

The Transnational Far Right: An Exploratory Paper on Common Ideology Amongst Attacks

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Abstract

Far-right extremist attacks are on the rise and have demonstrated the ability to inspire other attacks. This paper examines a cluster of seven attacks, five inspired by the Christchurch attacker, the Christchurch attack itself, and the 2011 Oslo and Utøya attack that inspired the Christchurch attacker. In this exploratory paper the common ideologies of the attackers are explored to look for commonalities and trends among the data.

Introduction

On March 15, 2019, an Australian attacker opened fire on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, murdering 51 people and injuring 40 others (Walden 2021). Since then, at least five further attacks, in at least four different countries, have been inspired by this attack (TE-SAT 2020). Most recently, in January 2021, a sixteen-year-old boy was arrested for planning to attack two mosques near his home in Singapore (Walden 2021) after being inspired by the Christchurch attacker.

Far-right violent extremism and terrorism is an international threat transcending nationality and borders. In this paper, I explore the ideology behind the Christchurch attack, those inspired by it, and the 2011 Oslo and Utøya attacks to determine the core themes of the ideologies behind the attacks and how they span across borders.

Background

Creating a working definition that adequately encompasses the breadth and diversity of the extreme right is nearly impossible. Not only is it exacerbated by the different terminology already in use, but is also complicated by people's perceptions of what constitutes the "extreme right" or even the "right" to begin with. Isaac Kfir (2019) notes in *The Strategist*, a site of the Australian Strategic Policy Institute, that Cas Mudde identified more than 25 varying definitions of far-right extremism in 2000. However, some scholars have taken on defining the far-right by addressing its breadth with an equally broad scope.

Mark Pitcavage (2019) surveyed the American landscape of the far-right by outlining American far-right topics and dividing them into three categories: "White Supremacy," "Anti-Government Extremists," and "Far Right Single-Issue Movements." Under each of these categories Pitcavage identifies further subcategories, shown in Figure 1. Each of these subcategories has slight ideological or foundational differences that set it apart from other subcategories, though some are ideologically similar, or share subscribers. For example, someone who falls under the category of "Anti-Immigration Extremist" may also, ideologically, support or be involved with "Racist Skinheads." However, Pitcavage (2019, 9) also points out that "the American far right also contains so much variety that some of its movements are even, to varying degrees, alien to each other. Racist skinheads, for example, are not very likely to encounter the pseudo-legal arguments of the sovereign citizen movement, much less be persuaded by them." Pitcavage (2019, 9) notes that some of these subcategories are not inherently American and are rather "imports" like Nazism and "skinhead subculture."

<u>Pitcavage’s (2019) Survey of Far-Right Ideology Landscape in the U.S.</u>		
White Supremacy	Anti-Government Extremists	Far Right Single-Issue Movements
Traditional White Supremacy	The Tax Protest Movement	Anti-Abortion Extremists
Nazism and Neo-Nazism	The Sovereign Citizen Movement	Anti-Immigration Extremists
Religious White Supremacy	The Militia Movement	Anti-Muslim Extremists
Racist Skinheads		Incels
White Supremacist Prison Groups		
The Alt-Right (and Alt Lite)		

Figure 1: Pitcavage’s breakdown of the American far right landscape.

Additionally, the way that the American federal government (2020) defines its subcategories (“Racially or Ethnically Motivated Violent Extremism,” “Anti-Government or Anti-Authority Violent Extremism,” “Animal Rights/Environmental Violent Extremism,” “Abortion-Related Violent Extremism,” and “All Other Domestic Terrorism Threats”) of “domestic terrorism” neglects to delineate any political or ideological party lines, notably leaving out the terms “far-right” or even “far-left.” Europe, however, clearly denotes and publicizes its data on far-right, (as well as far-left, ethno-nationalist, Jihadist, single issue, etc.), terrorism in its annual European Union Terrorism Situation and Trend report. In the most recent TE-SAT (2021) giving data from 2020, right-wing terrorism is defined by the following:

Right-wing terrorism refers to the use of terrorist violence by rightwing extremists. Variants of rightwing extremism are neo-Nazism, neo-fascism and ultra-nationalist formations. Right-wing terrorism seeks to change the entire

political, social and economic system to a right-wing extremist model. A core concept in right-wing extremism is supremacism or the idea that a certain group of people sharing a common element (nation, race, culture, etc.) is superior to all other people. Seeing themselves in a supreme position, the particular group considers it to be their natural right to dominate the rest of the population. In addition, right-wing extremist ideologies feed on a variety of hateful sub-cultures, commonly fighting back against diversity in society and equal rights of minorities. Racist behaviour, authoritarianism, xenophobia, misogyny and hostility to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ+) communities and immigration are common attitudes among right-wing extremists. (TE-SAT 2021, 80).

The United Nations, in the Seventh Review of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, explicitly expressed concern and condemnation of “terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, and all terrorist acts, including those on the basis of xenophobia, racism and other forms of intolerance, or in the name of religion or belief..” (2021, 1-2). While this is broad, the incorporation of the words “xenophobia” and “racism” is a clear reference to far-right ideology.

These ideologies are extremely prevalent online. Far right extremist groups, along with their propaganda and misinformation, can be found on various social media platforms, such as Facebook, as well as message apps, like Telegram, and message boards like Reddit and 4Chan. (Ramalingam 2019, 3)

The use of the internet in propagating extremist content and spreading its ideologies also confounds the transnational aspect of the far-right. The internet provides an essentially borderless space for the spread of extreme right ideologies - even across language barriers. Nicola Doerr (2017) discusses the use of imagery, specifically one cartoon image, as a bridge across language barriers. The cartoon image that Doerr draws upon is a controversial anti-immigration poster from the far-right Swiss People’s Party (SVP) which depicts three white sheep against a red background (and the Swiss white cross) on the left side of the cartoon with

one of the white sheep kicking a black sheep against a white background on the right side of the image (Doerr 2017, 5). There is also a line on the upper left, just above the white sheep, that states: “People’s Initiative for the Deportation of Criminal Foreigners” (Doerr 2017, 5). Doerr finds extremely similar images in use by far-right activists in both Italy, associated with Lega Nord, a far-right party in Northern Italy, and in Germany, associated with the NPD a neo-Nazi party. While each location and group utilize different text and changes the background to fit the local context, the shared anti-immigrant ideology - where the white sheep represents the “us” and the black sheep represents the immigrant “other” or “them” - is what allows this imagery to span across languages and borders (Doerr 2017, 19).

