Charting the Path of Radicalisation in the Australian Survivalist Sub-Culture

By

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ORIGINALITY STATEMENT

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and to the best of my knowledge it contains no materials previously published or written by another person, or substantial proportions of material which have been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma at Macquarie University or any other educational institution, except where due acknowledgement is made in the thesis. Any contribution made to the research by others, with whom I have worked at Macquarie University or elsewhere, is explicitly acknowledged in the thesis. I also declare that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work, except to the extent that assistance from others in the project's design and conception or in style, presentation and linguistic expression is acknowledged.

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ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Ethics approval for this research undertaking was granted by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee [MQ HREC] on 25 July 2014.

Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee approval protocol number: 5201400759

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this study was to address the significant gap that exists in the knowledge of the contemporary Australian survivalist sub-culture. The specific problem addressed by this thesis was that of, [1] establishing an empirical understanding of the behavioural and ideological development path of individuals within the Australian survivalist sub-culture, and [2] examining the potential Australian survivalist development path in the context of current scholarly theories concerning individual and group radicalisation processes. This thesis employed an unobtrusive research method, in a summative approach to conducting a qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com. The qualitative content analysis was a retrospective longitudinal study undertaken to identify common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, relevant to various stages of Australian survivalist development, reflected in thirteen years of forum text data, created by 125 Australian survivalist sample participants.

This thesis makes an original contribution to knowledge by presenting the findings of the first empirical research to be conducted on the Australian survivalist sub-culture. This thesis identifies the range of behaviors and beliefs specific to three different categories of Australian survivalists within the sub-culture and a common twelve-stage Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological development path. This thesis supports the assertion that the Australian survivalist development path is a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, which includes identified radicalisation themes that are also reiterated among numerous established radicalisation pathway models. Unlike those established pathway models, the Australian survivalist radicalisation process lacks an end stage that includes the perpetration of violent acts. This thesis supports the further assertion that the Australian survivalist development path is a potential progression pathway example that contributes to debates concerning the validity and significance of non-violent radicalisation processes and theorised barrier influences against violent extremist development.

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Chapter 1: Introduction.

1.1. Introducing the Australian Survivalist Sub-Culture:

The Australian survivalist sub-culture is populated by people who concern themselves with preparing for future collapses in existing social, economic and political systems. As this thesis will show, there are three separate suggested member groupings within the Australian survivalist sub-culture, determined by clear behavioural and ideological distinctions. Individuals within each of the three Australian survivalist member categories make ready for possible system breakdowns by stockpiling various amounts of emergency food, water, equipment and weapons, and by developing different levels of self-preservation skills to rely upon in those potentially hard and dangerous times.

While the actions of basic preparedness-oriented Australian survivalists begin and end with the storing of emergency supplies, the goals of other more committed individuals in the sub-culture differ in that they seek to obtain a degree of additional self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills, to be employed during and after any catastrophic societal collapse occurs. In contrast to the seemingly moderate behavior of those two Australian survivalist types, this thesis argues that there is also a smaller, potentially *radical* element within the sub-culture that promotes an extreme self-preservation philosophy. Those militant-oriented Australian survivalists encourage a hardline approach to survival issues and see the foreign and domestic policies of the Australian Government as a genuine threat to their continued existence. They accumulate weapons and ammunition and pursue proficiencies in war-based training activities, such as battlefield tactics, combat firearms use and austere field medical skills. It is their significant combat capability combined with a concentrated anti-government and anti-society outlook that highlights them as a potential domestic risk.

Regardless of how the behaviours and beliefs of the various suggested Australian survivalist classes may differ, this thesis identifies that there are a number of activities that members from all potential categories of the sub-culture participate in that bring them together. One of the most significant of these is making use of a common method of interaction and communication,

survivalist-specific public Internet discussion forums. Survivalist Internet forums represent a safe space for all levels of Australian survivalists where they can freely share their honest opinions and experiences, secure behind the perceived cover of anonymity. Presenting candid accounts that unreservedly display the likely full range of common activities and attitudes seen across the whole of the Australian survivalist sub-culture, data-rich forum posts reveal specific reports of Australian survivalist practices and thought processes.

Despite having likely considerable numbers, with a percentage of those engaging in war-based training activities, having access to firearms and possessing an anti-government / anti-society mindset, there is a distinct absence of empirical research that considers the Australian survivalist sub-culture. Addressing the present gap in knowledge concerning verifiable contemporary Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, this thesis will directly examine the Australian survivalist sub-culture to determine the potential behavioural and ideological development path of its members and explore the likely impact of that process on current scholarly theories of individual and group radicalisation pathways.

1.1.1. Concerning the Thesis Title and Australian Survivalists as a Sub-Culture.

The title of this research work, *Charting the Path of Radicalisation in the Australian Survivalist Sub-Culture*, is reflective of the focus of this thesis on, [1] identifying that a significant sub-culture of Australian survivalists exists within the national mainstream cultural group, and [2] identifying that a distinct and measurable behavioural and ideological development path exists within that Australian survivalist collective. In regards to what constitutes a sub-culture in a contemporary context, the term is commonly applied to groups within a particular society, as a way of understanding their dynamics of self-identification.[1] *Sub-culture*, as a label situated in the radicalisation literature, has also been applied to certain groups that possess ideological commonalities.[2] It has been argued that the reason sub-cultures are useful for better

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[1] R. Pyrah, and J. Fellerer., 'Redefining 'Sub-Culture': A New Lens for Understanding Hybrid Cultural Identities in East-Central Europe with a Case Study from Early 20th Century L'viv-Lwow-Lemberg', *Nations and Nationalism: Journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2015, p. 700.

[2] D. Pisoiu. 'Sub-cultural Theory Applied to Jihadi and Right-Wing Radicalization in Germany', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2015, p. 10.

comprehending individual involvement pathways is because of the importance of context.[3] That is, individual radicalisation processes likely occur within particular social and cultural environments.[4] Further to this, and relative to the Australian survivalist situation, which involves shared Internet associations and communication, potential lone-actor radicalisation has been argued as being inclusive of interaction with a community of like-minded people, including those of a virtual nature.[5] The survivalist collective that exists within the larger Australian mainstream cultural group is inclusive of its own specific style of language, mode of interaction, behaviours and ideologies, which are often at variance with those of the mainstream. With these factors in mind, for all intents and purposes, Australian survivalists are representative of a sub-culture[6] of the national mainstream cultural group and are acknowledged and referred to as such in this thesis. Further clarification and treatment of the concept of *sub-culture* may be found in the Research Methodology chapter of this thesis [see Section 3.1.1.].

1.2. Background of the Problem:

Seven separate newspaper articles, written between 2006 and 2014, represent the sum total of identified literature that specifically considers the subject of the Australian survivalist sub-culture. Interpreted as stand-alone entertainment pieces, the media literature appears to be focused on maintaining marketable survivalist stereotypes. That is, transferring upon Australian survivalists previously accepted comical impressions of paranoid separatists that existed predominantly in the United States of America, during the 1980s and early 1990s.[7] Currently, a major challenge to understanding the Australian survivalist sub-culture is that there are no related published works or academic studies based on empirical research, and no scholarly discourse, which considers the Australian survivalist subject.

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[3] Pisoiu, loc. cit.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] M. M. Gordon, 'The Concept of the Sub-Culture and Its Application', *Social Forces*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1947, p. 42.

[7] P. Lamy, *Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy*, New York, Plenum Press, 1996, pp. 85-87.

1.3. Problem Statement:

The general problem identified is that there is a significant gap in the knowledge and conceptualisation of the contemporary Australian survivalist sub-culture, which is demonstrated by a conspicuous absence of any academic studies or published works that consider the Australian survivalist subject. The specific problem to be addressed by this thesis is that there is a distinct lack of focused and empirical research that identifies, [1] Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, [2] the various types of Australian survivalists, [3] the overall behavioural and ideological development path of individuals within the Australian survivalist sub-culture, [4] the similarities, or otherwise, that the Australian survivalist development process shares with a path towards radicalisation, and [5] how the Australian survivalist development path may contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories.

1.4. The Purpose of this Study:

The purpose of this study is to examine the under-researched Australian survivalist sub-culture by, [1] ascertaining the behaviours and beliefs particular to its members, [2] establishing and defining its various survivalist member categories, and [3] identifying the Australian survivalist development path and determining how that process may contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories. This study will use a summative approach to conducting a qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com. This thesis will undertake the unobtrusive analysis of the aussurvivalist.com forum text data to identify common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs reported in that environment, which are reflective of potential stages of overall Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological development. This thesis will use 10 percent of the aussurvivalist.com forum's total registered membership, which is 125 Australian survivalists chosen at random, as a suitable sample to gather the appropriate data required for this research work.

1.5. The Significance of the Study:

This thesis represents the first study to be conducted concerning the Australian survivalist sub-culture based on empirical research. Contextualised within the academic discipline of security

studies and problematised through a consideration of radicalisation theories, this thesis will address the present gap in the awareness and understanding of Australian survivalist behaviours, beliefs, sub-cultural composition and development pathways.

This thesis supports the assertion that the Australian survivalist development path is a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, which includes identified radicalisation themes that are also reiterated among numerous established radicalisation pathway models. Unlike those established pathway models, the Australian survivalist radicalisation process lacks an end stage that includes the perpetration of violent acts. This thesis supports the further assertion that the Australian survivalist development path is a potential progression pathway example that contributes to debates concerning the validity and significance of non-violent radicalisation processes and theorised barrier influences against violent extremist development.

In addition to its scholarly significance, this thesis will also have a potential practical value for law enforcement professionals. Though this research work is not undertaken for the specific benefit of law enforcement interests, identifying any prospective findings relating to the behavioural and ideological distinctions which separate Australian survivalist member categories may afford law enforcement agencies a greater appreciation of the diverse operating procedures and resources required for their police units to successfully and safely engage with different survivalist personalities. Specifically relating to first responder police, those most likely to initially confront a violent offender, being able to distinguish between various member classes of the Australian survivalist sub-culture may result in a more appropriate tactical options response choice employed, when dealing with various types of survivalists who may or may not be likely to present a legitimate threat to officer safety.

1.6. Research Question:

The research question to be answered in this thesis is: In what ways do the factors that drive individuals to develop as Australian survivalists resemble a path towards radicalisation and how does this contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories?

A qualitative research study will be used to identify the behaviours and beliefs specific to the various types of Australian survivalists and to determine the overall behavioural and ideological development path of those members within the Australian survivalist sub-culture. This study will involve the analysis of individual Australian survivalist experiences and thought processes relayed through the open-source content of Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com. The qualitative research concentrates on answering the central research question, an open-ended question in two parts, which focuses on, [1] establishing an empirical understanding of the behavioural and ideological development path of individuals within the Australian survivalist sub-culture, and [2] examining the potential Australian survivalist development path in the context of current scholarly theories concerning individual and group radicalisation processes.

1.7. Research Design:

As previously indicated, the research method of this work will consist of a summative approach to conducting a qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com. The summative approach to content analysis is noticeably different from other styles. Rather than analysing the data as a whole, a summative approach sees text considered as single words or in relation to specific content.[8] A summative approach involves the analysis of patterns in the text data, usually identified through keywords, which leads to an interpretation of the underlying contextual meaning of particular terms or content.[9] The content analysis will be undertaken to identify common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, reported within the forum text data, relevant to stages of a potential Australian survivalist development path.

Concerning the participant sample to be used in the content analysis, 10 percent of the forum's overall registered membership, which is 125 randomly selected Australian survivalists, is identified as a suitable sample size to gather the appropriate data required for this longitudinal study. Each

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[8] H. Hsieh and S. Shannon, 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis', *Qualitative Health Research,* Vol. 15, No. 9, November 2005, p. 1286.

[9] Ibid.

of the forum posts created by the 125 aussurvivalist.com sample members will be qualitatively analysed and where reoccurring or common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs are described, those posts will undergo a process of tabulation and assessment and will be retained as result evidence. Recognising reoccurring or common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs in the posts of the 125 member sample will involve a process of coding, identifying keywords and content of a similar meaning, which indicates specific survivalist themes. Those reoccurring Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs that are identified will be organised into a list with an order determined by associated levels of escalating threat severity and validated by the chronology of the behaviours, as they are first displayed in the forum posts of individuals in the 125 member sample; this potentially creating an *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*.

In support of using an unobtrusive qualitative analysis of Internet discussion content, there is an established precedent of such means being employed as a research method in the construction of a successful doctoral dissertation that deals specifically with the study of the United States survivalist sub-culture. Lee'Ann Imel-Hartford's PhD dissertation, titled *The Preppers: A Multiple Case Study of Individuals Who Choose a Moderate Survivalist Lifestyle*,[10] employed a qualitative analysis of the posted content found in five survivalist Internet blogs, as a significant part of a research method to ascertain common themes in that space, which relate to the United States Prepper way of life.[11] By establishing a system of keyword coding, which identified reoccurring Prepper / survivalist themes within Internet blog text,[12] and qualitatively analysing that content, Imel-Hartford was able to identify the behavioural and ideological qualities of United States Preppers, which were shown to exist in contrast to those of committed United States survivalists.[13] Imel-Hartford's research processes and results are of relevance to this thesis, demonstrating the potential success of such unobtrusive analysis methods being applied to examine the textual interactions of Australian survivalist entities online.

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[10] L. D. Imel-Hartford, 'The Preppers: A Multiple Case Study of Individuals Who Choose a Moderate Survivalist Lifestyle', PhD Thesis, Northcentral University, USA. December 2012. pp. 1-109.

[11] Ibid. p. 78.

[12] Ibid. pp. 60-61.

[13] Ibid. p. 67.

1.8. Theoretical Framework:

The theoretical framework of this thesis is supported through established theories of individual and group radicalisation pathways, theories of non-violent radicalisation processes and theorised barrier influences against violent extremist development.

The established radicalisation pathway theories of, [1] the Association of Chief Police Officer's Prevent Radicalisation Pyramid,[14] [2] Fathali M. Moghaddam's Staircase to Suicide Terrorism,[15] [3] Marc Sageman's Four-Stage Al-Qa'ida-Influenced Islamist Radicalisation Process,[16] [4] the New York Police Department's Four-Stage Jihadi-Salafi Islamist Radicalisation Process,[17] [5] Paul Gill's Four-Stage Suicide Bomber Radicalisation Pathway Model,[18] [6] Quintan Wiktorowicz's al-Muhajiroun Islamist Radicalisation Influences Model,[19] [7] Randy Borum's Four-Stage Process of Ideological Development,[20] and [8] Tomas Precht's Four-Stage Model of the Process of Islamist Radicalisation,[21] all demonstrate ideological and behavioural development processes that inevitably lead to the perpetration of violent extremist acts. Radicalisation can be seen as representative of a process in which individuals are changed to accept that violent activity is justified and ultimately come to participate in violence themselves.[22]

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[14] Audit Commission, 'Preventing Violent Extremism: Learning and Development Exercise', *Report to the Home Office and Communities and Local Government*, United Kingdom, 2008, p.12.

[15] F. Moghaddam, 'The Staircase to Terrorism: A Psychological Exploration', *American Psychologist,* Vol. 60, No. 2, 2005, pp. 161-169.

[16] M. Sageman, 'A Strategy for Fighting International Islamist Terrorists', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 618, No. 1, 2008, pp. 223-231.

[17] M. D. Silber and A. Bhatt, 'Radicalisation in the West: The Homegrown Threat', *A New York Police Department Intelligence Division Document.* USA. 2007, p. 21.

[18] P. Gill, 'Suicide Bomber Pathways among Islamic Militants', *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice,* Vol. 2, No. 4, 2008, pp. 412-422.

[19] Q. Wiktorowicz., 'Joining the Cause: Al-Muhajiroun and Radical Islam', *The Roots of Radical Islam*, Department of International Studies, Rhodes College, 2004, pp. 7-11 http://insct.syr.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/Wiktorowicz.Joining-the-Cause.pdf.

[20] R. Borum., 'Understanding the Terrorist Mindset', *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin*, Vol. 72, No. 7, 2003, pp. 7-10.

[21] T. Precht., 'Home Grown Terrorism and Islamist Radicalization in Europe: From Conversion to Terrorism', *A Danish Ministry of Defense Document*, December 2007, pp. 1-98. http://www.justitsministeriet.dk/sites/default/files/media/Arbejdsomraader/Forskning/Forskningspuljen/2011/2007/Home_grown_terrorism_and_Islamist_radicalisation_in_Europe_-_an_assessment_of_influencing_factors__2_.pdf, (accessed 15 February 2016).

[22] R. Borum., 'Radicalization into Violent Extremism I: A Review of Social Science Theories', *Journal of Strategic Security,* Vol. 4, No. 4, 2011, p. 13.

In contrast, Bartlett and Miller theorise that non-violent radicalisation processes may also exist, in which individuals develop radical views in relation to the status quo but do not engage or aid in violent extremist actions.[23] Additionally, Cragin theorises that there are certain influences that may act as barriers against violent extremist development, such as *family obligations*, *logistical costs*, *financing* and *fear*.[24]

The theoretical framework of this thesis, [1] suggests the Australian survivalist development path as a likely sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, supported by the inclusion of radicalisation themes that are also reiterated among numerous established radicalisation pathway models, [2] suggests the Australian survivalist radicalisation process, unlike those established radicalisation pathways, as lacking a development path end stage that includes the perpetration of violent acts, and [3] suggests the Australian survivalist development path as a likely example of a non-violent radicalisation process, subject to theorised influences that act as barriers against violent extremist development.

1.9. Assumptions, Limitations and Scope / Delimitations:

This thesis makes use of an unobtrusive content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com. As the forum sample participants are not aware that their discussion posts are being studied for this research work and with a likely sense of security afforded by the perception of anonymity that the forum structure provides,[25] it is assumed that participants are being honest in the content posted about their survivalist experiences and thought processes.

A limitation of this thesis is found in the present impracticalities of engaging directly with various members of the Australian survivalist sub-culture to achieve unbiased data results. It is identified that there is a likely common and considerable distrust of academics by Australian survivalists,

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[23] J. Bartlett and C. Miller, 'The Edge of Violence: Towards Telling the Difference Between Violent and Non-Violent Radicalization', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 2012, p. 2.

[24] R. K. Cragin, 'Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model for Non-Radicalization', *Terrorism and Political Violence,* Vol. 23, 2014, p. 337.

[25] C. Hine, 'Internet Research and Unobtrusive Methods', *Social Research Update*, University of Surrey, U.K. Issue 61, Spring 2011, p.2.

based on a perception that given the opportunity, the Australian survivalist situation would be adversely reported by university scholars.[26] It is identified that the use of individual interactive case studies, interviews, questionnaires and surveys, as impartial research methods to study the Australian survivalist sub-culture is not currently likely, given that such methods are reliant on the cooperation of Australian survivalists themselves; a number of whom have fervently expressed their disdain for and disinclination to work with academics.[27] Though the choice to conduct an unobtrusive content analysis of Australian survivalist discussion forum text is arguably the best option currently available to achieve an objective assessment of the sub-culture, directly engaging with various Australian survivalists to obtain usable data may have complimented and corroborated the results obtained through unobtrusive methods.

In regards to scope and delimitations, as previously stated, this thesis will utilise data obtained from a content analysis of the Internet discussion forum text of 125 Australian survivalist participants, from aussurvivalist.com. The 125 participants represent a 10 percent sample of the total registered membership of the aussurvivalist.com forum. The number of participants chosen was identified as a suitable sample size to gather the appropriate data required for this study, given the nature of the thesis objectives and the quality of the first-person accounts, which are obtainable from the aussurvivalist.com source. The aussurvivalist.com forum was chosen in particular as it was identified as the survivalist Internet discussion space with the largest number of Australian-specific members, when compared to other significantly smaller Australian survivalist discussion spaces and non-Australian-specific Internet forums frequented by a range of international survivalists. The full range of aussurvivalist.com discussion content, from the time of the forum's creation in 2001, is to be considered.

As this is the first empirical research-based work to have been conducted on Australian survivalists, and the first scholarly work that considers the Australian survivalist sub-culture on the whole, the particular focus of this thesis is to achieve a foundational understanding of the Australian survivalist subject, which may be built upon in future studies. The specific areas of the

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[26] BTVisage, 'Topic for masters', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum thread] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17656&KW=academic, 2014, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[27] Ibid.

Australian survivalist subject targeted for analysis are Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, the composition of the sub-culture, and the overall behavioural and ideological development path of Australian survivalist individuals.

1.10. Definitions:

The following section identifies Australian survivalist acronyms and keys terms, which feature in this thesis.

BOB -
An acronym meaning *Bug Out Bag*. A carry bag that is always packed and ready, usually with essential items and enough supplies to last for 72 hours, in case the owner has to rapidly leave their location in an emergency.[28]

BOV -
An acronym meaning *Bug Out Vehicle*. A vehicle that is always stocked with essential items and fueled, in case the owner has to rapidly leave their location in an emergency.[29]

BOL -
An acronym meaning *Bug Out Location*. A predetermined and secure escape location. Synonymous with Retreat.[30]

Bug In / Bugging In -
Bugging In involves fortifying the survivalist's current place of residence and stocking it with extensive supplies, so that the dwelling can effectively be shut off from the world, with the goal of waiting for the end of the anticipated chaos resulting from a societal collapse.[31]

Bug Out / Bugging Out -
Bugging Out involves a rapid escape from the survivalist's place of residence, usually along an established route, to a predetermined location.[32]

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[28] V. Craw, 'Preppers: Australia's most prepared in case of the end of the world', *news.com.au*, 8 August 2014, http://www.news.com.au/technology/environment/preppers-australias-most-prepared-in-case-of-the-end-of-the-world/story-e6frflp0-1227017921944, (accessed 16 November 2014).

[29] J. W. Rawles, A Glossary of Survival and Preparedness Acronyms / Terms, survivalblog.com [online], 2014, https://survivalblog.com/glossary/b/, (accessed 29 May 2016).

[30] Ibid.

[31] J. W. Rawles, *How to Survive the End of the World as We Know It: Tactics, Techniques, and Technologies for Uncertain Times,* Plume, USA, 2009, p.52.

[32] Craw, loc. cit.

Freebooter -

A person living from plunder. A survivalist who develops combat skills and accumulates firearms with a clear plan to forcibly take the provisions of other survivalists, if and when a societal collapse occurs.[33]

Isolates -

Committed survivalist extremists who become disenchanted or bored with making constant preparations and plans that are never put into action. Personalities who split from the survivalist mainstream, move beyond the limits of its militant members and decide to proactively bring about their own world-changing event, in the hope that it will act as a catalyst that initiates the apocalypse that they have prepared for.[34]

Mainstream Survivalist (Australian) -

Individuals who represent the Australian survivalist majority and those typical of the Australian survivalist sub-culture. Mainstream Survivalists are individuals who are actively preparing for future collapses in local, national and international social and political order by stockpiling large amounts of emergency food, water and equipment and in some cases, weapons and ammunition. Mainstream Survivalists also acquire and maintain varying degrees of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills, including some pursuing proficiencies in war-based training areas. Mainstream Survivalists can have a combat capability but do not possess an anti-government or anti-society outlook.

Militant Survivalist (Australian) -

Individuals advocating the use of violence in support of their survivalist life-style and ideology. Militant Survivalists are individuals who share an extreme self-preservation philosophy, which sets them apart from others within the larger survivalist collective. Militant Survivalists are intensely anti-government and look upon politicians, police and other representatives of authority as an enemy focused on controlling them by slowly diminishing their freedoms. Australian Militant Survivalists also despise present day society, which they believe is populated by a majority of weak and ignorant conformists. Militant Survivalists have both an advanced combat capability and a concentrated anti-government and / or anti-society outlook.

Prepper (Australian) -

Individuals who prepare for all types of naturally occurring or human-influenced disaster events, which have the potential to impact upon their current way of life. Preppers promote complete self-reliance by committing to the task of stockpiling amounts of emergency food, water and equipment. Preppers work to alleviate their dependence on other people, and / or the government, for life-saving supplies during hard or dangerous times. Preppers do not have the practiced survival skills

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[33] D. Long, *Apocalypse Tomorrow: The Survival Scene,* Desert Publications, Arizona, USA, 1994, p.43.

[34] University of Chicago., 'An Interview with Richard G. Mitchell Jr. Author of Dancing at Armageddon: Survivalism and Chaos in Modern Times', *The University of Chicago Press*, 2001, http://press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/532445in.html, (accessed 31 May 2016).

or mindset of other Australian Survivalist groupings. Preppers do not have a combat capability and do not possess an anti-government or anti-society outlook.

Retreat -

A privately owned homestead or stronghold designed to be almost entirely self-sufficient and self-contained.[35]

Sheeple -

An abbreviated combination of the words *Sheep People.* A derogatory term that seeks to highlight the masses as having a sheep-like mentality, unable to think for themselves and content to blindly go where authority and mainstream media directs them. Also used to describe those who are considered to be in denial about the potential for the end of the world as we know it [TEOTWAWKI].[36]

SHTF -

An acronym meaning (When the) *Shit Hits The Fan.* The commencement of a disaster event.[37]

Survivalist -

One who prepares for possible dangers such as natural disasters, societal collapse, or nuclear war, by stockpiling necessary supplies and / or acquiring survival skills.[38]

Survivalism -

Survivalism is a life-style philosophy where the primary goal is to increase one's odds of continued existence, when faced with any potential life-threatening situations, through various preparatory activities and methods.[39]

TEOTWAWKI -

An acronym meaning *The End Of The World As We Know It.*[40]

Zombie -

A member of the potential future unprepared masses. A person considered likely to attempt to take what survivalists have prepared, when a societal collapse occurs.[41]

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[35] Rawles, *How to Survive*, op. cit. p. 294.

[36] Rawles, *Glossary*. loc. cit.

[37] Craw, loc. cit.

[38] American Heritage, Survivalist*, Dictionary of the English Language, Fifth Edition*, www.thefreedictionary.com [website], Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company, 2011, http://www.thefreedictionary.com/survivalist, (accessed 29 May 2016).

[39] M. Raven, What is Survivalism?, www.aussurvivalist.com [website], J. Monico, 4 May 1998, http://www.aussurvivalist.com/whatissurvivalismmeg.htm, (accessed 29 May 2016).

[40] Rawles, *How to Survive*, op. cit. p. 297.

[41] Craw, loc. cit.

1.11. Thesis Overview:

Chapter one, the *introduction*, presents the research question identifying the aim of this thesis to examine the under-researched Australian survivalist sub-culture, by ascertaining in what ways the factors that drive individuals to develop as Australian survivalists resemble a path towards radicalisation and by determining how that development process may contribute to current scholarly debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories.

Chapter two, the *literature review*, focuses on two key themes, [1] survivalism, from an international and Australian perspective and [2] radicalisation theories, specifically those theories relevant to individual and group radicalisation pathway models. The review considers the content of both international and Australian-specific survivalism literature and literature that focuses on accepted theoretical models of individual and group radicalisation processes. The literature review chapter shows that a significant gap exists in the current scholarly understanding of the Australian survivalist sub-culture, which is demonstrated by a conspicuous absence of any academic studies or published works that consider the Australian survivalist subject. This chapter shows that as a result of the dearth of Australian survivalism literature, there is a need to directly examine the Australian survivalist sub-culture to understand the development path of its members.

Chapter three, *research methodology*, addresses the need to directly examine the Australian survivalist sub-culture which was determined in the literature review. This chapter identifies the research strategy of this thesis to use a summative approach to conducting a qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com. The research methodology chapter of this thesis establishes that using a content analysis, as a preferred unobtrusive research method, is justified by both the absence of any considered Australian survivalism-related published works or academic studies and recognised impracticalities of engaging with Australian survivalists directly to achieve unbiased data results. This thesis undertakes the analysis of the aussurvivalist.com forum text data to identify reported common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, reflective of potential stages of Australian survivalist development. This chapter identifies that the thesis uses 10 percent of the aussurvivalist.com forum's overall registered membership, which is

125 randomly selected Australian survivalists, as a suitable sample to gather the appropriate data required for this research work. The research methodology chapter shows that analysing the open-source content of the aussurvivalist.com forum, as an important Australian survivalist communications hub, allows for a detailed retrospective longitudinal study to be made of the development of Australian survivalist individuals in that space, including for some the identification of changes to their directly reported or inferred activities and attitudes, since the time of the forum's creation in 2001.

Chapter four, *data collection and analysis*, shows the aussurvivalist.com forum data product supporting 12 common Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological development stages. This chapter identifies and presents the 12 common Australian survivalist development stages in an order of succession determined by associated levels of increasing threat severity and validated by the chronology of the behaviours, as they are first displayed in the forum posts of individuals in the 125 member sample. This chapter also demonstrates that the sequence of stages in the Australian survivalist development path contains clear behavioural and ideological distinctions that delineate three different Australian survivalist member categories.

Chapter five, *results and discussion*, presents an *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, representing an indicator list of the 12 stages of Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological progression, as the result of the data collection and analysis undertaking of this thesis. This chapter also discusses the established radicalisation pathway models identified in the literature review, as collectively indicating that radicalisation can be seen as representative of a process in which individuals are changed to accept that violent activity is justified and ultimately come to participate in violence themselves.[42] This chapter considers the established radicalisation pathway models and individual radicalisation themes found to be reiterated among those models in relation to the Australian survivalist development path. This chapter demonstrates that the radicalisation themes reiterated among the established radicalisation pathway models are also identified within the behavioural progression stages of the Australian survivalist development path, supporting the assertion that it is a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process. This chapter shows that a

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[42] Borum., *Radicalization I*, loc. cit.

progression process end stage that involves the perpetration of violent acts is a common element of all the established radicalisation pathway models identified in the literature review, though it is not identified as a component of the Australian survivalist development path. This chapter argues that the non-existence of a radicalisation pathway end stage where violent acts are finally perpetrated in the Australian survivalist development path may be suggestive of it as a non-violent radicalisation process. Potentially contributing to debates concerning the validity and significance of non-violent radicalisation pathways and why it is that not all individuals who are engaged in radicalisation processes turn to acts of political violence, this thesis argues that the Australian survivalist development path lacks a violent end stage as a likely result of identified influences that act as barriers against violent extremist development.

Chapter six, *conclusions, implications and recommendations*, presents main findings in answer to the overarching research question and conclusions relating to the thesis research planning and implementation process. This chapter presents the academic implications of the research and examines potential practical implications that may relate to law enforcement agencies. This chapter also considers the limitations of the research and makes recommendations for further study of the Australian survivalist sub-culture.

1.12. Introduction Chapter Summary:

This chapter introduced the aim of this thesis to determine in what ways the factors that drive individuals to develop as Australian survivalists resemble a path towards radicalisation and how that potential process may contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories. This chapter presented the research methodology that would be employed to achieve that end and the theoretical framework with which both the potential behavioural and ideological development path of Australian survivalists and the motivation behind why it is that Australian survivalists have not yet engaged in violent extremist acts may be understood. This chapter demonstrated the assumptions, limitations and scope of this work and produced an overview of all of the thesis chapters, indicating a careful and considered course of investigation and analysis that may successfully meet with the research aim.

Commencing the first stage of this research undertaking and initiating the first step in understanding the level of knowledge that currently exists in relation to the Australian survivalist sub-culture, the next chapter of this study will present a review of all identified literature regarding the Australian survivalist subject.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Literature Review Introduction.

The objective of this thesis is to examine the under-researched Australian survivalist sub-culture, by ascertaining in what ways the factors that drive individuals to develop as Australian survivalists resemble a path towards radicalisation, and by determining how that development process may contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories. Initiating the first step in achieving that aim, this literature review focuses on two key themes, *survivalism*, from an international and Australian viewpoint and *radicalisation theories*, specifically those theories relevant to individual and group radicalisation pathway models. This literature review will show that a significant gap exists in the understanding of the Australian survivalist sub-culture, demonstrated by a clear absence of any considered published works or academic studies which relate to the Australian survivalist subject. Comprehending the paucity and limitations of the Australian survivalism literature highlights the necessity to go beyond the examination of available published material and directly observe the Australian survivalist sub-culture to ascertain the development path of its members.

The written material that considers each of the key themes comprises two distinct bodies of literature, which are reviewed here in two parts for two very different purposes. Concerning international survivalism, all relevant literature sources, including published books, peer-reviewed journal articles and accepted PhD dissertations, contributing to the academic fields of psychology, anthropology, sociology and law, were utilised. Regarding Australian survivalism, due to the absence of any considered published works or academic studies relating to the Australian survivalist sub-culture, the only identified literature that dealt with the Australian survivalist subject, newspaper articles, was considered.

The purpose of the international and Australian survivalism sections of this review is, [1] to identify references to the origins and history of survivalism, to provide some context for survivalist movements in time, [2] to identify references to international and Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs and the relationship of each to the composition of the sub-cultures, potentially offering

some insight into the internal processes of survivalist sub-cultures as they stand, [3] to identify references to the path of survivalist development within international and Australian survivalist sub-cultures respectively, and [4] to identify survivalist subject matter that is largely absent from the Australian survivalism-related literature, through a comparison with the international survivalism literature content.

In seeking out suitable international and Australian survivalism-related literature, a preliminary assessment of all available sources established the need for a key condition of inclusion; it was determined that all potential survivalist material had to examine the larger ideological and subsequent behavioural issues applicable to the survivalist movements presented. It was for this reason that all commercially-focussed, so called *survival manuals*, such as the well known *S.A.S. Survival Guide*,[43] *Prepper's Long-Term Survival Guide*[44] and *When All Hell Breaks Loose: Stuff You Need to Survive When Disaster Strikes*,[45] were deliberately disregarded, as those basic guides were found to offer instructions on how to develop individual practical field skills only. The survivalism literature was sought from worldwide sources, though all suitable international material available was found to have originated from the United States of America.

Compared to the dearth of critical literature sources that explore the various aspects of survivalism, the available academic literature that analyses theories of radicalisation is extensive. Forty-four peer-reviewed journal articles were considered in the Radicalisation Theories section of this literature review. The 44 articles were chosen from the range of related items available, based on the sole condition of inclusion that the published material had to consider aspects relating to recent (post 9/11) academic models of individual and group pathways of radicalisation. Selected via a preliminary examination of each work's abstract and introduction, the 44 peer-reviewed journal articles are seen to explore various individual and group radicalisation pathway models, identified within a range of circumstances and settings, such as Islamic-inspired and right-wing

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[43] J. Wiseman, *SAS Survival Guide*, HarperCollins Publishers, London, 2010.

[44] J, Cobb, *Prepper's Long-Term Survival Guide*, Ulysses Press, California, 2014.

[45] C. Lundin, *When All Hell Breaks Loose: Stuff You Need To Survive When Disaster Strikes*, Gibbs Smith Publisher, Utah, 2007.

extremist environments and more localised situations, like those experienced by people in the prison system.

The purpose of the Radicalisation Theories section of this review is, [1] to create a list that identifies current theorised radicalisation models, through an examination of academic literature content that considers individual and group pathways of radicalisation, and [2] to determine reiterated radicalisation themes among those established academic models, for comparison with any similar themes identified in the potential development path of Australian survivalists; this comparison will occur in the later *Results and Discussion* chapter of this dissertation.

The arrangement of the sections in this literature review chapter will be as follows, [A] *Survivalism in the United States of America*; an examination of the available literature relating to United States survivalist origins and history, beliefs, motivations and psychology, behaviours, preparations and planning, and typology, [B] *Survivalism in Australia*; an examination of the available literature relating to Australian survivalist beliefs, motivations and psychology, behaviours, preparations and planning, and typology, [C] *Radicalisation Theories*; an examination of scholarly literature relating to current theorised models of individual and group pathways of radicalisation, and [D] a *Conclusion.*

2.1.1. Literature Search Method.

The Macquarie University's online research reference database system, MultiSearch, which draws on 641 international library databases and online journal collections, and the New South Wales Police Force Library Primo Database Search system, which draws on material housed in the databases of The Australian Bureau of Statistics, The Australian Institute of Criminology, Emerald, Google Scholar, Infomine, Informit, IPL2, LexisNexis, ProQuest and VOCEDplus, were used to identify and gather all related literature review material. These index sources were accessed using the search topic terms *Prepper*, *Survivalist* and *Survivalism,* for the international and Australian survivalism-related items and the phrases *Radicalisation Model, Radicalisation Pathway* and *Radicalisation Theory* to search for literature that considers the various radicalisation process and influence models. The final literature source search result produced, [1] eight PhD dissertations,

six published books, five peer-reviewed journal articles, one survivalist book review and one recorded interview relating to international survivalism, [2] seven newspaper articles relating to Australian survivalism, and [3] 44 peer-reviewed journal articles relating to individual and group radicalisation pathway models. A total of 72 review items were identified during literary searches that were conducted periodically between April 2014 and July 2016.

PART A: SURVIVALISM.

2.2. Survivalism in the United States of America.

The survivalist sub-culture in the United States of America is the oldest and most established in the world, influencing many similar sub-cultures abroad.[46] Having evolved well beyond the capability and scope of comparable international entities, the scale of the United States survivalist sub-culture is accompanied by the largest body of survivalist literature available. Covering aspects of the sub-culture's history, ideology, activities and objectives, the American survivalist literature may be used as a gauge to determine research subject areas that have not yet been treated in the literature that examines the survivalist phenomenon in other countries and in particular that of Australia.

