy today no longer looks like a Prime Minister calling non-European immigrants vermin, it has become far more covert thanks to what Mills (1997) describes as the shift from *de jure* to *de facto*. It is a demonstration of how the systems of oppression “can withstand and adjust to challenges and still maintain inequality” (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 40). Through this adaptation, the hegemonic population of New Zealand has historically resisted multiculturalism in favour of Eurocentric homogeny.

2.11. Islam, Christianity and white supremacy

This section must be prefaced with a note that its placement at the end of the literature review is not reflective of its importance within the framing of the research. The reason that it takes this position is because, as Muslims were the victims of the Christchurch killing, I felt that the full context of all that precedes should be taken into consideration in the discussion of this section. In fact, I believe that this section is well placed to conclude the literature review because it underlines every point that is hit before it: white supremacy is a messy overlap of inconsistencies derived from historical and social factors that expresses itself in the most nonsensical ways. To target Islam which is not a race, and ethnicity or a nationality but a

religion; to leverage a history to justify violence in a modern space so removed from that history; to insist that the social fabric wherein that violence happens is fundamentally opposed to that violence when it so clearly reflects it – it seems so comprehensively strange that this section is an exclamation mark, an auē, a spotlight on this strangeness and the tragedy that it inspired.

With the colonisation of New Zealand by the British, came the institution of the traditional Protestant Christian values that were “a central element in British empire-building during the nineteenth century” (Ballantyne, 2012, p. 137). Although the population is increasingly non-religious in practice (Stats NZ, 2018), and it is officially a secular state, Christian values continue to be the foundation for the legal, political and cultural landscapes of Aotearoa New Zealand (World Trade Press, 2010). This section explores the relationship between Islam and the Christian west and attempts to make some sense of why this minority group was targeted in the Christchurch killings. To begin, a brief history, because with Christian values comes the history of Christian/Islam relations, which go back to the beginnings of Islam (Goddard, 2020).

2.11.1. The Crusades

Islam is the youngest of the three Abrahamic religions, which also includes Judaism and Christianity (Goddard, 2020). In 634 CE, the Christian leaders of Jerusalem surrendered the city to Muslim forces and religious skirmishes continued throughout the rest of the century, which rose in intensity following the Christian capture of Jerusalem during the first of the Crusades in 1099 (Hillenbrand, 1999). The Crusades were a series of incursions by militia and military forces from Christian countries into Islamic territories that were a “movement of militant Christianity ... to recapture the Holy Land - the land in which Jesus had lived and taught - from the infidel Muslim, in order to facilitate or expedite the return of Christ” (Goddard, 2020, p. 84).

At the time, both sides produced a wealth of oral and written propaganda to convince the lay-people of the respective regions of the necessity of these wars and the evilness of the other

(Hillenbrand, 1999; Munro, 1931). The Crusades continued for nearly 700 years, ending with the fall of Acre in 1291 (Goddard, 2020; Hillenbrand, 1999). Many western European nations contributed soldiers to the wars and a simulacrum of these soldiers began to emerge as righteous warriors fighting on the right side of holy war (Goddard, 2020). In the centuries since these conflicts, that view has persisted and “What is absolutely clear is that even modern Westerners continue to see the Crusades as positive examples of heroic and self-sacrificial enthusiasm for a good cause” (Goddard, 2020, p. 90). In New Zealand, a country geographically far from where the Crusades occurred, a popular regional sports team was named in their honour in 1996 (New Zealand Rugby History, n.d.) and carry that name still. The home of the Crusaders rugby team is Christchurch a city on Te Waipounamu, Aotearoa New Zealand’s South Island; a city that was the centre of the skinhead movement in the 1980s and 1990s, a movement that became known for its white supremacist ideology (Gilbert & Elley, 2020).

2.11.2. Extremists and Crusader imagery

Koch (2017) notes that Crusader rhetoric and imagery has become a standard among white supremacist extremist organisations and individuals, particularly the image of the Knights Templar, a militant Christian group that was formed as a result of the Crusades (Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2006). For example, both Anders Breivik and the Christchurch mosque killer used Crusader imagery heavily in the texts they produced around their killings (Al-Marashi, 2019; Koch, 2017), and The Crusader is the name of a newspaper published by the white supremacist extremist group the Ku Klux Klan (Koch, 2017). For those who frame the Crusaders as the heroes, inevitably Muslims are painted as the villains – a standpoint supported by the framing of Islam in the years following 2001. Even before the attack on the World Trade Centre by Islamic extremists in 2001 Muslims and Arabic peoples were portrayed as a cliché ‘other’ to be laughed at or feared (Nacos & Torres-Reyna, 2003). Following the event, this portrayal become both less simplistic and more linked to threats of violence toward the west (Norris et al., 2003a; Rahman & Emadi, 2018). Still today, despite objection, the

Christchurch rugby team are named the Crusaders. Although the logo has been changed from a European military leader to an “awkward” attempt at the Māori symbol of a koru (Stuff, 2019, para. 9).

2.11.3. Post-9/11 geopolitics

After the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center, there was a drastic shift in USA foreign policy, especially in relation to the countries grouped as the Middle East (Güney & Gökcan, 2010). The USA mounted a military incursion into that region based on belief that “the root causes of Islamist extremism lay in the repressive nature of Middle Eastern regimes” (Güney & Gökcan, 2010, p. 29). As noted in the section 2.8.5. ‘The news media and Islam’, the alliance between the USA and other western countries that stems from the world wars meant that those countries, including New Zealand, provided military support for these efforts (Radio New Zealand, 2015).

This conflict spurred a designation of the ‘axis of evil’ for Iran, Iraq and North Korea as well as “improved relations with Russia and China ... ; NATO and Australia exercised their right to collective self-defense for the first time; India, Pakistan, and several countries in Central Asia supported the US; and Japan stepped outside its post-war security policy framework to establish the *Anti-Terrorism Special Measure Law*” (Kakihara, 2003, p. 6).

While the USA pointed to Islam and Middle Eastern Asia as an example of the worst of humanity and established itself as a bringer of freedom (Güney & Gökcan, 2010), the rest of the world, New Zealand included, agreed and supported the imperialist ventures which destabilised a region (Morris, 2019) and vilified believers of the world’s second-biggest religion (Hackett & McClendon, 2017).

2.11.4. The action of an individual?

The Islamic population of New Zealand in 2019 was 1.1% (Stats NZ, 2018) and yet this group was indentified by a white supremacy extremist as a big enough threat to whiteness that it

required violent action. Although he was living in Dunedin, he drove the 360 kilometres to Christchurch in order to carry out his killings, displaying Crusader imagery as he did so. The literature shows a correlation, at least, between the history of Christian / Islamic conflict, the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand, negative portrayals of Islam in the media, and these killings; between systemic and historical factors, and the actions of an individual.

2.12. Conclusion

The literature discussed in this section shows that white supremacy is a global structural issue that is particularly prevalent in the west. It stems from Eurocentrism, imperialism and poor science around race, and has continued due to a conscious and unconscious unwillingness to cede power or privilege. The structures in place are either ineffectual or harmful in the pursuit of racial equity and work together to maintain the status quo. Discussions that address inequity on an interpersonal or organisational level are subject to engrained and often subconscious strategies that cause them to be dismissed or derided. White supremacy has cemented its place as hegemonic culturally, morally and judicially while at the same time rendering itself invisible and so making criticism difficult.

The academic work on defining nationalism reveals the ideology's fundamentally flawed nature and the difficulties in defining the socially constructed and arbitrary categories of race, ethnicity and nationality. This was contrasted with the potential benefits of unity and community that civic nationalism can provide. It showed that the logic of exclusion and inclusion based on skin colour, regional residence or a possible similar descentance falls apart upon examination, and yet this ideology continues to grow internationally with often devastating consequences. The irony of globalised ethnonationalism was demonstrated to develop a deeper understanding of the interconnections of global white supremacy.

Examining colonisation by the British unveiled a long-lasting, effect on treatment of minorities in New Zealand. As well as the indigenous people, who were subject to both objective and subjective violence, racist attitudes and expectations of acculturation have caused difficulties for immigrants since. A lack of research into white supremacy extremists in Aotearoa New Zealand reveals that while there may be recognition of racial inequity, academics have not directly addressed the country's ongoing structural white supremacy and, at worst, even served to keep it concealed. Being a British colony, an ally to USA, and its neo-colonial news media has meant that the hegemonic regime of Aotearoa New Zealand has somewhat culturally converged with the global hegemony.

This review showed how Islam has become a global 'other' to be feared or threatened due to the war on terror frame of journalism that became globally pervasive after the 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre. It demonstrated the link between the Crusades, the hegemonic regime and white supremacy extremists which contributed to the misrepresentation of and discrimination against Muslims and Islam, along with the geopolitical changes that followed 9/11. It laid out the path that someone could take to be born and raised as a member of a hegemonic ethnicity and find themselves radicalised toward an extreme version of the hegemonic beliefs.

3. Research design

The March 15 Christchurch shooting in 2019 ended the lives of 51 Kiwis and the tragedy of this event cannot and should not be ignored. This research hopes to take the resulting media discourse and help shine light onto the ongoing difficulty of understanding the role that race plays in Aotearoa New Zealand. The literature review chapter served to provide a detailed outline of what white supremacy is, both in terms of race and beyond, particularly in relation to Islam. It also went into detail about the structural nature of white supremacy and how that relates to concepts of agency. It covers the concepts necessary for the analysis of individual and structural constructions of white supremacy in the context of the Christchurch shooting. This chapter will explain the methodological approach that is being taken to achieve a comprehensive and accurate analysis. The following chapters will present and discuss the findings.

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this research is to understand how white supremacy is being portrayed in New Zealand's mainstream media in the months following the Christchurch killings on March 15 of 2019, specifically the extent to which it is framed as an issue that is only related to individuals or small groups, or as a structural issue that stems from institutions and culture. The Christchurch killings were a significant and horrific event in New Zealand's recent history, particularly because the deaths were not accidental or random but targets chosen explicitly with the influence of white supremacist ideology.

The Christchurch killings caused a significant uptick in the number of stories being produced that mention or discuss white supremacy (see: figure 1, section 4.1) because the shooter explicitly expressed that his actions were motivated by white supremacist ideology. By analysing sample of 113 articles from between March 15 and June 15 of 2019, drawn from

Stuff and *The New Zealand Herald* via the Newztext database using the search term “white suprem*”, this research will attempt to answer the following question:

RQ: To what extent is white supremacy constructed as a structural issue in the sample as compared to an issue with individuals or small groups?

Section 3.2 goes into more detail about the sample selection process, including why the outlets, timeframe, and search term was chosen, as well how many articles were originally returned and the reasons for inclusion or exclusion in the final sample.

Two methodologies were selected for this research, critical discourse analysis and content analysis. Section 3.3 and 3.4 outline these methodologies, why they were chosen for this sample and their relative strengths and drawbacks. 3.3 is concerned with CDA, while 3.4 with content analysis.

In order to collect the appropriate information, a methodological approach was required that would allow for analysis that would be effective in approaching a question of the structural and the individual. This is primarily ideological and therefore there is no clean list of words or terms that could be associated with either end of this spectrum. The concern that the research question has with power structures meant that a methodology that takes a critical approach would provide a solid framework for which to approach such an analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is particularly concerned with class-based power relations (see: section 3.3.2) and focuses on ideologies, and so was chosen as the primary methodology. Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Guest et al., 2021) was considered and although its categorisation and qualitative approach would have produced useful insights, CDA’s focus on sociolinguistic tools and analysis of power and class inequities allows for a more relevant analysis in answering this research question.

CDA has been criticised for being prone to bias and cherry-picking of texts and data (Breeze, 2011). While it provides an ideal analytical basis for this research, it was decided combining it

with a quantitative methodology would provide a more stable and repeatable data set. Content analysis (Krippendorff, 2019; Neuendorf, 2017) was chosen as it would provide insight into recurring terms and concepts that indicate areas of interest for deeper critical discourse analysis. Another benefit of including content analysis is that it allows a larger set of texts to be examined, which precludes the possibility of arbitrary or weak reasons for exclusion providing a more whole picture of the discourse. Corpus-assisted discourse analysis (Baker, 2006; Sinclair, 2004) was considered, but as computer algorithms are often unable to recognise certain trends or concepts that may not be represented by a simple word or term, it was decided that content analysis was more appropriate.

Section 3.5 provides information on author bias, including personal ethnic and national background and political beliefs. Section 3.6 explains the restrictions of this research, including personal and environmental challenges, as well as those inherent within the research itself.

3.2. Sample selection

This section builds on the section in introduction to this chapter, providing more detail about the choices that were made in the collection and management of the sample prior to analysis.

The sample is drawn from two outlets, *Stuff* and *The New Zealand Herald* as these are the most widely read news outlets in the country (Nielson, 2018). I used the Newztext database to source the texts for the sample as it collects all articles published by both outlets, including regional newspapers. The dates chosen were March 15 to June 15, the three months following 2019 killings at two Christchurch mosques which, while somewhat arbitrary, was wide enough to cover both articles published immediate following the event, and as the initial increase in coverage of white supremacy began to abate (see figure 2, section 4.1).

The search term used was “white suprem*” which returned results that included the terms ‘white supremacy’ and ‘white supremacist’, as well as relevant but lesser-used terms such as ‘white supremacism’. A variety of search terms and combinations thereof were initially considered, including “alt-right”, “white nationalism” and “racism”, but using only “white suprem*” was decided upon. Although the other terms would align in certain ways with the research project, a narrower focus on the specific term provided a more relevant sample. It ensured that the focus of the research remained specifically on white supremacy and how that specific concept is constructed and represented, better serving the purpose of answering the research questions.

In the initial search, 292 results were returned. Duplicates were then removed from the sample. Where an article was duplicated and one had more content than the other, the longer article was given precedence unless it went over the word limit. Articles shorter than 250 words were removed as they provided too little content to aid analysis, and those over 800 words were removed in order to maintain manageability of the sample. The choice to limit articles to between 250 and 800 words was made in discussion with the supervisor.

Letters to the editor, briefs (highly condensed article roundups), and two articles that only included mentions of white supremacy in titles of other suggested articles (i.e. a Read More section), were also removed from the sample. Letters were removed as, although they are chosen for publication by the editorial staff, they are less authoritative than a news article written by a journalist, or an opinion piece written by a public figure.