Additionally, a study by Veilleux-Lepage and Archambault (2019, 32) utilizing social network analysis on Canadian, Finnish, and Swedish members of the far-right group Soldiers of Odin actually found that “the average path length between two Canadian users and between a Canadian and Finnish user is virtually the same between a Canadian and Finnish user is virtually the same.” This not only disproves the Canadian groups’ claims that they are ideologically dissimilar to their European counterparts, but they’re highly intertwined (Veilleux-Lepage and Archambault 2019, 32). Also, from their analysis, Veilleux-Lepage and Archambault (2019, 30) find that Canadian members are greater in number to their European counterparts in this study (by a ratio of 2:1), yet that two of the highest-ranking nodes are held by European leaders. This implies that not only do the European leaders hold the same level of influence as local Canadian leaders, but it also means that the information isn’t necessarily going through the Canadian leaders, rather it’s bypassing them to all ranks of Canadians in the Soldiers of Odin group.

The diversity and complexity of far-right extremism doesn’t stop at the definition, it continues and is amplified by the increase in attacks committed by far-right extremists. There is

evidence of an increase in attacks linked to far-right extremism. A CTED Trends Alert (2020, 3) noted that “there has been a 320 per cent rise in attacks conducted by individuals affiliated with such movements and ideologies over the past five years” with the majority of attacks located in the West. This has been exacerbated by COVID-19, President Trump and the 2020 U.S. Presidential Election, and, due to racism and white supremacy holding a major pillar of the ideology, the Black Lives Matter protests (Pantucci and Ong 2021, 118).

Additionally, it has become clear that the perpetrators and followers of the far-right are extremely young. In 2020, a thirteen-year-old boy, referred to as “Commander” was found to be a leading member of a far-right organization and was arrested for suspected involvement in a terrorist plot with a fellow member in Lithuania (TE-SAT 2021, 80). The Netherlands, Luxemborg, Czechia, Bulgaria and the UK all reported far-right adherents or suspects to be very young (TE-SAT 2021, 82).

But the issue for both law enforcement and researchers alike, is determining what actually drives an individual to commit a violent act. Little concrete information exists that can prove what will radicalize an individual, let alone lead them to violence. Given that many with various grievances or issues not only never become extremists, but also don’t commit violent acts even if they’re radicalized it is nearly impossible to find a concrete pattern that will always produce a violent terrorist. However, there are sources, particularly from previous studies on al-Qaeda and “formers” (generally a term to refer to previous violent far-right extremists), that show it may be possible to find patterns or commonalities.

In Mark Sageman’s (2004) book *Understanding Terror Networks* he explores the networks of Al-Qaeda (and global Salafi Jihadism as whole) in-depth. One of his explorations

was to look into the motivations of the Mujahedin to join al-Qaeda. A major finding, which he also demonstrates outside of the global Salafi Jihadist context, is that one of the major precipitating factors of joining is social bonds. Not only in the ability to join through a friend who can vouch for them, but also in the in-group dynamics. In other words, it was the sense of belonging that sealed the deal:

They were isolated when they moved away from their families and friends and became particularly lonely and emotionally alienated in this new individualistic environment. The lack of spiritualism in a utilitarian culture was keenly felt. Underemployed and discriminated against by the local society, they felt a personal sense of grievance and humiliation. They sought a cause that would give them emotional relief, social community, spiritual comfort, and cause for self-sacrifice. Although they did not start out particularly religious, there was a shift in their devotion before they joined the global jihad, which gave them both a cause and comrades. (Sageman 2004, 97)

A Canadian study from Gaudette, Scrivens, and Venkatesh (2020) utilizing interviews with ten “formers” finds a similar trend. “[W]hat is apparent in our study is that it is those who are susceptible to being recruited into violent extremist groups and have a desire to ‘belong to something,’ as one participant put it, that sparks initial interest in the violent extremist ideologies” (Gaudette, Scrivens, and Venkatesh 2020, 13).

While there are certainly individuals who feel isolated from others who are never driven to violence - a clear trend represented by many who felt isolated during the COVID-19, but never committed or subscribed to violent extremism - this finding is still important because it indicates a common pattern. Patterns have the potential to inform prevention and intervention efforts.

Purpose and Hypothesis

Violent far-right extremism and terrorism are clear threats. While there is unlikely to be an exact formula or fool-proof reasoning that motivates an un-radicalized individual to radicalization, it is even less likely that there is a concrete formula that explains what motivates a radicalized extremist to violence. However, one thing is clear; the Christchurch attack has inspired or informed at least five other attacks, across different countries, despite differences in the targets, locations, and methods. I hypothesize that there must be further commonalities between these attacks that go deeper than inspiration, such as ideologies, motivations, backgrounds, and more. The goal of this exploratory paper is to examine the far-right extremist attacks reported as being inspired by the Christchurch attack, as well as the Christchurch attack itself and the ideologies of the perpetrators to look for trends and commonalities and to propose Similar to the work done by Gaudette, Scrivens, and Venkatesh, and Sageman in their analysis of radicalization and what prompts individuals to join far-right violent movements and global Salafi Jihadist movements (notably al-Qaeda) respectively, I analyze the ideological foundations of the attackers to determine the sentiments that have defied borders. Additionally, the findings from the analysis are used to pitch policy ideas to better inform national and international PCVE efforts.

Methodology

This study utilizes the attacks that the Europol Terrorism and Situation Trends Report (TE-SAT) from 2020 identify as being inspired by the Christchurch attack and the Christchurch attack itself. These include five attacks beyond the initial Christchurch attack; Surrey, UK, Poway, USA, El Paso, USA, Bærum, Norway, and Halle, Germany. Additionally, the 2011 attack in Oslo and Utøya is included in this exploratory study due to findings during the initial research that indicated this attack being the primary source of inspiration for the Christchurch

attacker himself. At least three different sources of information are used to gain an understanding of each attack.

The information from these attacks is logged in a data matrix, available in the annex. The source is written in the long black bar, and the information from that source is logged below. This method utilizes thematic analysis to code the information to look for trends within the qualitative data. Then information from the attacks is coded into one of five overarching thematic groups discussed below, and then further coded into a specific variable.

1. Attack Planning
2. Ideological Background and/or Motivations
3. Online Presence
4. Explicit Transnational Factors
5. Other/Important Notes

These overarching thematic groups were determined partially by the literature, and in part for the sake of organization. Information coded into these overarching groups may represent a broad subcategory, but more specific than the overarching thematic group; i.e. “anti-Semitism” or “Islamophobia” (which would both fall under the group “Ideological Background and/or Motives”). They may also be specifics, such as the type of weapon used, or otherwise. This information comes from official reports (such as the TE-SAT), scholarly sources, case studies, analytical briefs, and news reports.

This information is then assessed for common trends, commonalities and notable differences to determine if and what underlies the inspiration and if and how these attacks are linked ideologically and by background.

