

**An inclusive  
Aotearoa New  
Zealand where  
everyone belongs.**



**Islamophobia after the Christchurch Terror Attacks:  
Has the State done enough?**

# Inclusive Aotearoa Collective Tāhono

Ka hōkā a Tāhono i Uta!  
Ka hōkā a Tāhono i Tai!  
Ka rerea a Kōwhitiwhiti!  
Ka tau ki Kōwiniwini,  
Ka tau ki Kōwanawana!  
Tūturu ō whiti whakamaua kia tina!  
Tina! Hui e! Taiki ei

*As Tāhono soars across the seas  
As Tāhono soars inland  
And in leaving those places of significance in the Crossing  
Alights on Kōwiniwini, on Kōwanawana  
Let there be an affirming of that crossing  
An affirming of the settling together  
So be it!*

This whakatauki was generously written for IACT by Professor Tom Roa at Waikato University

# What is Islamophobia?

- [Islamophobia](#) is an **extreme fear of and hostility toward** Islam and Muslims which often leads to hate speech, hate crimes, as well as social and political discrimination. It can be **used to rationalize policies** such as mass surveillance, incarceration (imprisonment), and disenfranchisement, and can influence domestic and foreign policy. (Bridge Initiative, Georgetown University)
- **Islamophobia:** dislike of or prejudice against Islam or Muslims, especially **as a political force**. (Oxford Dictionary)
- [A working definition of Islamophobia](#): “A **fear, prejudice and hatred** of Muslims or non-Muslim individuals that leads to provocation, hostility and intolerance by means of threatening, harassment, abuse, incitement and intimidation of Muslims and non-Muslims, both in the online and offline world. Motivated by **institutional, ideological, political and religious hostility** that transcends into structural and cultural racism which targets the symbols and markers of a being a Muslim.” (Briefing Paper prepared For the Special Rapporteur on freedom of religion or belief)

# What is not Islamophobia



- Critique and criticism of beliefs
- Disagreement with particular practices
- Being offended
- Critique and criticism of political regimes, state policies and programmes

**BUT**

**Context matters!**

# Islamophobia and the War on Terror

- 26 December 1991: the Cold War officially ends
- 11 September 2001: attacks on World Trade Centre & Pentagon
- 20 September 2001: President George W Bush announces the War on Terror
- 25 September 2001: Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld announces “Operation Enduring Freedom”, and anti-terror campaign
- 7 October 2001: invasion and occupation of Afghanistan begins
- 19 March 2003: illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq begins, though there were no links found to Al-Qaeda and no “weapons of mass destruction” found
- Cost: \$8 trillion USD and 900,000 lives ([Brown University](#))

# Securitsation of Muslims

The domestic war on terror would operate as a dual-pronged assault on both Islam and Muslims. Led by an alarmist media and self-serving policymakers, the faith itself was repackaged as a dangerous ideology.

([AlJazeera](#), “The War on Terror and Disciplining American Muslims”)

The securitization of Muslims has been an ongoing process in the “war on terror” discourse of the past 15 years. It has solidified the perception of Muslims as enemies in and of the West through a logic which creates hierarchies of belonging and undermines their claims to citizenship. In addition, securitization has expanded to include not only the state, but also members of society to be vigilant about threats and to protect the country through their everyday roles and activities. ([Uzma Jamil](#) in War on Terror in Canada)



# Islamophobia in the Aotearoa Context

- Reliance on Five Eyes (FVEY) – UK, United States, Canada, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand intelligence gathering and sharing agreement
- Our country joined in 1956
- Britain monitors Europe, Western Russia, Middle East and Hong Kong. Meanwhile, the United States also oversees the Middle East plus China, Russia, Africa and the Caribbean. Australia is responsible for South and East Asia and New Zealand for the South Pacific and Southeast Asia. Canada monitors the interior of Russia and China and parts of Latin America.
- Our national security system relied on intelligence from FVEY, which focused heavily on “Islamist terrorism”.
- [Royal Commission](#) found that until May 2018, there was an undue concentration of resources on the threat of “Islamist” terrorism. Also “As at 11 March 2019, it included 25 counter-terrorism investigations involving 32 subjects of investigation. All these subjects were under investigation due to their assessed affiliation with Islamist extremism, primarily inspired by Dā’ish..”

# Institutional and Systemic Discrimination

Interpersonal discrimination was constant and included:

- Physical and verbal abuse, intimidation – both online and offline
- Discrimination in education, health, housing and employment

Institutional and systemic discrimination

- Securitisation (see previous)
- Access to resources
- Consistent negative media reporting (see [Sibley, Shaver et al](#): *results show that greater news exposure is associated with both increased anger and reduced warmth toward Muslims. Additionally, the relationship between media exposure and anti-Muslim prejudice does not reliably vary with political ideology, supporting claims that it is widespread representations of Muslims in the news, rather than partisan media biases, that drives anti-Muslim prejudice.*)
- [Ignoring lived experience](#)



# Royal Commission of Inquiry Recommendations

- Recommendations to improve New Zealand's counter-terrorism effort (18 Recommendations)
- Recommendations to improve New Zealand's firearms licensing system (6 Recommendations)
- Recommendations to support the ongoing recovery needs of affected whānau, survivors and witnesses (3 Recommendations)
- Recommendations to improve social cohesion and New Zealand's response to our increasingly diverse population (15 Recommendations)
- Recommendations for implementation (2 Recommendations)