This left a sample of 113 articles. Although the intention was to perform CDA analysis on each article in the sample, this was unfeasible for a sample of this size, yet to reduce the sample any further would force more arbitrary decisions that would limit the effectiveness of this study. It was decided that qualitative analysis would allow for insight into a sample of this size without having to compromise on the breadth of articles.

Each of the articles was placed into a spreadsheet with the title, author and word count, and assigned a number from 1 to 113. Through reading each article individually, 87 codes were generated (see: table 1, section 4.1) and each article was tagged with the codes that it mentions. For the majority of these codes, it was simply whether the specific words were mentioned in the article (for example, the code 'Muslim/Islam') while for others, it included a wider variety of related words as well. For example, 'shooter' also included 'gunman', or 'murderer' but had to relate to the Christchurch shooter; 'other attacks' was a code for references to any other mass murder or terrorist attack (see: Appendix). The first and second passes of assigning these codes were done manually, by reading each article. This was followed with the use of opening the sample in a PDF reader and using the keyword search function. Finally, an intercoder was hired to confirm the coding, followed by a secondary intercoder for certain codes that fell outside the acceptable agreement levels (see section 3.4.3).

3.3. CDA

This section will focus on the valuable aspects of CDA for this research, explain why they are valuable, and identify the potential pitfalls that should be avoided throughout. First, a brief explanation of the methodology as it will be considered throughout the process of this research. The 'critical' aspect of CDA is significant for this research. When discussing structural white supremacy what is being discussed is the extent to which social and legal structures benefit and privilege those who are labelled as white. It is inherently about an imbalance of power and CDA is concerned primarily with revealing and commenting on "the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination" in society through the analysis of discourse (van Dijk, 2001, p. 96).

There is an ethical perspective that CDA takes that inequities and power imbalances in social structures should be subject to criticism and applying this lens to the sample will provide the level of ideological insight that is needed to appropriately answer the research questions.

3.3.1. What is CDA?

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a methodology has a rich history in the academic world. Although its roots are in critical linguistics (Sheyholislami, 2001), its malleability and versatility has seen it become a powerful means of providing insight into the stimuli and ramifications of a wide variety of media texts. There is also a plethora of scholarship on and around CDA, with dozens of books available from the primary scholars alone: Fairclough (I. Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; N. Fairclough, 2001, 2003, 2010), Wodak (2001, 2014; Wodak & Chilton, 2005), van Dijk (Dijk, 1985; 1990; 1991; Van Dijk, 2001; 2001), Chilton (Chilton, 2004; Wodak & Chilton, 2005) and Halliday (Halliday, 2002; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013; Halliday & Webster, 2014). CDA is also a flexible methodology when it comes to the forms of texts that can be analysed. It has been used in the analysis of gender representation in Indonesian poetry (Khirjan Nahdi et al., 2019), of white supremacy in statements from sports teams owners (McGannon & Butryn, 2020), and the perception of US immigrants in a story written by a child (Abraham, 2015).

While this wealth of information and diversity of application can be considered a strength of CDA, it can also be something of a weakness – while it is easy to run a bow along a violin's strings, the outcome will not always be agreeable if done without proper consideration. In other words, without the proper care and consideration of the areas of CDA that will be used, and how they are bringing value to the discourse that you are analysing, the result can be unclear and unhelpful (Breeze, 2011).

CDA is concerned primarily with revealing and commenting on “the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” in society through the analysis of discourse (van Dijk, 2001, p. 96). In this research, the power imbalance that is being examined is the

subjugation of people of colour worldwide and in Aotearoa New Zealand more specifically. Richardson (2007) states that specific to analysis of journalism, the CDA perspective is that “the social practices and the discursive practices of the production of journalism exist as a dialectical relationship” (p. 45). By analysing how major news outlets are constructing white supremacy, the goal is to reveal the extent to which the dominant culture of Aotearoa New Zealand considers the subjugation of people of colour as an inherent part of the current social, political and cultural construction of the nation-state, and to what extent this view is being expressed or opposed in mainstream news discourse.

Norman Fairclough (2010) outlines three main properties for CDA: it is relational – its focus is on layered and complex social relations that must be analysed to gain any meaning from discourse or the texts that constitute it; it is dialectical – these relations have both a flow and counter-flow, always effecting and being effected by each other, and analysis cannot be complete without considering both directions of this flow; and it is transdisciplinary – it must use theories and frameworks from other disciplines in order to fully realise an understanding derived from the analysis of a text.

While the first of these three properties is similar to much of Van Dijk’s (2001) outline of CDA, the second and third provide important concepts for this research. Noting the dialectical nature and flows of the texts will provide a particularly important framing for the analysis of texts. For example, it will allow analysis to extend beyond what the texts are communicating to the consumer, but also how the consumer is feeding into the construction of the texts through habits of consumption. Although CDA can be seen as transdisciplinary by its nature, as requires the consideration of sociological and linguistic frameworks, Fairclough’s (2010) specific reference to this will encourage the exploration of any other theories or frameworks that could arise throughout the research process.

Halliday’s (2002) work on systemic functional linguistics is central to many CDA practitioners (Sheyholislami, 2001). Halliday’s work in this field is far too detailed and broad to encompass

in a short paragraph, but this is to its benefit when applying to CDA research. His work on grammar (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2013), deriving meaning from text (Halliday & Webster, 2014), and the application of linguistic analysis in a modern context (Webster & Halliday, 2013) have all added to the body of scholarly work that is drawn on for this research.

3.3.2. CDA in practice

CDA has been used by many academics to examine news texts and uncover information that would not always be readily apparent. This sub-section outlines two examples that demonstrate the value of CDA in the context of new analysis. The first example is more general, to demonstrate that CDA is not limited only by what is represented in the texts but also by what is absent. The second is more relevant to this research as it looks directly at issues of racial representation within news texts and how they relate to social structures.

The first example is a journal article by Mohammedwesam Amer (2017) who analysed reporting about the Gaza war between Palestine in four news outlets from the United Kingdom and the United States, *The Guardian*, *The Times London*, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. He found that the coverage by these outlets produced content that “conveys positive attitudes towards Israel and possibly generates justifications for Israeli actions” (p. 8). This was evidenced in part by the use of verbs to describe Israel’s and Hamas’ stance on the ceasefire. Where Israel “returned, welcomed and was negotiating” (p. 6), Hamas “wants, rejected, reacted and was [...] pressing” (p. 7). The constructed discourse was that Israel was “a dynamic force in making efforts to achieve a ceasefire” while Palestinians would “reject or put conditions on ceasefire” (p. 6). Through this and other applications of CDA, the research found that “What is absent in the media coverage is Hamas’ terms for a ceasefire, namely lifting the Israeli siege on Gaza” (p. 9).

The second example is a research article by Peter Teo (2000) who performed CDA on two regional newspapers out of Sydney, Australia: *The Sydney Morning Herald* and *The Daily Telegraph*, to examine the racial representation of a gang called the ‘5T’. He found that “an

ideological battle that is being waged between the 5T and the police in the newspaper discourse, a battle which takes on distinctly racist overtones due to the dichotomization of one as 'ethnic' and the other 'white'" (p. 40). For example, he observed "The homogenization of the drug-dealers as 'Vietnamese', 'Southeast Asian' or 'Asian' [which] parallels the kind of categorical generalization that is often symptomatic of stereotyping or cognitive prejudice." He stated this and his other findings related to "the vital even necessary socio-psychological construct that props up the power structures that historical and economic forces have already created in Australian society" (p. 42).

These examples exemplify CDA as a methodology that is relevant to this study as, when used correctly, it can uncover not only unintended meanings from news texts, but also relate them to a wider social context.

3.3.3. The CDA tools/approaches I will use

Linguistic analysis plays an important role in the qualitative aspect of this research. The texts are entirely made up of words (although there may be header images that are unanalysed here) and being published texts in major news outlets, these are not spontaneous dialogue nor speeches whose meaning can be altered through vocal delivery. They are committed choice by the author of the text that are vetted and likely edited as they work from the mind of the writer to the screens or pages from which they are read. For this reason, linguistic analysis is useful in parsing the information that is being related, whether overtly or unintentionally, by the author, the editor and the web of complex social factors that influence the newsroom. The primary source for this linguistic analysis is John E. Richardson's work (2007) which outlines many of the most useful linguistic features to be cognizant of during analysis. This is supported by Van Dijk (1990) whose approach outlined six principles to consider when taking this approach:

- Text and context – describing the units of language (words) used and how they relate to cognitive and social contexts;

- Grammar – how choices of syntax and sentence forms can convey intentional or unintentional meaning;
- Speech Acts – the meaning in the choices of words and timings of spoken texts; Micro- to Macrostructures – how the analysed words and sentences within a text relate to the text as a whole, and how that text relates to the discourse as a whole;
- Style – the specific choices that an author or authors of a text make when constructing a text and what meaning can be gleaned about the author/s and the text they have produced; and
- Rhetoric – which words or sentences are emphasised through rhetorical devices, such as repetition or alliteration, and what that says about the author/s priorities and/or concerns.

Van Dijk (1990) also offered a useful tool for the analysis of the structural aspects of a text, noting that the information that is prioritised into the headlines and lead paragraphs can represent that which the author/s consider to be more important and therefore expose biases within the production of the text by examining the reasoning behind these choices. These principles provide a strong foundation on which to begin the analysis of text and the content within it. However, they are all primarily concerned with what is included in a text and how it related to wider socio-cultural contexts, and not with what may be excluded from the texts.

Ruth Wodak (2001, 2014), like Van Dijk (2001), considered linguistic analysis and socio-cultural contexts to be core components of CDA. However, she also added the further dimension of historical context as one of importance when critically analysing texts and their intended and unintended meanings (Wodak, 2014). She named this approach the 'discourse historical approach' (Wodak, 2001). This approach allows for consideration of the sensitivities that exist due to past events that have ongoing psychological effects for a people (Wodak, 2014). With the historical nature of White Supremacy in a colonised country such as New Zealand (Ballantyne, 2012; Kelsey, 1984), and the wide variety of ethnic groups that the ideology may have an impact on, using this perspective as an analytical tool will add a vital

dimension to my analysis. It also opens the possibility for looking at historical context that may be excluded from the news media's discourse and how that can change the meaning of the text as a whole.

Finally, due to the wide array of persuasive opinion pieces in the sample, Fairclough & Fairclough's (2012) approach to argumentation analysis will also be a vital tool. The intersection between CDA and argumentation theory "poses critical questions which lead into and contribute to analysis of relations of power and domination manifested in particular bodies of texts" (p. 80). It would be erroneous to consider one person's argument in one text as representative of a larger perspective. However, when it is considered that in the context of this research the text was written by a public figure and made it through the process of vetting and editing to publication, it becomes clear that this argument has been considered in some way valuable and, therefore, is worthy of analysis. Furthermore, in the process of analysis through the specific lens of this thesis, i.e. individual and structural construction of white supremacy, argumentation analysis can provide insight into the more fundamental perspective that the author is presenting about that specific topic.

3.4. Quantitative content analysis

Content analysis plays a supporting but vital role in this research. As the outset of the research, it was clear that a wider perspective would provide value to the analysis beyond CDA by adding further reliability to the findings. As one of the critiques of CDA is that it can be subject to the biases of the author at the primary stage of sample selection, combining it with content analysis allows for the broader inclusion on texts and provides guidance for which texts should be chosen for closer analysis.

It would also allow me to identify trends that would provide a basis on which articles could be selected for closer analysis. Although it provides valuable information, alone it could not

provide the level of insight that would answer what is a fundamentally ideological question. This is the reason that the overview of content analysis that this section provides is briefer than the previous section on CDA.

The research uses the quantitative-focused version of content analysis, as developed by Krippendorff (2019) and Neuendorf (2017). This approach is concerned with identifying and measuring concepts within a text that are mutually exclusive as identified by the researcher. Each article in the sample, as outlined in section 3.2, was considered a single unit. The concepts were identified through a close reading of the sample by the researcher looking for concepts that were directly related to white supremacy, e.g. racism; to the Christchurch killings, e.g. references to the killer; or that were unexpected, but relevant and recurring, e.g. love.

3.4.1. Content analysis in brief

Neuendorf (2017) offered a brief description of content analysis as “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics” (p. 19). Krippendorff (2019) stressed that although the first recorded mention of content analysis was in 1941, it can be considered as old as the first time someone drew meaning from any kind of communication from another person. However, he added that what he called contemporary content analysis has three features that separate it from its looser history. These are that it is empirically grounded, “transcends traditional notions of symbols, contents, and intents” (p. xviii), and has a methodology that stands up to academic rigour.

Content analysis is a nomothetic approach to analysis that seeks to provide generalised conclusions from a data set that are “broadly based, generalizable, objective, summarizing, and inflexible” (Neuendorf, 2017, p. 46). It involves creating a sample made up of units, “an identifiable message or message component” (p. 107). Krippendorff (2017) outlines the process of content analysis in a series of steps:

- First, unitising: identifying the texts or sections of texts which contain the information for analysis – these are units,
- Second, sampling: choosing a manageable subset of the units,
- Third, recording/coding: identifying the recurring concepts within the sample, applying a designator to them and noting where they occur within the units.
- Fourth, reducing: simplifying the statistical finding data,
- Fifth, inferring: abductively identifying the phenomena within the data, and
- Sixth, narrating: presenting the findings and inferences in a way that provides an answer to the research question.

For this research, the units are the articles produced by the news outlets as collected on the Newztext database. The sampling and coding method is outlined in section 3.2 'Sample selection'. The statistical findings are already simple and so there is no need for complex simplification. Inferring and narrating are explored in the findings, primarily combined with CDA.

3.4.2. Intercoder reliability

Intercoder reliability was undertaken to ensure the accuracy of the coding. A paid intercoder was supplied the full sample with the codes and notes for guidance. In comparison of the original coding against the intercoder, there were seven codes that were outside of the acceptable range for strong agreement, which is 80% similarity (Krippendorff, 2004; Krippendorff, 2019; Lacy et al., 2015). Upon self-checking the intercoding, there was found to be some inaccuracy with the intercoder's work in some, but not all areas. A second, unpaid intercoder was engaged to recheck the seven codes with a greater than 20% disagreement. This recheck brought those codes within the range of strong agreement.