This is an exploratory paper that uses only official reports, scholarly articles, or reputable news sites. No terrorist or extremist propaganda, platforms, individuals, groups, or websites are explored directly. Some scholarly articles and news sources do depict extremist memes, images, threads, and content. No content is depicted or shared in this paper with the exception of written references or quotes of the content for explanation purposes. Furthermore, during the literature review, study, and analysis, no manifestos or letters were obtained or read directly. All information on manifestos or letters, or content from within them comes from a secondary source. Lastly, no perpetrators or victims were spoken to at any point. This may inadvertently leave out some details and information, and does allow for interpretations by officials, scholars, and journalists to be misaligned with the perpetrators' original intent. However, in order to ensure that information is as accurate and clear as possible, at least three different sources were used to accumulate information for each attack.

Data

The data matrix used to track themes and information on the attacks is available in the annex.

Analysis

While there are certainly clear differences, clear commonalities emerged from the information obtained about the attacks. They can be defined in three categories: white supremacy, manifestos, and online activity, though manifestos and online activity are so heavily intertwined they are discussed in one section.

White Supremacy

Each of the attackers had an intended target that differed from their own identity, with the exception of the attack in 2011 in Oslo and Utøya. The targets for the Halle and Poway attackers were Jewish and the attacks took place in synagogues (TE-SAT 2020, 77-78). The targets for the Christchurch, Surrey, and Bærum attacks were Muslim in mosques or Islamic centers (TE-SAT 2020, 77-78). The target of the El Paso attack was on Hispanics in a Walmart (TE-SAT 2020, 77-78). The Oslo and Utøya attack targeted a government building (Officer of the Prime Minister, and the Ministry of Justice and the Police) and the island of Utøya where there was a youth camp for the dominant Labor Party (Wojtasik 2020, 87).

People from these groups were deemed a threat to white people and this corresponds - even in the case of the Oslo and Utøya attack - with the ideologies expressed in their manifestos and/or online activity. It all boils down to one particular theory that all of these attackers seem to share; the fear of whites being replaced by another ethnic group - whether it be Hispanics, Muslims, Jews, or generally referencing immigrants at large. This also can be linked with tangential fears demonstrated by the attackers as the true root cause. The Christchurch attacker named his manifesto “The Great Replacement” not only alluding to the book *Le Grand Remplacement* by Renaud Camus, but also clearly state his fear of an non-white ethnic take over (Thorliefsson and Düker 2021, 13). Similarly, the Oslo and Utøya attacker was extremely concerned with the “Islamization of Europe” (Wojtasik 2020, 90). The Christchurch and Halle attacker both mention their fears of stagnating white birthrates, and increasing immigrant (or non-white) birthrates (Ware 2020, 8). The El Paso attacker makes it clear that he believes that there is a “Hispanic invasion” occurring in Texas (Macklin 2020, 4). He brings that fear even further - suggesting that if enough Hispanic immigrants settle in Texas, then the future presidents will all be Democrats due to the alienation the immigrants will feel from the anti-Immigration

rhetoric of the Republicans (Macklin 2020, 4). The Surrey attacker makes his concerns about immigrants in England clear by posting before the attack to “kill all non-English and get them all out of England.” The Poway attacker is noted in a brief from the Southern Poverty Law Center to be concerned with the “genocide of the European race” (Hankes, Janik, and Edison Hayden 2019).

Additionally, concern for a “European race,” presumably white people, is noted in nearly all of these attacker’s manifestos;

“Beyond [the Halle attacker] and [the Oslo and Utøya attacker], whose European focus goes without saying, [the El Paso attacker] invoked the threat to Europe, declaring that ‘our European comrades don’t have the gun rights needed to repel the millions of invaders that plague their country. They have no choice but to sit by and watch their countries burn.’ The Poway gunman opened his manifesto by introducing himself as ‘a man of European ancestry. The blood that runs in my veins is the same that ran through the English, Nordic, and Irish men of old.’ [The Christchurch attacker], despite being born and raised in Australia, similarly considered himself European: “The origins of my language is European, my culture is European, my political beliefs are European, my philosophical beliefs are European, my identity is European and, most importantly, my blood is European.” (Ware 2020, 6)

Although the Surrey attacker is not mentioned in Ware’s ICCT brief, the issue is still related and clearly demonstrated through his online posts and desires for the deaths of the non-English.

Overall, despite the target, the underlying ideology of these attacks is rooted in the threat to white, European men.

Manifestos and Online Presence

All of the attackers posted online before the attack, whether they announced a livestream of the attack on 8chan, made a violent Facebook post, or sent out their manifesto via email. Only the Surrey attacker did not produce a manifesto (or open letter) and release it prior to his attack. They all varied in length and breadth, a prime example in the Oslo and Utøya attacker's manifesto being an astonishing 1,518 pages long (Ware 2020, 3) compared with the El Paso shooter's four pages (Ware 2020, 3). One important takeaway from the information surrounding the manifestos is that they were all disseminated before the attack and outline their ideology, inspiration and some even call for future violence (Ware 2020, 9). It should also be noted, that during research, it was discovered that the Christchurch manifesto has since been translated into Ukrainian and sold as a paperback. ("The Russians and Ukrainians Translating the Christchurch Shooter's Manifesto" 2020) And, according to Wojtasik (2020, 9) the Oslo and Utøya attacker's manifesto was still available online in 2020. These manifestations have not only led to further inspiration and been a declaration of ideals, but have transcended time - and the authorities.

Additionally, given that five of the seven attacks discussed here posted their manifesto on a chan/image board (three of which posted their manifestos on 8chan), suggests that most of these men, if not all, were vastly submersed in the online far-right culture. The Christchurch attacker is widely believed to have used "shitposting" (a ploy to distract mainstream media and troll them) which appeals directly to far-right extremists (Thorliefsson and Düker 2021, 9, 10, 13). Even the Oslo and Utøya attacker - though this predated 8chan - is known to have frequented many far-right sites (Thorliefsson and Düker 2021, 6) both linked to Europe and the United States.

Some attackers attempted or successfully livestreamed their attacks, suggesting they expected an audience (or a community) to view or even support them. The Christchurch attacker

and the Halle attacker were the ones who successfully livestreamed, the Poway and El Paso attackers attempted to livestream their attacks (Thorliefsson and Düker 2021, 7). The Christchurch attack was livestreamed on Facebook and was viewed 200 times while the livestream was live, then 4000 times after, and it was attempted to be re-uploaded 1.5 million times after the video was taken down, 1.2 million re-uploads were stopped at upload, (Veilleux-Lepage, Daymon, and Amarasingam 2020, 3). The Halle attacker's livestream was viewed live by five viewers, and viewed 2,200 times before it was taken down (Wojtasik 2020, 94). Their anticipation of an audience willing to watch was correct.