Houglum defines survivalists as single individuals or members of small groups who generate a common discourse about the catastrophic and total collapse of modern society.[47] Presented by Houglum as being part of a movement, in that survivalists collectively promote a shared preparedness-focussed social understanding, survivalists also function as a sub-culture, given that they are a cultural collective existing within a larger mainstream culture but possessing beliefs and interests often at variance with those of the mainstream.[48]

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[46] M. Maibaum, 'UK Survivalists' Extreme-Right Links', *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1986, p. 49.

[47] R. M. Houglum, 'A Rhetorical Perspective of the Survivalist Movement of the Pacific Northwest', PhD Thesis, University of Oregon, USA. 1986. p. 4.

[48] Ibid.

2.2.1. United States Survivalist Origins and History.

In January 1976, the preparedness-focussed author and later leading figure in the United States survivalist movement, Kurt Saxon,[49] coined the term *Survivalist* in his monthly newsletter, *The Survivor*. Saxon used the word in reference to a person who makes preparations for the future collapse of society. Though it was the earliest known occasion where a title for those invested in a survivalist lifestyle was used, it is notable that for decades before like-minded people had been preparing for potential collapses in existing social, economic and political systems.[50]

Survivalists in the United States of America have developed in response to the great perceived threats of each era and as a direct result of fatalistic attitudes which have nurtured apocalyptic beliefs.[51] In the 1960s, the greatest potential threat was from a possible nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union. In the 1970s, an Arab oil embargo caused a period of uncontrolled inflation, bringing on thoughts of potential socio-economic collapse. In the 1980s, it was the renewed arms race between world superpowers. In the early 1990s, violent national law enforcement agency sieges with separatist identities, such as Randy Weaver at Ruby Ridge in 1992[52] and David Koresh and the Branch Davidians in Waco Texas in 1993,[53] resulted in an increase in the number of survivalist militia groups, which began preparing for all out war with the federal government.[54] However, towards the end of the 1990s it was from the same militia groups, once offering a sense of communal protection from national authority, which vast numbers of American survivalists began to break away from and reject their violent anti-government doctrine;[55] for it was from the same extreme anti-government entities that the domestic terrorist and known survivalist Timothy McVeigh was understood to have come.[56]

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[49] V. L. Clark, 'Hate Groups, Militias, Survivalists: A Study of Domestic Extremist Leadership Style', PhD Thesis, Washington State University, USA, 2006, p. 38.

[50] P. Lamy, *Millennium Rage: Survivalists, White Supremacists, and the Doomsday Prophecy,* New York, Plenum Press, 1996, p. 69.

[51] D. N. Wojcik, 'Approaching Doomsday: Fatalism in Contemporary American Apocalyptic Beliefs', PhD Thesis, University of California, USA, 1992, p. 7.

[52] M. Pitcavage, 'Camouflage and Conspiracy: The Militia Movement From Ruby Ridge to Y2K', *American Behavioral Scientist*, Vol. 44, No. 6, February 2001, p. 961.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Lamy, op. cit., p. 20.

[55] Pitcavage, op. cit. p. 967.

[56] Lamy, op. cit., p. 21.

On the 19th of April 1995, Timothy McVeigh detonated a truck bomb outside of the Alfred P. Murrah federal government building, in Oklahoma. The resulting explosion killed 168 people, including 19 children under the age of six. The blast also injured more than 680 individuals and caused an estimated six hundred and fifty-two million dollars worth of damage.[57] McVeigh's actions resulted in immediate negative attention being directed toward the American militia movement and its survivalist associates, from both the government and general public alike.[58] A great number of survivalists at the time took the necessary step of openly distancing themselves from the movement now under increased scrutiny. In any case, returning to concerns of personal preparation and issues of individual protection, a great number of American militia members went back to survivalist basics, just in time to deal with the perceived risk of the Y2K bug, which threatened to destroy a world dependent on computerised systems, at the end of 1999.[59]

In 2002, Mitchell argued that in the modern age of an Internet-stimulated global community, where the problems of a single nation become the concerns of the entire world, American survivalist ranks have once again expanded in response to a range of interpreted pressures.[60] Contemporary United States survivalists are now confronting perceived threats of economic collapse, intense natural disasters, international terrorism, pandemic vulnerabilities, universal depletion of resources, climate change issues and alleged acts of government oppression.[61]

The United States literature that considers the issue of survivalist origins and history discusses the key point that survivalist sub-cultural development has occurred in reaction to a succession of perceived threats over time. Additionally, the literature demonstrates that as eras pass and new threats become apparent to American survivalists, the sub-culture evolves not only to include preparatory considerations against those new threats but also continues to engage in preparation

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[57] Lamy, op. cit., p. 21.

[58] Ibid. p. 96.

[59] A. H. Tapia, 'Subcultural Responses to Y2K', PhD Thesis, The University of New Mexico, USA, 2000, p. 162.

[60] R. G. Mitchell, *Dancing at Armageddon: Survivalism and Chaos in Modern Times,* Chicago, USA, University of Chicago Press, 2002, p.3.

[61] Ibid. p. 239.

thoughts and activities against the perceived threats of the past. The available literature that deals with this subject highlights the connection between survivalist beliefs, motivations and psychology and subsequent survivalist behaviours, preparations and planning.

2.2.2. United States Survivalist Beliefs, Motivations and Psychology.

While the situation and motivation for each of the members of the United States survivalist sub-culture may differ, they appear to be connected by a common drive to protect themselves from uncertainty. Survivalists are focused on self-reliance and being free from having to depend on the support of the government when faced with disaster.[62] American survivalists write that the social systems within which they exist are fragile and that it is only a matter of time before any number of catastrophic natural conditions, or human-made influences, not only bring about the end of the world as we know it but violent civil disorder that will inevitably follow.[63] In relation to this belief, it has been suggested that the perceived threats that contemporary survivalists face are irrational and perhaps symptomatic of larger mental health issues.[64] Additionally, it has been proposed that some survivalists might be diagnosed with individual mental health problems, while others may be suffering from *folie a deux*,[65] the psychiatric peculiarity of shared madness; a condition in which symptoms of a delusional belief are transmitted from one individual to another. However, refuting this viewpoint, Gonowon acknowledges the lifestyle choice of survivalists and taking their actions and attitudes into consideration, seeks to understand modern survivalists in a context that does not immediately invoke a pathological diagnosis.[66] Furthermore, Mitchell, in defending the survivalist's psychological position during an interview a year before the release of his book,[67] stated that survivalism was no grand *folie a deux*, as members of the sub-culture, though with

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[62] W. W. Zellner, *Counter Cultures: A Sociological Analysis*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995, p. 47.

[63] Ibid.

[64] G. Morgan, *Psychology of Preppers: Mental Health Issues,* USA, Gunner Morgan, 2014, p. 17.

[65] E. Cassel, 'Waiting for the End to Come: A Review of Dancing at Armageddon', by Richard. G. Mitchell, Jr. *Cengage Learning: Instructor Resources for Psychology*, 29 January 2002, http://college.cengage.com/psychology/resources/instructors/shelves/shelves_20020129.html, (accessed 31 May 2016).

[66] C. N. Gonowon, 'Just in Case: An Empirical-Phenomenological Analysis of the Lived Experience of Modern Survivalists', PhD Thesis, The Chicago School of Professional Psychology, USA, 2011, p. 5.

[67] Mitchell, op. cit. p. 1.

serious objectives in mind, understand and recognise the game-like quality of their actions.[68] Mitchell further explains that the items of equipment that usually alarm the general public and often create a skewed impression of survivalists, such as high capacity firearms and camouflage clothing, should be understood in context; that they are often simply parts of an extended costume symbolising survivalist commitment and indicators of well planned and well ordered physical and mental readiness.[69]

The United States literature that considers the issue of survivalist beliefs, motivations and psychology makes the key point that the survivalist lifestyle is driven by an underlying fear of uncertainty, with resulting survival preparation behaviours seen as a potentially valid response option by survivalists, in an attempt to alleviate personal anxiety. Alternatively, the literature that addresses this subject also includes an opposite interpretation of survivalist psychology, suggesting that it is mental instability that compels American survivalist actions. Regardless of the differing arguments concerning the core reasons behind survivalist beliefs, all literature that concerns the subject illustrates that survivalist beliefs, positive or negative, are the driving force that inspires survivalist behaviours, preparations and planning.

2.2.3. United States Survivalist Behaviours, Preparations and Planning.

It is with great enthusiasm that survivalists in the United States not only accumulate sizeable stockpiles of food, water, medical supplies and equipment, but also a great number of firearms and vast quantities of ammunition.[70] In support of this assertion, the literature refers to the standard practice of even entry level American survivalists acquiring firearms in many common calibres, to ensure any and all types of ammunition obtained after a societal fall can be used with the weapons that they have on hand.[71] The drive for survivalists to acquire such weapons and the skills to use them effectively can be seen as a preparatory asymmetric response to the perceived threat of a hostile population post-collapse, given that contemporary survivalism in the United States is

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[68] University of Chicago, 'An Interview with Richard G. Mitchell Jr. Author of Dancing at Armageddon: Survivalism and Chaos in Modern Times', *The University of Chicago Press*, 2001, http://press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago/532445in.html, (accessed 31 May 2016).

[69] Ibid.

[70] J. Coates, *Armed and Dangerous: The Rise of the Survivalist Right,* New York, *Farrar Straus Giroux,* 1988, p. 235.

[71] D. Long, *Apocalypse Tomorrow: The Survival Scene,* Arizona, USA, Desert Publications, 1994, p. 100.

predominantly an individual pursuit and certainly rarely larger than a family group sized endeavour, as Imel-Hartford found.[72] American survivalists today do not build large like-minded communities, as was the focus of the sub-culture in the early 1980s,[73] with the idea of relying on those associations after a collapse has occurred. As argued by Lamy, the majority of survivalists in the United States of America hold a dystopian view of the future; perhaps influenced by a reinterpretation of classic millennialism, perpetuated by modern social systems of cultural production and dissemination, like the mass media and popular culture.[74] Should a catastrophe occur, the majority of current American survivalist domestic and international support networks, presently in place for the purpose of exchanging preparation information and acquiring supplies, could possibly be abandoned, with people putting into action survival preparation plans designed for themselves.[75]

The United States literature that considers the issue of survivalist behaviours raises the key point that survivalist preparation and planning activities, such as hoarding food, water, equipment and weapons supplies, are a direct reaction to expectations of future societal destruction and chaos. The available literature that deals with this subject also shows that it is influential modern media entertainment mechanisms, such as [1] global disaster and apocalyptic-oriented motion pictures; for example *The Book of Eli*,[76] *The Road*,[77] and *I am Legend*,[78] [2] survival-adventure themed television programs; for example *Survivorman*,[79] *Man Vs Wild*,[80] and *Dual Survival*,[81] and [3] survivalist fiction novels of popular culture; for example *Patriots*,[82] *Z For Zachariah*,[83] and *The*

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[72] Imel-Hartford, op. cit., p. 1.

[73] S. N. Linder, 'Survivalists: The Ethnography of an Urban Millennial Cult', PhD Thesis. University of California, USA. 1982, p. 7.

[74] P. J. Lamy, 'The Meek Shall Not Inherit the Earth: Survivalism and the American Millennial Myth', PhD Thesis, Northeastern University, USA, 1991, p. 3.

[75] Imel-Hartford, op. cit., p. 4.

[76] *The Book of Eli*. (2010). . United States: Warner Brothers Pictures / Summit Entertainment.

[77] *The Road*. (2009). . United States: The Weinstein Company / Dimension Films / Icon Productions.

[78] *I am Legend*. (2007). . United States: Warner Brothers Pictures / Roadshow Entertainment.

[79] *Survivorman*. (2005). . Canada: Outdoor Life Network / Discovery Channel.

[80] *Man Vs Wild*. (2006). . United Kingdom: Discovery Channel UK.

[81] *Dual Survival*. (2010). . United States: Discovery Communications.

[82] J. W. Rawles, *Patriots*, Ulysses Press, USA, 2009.

Hunger Games,[84] which potentially play a part in perpetually refreshing survivalist fears for the future and reinforcing the survivalist need to participate in a variety of preparation behaviours. Additionally, the literature indicates that it is the survivalist's individual interpretation of relevant threats and their particular preparatory behavioural responses to those threats that determines the type of survivalist that they will become.

2.2.4. Unites States Survivalist Typology.

The contemporary United States survivalist sub-culture is made up of various types of survivalists, some of whom refer to themselves as Preppers, in an effort to create distance from the negative reputation survivalists earned in the mid 1990s.[85] A Prepper is defined by Imel-Hartford as, ". . . a citizen who stores food and supplies to prepare his or her family for disaster."[86] Preppers believe in self-reliance and that, by securing places to shelter during any arising chaos and stockpiling their homes with food, water, fuel and medicine, they will not have to rely on others.[87]

It has been suggested that the United States survivalist sub-culture is predominantly made up of survivalists who can be categorised in an order determined by which disaster scenario they hold to be the most likely.[88] American survivalists, though making ready to deal with any catastrophic situation, spend greater effort and time preparing against one *preferred* key threat.[89] With that understanding in mind, Long asserts that American survivalists fall into the following specific groupings: world war survivalists, economic collapse survivalists, world wide famine survivalists, end of democracy survivalists, urban chaos survivalists, Armageddon survivalists and freebooter survivalists.[90] No other identified source of literature offers any suggestions in regards to grouping the various members of the sub-culture and there is a distinct absence of literature that makes any

[83] R. C. O'Brien, *Z For Zachariah*, Atheneum Books, USA, 1974.

[84] S. Collins, *The Hunger Games*, Scholastic Press, USA, 2008.

[85] Imel-Hartford, op. cit., p. 4.

[86] Ibid. p. 11.

[87] A. Kabel and C. Chmidling, 'Disaster Prepper: Health, Identity and American Survivalist Culture', *Human Organization*, vol. 73, no. 3, 2014, p. 258.

[88] Long, op. cit., p. 21.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid. pp. 21-51.

effort to provide submissions as to the indicator parameters by which those groups could be measured.

Of particular interest is Long's anomalous label *freebooter* survivalist, which is the only one of his group title terms not relating to a specific kind of disaster. Freebooter is an uncommon term that means a person living from plunder.[91] While it may be a particularly apt expression to describe survivalists who develop combat skills and accumulate firearms with a clear plan to forcibly take the provisions of other survivalists,[92] if and when a social collapse occurs, the *freebooter* label, like Long's other survivalist categorisation titles, does not appear to have achieved general acceptance and does not feature anywhere else in the body of literature devoted to the survivalist subject.

The only other suggested *type* of survivalist identified in the United States literature stands far from the rest of the sub-culture. *Isolates* are nominated as committed survivalist extremists that become disenchanted or bored with making constant preparations and plans that are never put into action.[93] Personalities who split from the survivalist mainstream, move beyond the limits of its militant members and decide to proactively bring about their own world-changing event, in the hope that it will act as a catalyst that initiates the apocalypse that they have prepared for.[94] *Isolates* is a survivalist classification label that does not feature in Mitchell's 2002 book[95] but was specifically offered by him in an interview about the work, the year before.[96] Like *freebooter*, *isolates* is effective enough as a descriptive term that highlights a likely dangerous survivalist entity, but does not appear to have been accepted into the conventional vocabulary, since it was first used by Mitchell in 2001.

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[91] Long, op. cit., p. 43.

[92] Ibid. p. 21.

[93] University of Chicago, loc. cit.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Mitchell, loc. cit.

[96] University of Chicago, loc. cit.

It has been suggested that convicted United States domestic terrorist Timothy McVeigh may be seen as a prime example of a survivalist *Isolate*.[97] A confirmed survivalist for much of his life,[98] McVeigh, who had spent time in the Army and had been deployed in the Persian Gulf War in 1991,[99] had come to increasingly despise the United States Government.[100] Seeking the support of like-minded individuals, McVeigh developed associations with elements of various citizen militias, though found himself doubting the conviction of those groups.[101] Becoming increasingly frustrated by their unwillingness to do little more than complain about the state of the country and make endless improbable plans, McVeigh rejected the militia *community*, undertaking a supreme act of anti-government violence himself.[102] Carrying out the 1995 Oklahoma bombing attack against a United States Government building in retaliation for the sieges at Waco Texas and Ruby Ridge,[103] McVeigh believed his action was the necessary first strike that would act as a call to all Americans to rebel against their government.[104] Though the bombing did not result in McVeigh's desired goal of awakening people to the perceived tyranny of the United States Government,[105] or inspire any kind of rebellion by the nation's citizens, McVeigh's behaviour is consistent with what has been described by Mitchell as the actions of a survivalist *Isolate*.

Survivalists in the United States of America exist within the various locations and lifestyles of the full range of regular society.[106] They are not a united movement and do not all share the same beliefs. They are an incongruent group of individuals that make their preparations for many

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[97] University of Chicago, loc. cit.

[98] L. Michel, and D. Herbeck, *American Terrorist: Timothy McVeigh & The Tragedy At Oklahoma City*, Harper Collins Publishers, New York, 2002, pp. 46-47.

[99] Ibid. p. 78.

[100] Ibid. p. 110.

[101] University of Chicago, loc. cit.

[102] Ibid.

[103] D. McCooey, 'Poetry, Terrorism, and the Uncanny: "Timothy McVeigh's 'Invictus'"', *Criticism*, Vol. 54, No. 4, 2012, p. 485. DOI: 10.1353/crt.2012.0033.

[104] R. A. Serrano, *One Of Ours: Timothy McVeigh And The Oklahoma City Bombing*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York, 1998, p. 220.

[105] J. Kaplan, 'Leaderless Resistance', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1997, p. 91.

[106] R. G. Peterson, 'Preparing for Apocalypse: Survivalist Strategies', *Free Inquiry in Creative Sociology*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1984, p.44.

different reasons.[107] A lifestyle resonating with both men and women, the membership size of the survivalist sub-culture in the United States of America has never been accurately calculated. United States survivalist numbers have been estimated to be in the hundreds of thousands,[108] though this approximation was based on survivalism-focussed magazine subscriber numbers and is potentially lower than the true total at the time, given that many survivalists tend to keep their activities strictly private. Today, nearly three decades of development have occurred since that assessment, as well as an increase in access to the sub-culture's philosophy and activities, as a result of the Internet. Though an official total concerning modern American survivalist numbers has never been published, it is of interest that when examining the registered membership totals of the 172 available survivalist web-spaces,[109] just one example, survivalistboards.com, has a disclosed total of 137,956 members.[110]

The United States literature that considers the issue of survivalist typology shows that the sub-culture is composed of different kinds of survivalists, though currently there is no definitive agreement as to how they may be appropriately categorised. Additionally, the available literature that deals with this subject illustrates that the range of survivalists within the sub-culture, from relatively moderate members to those at what could be described as the extreme end of the threat potential scale, possess different survivalist outlooks and subsequently engage in different preparation behaviours.

2.2.5. Survivalism in the United States of America Summary.

Though some aspects of survivalist behaviours and beliefs are well considered, typically from the perspective of individual participants reacting to perceived threats throughout time, the bulk of the evidence that supports the assessment of the survivalist condition in the United States literature appears to be anecdotal. Of significant concern in regards to the aim of this study, the United States literature reveals no empirical evidence that supports a clear understanding of survivalist member categories and does not provide any defined method of measurement to assess the

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[107] M. Maibaum, 'Survivalism in the USA', *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 20, no. 4, 1986, p.46.

[108] Ibid. p. 48.

[109] Total determined through primary research by the author. Total current as of 1st of May 2015.

[110] Ibid.

behaviours and beliefs specific to individuals within those groupings. Additionally, and central to this thesis, the question of how survivalists develop and progress within the sub-culture is not considered at all in the literature. Unfortunately, little insight is gained in relation to the issues of United States survivalist sub-cultural composition and the processes of individual or group development, which could have been utilised as an established model for comparison with the Australian survivalist situation. It is the case that any attempt to understand the development processes and structure of the Australian survivalist sub-culture must be gained by examining what there is of the Australian-specific survivalist literature, and furthermore, by direct examination of the sub-culture itself.

2.3. Survivalism in Australia.

The United States of America has the oldest and most established survivalist movement in the world and is therefore likely the best example of survivalist sub-cultural development against which to measure others. The literature that considers the United States survivalist movement, though by no means absolute, far exceeds, both in quantity and credibility, that which deals with the Australian situation. When comparing the conclusions drawn from the literature that reports on both of the Australian and United States survivalist sub-cultures, significant gaps in the Australian knowledge can be identified.

Seven separate newspaper articles, written between 2006 and 2014, represent the sum total of identified literature that specifically considers the subject of the Australian survivalist sub-culture. Interpreted as stand-alone entertainment pieces, the media literature appears to be focused on maintaining marketable survivalist stereotypes. That is, transferring upon Australian survivalists the previously accepted comical impressions of paranoid separatists that existed predominantly in the United States of America, during the 1980s and early 1990s.[111]

2.3.1. Australian Survivalist Beliefs, Motivations and Psychology.

Though the background and circumstances of each of the members of the Australian survivalist collective may differ, they are joined by the understanding that ultimately all things end and a

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[111] Lamy, op. cit., pp. 85-87.

common belief that there is a need to be ready for when they do.[112] This relatively simple philosophy, reiterated throughout the Australian survivalist newspaper literature, can be interpreted as an appealing, logic-based principle that transcends the limits of social position and wealth. Believing that the resources and support networks that people require to live today are finite, Australian survivalists seek to free themselves from dependence on others and develop skills that will preserve them after essential resources are depleted.[113]

Australian survivalists have two distinct attitudes concerning the future.[114] There are the few that think by building strong communities around sustainable lifestyles, modern society will endure beyond any disaster.[115] Then there is the view of the dystopian majority, which in one article are referred to as *Mad Maxers,* who believe once a social crash has occurred, it will be everyone for themselves. While the dystopian outlook is undeniably present in the bulk of the newspaper writings concerning Australian survivalists, the sustainable communal approach has not been considered beyond a single occasion in the media literature. In addition, the term *Mad Maxers* is also restricted to a single work, failing to appear in any other Australian survivalist-oriented newspaper item. The attitudes of so-called *Mad Maxers* are suggested as being representative of more extreme Australian survivalists who maintain an uncompromising approach to survival issues, with many seeing the government as untrustworthy, focused on controlling the population by slowly diminishing their freedoms and a threat to their continued existence.[116] It should be noted that critical views concerning the government may also be found among other separatist groups and movements in Australia, such as civil libertarians,[117] who believe laws, states and governments exist for the benefit of the people, and that the liberty of the individual is a necessary

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[112] T. Shepherd, 'Aussie 'Survivalists' are Working Out How to Go On After the Apocalypse', *adelaidenow.com.au*, 17 December 2012, http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/news/aussie-survivalists-are-working-out-how-to-go-on-after-the-apocalypse/story-e6frea6u-1226538602159?nk=3ca0fc120a43ab97d4ba95a0ad6c5360, (accessed 16 November 2014).

[113] T. Elliott, 'Survivalists Stock Up Ready For the Worst', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 May 2009, http://www.smh.com.au/national/survivalists-stock-up-ready-for-the-worst-20090501-aq6w.html, (accessed 14 April 2014).

[114] M. Whittaker, 'Head for the Hills - The New Survivalists', *The Weekend Australian Magazine*, 23 November 2006, http://www.resilience.org/stories/2006-11-23/head-hills-new-survivalists, (accessed 14 April 2014).

[115] Ibid.

[116] H. Wallop, 'Preparing for TEOTWAWKI: How a Disparate Group of People Have Become a Fully-Fledged Movement', *The Canberra Times*, 18 December 2012, http://www.canberratimes.com.au/world/preparing-for-teotwawki-how-a-disparate-group-of-people-have-become-a-fullyfledged-movement-20121218-2bkaq.html, (accessed 14 April 2014).

[117] I. Freckelton, 'Civil Libertarianism: Challenges and Opportunities', *Alternative Law Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 1999, p. 132.

requirement for human development.[118] While acknowledging the existence of other anti-government entities in Australia, who appear to mirror the outlook of those more extreme Australian survivalists, it is important to note that Australian survivalist attitudes towards the government stem not from a desire to see the human race flourish in an environment free from imposition and restriction, but from the perceived risks to their personal safety that they associate with a specific controlling authority force.

The Australian newspaper literature that references aspects of survivalist beliefs is both limited and unreliable. Though identifying the key points that Australian survivalists hold differing opinions concerning the calamitous extent of an uncertain future and are divided on how they should prepare for it, these perspectives are primarily used to promote bizarre survivalist stereotypes and are based on anecdotal evidence only. The available fragmented published content considering this issue does not sufficiently address Australian survivalist motivations and psychology with any empirical clarity, though it is discernible from the literature that individual Australian survivalist beliefs determine the extent of preparation and planning behaviours.

2.3.2. Australian Survivalist Behaviours, Preparations and Planning.

All people within the Australian survivalist sub-culture accumulate emergency food, water and equipment supplies and develop varying degrees of self-preservation skills in response to a vast range of potential world-changing disaster scenarios.[119] Some of the more commonly considered scenarios include, global terrorism, the impact of climate change, an increase in natural disasters, pandemic hazards, economic collapse as a result of perceived government ineptitude and corruption and future resource shortages.[120] Ideas as to which scenario represents the greatest future threat vary from one survivalist to another, but all accept that social disorder will closely follow the majority of disaster situations.[121] This belief is highlighted in the majority of the

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[118] R. Iyer. et al., 'Understanding Libertarian Morality: The Psychological Dispositions of Self-Identified Libertarians', *Plos One*, Vol. 7, No. 8, 2012, p. 2.

[119] Elliott, loc. cit.

[120] C. Connelly, 'Apocalypse Now: Doomsdayers Warn Stock Up, Bunker Down', *The Herald Sun*, 21 December 2012, http://www.heraldsun.com.au/news/doomsday-stock-up-and-bunker-down/story-e6frf7jo-1226541346808, (accessed 14 April 2014).

[121] Ibid.

Australian survivalist-oriented newspaper literature items and is the primary inspiration for Australian survivalists spending considerable time and effort preparing against the perceived threat that a starving and desperate population will present, once the initial calamity of a world-changing catastrophe has passed.[122]

The Australian newspaper literature that references aspects of survivalist behaviour predominantly focuses on the issue of members of the sub-culture creating vast stockpiles of emergency provisions in response to impending large-scale future disaster situations. Sensationalising this Australian survivalist preparation and planning activity, the newspaper literature also indirectly shows that it is the survivalist's comprehension of particular perceived future threats that determines the specific limits of their reactive survivalist behaviours. Consequently, the measurement of individual behavioural limits may allow some determination to be made as to Australian survivalist typology. As with the newspaper content addressing aspects of Australian survivalist beliefs, the printed media literature considering Australian survivalist behaviours is limited and reliant on anecdotal evidence only.

2.3.3. Australian Survivalist Typology.

The Australian survivalist sub-culture is comprised of various survivalist personalities, each engaging in similar preparedness-focused activities but possessing different levels of commitment to the movement's philosophy.[123] While this understanding hints at the possibility of there being different types of survivalists within the sub-culture, the newspaper articles do not identify any specific category titles for those potential groupings or examine what might be of the limits of their particular outlook and activities.

Australian survivalists exist within the various locations and levels of conventional society, with members ranging from lay-people to professionals.[124] While it is problematic attempting to profile

[122] V. Craw, 'Preppers: Australia's Most Prepared in Case of the End of the World', *news.com.au*, 8 August 2014, http://www.news.com.au/technology/environment/preppers-australias-most-prepared-in-case-of-the-end-of-the-world/story-e6frflp0-1227017921944, (accessed 16 November 2014).

[123] Whittaker, loc. cit.

[124] T. Elliott, 'For Survivalists, The End is Always Nigh', *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 February 2009, http://www.smh.com.au/national/for-survivalists-the-end-is-always-nigh-20090227-8k9d.html (accessed 14 April 2014).

members of the Australian survivalist sub-culture, given that they can effectively be anyone, anywhere, an online survey in 2001 at aussurvivalist.com, Australia's largest survivalist website and Internet discussion forum provider, determined that a great number are male, Caucasian and more than a third are known to be ex-military or currently serving personnel.[125] Further investigation of this resource revealed additional findings concerning the survey results. The online questionnaire also concluded that a large portion of Australian survivalists are professionals earning up to $75000 per annum, between 35 to 65 years old, married with children over six, university educated and non-religious.[126] Although the survey was conducted in 2001, it may still be appropriate to use the full findings today to argue against any preconceived ideas concerning the social, intellectual and economic circumstances of all Australian survivalist members.

The Australian newspaper literature that references aspects of survivalist typology is extremely limited, with just one article intimating that various levels of commitment to the survivalist life-style are the primary indicator of different survivalist categories within the sub-culture. Within the remainder of Australian survivalist-oriented newspaper literature items, there is no attempt to examine the sub-culture in respect to identifying different survivalist types, with those articles appearing to lump all Australian survivalists into one sensational grouping. As with the printed media article material addressing facets of Australian survivalist beliefs and behaviours, content that explores Australian survivalist typology is both scarce and subjective.

2.3.4. Survivalism in Australia Summary.

There is a distinct lack of credible and focused research literature that explores the Australian survivalist sub-culture. The available media reports that address the sub-culture's workings are seen to primarily present sensational survivalist stereotypes, with some insinuating potential right-wing leanings or the presence of dominant *Isolate*-style personalities. It should be noted that there is no empirical evidence identified in the literature to suggest that contemporary Australian survivalists have right-wing tendencies, or are actively engaged in forming militia type groups, or resemble *Isolate* survivalist extremists, like Timothy McVeigh, which have been expressed in the

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[125] Elliott, *For Survivalists*, loc. cit.

[126] Results of the full 2001 survey can be found at http://www.aussurvivalist.com/whosurvivalist.htm

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United States literature.[127] Though the media reports offer occasional glimpses of the Australian survivalist sub-culture's true seriousness and complexity, when compared to the conclusions drawn from the research literature that deals with the older and more established United States survivalist movement, significant gaps in the Australian knowledge become apparent. Add to this a range of key topics not treated in either of the United States or Australian survivalism literature, such as those relating to sub-cultural composition and member development path models, and it becomes apparent that there is no veritable and empirical understanding of the Australian survivalist sub-culture to date.

Subject areas that are not treated in the present body of Australian survivalist sub-culture literature and require further research include, [1] the origins and evolution of the Australian survivalist sub-culture, [2] the composition of the sub-culture, incorporating an analysis of the attitudes and objectives specific to all member categories of the Australian survivalist collective, [3] the course of Australian Survivalist development, examining individual Australian survivalist progression within the context of contemporary theories of radicalisation and violent extremism, and [4] militant Australian Survivalists as a potential domestic extremist risk, exploring the psychology, behaviours and resulting security challenges that are presented by anti-government and anti-society focussed members of the sub-culture.

Given the great range of issues not treated in the Australian survivalist literature, it is necessary to conduct primary, empirical research on the Australian survivalist sub-culture, to attempt to understand its composition and the development course of its various members. This is crucial not only to meet with the goal of determining how the Australian survivalist development process may contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories, but also to critically analyse for the first time the Australian survivalist lifestyle choice, which has only ever been represented as predominantly separatist in its philosophy, rebellious in its discourse and paramilitary in its behaviour.

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[127] University of Chicago, loc. cit.

PART B: RADICALISATION THEORIES.

2.4. Radicalisation Pathway Theories.

It is the goal of this research endeavour to determine how the Australian survivalist development path may contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories. Toward that aim, the prime objectives of this section of the literature review are, [1] to ascertain the debates within the radicalisation literature, [2] to identify current theorised radicalisation models, through an examination of academic literature content that considers individual and group pathways of radicalisation, and [3] to determine reiterated radicalisation themes among those established academic models, for later comparison with any similar themes identified in the potential development path of Australian survivalists.

Nine theorised radicalisation pathways will be explored in the radicalisation theories section of this literature review. The nine pathways have been chosen as they are recent (post 9/11), well considered in the content of peer-reviewed journal articles, and expressed in the form of individual influence models, a mechanism of historic academic constancy in attempts made to understand radicalisation processes. The radicalisation pathway influence models to be examined are:

[1] Association of Chief Police Officer's Prevent Radicalisation Pyramid,[128]

[2] Fathali M. Moghaddam's Staircase to Suicide Terrorism,[129]

[3] Marc Sageman's Four-Stage Al-Qa'ida-Influenced Islamist Radicalisation Process,[130]

[4] New York Police Department's Four-Stage Jihadi-Salafi Islamist Radicalisation Process,[131]

[5] Paul Gill's Four-Stage Suicide Bomber Radicalisation Pathway Model,[132]

[6] Quintan Wiktorowicz's al-Muhajiroun Islamist Radicalisation Influences Model.[133]

[7] Randy Borum's Four-Stage Process of Ideological Development.[134]

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[128] Audit Commission, loc. cit.

[129] Moghaddam, loc. cit.

[130] Sageman, loc. cit.

[131] Silber & Bhatt, loc. cit.

[132] Gill, loc. cit.

[133] Wiktorowicz, loc. cit.

[8] Tomas Precht's Four-Stage Model of the Process of Islamist Radicalisation.[135]

[9] Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko's Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation,[136]

Though the decision to use predominantly linear radicalisation pathway influence models in this thesis has been made for the reasons previously specified, it is acknowledged that a number of scholars have offered warnings and criticisms regarding the assumption of linearity in the radicalisation process.[137] Often such cautions relate to issues of inevitability in the progression or development of extremism; that is, such models can suggest that individuals are required to fulfil specific criteria before progressing to a subsequent stage, ultimately ending up at the extremist end of the scale, which is certainly not always the case.[138]

Attempts to define the term *radicalisation* are numerous, though as Irwin argues, before the World Trade Centre attacks in the United States of America, on the 11th of September 2001 (9/11), the term barely existed in academic literature.[139] It is also suggested that despite its recent increasingly common use as an analytic term, *radicalisation* to date has no specific and universally accepted definition.[140]

Young, Zwenk and Rooze[141] present the radicalisation definition of McCauley and Moskalenko, who suggest, "Functionally, political radicalization is increased preparation for and commitment to intergroup conflict. Descriptively, radicalization means change in beliefs, feelings, and behaviours

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[134] Borum, *Understanding*, loc. cit.

[135] Precht, loc. cit.

[136] C. McCauley, and S. Moskalenko, 'Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol. 20, No. 3*, 2008, p.418.

[137] M. Hafez, and C. Mullins, 'The Radicalization Puzzle: A Theoretical Synthesis of Empirical Approaches to Homegrown Extremism', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism,* Vol. 38, No. 11, 2015, p. 960.

[138] Ibid. pp. 959-960.

[139] N. Irwin, 'The Complexity of Responding to Home-Grown Terrorism: Radicalisation, De-radicalisation and Disengagement', *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2015, p. 166.

[140] T. Stevens, and P. R. Neumann, 'Countering Online Radicalisation: A Strategy for Action', *An International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence Document* (ICSR)*,* 2009, p. 10. http://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/1236768491ICSROnlineRadicalisationReport.pdf.

[141] H. Young, and F. Zwenk and M. Rooze, 'A Review of the Literature on Radicalisation; and what it means for TERRA', *European Commission Directorate of Home Affairs Document*, The Netherlands, 2013. p. 10. [TERRA is the name of a terrorism and radicalisation prevention and learning project run by *Impact*, a Dutch national knowledge and advice centre for psychological care concerning critical incidents].

in directions that increasingly justify intergroup violence and demand sacrifice in defense of the ingroup."[142] Similarly, Irwin offers the definition of Wilner and Dubouloz, who assert that radicalisation is, "a personal process in which individuals adopt extreme political, social, and / or religious ideals and aspirations, and where the attainment of particular goals justifies the use of indiscriminate violence. It is both a mental and emotional process that prepares and motivates an individual to pursue violent behaviour."[143]

The radicalisation literature identifies that the definition of radicalisation is not the only point of contention within the field of study devoted to radicalisation theories. Numerous debates are ongoing, including whether or not a connection exists between radical ideas and radical actions, whether radical beliefs form an essential foundation to terrorism or not, and whether only violent extremist actions should be combated or extremist ideologies too.[144] The field of study which considers radicalisation is wide-ranging, with some research endeavours striving towards a holistic understanding to radicalisation and others focusing on very specific issues to do with the individual, the individual processes of radicalisation, social groups, inter-group processes and causal issues of radicalisation processes.[145] With different analyses supporting a variety of claims and hypotheses in the field of radicalisation studies, many alternative theories coexist.[146]

While the debates surrounding radicalisation issues are many, it has been suggested that all related arguments and differing opinions predominantly stem from the conceptual division between notions of radicalisation that focus on extremist beliefs, or *cognitive radicalisation*, and those that concentrate on extremist behaviour, or *behavioural radicalisation*.[147] It has been further suggested

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[142] C. McCauley, and S. Moskalenko, 'Mechanisms of Political Radicalization: Pathways Toward Terrorism', *Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol. 20, No. 3*, 2008, p.416, cited in H. Young, and F. Zwenk and M. Rooze, 'A Review of the Literature on Radicalisation; and what it means for TERRA', *European Commission Directorate of Home Affairs Document*, The Netherlands, 2013. p. 10.