# Actions by government

- [Te Raranga](#) – hate crime reporting (Rec 42)
- [He Aranga Ake](#) – disengagement programme (Rec 3)
- Firearms legislation (not in the recs as it was already in progress)
- Training on firearms licensing system (Rec 21)
- [Firearms Registry](#) and moving licensing system online (Rec 20 for the latter)
- Changes for overseas applicants of firearms licences (Rec 23)
- DPMC [Strategic Framework to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism](#), and [funding pool](#) (Rec 4 - partly)

# Actions by government



- [He Whenua Taurikura](#) – Centre of Research Excellence (Rec 14)
- [He Whenua Taurikura](#) annual conferences (Rec 16)
- [National Security Strategy](#) “*Secure Together – Tō Tātou Korowai Manaaki*” (Rec 17 – but not in legislation yet)
- [Kapuia](#) Ministerial Advisory Group (Rec 44)
- Lead Coordination Minister for the Government Response – Hon Andrew Little (Rec 43)

# Actions by government

- NZ Police [105 reporting system](#) and NZ SIS [Public Contribution Form](#) (Rec 12)
- NZSIS “[Know the Signs](#)” document (Rec 13)
- Amendments to [counter-terrorism legislation](#) (Rec 18)
- Changes to the [New Zealand Security Classification System](#) (Rec 9)
- [MSD Social Cohesion Framework](#), [funding pool](#) (Rec 29)
- [Collective Impact Board](#) (Rec 26)
- Ministry for Ethnic Communities (Rec 30)

# National Security Strategy

The updated National Security and Intelligence Priorities are:

- Strategic competition and the rules-based international system,
- Emerging, critical and sensitive technologies,
- Disinformation,
- Foreign interference and espionage,
- Terrorism and violent extremism,
- Transnational organised crime,
- Pacific resilience and security, and
- Economic, maritime, border, cyber and space security.

# What's missing

- **Rec 1:** Minister to lead and coordinate the counter terrorism effort
- **Rec 2 and 7:** new national security agency combining GCSB and NZSIS
- **Rec 3:** Interdepartmental Executive Board and paid Security and Intelligence Board
- [Intelligence and Security Act review](#) (to address [Recs 6 \(Auditor General to audit intelligence services\), 10 \(new agency\), 17 \(annual threatscape report\) and 18](#) (review of counterterrorism legislation). Note Auditor General [audit of security system governance](#))
- **Rec 11:** increase number of staff with security clearance
- **Rec 25:** ongoing support of impacted community
- **Rec 27:** restorative justice processes (not sure if the impacted community wanted this)
- **Rec 28:** MSD coordinate a whole of government approach to building social cohesion and social inclusion (not sure how well this is happening)
- **Rec 31:** develop measures and indicators for social cohesion (underway)
- **Rec 33:** increasing workforce diversity for counter-terrorism agencies
- **Rec 34 and 35:** Public Service Commission to increase diversity and report on progress ([Ethnic Communities Graduate Programme](#) and also [Papa Pounamu](#), but what about at senior levels?)

# Diversity at Senior Levels of Public Service

Ethnic diversity summary and population comparisons						
Year						
2022						
Grouping		European	Māori	Pacific	Asian	MELAA
Public Service leaders		87.2%	17.9%	2.6%	7.7%	0.0%
Tier 2	↳	80.4%	16.7%	5.4%	3.4%	0.0%
Tier 3		80.0%	13.8%	5.1%	2.8%	0.8%
Tiers 1-3		80.2%	14.5%	5.1%	3.0%	0.8%
All of Public Service		64.9%	16.7%	10.6%	13.4%	2.1%
NZ labour force (HLFS June year)		70.1%	14.5%	6.1%	16.5%	1.4%
NZ working-age (HLFS June year)		70.3%	14.9%	6.5%	15.1%	1.2%
NZ population (Census 2018)		70.2%	16.5%	8.1%	15.1%	1.5%

Source: Te Kawa Mataaho Public Service Commission - Workforce data; Stats NZ - Household Labour Force Survey | Stats NZ - Population Census 2018  
 Note: some ethnicity rates that appear to be 0.0% have been suppressed to maintain confidentiality.

[Source](#)



# What's missing

- **Rec 36:** young New Zealanders to learn about their role, rights and responsibilities and on the value of ethnic and religious diversity, inclusivity, conflict resolution, civic literacy and self-regulate.
- **Rec 27:** public conversations led by Minister of Social Development on social cohesion and the value of cultural, ethnic and religious diversity
- **Rec 38:** “involve” and “collaborate” levels of engagement in accordance with the International Association for Public Participation IAP2 *Public Participation Spectrum* (social cohesion strategy, PCVE strategic framework, but still not co-design, let alone co-governance under Te Tiriti obligations)
- **Recs 39 - 41:** Changes to legislation related to hate speech and objectionable material



# What's next

- Elections 2023: will all parties commit to implementing the RCOI recommendations?
- Islamophobia still exists
- Regulation of media and online platforms – DIA Consultation
- National Action Plan Against Racism
- More social cohesion funding?
- Disinformation
- AI (Artificial Intelligence) and XR (Extended Reality)
- Alignment of disparate groups
- Inclusive Aotearoa Collective Tāhono: community based approach



# Inclusive Aotearoa Collective Tāhono



*An inclusive Aotearoa New Zealand where everyone belongs*

IACT's mission is to build a social movement across the country of people, organisations and communities committed to working together to build a socially inclusive Aotearoa New Zealand.

For further information about our work, please go to:

<https://inclusiveaotearoa.nz/> or email: [kiaora@inclusiveaotearoa.nz](mailto:kiaora@inclusiveaotearoa.nz)