Online activity in the aftermath of some of these attacks is equally intriguing and says a lot about the online extreme right. Some of the attackers, notable the Oslo and Utøya attacker, the Christchurch attacker, and the El Paso attacker have been referred to as "saints" online (Thorliefsson and Düker 2021, 11). The Bærum attacker notes this in his manifesto, writing explicitly that he had been "chosen" to be the "third disciple" of the Christchurch attacker, following the El Paso and Poway attackers (Thorliefsson and Düker 2021, 13). There is also chatter around the attacker's success - with some suggestion of disappointment and condemnation around less deadly attacks (i.e. the Halle attack) compared with more deadly attacks (i.e. the Christchurch attack). It's clear that not only do these perpetrators immerse themselves in the subculture before they committed their attacks, they also intended to stay long after.

This trend is also noted in the Oslo and Utøya attacker's manifesto where the attacker argues that upon capture, the goal isn't to avoid conviction, but rather to spread the ideology; "Your arrest will mark the initiation of the propaganda phase. Your trial offers you a stage to the world," (Wojtasik 2020, 91). Furthermore, the Christchurch attacker requests his viewers during

his livestream to make memes of him to further disseminate his propaganda (Thorliefsson and Düker 2021, 13).

Overall, these manifestos, contributions, and footprint online were not meant to be momentary, they were meant to stay and inspire further violence.

Recommendations

1. Support existing actions that are working.

While there is certainly not enough research, political, or social actions being taken at this time, there are currently initiatives that show promise. The first is Moonshot's preliminary data suggests that far-right violent extremists are 48% more likely to click on mental health content than the general population, and that those seeking to engage with violent far-right organizations were 115% more likely to click on mental health content (“Session Two: Online Connections” 2021, Daves, 46:06). This suggests a promising avenue for intervention strategies. Additionally, Life After Hate (“Who we are.”) is an organization dedicated to “helping people leave the violent far-right to connect with humanity and lead compassionate lives.”

2. Do no harm while trying to help.

However, one thing is clear from the research, any current or future efforts will have to address white supremacy. The issue is that this causes a paradox. There are elements, if not direct references to the desires to exacerbate existing problems to lead to a civil war or armed conflict (Thorliefsson and Düker 2021, 12), so engaging in any behavior that acts to dismantle white supremacy will be perceived as a threat, and thus, could potentially - inadvertently - spur more violence.

3. Focus on education.

Five of the seven attackers on this list were below the age of 30 at the time of the attack (Thorliefsson and Düker 2021, 7). And additional evidence from the literature review suggests that the ages of those arrested for far-right actions are very young - as young as 13 years of age. This suggests a need for diversity acceptance and celebration to be a core portion of young kids' education. It is also a way to dismantle white supremacist ideology from an early age and build resilience. Digital literacy would be a great thing to include in this effort, as well, to help with critical thinking and analysis skills early on in life.

4. More covert intelligence operations.

Social media companies should still continue their work in removing extremist content, however intelligence services should be more covertly present to monitor movement, flow, and trends - as well as be able to alert the authorities before an attack happens if they see manifestos or livestream links.

5. Multilateral strategies will be the only effective measure.

It is abundantly clear from the data on these attacks that far-right ideology transcends borders and is globalized. There are certainly elements that are individual to each country in the attacks, however, the root ideology is a global ideology. If far-right extremists are going to be stopped, countries will have to work together, share intelligence, and come up with uniform responses as the threat changes.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the ideology that spurred seven deadly attacks is linked by one primary ideological cornerstone; white supremacy. Attackers may have different targets, different attack locations and different nationalities, however all were responding to a perceived threat to white people, specifically European white people. This belief manifested in their online behaviors and manifestos. And lastly, it's clear that these individuals sought - and still seek - to inspire violence globally.

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Annex

Attack Planning	Ideological Motivations	Online Presence	Explicit Transnational Factors	Other/Important Notes
Wojtasik - Security Dimensions				
Constructed an IED used to target a government building in Oslo (specifically, the Office of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Justice and the Police) - it was used as a car bomb	Islamophobia and concern of "Islamization of Europe"	Posted a manifesto called "2083 - A European Declaration of Independence" on the day of the attack and sent it via email to 1,003 people 1.5 hours before the attack. It is over 1,500 pages long	Used portions of the Unabomber manifesto in his manifesto	Called in his own attack
Opened fire on Utøya	anti-cultural Marxism	His manifesto was still available online in 2020	"Expressed support for" far-right groups like the English Defense League and paramilitaries like the Scorpions	Surrendered peacefully
Wore a police-style uniform	Anti-multiculturalism		The manifesto is "decorated" with the cross of St. George	Member of the Progress Party
Began planning attack at age 23 (he was 32 at the time of the attack)	Anti-feminism		Arrests and further trials can be a way to globally inspire; "If you for some reason survive this operation, you will be apprehended and arrested. This is the point where the most heroic Knights would call it a day. However, this is not the case for a Justiciar Knight. Your arrest will mark the initiation of the propaganda phase. Your trial offers a stage to the world."	Changed his name in 2017 to Fjotolf Hansen
The second portion of the attack took place where the ruling party - the Labor Party - was having a youth camp (he opened fire immediately)	Believes in 2083, Europe will be "free" from Muslims			Had some minor issues with the law when he was young, but was not put to military service
Some thought he had come to help because he was dressed in a police-like outfit	Wants a homogenous Europe			Worked at a large corporation
Fired at random - did not look for specific targets				His name has "become synonymous" with right-wing extremism
Aimed to harm the State elite and members of the ruling party along with their children				
Found a farm so that he could cover up buying massive amounts of fertilizer				
Didn't want to "win" by avoiding arrest or sentencing, but rather by gaining "sympathizers and supporters"				
Thorliefsson and Düker - RAN				
	Referred to extreme right "subcultures" and "Islamophobic websites that link the European and US RWE scenes in a paranoid alliance against Islam"	Internet was used in radicalization - and he was self-radicalized		
	Wanted to combat "Euroabia" which is the belief that Europe is being taken over by Muslims	Registered user of Stormfront (the first far-right website)		
		Visited a lot of far-right websites and forums; Gates of Vienna (anti-Islam), jihadwatch.org (a website run by a white supremacist - Robert Spencer), Document.no (a Norwegian site), and blogger Peder Are Nøstvold Jensen (also known as Fjordman) who is Islamophobic		
		Praised online as "Chads" (an incel reference to "alpha males") because of their high kill counts, prep, and "performance" in their attacks		
Ware - ICCT				
	Utilized the Crusades as a theme	Posted a 1,518 page manifesto	Wrote manifesto in English	Called himself Justiciar Knight Commander for the Knights templar Europe"
	Called his manifesto 2083, because he anticipated that would be the year in which "a monocultural, patriarchal Christian Europe without Muslims, Marxists, multiculturalists, or feminists."		Used an anglicized name - Andrew Berwick	

	The 2011 Norway attacker's manifesto showed that he had an interest in U.S. politics - specifically U.S. presidential elections			
	Was concerned with the "downfall of the" EU			
	Worried about the "Islamisation of Europe"			
	Used Biblical justification for right to defense			
	Anti-feminism			