[143] A. S. Wilner, and C.J. Dubouloz, 'Homegrown Terrorism and Transformative Learning: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Understanding Radicalization', *Global Change, Peace & Security: formerly Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change, Vol. 22, No. 1*, 2010, pp. 33-51, cited in N. Irwin., 'The Complexity of Responding to Home-Grown Terrorism: Radicalisation, De-radicalisation and Disengagement', *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2015, p. 170.

[144] E. Pruyt, and J. H. Kwakkel, 'Radicalization Under Deep Uncertainty: A Multi-model Exploration of Activism, Extremism, and Terrorism', *System Dynamics Review*, Vol. 30, No. 1, 2014, pp. 1-2.

[145] Ibid. p. 2.

[146] Ibid.

[147] P. R. Neumann, 'The Trouble With Radicalisation', *International Affairs*, Vol. 89, No. 4, 2013, p. 873.

that it is this conceptual division that may contribute to the resulting inconsistency among the definitions of radicalisation.[148]

Specifically, radicalisation definitions are noted as focusing on two main areas of contention, [1] the end-stages of radicalisation and [2] context and normative issues.[149] In regards to *end-stages*, radicalisation at its simplest understanding can be thought of as a process where individuals ultimately develop extremist ideologies and beliefs.[150] While the initial part of this understanding is not that contentious, as it is quite common among researchers for radicalisation to be considered a progression process taking time and inclusive of different influencing factors, the more controversial portion of this position relates to the concept of extremism, which is suggested as having numerous meanings.[151] Extremism may refer to political views which are entirely opposed to a society's fundamental values, or ideologies that reject basic human rights or democratic beliefs.[152] Or extremism can indicate terrorist actions with which individuals and groups seek to accomplish any political goal, by attacking the lives and freedoms of others.[153] In simple terms, there is no clear-cut conformity among researchers concerning the end-stages of radicalisation.[154] Additionally, associated with the debate concerning the end-stages of radicalisation is the issue of what connection exists between extremist ideas and extremist actions.[155] For some researchers the two factors are distinctly separate, that is one preceding the other, the development of an extremist mindset as a precondition for the willingness to use violence in support of an aim, while others see the two intertwined, the playing out of gradual levels of extremist beliefs followed by responding extremist behaviours, potentially culminating in a supreme act of violence.[156]

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[148] Neumann, loc. cit.

[149] Ibid. p. 874.

[150] Borum, *Radicalization I*, loc. cit.

[151] Neumann, op. cit., p. 874.

[152] Ibid. p. 875.

[153] Ibid.

[154] M. Sageman, 'The Stagnation in Terrorism Research', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 26, No. 4, 2014, p. 572.

[155] Neumann, op. cit., p. 875.

[156] Ibid. p. 876.

Concerning the second area of contention, *context and normative issues*, it has been suggested that the term *radical* has no true meaning by itself and that the word's understanding is relative to what is acknowledged as being conventional in any given society and / or in any given time period.[157] It has been argued that different political, cultural and historical contexts determine varying ideas of radicalism, with the same being able to be said for understanding and describing the process of becoming radical; likely dependent on what is considered as conventional or tolerable in any given setting.[158] It is the case that as the result of the word *radical* being context-dependent, it is not always connected with extremism and does not always signify a problem that requires study or a solution.[159]

With a reported 90 percent of all terrorism-related research articles having been produced in the era following the 9/11 United States terrorist attacks, the subject of radicalisation is suggested as being a popular one and often the debate surrounding radicalisation theories has been enthusiastic, if not somewhat divisive.[160] Some scholars have gone beyond challenging individual authors and works, disputing the very value of an apparent predominant research focus on cognitive radicalisation and its use in understanding how individuals develop into violent extremists.[161] Recognising an overall noticeable academic preference for exploring issues of cognitive radicalisation, perhaps at the cost of an equivalent understanding of violent extremist behaviour, highlights a lean within academia in the past towards the idea that extremist beliefs are the likely beginnings of inevitable violent acts. That is, significant study has been devoted to the theory that if an individual becomes a cognitive radical, there is a likelihood that they will become a violent extremist, given the right conditions.[162]

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[157] Neumann, op. cit., p. 876.

[158] Ibid.

[159] Ibid.

[160] A. McGilloway, P. Ghosh and K. Bhui, 'A Systematic Review of Pathways to and Processes Associated With Radicalization and Extremism Amongst Muslims in Western Societies', *International Review of Psychiatry*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2015, p. 39.

[161] Neumann, op. cit. p. 878.

[162] Ibid.

Conversely, other scholars suggest that it is potentially unachievable to separate extremist beliefs from extremist action and that any effort to examine one without the other denies a holistic comprehension of radicalisation.[163] It has been argued that not all individuals who support and maintain a particular ideology are willing to engage in violent acts to promote their views and that ideological development is not a conclusive indicator of cognitive radicalisation.[164] In addition, it has also been suggested that any effort to understand an individual's pathway to extremist beliefs and behaviours without examining the social movements, counter-cultures and institutions from where they have come is likely to be limited.[165]

Beyond the influence of directly interacting with members of physical collectives, groups and movements, and regarded by researchers as a cultural domain in its own right, the Internet is suggested as being an institution for potential violent extremist development.[166] Some scholars argue that in recent years there has been a growing use of the Internet, by violent extremists, for recruitment purposes, likely because it allows the easy targeting of marginalised individuals, anonymity and decentralisation.[167] In the past, terrorist created web sites were acknowledged as the primary mechanism for influencing vulnerable individuals,[168] however now the focus has shifted to Western social media sites and discussion forums, like Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and other online group contact spaces.[169] It has been suggested that these forums have become the new institutions of radicalisation and terrorism, facilitating violent extremists' drawing individuals into a cause, as well as providing a means to organise and direct potential attacks.[170] Debate continues among scholars concerning the role that the Internet plays in processes of violent

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[163] Neumann, op. cit., p. 879.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid.

[166] R. Torok, 'Developing an Explanatory Model for the Process of Online Radicalisation and Terrorism', *Security Informatics*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2013, p. 2.

[167] Ibid.

[168] A. Silke, 'The Internet & Terrorist Radicalisation: The Psychological Dimension', cited in Y. Hans-Liudger, C. Rapp and N. Ahituv (Eds.), *Terrorism and the Internet*, IOS Press, Vol. 67, 2010, p. 37.

[169] Torok, loc. cit.

[170] Ibid.

radicalisation.[171] Some argue that easy access to violent extremist material online may have violent radicalising effects for self-recruited individuals.[172] Others see the Internet as an apparatus likely to be increasingly used for terrorist group recruitment and operations.[173] Regardless of differing opinions concerning exactly who is likely to be vulnerable to the Internet's effects, what is generally agreed upon by scholars is that the online institution can be used to influence ways of thinking and ways of viewing the world and for this reason is an element regularly considered as a significant component in a variety of theorised radicalisation process models.[174]

This section of the literature review examines the published material that identifies radicalisation theories expressed in the form of individual influence models. Identifying and exploring radicalisation through ideological and behavioural pathway models has been chosen as a likely successful way to determine reiterated radicalisation themes within the radicalisation research literature, as individual influence models represent a mechanism of historic academic constancy in attempts made to understand radicalisation processes.

Though there are various theories and associated models of the radicalisation *process*, among them the principle concern is an attempt to address the two issues of how someone progresses along a path of increasing commitment to a cause and what finally prompts an individual to carry out an act of violence.[175] Each of the radicalisation models appear to be similar in that they document and describe the process in which an individual forms a certain set of beliefs, seeks out a group with which they identify and ultimately commits an act of violence against civilians in the belief that the act will promote the aims of the group.[176] Varying in scope, though with the majority focusing predominantly on Islamic-inspired violent extremist progression pathways, it has been suggested that the various radicalisation models do not tend to contradict one another but are

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[171] M. Conway, 'Determining the Role of the Internet in Violent Extremism and Terrorism: Six Suggestions for Progressing Research', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 09 April 2016, p. 1. DOI: 10.1080/1057610X.2016.1157408.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Torok, op. cit., p. 1.

[174] Ibid. p. 3.

[175] Young, Zwenk & Rooze, op. cit. p. 11.

[176] Ibid.

instead complementary, with some presenting greater detail in different stages of the process than the others.[177]

2.4.1 Association of Chief Police Officers Prevent Radicalisation Pyramid.

The Prevent Pyramid was developed by the Association of Chief Police Officers in the United Kingdom.[178] It was created in response to a 2007 political plan, the Prevent Strategy, which aimed to prevent people becoming or supporting terrorists or violent extremists.[179] In 2011, the Prevent Strategy, as part of a larger counter terrorism strategy, CONTEST,[180] was re-released in the United Kingdom, covering three important target strands.[181] Those target strands are, [a] to challenge extremist ideology, [b] to disrupt those who promote extremism, and [c] to support the institutions where they are active, such as prisons.[182] The Prevent Pyramid model shows radicalisation as a linear process, where progressively higher levels of the pyramid are associated with increased stages of radicalisation but decreased numbers of those involved.[183]

Table 1: The Prevent Radicalisation Pyramid.

Tier 4:
Actively breaking the law

Tier 3:
Moving towards extremism

Tier 2:
The vulnerable

Tier 1:
All members of the Community

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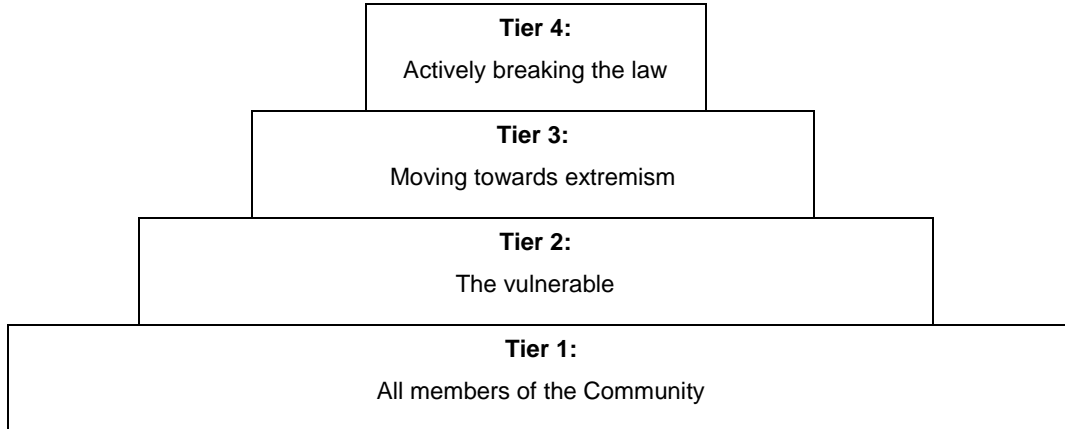
[177] Young, Zwenk & Rooze, op. cit. p. 11.

[178] Audit Commission, loc. cit.

[179] T. Abbas and A. Siddique, 'Perceptions of the Processes of Radicalisation and De-radicalisation among British South Asian Muslims in a Post-Industrial City', *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture,* Vol. 18, No. 1, 2012, p. 121.

[180] A blended abbreviation of the words *Counter Terrorism Strategy*.

[181] I. Awan, 'Muslim Prisoners, Radicalization and Rehabilitation in British Prisons," *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol.33, No. 3, 2013, p. 371.

[182] Ibid.

[183] K. Christmann, 'Preventing Religious Radicalisation and Violent Extremism: A Systematic Review of the Research Evidence', *A Youth Justice Board for England and Wales Document*, UK, 2012, p.10.

The Association of Chief Police Officers Prevent Radicalisation Pyramid model, presented in Table 1, displays the four tiers of the Prevent Pyramid process, which are outlined as follows: [184]

- Tier 1 [All members of the community] concerns individuals that make up the wider community, from which all other tier members originate.

- Tier 2 [The vulnerable] concerns individuals who are looked upon as vulnerable to being influenced to move up the levels of the pyramid.[185] An example of those who are considered to be vulnerable is young people within the criminal justice system.[186]

- Tier 3 [Moving towards extremism] concerns individuals who may sympathise with the beliefs and feelings of those in the fourth and final tier, while not committing any violent acts themselves.[187] Individuals within Tier 3, who are moving towards extremism, may provide implied support to those situated in Tier 4 and inspire those in the tiers below.[188]

- Tier 4 [Actively breaking the law] concerns individuals who are active terrorists.

The literature that considers the Association of Chief Police Officers Prevent Radicalisation Pyramid predominantly focuses on the descriptive treatment of specific practical aspects of the model, while largely avoiding any critical discussion of the greater radicalisation theories and themes distinguishable within. When examining the model directly, a number of themes relating to radicalisation as a theorised process can be identified. The Prevent Pyramid shows radicalisation as a process in which some individuals enter the pathway from mainstream origins and with relatively moderate world views, advance through stages of ideological and behavioural change, which incrementally escalate in regards to threat potential, and finally end up advocating or

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[184] Audit Commission, loc. cit.

[185] Christmann, loc. cit.

[186] Ibid.

[187] Ibid. p.11.

[188] Ibid.

conducting violent acts. The Prevent Pyramid also demonstrates radicalisation as a process in which some individuals undergo changes, which result in them determining that responsibility for their disadvantages, vulnerabilities and lack of control over their own lives, rests with some perceived human enemy and support elements from various out-groups. This outlook, in part, is achieved through stages of interaction with, or influence by, those who hold extremist views, establishing connections that can drive individuals towards the more militant end stages of the theorised process.

2.4.2. Fathali M. Moghaddam's Staircase to Suicide Terrorism.

Moghaddam's radicalisation process relates specifically to suicide terrorists. It is a pathway that charts the progression of individuals up five theoretical stairs, beginning on a ground floor, where the individual experiences a sense of disadvantage within their current situation, and ending on a fifth floor, where a terrorist act is ultimately perpetrated.[189] The model emphasises the hypothesised psychological aspects of this process, where the individual's reaction to factors at each stage may or may not lead them to the next stage and closer to legitimising terrorism.[190]

Table 2: Moghaddam's Staircase to Suicide Terrorism.

Floor	Description
Fifth	The terrorist act and sidestepping inhibitory mechanisms.
Fourth	Categorical thinking and perceived legitimacy of the terrorist organisation.
Third	Moral engagement.
Second	Displacement of aggression.
First	Perceived options to fight unfair treatment.
Ground	Psychological interpretation of material conditions.

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[189] Moghaddam, loc. cit.

[190] M. King and D. M. Taylor, 'The Radicalization of Homegrown Jihadists: A Review of Theoretical Models and Social Psychological Evidence', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 23, No. 4, 2011, p. 606.

Fathali M. Moghaddam's model, presented in Table 2, displays the six levels of the Staircase to Suicide Terrorism, which are outlined as follows: [191]

- The Ground Floor [Psychological interpretation of material conditions] concerns a starting point for individuals who feel that they, and their fellow members of an ethnic, religious, political or professional group, do not have the same advantages as those from other groups.[192]

- The First Floor [Perceived options to fight unfair treatment] describes the situation where individuals accept an inability to influence their situation through legitimate means. [193] In these circumstances, where there are no options to address perceived unfairness, such as legal proceedings or the opportunity to participate in democratic processes, an individual's sense of injustice may be further reinforced. [194]

- The Second Floor [Displacement of aggression] considers the situation of individuals who in having accepted that injustices cannot be dealt with via legitimate means, feel the effects of those sentiments in forming the basis of a budding new morality.[195] In these circumstances, the individual can lay the blame for their apparent unjust situation upon a group thought to be in a better position and begin to believe that terrorism is morally acceptable. [196]

- The Third Floor [Moral engagement] concerns the situation of individuals who have accepted the alternate morality, leading them to believe that an ideal society is achievable and that any means are justified to attain it.[197] It is on this floor that commitment to a terrorist organisation or cause occurs.[198]

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[191] Moghaddam, loc. cit.

[192] Young, Zwenk & Rooze, op. cit. p. 16.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Ibid. p. 17.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Christmann, op. cit., p. 16.

- The Fourth Floor [Categorical thinking and the perceived legitimacy of the terrorist organisation] identifies that the terrorist organisation, along with its parallel morality, have become central to the individual's daily life. The individual now functions as a member of a terrorist cell, from which they receive considerable positive reinforcement, both from a recruiter and from a cell leader.[199] In the case of *lone-wolf*, self-generated terrorist individuals and small groups, the reinforcement of behaviour is often through the Internet and related extremist websites.[200] This reinforcement is also continued through a parallel universe that is invented by the terrorist individual; a universe that is completely secretive and sees mainstream society as evil and a justifiable target for terrorist attacks.[201]

- The Fifth Floor [The terrorist act and sidestepping inhibitory mechanisms] considers the situation of the individual who is now a developed terrorist, either as a self-radicalised *lone-wolf* or an extremist cell member, and how they dehumanise civilians, categorising them as far removed from themselves, and justify violence against them in this way.[202] On this floor, terrorist acts are carried out, [1] by sidestepping inhibitory mechanisms, such as pity, which usually prevent people from harming one another, [2] through the suddenness of the act, and [3] as a result of the belief that it is committed against an enemy population.[203] It is also within this final stage of Moghaddam's model that conformity and obedience are psychological motivations that facilitate violence.[204]

The literature that considers Fathali M. Moghaddam's Staircase to Suicide Terrorism largely supports the model, with a notable exception in Lygre, Eid, Larsson and Ranstorp's critical review,

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[199] Young, Zwenk & Rooze, op. cit. p. 17.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Ibid.

[203] Ibid.

[204] King & Taylor, op. cit. p. 607.

which found that while most of the theories and processes related to Moghaddam's steps are sustained by empirical evidence, the proposed movements between the stages were less so.[205]

With the majority of literature items that deal with Moghaddam's Staircase presenting a well distributed degree of careful consideration and critical discussion, a number of themes within the model that relate to radicalisation as a theorised process are identifiable.[206] Similar to the previously examined Association of Chief Police Officers Prevent Radicalisation Pyramid, the Staircase to Suicide Terrorism shows radicalisation as a linear process in which some individuals enter the pathway from mainstream origins and with comparatively restrained world views, progress through stages of ideological and behavioural change, which gradually escalate in regards to threat potential, and ultimately end up supporting or conducting violent acts. As with the Prevent Pyramid, Moghaddam's model also demonstrates radicalisation as a process in which some individuals experience changes, which results in them blaming perceived human enemy and support elements from various out-groups for their particular disadvantages and vulnerabilities; an outlook, in part, achieved through stages of interaction with, or influence by, others who hold extremist views.

Moghaddam's model illustrates radicalisation as a process in which some individuals can develop in response to economic, social, political or personal crises, which act as catalyst events that unsettle previously held beliefs and drive those who seek to gain a measure of assumed control over their lives towards believed important and stabilising religious frameworks. Moreover, Moghaddam's model shows radicalisation as a process in which behavioural reinforcement effects can result from individuals interacting with like-minded people via the Internet and a process in which some individuals in later stages of the pathway rationalise their outlook by dehumanising perceived enemy population elements to justify their hostility against them.

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[205] R, Lygre. et al., 'Terrorism as a Process: A Critical Review of Moghaddam's "Staircase to Terrorism", *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology,* Vol. 52, 2011, p. 609.

[206] King & Taylor, op. cit. p. 606.

2.4.3. Marc Sageman's Four-Stage Al-Qa'ida-Influenced Islamist Radicalisation Process.

Sageman's four-stage Al-Qa'ida-influenced Islamist radicalisation process demonstrates how people develop and mobilise as active terrorists.[207] Placing great emphasis on social media forums being a type of battleground for the hearts and minds of the vulnerable,[208] Sageman assesses the proclivity of young Muslims for sharing their dreams and grievances online as contributing to the success of radicalisation, in that it ultimately becomes a situation where there is victory of one idea over another.[209] In regards to mobilisation through networks beyond the online realm, Sageman makes the assessment that small groups play an important role in the radicalisation process.[210] Arguing that people can and do often behave in quite different ways after they have engaged in social transactions, Sageman suggests that there are obvious energising effects as a result of group interaction, with frameworks of politicisation and radicalisation.[211] Maintaining that the phases in his radicalisation process are recurrent but not necessarily sequential, for Sageman it is the embedding of theological radicalism within a group dynamic that is the root cause of radicalisation.[212]

Table 3: Sageman's Four-Stage Al-Qa'ida-Influenced Islamist Radicalisation Process.

Stage	Description
4	Mobilisation through networks.
3	Resonance with personal experiences.
2	A specific interpretation of the world.
1	A sense of moral outrage.

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[207] Sageman, *A Strategy*, op. cit., p. 225.

[208] Torok, op. cit., p. 8.

[209] Ibid. p. 2.

[210] E. F. Thomas and C. McGarty and W. Louis, 'Social Interaction and Psychological Pathways to Political Engagement and Extremism', *European Journal of Social Psychology,* Vol. 44, 2014, p. 16.

[211] Thomas & McGarty, loc. cit.

[212] A. Kundnani, 'Radicalisation: The Journey of a Concept', *Race & Class*, Vol. 54, No. 2, 2012, p. 15.

Marc Sageman's model, presented in Table 3, displays the four stages of his Al-Qa'ida-influenced Islamist radicalisation process, which are outlined as follows: [213]

- Stage 1 [A sense of moral outrage] concerns individuals reacting to major moral violations.

- Stage 2 [A specific interpretation of the world] concerns individuals seeing moral violations as relating to larger concerns; for example, moral violations seen as representing a 'war against Islam'.

- Stage 3 [Resonance with personal experiences] concerns the perceptions of individuals in everyday life, relating to anti-Muslim social, political, economic and religious bias and discrimination.

- Stage 4 [Mobilisation through networks] concerns individuals organising and committing actions through connections with like-minded people and related reinforcement of grievance issues; for example, Muslim anger and frustration vented through Internet discussion forums and chat rooms, resulting in interactivity that acts to radicalise young Muslims together, amplifying grievances.[214]

The literature that considers Marc Sageman's four-stage Al-Qa'ida-influenced Islamist radicalisation process predominantly supports the model, with a significant focus on the pathway as one that does not necessarily depict stages that occur in a sequential order, but rather a radicalisation route that can occur through the interplay of the model's four factors.[215] Noted as one of the most influential and elaborate accounts of radicalisation, based on data obtained from hundreds of people linked to the 9/11 World Trade Centre attackers, various themes specific to radicalisation as a theorised process are identifiable within the model.[216] As with the other previously examined radicalisation models in this chapter, Sageman's four-stage Islamist

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[213] Sageman, *A Strategy*, op. cit., p. 225.

[214] Christmann, op. cit. p. 13.

[215] King & Taylor, op. cit. p. 608.

[216] A. Kundnani, 'A Decade Lost: Rethinking Radicalisation and Extremism'*, Claystone Report,* United Kingdom, 2015, p. 20.

radicalisation pathway illustrates a process in which some individuals are gradually influenced in certain ways, engaging in activities that incrementally narrow their outlook, social associations and available behaviour choices, and which results in the perpetration of violent acts. Sageman's pathway, like the previously considered radicalisation models, also demonstrates radicalisation as a process in which some individuals experience changes, which cause them to blame various out-groups, and those who support them, for their individual disadvantages and vulnerabilities. Moreover, Sageman's model, like Moghaddam's Staircase to Suicide Terrorism, illustrates radicalisation as a process in which some individuals can develop in reaction to economic, social, political or personal crises, which function as catalyst events that upset previously held beliefs and compel those who seek to gain control over their lives towards believed significant and stabilising religious frameworks.

Additionally, Sageman's radicalisation model emphasises the significance of individuals passing through stages of interaction with those who hold extremist views, which may result in relationships being forged that can drive individuals to mobilise with the support of those established networks. It has been noted that mobilisation, which involves validating and confirming one's ideas and interpretation of events with other like-minded radicalised people, can occur through virtual networks, such as the Internet, as easily as it can in person.[217]

2.4.4. New York Police Department's Four-Stage Jihadi-Salafi Islamist Radicalisation Process.

The New York Police Department's Jihadi-Salafi Islamist radicalisation process arose from the examination of eleven case studies of Al-Qa'ida-influenced radicalisation and terrorism that occurred in Western countries.[218] Developed by senior intelligence analysts Mitchell D. Silber and Arvin Bhatt, the New York Police Department model displays a linear process, where each level of the progressive pathway is associated with an increased stage of radicalisation. The New York Police Department model acknowledges a link between specific individually experienced triggers,

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[217] King & Taylor, op. cit. p. 608.

[218] Silber & Bhatt, loc. cit.

such as losing a job, suffering a death in the family etc, and increased religious participation.[219] It suggests that it is religious practice in those circumstances that offers the individual a novel narrative and new perspectives upon which to base his or her actions.[220] Additionally, the model acknowledges a connection between a shift in beliefs and the need for validation of those new convictions that is sought through individuals who hold similar views.[221] The model draws attention to the essential role that like-minded groups play in progressing the individual to the critical stage that leads to a terrorist act.[222]

Table 4: The NYPD Four-Stage Jihadi-Salafi Islamist Radicalisation Process.

Stage	Description
4	Jihadisation.
3	Indoctrination.
2	Self-Identification.
1	Pre-Radicalisation.

The New York Police Department's model, presented in Table 4, displays the four stages of their Jihadi-Salafi Islamist radicalisation process, which are outlined as follows: [223]

- Stage 1 [Pre-Radicalisation] concerns an individual's life situation prior to the exposure and adoption of a Jihadi-Salafi Islamist ideology.[224]

- Stage 2 [Self-Identification] concerns an individual's early exploration of Salafi Islam and a gradual move away from their old identity. This stage can also include the beginning of

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[219] A. S. Wilner, and C. J. Dubouloz, 'Homegrown Terrorism and Transformative Learning: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Understanding Radicalization', *Global Change, Peace & Security: formerly Pacifica Review: Peace, Security & Global Change, Vol. 22, No. 1*, 2010, p. 49.

[220] Ibid.

[221] L. E. Porter and M. R. Kebbell, 'Radicalization in Australia: Examining Australia's Convicted Terrorists', *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2011, p. 215.

[222] L. L. Dawson, 'The Study of New Religious Movements and the Radicalization of Home-Grown Terrorists: Opening a Dialogue', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 22, No. 1, 2013, p. 6.

[223] Silber & Bhatt, loc. cit.

[224] Christmann, op. cit., p. 12.

associations with like-minded individuals and taking on their particular ideology. An individual in this stage of the process is open to new world views, by way of a cognitive opening, as a result of religious seeking, or economic, social, political or personal crises, which act as catalyst events that unsettle previously held beliefs.[225]

- Stage 3 [Indoctrination] concerns an individual progressively intensifying their beliefs, finally adopting the Jihadi-Salafi ideology completely. This leads to the conviction that conditions and circumstances exist where action is now required to support and further the cause of militant Jihad. This stage is typically facilitated and driven by a *spiritual sanctioner*. It is also usual in this phase to have associations with like-minded people deepening the indoctrination, with the group becoming increasingly influential in encouraging and reinforcing hardened views.[226].

- Stage 4 [Jihadisation] is the operational phase in the radicalisation process, where members of the group accept an individual duty to participate in Jihad, designating themselves as holy warriors or *mujahidin*.[227] Ultimately, this belief sees the group carrying out a terrorist attack, including phases of planning, preparation and execution.[228]

The literature that considers the New York Police Department's four-stage Jihadi-Salafi Islamist radicalisation model, while primarily focusing on the descriptive treatment of the linear progression process itself, also critically discusses the methodology of the study from which the model was created.[229] Though basing the study on an analysis of terrorist events that occurred in Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States, each involving a small group of perpetrators, it is reported that there is no control group in the study to examine if the suggested behaviours associated with terrorism could also be identified among individuals who do not develop as terrorists.[230] The literature that deals with the New York Police Department

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[225] Christmann, op. cit., p. 12.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Ibid.

[228] Ibid.

[229] Kundnani, *A Decade Lost*, op. cit., p. 20.

[230] Ibid.

model suggests that not everyone who begins the process advances though all of its stages and individuals who engage in the model's various levels of progression can either stop or abandon the radicalisation pathway at different points.[231] Conversely, those studied who did progress through the pathway's earlier levels were deemed quite likely to be involved in the planning or execution of a terrorist act in the final stage of the model.[232]

In regards to the complete pathway presented in the model, a number of themes relating to radicalisation as a theorised process are identified. Similar to the pathways previously examined in this chapter, the New York Police Department's four-stage Jihadi-Salafi Islamist model shows radicalisation as a linear process which some individuals enter from mainstream origins, progress through stages of ideological and behavioural change, which increase in regards to threat potential, and end by advocating or participating in acts of violence. The New York Police Department model also demonstrates radicalisation as a process in which some individuals go through changes, which result in them directing blame for their perceived disadvantages and vulnerabilities, towards human enemy and support elements from various out-groups. As with other previously examined radicalisation models, this attitude in part, is influenced through stages of interaction with those who hold extremist views, establishing connections that can drive individuals towards a militant end stage of the process.

Additionally, The New York Police Department model illustrates radicalisation as a process in which the higher levels of the pathway are associated with increased stages of radicalisation but decreased numbers of individuals involved, when compared to the lower and middle levels. The model also considers how some individuals can develop in response to economic, social, political or personal crises, which act as catalyst events that unsettle previously held beliefs and drive individuals towards perceived stabilising religious frameworks. Moreover, the New York Police Department model shows radicalisation as a process in which some individuals in the later stage of the pathway rationalise their views by dehumanising perceived enemies to justify their hostility

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[231] Christmann, op. cit., p. 13.

[232] Ibid.

against them and / or consider themselves to be revolutionaries, fighting for freedom and security against an oppressive authority force.

2.4.5. Paul Gill's Four-Stage Suicide Bomber Radicalisation Pathway Model.

Gill offers a four-stage radicalisation pathway model which charts the course of development of individuals who become suicide bombers.[233] Gill's descriptive, somewhat self-explanatory model, is unique in that it describes the progress of an individual moving from being a member of the public to becoming a terrorist and proposes that various factors influence this development.[234] The four stages of Gill's model are suggested as being mutually reinforcing and though not necessarily occurring in chronological order, are noted as prerequisites that all suicide bombers experience.[235]

Table 5: Gill's Four-Stage Suicide Bomber Radicalisation Pathway Model.

Stage	Description
4	In-group radicalisation through internalisation and polarisation of the group's norms and values.
3	Some pre-existing familial or friendship ties, which facilitate the recruitment process.
2	The experience of a catalyst event, which can motivate joining a terrorist organisation.
1	A broad socialisation process and exposure to propaganda predisposing the audience towards violence.

Paul Gill's model, presented in Table 5, displays the four stages of his suicide bomber radicalisation pathway, which are outlined as follows: [236]

- Stage 1 concerns a socialisation process through which individuals are exposed to propaganda, which opens them to the use of violence.

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[233] Gill, op. cit., pp. 413-420.

[234] Young, Zwenk & Rooze, op. cit., p. 13.

[235] Christmann, op. cit., p. 14.

[236] Gill, op. cit., p. 414.

- Stage 2 concerns individuals living through a personal catalyst event, which can motivate them to join a terrorist group.

- Stage 3 concerns an individual being recruited to a terrorist group through pre-existing familial or friendship ties.

- Stage 4 concerns the individual undergoing in-group radicalisation through internalisation and polarisation of the group's standards and ideals.

The literature that considers Paul Gill's four-stage suicide bomber radicalisation pathway largely supports the model, with a predominant focus on the stages of the process being those that mutually reinforce one another.[237] When studying the model itself, various themes relating to radicalisation as a theorised process are determinable. Similar to the previously examined progression processes of this chapter, Gill's suicide bomber model shows radicalisation as a process in which some individuals enter the pathway as a member of the mainstream public, are subjected to influences that progress them through various stages of ideological and behavioural change, which increase in regards to their threat potential, and end up participating in a great act of violence.

Gill's model also identifies radicalisation as a process in which some individuals undergo changes that see them assigning culpability for their perceived disadvantages and vulnerabilities, to various human enemy and support elements from numerous out-groups. As is the case with some of the other examined radicalisation models in this chapter, feelings of persecution and resulting condemnation of out-groups can be, in part, influenced by interactions with others who hold extremist views; in Gill's model this can occur through pre-existing familial or friendship ties, which can ultimately drive the individual towards a violent end stage of the theorised process. Additionally, Gill's model suggests how some individuals can develop in response to various catalyst events, such as economic, social, political or personal crises, which can shift previously

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[237] Christmann, op. cit., p. 14.

held beliefs and propel individuals towards believed stabilising religious / political organisations and systems.

2.4.6. Quintan Wiktorowicz's al-Muhajiroun Islamist Radicalisation Influences Model.

Wiktorowicz developed his Islamist radicalisation influences model after extensive fieldwork observing al-Mahajiroun, a transnational Islamic movement based in the United Kingdom that supports the use of violence against Western interests in Muslim countries and the establishment of an Islamic state through a military coup.[238] The model identifies four key progression factors which enhance the likelihood of an individual being drawn into a radical Islamic group and being persuaded to become active therein.[239] The four stages of Wiktorowicz's model suggests violent radicalisation is about who you know; that is, radical ideas are transmitted by social networks and violent radicalisation takes place within smaller groups, where bonding, peer pressure and indoctrination gradually changes the individual's view of the world.[240]

Table 6: Wiktorowicz's al-Muhajiroun Islamist Radicalisation Influences Model.

Stage	Description
4	Socialisation: Where a person experiences religious instruction that facilitates indoctrination, identity-construction and value change.
3	Frame Alignment: Where the public representation proffered by the radical group 'makes sense' to the seeker and attracts their initial interest.
2	Religious Seeking: Where a person seeks meaning through a religious framework.
1	Cognitive Opening: Where a person becomes receptive to the possibility of new ideas and world views.

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[238] Wiktorowicz, loc. cit.

[239] Christmann, op. cit., p. 15.

[240] A. Dalgaard-Nielsen, 'Violent Radicalization in Europe: What We Know and What We Do Not Know', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 33, No. 9, 2010, p. 801.

Quintan Wiktorowicz's model, presented in Table 6, displays the four key process factors of his al-Muhajiroun Islamist radicalisation influences pathway, which are outlined as follows: [241]

- Stage 1 [Cognitive opening] concerns individuals revealing openness to new ideas and new world views.

- Stage 2 [Religious seeking] concerns individuals viewing religion as a valid path to find meaning.

- Stage 3 [Frame alignment] concerns a *seeking* individual being drawn to a radical group, based on some level of initial connection with, or interest in, the group's presented narrative and ethos.

- Stage 4 [Socialisation] concerns individuals becoming fully indoctrinated into the radical group, receiving religious instruction, which produces changes in personal values and identity.

The literature that considers Quintan Wiktorowicz's al-Muhajiroun Islamist radicalisation influences pathway predominantly supports the model, with an emphasis placed on the driving force of an individual seeking a religious identity and the role that social influence plays in motivating a person to join a radical Islamic group.[242] When considering the model directly, numerous themes relating to radicalisation as a theorised process can be identified. Much like a number of the other previously examined pathways of this chapter, Wiktorowicz's model displays radicalisation as a linear process, whereby some individuals begin movement along the path as a member of the mainstream, undergo various ideological and behavioural progression stages of change, which escalate in regards to threat potential, and end up advocating the use of violence.

Wiktorowicz's model, like others, also demonstrates radicalisation as a process in which some individuals experience changes, which result in them deciding that liability for their disadvantages and vulnerabilities, rests with perceived human enemy and support elements from various out-

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[241] Wiktorowicz, loc. cit.

[242] Christmann, op. cit., p. 15.

groups. This viewpoint, in part, is realised through stages of interaction with, or influence by, those who hold extremist beliefs, establishing connections that can move individuals towards the more radical end stages of the theorised process. Additionally, Wiktorowicz's model illustrates how some individuals can develop in response to a range of economic, social, political or personal crises, which act as catalyst events that unsettle formerly held beliefs and drive individuals towards perceived stabilising religious frameworks. Moreover, Wiktorowicz's model shows radicalisation as a process in which some individuals in the later stage of the pathway rationalise their views by dehumanising perceived enemies to justify their hostility against them.

2.4.7. Randy Borum's Four-Stage Process of Ideological Development.

Borum created his four-stage conceptual model for the emergence of a terrorist mindset through analyses of multiple violent extremist groups with a range of diverse ideologies.[243] Borum's interest in developing such a model was to attempt to determine if common factors may exist among those groups in their processes of radicalisation.[244] The model endeavours to explain how grievances and vulnerabilities are turned into hatred of a target group and how hatred is then transformed, for some, into justification or motivation for violence. [245]

Table 7: Borum's Four-Stage Process of Ideological Development.

Stage	Description
4	Reaction: The perceived responsible party, or enemy, dehumanised and demonised; generalising and stereotyping [You're Evil].
3	Attribution: Blaming perceived injustices on a target policy, person or nation [It's Your Fault].
2	Comparison: Accepting present conditions as unjust, creating resentment [It's Not Fair].
1	Context: Framing some unsatisfying event, conditions of grievance, etc. [It's Not Right].