3.5. *Author bias*

Any person undertaking research into social science must be aware of the bias that a person brings to their research. The very fact of looking for bias within other people's writings through my own writing presents the very problems that this research is designed to identify. Of course, this does not mean it should not be attempted. One of the reasons that I felt that I was in a position to be able to discuss white supremacy is that I am entirely of British descent; I identify as a British Pakeha straight cis-male and therefore am in a privileged position in society. While I am subject to many of the engrained biases that many scholars have examined, my scope is to look at the construction of society that has enabled those biases and observe to what extent they are recognised in the sample of texts that I have collected.

My core question goes some way to simplifying this complex matter by taking a term that represents the status quo of the culture of Aotearoa New Zealand (and many other countries), white supremacy, and looking at the extent to which it is recognised as such compared to a view that it is an issue with particular individuals or groups. By creating defined boundaries for the definition of white supremacy, individual and structural, the aim is to make it clear that the attempt is not to disparage or denounce, but to provide insight into how prevalently the sociological perspective of white supremacy is being presented through the dominant news media institutions of Aotearoa New Zealand.

To address my socio-political biases that are relevant to this study, I believe that where identifiable inequities exist, we should, at the least, endeavour to resolve them through legislation or, at the most, restructure our systems entirely. Generally speaking, I would be considered far-left, although I find political dichotomies and spectra to be problematic. This research is founded on the concept that the contemporary world is structured to benefit people who are white and / or ascribe to white cultural norms and values. To call this political seems unusual to me, as there is a significant body of evidence to support this, however, many would point to this as an indicator of my political bias. All of this is to say: if you do not accept the

foundational tenet of this research then all that will be seen is political motivation throughout. If you do, the hope is that this research will provide nothing more or less than insight into the way that our news media considers and communicates white supremacy and how this relates to social theory.

3.6. Restrictions

The most evident restrictions in study are in the choice of sample; both that there were just two outlets chosen and the word count limits. This means that it is not a truly representative sample of all journalism in Aotearoa New Zealand. The two outlets chosen are the most popular, but both are privately-owned. Excluding state-owned outlets, for example Radio New Zealand, means that the publishers chosen are more beholden to advertisers which may impact their journalism. The word count limits imposed on the sample are also further reducing the scope of representation, particularly with the over 800-word pieces which may offer more room for context and nuance than those within the 250-800-word range. However, with some pieces surpassing 2000 words, pragmatically, a line had to be drawn.

This leads to another restriction: the length of time that was available for this project. Given a year to complete, several months of which were shared with other papers required for the degree, there were in-built limitations on the scope of the research. To add to this, the 2020 global COVID-19 pandemic added a level of unforeseen difficulty. Further to pragmatic considerations, the export of all articles included in the initial search delivered 857 pages of content. The synthesis and refinement of that amount was a significant effort and, while every effort was made to ensure nothing was overlooked, there is always the possibility of human error in processing this quantity of data.

CDA itself has been subject to much criticism in scholarship. Breeze (2011) tidily outlines these restrictions of the methodology itself in seven points. Summarily, these are that CDA is

too political, intellectually disparate in foundation and application, narrowly focused on a too-small sample, too loose in connecting interpretations to social theory, fails to consider the possibility of diverse audience interpretation, fails to consider context of features, and is too negatively critical. The inclusion of a quantitative analysis section goes some way to mitigate these drawbacks, as does the outlining of the specific sources the sample is drawn from and the social theory that drives the research. For others, it is important to be thoughtful of these as this research is considered. The aim is that the appropriate amount of rigour is shown in the analysis stage.

4. Findings

The literature review has provided an outline of the necessary concepts for analysis, and the research design has explained the process and methodology for that analysis. This chapter presents the findings that have resulted from this understanding and approach. As outlined in the previous chapter, there were 113 articles in the sample, selected by exclusion from the 292 returned in the search of the Newztext database using the search term “white suprem*”. These were all published between 15 March 2019 and 15 June 2019. It was the killing of 51 Muslims at peaceful worship on March 15 that spurred this research and so the three months following that event were chosen. As figure 1 below shows, this three-month period saw a large spike in the number of articles published that mentioned white supremacy.

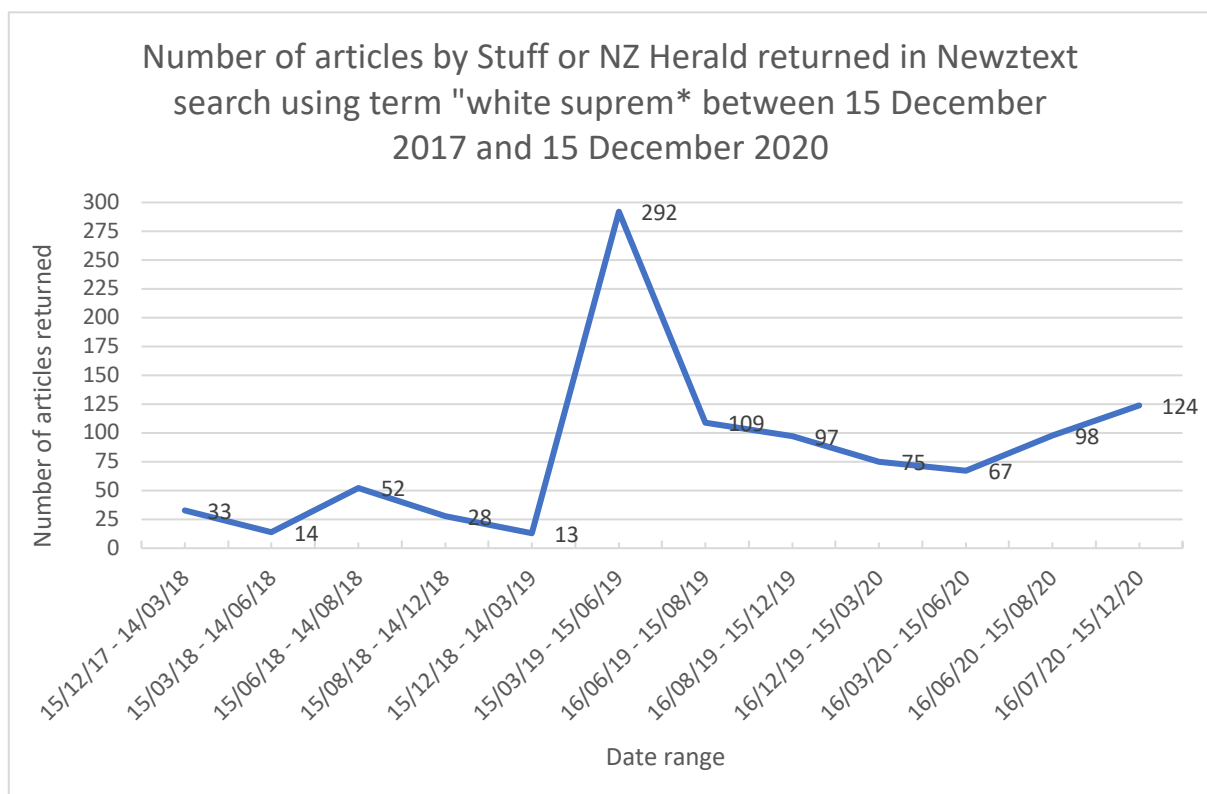


Figure 1. References to white supremacy in news articles over time

This increase in published articles has provided this opportunity to understand more clearly the extent to which white supremacy is constructed as an individual issue or a structural one,

especially when it is receiving more coverage due to a highly socially disruptive event. To present these findings, this chapter is split into three sections. The first provides just statistical data from the content analysis, the second uses the findings from that data and explores the contexts from the sample in order to add a deeper level of insight, the third is the critical discourse analysis of four articles from the sample.

4.1. Quantitative findings from content analysis

Table 1 provides an overview of all of the codes and their frequency throughout the sample. The first column lists the codes, the second how many articles that code was found in, and in the third that number is presented as a percentage of the total number of articles. They are presented in a descending order from mentioned in the most number of articles, to the least number. Many of these codes are simply a yes/no if the term or a derivative of the term was mentioned, while others are if the concept is mentioned. For example, while the code 'Facebook' was only if the name of the social network itself was mentioned, 'Shooter' was any references to the Christchurch killer. Notes on this can be found in the appendix.

Code	Number of articles	Percentage of total
Total	113	100%
Shooting	92	81.42%
Terrorism	63	55.75%
Racism	62	54.87%
Muslim/Islam	56	49.56%
Social media	44	38.94%
Politics	40	35.40%
Shooter	39	34.51%
Media	38	33.63%
Jacinda Ardern	37	32.74%
Hate	36	31.86%
Police	34	30.09%
Immigration/immigrants	34	30.09%
Other attacks	33	29.20%
Love	32	28.32%
Australia	32	28.32%
USA	31	27.43%
Facebook	29	25.66%
Internet	27	23.89%
Emotional reaction	25	22.12%
NZ culture	24	21.24%
Trump	23	20.35%
National security	22	19.47%
Gun control	22	19.47%
Māori	22	19.47%

Free speech	19	16.81%
Christianity	18	15.93%
Religion	18	15.93%
Attack video	18	15.93%
Skin colour	18	15.93%
"This is us" +	17	15.04%
Far right / alt right	17	15.04%
WS groups	16	14.16%
Twitter	16	14.16%
Judicial system NZ	15	13.27%
Manifesto	14	12.39%
Isis	14	12.39%
Radicalisation	14	12.39%
China	14	12.39%
Perm. Change	13	11.50%
YouTube	12	10.62%
Islamophobia	12	10.62%
Business	12	10.62%
Europe	12	10.62%
Hate speech	11	9.73%
Judaism	11	9.73%
Schools	11	9.73%
Refugees	10	8.85%
Colonisation	10	8.85%
Hate crime	10	8.85%
Tech giants	9	7.96%
Nazi	9	7.96%
Crazy	9	7.96%
Equality	8	7.08%
Conspiracies	8	7.08%
Christchurch call	8	7.08%
Music	7	6.19%
Chch quake	7	6.19%
Sept 11	7	6.19%
Xenophobia	7	6.19%
First responders	6	5.31%
8chan	6	5.31%
Crusaders (rugby)	6	5.31%
Neo-Nazi	6	5.31%
Innocence	6	5.31%
Climate change	5	4.42%
"Both sides"	5	4.42%
Google	5	4.42%
Lone-wolf	5	4.42%
Privilege	5	4.42%
Brexit	5	4.42%
4chan	4	3.54%
Reddit	4	3.54%
"Other"	4	3.54%
Te Tiriti	4	3.54%
LGBT+	4	3.54%
Mental health	4	3.54%
Video Games	4	3.54%
Structural	4	3.54%
Chch culture	3	2.65%
Winston Peters	3	2.65%
ANZAC	3	2.65%
Misogyny	3	2.65%
Feminism	2	1.77%
Microsoft	2	1.77%
Instagram	2	1.77%
Holocaust (Jewish)	1	0.88%
Individualism	1	0.88%

Table 1. All codes and number of articles in which they are mentioned.

A statistic not noted in table 1 is that 73 of the 113 articles (64.6%) are opinion or editorial pieces. One is art criticism article and the remaining 39 (34.51%) are news reports.

The Christchurch 'shooting' code appears in the highest number of articles in the sample by far. It is mentioned in 92 of the 113 articles; a full 25.67 percentage points higher than second most frequent code. This is unsurprising given what is known about the events-based nature of the news (Harcup & O'Neill, 2017) and as this research is concerned with the news media discourse directly after that event. That the majority of the conversation at least referenced the Christchurch shooting shows that this event was a major driver of conversation about white supremacy within the mainstream news media in New Zealand. Regardless of how this conversation is constructed, it is worth noting that it took the subjectively violent action of an individual to spur this conversation (see: figure 1). The issue of white supremacy was highlighted when a person committed an act of terrorism that they themselves specifically described as driven by white supremacy. To underscore this point, Patrick Gower, a prominent Kiwi journalist, publicly stated that white supremacy in New Zealand was underreported prior to the shooting (Gower, 2019).

It is also of note that 17.7% of the articles do not mention the shooting. One reason for this is that there are several international news articles, including those concerning the presidential elections, the Charlottesville killing, and Facebook. These make up 8 of the 20 articles that exclude the 'shootings' code. Considering what we know about the localisation of news (Harcup & O'Neill, 2001), this exclusion is to be expected. It is worth pointing out that in each of these articles, the reference to white supremacy is to an individual or a group. In articles about U.S. Presidential candidate Joe Biden, it is mentioned in the context of the 2018 Charlottesville protest killing (Associated Press, 2019; McLaughlin, 2019b). In the article on Facebook's ban of 'hate-speech', it specifically refers to individuals or groups who "extremist groups and individuals who identified as or supported white supremacists" (Ortutay, 2019, para. 11). The remaining twelve articles cover a range of topics from politics to literature.

The sample is taken from the three months following the Christchurch shooting on March 15. The first article in the sample (article 1) was published on March 16, the last (article 113) on June 12. The first half of that time period, March 15 to April 30 spans the first 84 articles (74.34% of the sample). Of the 21 articles that do not mention the shooting, just 7 are in this selection. In other words, *2/3 of the articles without the 'shooting' code are in the 1/4 of the sample that was published in the latter half of the timespan this sample covers*. This highlights two interesting points for this research:

1. The further from the time of the shooting, the fewer articles which mentioned white supremacy were published.
2. The further from the time of the shooting, the less likely a published article that mentions white supremacy would talk about the shooting.