Attack Planning	Ideological Motivations	Online Presence	Explicit Transnational Factors	Other/Important Notes
Veilleux-Lepage, Daymon, and Amarasingam - ICCT Perspective - Christchurch Attack Report				
Planning attack at least 7 months in advance	Anti-Semitism in early childhood - in which a school officials tried to intervene	Attempts to conceal online activities	Money donation to Canadian YouTube channel of Molyneux	Manifesto is a coded document specifically coded and meant for an FRE audience
Inquiry into rifle club in Dunedin before moving to New Zealand	Racism in teens	Avid gamer; mmorpgs and shooters starting from a young age	International travel (extensive)	He is Australian
Adhered to a strict exercise regimen	Hate speech	Consumer of online-hate, less so a producer	Moved to New Zealand	
Used anabolic steroids and testosterone	Islamophobia	4chan and 8chan usage from a young age	Had the 2011 Norway attacker's manifesto on a memory card	
Chose New Zealand to commit attack rather than his native Australia due to more lax firearm laws in New Zealand (he used guns he would not have been able to acquire in Australia)	The Great Replacement Theory	"Shitposting" in manifesto (a chan reference)	Inspired by the 2011 Norway attacker's manifesto and references this manifesto in his own manifesto	
Chose New Zealand, also, because of a lack of social connections and thus the potential for someone to stop him	Xenophobia (immigrants are a threat to Western society)	Posted Islamophobic rhetoric on Facebook groups	"Red-herring" as receiving a "blessing" alluding to the 2011 Norway attacker's fictional knight group	
Moved attack up from the original planned date (August, Eid al-Adha) due to lack of money	His manifesto implies that the internet played a key role in radicalizing him when he specifies that it is "where the truth is"	Attack live streamed on Facebook, viewed 200 times live, 4000 times after, and attempted to be re-uploaded 1.5 million times after the video was taken down. 1.2 million re-uploads were stopped at upload.		
Use of drone technology to do reconnaissance work to locate entry and exit points		Bosnian Serb music glorifying war crimes was played during the live streamed attack*		
		Learned modification of weapons on YouTube		
Evans - Bellingcat				
IEDs were disarmed by authorities	The Great Replacement	Two days prior to the attack he posted pictures of the weapons used in the attack on Twitter	In his manifesto he mentions Owen Mosley, who is the founder of the British Union of Fascists	Was not part of any formal far right group
Use of a gun to open fire on two mosques	Concern of a "white genocide"	Live streamed the attack	Claims to have been in conflict with the 2011 Norwegian attacker	
	Islamophobia; believes Muslims are "invaders"	Posted his manifesto link on Twitter	Read what Dylann Roof "and others" had written, but was primarily inspired by the 2011 Norwegian attacker	
	Birthrate - Muslims outpacing whites	Manifesto is called "The Great Replacement"		
	Aims to sew division in the US, especially around gun control (which he believes "would lead to a civil war")	Suspected shitposting in manifesto (especially in reference to Candace Owens as the source of his radicalization)		
	Against the "American melting-pot"	Meme references and "internet in-jokes" are plentiful in his manifesto		
	"14" written on the gun (which suggests a reference to David Lane, a neo-Nazi who robbed a bank, who said the following 14 words: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children.")	Reference to a meme originating on 4chan		
	Hopes to inspire others with his attack/manifesto	Posted on 8chan prior to the attack - specifically the /pol/ board		
		"it's time to stop shitposting and time to make a real effort"		
		PewDiePie meme reference		
		Support from anonymous users on 8chan ("anons") and calls for more violence - including specifically in France		
		Songs used in livestream include: "Remove Kebab" which was a songs from a music video parody made as a tribute to Radovan Karadžić (who is a war criminal) by Serb Army soldiers		
Wojtasik - Security Dimensions				
Opened fire on two mosques in New Zealand	Islamophobia	Live streamed the attacks	Inspired by the 2011 Norway attacker	He is Australian

Chose a Friday to attack because of its importance in Islam	The Great Replacement; white genocide fears	Played the song "Fire" by The Crazy World of Arthur Brown as he left the first mosque	May have had contact with Norway attacker, but this is speculation	
Used a strobe light to disorient victims	anti-immigration	Played the songs: "The British Grenadiers" (a marching song) and "Remove Kebab"	The manifesto was emailed to 30+ recipients - which included the Prime Minister of New Zealand's office and media outlets	
Arrested 21 minutes after the first call to emergency services	Concerns over migrant birthrates of non-Europeans	Significant portions of the manifesto appear designed to troll (particularly the media's tendencies)	Shitposting	
	Against legal immigration		Read Dylann Roof's manifesto	
	Used hate speech against migrants in the manifesto			
	All "non-Europeans" who are "invading" should be removed, he specifically references "Roma, African, Indian, Turkish, Semitic and others"			
	Denies being a Nazi and instead says he is an "ethno-nationalist," "eco-fascist" and "kebab removalist"			
	Manifesto displays Black Sun and Odin's cross (both are Nazi symbols)			
Thorliefsson and Duker - RAN				
Targeted Muslims	Had accelerationist views and intentions; his attack wanted to spur on the gun debate in the U. S. to accelerate a civil war	Livestreamed attack		
Said the attack was necessary to defend Europe against "the ongoing cultural and ethnic genocide"	Emphasis on white vs. non-white birthrates	The attacker donated funds to Stephen Molyneux's YouTube Channel (who is a white nationalist)		
Asked his followers to create him into a meme during the livestream so that he could continue to spread his message	Islamophobia	Posted the manifesto on 8chan (/pol/)		
	Anti-multiculturalism	He was an avid gamer, and included "in-jokes" about games and gaming culture (i.e. a joke about flossing on the corpses of enemies - a clear Fortnite reference)		
	Anti-mass immigration	Memes praising the attacker surfaced after the attack		
		Praised as a "saint" in online communities		
		Posted a manifesto online with the title The Great Replacement - which is a nod to "Le Grand Replacement" by Renaud Camus		
		Use of shitposting and ways to confuse mainstream media, but appeal to his community and other anons		
Ware - ICCT				
Decided to carry out the attack with guns	referenced the 14 words of David Lane	Posted a manifesto	Considered himself European, despite being born in Australia and committing the attack in New Zealand	Aimed to survive to further spread ideology
	Islamophobia	Live streamed	Referenced an American conservative Candace Owens (likely as a shitpost insert, or as a joke)	
	Concern with birthrates - diluting the white race		Called the 2011 Norway attacker Justiciar Knight and was primarily inspired by him	
	Attacked to "take revenge" on the "thousands of deaths caused by invaders on European lands"			
	Wanted to use guns to spur a conflict between the two sides of the gun debate in the U.S. and further the divide in many aspects			
	Claimed to be acting in defense so his children and grandchildren wouldn't have to			