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[243] Borum, *Understanding*, op. cit., p. 9.

[244] Ibid.

[245] R. Borum, 'Radicalization into Violent Extremism II: A Review of Conceptual Models and Empirical Research', *Journal of Strategic Security*, Vol. 4, No. 4, 2011, pp. 38-39.

Randy Borum's model, presented in Table 7, displays the four stages of his process of ideological development, which are outlined as follows: [246]

- Stage 1 [Context] concerns individuals identifying some type of undesirable event or condition, such as their own social or economic deprivation, prompting a realisation that their present circumstances are not as they should be. Borum expresses the sentiment of this point as 'It's not right'.

- Stage 2 [Comparison] concerns individuals accepting their present circumstances as unjust causing them to measure their situation against that of others, ultimately determining that their perceived inequality is unfair and creating resentment against those thought to be better off. Borum expresses the sentiment of this point as 'It's not fair'.

- Stage 3 [Attribution] concerns individuals holding other people and groups responsible for their perceived inequality and lesser circumstances. Borum expresses the sentiment of this point as 'It's your fault'.

- Stage 4 [Reaction] concerns individuals judging the people and groups, thought to be responsible for their poor circumstances, as bad, followed by dehumanising and demonising those entities, which facilitates justification for violence against them. Borum expresses the sentiment of this point as 'You're evil'.

The literature that considers Randy Borum's four-stage process emphasises the pathway as being one in which an individual develops an ideology that ultimately justifies violent extremism, based on a comparative realisation whereby the circumstances of the individual's group are measured as being significantly inferior to those of various other groups.[247] When examining Borum's model firsthand, a number of themes relating to radicalisation as a theorised process can be found. Similar to the majority of the other previously examined pathways of this chapter, Borum's model

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[246] Borum, *Understanding*, op. cit., p. 9.

[247] King & Taylor, op. cit. p. 604.

displays radicalisation as a linear process, in which some individuals, beginning as people without radical tendencies, undergo ideological and behavioural stages of change, which escalate in regards to their threat potential, with them ultimately advocating violent acts.

Borum's model, like many others, also demonstrates radicalisation as a process that is, in part, motivated through stages of interaction with, or influence by, those who hold extremist views, which the individual comes to adopt, driving them towards the more radical end stages of the theorised pathway. Borum's model also describes how some individuals can develop in response to a range of experienced economic, social, political or personal crises, which act as catalyst events that change their previous mindset and which can drive them to seek what they believe to be a more stable and secure philosophical framework. Additionally, Borum's model illustrates radicalisation as a process in which some individuals in the later stages of the pathway rationalise their beliefs by demonising and dehumanising their perceived enemies to justify their hostility against them.

2.4.8. Tomas Precht's Four-Stage Model of the Process of Islamist Radicalisation.

Precht attempted to identify and analyse the factors that influence the militant Islamist radicalisation process in Europe.[248] In doing so, he developed a four-stage pathway model of Islamist radicalisation which largely parallels that of the New York Police Department's four-stage Jihadi-Salafi Islamist radicalisation process.[249] Both display an initial stage labelled *Pre-radicalisation*, which includes the numerous background factors in an individual's life that make them receptive to Islamic-inspired extremism, such as experiences of perceived discrimination, Muslim identity crises etc.[250] Both models include a subsequent *Conversion / Identification* stage (*Self-Identification* in the case of the NYPD model), where individuals identify with and change to a radical interpretation of Islam.[251] They also present a following *Indoctrination* stage, where individuals become more isolated from their previous lives and at that point are likely to associate

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[248] Borum, *Radicalization II*, op. cit., p. 42.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Precht, loc. cit.

[251] Ibid.

with a specific group of like-minded and increasingly extreme people,[252] as well as a final stage where planning, preparation and execution of terrorist *Actions* occur.[253]

Table 8: Precht's Four-Stage Model of the Process of Islamist Radicalisation.

Stage	Description
4	Action.
3	Conviction and indoctrination.
2	Conversion and identification.
1	Pre-radicalisation.

Tomas Precht's model, presented in Table 8, displays the four key process factors of his Islamist radicalisation pathway, which are outlined as follows: [254]

- Stage 1 [Pre-radicalisation] concerns an individual's life circumstances before their exposure to and adoption of a radical Islamic-inspired extremist ideology.

- Stage 2 [Conversion and Identification] concerns the individual becoming open to and adopting a radical interpretation of Islam.

- Stage 3 [Conviction and Indoctrination] concerns the individual isolating themselves from their former lives, preferring to associate exclusively with a group of like-minded extremist oriented people.

- Stage 4 [Action] concerns the individual participating in terrorist planning, preparation and execution activities.

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[252] Precht, loc. cit.

[253] Ibid.

[254] Ibid.

The literature that considers Tomas Precht's process of Islamist radicalisation concentrates on the four stages of the model emphasising small group dynamics and identification with radical Islam as often powerful accelerants of commitment to extremist ideology.[255] Like the New York Police Department's radicalisation pathway and numerous others covered in this chapter, Precht's model shows radicalisation as a linear process within which some individuals enter from mainstream origins, undergo stages of ideological and behavioural change, which increase their threat potential, and end by participating in acts of violence. Precht's model also identifies radicalisation as a process in which some individuals experience changes that result in them directing blame for their disadvantages and vulnerabilities towards perceived human enemy and support elements from various out-groups. As with some of the other previously examined radicalisation models, this outlook, in part, is motivated through stages of interaction with those who hold extremist views, creating connections that can direct individuals towards the militant end stage of the process.

Precht's model illustrates radicalisation as a process in which the higher levels of the pathway relate to increased stages of radicalisation but decreased numbers of individuals involved, when compared to the lower and middle levels. Additionally, the model considers how some individuals can develop in response to economic, social, political or personal crises, which act as catalyst events that unsettle previously held beliefs and drive individuals towards perceived stabilising religious frameworks. Moreover, Precht's model demonstrates radicalisation as a process in which some individuals in the later stages of the pathway rationalise their views by dehumanising perceived enemies to justify their hostility against them and / or believe themselves to be revolutionaries, fighting for freedom and security against an oppressive authority force.

2.4.9. Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko's Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation.

McCauley and Moskalenko identify three spheres in which radicalisation can take place; that of the *individual*, the *group* and on *mass*.[256] Their radicalisation model differs from others in that it does not present an exact and progressive radicalisation path that is submitted as common to all

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[255] Borum, *Radicalization II*, op. cit., p. 42.

[256] McCauley & Moskalenko, *Mechanisms*, op. cit., p. 418.

individuals.[257] It is instead a list that focuses on various mechanisms that may, or may not, influence the radicalisation process at different times, either separately or more likely, as multiple mechanisms operating in conjunction with one another.[258]

Table 9: McCauley and Moskalenko's Twelve Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation.

Level of Radicalisation	Mechanism
Individual	1. Personal victimisation.
Individual	2. Political grievance.
Individual	3. Joining a radical group - the slippery slope.
Individual	4. Joining a radical group - the power of love.
Individual	5. Extremity shift in like-minded groups.
Group	6. Extreme cohesion under isolation & threat.
Group	7. Competition for the same base of support.
Group	8. Competition with state power - Condensation.
Group	9. Within group competition - Fissioning.
Mass	10. Jujitsu politics.
Mass	11. Hate.
Mass	12. Martyrdom.

McCauley and Moskalenko's influences list, presented in Table 9, displays the 12 Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation, which are outlined as follows:[259]

- Personal Victimisation [Individual Level] concerns individuals responding to personal grievances.

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[257] E. Karagiannis, 'European Converts to Islam: Mechanisms of Radicalization', *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2012, p. 106.

[258] Borum, *Radicalization I*, op. cit., p. 28.

[259] McCauley & Moskalenko, *Mechanisms*, op. cit., p. 418.

- Political Grievance [Individual Level] concerns individuals responding to objectionable political events and trends.[260]

- Joining a Radical Group - the Slippery Slope [Individual Level] concerns individuals who join radical groups, after a slow and gradual process, in which they participate in activities that incrementally narrow their social circle, mindset, and available behaviour choices.

- Joining a Radical Group - the Power of Love [Individual Level] concerns individuals who are recruited through familial, friendship or romantic relationship ties.

- Extremity Shift in Like-Minded Groups [Individual Level] concerns individuals who experience the reinforcement of collective views as the result of contact with like-minded group members.[261]

- Extreme Cohesion Under Isolation and Threat [Group Level] concerns small groups, who tend to show elevated levels of unity and an increase in pressure for behavioural compliance and internalised value consensus, when under threat.[262]

- Competition for the Same Base of Support [Group Level] concerns groups who are motivated to greater levels of radical action and violence when in competition with others for a wider support base.[263]

- Competition with State Power - Condensation [Group Level] concerns groups who commit increasingly violent actions in retaliation to reciprocated state violence, thereby entering into a cycle of ever escalating violent reaction and counter-reaction.[264]

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[260] Young, Zwenk & Rooze, op. cit., p. 14.

[261] Ibid.

[262] Christmann, op. cit., p. 20.

[263] Ibid.

[264] Ibid.

- Within Group Competition - Fissioning [Group Level] concerns groups that become divided into different factions due to conflict, with one or more of those factions becoming more extreme through competition with the others. Interestingly, Bartlett and Miller expand on the understanding of this particular mechanism, arguing that Fissioning includes an aspect where tensions among group members lead to splintering, with the newly emerged groups often taking radical action against former allies to establish their new group norms as superior.[265]

- Jujitsu Politics [Mass Level] concerns a population which becomes unified and hardens in support of a leader, or a movement, as a result of external threat.

- Hate [Mass Level] concerns a population which endorses acts of extreme violence as a result of an out-group being portrayed as so remote that they become dehumanised in the eyes of that population.

- Martyrdom [Mass Level] concerns a population revering the memory of those who have died for their cause, so much so that the fallen appear to personify the cause itself.[266]

Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation model is not a progressive radicalisation pathway, as are the others examined in this chapter, but a list of identified influences that can initiate and drive radicalisation at different times, either individually or together.[267] The literature that considers McCauley and Moskalenko's list both supports the idea of non-linear radicalisation stimuli and embraces the notion of varying spheres of influence in which radicalisation can occur.[268] Some works also relay the message that McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation do not contradict other theorised models of radicalisation but in fact compliment them by placing them in a broader social context.[269]

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[265] Bartlett & Miller, op. cit., p. 16.

[266] Young, Zwenk & Rooze, op. cit., pp.14-15.

[267] Christmann, op. cit., p. 21.

[268] Ibid.

[269] Young, Zwenk & Rooze, op. cit., p. 15.

Though McCauley and Moskalenko's radicalisation influences list meets the criteria for inclusion in this section, with it being recent (post 9/11), well considered in the content of peer-reviewed journal articles, and expressed in the form of an individual influence model, in essence each of its mechanisms represent an identified radicalisation theme. With this in mind, it is impractical to examine McCauley and Moskalenko's list in the same way as that of the other sequential models of this chapter to determine findings, which relate directly to the widely theorised and currently predominant understanding of radicalisation as a progression process. It is the case however that an assessment will be made, in a later *Results and Discussion* chapter of this thesis, of each of McCauley and Moskalenko's identified mechanisms of political radicalisation against what is determined of the Australian survivalist development path. This will be done with the aim of identifying which radicalisation mechanisms may be relevant to the Australian survivalist situation.

2.5. Reiterated Radicalisation Themes.

In conducting a review of academic literature that identifies current theorised models which consider individual and group pathways of radicalisation, numerous reiterated themes among the models were identified. Those reiterated radicalisation theme findings will be tested against what is determined of the potential development path of Australian survivalists; this will occur in a later *Results and Discussion* chapter of this dissertation. Seven reiterated radicalisation themes were ascertained from this review and will be presented in this section, with each theme accompanied by key critical scholarly arguments that relate to them, which have been identified in the radicalisation theory literature.

1. Radicalisation is hypothesised as a predominantly linear process in which some individuals enter the pathway from mainstream origins and with relatively moderate world views, advance through stages of ideological and behavioural change, which incrementally narrows their outlook, social associations and available behaviour choices, and which gradually escalates their threat potential to a point where they ultimately advocate and conduct violent acts.

While this theme is prevalent among the radicalisation pathway models examined, it should be noted that the idea of radicalisation occurring as a linear process with radical beliefs preceding radical action has received some opposition in the academic literature.[270] Though accepted as potentially plausible by the same scholars that also challenge this notion, such a process is suggested as offering very little to assist with any understanding of how a great majority of those possessing extreme ideas do not engage in violent action.[271]

> 2. Radicalisation is hypothesised as a process in which some individuals can develop in response to economic, social, political or personal crises, which act as catalyst events that unsettle previously held beliefs and drive those who seek to gain a measure of assumed control over their lives towards believed important and stabilising religious frameworks.

While another dominant theme among the studied radicalisation pathways of this review, the notion of particular catalyst events influencing an individual's movement towards violent radicalisation has been criticised by some scholars.[272] Prompting the question of why is it that some individuals would be susceptible to engaging in acts of violence as a result of the radicalising effects of particular catalyst events while others experiencing the same or similar events are not, some scholars caution against assuming that all those who share experiences of dislocating episodes will become violent extremists.[273] Additionally, those researchers who suggest steering away from such assumptions and directing greater effort to investigating what it is that makes the results of the same calamitous experiences so unique for different people could help to clarify the distinctions between violent and non-violent radicalisation.[274]

Relating to the final portion of this identified reiterated radicalisation theme, the notion that individuals are driven to seek stability through religious frameworks and become changed by

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[270] C. McCauley and S. Moskalenko, 'Some Things We Think We've Learned Since 9/11: A Commentary on Marc Sageman's "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research", *Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol. 26, No. 4*, 2014, p. 604.

[271] Ibid.

[272] J. Githens-Mazer and R. Lambert, 'Why Conventional Wisdom On Radicalization Fails: The Persistence Of A Failed Discourse', *International Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 4, 2010, p. 900.

[273] Ibid.

[274] Ibid.

adopting the beliefs of those spiritual systems, is an issue of dispute among scholars. Particularly in reference to Islamic-inspired violent extremists, as the radicalisation literature reveals a concentration of work seeking the origins of *hate* against the West in the Quran, some argue that it is more likely the combination of a lack of any understanding of global neo-jihadi groups (and their global transference of ideology, theology, images and narratives)[275] and inbuilt prejudices that have contributed to ignorance concerning the verifiable influence religion may present in radicalising individuals.[276]

> 3. Radicalisation is hypothesised as a process in which some individuals pass through stages of interaction with, or influence by, those who hold extremist views, resulting in connections being made that can drive individuals towards more militant end stages of the pathway.

The academic debate which considers this radicalisation theme focuses on two main issues. The first is the failure to adequately explain how people from the same background and circumstances, who are exposed to the same extremist ideas by the same human sources, can develop differently.[277] The second concentrates on the subject of *self-radicalising* individuals who can develop extremist ideologies and undertake acts of violence while not having experienced any previous interaction with or influence by those who hold extremist views.[278] While some researchers have suggested that self-radicalised individuals do not require the contact of others to inspire them and can substitute person-to-person influences with those offered indirectly to them online, some have also argued that the phenomenon of *self-conversion* existed long before the Internet.[279] Self-conversion, known also as intellectual conversion, has been considered by researchers, in respect of religion, since the theory was first presented by Serge Moscovici in

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[275] P. Lentini, 'The Transference of Neojihadism: Towards a Process Theory of Transnational Radicalization', Proceedings of the 2008 GTReC International Conference, 26-27 November 2008, Global Terrorism Research Centre, Australia, 2009, p. 1.

[276] Sageman, *The Stagnation*, op. cit., p. 566.

[277] Githens-Mazer & Lambert, op. cit., p. 894.

[278] Borum, *Radicalization I*, op. cit., p. 24.

[279] Ibid.

1980.[280] Regarding this theory, Lofland and Skonovd state, "The 'intellectual' mode of conversion commences with an individual, private investigation of possible 'new grounds of being' (alternate theodicies, personal fulfilment, etc.), by reading books, watching television, attending lectures, and other impersonal or 'disembodied' ways in which it is increasingly possible *sans* social involvement to become acquainted with alternative ideologies and ways of life. In the course of such reconnaissance, some individuals convert themselves in isolation from any actual interaction with devotees of the respective religion."[281]

> 4. Radicalisation is hypothesised as a process in which some individuals undergo changes, resulting in them determining that responsibility for their apparent disadvantages, vulnerabilities and lack of security and control over their own lives, rests with perceived human enemy and support elements from various out-groups.

Comparing one's material conditions and situation to those of others and reaching a determination that one's disadvantages are unjust is referred to *as relative deprivation* in the radicalisation literature.[282] Research has found that relative deprivation does not generally reflect a feeling of overall envy and resentment towards all other groups with which the individual is not directly associated, but more so reflects an assessment of personal circumstances relative to a chosen target of social comparison.[283] A subject of scholarly debate, relative deprivation as a radicalising influence has been disputed in the past using demographic data, as those individuals who were known to have been radicalised to the point of engaging in violent extremism were not seen as being relatively deprived, with most originating from middle-class backgrounds.[284] In response to this position, some researchers have suggested that it is the perception of deprivation, not actual deprivation, which is likely to inspire a person or group to commit violent acts; that relying on the socio-economic status of violent extremists to confirm or discount the influence of relative

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[280] A. Maass, and R. D. Clark, 'Conversion Theory and Simultaneous Majority / Minority Influence: Can Reactance Offer an Alternative Explanation?', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 16, 1986, p. 305.

[281] J. Lofland, and N. Skonovd, Conversion Motifs, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1981, p. 376.

[282] King & Taylor, op. cit., p. 609.

[283] Ibid. p. 610.

[284] Ibid.

deprivation can be inaccurate, as it ignores the psychological aspect of relative deprivation.[285] It has been argued that individuals can in fact be advantaged while feeling group-based relative deprivation and equally, individuals can be comparatively disadvantaged without feeling their inequality as deprivation.[286]

> 5. Radicalisation is hypothesised as a process in which some individuals in later stages of the pathway rationalise their outlook by dehumanising perceived enemy population elements to justify their hostility against them and / or consider themselves to be revolutionaries, fighting for freedom and security against an oppressive authority force.

It is suggested that a large amount of the research that considers the various aspects of violent radicalisation is somewhat limited, often supported by anecdotal evidence or a relatively small number of case studies only;[287] the same limitations associated with those works also appear to apply to the debate surrounding this identified radicalisation theme. Some researchers argue that individuals who are politically and economically disadvantaged or oppressed can turn to violence to confront perceived threats to their freedom and security or to effect changes to their societal situation.[288] However, it is the case that there is limited empirical evidence with which to test this notion, with most supporting research data originating from publicly available sources, such as media reports and transcripts from court proceedings.[289] Additionally, some studies which specifically explore *jihadi* radicalisation have been criticised in the past, in regards to data reliability, due to a lack of any comparison with a control group of individuals who are not extremists.[290]

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[285] King & Taylor, op. cit., p. 610.

[286] Ibid.

[287] A. Silke, 'Holy Warriors: Exploring the Psychological Processes of Jihadi Radicalisation', *European Journal of Criminology*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2008, p.101.

[288] S. M. Kleinmann, ' Radicalization of Homegrown Sunni Militants in the United States: Comparing Converts and Non-Converts', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 2012, p. 280.

[289] Silke, loc. cit.

[290] Ibid.

6. Radicalisation is hypothesised as a process in which behavioural reinforcement effects result from individuals interacting with like-minded people via the Internet.

This radicalisation theme is the subject of considerable academic debate. With some scholars disputing the significance of the Internet in regards to its role in processes of violent radicalisation, often it is the lack of empirical research regarding the manner in which violent extremists use the Internet to promote their cause which is cited as the reason for uncertainty.[291] It has also been suggested that while the Internet may contribute to the radicalisation of some, it is also conceivable that it may have no real causal effect for others and that perhaps it is prior radicalisation that compels an individual to seek out extremist Internet material and not Internet content that brings about radicalisation.[292] In respect to the available data being reflective of Internet exchanges inspiring real-world actions, some scholars remain sceptical, promoting the understanding that online interactions will never be a substitute for grassroots activism.[293] In support of this position, it has been argued that online activity rather than becoming a venue for violent radicalisation and possible resulting real-world extremist acts, instead becomes for a majority, an outlet to vent the desire for violent action.[294] Additionally, it has been argued that a great number of those who use the Internet to proclaim a commitment to or a longing for violent action are likely occupied in a type of grand *public* display, devoid of any real intention or dedication to conduct violent acts at all.[295]

7. Radicalisation is hypothesised as a process in which the higher levels of the pathway are associated with increased stages of radicalisation but decreased numbers of individuals involved, when compared to lower and middle levels.

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[291] Conway, loc. cit.

[292] King & Taylor, op. cit., p. 613.

[293] Conway, loc. cit.

[294] Ibid. p. 4.

[295] Ibid.

It is argued that scholarly debate surrounding the processes of radicalisation into violent extremism has been more conceptual than empirical.[296] Reflective of this view, this radicalisation theme is described in the related literature as being illustrative of a *funnel* through which some members of the public experience progressively radical stages on their way to becoming violent extremists, though empirical research supporting this phenomenon is found to be relatively limited.[297]

2.6. Literature Review Chapter Summary.

This literature review discussed what is currently known of the content and scope of both international and Australian-specific survivalism literature and literature that focuses on currently accepted theoretical models of individual and group radicalisation processes, as well as the reiterated radicalisation themes therein. Notably, this review utilised all identified international survivalism-focused academic literature sources, bringing together and drawing upon, for the first time, eight accepted PhD dissertations, which examine various aspects of the survivalist sub-culture in the United States of America. This review determined that a significant gap exists in the understanding of the Australian survivalist sub-culture, demonstrated by a clear absence of any considered published works or academic studies relating to the Australian survivalist subject.

Recognising the dearth and limitations of the Australian survivalism literature establishes the need to go beyond the interrogation of available limited published material to understand the Australian survivalist sub-culture and the development path of its members. This is also essential if there is to be any prospect of determining how the Australian survivalist development path may contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories, which remains the fundamental goal of this research work. The details of the research strategy of this thesis and the undertaking of primary and direct research of the Australian survivalist sub-culture will be explored in the next chapter of this study, titled *Research Methodology*.

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[296] Borum, *Radicalization I*, op. cit., p. 15.

[297] A. Kundnani, 'Radicalisation: The Journey of a Concept', in C. Baker-Beall, C. Heath-Kelly, and L. Jarvis (eds.), *Counter Radicalisation: Critical Perspectives,* Florence, Routledge, 2014, p. 28.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1. Research Methodology Introduction:

It was established, in the preceding *Literature Review* chapter, that a considerable gap exists in the knowledge concerning the Australian survivalist sub-culture, demonstrated by a conspicuous absence of any academic studies or published works that consider the Australian survivalist subject. Understanding the paucity and limitations of the Australian survivalism literature emphasised the need to go beyond the examination of available published material and directly observe the Australian survivalist sub-culture to understand the development path of its members. Addressing this need, this *Research Methodology* chapter outlines the use of a summative approach to conducting a qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com.[298]

Analysing the open-source content of the aussurvivalist.com forum, as an important Australian survivalist communications hub, allowed for a detailed study to be made of the development of Australian survivalist individuals in that space, including the identification of changes to their directly reported or inferred activities and attitudes, over time. Analysis of the aussurvivalist.com forum content was key to addressing the two main aims of this thesis, [1] to examine the Australian survivalist sub-culture for the first time, from an academic perspective, by ascertaining in what ways the factors that drive individuals to develop as Australian survivalists resemble a path towards radicalisation, and [2] to determine how that development process may contribute to debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories.

3.1.1. Concerning the Concept of *Sub-Culture*.

There is a large body of literature devoted to the concept of *sub-culture*. In the United States of America and in the United Kingdom, the concept has been a classic and significant tool for Sociology and Criminology scholars to understand and explain deviant behaviour.[299] First applied

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[298] J. Monico, Aussurvivalist Discussion Forum, [website], 2001-2016, http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/, 2001, (accessed 1 August 2014).

[299] S. Blackman. 'Subcultural Theory: An Historical and Contemporary Assessment of the Concept for Understanding Deviance', *Deviant Behaviour*, Vol. 35, 2014, p. 496.

at the Chicago School of Sociology in the early twentieth century, the concept of sub-culture was used to understand deviance on the basis of social factors.[300] At the time, sub-cultures were suggested as not only being distinct from, but also in opposition to, the dominant culture.

Over time, new Cultural Studies viewpoints concerning deviant behaviour looked at sub-cultures in terms of their engagement in resistance and social struggle, in a foundational attempt to distinguish them from accepted connections to issues of delinquency.[301]

Post-sub-cultural theory, an early twenty-first century Sociological perspective with a new focus on spatiality, locality and fluid individual identity, views sub-cultures more creatively.[302] In light of an understanding that the social world is made up of different sets of values, the post-sub-cultural position disengages from collective understandings of deviance with a new focus on individual lifestyle choice.[303]

In a contemporary setting, as previously stated in the Introduction chapter of this thesis, regarding what constitutes a sub-culture, the term is commonly applied to groups within a particular society, as a way of understanding their dynamics of self-identification.[304] Specific to the radicalisation literature, *sub-culture*, as a label, has also been applied to certain groups that possess ideological commonalities.[305] It has been argued that the reason sub-cultures are useful for better comprehending individual involvement pathways is because of the importance of context.[306] That is, individual radicalisation processes likely occur within particular social and cultural environments.[307] Relative to the Australian survivalist collective that exists within the larger

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[300] Blackman, op. cit., p. 498.

[301] Ibid. p. 501.

[302] Ibid. p. 505.

[303] Ibid. pp. 505-506.

[304] R. Pyrah, and J. Fellerer., 'Redefining 'Sub-Culture': A New Lens for Understanding Hybrid Cultural Identities in East-Central Europe with a Case Study from Early 20th Century L'viv-Lwow-Lemberg', *Nations and Nationalism: Journal of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2015, p. 700.

[305] D. Pisoiu. 'Sub-cultural Theory Applied to Jihadi and Right-Wing Radicalization in Germany', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2015, p. 10.

[306] Ibid.

[307] Ibid.

Australian mainstream cultural group, it possesses its own specific style of language, mode of interaction, behaviours and ideologies, which are often at variance with those of the mainstream. With these factors in mind, for all intents and purposes, Australian survivalists are representative of a sub-culture[308] of the national mainstream cultural group and are acknowledged and referred to as such in this thesis.

3.2. Research Method Justification:

Studying the Australian survivalist sub-culture via an unobtrusive research method, like a qualitative content analysis of the publicly available aussurvivalist.com forum content, had clear security benefits both for participants and researcher, over research methods more reliant on direct interaction, such as interviews and surveys. In addition, employing an unobtrusive research method not only represented a considerably lessened risk to participants and researcher but also to the reputation and liability of the academic institution with which the researcher is associated. Conducting a content analysis was less labour intensive for the Australian survivalists being studied and as this research endeavour was focussed on sensitive areas of the survivalist lifestyle choice, alleviated the considerable imposition that may have been placed upon participants, by asking them to discuss their situation, as would be required if using more reactive research methods.[309] Risk reduction concerns aside, there were also several practical reasons why a qualitative analysis of the aussurvivalist.com forum content represented the greatest chance of success in identifying the shared development path of Australian survivalists. These reasons are as follows:

3.2.1. Honesty Through Anonymity.

Research methods which do not require active participation from those being studied have a highly regarded role in the history of social research.[310] In reactive methods, such as interviews and surveys, participants are aware of the researcher and may respond disingenuously in order to comply in a socially acceptable fashion or adapt their behaviour in awareness of being

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[308] M. M. Gordon, 'The Concept of the Sub-Culture and Its Application', *Social Forces*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 1947, p. 42.

[309] C. Hine, 'Internet Research and Unobtrusive Methods', *Social Research Update*, University of Surrey, U.K. Issue 61, Spring 2011, p. 3.

[310] Ibid. p. 1.

examined.[311] Unobtrusive use of *found* data can expose biases in data collected via reactive methods, or allow an otherwise hidden population or practice to be explored.[312] It is with a sense of security afforded by the perception of anonymity that aussurvivalist.com forum members present candid, reasonable, first-person information concerning their survivalist experiences and thought processes. These volunteered, personal Australian survivalist accounts are indicative of a frankness that is not often shown in face-to-face encounters[313] and may be considered the most accurate and reliable information concerning the Australian survivalist sub-culture that is currently obtainable.

3.2.2. A Sub-Culture of Silence.

In addition to the lack of any considered published works or academic studies that may have offered some insight into the inner workings of the Australian survivalist sub-culture, the opportunity to directly engage with its members also appeared unavailable. Australian survivalists are extremely private, with no desire to risk exposing their identity or to advertise the nature and extent of their particular survival preparations. Their preference for uncompromising privacy and their reluctance to speak about their unique lifestyle to outsiders stems in part from the Australian survivalist's considerable fear of ridicule and unwanted attention being directed towards them from media concerns. Among a number of instances in the past where news journalists have attempted to make contact with Australian survivalists directly through the aussurvivalist.com forum, the following discussion thread example illustrates what may be considered typical Australian survivalist negative responses to those media contact requests. The main posts of the discussion are as follows:

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[311] Hine, op. cit., p. 1.

[312] Ibid.

[313] Ibid. p. 2.

Initial enquiry post presenting the contact request of the media representative:

| sparhawk5
Admin Group

éminence grise

Joined: 01 October 1998
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 5646 | *Posted: 13 February 2003 at 1:05pm.*[314]

Any takers John M
_____

Hi, My name is Gosia Kaszubska and I'm a reporter with The Australian. With the current international turmoil and the various military / terrorism threats, I'm really keen to speak to somebody who is preparing for the possibility of a serious disaster (or should I say, preparing to survive a serious disaster). I would like to find out what kind of preparations they are making, why they feel it's important to be organised this way and speak about general issues related to survivalism. Also, I would need to get a photograph of this person, perhaps with their stockpile of preparations, to publish in the newspaper. I figured you would either know someone suitable, or perhaps might be happy to be involved yourself. I'm actually based in Melbourne, so if you could help me contact someone nearby that would be ideal. Otherwise, I can try to get one of our reporters from another city to pick up the story. My deadline for the story is basically "as soon as possible" so please let me know if there's any way you can help. Thanks for your time and hope to speak to you soon,

Gosia

Gosia Kaszubska
Reporter - The Australian

www.theaustralian.com.au |

Sarcastic response indicating a reluctance to engage with the media representative:

| aus7600
Survivalist

Joined: 05 August 2002
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 246 | *Posted: 13 February 2003 at 7:36pm.*[315]

Hang on, let me just put this gun to my head.

ASIF. |

Response indicating a reluctance to engage with the media representative:

| Texas Arcane
Survivalist

Joined: 06 August 2002
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 3320 | *Posted: 14 February 2003 at 10:18am.*[316]

Zero interest. VaultCo policy, no speaking with the enemy. |

[314] Sparhawk5, 'The Australian Media Inquiry', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum//forum_posts.asp?TID=591, 2003, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[315] aus7600, 'The Australian Media Inquiry', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum//forum_posts.asp?TID=591, 2003, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[316] Texas Arcane, 'The Australian Media Inquiry', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum//forum_posts.asp?TID=591, 2003, (accessed 10 August 2015).

An update to the original post where the aussurvivalist.com site administrator [sparhawk5] indicates that he made contact with the media representative, expressing reluctance on behalf of forum members to participate, and his recollection of a previous negative encounter with the media concern, which he believes was designed to obtain a survivalist response to be exploited and sensationalised:

sparhawk5 Admin Group éminence grise Joined: 01 October 1998 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 5646	*Posted: 14 February 2003 at 10:25am.*[317] I spoke briefly with her yesterday to tell her she is unlikely to have any takers. I also remembered what they said about this site in 1999: *"One imponderable is the public's perception of how smoothly the transition will be handled. Visions of hungry hordes of people roaming the streets has prompted AusSurvivalist, a Canberra based Web site, to seek out suppliers of body armour."* A statement obviously designed to elicit a negative sensationalist response. John M.

Response indicating a reluctance to engage with the media representative and reinforcing the survivalist privacy preference:

greyman Survivalist Joined: 11 October 2002 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 2412	*Posted: 16 February 2003 at 1:20am.*[318] I remember the last journo who wrote on this forum. She copped a hammering, poor lass. But no, there is no way I'd want my face planted in the paper and even less hope of them taking pictures of my stockpile of supplies. I'd rather just remain the greyman, always in the background unnoticed.

Response indicating a reluctance to engage with media representatives and reinforcement of the survivalist fear of ridicule and unwanted attention:

Texas Arcane Survivalist Joined: 06 August 2002 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 3320	*Posted: 21 March 2003 at 9:41am.*[319] Don't talk to them. Survivalists need to be united on this one issue. No speaking to journalists, trust me they will always screw you, it doesn't matter what you do. They will slur you and paint you as a deranged lunatic. I've seen it happen over and over again. Journos are unstable personalities. They've got all kinds of problems as people. They are full of envy, self-loathing, self-deception and general free floating resentment. Never, ever trust one to come into your home and document your shelter or supplies. They'll smile in your face and plant a knife in your back as soon as they start their typewriter.

Australian survivalist forum members are also firmly against speaking to any academic interests.

Based on the presumption that intellectuals are far removed from reality and predominantly

[317] Sparhawk5, 'The Australian Media Inquiry', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum//forum_posts.asp?TID=591, 2003, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[318] greyman, 'The Australian Media Inquiry', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum//forum_posts.asp?TID=591, 2003, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[319] Texas Arcane, 'The Australian Media Inquiry', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum//forum_posts.asp?TID=591, 2003, (accessed 10 August 2015).

focussed on their own gains, it was identified that there is a common and considerable distrust of academics among Australian survivalists. Australian survivalists have a similar perception of academics to that of media representatives, in that they believe given the opportunity their situation would likely be adversely recorded and reported by university scholars. Expressions of contempt for academics among Australian survivalists can often be seen following the posting of popular news articles in the forums, in which university experts have been consulted for their professional opinions and advice regarding the impact of potential global threats. The following two aussurvivalist.com discussion forum post threads illustrate the contempt shown towards academics by Australian survivalists in those situations. In the interest of context, the initial forum posts of the two discussion thread examples, which present the news articles in full, have been included:

Anti-Academic Discussion Thread 1:

The initial forum post of the discussion thread, titled *Sheeple getting warned by Boffins*, presenting a news article called The End is Nigh, published by *The Guardian* (18 April 2005). The forum member who posted the article did so to generate discussion relating to the validity of academic experts who provided various opinions and assessments relating to likely natural and human made global threats:

| **survival guy**
Survivalist

Joined: April 08 2003
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 521 | Posted: April 18 2005 at 12:04pm.[320]

When you've gotta go, you've gotta go - but how, and when? Experts from around the world assess the natural and man-made threats to human survival. How will it all end? Some say we are likely to go with a bang, others predict a slow, lingering end, while the optimists suggest we will overcome our difficulties by evolving into a different species. Humans have a 50-50 chance of making it through the 21st century without serious setback, says Sir Martin Rees, the astronomer royal, professor of cosmology and astrophysics at the University of Cambridge in England, and author of Our Final Century. "Some natural threats, such as earthquakes and meteorite impacts, remain the same throughout time, while others are aggravated by our modern interconnected world. But we also need to consider threats that are human-induced." So what are the greatest threats to humans and can we do anything about them? Here, scientists talk about their greatest fears and explain how society could be affected.

Super-volcanos: About every 50,000 years the Earth experiences a super-volcano. More than 1000 square kilometres of land can be obliterated by pyroclastic ash flows (lava, rocks, debris and gases), the surrounding continent is coated in ash and sulphur gases are injected into the atmosphere, making a thin veil of sulphuric acid all around the globe and reflecting back sunlight for years to come. Daytime becomes no brighter than a moonlit night.

"The global damage from a super-volcano depends on where it is and how long the gas stays in the atmosphere," says Professor Bill McGuire, director of the Benfield Hazard Research Centre at University College, London. "Taupo in New Zealand was the most recent super-volcano, about 26,500 years ago. The most damaging super-volcano in human history was Toba, on Sumatra, |

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[320] survival guy, 'Sheeple getting warned by Boffins', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=5500&KW=lecturer, 2005, (accessed 10 August 2015).

Indonesia, 74,000 years ago. Because it was fairly close to the equator it injected gas quickly into both hemispheres. Ice-core data shows that temperatures were dramatically reduced for five to six years afterwards, with freezing conditions right down to the tropics.

"A super-volcano is 12 times more likely than a large meteorite impact," McGuire says. "There is a 0.15 per cent probability that one will happen in your lifetime. Places to watch now are those that have erupted in the past, such as Yellowstone in the US and Toba. But, even more worryingly, a super-volcano could also burst out from somewhere that has never erupted before, such as under the Amazon rainforest." Chance of a super-volcano in our lifetime (the next 70 years): very high.