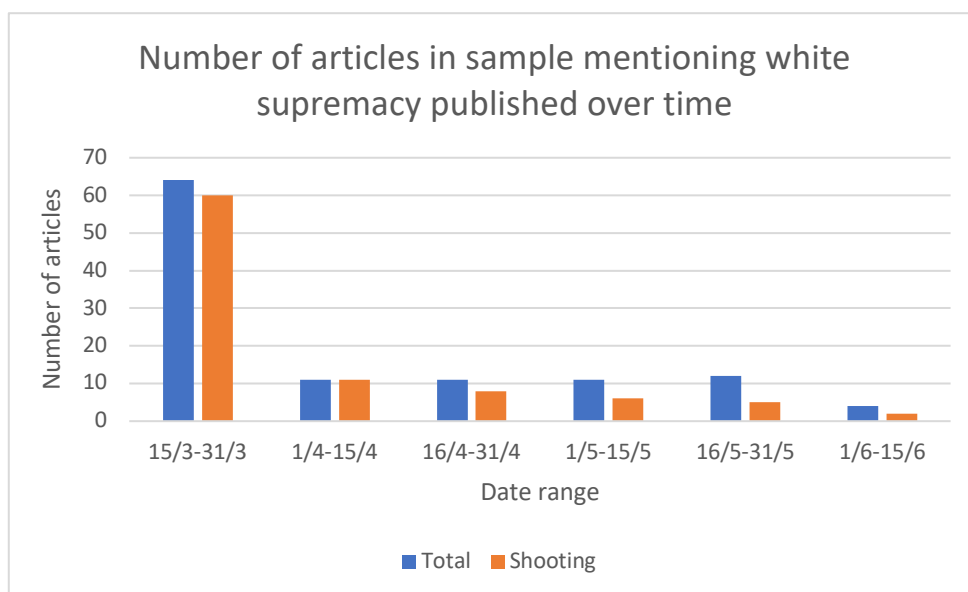


Figure 2: Number of articles in sample that mention the Christchurch shootings over time

'Terrorism' is the second most frequently mentioned of the codes in 63 articles (55.75%), while 'Muslim/Islam' is the fourth, mentioned in 56 articles (49.56%).

The code 'radicalisation' is tagged to 14 articles (12.39%) which, although not a large percentage, when considered alongside the fact that the second most prevalent code is

'terrorism', mentioned in 63 articles (55.75%). The code 'Muslim/Islam' is present in 56 (49.56%) of the articles in the sample, with 42 of those also tagged with the 'terrorism' code.

The code 'racism' was the third most common, tagged to 62 articles (54.87%) from the sample. Although the attack was motivated by white supremacist ideals, to label the Christchurch shooting a 'racist attack' (e.g. Anguished relatives wait) is somewhat erroneous as the people targeted by the shooting were born or raised in incredibly disparate nation-states including Syria, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Somalia, the United Arab Emirates, Palestine, Afghanistan, Fiji, and Aotearoa New Zealand (NZ Herald, 2019a). Xenophobic or Islamophobic are much more accurate descriptors, but racism mentioned is more than three times as many articles as those two terms combined with Xenophobia in 7 (6.19%) and Islamophobia in 12 (10.62%).

Christianity was mentioned in 18 (15.93%) articles, 13 of which also mention terrorism and 14 of which mention Muslim/Islam.

There were 28 articles that mentioned shooting but not terrorism, and only two that mentioned terrorism but not the shooting.

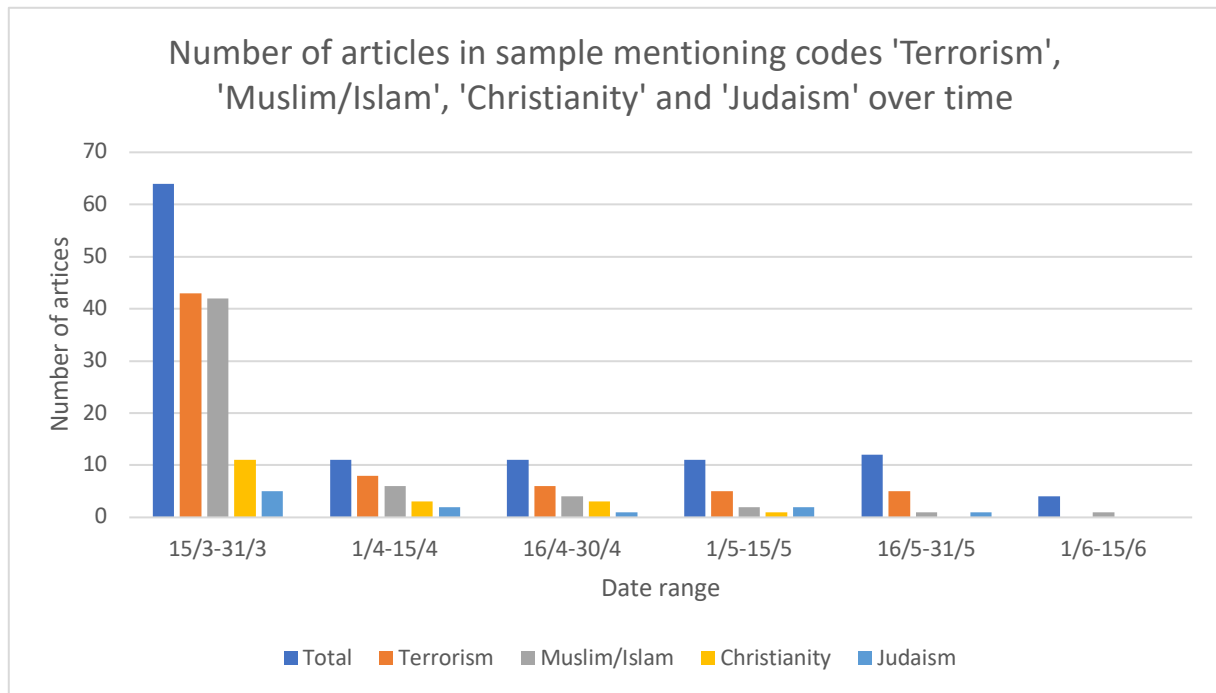


Figure 3: Number of articles that mention terrorism or Abrahamic religions over time

There is some nuance in the differences between the English word 'love' and the te reo Māori word 'aroha' (Moorfield, n.d.). However, they are commonly used interchangeably and 'love' is the most common translation ('Aroha', 2020). For the sake of simplicity, they will be discussed as synonymous in this analysis.

32 articles from the sample (28.32%) mention the code 'love', the 14th most mentioned code of the 86. Of those, 6 mentioned love as a feeling about something unrelated to the Christchurch killing (e.g. love of the sport Airsoft).

The fifth most recurring code in this sample was the term 'social media', which only includes that specific term, mentioned in 38.94% of articles. Of these, Facebook and Alphabet have notable social media platforms. Facebook is mentioned in 29 articles in the sample (25.66%), likely due to its platform and company sharing a name; Microsoft in two (1.77%), Apple, Amazon and Alphabet in zero, although Google is mentioned in five (4.42%) and YouTube in 12 (10.62%). Additionally, the second most mentioned internet-based company is Twitter.

Individualism, mentioned in one article (0.88%) is the divorcing of societal effects on a person from the decisions that they make (DiAngelo, 2018). However, the structural code (which includes the terms systemic and institutionalised) is only tagged to four articles (3.54%).

In regard to the 'Holocaust (Jewish)' code, this major historic event that came as a direct result of white supremacy (Mills, 1997) was also referenced in just one article (0.88%) as a warning of the dangers that come with complete freedom of speech. For related codes, 'Nazi' (which includes mentions of Hitler), which is mentioned in nine articles, (7.96%), and 'Judaism' in 11 (9.73%).

4.2. Quantitative findings examined in context

The above quantitative analysis raises some points of interest in this data, but in order to gain a more thorough understanding of the representation of white supremacy in the sample, a more qualitative approach can be taken. This section will develop a deeper understanding of the insights that the quantitative analysis has offered by examining the context in which these terms are mentioned and how they are functioning to construct white supremacy as an individual or structural issue. The terms for qualitative analysis have been chosen for their frequency of appearance, relationship to another term, or relevance to the construction of white supremacy. Each section draws on the terms use and textual context and applies to the wider context of white supremacy from a different, relevant viewpoint.

DiAngelo's (2018) explanation of white fragility plays an important role in this section of the analysis, as well as the CDA in the following section. As she describes it, white fragility is a process of response that is unknowingly applied, usually by so-called white people, in order to shut down conversations about racism, divert blame away from whiteness, and maintain structural white supremacy. This concept is useful as it reveals patterns in the texts that display how white supremacy is conceptually being framed by the author. In particular, DiAngelo's

lists of white fragility responses (2018, pp. 119–122) provide a set of claims, assumptions and functions that provide invaluable for direct comparison.

4.2.1. Articles without reference to the Christchurch killings

Although the Christchurch killings were the driver of the conversation about white supremacy, as the quantitative analysis shows it moved into the wider conversation. Looking at articles without the code ‘shooting’, which was used to represent the killings, reveals how white supremacy is discussed when not related to a significant event. Perhaps the best evidence of how widespread this discourse became is the inclusion within an article that concerns the hip-hop artist Eminem suing the New Zealand National Party over a song used in a campaign advertisement: “[Eminem’s lawyer] questioned whether additional damages would have been awarded in a situation where the song had been used to promote a white supremacist party” (Nightingale, 2019, para. 9). By the definition of structural white supremacy that this thesis considers, the National Party, and perhaps all political parties, are white supremacist parties. The casual reference to ‘a white supremacist party’ inherently precludes the National Party from being white supremacist. It reflects the colloquial way that white supremacist refers to those who express white supremacy overtly, communicating an understanding of an individualist perspective of the lawyer quoted in the article as the norm.

Contrasting this, is an article about the Māori right to self-govern. The author, tangata whenua herself, describes both white genocide and white supremacy as a myth (Herbet-Graves, 2019). She rejects the concept and ideology that white people are superior to non-white people. While this is an accurate and fair statement, it fails to expose the fact that that despite a very real equality-by-nature, socially constructed inequality does exist. Although the context is about releasing Māori from the system that disadvantages them, it constructs white supremacy as an ideology that can be simply dismissed, rather than a complex, embedded, historical issue in the construction of the cultural and political systems of the country.

This perspective of white supremacy is consistent across all of the non-shooting coded articles, including international news. Without reference to the Christchurch shooting, the conversation about the nature of white supremacy, at least in this sample, defaults to it being an ideology held by specific people or groups. While the Christchurch shooting may have extended rhetoric about white supremacy into a wider range of news articles, if the shooting is not mentioned, white supremacy is consistently constructed as an issue pertaining to individual people or groups, or mentioned in a tangential reference that provides no indication of any individual / structural perception (e.g. Puschmann, 2019; Street & Steet, 2019). It is constructed as quantifiable and ideologically-based – a set of ideals that are either held or not – and never as anything that underpins the systems and culture of New Zealand or any other nation state.

4.2.2. Representations of religion and terrorism

Overwhelmingly, the Christchurch shooting was considered an act of terrorism by the media, as suggested by the data and seen in closer analysis of the sample. This is of note as it is not always universal that acts of ideologically-driven mass-murder are labelled as terrorism if they are committed by someone who is not a person of colour (Arva et al., 2017). While this diversification of the use of the descriptor is a positive step when it comes to representation of Islamic worshippers in the media, this research is focused on representations of white supremacy and so it is vital to examine how the discussion of Islam and terrorism both in recent history and in this sample are used to construct white supremacy.

The linking of terrorism and Islam throughout the news media (and beyond) was first noted by Norris, Kern and Just (2003b) and labelled the ‘war on terrorism’ frame of journalism. This frame began as a response to the 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre in New York (Norris et al., 2003b) and remained persistent until at least 2018 (J. Johnson, 2018; Rahman & Emadi, 2018). In this sample, the war on terrorism is a background that cannot be dismissed.

In the war on terror frame, Muslims as a group are presented as a violent threat to the Western world and beyond. It is difficult to be certain how much this frame has contributed to global issues such as the increasing persecution of Muslims in India (Maizland, 2020) or the forced labour of the Uighur Muslims in China (Nebehay, 2018), but there it has certainly led to greater fear of violence from followers of Islam (Cherney & Murphy, 2015). Weekend Herald columnist Lizzie Marvally (2019b) put it succinctly in an article that is not included in the sample:

“Up until very recently, whenever I've heard the word ‘radicalisation’ it has been preceded by the word ‘Islamic’. Whenever I've heard the word ‘terror’ it has been preceded by the word ‘Muslim’. Much of the Western world has been caught in a loop in which those words could only go together. How wrong we were” (para. 1-3).

Wrong because, this comment implies, it is not only Muslims that can be radicalised into committing extremist killings but also *racists*.

Although New Zealand law prohibits me from reading or quoting the shooter's writings without applying for an exemption, there are many sources that provide some details without being specific. Although the shooter does not explicitly claim to have any religious belief, he equivocates on whether he is a Christian or not (B. Johnson, 2019; van Beynen, 2019) and expresses a significant preoccupation with the medieval Christian crusades (Brockell, 2019). Being influenced by another white supremacist terrorist, Anders Breivik, (A. Taylor, 2019) it is a high probability that the killer would be familiar with Breivik's concept of a ‘cultural Christian’ (Gibson, 2011). There is evidence at both a basic level of understanding and upon deeper analysis that Christianity or Judeo-Christian normativity was an influence upon the killer's violent actions.

Yet, the of references to Christianity in the sample only one refers to the killer as a Christian and then only in a quote which is quickly dismissed by pointing to the shooters equivocation on the matter (van Beynen, 2019). Several refer to Christianity to disprove the perception that Muslims are all terrorists (McLaughlin, 2019a; O'Connor, 2019a; Picken, 2019), and one refers

to “the millions of Muslims who continue to be killed by mostly white Christian men in positions of power” (Audeh, 2019, para. 11). The most generous reading of this is that a lesson has been learned about the damage that can be done by attributing to the many the ideology of a few. A more cynical perspective would be that now the proverbial shoe is on the other foot – the perpetrator of overt, subjective violence is one of the hegemonic regime – it benefits those in power to disassociate themselves from the violent actor’s culture en masse.

This sample shows a re-representation of the war on terrorism frame. Where the frame traditionally concerns Islam, the religion and its followers are now provided reprieve and are presented as ‘forgiving’ and ‘loving’, (Audeh, 2019; Bayer & Leask, 2019; Wilkinson, 2019). Islamophobia, the hatred of Islam and Muslims, is discussed in 12 (10.62%) of the sample demonstrating a greater awareness of bigotry that is specific to that religious / cultural group.

It took those who were vilified, Muslims at worship, to become fatal victims before they were extended the understanding enjoyed by those from the hegemonic regime. In the face of an event that paints European descendent Christians in a negative light, a new ‘other’ must be found in order to protect the hegemony – that is individuals and groups who are racist. The killer is not an example of a radicalisation from the norm, he is an example of someone who harbours overt prejudice, a ‘bad person’ who is outside of the norm for, as DiAngelo (2018) explains, no ‘good person’ could ever be racist. This reframing of the war on terror forgives Muslims, despite vilifying them in the first place, and by doing so extends that forgiveness to the hegemonic regime but, instead of reflecting critically on the structural wrongs that allowed this to occur, creates a new villain – the racists, the ‘white supremacists’ divorced from the social influences from which they came.