	Eco-fascism			
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Attack Planning	Ideological Motivations	Online Presence	Explicit Transnational Factors	Other/Important Notes
Counter Terrorism Policing				
Use of baseball bat and then a knife	White supremacy	Had watched videos of the Christchurch shooter	Supported the actions of the Christchurch shooter	Had previously pled guilty to other charges, including: "Causing racially aggravated intentional harassment, alarm, or distress..."
Planned to "kill a Muslim"	Islamophobia	Posted on his Facebook: [that he] "agreed with what that man did in New Zealand" and in another post wrote: "kill all the non English [sic] and get them all out of our of [sic] England"		
Tried to confront the neighbors with a baseball bat who were of Asian descent, and shouted racist abuse	Racism			
Attacked oncoming cars with the bat and yelled racial slurs and pro-white supremacy remarks	Desire to kill "Non-English"			
When the baseball bat broke, he armed himself with a knife from his home				
Approached a car in a Tesco parking lot with two people inside, who he believed to be non-white, and attacked with a knife, stabbing one of the men in the hands and the neck				
"Vincent Fuller: White Supremacist Car Park Stabbing 'Terrorist Act.'" - BBC				
Attack carried out a day after the Christchurch massacre	Intended to kill Muslims	Posted on Facebook just before the attacks where he praised the Christchurch shooter and added in a post: "I am English, no matter what the government say kill all the non-English and get them all out of our of England."	Praised the Christchurch shooter	In a police interview, the attacker had "denied being racist" and "said that he couldn't remember what he had done"
"Roamed the streets" to look for a target - random targetting	Racism	A video clip of the Christchurch attack was found on the attacker's phone		Has a British bulldog tattoo
Initially armed with a Chelsea FC branded baseball bat	Shouted "You're going to die" and "All Muslims should die. White supremacists rule. I'm going to murder a Muslim"			Tested positive for cannabis and alcohol after the attack; drank a "large bottle of apple cider and three cans of strong Special Brew lager"
Armed with a knife after the bat broke	White supremacy			In blood taken after the attack the attacker was found NOT to be highly intoxicated
Shouted abuse during the attacks	Islamophobia			The attacker is a regular drinker
Dearden - The Independent				
Attacked cars being driven by "non-white" people with a bat	Racism	Watched a Facebook livestream broadcast by the shooter		The attacker claimed he didn't commit an act of far-right terror
Searched for more targets after attacking cars armed with a knife	Islamophobia	Very soon before the attack the attacker posted on Facebook "I am English, no matter what the government say." Kill all non-English and get them all out of England." A later post said: "I agree with what that man did in New Zealand as we will not be brainwashed to this their wrong [sic]."		Girlfriend claims that the attacker became angry after the Christchurch massacre because he claimed it was always about Muslims and that it is "the Muslims that get looked after and cared about"
Committed the attack a day after the Christchurch attack	Called Indian neighbor a "Black C*****"	Admitted to writing the Facebook posts - but claims that he was just angry and didn't mean it		The attacker initially denied committing the attack but later admitted to attempted murder among other charges
First attacked the neighbors' home with a bat - this neighbor is of Indian descent	Shouted "kill Muslims" and "white supremacy" and "All Muslims should die, white supremacists rule. I'm going to murder a Muslim"			The day before the attack, the attacker was requested - and rejected - to come in for a voluntary interview concerning his threatening Facebook messages. He called the officer a "little girl" and told her to "f*** off"
Attacked an Uber being driven by a Muslim man	Shouted "I'm going to f***ing kill you, I'm going to f***ing cut your throat you black bastard."			Tested positive for cannabis and alcohol and claims to have drunk a "large bottle of cider and three cans of strong lager"

	<p>Called the cops who arrested him "dirty immigrant scum" and during the arrest said "Dirty race traitor, I hope your kids die. I hope your f***ing family die." Additionally he said: "I hopee Syrians come over and rape your children. I hope Isis comes over and rapes your children."</p>			<p>Had 24 previous convictions for 59 offences, which included 6 years in prison for stealing elderly womens' handbags</p>
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Attack Planning	Ideological Motivations	Online Presence	Explicit Transnational Factors	Other/Important Notes
USDOJ - U.S. District Attorney's Office Southern District of California				
Arson (attempted to burn down an Escondido mosque)	Anti-Semitism	Manifesto posted online right before the attacks	Inspired by Christchurch and Pittsburgh Tree of Life attacks	
Used an assault rifle (Smith and Wesson M&P Assault Rifle, fully loaded and carried a chest rig with 5 mags of ammo) to open fire on a synagogue	Islamaphobia			
Zauzmer - The Washington Post				
Wrote a 7 page letter explaining his views	Anti-Semitism - Jewish people are responsible for for killing Jesus, controlling the media; and killing Jewish people would "glorify God" He attack on Passover	Some ideology sounds as though it was taken from online chatrooms		Was a member of an Orthodox Presbyterian Church
Attack was on the last day of Passover	Racism			Salvation is common theme in OPC
Manifesto calls for those reading it to go and attack Jewish people (and without getting caught)	Used Christian ideology in letter			The branch of Christianity in which the attacker comes from believes that "the Christian church has replaced Jewish people in Gods biblical promises to Israel"
	Christian/Biblical justification was found throughout the letter in which the main subjects were: "Jews' guilt in the bilical narrative and his own salvation"			Did not learn white supremacist beliefs from his family
	Cultural Marxism			
	Quote from pastor: "We can't pretend as though we didn't have some responsibility for him - he was radicalized into white nationalism from within the very midst of our church" (Edmondson)			
Hankes, Janik, Edison Hayden - SPLC				
Used an AR-15	"Inside jokes" and "tropes" common to white supremacist online communities were used in the letter	Posted a manifesto (though, called it an "open letter") on 8chan	"Praised" Christchurch attacker and his use of livestream during the attack	Also inspired by Robert Bowers, the Pittsburgh, PA Tree of Life Synagogue attacker, who also posted a message (on Gab) before attacking - and who also was concerned with the "genocide of the European race"
Opened fire using the AR-15 in the Chabad of Poway Synagogue	Great replacemnt style ideology; false notion that there is a worldwide plan to replace white people	Live-streamed attack in Christchurch inspired his own attack	"[The New Zealand attacker] was a catalyst for me...He showedc me that is could be done. It needed to be done." -manifesto	Andrew "Weev" Auernheimer, who writes for The Daily Stormer, claimed that a monument should be built for the perpetrator
Also, attempted to set fire to a mosque in Escondido; he wrote in his letter "[Police] didn't report the message I spray painted on the parking lot...I wrote 'For [the accused New Zealand terrorist" - t. /pol/)'."	Anti-Semitism			Claimed that the words "white supremacist" and "anti-Semite" had "lost all their meaning"
	"Genocide of the European race"			
Thorliefsson and Duker - RAN				
Targetted a synagogue	Anti-Semitic	Attempted to livestream the attack on Facebook Posted the manifesto on 8chan (/pol/) Praised as a "blessed" in online communities	Inspired by Christchurch shooter	
Ware - ICCT				
	Anti-Semitic	Posted a letter to 8chan that was ideologically similar to the Christchurch attacker's manifesto	Considered himself European, citing his ancestry and the blood that runs in his veins as being "English, Nordic and Irish"	Mentioned that the "European man" will "rise up and strike" Jewish people
	"Sacrificed" his future for the sake of "his people"			
	Called for further action from readers of his manifesto			