Telomere erosion: Every species contains an "evolutionary clock", ticking through the generations and counting down towards an inevitable extinction date, says Reinhard Stindl, a medical doctor at the University of Vienna.

"On the end of every animal's chromosomes are protective caps called telomeres. Without them our chromosomes would become unstable. Each time a cell divides it never quite copies its telomere completely and throughout our lifetime the telomeres become shorter and shorter as the cells multiply. Eventually, when they become critically short, we start to see age-related diseases, such as cancer, Alzheimer's, heart attacks and strokes.

"However, it is not just through our lifetime that telomeres get shorter. My theory is that there is a tiny loss of telomere length from one generation to the next, mirroring the process of ageing in individuals. Over thousands of generations the telomere gets eroded down to its critical level. Once at the critical level we would expect to see outbreaks of age-related diseases occurring earlier in life and finally a population crash. Telomere erosion could explain the disappearance of a seemingly successful species, such as Neanderthal man, with no need for external factors such as climate change." Chances of a human population crash due to telomere erosion during the next 70 years: low.

Climate change: "By the end of this century it is likely that greenhouse gases will have doubled and the average global temperature will have risen by at least 2C," says Nick Brooks, a senior research associate at the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research at the University of East Anglia in Britain. "This is hotter than anything the Earth has experienced in the last 1 million years. In the worst case scenario it could completely alter the climate in many regions of the world. This could lead to global food insecurity and widespread collapse of existing social systems, causing mass migration and conflict over resources as some parts of the world become much less habitable. I don't think that climate change will sound the death knell for humans, but it certainly has the potential to devastate." Chance of temperatures rising more than two degrees (the level considered dangerous by the European Union) in the next 70 years: high.

Viral pandemic: "Within the last century we have had four major flu epidemics, along with HIV and SARS," says Professor Maria Zambon, a virologist and head of Britain's Health Protection Agency's Influenza Laboratory. "Major pandemics sweep the world every century, and it is inevitable that at least one will occur in the future. At the moment the most serious concern is H5 avian influenza in chickens in South-East Asia. If this virus learns to transmit from human to human then it could sweep rapidly around the world. The 1918 influenza outbreak caused 20 million deaths in just one year: more than all the people killed in the First World War. A similar outbreak now could have a perhaps more devastating impact.

"It is not in the interests of a virus to kill all of its hosts, so a virus is unlikely to wipe out the human race, but it could cause a serious setback for a number of years. We can never be completely prepared for what nature will do: nature is the ultimate bioterrorist." Chance of a viral pandemic in the next 70 years: very high.

Terrorism: "Today's society is more vulnerable to terrorism because it is

easier for a malevolent group to get hold of the necessary materials, technology and expertise to make weapons of mass destruction," says Professor Paul Wilkinson, chairman of the advisory board for the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at the University of St Andrews in Britain.

"The most likely cause of large-scale, mass-casualty terrorism right now is from a chemical or biological weapon. The large-scale release of something like anthrax, the smallpox virus, or the plague, would have a huge effect, and modern communications would quickly make it become a transnational problem.

"In an open society, where we value freedom of movement, we can't guarantee stopping an attack, and there is a very high probability that a major attack will occur somewhere in the world within our lifetimes." Chance of a major terrorist attack in the next 70 years: very high.

Meteorite impact: "Over very long time-scales, the risk of you dying as a result of a near-Earth object impact is roughly equivalent to the risk of dying in an aeroplane accident," says Donald Yeomans, manager of NASA's Near Earth Object Program Office at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in California. "To cause a serious setback to our civilisation, the impactor would have to be about 1.5kilometres wide or larger. We expect an event of this type every million years on average.

"The dangers associated with such a large impactor include an enormous amount of dust in the atmosphere, which would substantially shut down sunlight for weeks, thus affecting plant life and crops that sustain life. There would be global firestorms as a result of re-entering hot ejecta and severe acid rain. All of these effects are relatively short-term, so the most adaptable species (cockroaches and humans, for example) would be likely to survive." Chance of the Earth being hit by a large asteroid in the next 70 years: medium.

Robots taking over: Robot controllers double in complexity, or processing power, every year or two. "They are now barely at the lower range of vertebrate complexity, but should catch up with us within a half-century," says Hans Moravec, a research professor at Carnegie Mellon University's Robotics Institute in Pittsburgh. "By 2050 I predict there will be robots with human-like mental power, with the ability to abstract and generalise.

"These intelligent machines will grow from us, learn our skills, share our goals and values, and can be viewed as children of our minds. Not only will these robots look after us in the home, but they will also carry out complex tasks that currently require human input, such as diagnosing illness and recommending a therapy or cure. They will be our heirs and will offer us the best chance we'll ever get for immortality by uploading ourselves into advanced robots." Chance of super-intelligent robots in the next 70 years: high.

Cosmic ray blast: Once every few decades a massive star from our galaxy, the Milky Way, runs out of fuel and explodes, in what is known as a supernova. Cosmic rays - high-energy particles like gamma rays - spew out in all directions and if the Earth happens to be in the way, they can trigger an ice age, says Nir Shaviv, a senior lecturer in physics at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

"If the Earth already has a cold climate then an extra burst of cosmic rays could make things really icy and perhaps cause a number of species to become extinct. The Earth is at greatest risk when it passes through a spiral arm of the Milky Way, where most of the supernova occur. This happens approximately every 150 million years. Paleoclimate indicators show that there has been a corresponding cold period on Earth, with more ice at the poles and many ice ages during these times.

"We are nearly out of the Sagittarius-Carina arm of the Milky Way now and Earth should have a warmer climate in a few million years. But in about 60 million years we will enter the Perseus arm and ice-house conditions are likely to dominate again." Chance of encountering a supernova in the next 70 years:

	low.
	Swallowed by a black hole: "Around seven years ago, when the Relativistic Heavy Ion Collider was being built at the Brookhaven National Laboratory in New York, there was a worry that a state of dense matter could be formed that had never been created before," says Richard Wilson, Mallinckrodt Research Professor of Physics at Harvard University in the US.
	"At the time this was the largest particle accelerator to have been built, making gold ions crash head on with immense force. The risk was that this might form a stage that was sufficiently dense to be like a black hole, gathering matter from the outside."
	Would the Brookhaven labs (and perhaps the entire Earth) end up being swallowed by a black hole created by the new accelerator?
	"Using the information we already know from black holes in outer space, we did some calculations to find out if the Brookhaven particle accelerator was capable of forming such a black hole. We are now pretty certain this state of matter won't form at Brookhaven and that the Earth won't be swallowed when these particles collide." Chance of Earth being gobbled up by a black hole in the next 70 years: exceedingly low.

A response to the news article questioning its thoroughness and indicating some condescension regarding choice of academic contributors:

survival guy Survivalist Joined: April 08 2003 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 521	*Posted: April 18 2005 at 12:08pm.*[321] No mention of Peak Oil, no mention of Ice Age II. Obviously this boffin hasn't factored this in yet.

A response to the news article indicating suspicion and disdain for academic professionals:

Texas Arcane Survivalist Joined: August 06 2002 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 3320	*Posted: April 18 2005 at 2:13pm.*[322] These airy-fairy academic types are so grossly out of touch with what is happening in the world. Yet they insist on lecturing the masses through the mediavitz. You could get better analysis in general by most regulars on Aussurvivalist. Notice how these things are always looked at in isolation, never as interactive combinations of several stresses at once. Somebody tell this academic that the chance of civilization collapsing into global war during the next ten years from climate change, peak oil, volcanism and general social decay and demographic change is 100%.

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[321] survival guy, 'Sheeple getting warned by Boffins', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=5500&KW=lecturer, 2005, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[322] Texas Arcane, 'Sheeple getting warned by Boffins', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=5500&KW=lecturer, 2005, (accessed 10 August 2015).

Anti-Academic Discussion Thread 2:

The initial forum post of the discussion thread, titled *A fragile existence*, presenting a news article called Volcanic Cloud Casts Pall Over Interwoven World, published by *nbcnews.com* (16 April 2010). The forum member who posted the article did so to commence a discussion about the volcanic disaster event but instead generated increasingly aggressive responses concerning the validity of the academic experts who provided various opinions and assessments relating to the threat:

| **John@SBC**
Survivalist

Joined: August 05 2002
Location: Antarctica [sic]
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 1531 | *Posted: April 17 2010 at 8:13pm.*[323]

PARIS - A cloud of ash hovered over Europe on Friday, casting a pall over an interwoven world. Made up of microscopic particles as hard as a knife's blade, the dust cloud coughed up by an Icelandic volcano crept across the industrial powerhouses of Europe, into the steppes of Russia and as far south as Hungary. It left behind stranded travellers, grounded cargo flights, political confusion and even fears the cloud of grit settling on Earth will endanger the lungs of children, asthmatics and others with respiratory ailments. How long it lasts and how far it spreads depends entirely on two unpredictable events: Whether the volcano beneath Iceland's Eyjafjallajokull (ay-yah-FYAH'-plah-yer-kuh-duhl) glacier keeps pumping tons of dust into the air and what wind patterns do. The invisible cloud could split, reaching down into northern Italy, and perhaps break apart over the Alps.

Scientists say the volcano could continue erupting for months, with more chaos ensuing with each big belch of basalt powder and gas. "It's going to be a mess," said volcanologist Michael Rampino of New York University. "It's a menace to air traffic, just sitting there, waiting to go off." Henry Margusity, senior meteorologist for AccuWeather.com, predicted the jet stream winds will continue picking up dust over Iceland and carry it to Britain and Europe "like a spray can of ash" through next Wednesday.

Is it a first? The devastating 19th-century eruption of Indonesia's Krakatau island was bigger. In ancient times, Mount Vesuvius buried an entire city and in the 17th century, a series of eruptions from Peru to the South Pacific blocked the sun's energy and sent the Earth's temperatures plunging. But in this era of global trade crisscrossing the planet by air, the Icelandic eruption has implications that underscore the particular vulnerabilities of the modern world.

The airline industry said it was losing $200 million a day in cancellations - not counting additional costs for rerouting or taking care of grumpy passengers. Almost two-thirds of Europe's usual 28,000 flights were grounded Friday - twice as many as a day earlier, according to the air traffic agency Eurocontrol. Air space remained closed in Britain and across large chunks of north and central Europe. Restrictions were imposed or lifted as the cloud moved: Flights were suspended at Frankfurt airport, Europe's third-busiest, and elsewhere in Germany, while Ireland reopened airports in Dublin and Cork.

Even powerful politicians were left far from home. German Chancellor Angela Merkel, was forced to govern Europe's biggest economy from Portugal after her flight from the United States was diverted. A new iPad helped Norway's Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg keep in touch with his government while he was stuck in Switzerland, where he ended up after trying to fly home from the U.S. With German air space closed, a flight carrying five German soldiers wounded in Afghanistan was diverted to Turkey; U.S. medical evacuations from Iraq and Afghanistan went directly to Washington.

Airline cancellations also brought personal anguish. Anissa Isker arrived at Charles de Gaulle airport early Friday in hopes of taking her 8-year-old son Ryan, who has a rare genetic disease and uses a wheelchair, to Miami for treatment that could help him walk. The hard-to-schedule treatment costs |

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[323] John@SBC, 'A fragile existence', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13927&KW=academic+university&PN=0&TPN=1, 2010, (accessed 10 August 2015).

$3,000, a sum she is afraid she will lose if they can't leave this weekend. "I think it's going to be tough, especially with my little one. When I told him we cannot leave, he got nervous," Isker told AP Television News. "Because he wants to go, he has made up his mind and he cannot understand."

Potentially lifesaving organs, too, were stuck in transit. All organs that usually get flown out to patients were instead being distributed to those within driving distance. "Hearts, lungs and livers, which are normally transported by air, are now delivered regionally and by ground travel," said Nadine Koerner, a spokeswoman for the German Foundation for Organ Transplant.

The World Health Organization warned the ash could cause breathing problems. Europeans, especially those with respiratory ailments or asthma, should try to stay indoors if the ash starts settling. "We're very concerned about it," said WHO spokesman Daniel Epstein. "These particles when inhaled can reach the peripheral regions of ... the lungs and can cause problems." Other experts, however, weren't convinced the volcanic ash would have a major health effect. Ken Donaldson, a professor of respiratory toxicology at the University of Edinburgh, said volcanic ash was much less dangerous than cigarette smoke or pollution.

With planes in Norway grounded and trains booked up, British comedian John Cleese resorted to a $5,100 (30,000 kroner) taxi ride to Brussels from Oslo, where he had taped an appearance on a Norwegian talk show Thursday night. From there, he planned to go by train to London, his publicist said.

The volcanic ash drifted at between 20,000 to 30,000 feet (6,000 to 9,000 meters), but was not a solid band of dust and particles. It was moving at around 25 miles (40 kilometres) per hour, said Harry Geurts, of the Dutch meteorological office KNMI. Ash settled like a layer of talcum powder in parts of Iceland and lightly coated parts of Scotland, England, Norway and the Faroe Islands. Oddly, the sun shone over much of Britain and the European low countries - more used to overcast skies than sunshine. Europe could be treated to spectacular sunsets for weeks or months to come from the lingering dust.

Rampino, the volcano expert, said the explosive power of the eruption was unusual for Iceland, where volcanic activity normally occurs as lava flows. It may have been an interaction between the volcano's magma and the glacial ice that thrust the ash high enough to catch the winds of the jet stream sweeping toward northern Europe, he said. "It's very difficult to predict the size, predict the behavior of a volcano," he said.

A study by Italian scientists of the dispersal of ash from the Etna eruption in 1998 highlighted the uncertainty of any predictions. It said the trajectory of an ash cloud can change within a few hours in response to wind speeds at various heights. Particle size is also a factor: The smaller the grains of ash, the less likely they will fall to Earth. The minuscule size of the Iceland particles makes them likely to disperse in the atmosphere unless they wash down with rain.

For now, the ash appeared unlikely to have the same cooling effect on the planet as major eruptions in history, including the 1991 eruption of Mount Pinatubo in the Philippines, which reduced temperatures and lowered sea levels for several years. The Philippines eruption spewed up to 28 tons of sulphur dioxide into the air in two days that acted like millions of tiny mirrors reflecting sunlight back into space, said Brenda Ekwurzel, a climate scientist from the Union of Concerned Scientists in Washington. "These are two different types of volcanos to start out with," she said. "We're still stuck with global warming."

A response to the news article intended to progress the discussion with an emphasis on the potential long term impact of the disaster:

Hawk Survivalist Joined: August 09 2002 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 2056	*Posted: April 18 2010 at 12:08am.*[324] I like then interview with a few vulcanologists, who, when asked how long it could go on for, shrugged and said "we just don't know enough about volcanoes, even today ... without wanting to sound too dramatic, it could go on for days, weeks, months, or there's even a chance of it lasting years to one level of severity or another". Now *that* made the reporters sit up and take notice. It won't have a huge climate impact, but, like Mount Pinatubo, I imagine there will be some very pretty sunsets for some time to come in a lot of the world.

An aggressive response displaying clear contempt and hostility towards the academic professionals consulted on this issue:

AUSSIE Survivalist Joined: April 02 2004 Location: Zimbabwe [sic] Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 5747	*Posted: April 18 2010 at 7:59pm.*[325] **Hawk wrote:** > I like then interview with a few vulcanologists, who, when asked how long it could go on for, shrugged and said "we just don't know enough about volcanoes, even today...without wanting to sound too dramatic, it could go on for days, weeks, months, or there's even a chance of it lasting years to one level of severity or another". > > Now *that* made the reporters sit up and take notice. > > It won't have a huge climate impact, but, like Mount Pinatubo, I imagine there will be some very pretty sunsets for some time to come in a lot of the world. These tools are just making it up as they go along! Nerdy cokksuckers have got no idea how long this gonna keep on, talk about having a bob each way with a statement like:- "it could go on for days, weeks, months, or there's even a chance of it lasting years" Fugging w**kers, my 14 year old daughter is more of a scientist than these prikks will ever be!

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[324]   Hawk, 'A fragile existence', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13927&KW=academic+university&PN=0&TPN=2, 2010, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[325]   AUSSIE, 'A fragile existence', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13927&KW=academic+university&PN=0&TPN=2, 2010, (accessed 10 August 2015).

A sarcastic response displaying clear contempt for the academic professionals consulted on this issue and a minor comparison comment grouping academics with media interests:

| hillbilly
Survivalist

Joined: November 02 2006
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 4067 | *Posted: April 18 2010 at 8:11pm.*[326]

Hey, now calm down... i rekkon this might , or might not, affect the globe. sooo, look at these dikkwadds who know as much about vulcanoes as you, n me, .. they know sheet.

no one actually knows what is happnin. but these Xperts are to be listened to???????? i hate too many lying experts and media. |

An aggressive response displaying clear contempt and hostility towards the academic professionals consulted on this issue:

| sigma1
Newbie

Joined: February 14 2010
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 25 | *Posted: April 19 2010 at 8:13pm.*[327]

Volcano Academics. These academic w**kers really get to me, they cost us tax payers heaps for their university studies (on top of their HEX) and they still cannot tell us anything we can already see or decide for ourselves. |

Of significant interest in determining and discounting research method options not viable for this thesis was the discovery of an ausurvivalist.com forum discussion thread that was initiated on the 1st of April 2014. The discussion was commenced by a member who disclosed that they were contemplating completing a master's degree thesis potentially covering aspects of Australian survivalism and enquired about the possibility of input and assistance from the survivalist members of the aussurvivalist.com forum. The responses that the member received were sarcastic, abusive, and accusatorial, and clearly indicated that there could be no contribution or cooperation from Australian survivalists in regards to working with an academic. The main posts of the discussion are as follows:

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[326]   hillbilly,   'A   fragile   existence',   AusSurvivalist.com,   [internet   discussion   forum   post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13927&KW=academic+university&PN=0&TPN=2,   2010, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[327]   sigma1,   'A   fragile   existence',   AusSurvivalist.com,   [internet   discussion   forum   post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13927&KW=academic+university&PN=0&TPN=2,   2010, (accessed 10 August 2015).

Initial *enquiry* post by the *Academic* member:

BTVisage Groupie Joined: October 04 2013 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 139	*Posted: April 01 2014 at 11:52pm.*[328] So a few of you guys have asked me if I'm writing a paper for uni. I'm not, but I was thinking about it earlier today, and thought if I were ever to do a Masters or a PhD, then survivalism would certainly be something I would consider. So what're some topics that would be of use to discuss in an academic paper? Is there anything that would benefit you guys? Are there key questions that some of you might want answered in a Masters dissertation / thesis? Gun control is probably not a good option (a study on it would probably do more harm than good). *Edited by BTVisage - April 01 2014 at 11:53pm.*

Response indicating contempt and distrust of Academics:

AUSSIE Survivalist Joined: April 02 2004 Location: Zimbabwe (sic) [Australia] Online Status: Offline Posts: 5384	*Posted: April 02 2014 at 1:10am.*[329] Why bottom feeder academics should never be permitted to hold positions where they can control the lives of working men with real jobs!

Sarcastic response made more so to highlight the member's particular fear for the future and their disdain for the government than offer an answer to the *Academic* member's enquiry [spelling errors are as they appear in the original aussurvivalist.com forum post]:

bebe Member Joined: 02 December 2010 Online Status: Offline Posts: 4417	*Posted: 02 April 2014 at 6:42am.*[330] How a collapse of society is inevitable due to the fact that infinite growth is impossible in a world with finite resources and how Australian leadership is bordering on treason because they are more concerned with being seen as good world citizens rather than looking out for Australian interests. And in such an environment were we are lacking leadership intelligent people are forced to do there own preps cause its plainly obvious that the powers that be intend to leave us all hanging out there in the wind evan though Australia is uneackly situated to ride out any collapse and could be a shining beacon of culture and learning in the new comeing dark age that's about to decend upon us. Theres your masters right there, just need to plump it out a bit.

[328]   BTVisage, 'Topic for masters', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17656&KW=academic, 2014, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[329]   AUSSIE, 'Topic for masters', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17656&KW=academic, 2014, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[330]   Bebe, 'Topic for masters', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17656&KW=academic, 2014, (accessed 10 August 2015).

Sarcastic response made more so to highlight the member's particular fear for the future and their disdain for the government than offer an answer to the *Academic* member's enquiry. The member makes a point of indicating his belief that the concept of survivalism cannot be adequately captured by news and / or print media:

| **hillbilly**
Survivalist

Joined: 02 November 2006
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 4034 | *Posted: 02 April 2014 at 7:25am.*[331]

she wrote.."Is there anything that would benefit you guys?"

No.

successful survivalism isn't for a paper, book, tv, radio, ...media.

all the questions are just picking members brains for bits and pieces. friend ?

a good subject for a paper, although no uni student would have the guts "the decline of society when forced to accept multiculturalism" or "the real racism- anti white" |

Response accusing the *Academic* member of having ulterior motives relating to information collection:

| **pete**
Sin Binned

Joined: May 09 2011
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 1604 | *Posted: April 02 2014 at 12:11pm.*[332]

You picked your user name with much consideration and planning. However dont for one moment think you are the sharpest tool in the tool chest. A good career choice could well be Asio-Federal Police as you appear partly qualified. |

Second post by the *Academic* member attempting to legitimise his / her intention with more information about the proposed study and placate hostile responders with a guarantee of discretion:

| **BTVisage**
Groupie

Joined: October 04 2013
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 139 | *Posted: April 02 2014 at 6:22pm.*[333]

From what I can see the study can run a few ways.

One way is through case studies of people, but that would depend on people willing to do that. (Is anyone willing to do that?)

Another way is through the filling of a questionnaire for people on this forum, which I will then compare to a control group.

For either ethics clearance will be granted.

Your privacy, anonymity and confidentiality will be respected.

Edited by BTVisage - April 02 2014 at 6:29pm. |

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[331]   hillbilly, 'Topic for masters', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17656&KW=academic, 2014, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[332]   pete, 'Topic for masters', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17656&KW=academic, 2014, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[333]   BTVisage, 'Topic for masters', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17656&KW=academic, 2014, (accessed 10 August 2015).

Response to the *Academic's* second post, accusing him / her of premeditated infiltration of the forum community to achieve an ulterior goal:

SOSDDAY Member Joined: May 31 2009 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 4722	*Posted: April 02 2014 at 6:55pm.*[334] Funny how far out the closet they come when they think they're one of the bunch and in with a chance. From life straws to 100ac's and heavy machinery, I read dreamer...but I was way off.

Response indicating contempt and distrust of academics and the futility of continuing this particular discussion. This post effectively ended the discussion thread:

AUSSIE Survivalist Joined: April 02 2004 Location: Zimbabwe (sic) [Australia] Online Status: Offline Posts: 5384	*Posted: April 02 2014 at 7:05pm.*[335] BTVisage wrote: From what I can see the study can run a few ways. One way is through case studies of people, but that would depend on people willing to do that. (Is anyone willing to do that?) Another way is through the filling of a questionnaire for people on this forum, which I will then compare to a control group. For either ethics clearance will be granted. Your privacy, anonymity and confidentiality will be respected. Too much intellectual masturbation (talking without doing)! Academics on here are non-producing, time waster consumer units with a lot to say and no tangible value as members!

The use of individual interactive case studies, interviews, questionnaires and surveys as impartial research methods to study the Australian survivalist sub-culture was not likely, given that such methods would be reliant on the cooperation of Australian survivalists themselves, a number of which had so fervently expressed their disdain for and disinclination to work with academics. Taking into consideration the potential limitations of relying on reactive research methods when dealing with Australian survivalists, the option of conducting an unobtrusive qualitative content analysis of their discussion forum text, independent of any participant reservations or biases, was not only preferred but likely necessary, if there was to be any objective assessment of the sub-culture.

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[334] SOSDDAY, 'Topic for masters', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17656&KW=academic, 2014, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[335] AUSSIE, 'Topic for masters', AusSurvivalist.com, [internet discussion forum post] http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17656&KW=academic, 2014, (accessed 10 August 2015).

3.2.3. Historical Precedent.

With origins that date back to the 18th century in Scandinavia, content analysis as a research method has seen many phases of development over time.[336] From its use in the early analysis and comparison of texts in hermeneutic contexts,[337] to its application in 20th century analyses of non-verbal aspects of linguistics, psychology, sociology, history and the arts,[338] to its extensive employment today as a qualitative analytical tool within an ever increasing range of research disciplines,[339] content analysis remains a valuable research method choice when working in an interpretive paradigm.[340] With value that extends to its use in the online environment, it was significant in regards to choosing an appropriate research methodology for this thesis that a precedent had been set for the successful qualitative analysis of open-source Internet discussion content, as a research methodology for a doctoral thesis that dealt specifically with the study of the United States survivalist sub-culture.

Lee'Ann Imel-Hartford, in her 2012 PhD dissertation, titled *The Preppers: A Multiple Case Study of Individuals Who Choose a Moderate Survivalist Lifestyle*,[341] employed a qualitative analysis of the posted content found in five survivalist Internet blogs, as a research method to ascertain common themes in that space, which relate to the United States Prepper way of life.[342] By establishing a system of keyword coding, which identified reoccurring Prepper / survivalist themes within Internet blog text,[343] and qualitatively analysing that content, Imel-Hartford was able to identify the behavioural and ideological qualities of United States Preppers, which exist in contrast to those of committed United States survivalists.[344] Imel-Hartford's research processes and results were of

[336] K. E. Rosengren (Ed.), *Advances in Content Analysis,* Beverly Hills CA. Sage, 1981, cited in H. Hsieh, & S. Shannon, 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis', *Qualitative Health Research,* Vol. 15, No. 9, November 2005, p. 1278.

[337] P. Mayring, Qualitative Content Analysis. Forum: Qualitative Social Research [Qualitative Sozialforschung], Vol. 1, No. 2, Art. 20, June 2000, p. 6. http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0002204.

[338] Ibid.

[339] Y. Zhang and B.M. Wildemuth, 'Qualitative Analysis of Content', *philpapers: Analysis,* Vol. 1, No. 2, June 2000, p. 1. https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~yanz/Content_analysis.pdf. (accessed 31 May 2016).

[340] Ibid. p. 11.

[341] Imel-Hartford, op. cit. pp. 1-109.

[342] Ibid. p. 78.

[343] Ibid. pp. 60-61.

[344] Ibid. p. 67.

relevance to this thesis, demonstrating the potential success of such unobtrusive analysis methods being applied to examine the textual interactions of Australian survivalist entities online.

3.3. The Research Method:

A summative approach to conducting a qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum was chosen as the research method for this thesis. Qualitative content analysis concentrates on the characteristics of language as communication, with a specific focus on the contextual meaning of text.[345] Text data appropriate for qualitative content analysis can have origins in verbal, print or electronic form and may have been acquired from narrative responses, open-ended survey questions, interviews, focus groups, observations or print media such as articles, books or manuals.[346] Internet discussion forum content may also be counted as a valid source from which to obtain text data suitable for qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis subjectively interprets language through the systematic organising of large amounts of text into an efficient number of pattern or theme categories, which indicate similar meanings; this is known as a process of coding.[347] Categories established during the coding process can represent patterns or themes either directly expressed, or inferred, in the text.[348]

Rather than being a single mode process, there are three distinct approaches to using qualitative content analysis, *conventional*, *directed* and *summative*.[349] As can be seen in Table 10, the major differences among the three approaches relate to how the analysis starts and how initial codes are developed; that is, the point in the analysis at which codes and keywords are defined and the source of codes and keywords.[350]

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[345] Hsieh & Shannon, op. cit. p. 1278.

[346] N. L. Kondracki and N. S. Wellman, 'Content Analysis: Review of Methods and Their Applications in Nutrition Education', *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behavior,* Vol. 34, 2002, p. 224.

[347] R. P. Weber, *Basic Content Analysis*, Sage Publications, USA, 1990, cited in H. Hsieh, & S. Shannon, 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis', *Qualitative Health Research,* Vol. 15, No. 9, November 2005, p. 1278.

[348] Hsieh & Shannon, op. cit. p. 1285.

[349] Ibid. p. 1277.

[350] Ibid. p. 1286.

Table 10: Major Coding Differences Among the Three Approaches to Content Analysis.[351]

Type of Content Analysis	Analysis Begins With	When Codes or Keywords are Defined	The Source of Codes or Keywords
Conventional	Observation	Codes are defined during data analysis.	Codes are derived from data.
Directed	Theory	Codes are defined before and during data analysis.	Codes are derived from theory or relevant research findings.
Summative	Keywords	Keywords are identified before and during the data analysis.	Keywords are derived from the interest of researchers or review of literature.

In a conventional content analysis, coding categories are determined directly from the text data during analysis.[352] With a directed approach, an existing theory or relevant previous research findings guide the establishing of initial codes, prior to commencing data analysis.[353] As analysis moves forward, additional codes are developed and the initial coding scheme is modified and refined.[354] The summative approach to content analysis is noticeably different from the other identified styles. Rather than analysing the data as a whole, a summative approach sees text considered as single words or in relation to specific content.[355] A summative approach involves the analysis of patterns in the text data, usually identified through keywords, which leads to an interpretation of the underlying contextual meaning of particular terms or content.[356]

A summative approach to qualitative content analysis begins with identifying and quantifying particular words or content with a similar meaning in the text, with the goal of understanding the contextual use of those words and content.[357] Examining text data for the appearance of specific words or related content is known as manifest content analysis.[358] If the analysis concluded at this

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[351] Hsieh & Shannon, op. cit. p. 1286.

[352] Ibid.

[353] H. Kyngas and L. Vanhanen, 'Content Analysis as a Research Method [Finnish]', *Hoitotiede,* Vol. 11, 1999, pp. 3-12. pp. 3-12, cited in H. Hsieh, & S. Shannon, 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis', *Qualitative Health Research,* Vol. 15, No. 9, November 2005, p. 1286.

[354] Hsieh & Shannon, op. cit. p. 1286.

[355] Ibid.

[356] Ibid.

[357] Ibid. p. 1283.

[358] W. J. Potter and D. Levine-Donnerstein, 'Rethinking Validity and Reliability in Content Analysis', *Journal of Applied Communication Research,* Vol. 27, August 1999, p. 259.

point, it would be considered quantitative, concentrating on counting the recurrence of specific words or content.[359] A summative approach to qualitative content analysis goes beyond basic word counts to include latent content analysis.[360] Latent content analysis refers to the process of interpretation of content.[361] In this style of analysis, the focus is on identifying the underlying meaning of words and related content.[362]

3.4. The Research Process:

The research process for this thesis involved a series of systematic and clear procedures for collecting and processing Australian survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum text data, which identified the Australian survivalist development path. Establishing the Australian survivalist development path was necessary to determine its similitude to a path towards radicalisation and to discuss how the Australian survivalist development process contributes to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories.

3.4.1. The Data Source and Sample Size.

As previously stated, identifying the Australian survivalist development path was achieved by qualitatively analysing the publicly posted content of Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum at aussurvivalist.com. The aussurvivalist.com website was created in 1998,[363] with its survivalist discussion forum developed in 2001.[364] The forum displays 240,916 publicly available, individual discussion posts, within 17,178 separate conversation threads, which have been created by 1250 registered survivalists over a 13 year time period.[365] The open source forum material on the aussurvivalist.com website offers detailed accounts of the range of behaviours of

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[359] Kondracki & Wellman, loc. cit.

[360] Hsieh & Shannon, op. cit. p. 1283.

[361] O. R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Reading, MA, Addison-Wesley. 1969, cited in H. Hsieh, & S. Shannon, 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis', *Qualitative Health Research,* Vol. 15, No. 9, November 2005, p. 1283.

[362] E. Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*, New York, Macmillan, 1992, cited in H. Hsieh, & S. Shannon, 'Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis', *Qualitative Health Research,* Vol. 15, No. 9, November 2005, p. 1283.

[363] J. Monico, Aussurvivalist Home Page, [website], 1998, http://www.aussurvivalist.com/, 2001, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[364] Monico, *Aussurvivalist Discussion Forum*, loc. cit.

[365] Totals correct as of the 1st of August 2014, identified through primary research by the author.

various Australian survivalist member types and unique insight into the beliefs and motivations that drive their actions. The registered membership of the aussurvivalist.com forum is completely anonymous, with participants creating discussion posts and contributing to conversation threads using a non-descript screen name, leaving nothing to directly connect their true identity with their online persona.[366]

It has been suggested that there are no calculations or power analyses that can be done in qualitative research to establish the minimum number and types of sampling units required, and that generally the issue of sample size in qualitative studies is determined by a subjective judgment that takes into consideration the research work's aim and purpose.[367] Given the scope of this thesis, the nature of its objectives and the quality of the first-person accounts spanning a 13 year time period,[368] which were obtainable from the aussurvivalist.com source, 10 percent of the forum's overall registered membership, that is 125 Australian survivalist members, was identified as a suitable sample size to gather the appropriate data required for this retrospective longitudinal study. This thesis utilised an analysis of the posted material of those 125 randomly selected Australian survivalist forum members and considered all content created by them which presented reoccurring, or common, behaviours and beliefs in that environment. All content posted by the 125 member sample from the beginning of the forum's creation in 2001 was considered.[369]

3.4.2. Selecting the 125 Forum Members [10% Sample].

The 125 Australian survivalist forum members selected to conduct the content analysis were chosen using an atmospheric noise based true random number generator, supplied by random.org.[370] The process for the member selection was, [a] the full 1250 registered member list of the aussurvivalist.com forum was accessed from the site and pasted into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, [b] the member list was arranged in an alphabetical order on the spreadsheet, with each member assigned a consecutive identifying number, from 1 to 1250, [c] 125 true random

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[366] J. Monico, Aussurvivalist Forum Registration Page, [website], 2001, www.aussurvivalist.com, http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/registration_rules.asp?FID=0, 2001, (accessed 10 August 2015).

[367] M. Sandelowski, 'Sample Size in Qualitative Research', *Research in Nursing & Health,* Vol. 18, 1995, p. 179.

[368] Monico, *Aussurvivalist Discussion Forum*, loc. cit.

[369] Ibid.

[370] Random.org, 'Random Integer Generator page', https://www.random.org/integers/, 1998, (accessed 10 August 2015).

integers from a specified range of 1 to 1250 were generated through the random.org service, and [d] the generated 125 integers, which translated as member identification numbers on the spreadsheet, determined the aussurvivalist.com survivalist members that were included in the analysis.

3.4.2.1. Member Sample Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria.

With the 125 survivalist forum sample members identified, they were then assessed against the following inclusion and exclusion criteria:

[i] Chosen members of the sample were not to have a zero forum post total. It is possible to become a registered member of the aussurvivalist.com forum and not post anything. A zero post total makes it unachievable to assess the member in relation to behaviour and outlook.

[ii] Chosen members of the sample had to be Australian. A number of international survivalists are registered members on the aussurvivalist.com forum, just as many Australian survivalists are members of international survivalist sites. International members were excluded from this study as the analysis was Australian survivalist-specific.

In relation to the second inclusion and exclusion criteria [ii], it should be noted that an examination of the aussurvivalist.com forum identified that the only aspect of the initial membership registration process where accuracy of identifying information appeared to be of value to members was within the option for them to specify what country they were from. This looked to be of particular importance to Australian members, who seemed to want to distinguish themselves from international survivalists who often contribute to forum discussions.

3.4.3. Analysing Forum Material, Keywords and Capturing Significant Content.

Each of the forum posts created by the 125 aussurvivalist.com member sample were qualitatively analysed by the author and where reoccurring or common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs were described, those posts were screen captured, logged with a distinguishing letter and number identifier on a spreadsheet and retained as result evidence. Establishing reoccurring or

common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs described in the posts of the 125 member sample involved a process of identifying keywords, and content of a similar meaning, which indicated specific survivalist themes. Thirteen Australian survivalist keyword theme reference terms were detected as a result of conducting the preceding literature review, with an additional 76 terms and equivalent meaning phrases identified during the qualitative analysis itself, prompting the need to regularly re-examine previously assessed forum material for references to newly identified keywords and themes. For a full list of the survivalist keyword reference terms and the Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs to which they relate, please see section 4.4.2., in the following Data Collection and Analysis chapter.

3.4.4. Creating an Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart.

Those reoccurring Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, identified in the content analysis of the posts created by the 125 aussurvivalist.com forum member sample, were organised into a list with an order determined by associated levels of escalating threat-severity. Creating an *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, the appropriate successive activity sequence arrangement of the identified escalating behaviours and beliefs was confirmed through their correlation to the chronology of the behaviours, as they were first displayed in the forum posts of individuals in the 125 member sample. That is, each of the escalating common survivalist behaviours and beliefs, listed in the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, were checked against forum post dates, to confirm the order of when those behaviours were first experienced, presented and discussed by each of the members in the sample group. It was identified that at different times, Australian survivalists from the 125 forum member sample experienced the escalating behaviours of a shared and predominantly linear path of development, corroborated through the progressive order of dates on which members first posted about each behavioural experience. Common behaviours and beliefs were held to be as such when exhibited on a minimum of 10 occasions by unique members within the 125 member sample; though in relation to the more extreme actions and attitudes presented by militant Australian survivalist members, who are represented in distinctly smaller numbers within the sub-culture, behaviours and beliefs displayed on three occasions by different members in the sample group were accepted as being common.