4.2.3. Racism and the good/bad binary

As discussed in the literature review, the term 'racism' is inherently problematic when it comes to addressing the problems of the modern world. Where it is useful, however, is looking at representations of people or peoples in the media.

On further examination, the articles in this sample overall construct racism as:

a) a kind personal prejudice – e.g. "Airsoft is littered with rednecks, they believe in all the racist kind of stuff" (Sherwood, 2019, para. 9).

b) something that must be acted out – e.g. "no one who has engaged in xenophobia, racism or other bigotry is innocent" (Marvelly, 2019a, para. 13).

c) a simple problem – e.g. "Love is the answer if we want the world to be a kinder and more compassionate place" (Tou-McNaughton, 2019, para. 36), and

d) more of a problem elsewhere – e.g. "New Zealand is rather like Canada: There is undoubtedly still some racism and anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim prejudice, especially in rural areas and in francophone Quebec, but it is rarely expressed openly" (G. Dyer, 2019, para. 5).

Points a), b) and c) all directly relate to the concept of white fragility as laid out by DiAngelo (2018). Her 2018 book on the matter provides a list of assumptions (p. 121) that hold up white fragility, the tactics that white people use when they are confronted about racism to "reinstat[e] white equilibrium ... return our racial comfort, and maintain our dominance within the racial hierarchy."³ (p. 2). Although DiAngelo does not include point d) in this list, it still links into her discussion on the good/bad binary – i.e. pointing to something else, labelling it 'bad' and

³ DiAngelo's use of the inclusive 'our' is equally relevant for me, the English emigrant, New Zealand immigrant author of this paper.

stating 'since I am not that thing I must be good. Good people cannot be racist, therefore I cannot be racist.'

This is at the core of the construction of racism throughout the sample. Darius Shahtahmasebi fears the "hidden side of New Zealand's beloved garden city [Christchurch]" (2019, para. 10); Dr Jarrod Gilbert wonders whether "the white supremacy issue" is "bigger or smaller" than in the 1990s in (2019, para. 16); Oscar Kightly (2019) says that *We must root out the racists that walk among us*; Merepeka Raukawa-Tait explains that she knows that Kiwis "are not terrorists or white supremacists. We are better than that" (2019, para. 6) in *Let's get angry at all racism*. While all of Islam was tarred with a brush for at least 18 years, only a small sub-section of Anglo-European descendants, those labelled 'white supremacists' can be radicalised. There are few exceptions.

Four articles, written by Dame Anne Salmon, Jehan Casinader, Alice Snedden and Lisa Tou McNaughton, describe racism as structurally embedded socially, historically or politically. That is 6.45% of the 62 articles that mention racism. Overwhelmingly, racists are portrayed as a 'bad' other, while most Kiwis are 'good' non-racists who just need to speak up more when they encounter acts racism.

4.2.4. Love and violence

Although love is a somewhat nebulous term that can mean something different to each and every person (hooks, 2000), it is useful to have a definition that can be used as a benchmark against which statements within the sample can be at least held against. bell hooks has written extensively on love of all kinds, from familial to romantic to divine to communal. hooks states that "To truly love we must learn to mix various ingredients - care, affection, recognition, respect, commitment, and trust, as well as honest and open communication" (p. 5). hooks goes on to explain that love is "an action, a participatory emotion. Whether we are engaged in

a process of self-love or of loving others we must move beyond the realm of feeling to actualize love” (p. 165). To advocate for love, one must advocate for actions that increase the levels of the ‘ingredients’ that hooks posits.

McKibbin (2019) takes this idea and applies it to politics in his book *Love Notes: for a Politics of Love*. He points out that “when we reflect on the many ways in which politics affects our well-being, it become clear that to love — to express a sentiment of enduring warmth toward a person or people — is, in part, to care about politics.” (Loc. 283). In direct relation to an ideologically motivated terrorist attack, such as the Christchurch shooting, McKibbin noted, “A loving response to terrorism would necessarily be part of a wider re-imagining of politics, and so would have broad implications. It would challenge capitalism and its institutions,” (Loc. 441) Therefore, it is only those articles that frame love as, a) actions that should be taken to, b) change the systems which propagate and support white supremacy, could be considering that white supremacy is a structural, systemic issue and not merely something performed and solvable through changing the nature of social interactions.

Only one article, an opinion piece by Anne Salmond, met both of the criteria outlined above. Another four had some reference to political action, though it was not explicit, for example, the use of the phrase ‘one love’, the politically-charged mantra of the Rastafarian religion/movement (Dictionary.com, n.d.). The remaining 21, (67.74% of the samples tagged with the love code) frame love as something that individuals need to do or as an attribute that already permeates New Zealand culture or, perhaps most egregiously, hold up examples of Muslim people expressing love and forgiveness without any reflection on what actions need to be taken by the hegemonic people to be equal to that gracious gesture.

Although it can be argued that engaging in behaviours like calling out bigoted comments can be political, the emphasis on personal responsibility perpetuates the individualist perception of white supremacy. It then becomes what Slavoj Žižek (2008) describes as a ‘chocolate laxative’ – the way the media moves the focus on an issue to present the problem as the

solution (P. A. Taylor, 2010; Žižek, 2008). Pervasive white supremacy is the constipation causing ‘chocolate’ and taking the right action as groups or individuals, in this case being more loving to others, the ‘laxative’ that should cure it. Regardless of the positive framing of the message of love, the underlying concept it is perpetuating is still negative.

As noted in the literature review, the individualist perspective of white supremacy maintains the objective (structural) violence (P. A. Taylor, 2010) that people of colour encounter day to day. At its worst, where the rhetoric of love does not even tangentially extend into the systemic issues, it is akin to an abuser – the beneficiaries of a biased system – professing their love to the abused – those the system exploits. Such a profession is hollow for, as bell hooks puts it, “Love and abuse cannot coexist. Abuse and neglect are, by definition, the opposites of nurturance and care” (p. 6).

The use of love throughout the sample, as the 14th most mentioned code of the 81, is used far more as a sedative than a stimulant – it is used to place the onus on the individual, to assure the reader that all is still well after a tragic expression of the extreme version of colonist hegemony; it is fragile response that allows ‘white’ Kiwis to feel assured that as long as they love, they are a ‘good person’ and no good person can be racist (DiAngelo, 2018).

4.2.5. Social media and the internet

After the shooting, there was a significant amount of attention placed on social media. As well as posting writings that explained his motivation for the killings, the shooter live-streamed the shootings on Facebook – he had a camera set up so that as he was undertaking his murders, the footage was automatically being uploaded to Facebook and was available for anyone to view. It is uncontroversial to state that consumption of a video of Islamic worshippers being murdered because of their faith should be restricted. The Aotearoa New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs labelled copies of the video ‘objectionable content’ under the Films, Videos,

Publications and Classifications Act, describing it as “a very real tragedy with real victims” (Department of Internal Affairs, n.d., para. 6) that contains content that is “disturbing and harmful for people to see.” (para. 7).

Authors of several articles in the sample opine that the corporation that owns and controls the Facebook platform, also called Facebook, is responsible for this video being distributed and consumed (Errington, 2019; NZ Herald, 2019c; O'Donnell, 2019). This is also extended to other companies that are collectively known colloquially as the ‘tech giants’. Usually, there are five main companies that this term refers to: Microsoft, Apple, Amazon, Alphabet (parent company of Google, and YouTube since 2015) and Facebook (also owns the Instagram and WhatsApp platforms), the 2nd through 6th highest valued companies in the world respectively, based on market capital (FXSSI, n.d.).

Additionally, the second most mentioned internet-based company is Twitter which had a market capital value of \$25.4 billion US dollars at the time previously referenced article was written, just 4.35% of Facebook’s \$584 billion US dollar valuation (Macrotrends, n.d.). This reveals that the term ‘tech giants’ is being used to refer to social media companies rather than the actual largest technology companies. Table 2 (below) provides an overview into how frequently social media website was referenced within the sample in comparison to its site ranking based on traffic (Net Branding, 2019).

Social media platform	Number of sampled articles in which platform is mentioned	Site ranking in NZ by traffic in Aug 2019
Facebook	29	4
Twitter	16	Below 50
YouTube	12	2
8chan	6	Below 50
4chan	4	Below 50
Reddit	4	8
Instagram	2	19
WhatsApp	1	Below 50
Twitch	0	20

Table 2. Mentions of social media platforms in sample and total traffic ranking.

"The New Zealand massacre was livestreamed on Facebook, announced on 8chan, reposted on YouTube, commented about on Reddit" reads a tweet by Drew Harwell, a journalist for the Washington Post (quoted in NZ Herald, 2019b). The shooter's writings, which attempt to explain his motivation from his perspective, was also published on Twitter. Considering this, it follows that these are the most talked about platforms in relation to the conversation about white supremacy that was dominated by the shooting over this time period. However, it is a relevant fact that in 2018, Amazon's AWS (Amazon Web Service) and Microsoft's Azure accounted for 63.3% of the datacentre infrastructure hosting online content (E. Jones, 2020).

The sample gave these two companies almost no attention despite their high level of influence over the online world. To call out social media companies so consistently while all but ignoring the influence of Amazon and Microsoft provides some small insight into the scapegoating nature of the coverage in this sample when it comes to social media. The coverage does not delve into social media as a part of a larger, interconnected system that has enabled or encouraged this violence, and places a high burden of responsibility onto the companies that facilitated the dissemination of the video and writings and contributed to his radicalisation.

Social media has been strongly linked to the radicalisation of extremists. "A great deal of evidence suggests algorithms designed in pursuit of profit are also fuelling radicalisation towards white supremacy," reads an article from the sample by Massey University lecturer Kevin Veale (2019) published in the New Zealand Herald. He is right, and such examples of supporting academic work include Bastug et al., 2018 and Jessica Johnson, 2018. Interestingly, when Jessica Johnson wrote about self-radicalisation through social media in 2018, just a year before the shooting, she noted the prevailing sentiment that "self-radicalization is particular to Muslims and involves not only the "lone wolf" terrorist, but also information and images designed to affirm that the violence performed has greater purpose." (p. 105).

As noted in the previous section, this sentiment is not reflected in this sample. The articles primarily portray this shooting as a the result of the radicalisation of a white-supremacist ‘other’ rather than someone from within the hegemonic regime. For these extremists to be moved to violence they must escape the benevolence of New Zealand’s hegemony; there must be some catalyst such as social media. The construction of white supremacy remains relegated to individuals and groups who are brought to violence thanks to the machinations of Facebook and its ilk. It does not consider that the ideals of white supremacy extremism that those radicalised people profess originate from the hegemonic culture in which they live.

4.2.6. The absence of social science

Individualism is

“a social pattern that consists of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives; are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights, and the contracts they have established with others; give priority to their personal goals over the goals of others; and emphasize rational analyses of the advantages and disadvantages to associating with others” (Triandis, 1995, p. 2).

This idea is antithetical social sciences as a whole but is a useful to frame a conversation. How does the lack of references to individualism help to understand the construction of white supremacy in this context?

One interpretation could be that it shows that it the overall sample is geared toward a systemic construction. However, the lack of presence of the structural code (which includes the terms systemic and institutionalised) suggests that there is a dearth of any rhetoric around the individual / systemic spectrum in regard to white supremacy. To further elaborate, of the four articles tagged with the structural code, only one refers to white supremacy as the object, and then it is done indirectly. The article that mentions individualism is describing all terrorism that

occurs in the 21st century. Out of context of the wider analysis, it is difficult to say whether there is overall more discussion of structural injustice around white supremacy, or whether article writers within this sample are more likely to state that there are at least some structural issues if they are familiar with these terms and the concepts to which they are referring.

The supremacy-inspired killing of six million Jewish people and four million other non-homogenous people is referred to indirectly by calling on the name of the people who did the killing, or those who were killed. The actual result of the supremacist ruling is rarely mentioned. The group is identified; the extreme outcome of white supremacy at a structural level is not. The Nazi is posited as an example of what we do not want; the most extreme version of the Christchurch shooting is not. While the clear line between white supremacy as a discrete ideology and the Nazi Party is clear, the line between the white supremacy as a structural issue and the genocidal outcome goes unseen.

4.2.7. In summary

This contextualisation of the quantitative findings served to provide a deeper understanding of what was noted in the data from the content analysis. It also served to present a more detailed qualitative overview of the sample and informed the decisions of which articles would provide the most representative sample for the CDA that is presented in the following section and provides the deepest insight into the linguistic choices made in the rhetoric of the sample to construct white supremacy as either a structural or individual issue.

4.3. *CDA of four articles*

This section presents findings from the CDA of four articles that present a range of rhetorical perspectives from the sample which contribute to the construction of white supremacy as an individual or structural issue. It builds on the previous two sections and provides the most insight into rhetorical choices made by the authors and editors. Key CDA tools used are Van

Dijk's (2001) and Richardson's (2007) sociolinguistic analysis, Wodak's (2001; 2014) discourse historical, and Fairclough & Fairclough's (2012) argumentation analysis.

These four articles were chosen because they represent key points of greater discourse.

The articles chosen for analysis were *Racist underbelly seethes underneath*, an opinion piece by Dame Anne Salmond (2019); *White supremacist flyer drop in suburb*, a local news piece by Jean Bell (2019); *Use of Crusaders name illustration of country's naivety – expert*, a sports news piece by Joel Kulasingham (2019); and *Drug terror needs to be confronted*, an opinion piece by Tom O'Connor (2019b).