Attack Planning	Ideological Motivations	Online Presence	Explicit Transnational Factors	Other/Important Notes
Macklin - CTC Sentinel				
Traveled to commit attack (drove 10 hours)	Racism - deliberate targeting of Mexicans/Hispanic people	Posted his manifesto online prior to his attack (it was posted on 8chan) and about his likely death	Purchased gun from Romania and ammo from Russia	No income or assets
Said in his manifesto that he wouldn't surrender and that he would have to be subdued because of the anticipation of life after; the disgust of his family, etc. He later did surrender, though	Belief of a "Hispanic invasion" and that the U.S. is rotting from the inside-out	Aftermath chatter about the attack suggested that he had the third highest score (a gaming reference)	Inspired by the Christchurch shooter, who was inspired by the 2011 Norway attacker	Bullied in school
Purchased gun from Romania and ammo from Russia	The Great Replacement	His Instagram account was inactive for at least a year before the attack and his twitter account apparently hasn't been updated since 2017	Aftermath inspiration of Norwegian terrorist	Was a loner
Spent 1 month preparing	Belief that peace is impossible	In 2017, he tweeted in support of the #BuildTheWall movement		
	Concern with American politics - belief that the U.S. would become a one-party state if all of the immigrants flock to the Democratic Party because of the Republican's immigration policies			
	Concern for the economic/job sector due to immigrants			
	Believed white people were ultimately culpable because of unchecked corporations but could not come to kill fellow Americans			
	Would be "acting out" President Trump's immigration policies			
Abutaleb - The Washington Post				
AK-47 as primary weapon	The Great Replacement	Manifesto called "The Inconvenient Truth" posted online	"Our European comrades don't have the gun rights needed to repel the millions of invaders the plaque [sic] their country. They have no choice but to sit by and watch their countries burn" - the manifesto. Concern for Europe	
Expressed fear of being captured rather than dying due to facing family despise and the death penalty	Attack in response to "Hispanic invasion" of Texas		"This is just the beginning of the fight for America and Europe" - the manifesto.	
	Environmental degradation from: corporate overharvesting, unwillingness to change lifestyles among Americans, and the U.S. needs to consume fewer resources			
	Anti-interracial marriage			
	Democratic party becoming the only party because: growing Hispanic population, anti-immigration rhetoric of the right, death of the Baby Boom generation, and because Texas will go democratic causing only democratic future presidents			
	Upset with Republicans for favoring corporations (but believes with Republicans mass-migration can still be reduced)			
	Fear of automation and concern over immigrants taking the few job opportunities			
	Children of immigrants will take better jobs, even if the parents who are immigrants take less ideal jobs			
	Blame on corporations for visas for skilled workers and rely on immigrants for low-skilled jobs			
Thorliefsson and Duker - RAN				
	Became radicalized on the internet	Posted the manifesto on 8chan (/pol/)	Inspired by Christchurch shooter	The mother of the attacker called the police about her son having firearms - specifically an attack rifle

		Praised as a "saint" in online communities		
Ware - ICCT				
	Fear of a "Hispanic invasion" (also mentioned fear of a Hispanic invasion specifically of Texas)	Manifesto posted online on 8chan	Explicitly supported the Christchurch attacker's manifesto in his own manifesto	
	Themes in the manifesto were similar to themes in many far-right groups		Concern for "European comrades" who don't have access to firearms to "repel the millions of invaders"	
	Racism			
	"cultural and ethnic replacement"			
	U.S. politics - discussed the 2020 election cycle, describing the media as "fake news" (a nod to Trump's rhetoric)			
	Believed he was a defender			
	Eco-fascism			

Attack Planning	Ideological Motivations	Online Presence	Explicit Transnational Factors	Other/Important Notes
Libell and Specia - The New York Times				
Killed his step-sister who was Asian - shot her four times	Inspired by other far-right attacks	Praised Tarrant online	Praised Tarrant	Stated that he regreted not killing more people
Attacked the al-Noor Islamic Center (a mosque)	Anti-Semitism	Posted before the attack		Claimed that he is not guilty because it was "self-defense" for "the European people"
Wore a helmet, body armor, and a camera	Homophobia	Referenced "Valhalla"		Was affluent growing up
Armed with two rifles and a shotgun	White power (hand signals)			Had a troubled childhood and an absent parent
Preparations for Eid al-Adha were underway during the attack - it was the day before celebrations would begin	Race war			
	Islamophobia			
Bangstad - Al Jazeera				
Intended to committ a massacre of worshippers	Islamophobia			Did not have a mental illness
Attack was on the eve of Eid al-Adha	Discussion of "threat" to the "white race"			Regretted not killing more
Goal was to kill as many Muslims as possible	Neo-Nazi ideology			Applied for membership in neo-Nazi group: Nordic Resistance Movement, which did not distance itself from the Christchurch attack
	Anti-Asian (considered sister "sub-human" because of race)			Another person contacted police a year prior due to concerns over his "attitudes" but this was never followed up.
	The Great Replacement			A year prior, at the college he attended, other students were worried about his ideas and told the school, but administrators did not act.
	Holocaust denier (called it a myth)			There was extensive media coverage of this attack
	Anti-Semitism			
	Homophobia			
	Racism			
Thorliefsson and Duker - RAN				
Targetted Muslims	Became radicalized on the internet - specifically his neo-Nazi sentiments	Attempted to livestream the attack on Facebook	Inspired by Christchurch shooter	A year before the attack, a friend had contacted the police with concerns over his views
Killed his step-sister	Islamophobia	Spent a lot of time on YouTube watching white supremacist and anti-Semitic content	Used clippings of American terrorists to line a "national flag" in his bedroom	The attacker's stepmother got in touch with the police the same day he murdered his sister because she was Chinese out of concern for his extremist views
	Racist (specifically anti-Asian)	Posted the announcement for his attack on Endchan		
		The attacker considered himself the "third disciple" of the Christchurch attacker, after the Poway and El Paso attackers and posted a meme about this with the post: "My time is up, I was chosen by Saint Tarrant after all ... We can't let this continue, you gotta bumop the race war threat in real life ... it's been fun."		
		Some online ridicule in the aftermath of the attack for failing to have killed a lot of people		