3.5. Methodological Limitations:

While a qualitative content analysis can be employed to interpret the specific meaning of written language and used to make some determination as to how that language both shapes and reflects dynamic cultural, social and political practices, what it can not be relied upon to do is act as a mechanism to reveal what people, or entire groups, truly think.

In the case of this thesis, it must be acknowledged that some limitations exist in the area of information trustworthiness, potentially arising from issues of anonymity, deindividuation and representativeness.

3.5.1. Anonymity.

In regards to anonymity, the behaviours and beliefs described by Australian survivalists in the aussurvivalist.com discussion forum have to be taken at face value, as there is no possible way to confirm character reliability and the accuracy of the information supplied in an individual's postings. However, it should be noted that there is some empirical evidence that suggests, most of the time, users of Internet forums are indeed giving their real opinions.[371]

3.5.2. Deindividuation.

In respect to deindividuation, a concept in social psychology that is generally thought of as the loss of self-awareness in groups, potentially facilitated in this case by the lack of identity-related information, may be a factor influencing some members to make more embellished or extreme statements than they would normally in face-to face situations.[372]

3.5.3. Representativeness.

Concerning representativeness, that is, how accurately the described actions and attitudes of the sample forum members reflect the true behaviours and beliefs of the entire Australian survivalist

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[371] P. Holtz, N. Kronberger and W. Wagner, 'Analyzing Internet Forums: A Practical Guide', *Journal of Media Psychology*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2012, p.56.

[372] Ibid.

sub-culture, it must be accepted that this and any other independent study is not capable of guaranteeing such a result.

In response to the potential information trustworthiness issues identified in the three sections above, and as was previously noted in section 3.4.4., the research method of this thesis included the calculation requirement for all common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, which were used to construct the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, to be exhibited on a minimum of 10 occasions by different members of the 125 aussurvivalist.com sample. This condition may offset in some way the risk of individual survivalist imprecision or embellishment, when posting.

3.6. Ethical Considerations:

There are a number of ethical considerations that must be acknowledged when using data from Internet discussion forums.[373] The primary concern focuses on the issue of whether it is ethical to use publicly available data without informing the participants. Is it the case that consent should be obtained from all of those included in the research and should the researcher, when quoting online discussion forum posts, refer to and credit the original author? Concerning these issues, Hewson, Yule, Laurent and Vogel argue that researchers can use data that has been deliberately and voluntarily made available in the public Internet domain, providing anonymity is ensured.[374] However, this raises the further question, when is something deliberately and voluntarily made available online? It has been suggested that this all depends on the expectations of the participants of the online communication.[375] In response to this matter, two discernable points of view have been identified, [1] that Internet research involves studying human subjects in an online space who should to be protected, and [2] that online interactions are simply texts created by authors as any other written source is.[376] When considering the first viewpoint, human subjects

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[373] T.A.C. Witschge, '(In)difference Online: The Openness of Public Discussion on Immigration', PhD Thesis, University of Amsterdam, 2007.

[374] C. Hewson, et al., *Internet Research Methods: A Practical Guide for the Social and Behavioural Sciences*, Sage Publications, London, 2003. p.53.

[375] Witschge, loc. cit.

[376] Ibid.

need to be protected from harm and should not be involved in research without their knowledge and consent. Concerning the second position on the matter, material published online is viewed as authored texts deliberately and voluntarily made public with implied consent.

In regards to the aussurvivalist.com Internet discussion forum, the expectations of participants themselves may offer specific insight into whether an online space could be considered public or private. Anonymous aussurvivalist.com users are regularly made aware of the public nature of their posts by the site administrator, in addition to the site's forum rules and policy stating, ". . . anything you do give must be considered as becoming public information."[377] Members also have the option of using a Private Messaging System within the forum to conduct confidential or personal online conversations; that is, discussion forum interaction which is restricted from public access and review. This private conversation option, used as required by aussurvivalist.com forum members, speaks to their understanding and acceptance that all of their displayed and publically accessible discussion posts are created with the intention of them being read and potentially responded to by anyone.

In this thesis, the aussurvivalist.com Internet discussion forum content examined was considered public text that was deliberately presented in a public space. Forum members actively create public discussion posts, knowing that they have a private communication option available to them, with the expectation that their publically presented opinion may be read and responded to by other people. Bearing this in mind and with the anonymity of participants assured through the use of non-descript forum member screen names, complying with the position of Hewson, Yule, Laurent and Vogel mentioned previously,[378] this thesis made full use of aussurvivalist.com data that was deliberately and voluntarily made available in the public Internet domain and quoted text, referencing authors by way of their screen pseudonyms where relevant.

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[377] Monico, *Aussurvivalist Forum Registration Page*, loc. cit.

[378] Hewson, et al., loc.cit.

3.6.1. University Ethics Approval.

Ethics approval for this research undertaking was granted by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee [MQ HREC] on 25 July 2014.[379] The following relevant note was also supplied with the university ethics approval letter of confirmation:

The HREC acknowledged that the research involved the use of publicly available information and was advised that many academics writing about the ethics of Internet research argue that ethical research practice would require the researcher to make forum users aware that they are conducting research on forum postings. The National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007 - Updated March 2014) does not require researchers to take this course of action and it is possible that it would not be feasible or desirable to do so for your project.

3.7. Research Methodology Chapter Summary.

This chapter examined the research methodology of this thesis, which was used to address the considerable gap that exists in the knowledge concerning the Australian survivalist sub-culture. The research method of this work consisted of a summative approach to conducting a qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com. The qualitative content analysis was undertaken to identify common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, reported within the forum text data, which were reflective of stages of the Australian survivalist development path. Establishing the Australian survivalist development path was necessary to determine its similarity to a path towards radicalisation and to discuss how the Australian survivalist development process contributes to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories.

The research strategy of this thesis was justified by both the absence of any considered published works or academic studies that address the Australian survivalist subject and recognised impracticalities of engaging with Australian survivalists directly to achieve unbiased data results. In support of using an unobtrusive qualitative analysis of Internet discussion content, there was an identified established precedent of such means being successfully employed as a research

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[379] Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee approval - Protocol / Reference Number: 5201400759.

method in the construction of a doctoral dissertation that dealt specifically with the study of the United States survivalist sub-culture.[380]

Concerning the sample size used in the content analysis, it was identified that given the scope of this thesis, the nature of its objectives and the quality of the first-person accounts spanning a 13 year time period,[381] which are obtainable from the aussurvivalist.com source, 10 percent of the forum's overall registered membership, that is 125 Australian survivalist members, was a suitable sample size to gather the appropriate data required for this retrospective longitudinal study.

In addition to the use of a qualitative content analysis having an established academic research method precedent, credibility is further assigned to its use in the achievement of the goals of this thesis, as with it all the data results of this study are able to be independently duplicated at any time. Reproducibility of the content analysis results is achievable as a complete record of all aussurvivalist.com discussion posts, since the forum's commencement in 2001,[382] is permanently held on the aussurvivalist.com website. All discussion forum research material used by the author in the creation of this thesis is publicly available and accessible through the *Search the Forum* section of aussurvivalist.com.[383]

The details of the aussurvivalist.com discussion forum content analysis undertaking and the data results arising from that process will be presented in the next chapter of this thesis, titled *Data Collection and Analysis*.

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[380] Imel-Hartford, op. cit. pp. 1-109.

[381] Monico, *Aussurvivalist Discussion Forum*, loc. cit.

[382] Ibid.

[383] J. Monico, Aussurvivalist.com Search The Forum Function Page, [website], 2001, http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/search_form.asp?FID=0, (accessed 10 August 2015).

Chapter 4: Data Collection and Analysis.

4.1. Data Collection and Analysis Introduction:

This chapter will present the data results obtained through the summative-styled qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com.[384] Specifically, this chapter will show:

[1] The results of the process for selecting the 125 aussurvivalist.com participants [representing a 10 percent sample of the discussion forum's overall registered membership] that were identified as suitable subjects to be included and their forum material assessed in the content analysis.

[2] The Australian survivalist-specific keyword reference terms and equivalent meaning phrases, indicative of themes relating to Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, which were identified before and during the content analysis of the discussion forum posts of the 125 aussurvivalist.com participants.

[3] Twelve common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, suggestive of specific development stages, which were identified in the content analysis.

[4] The appropriate list order of the identified likely 12 common Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological development stages, determined by associated levels of increasing threat severity and validated by the chronology of the behaviours, as they were first displayed in the forum posts of individuals in the 125 member sample; this creating an *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*.

[5] An explanatory narrative regarding Australian survivalist progression through the likely 12 behavioural and ideological development stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, as experienced by members of the 125 aussurvivalist.com forum participant sample.

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[384] J. Monico, AusSurvivalist.com [website], 2001, http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/, (accessed 1 August 2014).

[6] Discussion forum case studies of three Australian survivalists, identified within the 125 aussurvivalist.com member sample, to have experienced all 12 stages of the potential Australian survivalist development path.

[7] The key points of behavioural and ideological change, among the levels of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, which delineate three different likely Australian survivalist member categories; with suggested descriptive titles and definitions for those unique survivalist member classes, based on activities and attitudes specific to each category operating from different positions of the shared Australian survivalist development path.

4.2. Data Collection and Analysis Rationale:

The research question of this thesis can be broken down into two related queries, [1] In what ways do the factors that drive individuals to develop as Australian survivalists resemble a path towards radicalisation, and [2] How does this contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories? Conducting a content analysis of the publicly posted aussurvivalist.com Internet discussion forum material was determined as the research method most appropriate for obtaining valid and necessary data concerning the Australian survivalist sub-culture and the method most likely to afford this research endeavour success in identifying the Australian survivalist development path. This chapter identified the patterns of data relevant to addressing the components of the research question of this thesis pertaining to Australian survivalist behaviours, beliefs and the comprehension of the Australian survivalist development path.

4.3. Data Collection and Analysis Approach:

This thesis utilised a qualitative content analysis of 44,128 individual aussurvivalist.com Internet discussion forum posts, created by the randomly chosen 125 Australian survivalist registered member sample. A total of 89 Australian survivalist-specific keyword reference terms and equivalent meaning phrases, reflective of themes relating to Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, were identified both before and during the content analysis. Each forum post was qualitatively analysed by the author and where content describing reoccurring or common

Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs was identified, those posts were screen captured, logged with a distinguishing letter and number indicator on a spreadsheet and retained as result evidence. Five hundred and thirty-four unique records, identifying 12 potential common Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological development stages resulted from the analysis.

4.4. The Data Results:

4.4.1. Selecting the 125 aussurvivalist.com Sample Subjects.

The 125 aussurvivalist.com forum members selected as a suitable sample to conduct the content analysis were chosen using an atmospheric noise based true random number generator, made available through random.org.[385] As previously specified in the Research Methodology chapter of this thesis, the process for the member selection was, [a] the full 1250 registered member list of the aussurvivalist.com forum was accessed through the site and pasted into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, [b] the member list was arranged in an alphabetical order on the spreadsheet, with each member assigned a consecutive identifying number, from 1 to 1250, [c] 125 true random integers from a specified range of 1 to 1250 were generated through the random.org service, and [d] the generated 125 integers, which translated as member identifying numbers on the spreadsheet, determined the aussurvivalist.com members that were to be included in the analysis.

An obstacle encountered during this process was, as the numbers generated were picked independently of each other, the 125 total contained some duplicates. There were six duplicate numbers that came from the process. These six duplicate numbers were discounted from being accepted as part of the intended 125 total and a second random generation for six new numbers was conducted. Once the complete, duplicate-free, 125 number total was achieved, the spreadsheet revealed the corresponding survivalist forum identities and the sample members were assessed based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria presented in the Research Methodology chapter. These criteria were:

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[385] Random.org, Random Integer Generator [website], 1998, https://www.random.org/integers/, (accessed 10 August 2015).

(a) Chosen members of the sample were not to have a zero forum post total. It is possible to become a registered member of the aussurvivalist.com forum and not post anything. A zero post total makes it unachievable to assess the member in relation to behaviour and outlook.

(b) Chosen members of the sample had to be Australian. A number of international survivalists are registered members on the aussurvivalist.com forum, just as many Australian survivalists are members of international survivalist sites. International members are excluded from this study as the analysis is Australian survivalist-specific.

Once the 125 chosen Australian survivalist members were measured against the inclusion and exclusion criteria, it was found that 32 were unsuitable. A third random generation for 32 new numbers from a 1250 limit was conducted. Seven of the new 32 were also found unsuitable either because they were duplicate numbers or because they contravened the established inclusion and exclusion criteria. A forth random generation for seven new numbers from a 1250 total was carried out. One of the new seven numbers was found unsuitable because it was a duplicate. A fifth random generation for one new number from a 1250 total was performed with success. The 125 Australian survivalist sample forum member total, free from duplicates and meeting the terms of the inclusion and exclusion criteria, was achieved.

4.4.1.1. Concerning the Number of Forum Posts Created by the 125 Sample Subjects.

Table 11 presents different categories of forum post number totals, created by the various members of the 125 aussurvivalist.com sample. Divided into bracketed numerical groupings, which present a low to high measure of posts created, the table serves as an indicator list with which to comprehend the distribution of forum post productivity among the 125 Australian survivalist member sample as a whole.

Table 11: Discussion Post Number Totals Created by the 125 Forum Member Sample.

Number of Posts Created.	Number of Survivalists within the 125 Member Sample.	Percentage of the 125 Member Sample.
1 - 100	82	65.6 %
101 - 1000	32	25.6 %
1001 - 6585	11	8.8 %

Of significance, the data analysis results identified that the total number of posts created by the individual Australian survivalists of the 125 member sample was not indicative of the amount of time spent as registered members of the aussurvivalist.com forum, but was relevant to levels of individual survivalist development. That is, Australian survivalists of the 125 member sample that had a high forum post productivity count were identified as predominantly being at the far end of the survivalist development scale; though it should be noted that there were four survivalists within the 125 member sample that had created over 1000 forum posts each but appeared to remain at a low and moderate level of survivalist development.

4.4.2. Australian Survivalist Keyword Reference Terms Used in the Content Analysis.

Thirteen Australian survivalist-specific keyword reference terms were established during the literature review for this thesis. Those terms were: *ammunition, caching, camps, firearms, homestead, hunting, medical training, retreat, self-defence, self-sufficiency, stockpiling, survival training* and *tactics*. During the process of conducting the content analysis, a further 76 Australian survivalist-specific keyword reference terms and equivalent meaning phrases were identified. A total of 89 Australian survivalist-specific keyword reference terms and equivalent meaning phrases were used in the identification of specific Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs.

In relation to coding the keyword reference terms for the qualitative content analysis, that is the process of assigning a classification value to words and phrases indicative of particular Australian survivalist behavioural themes, Table 12 displays the final reference categorisation system used in that process.

Table 12: Keyword Reference Terms used to Identify Australian Survivalist Behavioural Themes.

Class	Survivalist Keyword Reference Terms	Related Australian Survivalist Behaviours and Beliefs
01	food, water, fuel, equipment, weapons, silver, gold, supplies, stockpiling, stores	Stockpiling provisions.
02	seeking, information, knowledge, websites, books, magazines	Seeking survivalist information.
03	self-defence, self-sufficiency, skills, martial arts, shooting, gardening, first-aid, camping, archery, emergency response plans	Obtaining self-defence and self-sufficiency skills.
04	like-minded, guidance, experience, knowledge	Interacting with like-minded people online.
05	BOB, BOV, BOL, TEOTWAWKI, SHTF, preps	Using survivalist-specific language and acronyms.
06	meets, meeting, camps, training group, real-world skills, face-to-face, invitation, fire lighting, water sourcing, shelter building, emergency equipment usage, identification of edible plants and wild fruits, tracking, hunting, field dressing [of game], skinning [of game]	Attending survivalist meetings and camps to develop basic skills.
07	austere medical training, marksmanship, sniper, war skills, combat training, battlefield tactics, combat firearms, urban survival, wilderness survival, apocalypse	Engaging in war-based training activities.
08	guns, firearms, ammunition, pistol, rifle, shotgun	Accumulating firearms and ammunition.
09	bug in, bug out, fortification, caching, route, escape, booby traps	Fortifying current place of residence and / or establishing escape routes to a safe location.
10	homestead, retreat, land	Developing private retreats in rural areas.
11	government, police, politicians, revolution, oppression, sheeple	Displaying an anti-government / anti-society outlook.
12	kill, shot, cull, death	Making anti-government / anti-society violent threats.

The 89 Australian survivalist-specific keywords and equivalent meaning phrases, presented in Table 12, were used as indicator terms to home in on specific survivalist behavioural and ideological themes that were displayed and discussed in the posts of the 125 aussurvivalist.com forum member sample. Though the coded terms led to the initial identification of a range of specific Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, it was the frequency with which those action

and attitude indicator terms were presented and considered among the members of the 125 forum sample that determined them to be likely common to the Australian survivalist development path.

4.4.3. The Twelve Common Australian Survivalist Behaviours and Beliefs.

Twelve reoccurring and common Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological development stages were identified through the content analysis of the aussurvivalist.com discussion forum material of the 125 member sample. Displayed in a descending order, reflecting behavioural and ideological development stages experienced by the highest to lowest number of Australian survivalist individuals in the 125 forum member sample, these stages are:

[A] Actively seeking preparedness information.

[B] Participating in online interactions with like-minded people.

[C] Using Survivalist-specific language and rhetoric.

[D] Developing ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions.

[E] Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills.

[F] Attending Survivalist meetings, camps and training groups for basic skills development.

[G] Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities.

[H] Accumulating multiple firearms and large quantities of ammunition.

[I] Fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack [bug in] <u>OR</u> packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape [bug out] routes to a predetermined location.

[J] Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.

[K] Possessing and promoting an anti-government / anti-society outlook.

[L] Making implied or direct anti-government / anti-society violent threats.

Referring to the list above, reoccurring and common behaviours and beliefs were recognised as those exhibited on a minimum of 10 occasions by different individuals within the 125 member sample, relating to points A through J, and conduct presented in three or more instances, regarding the more extreme positions of points K and L, offered by more militant Australian survivalist members, represented in smaller numbers within the 125 registered forum member group.

Table 13 presents the total number of Australian survivalists from the 125 aussurvivalist.com registered member sample that created discussion forum posts indicating their experience with each of the identified reoccurring and common Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological development stages, previously listed.

Table 13: Number of the 125 Sample Members Identified with Experience in each Development Stage.

Australian survivalist Behavioural and Belief Development Stages	Number of Registered Members from the 125 aussurvivalist.com Sample	Number of Registered Sample Members Expressed as a Percentage
A	79	63.2%
B	71	56.8%
C	37	29.6%
D	26	20.8%
E	25	20%
F	21	16.8%
G	12	9.6%
H	10	8%
I	10	8%
J	10	8%
K	7	5.6%
L	3	2.4%

4.4.4. Ordering the Behaviours of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*.

The 12 common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, identified via the content analysis of the forum posts created by the 125 aussurvivalist.com members, were organised into a list with an order determined by associated levels of threat severity. The appropriate sequence arrangement of the identified escalating behaviours and beliefs was then validated by the chronology of the behaviours, as they were first displayed in the forum posts of 86.4% of the individuals in the 125 member sample. That is, each of the escalating common survivalist behaviours and beliefs were checked against forum post dates, to confirm the order of when those behaviours were first experienced, presented and discussed by each of the members in the sample group. It was identified that at different times, Australian survivalists from the 125 forum member sample experienced the escalating behaviours of a shared and predominantly linear path of development, corroborated through the progressive order of dates on which members first posted about each behavioural experience. It is precisely the shared experience of the behaviours occurring in a specific order among such a large percentage of the forum sample participants that gives weight to

the notion of the sequence being a distinguishable Australian Survivalist development pathway, as opposed to the list of behaviours being misconstrued as a collection of random or detached activity themes. Functioning as components of an overall Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological path of progression, the levels of the ordered list created an *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*.

Table 14 displays the 12 stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* in sequence:

Table 14: The 12 Stages of the Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart in Sequence.

Stage	Australian Survivalist Behaviour
01	Developing ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions.
02	Actively seeking preparedness information.
03	Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills.
04	Participating in online interactions with like-minded people.
05	Using survivalist-specific language and rhetoric.
06	Attending survivalist meetings, camps and training groups for basic skills development.
07	Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities.
08	Accumulating multiple firearms and large quantities of ammunition.
09	Fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack [bug in] OR packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape [bug out] routes to a predetermined location.
10	Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.
11	Possessing and promoting an anti-government / anti-society outlook.
12	Making implied or direct anti-government / anti-society violent threats.

4.4.4.1. Members Experiencing the Survivalist Development Path Chart Stages in Order.

Table 15 displays the number of aussurvivalist.com forum members, from the 125 Australian survivalist participant sample, identified to have experienced various behavioural progression stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart,* in the presented sequence.

Table 15: Number of Sample Members to have Experienced Development Path Stages in Sequence.

Number of Members in the 125 Sample that experienced the Path Chart Stages in Sequence	Expressed as a Percentage	Number of Members in the 125 Sample that did not experience the Path Chart Stages in Sequence	Expressed as a Percentage
108	86.4%	17	13.6%

The results displayed in Table 15 indicate that 108 members [86.4%], of the 125 aussurvivalist.com participant sample, experienced behavioural progression stages in the sequence presented in the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*. The 108 total was comprised of members who, [a] entered the behavioural sequence of the *Path Chart* at stage 02, or more commonly stage 04, described experiences of earlier stages [01, 02, 03] retrospectively in forum posts, and continued along the development path after their entry point experiencing stages in the presented sequence, [b] entered the behavioural sequence of the *Path Chart* at stage 02, or more commonly stage 04, did not refer to experiences of earlier stages [01, 02, 03] at all in forum posts, but continued along the development path after their entry point experiencing stages in the presented sequence, and [c] entered the behavioural sequence of the *Path Chart* at stage 02, or more commonly stage 04, and were occupying that entry level at the time of assessment.

The results displayed in Table 15 also indicate that 17 members [13.6%], of the 125 aussurvivalist.com participant sample, did not experience behavioural progression stages in the sequence presented in the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*. The 17 total was comprised of members who, [a] predominantly experienced behaviours of the *Path Chart* in the sequence presented but with their progression also featuring an anomaly where one behaviour was experienced out of the presented sequence order, and [b] entered the behavioural sequence of the *Path Chart* at stage 02, or more commonly stage 04, skipped many of the progression levels and immediately described development stage experiences at the far end of the sequence presented in the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*.

In accounting for the members of the 125 aussurvivalist.com sample that appeared to have skipped many of the progression levels of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* and immediately described development stage experiences at the far end of the sequence presented, soon after entering the forum environment, the following theory is offered. It is the case that a number of the members from the 125 Australian survivalist participant sample, who created a discussion forum entry / introduction post and then proceeded to describe participation in behaviours at the far end of the sequence of the *Path Chart*, also commented that it was satisfying to have found an *Australian-specific* survivalist discussion forum. It may be the situation that those

particular members have already experienced the survivalist development path, or the greater aspects of it over time, either among real-world like-minded individuals and groups, or while a member of an international survivalist discussion forum. In these circumstances, advanced survivalist development could have taken place prior to initial contact with the aussurvivalist.com forum community. In support of this theory, the following two aussurvivalist.com forum posts, created by two members of the 125 Australian survivalist participant sample, indicate [1] survivalist development occurring through information obtained on United States survivalist Internet forums and websites prior to contact with the aussurvivalist.com forum, and [2] survivalist development occurring through a partnership with a like-minded individual prior to contact with the aussurvivalist.com forum.

[1] The forum post below features an entry level introduction and follow up message by an Australian survivalist member, which highlights a previous examination of international survivalist Internet forum and website material and lists experience in behavioural stages well in advance of a novice survivalist. Behavioural development stages indicated in this post are, (i) Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills, (ii) Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities, and (iii) Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.

| **woody_rod**
Newbie

Joined: 16 June 2009
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 36 | *Posted: 16 June 2009 at 11:15pm.*[386]

Hello all, I have been reading through some US sites on the survivalist subject lately. Not sure why to be honest, but the subject has always interested me. So, I wanted to see if there were local AUS sites for the same thing, and here I am.

I suppose if I have to intro myself, it should read a bit like this: 45 yrs old, wife and 5 kids. Own house in the bush in WA, very near to farmland and bush in every direction within 2 minutes walk from my front door. I have my own business in engineering, fixing anything from tractors to firearms. My main day to day activity is making rifle actions - we are the only fulltime action maker in AU AFAIK. We also build rifles and rebarrel them, most of our work is in target rifles - 308 and 223 stuff. I shoot in competition, and do ok. We use a sling, like the diggers did way back, which is where our sport came from originally - SMLE's. up to 1000 yards range.

On the topic of preparations, I have done few so far. This I want to change, so hope I might find some like minded people in WA where we can do some sh*t together, no doubt learning a lot along the way. I have the gear to make pretty much anything in my workshop, which is my fallback position in times of coming hardship. Skills I can call on right now are:

Advanced first aid (industrial paramedic level)
Bushcraft / hunting to some degree
Weapons knowledge
Blacksmithing (learnt as an apprentice) |

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[386] Woody_rod, 'WA member', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13033&KW=woody%5Frod

	Mechanical repair (engine building, gearboxes, wiring etc) Butchering (we do our own sheep etc) People management (as in training, supervision etc) Basic carpentry Although I know I am no survivalist, but hopefully have some stuff to start with I hope. I am pretty confident that having skills and knowledge that is pretty rare these days (like blacksmithing the old way) will be very useful if the need arises. The amount of crap laying around that can be used for other things is mind boggling if one takes the time to think about it. Gimme an old leaf spring, and a thousand things can be made: nails, gardening tools, axes, building fixtures (like brackets), knives, axles (i.e., for windmills) and of course horse shoes. Anyone interested in a hand made carbon steel knife, made the old way? I need the practice.... On my psyche: I have been known to be harsh in my views about certain things, but am also known to be a fair and charitable person - I have mates like this. I like people that speak their minds, are married to people the opposite sex, have kids and have an interest in making Australia a better place. *Posted: June 17 2009 at 8:21am.* Thanks guys, Volks, my user name is not really that funny unless you are juvenile or retarded (or a member of the Greens - retarded, same thing). It is a combination of where I live, and my name. Any forum I post on I always use the same name. Hope to meet up with some like minded people in WA sometime.

[2] The forum post below is an entry level Australian survivalist introduction account, in a thread titled *Can't believe I found other Aussies*, which highlights prior survivalist development occurring through a partnership with a like-minded individual and lists experience in behavioural stages well in advance of a novice survivalist. Behavioural stages indicated in this post are, (i) Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills, (ii) Using survivalist-specific language and rhetoric, (iii) Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities, (iv) Fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack [bug in] OR packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape [bug out] routes to a predetermined location and (v) Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.

OzCat Newbie Joined: 30 May 2008 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 4	*Posted: 08 June 2008 at 7:54pm.[387]* Greetings to all. I'm a newbie here but not a newbie to the idea of being prepared for … well … whatever may be thrown at us. It's great to come across this Aussie site. I look forward to lots of informative reading and interaction with others of a like mind. I hope I can even add a helpful post or two myself along the way. Might even hook up with people in my area some time down the track … who knows. A bit about me to set the scene. I've done country for half my life. I've done city

[387] OzCat, 'Can't believe i found other aussies', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11979&KW=OzCat&PN=0&TPN=2

for the other half. Love them both. Pros and cons for each. But hate to be in city if SHTF! Born and brought up in rural NSW, plus some time in Qld. My best friend and I are basically into prepping on our own (2 separate houses). Our families believe it is a good idea (but we don't lay any "heavy" stuff on them like possible society breakdown) but they really haven't done anything about prepping at all. Friends are the same: believe they should do something but only get extra torch batteries, candles and matches and then go on with their lives the same way they've always done. Well, at least they'll have some light if the power goes out in a storm (LOL).

My friend and I were whole-heartedly into prepping in the late 90s and early 00s. Then a lull. Also a big lull in finances. Then a couple of years later – a spurt again (but only with land acquisition with a view to bug out place – got a hut on it – needs more serious, very serious, work). Then a lull again (both mental and financial). We got very complacent about that time actually, I'm very embarrassed to say amongst all you experienced and committed people here. After our initial bursts of energies in the early years and then finding life continued on the same as it always had, we fell into a false sense of security I guess. Gasp – we started to become sheeple again! Feel free to kick us up the a*** right about this time! (LOL) We talked about getting ourselves back on track. We talked. We talked. We talked. But we didn't do anything further. Stupid gits we were. I hate to think of all that wasted time in those few years. We had all the basic infrastructure in place for years (but of course there's much more to be done). The more I think about it lately, the more I realise that we have to do. My mate's up north working (needs the money badly), been up there the last few months – that slowed things down a lot. Then I went and smashed up my right arm badly a couple of days before Xmas and lost a lot of use of it - it's not healed so well and needs another op soon (better get that attended to ASAP hey?! – grimace!), so that makes things a tad difficult right now. But I will continue on as best can. I will not let that stop me. But, hell, it's frustrating. What a time to disable myself!?!

Anyway, a year ago we had big storms and then a flood. My mate was without power for five days. Strangely enough my street was OK whilst all around me had no power for up to four days. My local shopping centre (2 blocks away) and half the main street (1 block away) went under up to 6 foot of water in a flash flood on the Friday night. I arrived home just as it was happening and nearly got washed off a road. (Another story for another time.) Some of those shops, a year later, have never re-opened. Every third house had a big tree through the roof over my mate's way (15 minutes away from me). All petrol stations, shops, etc. were closed for days. Fuel and food was a 2 hour round trip through (at night, blackened) suburban streets, dodging fallen trees, water, power lines, emergency crews, etc on the Sat and Sun. Thank God for the old Feral Hilux! Oh yeah, it was also bloody cold.

I got to my mate's house on the Sat morning. 15 minute drive took over an hour – many detours. She had a tree through the back and the house nearly got flooded as the lake came up higher than anyone ever witnessed. She was about to chainsaw the big tree up. I went over to help. Weather went really foul again – had to abandon the chain sawing. I stayed there the Saturday night despite she had no power, whereas my house did. Besides I didn't feel like trying to get back home in the awful conditions. The weather was still nasty and no-one but emergency personnel (and the occasion looter – mongrels) were out, but we were fine at her place, even without power. Why? Yeah – you are all well ahead of me aren't you (LOL). We had a generator didn't we?! (We are part time miners, so there's always a gennie hanging around somewhere. Hmmm … they may not always work though … make note: get all equipment working properly!)

Thousands of suburban houses were sitting there in the dark and we had TV, a big stand lamp, fridge going, hot water jug, microwave and a heater. We sat and watched TV and DVDs. Storms? What storms? Only trouble was we were the only house for miles that had light and TV blaring out of it. Whooooops!! Didn't matter on the Saturday night as the weather was so foul, no-one noticed – they were all inside huddled around their candles and the howling wind and pelting rain muffled the gennie noise. They started to notice the next day when

our gennie was still blurting along when daybreak happened. It could be heard blocks away!

I must add here. We were NOT selfish bastards. We did help others before we settled down to watching TV around 11pm. Her neighbours are mostly elderly (70s & 80s who not-surprisingly, coped very well without power for a few days – yeah – they remember the days when electricity wasn't in every house). Also, a single mum in front with a couple of young kids. She had the hardest time actually. The kids were not coping well at all. Most of them had no cars or were too scared to drive the 2 hour round trip to get food (or had not enough petrol in their cars to do it). We helped all the neighbours we could. As we go camping a fair bit and when we are up at the mine we have to be self-sufficient with everything including water trucked in with us, (no rain up there) for up to two weeks at a time, we obviously have between us an s***-load of camping stuff. (& yes, after 2 weeks of camp sponge baths (water rations) after digging in dirt all day, we stink sooooo bad even the dogs turn their noses up at us! – LOL). I digress …

So we checked on the neighbours. Handed out stuff like lamps, camp stoves, gas bottles, candles, etc. if they needed it. We did two runs in the Hilux that Sat night to get people food (and smokes!!) and drinks, etc.. That was a few hours out of our Sat night. Did it in freezing, pelting rain and wind. Got soaked so many times I ended up with the worst cold I'd had in years. But it was worth it. People were very grateful. We were glad to help. We hooked up an extension lead into the single mum's house off the gennie and we rotated with her when she needed power for the kids. So we did our bit to help. As it was, it wasn't the end of the world but it sure shook a lot of people up. No power in suburbia in a large metro area for a few days will do that.

It rammed it home to me (big time) how ill-prepared 99% people are. Even their torch batteries were dead before the first night was over. But everyone behaved themselves remarkably well – but they only had to hang on for up to 4-5 days and emergency personnel were everywhere if things got too bad. But what if … what if …. it went longer than 4-5 days? What if the emergency personnel started to bug out. You can bet people wouldn't be so "grateful" then – they would storm my mate's house and run off with the gennie and fuel – they would be commandeering the Hilux – they would raid the shed – they would … – yeah …. well – I don't want to think about that too much actually. Because, that's the sort of stuff that scares the hell out of everyone … coz that's the sort of stuff that WOULD happen if a real SHTF scenario goes down – not just a little power out and storms and floods for a week scenario. At the time no-one knew if the storms would ever stop. But they did, of course.

I must also add though – my mate and I are not "pussies". We may be "only girls" but we know how to look after ourselves. Neither of us is afraid to throw a punch or belt someone being totally unreasonable over the head, particularly if they are about to hurt someone else. But, if someone wants to steal the Hilux, they will have to pry the keys out of my cold, dead hand. (LOL – I think that line has been used before – something to do with US gun laws perhaps - LOL!) I will help anyone in genuine need but if someone gets way out of line I will get P'd-off. I'm a nice, lovely, sweet, friendly, little girlie in heels and hose when in Sheeple Land. I am a feral little s*** of the worst kind in steel-caps if I need to protect my PAP (people, animals, property). My mate is the same, and one's PAP is also the other's PAP and each will defend it just as vigorously as our own. If the worst came to the worst and SHTF in suburbia before we could bug-out to the property, I'm just saying there would be action a-plenty happening if we were attacked. To get the gennie or the Hilux, or anything at all really, any "visiting party with bad intentions" would have to get over very high sharp fences and locked gates and avoid dogs that WILL bite. If they do that ... good on them … easy bit over … they then have to get past us! All I'll say is they would not be standing there looking at two chicks with frying-pans in their hands. Well … let's just say … well … hmmmm … yes … of course it would be frying pans – you know – the ones that are sort of … not round – the long type of frying pans– with round holes in the end of them. And – yes – we know how to use those frying pans. Enough said I guess.

I would like to think that the above scary suburban scenario would not happen

	to us because we would have been sensible enough to have our collective butts well out of Metro by the time it got to the stage of people jumping fences to get the gennie and that we were sitting up in the mountain hut already … yeah … probably going … "S*** - get that fire going – it's bloody cold in here!" Well … this has got kinda long and I'm not even started yet … hell .. I ramble on a lot don't I? .. Sorry about that guys and girls … OK that's it for the moment. Cheers. OzCat

4.4.5. Progressing Through the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* Stages.

An explanatory narrative regarding survivalist progression through the 12 behavioural steps of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, as experienced by members of the 125 forum participant sample and observable from the data results of the content analysis, is as follows:

[01] Developing ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions.

Australian survivalists believe that if faced with a cataclysmic event and an inevitable chaotic aftermath, continued essential services and immediate government emergency relief will not be likely.[388] To endure beyond of any potential human-influenced or naturally occurring disaster, all Australian survivalists engage in the activity of accumulating emergency food, water, medical supplies and equipment stores, to meet essential life support requirements in dire circumstances.[389] Depending on what is held to be the most likely disaster scenario, which varies from one survivalist to the next, some also consider the stockpiling of silver and gold an essential practice, in preparation for a time when a fiat system of currency no longer holds any value.[390] Differing from this view, many other survivalists see a barter-style arrangement being a more likely substitute for an end of the cash system, which only serves to inspire them further in building stockpiles of supplies.[391] Australian survivalists consider that survival issues are a personal

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[388] Fiamma, 'Civil Insurrection', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14335&KW=Fiamma

[389] Disordah, 'Beginners Priorities.', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13613&KW=priorities&PN=0&TPN=2

[390] mere, 'First timer - silver owner / seller', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2007, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11193&KW=mere

[391] sparhawk5, 'The Ten Commandments of Bartering', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11705&KW=barter

responsibility and strive to be free from reliance on government assistance in times of need.[392]

Though all develop ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions, the required amount to sustain one's self is the topic of much debate within the sub-culture. It is common to find basic preparedness-focussed individuals stockpiling food and water to last them for a period of three months.[393] Other more committed survivalists stockpile supplies and equipment to last them for years and well beyond the likely need for any outside assistance at all.[394] Survivalist experiences regarding stockpiling supplies are predominantly described in forum posts retrospectively, as it appears to be largely a common activity individually trialled prior to any contact with the sub-culture overall.[395] However, making improvements to the quantity, quality and preservation of stockpiled supplies appears to be an ongoing activity for all levels of Australian survivalists and is regularly discussed in the forum environment.[396]

[02] Actively seeking preparedness information.