4.3.1. Racist underbelly seethes underneath

Published in the New Zealand Herald on March 19, this article by Dame Anne Salmond was also republished in Stuff-owned The Dominion Post under the headline *Online, on talkback, in taxis and at dinner tables, the doctrine of white superiority is alive and well*'. The title under which the article was first published has a very different connotation to the later one, although, the latter one may be more accurate to the content of the article itself. The body text does not once mention the terms 'racism' or 'racist', opting instead for alternating between "white superiority" and "white supremacy/-ist", both of which are mentioned three times each. While this is worth noting, it is a relatively minor note. What is more relevant is the rest of the headline – "underbelly seethes underneath". The term 'underbelly' refers to a hidden and sometimes vulnerable side of something, often used to describe an immoral element of society (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.), for example, a television series about organised crime in Australia and New Zealand was titled *Underbelly* (IMDb, n.d.). Used in tandem with the verb 'seethe' it portrays racism as pervasive, insidious and agitative. The final word in the headline doubles down on the idea that this is a hidden aspect of society. Altogether, this headline begins to construct racism, or as the article body refers to it white supremacy, as fundamental aspect of Kiwi society. However, as the article progresses it reveals a common issue with the

articles within the sample – the construction of white supremacy as structural breaks down upon further reading.

“White supremacy is a part of us,” (para. 1) the article begins, indicating that the author is including herself as a part of the much talked about ‘us’ in the ‘this is not us’ rhetoric that Prime Jacinda Ardern indicated. This use of the first person plural personal pronoun tells the reader that while she is including them in her commentary, she is also including herself. This technique is also used throughout DiAngelo’s book *White Fragility* and creates a self-critical tone. However, as indicated later in the article, for example with the sentence “white supremacy is a black strand woven through our history as a nation” (para. 8), in this article the inclusive ‘us’ seems to refer to all of the inhabitants of Aotearoa New Zealand, unlike DiAngelo who specifies that she is referring to the white population of the USA. Although this is a small point of difference, it becomes problematic when Salmond asserts that “Eminent New Zealanders assure their fellows that Māori were ‘lucky’ to be colonised by Europeans,” (para. 2). Although she could be referring to a subset of ‘eminent’ Kiwis, without a determiner such as ‘some’ before, or the adjective ‘white or pakeha’ after ‘eminent’, it implies that this is a problem with most or all ‘eminent’ New Zealanders. The use of the term ‘eminent’ then, takes on a somewhat colonist slant with the implication that to be ‘eminent’ is to be, at least in part, white. This back and forth exemplifies the problem with the discourse around structural white supremacy in this article. The intention is often to outline that white supremacy is an underlying aspect of Kiwi culture. However, the language used is often unthinkingly recreating those very issues and therefore undermining much of the intention behind the message. This is an issue with someone trying to criticise a structural issue, while communicating from within that structure. As Lin-Manuel Miranda succinctly puts it in the musical *‘Hamilton’*, “if there’s a fire you’re trying to douse, you can’t put it out from inside the [rhetorical] house” (Miranda, n.d., paras 16–17).

A more egregious example of this is in Salmond’s discussion of Te Tiriti which, she writes, was a “promise of equality between Māori and the Queen’s people” (para. 14). This is, for

starters, a very simplistic view of this document which actually promised “the same rights and duties of citizenship” (Kawharu, 2016, para. 5) for the indigenous population as the incoming settlers. In other words, the Māori are expected to assimilate into a system under which they are expected to follow British law. In application, describing the Te Tiriti as a ‘promise of equality’ is more aligned with the white supremacist doctrine of the “Hobson’s Pledge”, a movement that espouses the colour blindness mentality which serves to “deny the reality of racism and thus hold it in place.” (DiAngelo, p. 42). Salmond goes on to mitigate this somewhat by stating that the promise of equality was “utterly smashed by the incoming settler government, which proclaimed and practiced white supremacy” (para. 15). However, she subsequently claims that “when the Waitangi Tribunal was set up, the New Zealand Government took a step away from this doctrine (of white supremacy), although the promise of equality has yet to be amply fulfilled” (para. 15). The use of the New Zealand Government is a metonym that implies that those in power, regardless of parties or individuals within the Government, were the main drivers of Tribunal. The use of this metonym ignores the decades of activism by Māori, both from within the political system and outside of it (Consendine, 2018) as well as the trauma that making claims through the Tribunal causes within the Māori community (Brown, 2019).

Finally, although Salmond alludes to serious structural issues though describing “our tolerance for the terrible statistics of youth suicide, incarceration, and family violence in New Zealand” (para. 6), she fails to link it specifically to the disadvantages that people of colour face in New Zealand. Then, toward the end of the article, the construction of white supremacy is undermined with the sentence “online, on talkback, in taxis and around dinner tables, the doctrine of white superiority is still alive and well in New Zealand” (para. 16), which was also the basis of the alternate title. The issue is framed as being primarily with the conversations that people with each other in various forums. Although the criticism of talkback may align with some structural problems, the onus is placed on how people interact with each other. This is compounded by the assertion that the solution to white supremacy is “to name it, challenge it

when it comes to light, and replace it with better ways of being Kiwi” (para. 18), perfectly aligning with one of the assumptions that comes with white people talking about racism: that “Racism is a simple problem. People just need to...” (Diangelo, 2018, pg. 121).

The most powerful statement that Salmond makes in her article is the final sentence: “there are more ways of killing and maiming people than with a gun” (para. 19). Although it could have been far more effective if it had been linked directly with structural issues, it does somewhat reflect the concept of Žižek’s objective violence. It implies that although the Christchurch shooting was a direct display of violence against a minority group, there are many more issues, such as incarceration, suicide and family violence (mentioned in para. 7) that are perpetuated by the system and cause harm as significant as that of the overt actions of a white supremacist extremist.

Salmond’s article is one of the very few in the sample that ascribe any form of structuralism to white supremacy. It also encapsulates the problems that a close reading of any of these might reveal. Lisa Tou McNaughton’s (2019) article *After the Christchurch shootings, we need to talk about 'Us'*, also suffers from the same drawbacks. Although this opinion piece hopes that the Christchurch shooting “will be a catalyst for on-going positive institutional and systemic change,” (para. 30) she exemplifies white supremacy with “the desecration of Muslim and Jewish graves with swastikas. / It’s in the joke that about the gay person or the person who looks, sounds, or is, a bit different from Us” (para. 14-15). At one point, McNaughton does describe historical violence at Parihaka and lament the lack of inclusion in the school curriculum, and encourage the questioning of “our history, our values, who we are as people, what we believe in and what we stand for” (para. 18). However, as with Salmond, she finished her piece with the assertion that “We need only to look in the mirror to see where it starts” (para. 37) and a quote from Mohindas Ghandi stating “You must be the change you want to see in the world” (para. 38). Like Salmond, the onus lies with the individual – although there is some attempt to highlight structural issues, there is an assertion that individuals changing behaviour is the solution to historical, political, and systemic realities.

4.3.2. White supremacist flyer drop in suburb

One of the few non-opinion pieces in the sample relates to the distribution of flyers promoting a white supremacist group in a suburb of Tauranga. This article provides an interesting perspective, not only because it was published as news, rather than opinion, but also because it was published on June 12, 2019; nearly three months after the Christchurch shooting. While the shooting is mentioned in the article, it is not the primary subject. As a result, it provides a look into the construction of white supremacy by the news media when it is at least somewhat removed from that context.

In the article, Bell makes it clear that the leadership at the sub-outlet in which this article was first published, the Stuff-owned Bay of Plenty Times, made the choice not to name the group that distributed the flyer. This is a positive move that is aligned with a 2017 plea from scholars to stop publishing the names of mass shooters – this step prevents the group from gaining fame or infamy, depending on the reader's perspective. However, this researcher does question the need for the outlet to highlight that it removed the name. Commonly referred to as 'the Streisand effect', an act of censorship can cause a backlash and create further interest in the censored topic.

One way to mitigate this interest is to avoid bringing attention to the censorship (Jansen & Marten, 2015). If the Bay of Plenty Times felt that censorship was warranted, the need to point out their choice to censor seems to undermine this very action. While there is an expectation on news outlets to be transparent in their choices there is undoubtedly plenty of other information that was left out. To further highlight the absurdity of this, the outlet has no qualms in including the main message of the flyer at the outset of the article: "it's alright to be white," "save the white race," and "You have no need to say 'sorry' because you are Nature's Finest," (para. 2-3). Furthermore, it offers no explanation of why these claims are fallacious. Perhaps the most pernicious of these messages is "it's alright to be white", a derivation of the "it's OK

to be white” slogan which was formulated by an online overt white supremacist group (boundary2, 2019).

By spreading the slogan, the group aims to generate outrage over a seemingly acceptable message, which would demonstrate “how insane the left is” (*It’s Okay To Be White*, n.d., para. 4) to further encourage engagement with overt white supremacist ideology (Don & Matt, 2018). It is an insidious and powerful statement that feeds off negative publicity to promote overt white supremacist ideals (Measley, 2018). By withholding the name of the group but not their message, the author shows that she feels confident that her audience will see the flyers as far from their own perspective, as though the content is so horrific that no person would identify with it. Yet it is the message that has radicalised many people from covert hegemonic white supremacy to overt white supremacy extremism. This presents a supposition that white supremacy is an issue with a fringe population – that readers of Stuff-owned outlets are so far from white supremacists that this message would not resonate with them.

There is another reading to be considered. That by presenting this message under the auspice of white supremacy activism and linking it with the Christchurch shooting, albeit mildly, it makes the statement more distasteful to readers. To further explore the framing of the message, it is important to look at the community response presented in the article.

There are four people whose perspectives are presented in this article (this does not include information provided by an unnamed police spokeswoman). The first is Shakti Community Council’s service deliver manager, Margie Aged, a woman of colour who is not quoted by the author but paraphrased as stating that the Christchurch shooting made “some ethnic communities uneasy” and that the flyer “added to this concern” (para. 4). There is a supposition here is that people of colour were not uneasy until the shooting occurred and only when other actions of over white supremacy occur is that uneasiness heightened, downplaying or ignoring the daily ‘uneasiness’ that people of colour experience living in a white hegemonic society (DiAngelo, 2018).

The second person is Ann Kerewaro, a British immigrant (Millie Freeman, 2017) who had recently been in another article published on Stuff less than one month prior in which she is criticised for banning LGBT+ Pride content on the Facebook page of the non-profit of which she is the president (Shand, 2019). In the sampled article, Kerewaro is quoted as saying the flyer is the result of someone with “too much time on their hands” (para. 5). Not only is this a questionable choice of voice to amplify, but the message reinforces the idea that white supremacy is relegated to a small ‘fringe’ of individuals.

The pakeha then-mayor of Tauranga Greg Brownless is also quoted, stating that he sees “nature’s finest and worst from all corners of the earth” (para. 7). This is akin to colour blind racism (DiAngelo, 2018), asserting that race is irrelevant and only individual actions are measurable. It ignores the structural issues that this flyer raises and, at best, fails to contradict the messaging.

Finally, an unnamed resident of the suburb who describes the flyer as “vile and racist,” adding, “We have an Indian family and several Māori families just up the road. I hate that they might now feel unsafe” (para. 11). Again, the idea is that only now that some action has been taken will these families of colour feel unsafe is presented here. It also raises the question of why this person was quoted, rather than a member of one of these families.

At no point in this article is there any link drawn between the daily, structural issues that non-white hegemonic people face in Aotearoa New Zealand, the history of white supremacy in Aotearoa New Zealand, or any rhetoric that contradicts the claims of the flyer that are published at the head of the article. It presents a perspective of white supremacy from a particularly white hegemonic view. To be clear, I am not asserting here that the journalist who wrote this article is attempting to promote white supremacy extremism. Research on Jean Bell reveals a writer who is thoughtful about the challenges people of colour face in Aotearoa New Zealand (J. Bell, n.d.). Whether because of time constraint, editorial control or author choice,

the information that was excluded from, or included in, the article does reveal a lack of consideration for reader interpretation or context.

4.3.3. Use of Crusaders name illustration of country's naivety – expert

This sports news article presents comment from Paul Spoonley, Distinguished Professor at Massey University's College of Humanities and Social Science, on the name of the rugby union team the Canterbury Crusaders. The name garnered some criticism in the media (Thomas, 2019) after the Christchurch shooting due its association with the historical crusades in which European Christian leaders waged a series of wars in an attempt to take over Muslim-led cities (Aljazeera English, 2016) (see section 2.11. *Islam, Christianity and white supremacy*). Spoonley is often quoted in the Aotearoa New Zealand media on issues in relation to white supremacy thanks to his work in the area, some of which is reviewed in the literature review section of this research. However, as noted in that section, his work is often focused on overt, extremist white supremacist groups. Although it is possible that it is just correlation, it could be that his focus on groups is what makes his perspective of more interest to publishers, journalists and readers, while social science scholars who take a more structural view are not as prevalent.

The author of the article, Joel Kulasingham, makes many modal claims throughout the story. For example, he writes that Spoonley claims the Crusaders' branding "could be feeding into white supremacist and anti-Muslim ideology" (para. 1), he states that "Some say" the branding is "offensive and insensitive" (para. 3) and that the branding "could be" seen in "the same light" as "modern day white supremacists" (para. 7). This downplaying is at odds with what Spoonley is quoted as saying in the article. He states the branding is "unequivocally reflecting the crusades and one side in those crusades" (para. 5) and that it "absolutely" signifies a "global struggle against Islam ... symbolically" (para. 9-10). Where Spoonley does highlight this symbolism, its acceptance itself a representation of structural white supremacy

(Guess, 2006), he makes no mention of structural issues and specifically states that the problem is “feeding into those groups who might be Islamophobic. So it’s that naivety (of the population) again, I think” (para. 10). Naivety is an interesting word choice; it implies an innocence (OED, n.d.-e) and that there is no blame to apportioned. If Spoonley was looking at the issue from a structural standpoint, rather than ‘naivety’ it would best be considered an example of the invisibility of whiteness, even when it is harmful to people of colour (Mills, 1997). Through this lens, the use of the imagery of the crusades would be seen as one piece of the “network of norms and actions that consistently create advantage for whites and disadvantage of people of colour” (DiAngelo, 2018, p. 27).

4.3.4. Drug terror needs to be confronted

Analogy, when used correctly, can often be a useful way to aid or enhance understanding of an issue. Similarly, poorly constructed analogy can reveal biases in an author. Tom O’Connor’s article, published by Stuff on May 9, 2020, parallels extremist killers with drug dealers. It is tempting to let the sentence stand by itself as testament to its own ridiculousness; however, it is worth exploring in more detail as it provides a unique representation of white supremacy in the media.