Attack Planning	Ideological Motivations	Online Presence	Explicit Transnational Factors	Other/Important Notes
Caniglia, Winkler, Metals - ESISC				
Use of homemade weapons including some 3-D printed, which jammed frequently	Anti-Semitism (chose synagogue for attack on Yom Kippur and blames Jewish people for problems in society)	Released a manifesto	Considered the Christchurch shooter and the 2011 Norway attacker as heroes and had a similar modus operandi as Tarrant	During the attack the shooter goes from confident to chaotic and calls himself a "loser" and apologizes for not being better, and claims that all he demonstrated is that homemade weapons don't work because his guns jammed
Chose Yom Kippur because of its relevance in the Jewish community and suggested that even non-religious Jewish people would be in synagogue on that day	Explicit RWE motive	Livestreamed the attacks (viewed more than 2,000 times and downloaded and shared on other platforms) (36min video)	Since the manifesto was in English, it's assumed he wanted to reach a wider audience	Socially isolated and didn't have many friends prior to the attack
After failing to inflict mass casualties on the synagogue, he drove to a kebab store and shot at two people, one of whom died.	Holocaust denial	Seemed to address people but didn't say who explicitly		
Began planning before Christchurch	Misogyny and xenophobia (blames feminism as the reason for low fertility and mass migration)	Manifesto may have been uploaded by someone else who was later found to have had contact with the perpetrator		
Cryptocurrency funding	Used slurs for Muslims, implying Islamophobia (word used: "Mudslimes")	Manifesto was uploaded a week prior to the attack on right-wing forums, other pages, and a Telegram channel called "Alt Right"		
	Used slurs for Christians, implying anti-Christian sentiments (word used: "Christkikes")	Detailed info on homemade weapons		
	Used short hand for communists, implying anti-communism/anti-left (word used: "commies")	Received cryptocurrency donation (and thanked someone from a chan board for donating 0.1 Bitcoin)		
	Used racial slur implying racism and anti-Black sentiments (word used: "N-word")	Gaming language ("objective" and "achievements") in manifesto		
	Concern with "traitors" though unclear as to what that refers to specifically	Aftermath chatter of attack (people condemned his lack of carnage)		
	Considered attacking other targets but claimed that only Jewish people were worth the attack	Spent a lot of time online		
Koehler - CTC Sentinel				
Attempted to enter a synagogue (also a Jewish community center)	Anti-Semitism	Livestreamed the attack on Twitch	Wrote in English and used English in the livestream	His parents divorced when he was 14
Fired at a Turkish restaurant	Denied being a neo-Nazi	Put the link to his livestream on the image board Meguca	Inspired by the Christchurch attacks, and potentially inspired by the Poway attack	Served in the German military (though, there are no reports of "concerning behavior" during his time in the military)
Used a smartphone attached to his helmet to livestream	Blamed his economic and social failures on a Jewish conspiracy, along with blaming his "lack of intimate partners on foreigners" and referred to Jewish-invented feminism in the livestream	Uploaded his manifesto to Meguca		Dropped out of university programs
IEDs	Anti-feminism	5 viewers watched the livestream as it was streaming, but 2,200 had viewed it before it was taken down (30 minutes was the amount of time it took to find it)		Applied to become a Bundeswehr soldier, but didn't show for his interview
Used firearms; with many malfunctions	Claimed the Holocaust never happened	Included "gaming-like achievements"		Mother described him as socially isolated and he lived with her at the time of the attack
Tried to change cars, and wounded two individuals when they refused to give him their car, then stole a cab and was apprehended 25 miles from the attack	Claimed three objectives in the manifesto: "1. Prove the viability of improvised weapons; 2. Increase the moral [morale] [sic] of other suppressed Whites by spreading the combat footage; 3. Kill as many anti-Whites as possible, Jews preferred."	Used the song "Powerlevel" by the cover rapper Mr. Bond (which has neo-Nazi references) in the livestream		May be representative of "Hive Terrorism"
Constructed portions of his weapons	Islamophobia	Made references to the "internet SS" in the livestream		Did not have any past actions to have warranted intervention by a CVE group
3D-printed weapon components	Anti-antifa (anti-left)	Called himself "anon" a chan board and gamer reference		May have been brought up with anti-Semitic views

Weapons he claimed to have constructed are: a 9mm Luty submachine gun, a 12-gauge shotgun, and a pistol. He also claimed to have 3D-printed components for a 9mm Luty, and a "Short Slam-Bang" shotgun	Reference to ZOG - Zionist Occupied Government	Also calls himself a "weeb"		No one near him seemed to have noticed a change in his behavior prior to the attack
Chose to attack on Yom Kippur	Wrote in his manifesto: "Repeat until all jews [sic] are dead or you prove the existence of Waifus in Valhalla"	In one of his manifesto files there is a picture of an anime cat-girl		
	Racism	In one of his manifesto files this is a reference to the game Warhammer		
	White supremacy	References waifus		
	Potentially an incel	Video game references		
		General online subculture references		
Wojtasik - Security Dimensions				
Tried to enter a synagogue	Far-right motive	Livestreamed the attack	Uses English	No one seems to have reported the attack video to police initially
Shot at random after failing to enter the synagogue	Anti-Semitism	5 viewers watched the attack live, 2,200 others watched it before it was taken down		Speaks poorly of himself in the livestream
Chose to attack on Yom Kippur	Wanted to "1. Prove the viability of improvised weapons; 2. Increase the moral [morale] [sic] of other suppressed Whites by spreading the combat footage; 3. Kill as many anti-Whites as possible, Jews preferred. Bonus: Don't die."			Apologizes to virtual audience
Killed a passer-by who told him he was being too loud and tried to shoot a man who stopped to help her, but his gun jammed				
His gun jammed several times				
He drove to a kebab store where he opened fire				
Used an action camera on his helmet to livestream				
Thorliefsson and Duker - RAN				
Attacked on Yom Kippur	Anti-Semitic	Livestreamed the attack on Twitch	Inspired by Christchurch shooter	
		The attacker uploaded his documents to Meguca	Used English in livestream and his manifesto	
		Manifesto had "gamified" elements	Felt sorry for himself in the livestream when the weapons malfunctioned and called himself a loser	
		DIY weapon plans have been downloaded among other VRWEs	Called himself a NEET (Not in Education, Employment, or Training)	
		Some online ridicule in the aftermath of the attack for failing to have killed a lot of people		
Ware - ICCT				
Attacked a synagogue	Concern with birthrates - diluting the white race	Wrote a manifesto and published the documents before attacking	Manifesto was full of tactical advice	
	Anti-Semitism	Livestreamed		
	Believed feminism is the cause for low birth rates (speculation of him being an incel)			