Beyond the basic drive to accumulate emergency stores, Australian survivalists move into the next stage of their progression by seeking to educate themself with preparedness-specific information.[397] Actively seeking printed survivalist material or information published online is the first step towards Australian survivalists becoming aware that preparedness is more than just about the physical hoarding of supplies. Australian survivalists at this point embrace an understanding that the issue of survival also contains a mental component, which starts with required specialised knowledge.[398] It is common for survivalists in this phase of their development

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[392] pugs, 'Why do you prepare?', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13117&KW=why+do+you

[393] sparhawk5, '3 Months Supply Food From Woolworths', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2006, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=8969&KW=sparhawk5+food

[394] loris, 'Long Term Food Storage Ideas', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12638&KW=storage

[395] OzCat, 'Can't believe I found other aussies', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11979&KW=OzCat&PN=0&TPN=2

[396] scottM, 'New Members Pls Post Introduction', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16003&KW=scottM&PN=0&TPN=2

[397] Chunky, 'New Members Pls Post Introduction', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16003&KW=Chunky&PN=0&TPN=4

[398] Bikelin, 'Survival skills for children', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2005, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=6366&KW=bikelin

to visit any or all of the 172 survivalist websites world-wide to obtain information,[399] or to register at an online survivalist-specific discussion forum to access material housed in that environment. However, it is rare for Australian survivalists to participate in extensive forum discussions at this point, beyond short introductory posts that usually convey the limits of their preparedness efforts or posting specific single-issue questions indicating a desire to learn.[400] At this stage, the experience of Australian survivalists remains predominantly theoretical.

[03] Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills.

Moving past isolated basic preparedness activities and theoretical understanding obtained by absorbing information from books and online sources, Australian survivalists start to experiment with acquiring practical survival skills. Australian survivalists at this point are likely to take up activities such as martial arts,[401] camping,[402] shooting,[403] archery,[404] fruit and vegetable gardening,[405] as well as designing and testing themselves with various emergency response plans.[406] While the first stages of progression for Australian survivalists focussed on living through a catastrophic episode, aided by accumulated supplies and some basic knowledge, they now give consideration as to what comes next. Thoughts of what real-world skills will be needed to survive the inevitable emptiness and disorder that follows a disaster event begin to occupy their time.[407] Similar to previous stages of development, references to initial individual experimentation with survivalist skills appear to be largely recorded in discussion forum posts retrospectively. Though

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[399] Total determined through primary research by the author. Total current as of the 1st of May 2015.

[400] David1234, 'Forum access without login', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12787&KW=David1234

[401] Bluey, 'Self Defence / Martial Arts', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2014, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17668&KW=Bluey

[402] peter14, 'Best BOV', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2007, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=10992&KW=peter14&PN=0&TPN=2

[403] Flyer, 'Australia calibre question', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2003, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=1329&KW=Flyer

[404] 100thMonkey, 'Rabbit Hunting / cooking', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13535&KW=100th+Monkey

[405] Anunnaki, 'Chook advice please', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13223&KW=Anunnaki

[406] starkuless, 'Action Plans', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14251&KW=action+plans

[407] Guests, 'skills needed', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2004, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=2787&KW=skills

the topic of survival skills acquisition features heavily in the discussion forum environment, accounts of early individual efforts often appear as stories of attempts and failures, with survivalists not then having the benefit of experience, or the advice of more learned members within the sub-culture to turn to.[408] Initial successes and failures aside, this phase of Australian survivalist evolution marks a noticeable change in thinking; a realisation of inadequacy in their preparations, a lack of valid knowledge and the commencement of a new desire to develop a realistic survival capability.[409]

[04] Participating in online interactions with like-minded people.

Determined to strive towards attaining a realistic survival capability, well beyond directionless experimentation, Australian survivalists at this stage seek the practical knowledge, experience and guidance of like-minded people.[410] Interacting with members of survivalist-specific Internet discussion forums offers survivalists direct access to the collective skills and wisdom of hundreds of preparedness-focused users. In addition to being able to access first-hand, valuable and practical information, their investment in time and effort thus far is endorsed by the number of people who share their interests and concerns.[411] It is also common in this phase of progression to find references to an additional reason for Australian survivalists participating in online forum interactions. Many Australian survivalists claim to have made the mistake, during earlier stages of development, of sharing their beliefs and concerns for the future with friends and family, only to find their ideology rejected and ridiculed.[412] Receiving little support or encouragement for their preparedness activities and beliefs among peers and relatives, Australian survivalists seek out the validation and positive reinforcement that only engaging with like-minded people can provide. Though this may seem a constructive experience at face value, there is a contrary dimension to this phase of survivalist development. Upon entering the realm of online interaction, the new

[408] Mr Potatoe, 'Crop Failure', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2006, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=8342&KW=failure

[409] Spectrum, 'Hello to all', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17245&KW=Spectrum

[410] HarryH, 'Greeting', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16615&KW=HarryH

[411] Bikelin, 'Survival skills for children', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2005, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=6366&KW=bikelin

[412] Astro, 'My husband thinks I am mad', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12283&KW=Astro

survivalist forum member is exposed to the various levels of Australian survivalists, including those that hold militant opinions concerning the government and wider society. It is here that foundations are laid for survivalists to question their place in the social order; to select the path where preparations are made as insurance against potential disasters, while remaining content to live and contribute within conventional culture,[413] or to choose the way where preparations are made in the hope that civilization finally falls, with their life-style elevating them among the ashes.[414]

[05] Using Survivalist-specific language and rhetoric.

Becoming more and more active within discussion forums and now comfortable engaging with all levels of the sub-culture's membership, Australian survivalists start to exhibit behaviours online that display their commitment to the life-style and demonstrate an acceptance of its unique way of thinking. At this point, survivalists become increasingly content to use survivalist-specific words, abbreviations and a style of expression that is unique to the sub-culture. Example terms such as *TEOTWAWKI* [an acronym meaning The End Of The World As We Know It],[415] *BOB* [an acronym meaning Bug Out Bag - a bag with essential items that is always packed and ready, in case the survivalist has to leave their location in an emergency][416] and *SHTF* [an acronym meaning (When the) Shit Hits The Fan - the commencement of a disaster event][417] are all common expressions used in survivalist discussion forum conversations but do not usually feature in the general language of wider society. Using the language of the sub-culture at this stage is not only an indicator that the forum member is closer embracing the survivalist life-style but also demonstrates to others within the sub-culture that they are beginning to distance themselves from the expectations and customs of general society. It is here that their forum presence is likely to attract

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[413] Maree, 'Living In The Moment', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2006, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=8173&KW=living

[414] machine_slave, 'Who here actually hopes for the STHTF?', [internet forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2004, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=3711&KW=AUSSIE&PN=0&TPN=2

[415] Bushchick, 'Curriculum pshtf training for kids', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16547&KW=BushDoc

[416] thereth, 'My BOB - ideas and criticism please', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15820&KW=bob

[417] BushDoc, 'BOB First Aid Kit', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13749&KW=Walkabout

the attention of other more experienced survivalists and open doors to new levels of acceptance not available to them before this point.[418]

[06] Attending Survivalist meetings, camps and training groups for basic skills development.

Having drawn the attention of more experienced survivalists with displays of specific language, as well as having made valid contributions to forum topics for a suitable amount of time and showing a genuine interest in developing real-world survival skills,[419] survivalists may now be invited, or may seek, to make face-to-face contact and train with other members.[420] Australian survivalists are often suspicious of others and are wary of being investigated by media representatives or monitored by law enforcement and intelligence agencies.[421] It is therefore common for attendance at survivalist camps and training groups to occur by invitation only and often after first attending an initial contact meeting.[422] Once new survivalists have been informally assessed by senior training group associates and they are convinced of the new member's sincerity, they are nominated to attend a low-level training camp.[423] In time, having attended other meets and low-level camps, where survivalists contribute and learn basic skills and when completely accepted by senior members, they are invited to more advanced camps and exposed to higher level war-based training activities.[424] Basic skills developed at low-level survivalist meetings, camps and training groups include, fire lighting, water sourcing, shelter building, emergency equipment usage, identification of edible plants and wild fruits, tracking, hunting and the field dressing and skinning of game.[425] Prospective camps and meeting activities are commonly advertised on the open forums

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[418] AUSSIE, 'Who here actually hopes for the STHTF?', [internet forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2004, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=3711&KW=AUSSIE&PN=0&TPN=2

[419] hillbilly, 'Doing it for real thread', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16255&KW=doing+it+for+real

[420] Bill O'Wrights, 'Meets?', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15197&KW=meets

[421] sparhawk5, 'Big Brother could be a Forum Member', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2004, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=2828&KW=AUSSIE

[422] HowSoonIsNow, 'Sydney meet', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2007, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=10231&KW=meet

[423] Twodogs, 'camp carnage meet', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16933&KW=meet

[424] Twodogs, 'Camp Carnage report', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11805&KW=AUSSIE

[425] Fiamma, 'Survivalist Bush Food Field Day', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14594&KW=Fiamma

to gauge interest among previously vetted members, with details concerning the specific location delivered to confirmed attendees at the last possible moment, via the forum's Private Messaging system or email.[426] Upon the camp's end, it is usually the case that a summary forum post covering what was achieved, will be created by the camp organiser or a senior survivalist attendee.[427] Skills learned or enhanced at the camps are usually discussed and dissected at great length on the forum for many weeks afterwards.

[07] Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities.

Motivated by their experiences at the low-level training camps and open to ideas of a future post-apocalyptic existence,[428] reinforced by senior forum members that they have personally interacted with, survivalists now realise the magnitude of the greatest threat of all, other survivors.[429] Focus now turns from preparing to endure an array of disaster events, to preparing against the hoards of starving, desperate people who will still be alive afterwards. Either from experienced professionals outside of the sub-culture[430] or at more advanced camps from fellow survivalists who are ex-military, those that have been taught by ex-military or currently serving personnel,[431] survivalists at this level seek a significant upgrade to their combat capability, by pursuing proficiencies in war-based training. Activities such as learning battlefield tactics,[432] combat firearms use,[433] urban and wilderness survival techniques[434] and austere field medical training,[435] serve to enhance their

[426] BushDoc, 'Viscera Valley', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16058&KW=BushDoc

[427] AUSSIE, 'NSW meet', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14901&KW=meet&PN=0&TPN=2

[428] omega man, 'Criminal Gang Activity @ TEOTWAWKI', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2006, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=8388&KW=anarchy

[429] sparhawk5, 'Defence of your retreat location', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17343&KW=desperate+masses

[430] snow storm, 'sniper training', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14702&KW=training

[431] greyman, 'My son wants to join the Army', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2005, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=4815&KW=greyman+instructor

[432] Fiamma, 'surviving an ambush road block', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13469&KW=Fiamma

[433] TongueStab, 'Doing it for real thread', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16255&KW=doing+it+for+real&PN=0&TPN=2

[434] Fiamma, 'Firearms', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14112&KW=Fiamma

[435] BushDoc, 'Austere medicine course 2010', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14206&KW=Fiamma

capacity to engage with motivated hostile threats. As an example of the extent of the skills sought and acquired in this stage of survivalist progression, the austere field medical training, delivered by registered doctors[436] who are also survivalists and participating members of the sub-culture, includes instruction in the identification and administration of prescription drugs and emergency dental and surgical practices.[437] All techniques are practiced on the survivalists themselves with some elements of emergency surgery being performed on the body parts of pigs and sheep.[438] In addition, the doctors that conduct the austere medical courses also provide attendees and other trusted survivalists with prescriptions to obtain stockpiles of controlled medications, like antibiotics.[439] It is common to see a change in the outlook of survivalists entering this phase of progression, expressed in their forum posts. Much of their preparedness effort from this point on focuses strictly on options of either escaping from, or engaging with, the perceived deadly threat of future unprepared masses.

[08] Accumulating multiple firearms and large quantities of ammunition.

From the survivalist's perspective at this stage, preparing against a desperate enemy with overwhelming numbers, in a ruined world where the rule of law no longer exists, requires the possession of firearms[440] and other high powered non-chemical projectile weapons, such as recurve and compound bows, crossbows etc.[441] For survivalists, in a future where arms acquisition and resupply from a commercial source will not be possible, the only logical course of action is to stockpile numerous firearms[442] and vast quantities of ammunition,[443] or develop the means to

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[436] BCE1, 'Field Medical Course', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13456&KW=medical+course

[437] sparhawk5, 'Austere Medicine Course Brisbane April 09', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12855&KW=austere&TPN=1

[438] BCE1, 'Wound Closure Manual', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2006, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=8286&KW=trotter

[439] BushDoc, 'Bulk antibiotic source', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14317&KW=prescribe+antibiotics

[440] bebe, 'Pistols for SHTF', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15616&KW=pshtf+guns

[441] flymaster, 'Survival Bow', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13971&KW=bow

[442] AUSSIE, 'AIA Gun Porn!!', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15425&KW=AUSSIE&PN=0&TPN=2

[443] AUSSIE, 'gun show', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14772&KWgun+show

produce it themselves,[444] in the present. There is an understanding among Australian survivalists that the most efficient way to ensure that they are able to use any ammunition found after a societal collapse is to own at least one firearm in every common calibre.[445] This is often the primary objective in survivalist firearms acquisition efforts, with obtaining multiple back-up firearms as a secondary goal.[446] Under the current firearms legislation applicable to all States and Territories in Australia, it is not unlawful for registered firearms license holders to acquire / own multiple firearms and ammunition.[447] To emphasise this point by way of example, the size of the largest 100 registered private arsenals owned by any one person in the state of New South Wales is measured as being between 71 and 322 guns each, as of December 2015; this does not include guns owned by firearms dealers and collectors.[448] It is noteworthy that a percentage of Australian survivalists possess firearms expertise acquired during previous military service,[449] with these skills likely to far exceed those of the average Australian law enforcement officer.

[09] Fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack [bug in] OR packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape [bug out] routes to a predetermined location.

Having accepted the inevitability of a dark future and the certainty of engagements with violent masses after a societal collapse, survivalists at this point commonly develop multiple contingencies for surviving within a hostile setting or escaping quickly from it. Survivalist terms *Bugging In* and *Bugging Out* represent the two response options. *Bugging In* involves fortifying the survivalist's current place of residence and stocking it with extensive supplies so that the dwelling can effectively be shut off from the world, with the goal of waiting until the chaos occurring outside ceases.[450] This scenario is regularly considered in the discussion forums with many survivalists

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[444] Twodogs, 'Sheeple', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17215&KW=sheeple&PN=0&TPN=2

[445] Twodogs, 'Ammo availability in remote areas', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14103&KW=Fiamma

[446] roadwarrior, 'guns', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12525&KW=guns

[447] E. Blackwell, 'There Are A LOT of Legal Guns in NSW', *Huffington Post Australia*, 15 July 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com.au/2016/04/11/greens-nsw-guns_n_9657820.html, (accessed 24 June 2017)

[448] Ibid.

[449] greyman, 'My son wants to join the Army', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2005, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=4815&KW=greyman+instructor

[450] volks, 'Your thoughts on a retreat please', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12743&KW=Twodogs&PN=0&TPN=1

indicating they have knowledge and experience in securing premises with bars and barriers, places of ambush and lethal booby traps.[451] *Bugging Out* involves a rapid escape from the survivalist's place of residence, taking with them nothing more than a pre-packed bag, if on foot, containing essential supplies to serve them along an established route to a predetermined location.[452] If they have the option of using a *Bug Out Vehicle*, the same evacuation plan may apply, but with the benefit of carrying a heavier supply load.[453] The discussion and practice of this activity is covered in many survivalist forum entries, with common variations on its execution including caching survival materials, such as food, water, medical supplies and ammunition, underground in waterproof containers at numerous points along the predetermined route.[454] Positioned towards the end stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, the descriptive title for this level of the survivalist progression process may seem to depict activities that appear less of a threat than others presented before it. In reality, it is at this stage that the Australian survivalist's combat capability, established by the possession of war-based skills and access to multiple firearms, ammunition etc, is now accompanied by a growing view that the desperate enemy masses of tomorrow can be seen in the wider society of today.

[10] Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.

Survivalists consider *Bugging Out* to a predetermined location an effective survival strategy only if the destination site is one that can be easily defended and has renewable resources that will sustain them once there.[455] With this in mind, the ultimate goal of survivalists at this point is to establish a self-contained and secure homestead on their privately owned land.[456] Experienced Australian survivalists invest tens to hundreds of thousands of dollars in their preparations, with

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[451] sparhawk5, 'Defence of your retreat location', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17343&KW=desperate+masses

[452] AUSSIE, 'My BOB - ideas and criticism please', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15820&KW=bugging+in

[453] kelabar, 'Ability to stay mobile post SHTF', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15407&KW=Kelabar&PN=0&TPN=4

[454] nifty, 'Bugging out for real', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16685&KW=AUSSIE

[455] Twodogs, 'The Real Deal about Real Stuff', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17036&KW=i%27ll+kill+them&PN=0&TPN=1

[456] Fiamma, 'BOL or BOV?', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14175&KW=Fiamma&PN=0&TPN=2

the greatest cost being the purchase of secluded real-estate, which they develop into a defendable retreat location.[457] Constructing buildings, developing water sources, growing orchards and vegetable gardens, stocking dams with fish and the land with game, creating systems to generate electricity and establishing defensive firing positions, are all activities that have been conducted and covered in great detail on the survivalist discussion forums.[458] Defendable retreats are seen by many survivalists as a final fallback position when faced with post-disaster anarchy. However, some senior survivalists consider the establishment of secluded homesteads an essential means to withdraw from wider society, judged as broken and ultimately doomed, as soon as possible.[459] Regardless of differing perspectives, this stage in survivalist development represents a high point in access to resources and capability and a clear rejection of mainstream society as it stands.

[11] Possessing and promoting an anti-government / anti-society outlook.

Australian survivalists at this point consider themselves to be superior to the general public, which they believe is populated by weak, ignorant and expendable conformists that they refer to as *Sheeple*;[460] a derogatory term that seeks to highlight the masses as having a sheep-like mentality, unable to think for themselves and content to blindly go where authority and mainstream media directs them. Australian survivalists at this stage also believe that the government, its politicians, police and other representatives of authority are responsible for creating the world as it stands, which they reject wholeheartedly.[461] They see the government as an oppressive enemy determined to control them by slowly diminishing their freedoms.[462] In addition to this, there is a general perception among survivalists that the Australian Government's ineptitude and corruption

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[457] Twodogs, 'for Tamara', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2014, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17803&PN=1

[458] Twodogs, 'The Real Deal about Real Stuff', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17036&KW=i%27ll+kill+them&PN=0&TPN=1

[459] SOSDDAY, 'The Real Deal about Real Stuff', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17036&KW=i%27ll+kill+them&PN=0&TPN=4

[460] AUSSIE, 'BOBs recommended by Sydney Mayor', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2007, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11057&KW=bob&PN=0&TPN=2

[461] AUSSIE, 'We've been naughty..', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17125&KW=AUSSIE

[462] Twodogs, 'One more facet of the police state.', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11397&KW=Twodogs

is advancing a great economic collapse.[463] It is further believed that the expected economic collapse will trigger resource shortages and hostile competition, which will ultimately lead to conflict both on a national and international scale.[464] From the perspective of Australian survivalists at this time, the government directly threatens their ongoing survival. Australian survivalists in this period of development openly resent all forms of government intervention in their lives.[465] They highlight and analyse government wrongdoing on the discussion forums, as it is revealed in popular news media stories.[466] They also argue fervently online against the government eroding their perceived natural rights, such as to hunt and protect themselves with firearms.[467] Forum posts by survivalists at this stage, while not directly threatening violence, highlight a potential danger in the combination of an advanced combat capability and an anti-government and / or anti-society outlook.

[12] Making implied or direct anti-government / anti-society violent threats.

Australian survivalists at this point in their development possess an advanced combat capability, including easy access to a great number of firearms and training in military skills and tactics. They have also progressed beyond merely possessing an anti-government and / or anti-society outlook, now blatantly publishing public discussion forum posts that make implied or direct threats of violence against the Australian Government, its representatives[468] and members of the general public.[469] Some Australian survivalists at this stage have expressed a willingness to use lethal force if confronted in their homes or on their land,[470] indicating a predisposition towards acts of

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[463] AUSSIE, 'Unambiguous Government Warnings', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16759&KW=government

[464] I, Claudius, 'Huge Conflict...Emerging', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2004, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=4555&KW=conflict

[465] AUSSIE, 'NSW police ammunition proposal.', [internet forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15981&KW=bring+on+the+revolution&PN=0&TPN=5

[466] Hawk, 'Drunk politicians...', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2004, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=1954&KW=politician

[467] AUSSIE, 'AR15 mags.', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14691&KW=AR15+mags%2E&PN=0&TPN=2

[468] Fiamma, 'Cross Bow legislation change in WA', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14920&KW=Fiamma

[469] Twodogs, 'Radical Islam coming to a primary school', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13434&KW=volkssturmman

[470] Fiamma, 'Radical Islam coming to a primary school', [internet forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13434&KW=volkssturmman&PN=0&TPN=2

violence coupled with the availability of the means to carry out such threats. Survivalists in the mind space of this level have also praised the reported conduct of Australian criminals when their real-life, perceived revolutionary exchanges have resulted in a police death.[471] Most notably, survivalists at this stage have posted comments that emphasise the belief that they will inevitably have to take a revolutionary stand against oppressive Australian Government authority.[472] Just short of the great fear of moving from threats of violence to conducting violent anti-government and anti-society acts, resulting in death or casualties, this point in Australian survivalist development is the most extreme position observed to date. At this far end of the development path, Australian survivalists have the capability, possess the incentive to act and have made threats against Australian Government interests and the interests of wider society and may be considered a potential domestic risk.

4.4.6. Case Studies - 12 Stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*:

The following are discussion forum case studies featuring three Australian survivalists identified within the 125 aussurvivalist.com member sample that have experienced all 12 stages of the Australian survivalist development path in sequence. The three Australian survivalists in the following case study examples were the only members from the 125 aussurvivalist.com sample identified who had experienced the extreme position of the final stage of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart.* Establishing that just three survivalists from the 125 registered forum member group had reached the final stage of the *Development Path Chart*, likely indicates that more militant Australian survivalist members are represented in smaller numbers, certainly within the 125 forum member sample, and perhaps within the sub-culture as a whole. The following examples support the validity of the behaviour sequence of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* and confirm the escalating nature of Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, reflected in the progressive forum post content.

The following three case studies should be considered as examples independent of each other that illustrate the personal experiences of individuals involved in the process of Australian

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[471] Twodogs, 'Radical Islam coming to a primary school', [internet forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14305&KW=william+crews&PN=0&TPN=3

[472] AUSSIE, 'New Attack on Firearms!!', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14592&KW=bring+on+the+revolution

survivalist development. Though the three examples are intended as standalone studies, it is the similarities found among the reported activities and thought processes of each that reiterates the presented Australian survivalist development path as a likely common process among Australian survivalists. It should be noted that as the three case studies are intended, and displayed, as separate examples, there is some necessary repetition in the explanatory notes, specifying the focus of each of the relevant survivalist development stages under consideration.

Discussion Forum Case Study 1:

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 01.

Development Path Stage Title: Developing ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities relating to the stockpiling of supplies, such as food, water, medical gear, fuel, weapons, precious metals and survival equipment, which are fervently believed by survivalists, to be essential life-saving provisions. It should be noted that forum posts covering this stage of Australian survivalist development are usually made retrospectively, after an initial contact forum post created during either Stage 02, or more commonly Stage 04, of the Australian survivalist development path. This accounts for the creation date of the accompanying forum post example (below) appearing out of chronological order. In this case study it may be seen that the survivalist made his first discussion forum contact post on the 2nd of March 2004, during Stage 04 of development, and then later, on the 7th of October 2006, described his experience with Stage 01 behaviours.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the early Australian survivalist preoccupation with acquiring emergency equipment. In this case, the sample member commenced a discussion in which he referred to stockpiling an amount of medical masks in preparation for an expected pandemic outbreak. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 01 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Twodogs**
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6685 | *Posted: 07 October 2006 at 3:43pm.*[473]

Here's a question for those here that have medical experience.

For my bird flu preps I have a box of p2 masks. But as I understand it when venturing outside during a pandemic, or when dealing with a family member who has the virus, I would also need to protect my eyes from airborne vapour droplets containing virus particles, and hand protection is also highly recommended.

My problem is that browsing the catalogue of a medical supplier just adds to my confusion, as there are so many types of eye shields and gloves. So my questions are:

What brand disposable eyewear should I buy?

What type/brand of gloves are best? The rubber ones for sale in supermarkets state not for medical use. Might they leak virus contaminated fluids onto your skin?

thanks in advance |

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[473] Twodogs, 'Medical eye shields / gloves', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2006, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=9491&KW=Twodogs

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 02.

Development Path Stage Title: Actively seeking preparedness information.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities relating to the seeking of preparedness-related information, either in printed form or from online sources. This stage of Australian survivalist development may include registering at a survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum and for some members an introductory forum post to obtain access to sought survivalist information. A great number of forum posts covering this stage of Australian survivalist development are made retrospectively, after an initial contact forum post has been made during Stage 04, of the Australian survivalist development path. This accounts for the creation date of the accompanying forum post example (below) appearing out of chronological order. In this case study it may be seen that the survivalist made his first discussion forum contact post on the 2nd of March 2004, during Stage 04 of development, and then later, on the 5th of November 2006, described his experience with Stage 02 behaviours.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to seeking preparedness information. In this case, the sample member created a post in which he referred to his previous experience sourcing and viewing printed preparedness and military information in a well known survival-style magazine. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 02 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Twodogs**
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6685 | *Posted: 05 November 2006 at 8:25am.*[474]

I've been reading SOF *[Soldier of Fortune]* for 20 years. Got plenty of copies in my wardrobe. Don't recall any major articles on survivalism. SOF is PRO US rank and file military. They support the government that supports the military. They are highly critical of any congressmen who don't fully support the US military (like Clinton and AL Gore). As a result, the rank and file military give SOF unprecedented access to info and pictures. It was a very powerful publication in its day. They once enticed a Russian fighter pilot to defect to Japan with his latest model Mig fighter for a huge reward. They were almost sued out of existence when a guy was murdered by a hit man advertising thru SOF, proving that not all SOF readers are armchair wannabes. |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 03.

Development Path Stage Title: Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills.

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[474] Twodogs, 'We're All Soldiers of Fortune Now', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2006, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=9662&KW=Twodogs

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities relating to the experimentation with self-defence and self-sufficiency skills, such as martial arts, shooting, vegetable and fruit gardening, first-aid, camping, archery and the creation of various emergency response plans. Moving beyond the simple stockpiling of supplies and the acquisition of basic survival information, survivalists in this stage now turn their attention to trying their hand at practical skills that will be required to survive their understanding of the inevitable disorder that follows a disaster event. Though the behaviours of this stage of Australian survivalist development may be described after an introductory forum post, made during Stage 02 of the Australian survivalist development path, a great number of forum posts illustrating involvement in the activities of this level are created retrospectively by members, after an initial contact forum post has been made during Stage 04. This accounts for the creation date of the accompanying forum post example (below) being out of chronological order. In this case study it may be seen that the survivalist made his first discussion forum contact post on the 2nd of March 2004, during Stage 04 of development, and then later, on the 10th of January 2008, described his experience with Stage 03 behaviours.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to considering and experimenting with self-sufficiency skills. In this case, the member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to creating his own task-specific medical kit / treatment strategy to remedy snake bites. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 03 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Twodogs**
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6685 | *Posted: 10 January 2008 at 9:31am.*[475]

Looks like crap to me. I made my own snake bite kit, it consists of a bum bag, 2 bandages, a black permanent marker pen, and scissors. It doubles as a lost kit, with the front pouch of the bum bag having a small zip lock bag of sugar lollies, a whistle, lighter, cotton balls dipped in Vaseline and a space blanket. Might include a small mirror later on. When I'm walking in the bush I carry the bum bag, when I'm hunting it will all fit into a minimi pouch on my webbing.

If I or someone with me gets bitten, I will use the scissors to cut away any clothing, apply first bandage starting from bite towards heart then back again. Use marker pen to mark bite site and time on bandage. Then use second bandage to go over first one, also marking bite site and time and a description of snake. I had it with me when I ran into that 7 foot black snake a week ago. Thankfully didn't need it, but is a comfort to know it's on hand if required.

After that incident I researched snake identification, and came across a site written for medical staff on treatment of snake bites. I noticed they suggested a small wound pad onto bite site to soak up venom so as to provide a swap for identification purposes. Apparently correct identification is important because the "generic" anti venom can cause serious side effects.

Any medico's here care to comment on using a wound pad? |

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[475] Twodogs, 'Snake bite treatment', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11600&KW=Twodogs

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 04.

Development Path Stage Title: Participating in online interactions with like-minded people.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members engaging with other Australian survivalists, in an anonymous capacity, through the Internet discussion forums. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies an end to individual skills experimentation and a commencement in the effort of members to gain direct knowledge and learn from the experiences and guidance of other survivalists. It is also the stage where the member's belief in a survivalist life-style is validated by like-minded individuals and where initial exposure to the various categories of Australian survivalists occurs.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to interacting with other similar thinking people in an online environment. In this case, the sample member created his first post in the aussurvivalist.com forum, commencing a discussion in which he introduced himself and a made a request for input relating to the survivalist preparations of other members. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 04 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

Twodogs Survivalist Joined: 27 February 2004 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 6683	*Posted: 02 March 2004 at 9:31pm.*[476] I'm new to this list, this being my first post. I was an active survivalist in the mid 1980's, when it seemed (to me at least) that most survivalists were mainly concerned with stockpiling weapons and food for a pending US/USSR nuclear conflict. How the world has changed since. It seems to me the most likely scenario for a major breakdown of society today would come from a major outbreak of disease or a chemical or radioactive terror attack. Which brings me to ask - what preparations have you, as a survivalist, made to help you and / or your family survive a potentially catastrophic event?

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 05.

Development Path Stage Title: Using survivalist-specific language and rhetoric.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members using survivalist-specific terminology in their Internet discussion forum communications. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies that the member is immersing themselves deeper within the survivalist life-style by using language and rhetoric unique

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[476] Twodogs, 'What preparations have you made?', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2004, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=1854&KW=Twodogs

to the sub-culture and demonstrates a movement away from the expectations and customs of general society.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to the use of survivalist-specific words, abbreviations and an expression style unique to the sub-culture. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he used the acronym *shtf*, which in survivalist terms stands for *(When the) Shit Hits The Fan*; meaning the commencement of a disaster event. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 05 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

Twodogs Survivalist Joined: 27 February 2004 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 6685	*Posted: 12 February 2008 at 5:29pm.*[477] my post shtf t-shirt will have "Food for Sex" written on it.

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 06.

Development Path Stage Title: Attending survivalist meetings, camps and training groups for basic skills development.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members participating in meetings and low-level training camps to develop basic skills under the guidance of other survivalists. After drawing the attention of experienced survivalists with exhibitions of survivalist-specific language in their forum posts, as well as indicating a genuine desire to develop real-world skills, the member is invited, or seeks, to make face-to-face contact with other survivalists. Participating in, or sometimes organising, survivalist meets and camps with other forum members, this stage of Australian survivalist development signifies a new level of acceptance within the sub-culture and begins the creation of a physical Australian survivalist network that the member can turn to for advice and direction.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to members attending survivalist meetings and low-level training camps. In this case, the sample member commenced a discussion in which he referred to having organised a survivalist training camp on an undeveloped property [as distinct from an established retreat location, which will be covered in Stage 10] that he owned. The post identified that numerous aussurvivalist.com forum members attended the camp and engaged in activities such as, hunting,

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[477] Twodogs, 'Problems with Sheeple', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11704&KW=sex+food+t-shirt

field dressing animals that were shot and testing survival equipment. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 06 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| Twodogs
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6675 | *Posted: 28 March 2008 at 2:39pm.*[478]

The 2008 Camp Carnage meet was held over Easter.

For those that don't know, Camp Carnage is the name given to the thousand acre property in South East Queensland owned by my brother and I. Each year I hold an invitation only meet. This year 15 people attended, mostly forum members.

The meets are intended to strengthen bonds between the participants, encourage the transfer of skills and ideas, and engage in some good old fashioned hunting, camping and drinking. I don't invite internet commando's, subversives or radicals.

This year's meet was another success. There was abundant game for those wishing to hunt, including deer, pig, goat, fox and rabbit. A number of animals were taken, field dressed and cooked over the fire, with at least one skin salted for tanning. Four of us went on an overnight hunt, sleeping under the stars in just a bag (Sparhawk braved just a space blanket) to gets some first hand experience in living out of a backpack and to test some equipment. A few of the boys did some fishing in a nearby river, but I think they came up empty. Plenty of skills and experience were freely available for those interested.

I'd encourage other participants to share their comments and/or any pics (so long as they don't identify anyone) of the meet, to show others that this forum is much more than words on a screen, and to encourage them to organise their own meets. |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 07.

Development Path Stage Title: Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members engaging in war-based training activities, such as battlefield tactics, combat firearms use, urban and wilderness survival techniques and austere field medical training. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies a change in mindset, where members turn their attention from preparing to endure a multitude of disaster events, to preparing against the desperate masses that will still be alive afterwards. Seeking a significant enhancement to their combat capability, members pursue proficiencies in a range of war-based training activities.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to acquiring war-based skills. In this case, the sample member contributed to

[478] Twodogs, '2008 Camp Carnage report', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11805&KW=AUSSIE

a discussion in which he referred to his intention to acquire a sniper / marksman range finder, for long range target spotting use during distance shooting training. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 07 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| Twodogs
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6686 | *Posted: 11 August 2008 at 5:26pm.*[479]

I'm saving for a leica 1200. I've seen them new for as low as $US615 plus postage from the states. There's a good review of this model on sniper country, with pics taken through the viewfinder. |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 08.

Development Path Stage Title: Accumulating multiple firearms and large quantities of ammunition.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members acquiring and stockpiling numerous firearms, significant quantities of ammunition and other high powered non-chemical projectile weapons, such as recurve and compound bows, crossbows etc. This stage of Australian survivalist development is based on a reaction to the belief in a likely post disaster dystopian future, where an anticipated desperate population with overwhelming numbers is likely to threaten the member's ongoing survival.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to accumulating firearms and a large ammunition capability. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to acquiring high capacity ammunition magazines. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 08 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| Twodogs
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6686 | *Posted: 25 August 2008 at 5:29pm.*[480]

what about the remington 7615? My son's is finicky with ammo (it likes remington or winchester, hates american eagle) but it's a VERY FAST shooter, very light, points well, there's a sh*tload of accessories for them, and fit 20 and 30 round AR mags, which are still available (expensive though), provided they're legal in your state, of course. I know one member here had a few problems with broken extractors, (steel cased wolf ammo?) and the 223 isn't exactly a powerhouse, but IMO it's worth considering. |

[479] Twodogs, 'got a range finder', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12183&KW=Twodogs

[480] Twodogs, '22mag and 30-30', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12199&KW=Twodogs

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 09.

Development Path Stage Title: Fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack [bug in] <u>OR</u> packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape [bug out] routes to a predetermined location.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities surrounding one, or both, of two perceived preparatory strategies relating to potential engagements with violent masses after a societal collapse. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies the member's acceptance of an inevitable dark future for humanity, requiring the need for them to fortify their current living quarters and plan escape routes complete with pre-packed supply bags and caches of food, water and equipment previously established along the way. Positioned towards the end of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, the stage title for this level of the path may seem less of a threat than others before it. In reality it is here that the Australian survivalist's combat capability has already been established, with the possession of war-based skills and access to multiple firearms, ammunition etc, and now with a growing acceptance that the future holds many direct threats from expected desperate masses, the survivalist accepts that the wider society of today will inevitably be the enemy of tomorrow. It is at this level of the development path that a growing anti-society outlook accompanies a considerable combat capability, which accounts for its position towards the end of the *Path Chart*.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to preparatory measures associated with escape [bug out] route strategies. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to the contents of his pre-packed BOB [Bug Out Bag], believed to contain all the necessary supplies to make the trek to a predetermined safe location. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 09 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Twodogs**
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6686 | *Posted: 24 December 2008 at 4:14pm.*[481]

Twodog's list:

water, food, sleeping bag, bivi bag, spare set of camo's, poncho, knife, lighter/s, hexi stove, 2 x canteens, 3l bladder, belt kit, hat, dixie kit with fork/spoon, gun, ammo, cleaning kit, first aid kit, toothpaste/brush/small bar of soap, picture of Mrs Twodogs naked, and a bad attitude, all carried on me or in my elberstock pack. Done it at CC, easy! |

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[481] Twodogs, 'Packing your BOB / Survival kit', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12387&KW=Twodogs

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 10.