The way the author describes the Christchurch killings and killer are significant. This is the only article that uses the term “right wing fundamentalist” (para. 1). Rather than the more frequent ‘alt-right’ or ‘far-right’, this description implies that the shooter was a strict follower of a doctrine (OED, n.d.-d) opposing social and political change (OED, n.d.-a). In other words, the shooter was dogmatically for maintaining the status quo. Combined with the author’s assertion that the shooter’s “irrational motivation seemed to be the protection of his so called white culture from an assumed threat from other cultures” (para. 1) presents a strong statement that white supremacy is a structural issue; that the shooters impetus for the shooting came from the foundational desire to maintain Anglo-European dominance socially and

politically. It is a startling juxtaposition when the author follows this comment with the statement that “No one imagined such a thing could happen here and if it did it [sic] we thought it might have come from one of the many international Muslim militant groups with similar and equally irrational motivation” (para. 1).

This opinion piece was published before reports that New Zealand’s police had repeatedly ignored warnings from the Islamic community of an imminent threat (Bayer, 2020) so the author could be forgiven for not knowing this. However, to say that there was no person who imagined this happening belies an ignorance of the day to day experiences of people of colour. Simultaneously, the author expresses that the shooter was coming from a place of the status quo, while also expressing a collective ‘we’ that distances the culture of Aotearoa New Zealand from that status quo and excludes the experiences of many people of colour.

He moves swiftly into the international reaction that, he says, moved from horror to grief and anger and states that “More than a few also suggested that there should be a return of capital punishment for terrorism mass murders” (para. 4). This begins the irony of this piece as it equates the shooter with right wing conservative politics and then advocates for policies that are traditionally associated with political conservatism in the West such as capital punishment (Amidon, 2018; Carroll, 2004). Of course, the most prevalent conservative view expressed within this article is the call for harsher sentences for those who sell controlled substances outside of legal process or, in reductionist terms, drug dealers (Boggs, 2015). While the author seems to be aware that the white supremacist extremist ideology that the Christchurch shooter expounded is at least related to conservative politics, much of what he advocates for in the article aligns with other facets of that political viewpoint.

It would be unfair and inaccurate to state that those who advocate for conservative political policy are solely responsible for structural white supremacy; as DiAngelo explains, it is often the politically liberal who perpetuate white supremacy through a veneer of racial acceptance that does more harm than good (DiAngelo, 2018). However, when O’Connor claims that

terrorist killers' motivation is "understandable if totally abhorrent" but "there is no way to understand how anyone could sell a substance simply for profit knowing the immense harm it will cause" (para. 6), it betrays an ignorance of the realities that people who struggle to find employment face. Socio-economic disadvantage is often a major factor in deciding to sell illicit substances (Little & Steinberg, 2006), and Māori and Pasifika people are more likely to be socio-economically disadvantaged in Aotearoa New Zealand (Ministry of Social Development, 2016). Add to this that incarceration has a negative impact on socio-economic factors post-incarceration (Morrison et al., 2018) and we can see that, far from deterring drug dealing, harsher sentences propagate a system that clearly disadvantages certain people of colour more than others.

This article reveals a significant way that white supremacy is constructed as an individualist issue. It takes the deaths caused by an extremist of white supremacism and equates it to those caused by victims of white supremacy. The inference is that the process of deciding to commit mass murder in the name of white supremacy and deciding to illegally sell illicit substances is the same and that the latter is less understandable than the former. This false equivalence between drug dealers and terrorist murderers, as with all false equivalences (H. Phillips & Bostian, 2015), ignores or disregards a wealth of context in order to reach this conclusion. For the purposes of this research, the most vital point is that there must be an assumption that individual choices are not affected by societal factors – that the Christchurch shooter and a drug dealer are in the same position, have the same life experiences and, therefore, their choices are purely individualistic. By linking the Christchurch shooter's impetus into this argument, it not only presents white supremacy as an individualistic issue but precludes the idea of structural effects on individuals' actions entirely. As DiAngelo (2018) explains, this kind of individualism is one of the key Western ideologies that perpetuate white supremacy: "Individualism claims that there are no intrinsic barriers to individual success and that failure is not a consequence of social structures but comes from individual character. According to the ideology of individualism, race is irrelevant" (p. 10).

4.4. Conclusion

The quantitative content analysis and the qualitative contextual analysis showed a wide range of points of interest for this research. In the quantitative data that included the proximity of the articles in the sample to the date of the event and the terms and concepts with implication that were either highly present, such as love, or notably absent, such as structural. The qualitative analysis that explored that data in greater depth revealed how discussions of structural white supremacy were linked to the Christchurch killing almost exclusively; the lack of discourse around the killer's religion and how the victims' was repurposed for the benefit of the hegemony; how social media was used as a scapegoat to shift blame from the hegemonic regime; and a lack of social science discourse and historical framing.

The close CDA of the four articles expanded on these ideas even further. Salmond's (2019) showed that even in an article that aims to directly describe the structural aspects of white supremacy, an individual construction dominates. Bell's (2019) piece displayed how news reporting around white supremacist extremist groups can lack context and preference the opinion of individuals. Kulasingham's (2019) interview showed how an expert social scientist will have their perspective restrained by the journalist or editor's rhetoric. O'Connor's (2019b) opinion piece displayed the strongest construction of white supremacy as an individual issue via bad analogy.

The following discussion chapter explores the information that these analyses have uncovered in relation to the scholarship that is outlined in the literature review.

5. Discussion

This research set out to understand the extent to which white supremacy was constructed as an individual issue versus a structural issue in Aotearoa New Zealand. In general, the analysis found that the sample of texts from mainstream New Zealand media covered in this research constructed white supremacy as an individual issue to a far greater extent than as a structural issue. It both explicitly and implicitly allocated fault to single people or groups of people and downplayed the role of institutions and historical factors. There was some awareness of the structural nature of white supremacy represented, though it was surface-level and left mostly unexamined. The three main findings that support this, as well as other minor findings, are outlined in this discussion. The three main findings are: any mention of structural white supremacy is superficial and derailed by individualistic rhetoric; a good/bad binary is used to construct white supremacists as an 'other' that is distanced from the hegemonic regime; and Eurocentrism and whiteness remain unexamined maintaining their normative invisibility.

5.1. Finding 1 – The dominance of individual construction

“We each hold the power, in our words and in our actions, in our daily acts of kindness.”

– Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern

While there was recognition that structural white supremacy exists, evidenced both by the four articles that include the 'structural' code and in the closer analysis of the Salmond's (2019) *Racist Underbelly* article, it is remarkably sparse. Considering the immense amount of scholarly work and number of governmental and non-governmental reports that describe the structural nature of white supremacy, this absence within the sample shows that there is little effort within the mainstream media to consider the structural factors relating to the tragic Christchurch killings, in which white supremacy extremism is a major factor. By neglecting to include this context in the reporting and opinion pieces about that event when mentioning

white supremacy, the outlets fail to provide a full picture of the factors that contributed to the killing.

In the few cases where structural white supremacy was recognised, it was superficial and derailed by individualistic rhetoric; in particular, placing the onus on people's actions by stating that interpersonal 'kindness' and 'tolerance' are the solution to white supremacy. Salmond's (2019) opinion piece makes an admirable effort at recognising structural white supremacy and yet still describes the root of the problem as being in moments of interpersonal communication or violence. The piece goes so far as to reference James Cook's view of Māori, which, as seen in Calder (1993) was one of a people whose culture needed correction, as evidence of a foundation of kindness for modern New Zealand, reframing the very colonisation that established structural white supremacy as somehow being evidence of a lack thereof.

In that piece, structural white supremacy is posited as existing, yet individuals are provided as evidence for the problem, and one of the most prevalent colonists of New Zealand is an example of how we can solve the problem. That individual, Cook, is presented devoid of the context of the damage caused by colonisation both historical (Kelsey, 1984) and ongoing (Skelton, 2018) and the white supremacist structures that inspired colonisation and were forcibly imposed upon the indigenous Māori (Miller & Ruru, 2009). There is a clear dearth of understanding about the inter-relationship between structure and agency both from the author of the piece, and the news media systems that published the content. The veneration of Cook in a piece that aims to highlight white supremacist structures reinforces Walker's (2002) statement that the news media's role is "supporting the hierarchy of Pākehā domination and Māori subordination in the colonial and post-modern era" (pp. 217-8).

The pervasive individualistic perspective in the sample also points to the whiteness of the mainstream media as an institution itself. As Katz (1985) notes, individualism is one of the primary features of white culture and, according to Hofstede Insights (2021), three of the top five most individualistic countries are British colonised, (The USA – first, Australia – second,

New Zealand – fifth) – the UK comes in third and fourth is the Netherlands, also a western country. Māori culture is also considered collectivist, in contrast to the culture of the colonist. By failing to consider the structural nature of white supremacy, and by constructing and even promoting individualism as a solution to a structural issue, this sample from the mainstream media is functioning to maintain colonial values and doing so at the cost of potential progress toward equity for all non-white peoples, including the indigenous population.

The value given to individualism is particularly evident in the use of the term ‘love’, recurring frequently as a call to action throughout the sample. As DiAngelo (2018) notes, the idea that there is a simple solution to structural white supremacy is one that itself helps to perpetuate the problem. In this case, the solution is to love; to be considerate and kind. Being generous, it may be that if every person was more loving to all people, then this would create a more accepting culture where inequality would fade. However, this would hinge on positive feelings being enough to eradicate the gaps in wealth, well-being, opportunity, incarceration and so forth. None of the pieces in the sample expressed how this would be case. I would argue it would not.

Human agency certainly plays a part in bigoted, violent action; two different people may go through the same experiences and end up with different outcomes depending on their personal susceptibility to messaging and proclivity toward violent behaviour. However, this is only true up until a point. The direction of violence, the choice of who they target and how, are inarguably influenced by the structures and culture that they exist within and this may be more evident in white supremacy than perhaps any other example. The driving forces behind extremist white supremacist violence are, as shown in the literature review, particularly socially constructed; race and ethnicity, nationalism, Eurocentrism, et al are based in the foundations of a historic and modern culture that has consistently and continually created social structures that promote the whiteness and all of its associated values as of greater importance and correctness than any other. The fact that whiteness has written itself out of the social contract

does not make it any less constructed, but it does serve to make the impact of the structures it instils more impactful on the agency of those who live within them.

To claim that the Christchurch killer was a mindless drone who had no option but to do what he did would be erroneous, as evidenced by the millions of people living in the same social structures that did not commit racially motivated mass murder upon innocent people. But, to claim that those same social structures had no influence on him would be an even more egregious error and yet this is the error that the mainstream media in New Zealand have made. In the rise in coverage of white supremacy in the media following the killings, represented in this sample, the emphasis is consistently upon individuals and groups and the structures that influence them are downplayed, talked about ineffectually or, for the most part, ignored.

5.2. Finding 2 – ‘Good’ New Zealand / ‘Bad’ white supremacist

“They are us. The person who has perpetuated this violence against us is not.” – Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern

The Christchurch killer and his extreme white supremacy ideology was distanced from the hegemonic culture through the assertion of the good/bad binary: that white supremacy is bad and most New Zealanders are good and therefore New Zealand’s culture cannot be white supremacist. The analysis shows that this occurs frequently throughout the sample and section 4.2.3 provides a list of examples. This also links into Žižek’s concepts of objective and subjective violence. The implication is that because most New Zealand residents would not undertake racially motivated subjective violence against another person, they are ‘good’ and cannot be complicit in ‘bad’ white supremacy. However, it fails to consider complicity in objective violence and what that may say about those same people. Furthermore, it fails to consider that the moral positioning of the majority of the population may be irrelevant to the

experiences of those outside of the hegemonic regime, in particular for the Christchurch killing the often vilified and persecuted Islamic population.

The good/bad binary is further cemented through the construction of white supremacists as a dangerous 'other' that is outside the hegemonic culture. The killer and his ilk are presented as an aberration. The term extremist is used in relation to white supremacist ideology, rather than in relation to the fundamental nature of the social structures of the population of Aotearoa New Zealand. The term 'white supremacy' is reserved for those who express the ideology overtly, those who attempt to make the *de facto* once more *de jure* and so are ousted from the hegemonic regime. They are now an 'other' and the victims are part of the in-group. This is seen both in the sample and in the quote from Jacinda Ardern that begins this sub-section.

Popper (1947/1986) claimed that tolerance of others should reach its limit at the point of tolerating the intolerant, a concept that has come to be known as the paradox of tolerance. As Michael Freeman (1975) explains, this hard-line creates a false binary of tolerant and intolerant that leaves no space for criticism of the 'tolerant', an issue that is resounding in the context of this event and this analysis. The line of tolerance was so clear in the sample that even publishing his name is taboo. I am not advocating for mass distribution of the killer's writings, but perhaps it is worth questioning whether the intolerance of Tarrant and his ideology was so prominent that it served to cover up not only his blatantly offensive ideology, but the connections that ideology has with the structures and culture that dominate our social spaces. To relate it back to DiAngelo's (2018) concept of the good/bad binary, the sample is so focused on promoting the goodness (tolerance) of New Zealanders against the badness (intolerance) of Tarrant that it precluded any chance of true understanding.

To understand how this sample from the mainstream media serves to construct this binary, it is useful to make a comparison to the terrible events that occurred under the Nazi Government. It may be that comparisons to the actions of the Nazi have become something of a cliché and yet the scale of the tragedy and the near-ubiquitous agreement that these

actions were 'bad' continue to make it an excellent point of reference in situations where racial supremacy is a motivator of violent actions. The main value of drawing a comparison in this case, despite the difference in scale, can be realised by returning to Césaire's quote in Mills, "[Hitler's crime is] that he applied to Europe colonist procedures which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of Algeria, the coolies of India, and the blacks of Africa" (pp. 103 – 104). It is valuable to think of Hitler, in this context, as a symbol of his government as a whole. His primary role in the atrocities of the 1930's and 40's is certainly worth recognition, but he is just the poisonous toadstool that sticks above the ground as a visible representation of a much deeper, more insidious system.

Bauman (1989) shows how the aforementioned system was able to drive people to commit such horrific actions that the echoes would be felt for generations beyond. These people have been villainised in popular culture to the point of caricature, ascribed the role of the epitome of evil to be killed without remorse. But this is misleading; like Brenton Tarrant, they were fallible humans, but through the process of white fragility we distance our similarities and heighten our differences. We place the emphasis on the subjective violence, which most people would not engage in, and downplay the objective violence that causes it which permeates the systems we live in. The truth is, "That most of the perpetrators of the genocide were normal people, who will freely flow through any known psychiatric sieve, however dense, is morally disturbing" (Bauman, 1989, p. 19) and that white supremacist extremists, like Tarrant, are, like the person who ushered children into gas chambers in 1941, not fringe lunatics but an extension of the systems that they live within.

This is not a suggestion that it comes naturally to people to look others in the eye and take their lives, quite the opposite – it takes serious influence to drive most people to such acts. The point is that even in the face of *de jure* white supremacy, like in Nazi Germany, Western structures work to avoid any share of the blame by designating the offenders as bad others that have nothing to do with western structures. In the current system of *de facto* white supremacy, the same thing occurs and is clearly visible in the analysis of this sample; the bad

'other' white supremacists are distanced from the good 'us'. 'They' kill Muslims because they are racist, but 'we' kill Muslims because it is war; 'they' are insane when they say white people are superior, but 'we' are normal when we enact laws and maintain norms that advantage white people.

To repurpose Césaire, Tarrant's crime was that he applied to the Muslims in Christchurch the kind of violence and hatred which until then had been reserved for citizens in Middle Eastern countries at the hand of Western armies, or indigenous peoples through ongoing colonisation. The response to this in the sample is that he is othered and his social and cultural influences are dismissed. By ignoring this, the mainstream media is reinforcing the legitimacy of the structural white supremacy and the inequitable distribution of power based on the socially constructed norms of race, ethnicity or nationality.

5.3. Finding 3 – Invisible normativity of Eurocentrism and whiteness

"He is a terrorist. He is a criminal. He is an extremist." – Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern

Whiteness and Eurocentrism, two foundational aspects of white supremacy, remained relatively unexamined throughout the sample, supporting the normative invisibility that works to maintain power inequity. With the distancing of 'white supremacy' from the hegemony there is little need for a critical look at the hegemonic regime itself. Herbert-Graves (2019) piece about self-governance for Māori, which does not mention the Christchurch killings, comes the closest to any form of criticism of whiteness or the values that were imported with colonisation. Despite the killer explicitly stating that he believes in the supremacy of Anglo-European values, there is nothing in this sample that suggests that he is incorrect. In fact, modern New Zealand cultural values are presented as near-infallible and entirely different from what the killer professed.

The argument could be made that this is because one person does not represent his racial or ethnic whole, but this perspective was not extended to Islam in the decades following 9/11

when the religion became profoundly linked with terrorism and those from Muslim-majority regions became the subject of scrutiny and discrimination based on this representation. Nor has it been present in the New Zealand media in its representation of Māori ever since its inception. In both of these cases, the actions of one or some individuals were presented in the media as representing the whole. Not only was structural white supremacy not represented in the sample, but by failing to explore the killer's cultural and social influences, i.e., the hegemonic culture, structural white supremacy was reinforced and perpetuated.

Even in the texts areas where the hegemonic regime is questioned in the sample, the way in which it is done so contributes to the upholding of that hegemonic dominance. This is clear in the analysis when looking at the way structural problems are constructed as a problem of individuals with its solution lying in individual actions (see Finding 1). It reflects Cammaert's (2015) assertion that counter-hegemony within the media, which is itself an arm of hegemony, serves to reinforce the post-hegemonic state of a modern western country's social structures; a state where the hegemonic culture is so engrained as the norm that even criticism of it only serves to reinforce it.

Even voices from outside the hegemonic regime that are given prominence within this sample serve that purpose; Muslims expressing love or forgiveness are given precedence over voices that express criticism of hegemonic culture. This can be seen in an article in the sample that covered a vigil for those killed on March 15. The focus of the article was on those who walked out when it became too critical of the hegemonic regime, rather than being on those who raised the criticism. The title of one article was "Vigil turns too political: Critics", it was not "Speakers highlight flaws of colonialist NZ".

The preference for expressions of forgiveness and encouragement toward kindness also reflects Matthewman's (2017) finding that pakeha prefer symbolic changes over structural changes that benefit them. Although his finding is specific to Māori, the claim is echoed in this situation. It was presented as a negative that the symbolic gesture of a vigil was derailed by

action that called for structural change. The focus is placed on the individualistic gesture that some people are making or attempting to make as is common throughout the sample. Those who are making those symbolic gestures are 'good' and therefore cannot be racist while those who are drawing attention to structural problems are 'bad' because their criticism is interrupting the symbolic vigil.

In Kulasingham's (2019) article about the rugby team named the Crusaders the resistance to actual change is presented clearly on even a simple matter of a sports team's nomenclature. Further, any non-conformist suggestion is presented as disruptive and therefore undesirable; an implausible alternative that serves to reinforce the post-hegemonic invisibility of the whiteness and Eurocentrism at the foundations of New Zealand's social structures. Spoonley's attempt in the article to express the structural and historical context that the team name infers was couched in modalities by the author of the piece. Yet there is a number of opinion pieces by people who are not renowned scholars of racial injustice within the sample, whose perspectives are presented without such treatment.

This returns us to the beginning of Finding 1: despite the copious number of scholarly works, of social science academics, and of historical evidence, the media as it is represented in this sample failed to adequately use these easily accessible resources to provide adequate contextual information about the structural nature of white supremacy, the harms it causes, or how it may relate to the murder of 50 people in two mosques on March 15, 2019.

6. Conclusion

This research was motivated as a response to the tragic killing of 51 Muslim people at worship in Christchurch on March 15, 2019 by a man who espoused white supremacist beliefs. It began with a hunch that Aotearoa New Zealand social structures were based on white supremacy and that this structural white supremacy was not represented in the mainstream media. This was how I came to my research question: To what extent is white supremacy constructed as a structural issue in the sample as compared to an issue with individuals or small groups?

Throughout the literature review, it became clear that my hunch was correct, that not only Aotearoa New Zealand but western countries across the globe had social structures that were founded on and remained rooted in white supremacy. Also, that these structures cause harm to people who are considered outside the white supremacist hegemonic regime. The socially constructed nature of whiteness, of race in general, and other social groupings became clear, which did not reduce the harm of them but it does reveal how that harm is not a fundamental part of human interaction. At no point was this clearer than when it came to trying to link explicitly *racially* motivated murder to victims targeted for their *religion*.

In order to answer my research question, to understand the extent to which white supremacy was constructed in the mainstream media as an issue with individuals or as a structural issue, a sample collection method and methodological approach to analysis had to be decided upon. The Newztext database and search term “white suprem*” was decided on which revealed a huge increase in coverage of white supremacy following the Christchurch killings (see: figure 1. Section 4.1). In order to maintain a representative sample, without making arbitrary exclusion decisions, a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies was chosen through the methodologies of content analysis and CDA, respectively.

Through this in-depth analytical approach, it was found that white supremacy was overwhelmingly constructed as an individual issue in the sample. Where there were attempts

to consider structural aspects, these attempts were ineffective as they were derailed by individualist rhetoric. The full findings are outlined in chapter 5. 'Discussion'.

6.1. An holistic look

Contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand is a country founded on Eurocentric, imperial colonist cultural and legal norms, as are all western countries. If there was a spectrum of most to least reflective of these foundations, it could be argued that Aotearoa sits somewhere closer to the 'least' end. Of course, if a 'not at all' category extended that spectrum, it would be unlikely to get anywhere near it. For good or for bad, Aotearoa New Zealand today is a country dominated by Eurocentric values and therefore remains structurally white supremacist (see chapter 3).

This research reveals that the country's mainstream news media reflects this positioning. White supremacy is a term reserved for people or groups who overtly proclaim that white people are better than non-white people. The fact that the concept of whiteness is entirely made up and has no foundation in any biological or social sciences has no bearing on either those who proclaim supremacy or those who denounce it. As DiAngelo (2018), Mills (1997), Dyer (1997) and others describe in great detail, structures across the globe serve to keep observations and criticisms of whiteness and the power structures it maintains out of general discourse (see sections 3.2 – 3.5). The sample analysed in this research reveals this reproduced in the mainstream news media. It is hoped that this thesis and the work behind it goes some way to presenting this information in a clear and understandable way to provide a moment of self-reflection for that institution.

6.3. Further research suggestions

This research was primarily concerned with the text aspect of the three main aspects of media and communications, the other two being the audience and the means of production. This research did reference the other two tangentially, but further research could be done to look into those aspects in greater detail. What decisions are made in the newsroom and beyond that could contribute to white supremacy being constructed as individual rather than structural? Or, to what extent does the construction of white supremacy as an individual issue reflect and inform the mainstream news media consumer's understanding of white supremacy in general? These are just two examples that may serve as a starting point for more elevated research questions.

Throughout the process of my research, I came to understand that the individualist nature of the news media was not limited to issues of race. Further research could explore these same issues with different power structures in mind, whether they be related to gender, sexuality, religion, class, or otherwise, or some interrelation of two or more. I believe it would be valuable to gain a fuller understanding of the role individualism plays in the mainstream news media and the role it has on society. This could be a sample taken at any time or, as this sample was, it could be taken following a major event that relates to that social category.

Finally, the thing that was most poignant to me personally was the very fact that these issues are generally talked about in relation to events. The Christchurch killing caused me to experience grief that this occurred in Aotearoa, followed by a realisation that there was no real reason it would not considering the culture that exists, and then an anger that there was no acceptance of responsibility or accountability for that culture. While it would have been an extraordinary relief if my research had contradicted this, that was not the case.

Due to my research, this became noticeable to me as a pattern throughout 2019, 2020 and 2021. The deaths of Black people at the hands of police, Donald Trump's anti-Asian rhetoric around COVID-19, Ihumātao, the killing of six women of Asian descent in Atlanta, and others.

Throughout this reporting, the plethora of social science research plays a minor role in reporting. I would suggest two areas of research to address these issues. First, how well do the current news values adequately serve reporting on events that represent social inequities? And second, how could relevant social science research more effectively be utilised in reporting around events that represent social inequities?

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8. Appendix

8.1. Table of notes on codes.

Code	Notes
Shooting	Mentions the Christchurch shooting - attack, murders, massacre, killings etc.
Climate change	Or global warming.
Manifesto	References to the shooter's writings.
Shooter	Any reference to the killer – murderer, chch terrorist, Brenton Tarrant, etc.
Emotional reaction	Expressions of how the shooting made the author or other people feel.
Politics	References to political parties, legislation, bills or acts.
Muslim/Islam	Either of these terms.
National security	Any kind of reference to the need to secure New Zealand from external or internal threats.
Perm. change	Any statement implying that NZ was somehow changed forever by the chch shooting.
Terrorism	Or derivatives - Terrorist, act of terror, etc.
Police	New Zealand only.
WS groups	Any overtly white supremacist groups. E.g. National Front, Proud Boys, Aryan Nation/Brotherhood, Ku Klux Klan, etc.
Social media	Just the term.
Christianity	Or any denomination thereof - catholic, baptist, presbyterian etc.
Immigration/immigrants	Or migrants.
"Both sides"	A reference to Trump stating that there are "fine people on both sides" of the alt-right protestors and anti-protestors.
Refugee	Just the term.
First responders	Ambulance, fire, police who responded to the Chirstchurch killing.
Racism	Or racist.
Australia	Or Australian.
Free speech	Just the term.
Trump	Just the term.
Music	Just the term.
Love	Or Aroha
Gun control	References to legislation for the regulation and control of gun ownership.
Religion	In generalities, not specific religions.
Judaism	Or Jews, Jewish etc.
Other attacks	Any other white supremacist attack or attacker - e.g. Breivik, Charlottesville, Richmond.
Attack video	The video of the shooting that the shooter streamed online.
Jacinda Ardern	Or Jacinda or Ardern or the Prime Minister, etc.
ISIS	Or the Islamic State.
Tech giants	Just the term.
Internet	Just the term.

4chan	Just the term.
8chan	Just the term.
Facebook	Just the term.
Google	Just the term.
Twitter	Just the term.
YouTube	Just the term.
Reddit	Just the term.
Chch culture	References to the culture or society of Christchurch.
Māori	Just the term.
Colonisation	Just the term.
Chch quake	Just the term.
Equality	Just the term.
"This is us" +	Any thing related to - e.g. He is not us, They are us, This is not us, etc.
Crusaders (rugby)	The rugby team.
Judicial system NZ	References to courts, prisons, sentencing etc.
NZ culture	Talking about what Kiwis or NZers are like - "NZ is a welcoming place" etc.
Skin colour	Person/people of colour, black or brown person, etc.
Schools	Any mentions of schools, students or schooling.
Islamophobia	Just the term.
Far right / alt right	Could be hyphenated or not.
"Other"	A sociological referring to those outside a particular group - any references to groups of people as an 'other'.
Te Tiriti	The Treaty of Waitangi (the treaty) or Te Tiriti o Waitangi (te tiriti).
Media	Any media not social media - e.g. mass media, mainstream media, the media etc.
Neo-Nazi	Just the term.
Nazi	Including Hitler.
Conspiracies	Conspiracy theories in general, not specific ones.
Radicalisation	Just the term.
China	Just the term.
LGBT+	Anything in the pantheon of non-hegemonic sexualities or genders.
Mental health	Just the term.
Hate crime	Just the term.
Lone-wolf	Or solo actor, single person - basically anything about him undertaking the act by himself
Holocaust (Jewish)	References to the genocide of Jewish people at the hands of the Nazi party in the 2nd world war.
Winston Peters	Just the term.
Business	NZ businesses, enterprise, economy etc.
Crazy	Calling the shooter crazy - nutjob, wacko, lunatic, etc.
Video Games	Just the term.
Privilege	Just the term.
Sept 11	9/11, the trade centre attacks, etc.
Feminism	Just the term.

Brexit	Just the term.
Individualism	Just the term.
ANZAC	Just the term.
USA	Or America if referring only to USA.
Misogyny	Just the term.
Christchurch call	The leader's summit organised by Jacinda Ardern to address the issues with social media and hate.
Europe	EU, European etc.
Xenophobia	Just the term.
Innocence	NZ's innocence - virginity, purity, etc.
Systemic / Institutionalised	Either of the two terms.
Individualism	Just the term.
Hate	Just the term - not including as a part of hate speech.
Hate speech	Just the term.