Development Path Stage Title: Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members creating self-sufficient homesteads on defendable private properties. In what may be seen as the final defensive strategy for those Australian survivalists that firmly believe in an impending conflict with violent masses after a societal collapse, investing a significant amount of money, time and conviction in a defensive retreat signifies the member's complete and total commitment to an immoderate form of the Australian survivalist ideology and life-style. Beyond the planning concerns of Stage 09 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, but similar in its stage title seeming less of a threat than others before it, this level of the development path is the ultimate point of commitment to the survivalist life-style that may be measured in physical preparations and capability.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to creating self-contained and defendable retreats, on secluded private land. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to ownership of two developed survival retreats and the security benefits of seclusion, when considering the threat of other people accessing the locations. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 10 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Twodogs**
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6686 | *Posted: 22 March 2009 at 9:50am.*[482]

I have 2 retreats. One 11 hours away (850k's) and one 4 hours away (350k's). I would have liked one closer (maybe 2 hours away) but anything decent that close to the city is really expensive. On the plus side, the harder your retreat is to get to, the less likely you'll have "visitors", especially whilst you're away. I have an arrangement with my neighbour, he plants feed crops and runs some stock on a part of my land, in return for keeping a close eye on it for me and keeping the weeds down. This arrangement has been working well so far.

Posted: 16 April 2009 at 5:04pm.[483]

I got 40 acres with 400m river frontage in southern NSW for $65k about 2 years ago. 10 acres cleared, growing oats at the moment, rest bushland adjoining state forest. Access is via private road through several other properties. It's private and secluded, and the neighbour keeps a close eye on the place for me in return for allowing him to graze his sheep and use part of it to grow feed crops. Some decent properties out there if you're prepared to look. |

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[482] Twodogs, 'Your thoughts on retreat please', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12743&KW=Twodogs&PN=0&TPN=1

[483] Ibid. p. 3.

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 11.

Development Path Stage Title: Possessing and promoting an anti-government / anti-society outlook.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members presenting an anti-government and / or anti-society outlook. Having done all that can be done in making preparations against potential life-altering disasters and the anarchy of the aftermath, this level of the survivalist development path signifies a point where the survivalist member considers a larger picture of potential threat to their ongoing survival. At this level the survivalist member looks toward the government, its policies and representatives, as contributing to diminishing their freedoms and as an entity that risks their individual security and prosperity with international conflicts and economic control.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to possessing and promoting an anti-government and / or anti-society outlook. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to his distrust of the Australian Government and its perceived unscrupulous promotion of pharmaceutical company products. It is the situation that Australian survivalists at this far end of the development path instinctively view any and all government activities and initiatives, regardless of potential benefit to them, with supreme suspicion and contempt. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 11 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Twodogs**
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Online
Posts: 6686 | *Posted: 01 October 2009 at 5:12pm.*[484]

Mrs Twodogs and I discussed it as we watched the 7:30 report on ABC the other night. We both agreed the vaccine has been rushed and is too greater risk to take. So a 'NO' vote for us and our kids.

Gov't leghumping scum can get farked. |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 12.

Development Path Stage Title: Making implied or direct anti-government / anti-society violent threats.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members making anti-government and / or anti-society implied or direct threats of violence. At this level of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, the survivalist member possesses the capability and intention / outlook that present them as a

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[484] Twodogs, 'Flu shot', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13311&KW=Twodogs

potential risk to government interests and wider society. Threats of violence, either directly or implied are openly made in the forums toward the government, its representatives and mainstream society, both groups within, and at large.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to making implied or direct anti-government and / or anti-society violent threats. In this case, the sample member commenced a discussion in which he referred to his belief in the danger represented by a particular Australian minority group, and responded with threats of future firearms violence against them. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 12 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Twodogs**
Survivalist

Joined: 27 February 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6686 | *Posted: 13 November 2009 at 6:23pm.*[485]

http://www.news.com.au/story/0,27574,26343471-421,00.html

Tool up boys. It seems clear that those who preach a radical form of Islam are actively brainwashing young muslims in Sydney. In a few short years these Year 5 boys could well be angry young men, using violence to assert their skewed interpretation of the Koran on the general populace.

Twodogs predicts that within 10 years we will see gangs of muslim youths attacking anyone who doesn't conform to their draconian views. Time to tool up boys, pretty soon it's gunna be open season on ragheads.

Posted: 14 November 2009 at 8:09am.

I'm reading an interesting book atm about the rise of the radical muslim movement.

Many muslims take a moderate interpretation of the Koran and have no problem with non-muslims, providing they stay out of the holy places (mecca and meddina). It's the radicals that pose a very real threat. They believe it is their sacred duty to spread Islam across the planet and to kill ALL non-believers (civilians, women, children etc).

In my opinion, Year 5 students showing aggressive behaviour to non-muslims for not adhering to muslim culture is indicative that these children have been tutored by radical muslim adults. It is the radical adults that are the problem AKM, not the kids (until they grow into radical adults, of course). It is a problem that needs to be addressed NOW, before we see large scale violence on our streets that would make Cronulla pale into insignificance.

Then again, I'm sure there's more than a few here who look forward to the day when shooting Muslims becomes our new national sport. |

[485] Twodogs, 'Radical Islam coming to a primary school', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13434&KW=volkssturmman

Discussion Forum Case Study 2:

***Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage*:** 01.

***Development Path Stage Title*:** Developing ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions.

***Development Path Stage Notes*:** This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities relating to the stockpiling of supplies, such as food, water, medical gear, fuel, weapons, precious metals and survival equipment, which are fervently believed by survivalists, to be essential life-saving provisions. It should be noted that forum posts covering this stage of Australian survivalist development are usually made retrospectively, after an initial contact forum post created during either Stage 02, or more commonly Stage 04, of the Australian survivalist development path. This accounts for the creation date of the accompanying forum post example (below) appearing out of chronological order. In this case study it may be seen that the survivalist made his first discussion forum contact post on the 8th of April 2004, during Stage 04 of development, and then later, on the 17th of April 2004, described his experience with Stage 01 behaviours.

***Example Post Analysis Notes*:** The post below concerns the early Australian survivalist preoccupation with acquiring emergency equipment. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to stockpiling numerous amounts of several different utility knives. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 01 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **AUSSIE**
Survivalist

Joined: 02 April 2004
Location: Zimbabwe (sic)
[Australia]
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 5276 | *Posted: 17 April 2004 at 3:08pm.*[486]

Small Fixed Bladed Frosts Swedish Army Utility Knife and Frosts Swedish Laminated Steel Utility Knife (Black Handle). I have had several of each for ten plus years. For $15 (Aus) each you are absolutely mad if you don't own at least one!!! Swedish steel is unreal including their basic Stainless as used in the Swedish Army Knife!! Swiss Army Knife Victorinox "Climber" model: - All the really useful stuff without the junk!!! German Army Issue Pocket Knife (Victorinox Contract) surplus $10 each have three or four absolute pissers for ten bucks (hand selected from a box of 100 hundred plus). On Cold Steel Knives; Eight or nine years ago when Cold Steel Master Hunters and SRK's retailed at $99 each they were good value now they have just priced themselves out of the market!!! An SRK is not worth $300!!! Far better knives available at less than a third of that price!!! |

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[486] AUSSIE, 'Good knives?', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2004, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=729&KW=AUSSIE

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 02.

Development Path Stage Title: Actively seeking preparedness information.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities relating to the seeking of preparedness-related information, either in printed form or from online sources. This stage of Australian survivalist development may include registering at a survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum and for some members an introductory forum post to obtain access to sought survivalist information. A great number of forum posts covering this stage of Australian survivalist development are made retrospectively, after an initial contact forum post has been made during Stage 04, of the Australian survivalist development path. This accounts for the creation date of the accompanying forum post example (below) appearing out of chronological order. In this case study it may be seen that the survivalist made his first discussion forum contact post on the 8th of April 2004, during Stage 04 of development, and then later, on the 31st of January 2005, described his experience with Stage 02 behaviours.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to seeking preparedness information. In this case, the sample member created a post in which he referred to his previous experience sourcing and viewing printed survival information written by a United Stated survivalist expert. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 02 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

AUSSIE Survivalist Joined: 02 April 2004 Location: Zimbabwe (sic) [Australia] Online Status: Offline Posts: 5276	*Posted: 31 January 2005 at 4:53pm.*[487] sparhawk5, I have seen this once before, like about twenty years ago, can I ask did you source it from his (hardcopy) newsletters? If not where can I find some more? Is there an online source aside from his survival gun stuff?

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 03.

Development Path Stage Title: Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities relating to the experimentation with self-defence and self-sufficiency skills, such as martial arts, shooting, vegetable and fruit gardening, first-aid, camping, archery and the creation of various emergency response plans. Moving beyond the simple stockpiling of supplies and the

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[487] AUSSIE, 'Tappan on 'Why Prepare', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2005, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=3220&KW=AUSSIE

acquisition of basic survival information, survivalists in this stage now turn their attention to trying their hand at practical skills that will be required to survive their understanding of the inevitable disorder that follows a disaster event. Though the behaviours of this stage of Australian survivalist development may be described after an introductory forum post, made during Stage 02 of the Australian survivalist development path, a great number of forum posts illustrating involvement in the activities of this level are created retrospectively by members, after an initial contact forum post has been made during Stage 04. This accounts for the creation date of the accompanying forum post example (below) being out of chronological order. In this case study it may be seen that the survivalist made his first discussion forum contact post on the 8th of April 2004, during Stage 04 of development, and then later, on the 31st of July 2006, described his experience with Stage 03 behaviours.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to considering and experimenting with self-sufficiency skills. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to acquiring and practicing important navigation and first aid skills. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 03 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **AUSSIE**
Survivalist

Joined: 02 April 2004
Location: Zimbabwe (sic) [Australia]
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 5276 | *Posted: 31 July 2006 at 3:20pm.*[488]

I've talked to a lot of military and emergency services professionals / instructors over the years and they are all absolutely in total agreeance on the first two vital skills everybody should have and they are: - <u>Navigation and First Aid.</u>

Forget about guns, weapons, swords, wilderness survival, nuclear survival, combat / self defence, knife fighting, bows and arrows, escape and evasion, or however you otherwise get your jollys!

It is proficiency in Land Navigation and Emergency First Aid that are the first two survival skills you should master! Their universal advice is don't just read the books get serious and go do a course in both skills and then practice and practice! After that then go chase some of the more exotic stuff! |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 04.

Development Path Stage Title: Participating in online interactions with like-minded people.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members engaging with other Australian survivalists, in an anonymous capacity, through the Internet discussion forums. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies an end to individual skills experimentation and a commencement in the effort of members to gain direct knowledge and learn from the experiences and guidance of other survivalists. It is

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[488] AUSSIE, 'List of learning', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2006, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=9114&KW=AUSSIE

also the stage where the member's belief in a survivalist life-style is validated by like-minded individuals and where initial exposure to the various categories of Australian survivalists occurs.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to interacting with other similar thinking people in an online environment. In this case, the sample member created his first post in the aussurvivalist.com forum, contributing to a general discussion in which he expressed misgivings concerning the United States involvement in conflicts overseas. Involving himself in this particular discussion topic, the member added his disdain for Australian allies entering into foreign wars to that of many like-minded Australian survivalists that have posted similar opinions about this subject in the discussion forum environment. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 04 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

AUSSIE Survivalist Joined: 02 April 2004 Location: Zimbabwe (sic) [Australia] Online Status: Offline Posts: 5276	*Posted: 08 April 2004 at 5:22pm.*[489] For f**k Sake!! The simple and utter facts are that the Americans despite all their fuggin bravado and Gung Ho crap are basically 98% bullsh*t and hot air! I know it you guys sure as all flying fist f**ks know it!! They are Hollywood through and through!! When it comes to nauseating hardcore grind, grunt, sheer f**king endless tough yakka with merciless spilling of blood and guts the f**kers just don't cope with it PERIOD!!! And quite simply everyone in this whole f**kin wide world damn well knows it!!! Their bluff is called and short of em getting seriously desperate and they begin tac nuking things then they are basically f**ked end of story!!

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 05.

Development Path Stage Title: Using survivalist-specific language and rhetoric.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members using survivalist-specific terminology in their Internet discussion forum communications. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies that the member is immersing themself deeper within the survivalist life-style by using language and rhetoric unique to the sub-culture and demonstrates a movement away from the expectations and customs of general society.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to the use of survivalist-specific words, abbreviations and an expression style unique to the sub-culture. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he used the acronym *shtf*, which in survivalist terms stands for *(When the) Shit Hits The Fan*; meaning the commencement of a disaster event. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 05 of the *Australian Survivalist Development*

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[489] AUSSIE, 'Master Suckpoop Of Earth', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2004, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=2269&KW=AUSSIE

Path Chart, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

AUSSIE Survivalist Joined: 02 April 2004 Location: Zimbabwe (sic) [Australia] Online Status: Offline Posts: 5276	*Posted: 18 February 2010 at 4:33pm.*[490] Mate, I wouldn't have a flying fukking clue who that gun belongs to!! But I reckon for one of the newbie baby calves on here it could save their precious little white arse come SHTF time!! It's like my version of a community service message!!

***Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage*:** 06.

***Development Path Stage Title*:** Attending survivalist meetings, camps and training groups for basic skills development.

***Development Path Stage Notes*:** This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members participating in meetings and low-level training camps to develop basic skills under the guidance of other survivalists. After drawing the attention of experienced survivalists with exhibitions of survivalist-specific language in their forum posts, as well as indicating a genuine desire to develop real-world skills, the member is invited, or seeks, to make face-to-face contact with other survivalists. Participating in, or sometimes organising, survivalist meets and camps with other forum members, this stage of Australian survivalist development signifies a new level of acceptance within the sub-culture and begins the creation of a physical Australian survivalist network that the member can turn to for advice and direction.

***Example Post Analysis Notes*:** The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to members attending survivalist meetings and low-level training camps. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to having attended a survivalist training camp. The post identified that numerous aussurvivalist.com forum members attended the camp, each taking ownership of instructing other attendees in various skill development activities, such as medical training, creating cordage, shooting and game meat and hide processing. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 06 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

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[490] AUSSIE, 'Good PSHTF Rifle', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13723&KW=PSHTF

| AUSSIE
Survivalist

Joined: 02 April 2004
Location: Zimbabwe (sic)
[Australia]
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 5234 | *Posted: 25 April 2011 at 11:12pm.*[491]

Awesome event boys! Thanks for the contributions by one and all, great fun, good entertainment and very educational! Special thanks to BushDoc for a lot of effort with the med resources, sorry we didn't spend more time on it, really appreciate and value your input! Sgt Metro thanks for the paracord weaving demo, the CC knitting circle will never be the same again! volksie great job on the steel plates mate but next time can you please make sure they don't shoot back!! Lynx thanks for an exciting finale yesterday arvo!

Thanks to Fiamma and Peg for demonstrating their expertise in game meat and hide processing.

Hats off to shadow for making the long trek up from Victoria and also to Covert Ops for his big trip down from way up north!

Very special thanks to our generous hosts Twodogs and Flymaster!! |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 07.

Development Path Stage Title: Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members engaging in war-based training activities, such as battlefield tactics, combat firearms use, urban and wilderness survival techniques and austere field medical training etc. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies a change in mindset, where members turn their attention from preparing to endure a multitude of disaster events, to preparing against the desperate masses that will still be alive afterwards. Seeking a significant enhancement to their combat capability, members pursue proficiencies in a range of war-based training activities.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to acquiring war-based skills. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to his pursuit of combat medical skills knowledge and training, with the specific discussion topic focussing on the controlling of major haemorrhages as a result of ballistic trauma and blast injuries. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 07 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| AUSSIE
Survivalist

Joined: 02 April 2004 | *Posted: 28 July 2011 at 12:42pm.*[492]

Something else I kept on the subject that could be useful:- |

[491] AUSSIE, 'NSW meet', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14901&KW=meet&PN=0&TPN=2

[492] AUSSIE, 'Wound Packing', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15270&KW=AUSSIE

WOUND PACKING: AN ESSENTIAL SKILL

The following is excerpted from the blog offered by our friends at Tactical Medical Solutions (video at the link).

The ability to pack a wound is an essential skill for the tactical medic. While a tourniquet is an excellent tool for controlling hemorrhage in extremity trauma, there are many areas that do not allow proper application of a tourniquet. The video on wound packing was produced to show the fundamentals of wound packing.

A. Identify the bleed.
B. Pack into the bleed.
C. Pack tightly to the bone if possible.

A. Identify the bleed.
It is essential that the medic identify the source of the serious hemorrhage. Simply stuffing gauze into a cavity is not always effective. Often times the pressure is not applied where it is needed and the gauze only acts as a sponge. What makes packing a wound effective is that is provides focused pressure directly on the damaged vessel. By occluding the lumen of the vessel with the gauze you get hemorrhage control. If it is not completely controlled it at least slows the hemorrhage to a point where the body's natural clotting factors can interact with the gauze to form a clot. There are three main methods to identify the location of a bleed:

1. Visualization.
Visualization is the preferred method, but it is often unrealistic due to ballistic patterns, flooding of cavities and tissue movement. Excess blood filling the cavity can be scooped out to give a quick look, but on high pressure bleeds and blast injuries this can be very difficult.

2. Tactile assessment.
Feel works well if you are in a relatively calm mental state and have complete awareness of your senses. It is not a reliable source when you have been carrying heavy loads, firing weapons for long periods of time or participating in any activity that has caused your hands to fatigue. It's also unreliable if you are wearing multiple layers of gloves.

3. Anatomy.
A basic understanding of the vascular structure of the human body goes a long way in this situation. It isn't as good of an indicator as visualizing the bleed, but if you are pressed for time it can be a good solution. It is best when used in conjunction with the other methods. It is also helpful when determining the best angle to pack from.

B. Pack into the Bleed.
Notice what the section is titled, "Pack into the bleed". It does not say pack into the wound. Your first few sections of gauze should go directly to the source of the major hemorrhage. After that hemorrhage has been staunched, the remaining gauze should be packed tightly around it to keep it in place. Your goal is NOT to create a sponge inside the wound, but a solid mass that applies pressure where it is needed. This is a very important point. An often-asked question is, "how much blood does the Olaes bandage absorb?" The answer is this: hopefully none. The purpose of bandages is not to absorb the most blood, it is to STOP bleeding, in order to keep blood where it needs to be: in the body. You don't put bandages on to keep your vehicle clean.

C. Pack to the bone.
The major vessels of the body are not inside muscular tissue! Most vessels run near the major bones in the body. If the wound is in a location that allows you to use the bone as a rigid object to maintain pressure on the damaged vessel, use it. Start by packing into the bleeder, and then use the gauze to squeeze the vessel between it and the bone. This creates the same effect as a vascular tourniquet, or simply holding pressure with your finger.

***Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage*:** 08.

***Development Path Stage Title*:** Accumulating multiple firearms and large quantities of ammunition.

***Development Path Stage Notes*:** This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members acquiring and stockpiling numerous firearms, significant quantities of ammunition and other high powered non-chemical projectile weapons, such as recurve and compound bows, crossbows etc. This stage of Australian survivalist development is based on a reaction to the belief in a likely post disaster dystopian future, where an anticipated desperate population with overwhelming numbers is likely to threaten the member's ongoing survival.

***Example Post Analysis Notes*:** The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to accumulating firearms and a large ammunition capability. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to his accumulation of several variants of the same firearm. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 08 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

AUSSIE Survivalist Joined: 02 April 2004 Location: Zimbabwe (sic) [Australia] Online Status: Offline Posts: 5276	*Posted: 15 September 2011 at 6:45am.*[493]
	30-30 wrote: I've read that these guns are a lump of sh*t??? But you guys say they are good? Was it just the earlier batches that didn't come out great? It sounds like you've listened to a lot of US forum based bullsh*t where every yank w**ker has got an opinion on them but never physically seen one let alone handled or fired one! These things aren't safe queens for fags they are a workin man's gun, like get out the spraypaint and cam em up, customise em and turn em into your go to rifle! It's the same old crap, one person has an "issue" with one so they are all fukked, you know the story "a friend of a friend of a friend"! PS. If they were a "lump of sh*t" then I wouldn't own three variants!

***Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage*:** 09.

***Development Path Stage Title*:** Fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack [bug in] <u>OR</u> packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape [bug out] routes to a predetermined location.

***Development Path Stage Notes*:** This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities surrounding one, or both, of two perceived preparatory strategies relating to potential engagements with violent masses after a societal collapse. This stage of Australian

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[493] AUSSIE, 'AIA Gun Porn!!', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2011, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15425&KW=AUSSIE&PN=0&TPN=2

survivalist development signifies the member's acceptance of an inevitable dark future for humanity, requiring the need for them to fortify their current living quarters and plan escape routes complete with pre-packed supply bags and caches of food, water and equipment previously established along the way. Positioned towards the end of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, the stage title for this level of the path may seem less of a threat than others before it. In reality it is here that the Australian survivalist's combat capability has already been established, with the possession of war-based skills and access to multiple firearms, ammunition etc, and now with a growing acceptance that the future holds many direct threats from expected desperate masses, the survivalist accepts that the wider society of today will inevitably be the enemy of tomorrow. It is at this level of the development path that a growing anti-society outlook accompanies a considerable combat capability, which accounts for its position towards the end of the *Path Chart*.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to preparatory measures associated with escape [bug out] route strategies. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to the contents of his pre-packed BOB [Bug Out Bag], believed to contain all the necessary supplies to make the trek to a predetermined safe location. The member also highlighted the survivalist strategy of pre-emptively caching tools and equipment at the *Bug Out Location* [BOL], for retrieval if needed upon arrival. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 09 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **AUSSIE**
Survivalist

Joined: 02 April 2004
Location: Zimbabwe (sic) [Australia]
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 5276 | *Posted: 03 January 2012 at 7:40am.*[494]

Small, light fixed blade, compact folder and or a multi-tool will take care of everything blade related in a Bug Out Scenario and give you plenty of redundancy. Get rid of the matches, the Bics and mag firestarters are plenty, dump the tent pegs you don't need to pitch anything with them. Hone your med kit. Forget the tools they should already be cached at your BOL. Dump two thirds of the fishing gear cause you'll be bugging out not going fishing unless it is a serious emergency. A good compass and the relevant map(s) in case you must take an "enforced" detour along your known Bug Out Route.

There's just a few to start! |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 10.

Development Path Stage Title: Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.

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[494] AUSSIE, 'My BOB - ideas and criticism please', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=15820&KW=bugging+in

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members creating self-sufficient homesteads on defendable private properties. In what may be seen as the final defensive strategy for those Australian survivalists that firmly believe in an impending conflict with violent masses after a societal collapse, investing a significant amount of money, time and conviction in a defensive retreat signifies the member's complete and total commitment to an immoderate form of the Australian survivalist ideology and life-style. Beyond the planning concerns of Stage 09 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, but similar in its stage title seeming less of a threat than others before it, this level of the development path is the ultimate point of commitment to the survivalist life-style that may be measured in physical preparations and capability.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to creating self-contained and defendable retreats, on secluded private land. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to ownership of a developed survival retreat, complete with livestock and a vegetable garden. The member's post presents him as a committed survivalist that has largely withdrawn from wider society, electing to take up permanent residence in his established retreat homestead, well before any anticipated societal collapse occurs. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 10 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **AUSSIE**
Survivalist

Joined: 02 April 2004
Location: Zimbabwe (sic)
[Australia]
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 5276 | *Posted: 18 April 2013 at 6:58am.*[495]

On my place defending it to the death is not an option if we must abandon the place then so be it. We are at the "end of the line" here and any bad shiit going down we will know about it way in advance (I hope). I guess you can say I live a "survivalist" lifestyle but for the rest of my family they just live in a nice house in the country. To quote our old French mate Solsys "Aussie has built himself a fortress and convinced his family it's a house!" When you get your sh*t together on a property survivalism just becomes rural living with some reserve capability in skills and assets throw in. I might not open my gun safe or touch a firearm or shoot a bow even once in three months but I feed my cattle and visit my vege patch every day.

Remember Aussie's #1 Rule = STAY AWAY FROM CITIES! |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 11.

Development Path Stage Title: Possessing and promoting an anti-government / anti-society outlook.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members presenting an anti-government and / or anti-society outlook.

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[495] AUSSIE, 'The Real Deal about Real Stuff', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17036&KW=i%27ll+kill+them&PN=0&TPN=4

Having done all that can be done in making preparations against potential life-altering disasters and the anarchy of the aftermath, this level of the survivalist development path signifies a point where the survivalist member considers a larger picture of potential threat to their ongoing survival. At this level the survivalist member looks toward the government, its policies and representatives, as contributing to diminishing their freedoms and as an entity that risks their individual security and prosperity with international conflicts and economic control.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to possessing and promoting an anti-government and / or anti-society outlook. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to his resentment of a perceived oppressive Australian Government and its assumed negatively impacting policies of multiculturalism. The member also demonstrated his suspicion and contempt for Australian federal intelligence and law enforcement authorities, which he believes are monitoring the content of the survivalist discussion forum for signs of conspiracy and sedition. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 11 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **AUSSIE**
Survivalist

Joined: 02 April 2004
Location: Zimbabwe (sic)
[Australia]
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 5276 | *Posted: 28 May 2013 at 9:12am.*[496]

Buckle wrote:
Seems to me there is a transfer of legitimacy away from the traitor multicult government to the citizens trying to restore order. Hopefully that's the start of a trend.

This seems to be a worldwide trend, citizens are basically saying to their multiculty luvving gubbermints:-

"We Are Taking Back Our Country You Muvverfukkers"

Posted: 28 May 2013 at 4:59pm.

Right about now ASIO and the other assorted Fed leghumpers monitoring this forum will be getting serious hard ons! They are just hanging out for someone on here to start talking or suggesting sedition or conspiracy so watch out boys cause if we don't tone it down the fed fukkers will break out in a hardcore w**king circle! |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 12.

Development Path Stage Title: Making implied or direct anti-government / anti-society violent threats.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members making anti-government and / or anti-society implied or direct

[496] AUSSIE, 'Leghumpers Are Not Your Friend!', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17127&KW=AUSSIE&PN=0&TPN=5

threats of violence. At this level of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, the survivalist member possesses the capability and intention / outlook that present them as a potential risk to government interests and wider society. Threats of violence, either directly or implied are openly made in the forums toward the government, its representatives and mainstream society, both groups within, and at large.

***Example Post Analysis Notes*:** The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to making implied or direct anti-government and / or anti-society violent threats. In this case, the sample member commenced a discussion in which he referred to his intense distrust of Australian politicians. The member also made an implied threat of extreme physical violence towards a then serving State Premier, by communicating his satisfaction at having already experienced the event in a dream; a likely mechanism to openly make the threat while simultaneously maintaining an option to deny it as fantasy. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 12 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

AUSSIE Survivalist Joined: 02 April 2004 Location: Zimbabwe (sic) [Australia] Online Status: Offline Posts: 5276	*Posted: 28 July 2013 at 6:26pm.*[497] I got a bad feeling about all this sh*t! I reckon Barry O'Fukktard is gonna do a Jonny Howard on NSW!! I had a dream the other night O'Farrell the fat prick offered me into a boxing ring. I told him he could go bare knuckles and I'd wear gloves just to make it fair, I dropped the carnt with a boot to the balls and then proceeded to kick the arseholes head in! Fukk it was almost better than sex!!

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[497] AUSSIE, 'NSW POLICE FIREARMS DATA COMPROMISED', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2013, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17227&KW=police\

Discussion Forum Case Study 3:

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 01.

Development Path Stage Title: Developing ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities relating to the stockpiling of supplies, such as food, water, medical gear, fuel, weapons, precious metals and survival equipment, which are fervently believed by survivalists, to be essential life-saving provisions. It should be noted that forum posts covering this stage of Australian survivalist development are usually made retrospectively, after an initial contact forum post created during either Stage 02, or more commonly Stage 04, of the Australian survivalist development path. This accounts for the creation date of the accompanying forum post example (below) appearing out of chronological order. In this case study it may be seen that the survivalist made his first discussion forum contact post on the 11th of October 2007, during Stage 04 of development, and then later, on the 18th of October 2007, described his experience with Stage 01 behaviours.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the early Australian survivalist preoccupation with acquiring emergency food supplies. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to his method for stockpiling ready made, vacuum sealed, meal rations, which he manufactures himself. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 01 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

Fiamma Member Joined: 09 October 2007 Online Status: Offline Posts: 3144	*Posted: 18 October 2007 at 8:00pm.*[498] rice, oxo cube, curry powder, dried chilli, dried mushrooms, dried garlic flakes, dried TVP. vacuum seal. to cook, add boiling water and simmer, until ready.

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 02.

Development Path Stage Title: Actively seeking preparedness information.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities relating to the seeking of preparedness-related information, either in printed

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[498] Fiamma, 'dehydrated meals', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2007, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11361&KW=Fiamma

form or from online sources. This stage of Australian survivalist development may include registering at a survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum and for some members an introductory forum post to obtain access to sought survivalist information. A great number of forum posts covering this stage of Australian survivalist development are made retrospectively, after an initial contact forum post has been made during Stage 04, of the Australian survivalist development path. This accounts for the creation date of the accompanying forum post example (below) appearing out of chronological order. In this case study it may be seen that the survivalist made his first discussion forum contact post on the 11th of October 2007, during Stage 04 of development, and then later, on the 23rd of May 2009, described his experience with Stage 02 behaviours.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to seeking preparedness information. In this case, the sample member created a post in which he referred to his previous experience sourcing and viewing printed information regarding an extreme survival situation account set in an alpine environment. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 02 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Fiamma**
Member

Joined: 09 October 2007
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 3144 | *Posted: 23 May 2009 at 5:24pm.*[499]

When Peter DeLeo set out one Sunday morning on a sightseeing and photography trip over the central Sierra Nevada mountains in California, he had no idea that he would soon be fighting for his life with the odds stacked very much against him. DeLeo's single-engine plane encountered turbulence, and he and his two passengers crashed in the mountains. All three survived the accident but sustained multiple injuries. DeLeo had broken ribs, a shattered ankle, and a badly damaged shoulder. After assessing their situation, they decided that the passengers should remain with the plane while DeLeo would hike out to bring back help. It was already winter; he left the limited emergency supplies with the plane's passengers; and he was hampered by his injuries, but DeLeo was determined to get help. He found or improvised shelter at night, carefully warmed himself during the daytime, drank from small pools of melted snow and ice, and slowly but steadily made his way toward civilization. Suffering from exhaustion and on the verge of collapse, he found a hot spring that provided him with temporary warmth and insects to eat. Injuries, dehydration, malnutrition, and a two-day blizzard slowed him, and a rockslide nearly killed him just as he glimpsed the valley and highway that he so desperately sought, but DeLeo's courage saw him through. Meanwhile, Civil Air Patrol planes searched fruitlessly for the lost plane and for survivors; twice, DeLeo frantically tried to signal the search planes, but to no avail. When DeLeo finally reached a highway, he found it almost impossible to convince the authorities that he was the lost pilot who had been all but given up for dead. His astonishing survival, one of the most remarkable feats of endurance on record, made international news. Now, for the first time, Peter DeLeo tells his remarkable story in gripping detail. His amazing saga is destined to become a classic. A saga of determined endurance in the tradition of ''Touching the Void' A captivating and inspirational tale

More details
Survive
By Peter DeLeo |

[499] Fiamma, 'Alive - Extreme Surviving', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12248&KW=Fiamma

Posted: 25 June 2009 at 5:24pm.

It's a great read isn't it legion.

very inspiring.

True "survivalism'.

definitely NOT survivalist water, muddied with drops of greenie, yuppie sweat from worried consumerist suburban foreheads.

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 03.

Development Path Stage Title: Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities relating to the experimentation with self-defence and self-sufficiency skills, such as martial arts, shooting, vegetable and fruit gardening, first-aid, camping, archery and the creation of various emergency response plans. Moving beyond the simple stockpiling of supplies and the acquisition of basic survival information, survivalists in this stage now turn their attention to trying their hand at practical skills that will be required to survive their understanding of the inevitable disorder that follows a disaster event. Though the behaviours of this stage of Australian survivalist development may be described after an introductory forum post, made during Stage 02 of the Australian survivalist development path, a great number of forum posts illustrating involvement in the activities of this level are created retrospectively by members, after an initial contact forum post has been made during Stage 04. This accounts for the creation date of the accompanying forum post example (below) being out of chronological order. In this case study it may be seen that the survivalist made his first discussion forum contact post on the 11th of October 2007, during Stage 04 of development, and then later, on the 9th of August 2009, described his experience with Stage 03 behaviours.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to considering and experimenting with self-sufficiency skills. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to his acquired archery skills and related technical knowledge. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 03 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

Fiamma Member Joined: 09 October 2007 Online Status: Offline Posts: 3144	*Posted: 09 August 2009 at 9:06pm.*[500] 82 yards = 75 metres. My pins are set for 60metres, and I shoot that distance all the time, quite comfortably. I'd take a ranged, clear shot at 75metres MOOSE SIZE, no worries. f**k all those idiots who cant shoot who argue 'ethics', when it comes to distances.

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 04.

Development Path Stage Title: Participating in online interactions with like-minded people.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members engaging with other Australian survivalists, in an anonymous capacity, through the Internet discussion forums. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies an end to individual skills experimentation and a commencement in the effort of members to gain direct knowledge and learn from the experiences and guidance of other survivalists. It is also the stage where the member's belief in a survivalist life-style is validated by like-minded individuals and where initial exposure to the various categories of Australian survivalists occurs.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to interacting with other similar thinking people in an online environment. In this case, the sample member created his first post in the aussurvivalist.com forum environment, contributing to a discussion in which he expressed support and offered advice to other survivalists on the subject of equipment carry harnesses, backpacks and webbing, for use in the field. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 04 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

Fiamma Member Joined: 09 October 2007 Online Status: Offline Posts: 3144	*Posted: 11 October 2007 at 8:15pm.*[501] Try different combinations, and go with what works best for you. You'll soon learn to dump stuff you don't need.

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[500] Fiamma, 'The Best Defense: Survival', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2007, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13179&KW=Fiamma

[501] Fiamma, 'back pack or webbing?', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2007, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=11335&KW=Fiamma

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 05.

Development Path Stage Title: Using survivalist-specific language and rhetoric.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members using survivalist-specific terminology in their Internet discussion forum communications. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies that the member is immersing themself deeper within the survivalist life-style by using language and rhetoric unique to the sub-culture and demonstrates a movement away from the expectations and customs of general society.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to the use of survivalist-specific words, abbreviations and an expression style unique to the sub-culture. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he used the acronym *shtf*, which in survivalist terms stands for *(When the) Shit Hits The Fan*; meaning the commencement of a disaster event. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 05 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

Fiamma Member Joined: 09 October 2007 Online Status: Offline Posts: 3144	*Posted: 05 October 2009 at 8:08pm.*[502] **volks wrote:** Fiamma its got every thing to do with OUR survival in the long run Olympic sheeple games survivalism. where's the connection? Post SHTF, I guess we could hijack a few Ethiopian distance runners and save ammo, by getting the buggers to outrun and catch any game we were after?

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 06.

Development Path Stage Title: Attending survivalist meetings, camps and training groups for basic skills development.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members participating in meetings and low-level training camps to develop basic skills under the guidance of other survivalists. After drawing the attention of experienced survivalists with exhibitions of survivalist-specific language in their forum posts, as well as indicating a genuine desire to develop real-world skills, the member is invited, or seeks, to make

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[502] Fiamma, 'Boo Chicago', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13315&KW=Fiamma

face-to-face contact with other survivalists. Participating in, or sometimes organising, survivalist meets and camps with other forum members, this stage of Australian survivalist development signifies a new level of acceptance within the sub-culture and begins the creation of a physical Australian survivalist network that the member can turn to for advice and direction.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to members attending survivalist meetings and low-level training camps. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to having attended a survivalist training camp. The post identified that numerous aussurvivalist.com forum members attended the camp and engaged in skill development activities, such as bow hunting. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 06 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

Fiamma Member Joined: 09 October 2007 Online Status: Offline Posts: 3144	*Posted: 15 June 2010 at 6:57pm.*[503] Good to see you chaps again, and also the few new faces. Sallust passed the initiation ceremony with flying colours, but Maaaandy is now rather sore. Thanks for the great trade Volksie. And thanks once again to Flymaster and TD, for putting up with us all. I got 2 shots away (pig + goat) and killed 2 trees (2 deflected broken arrows!!!)

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 07.

Development Path Stage Title: Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members engaging in war-based training activities, such as battlefield tactics, combat firearms use, urban and wilderness survival techniques and austere field medical training etc. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies a change in mindset, where members turn their attention from preparing to endure a multitude of disaster events, to preparing against the desperate masses that will still be alive afterwards. Seeking a significant enhancement to their combat capability, members pursue proficiencies in a range of war-based training activities.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to acquiring war-based skills. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he highlighted his skills and knowledge relating to the stalking and hunting of game, with a particular response note referring to the same principles being able to be applied to

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[503] Fiamma, 'NEXT SEQ MEET!', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13674&KW=Fiamma&PN=0&TPN=8

the tracking and hunting of people. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 07 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| Fiamma
Member

Joined: 09 October 2007
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 3144 | *Posted: 21 June 2010 at 8:50pm.*[504]

don't waste your time running after game.

We are not physically designed for it.

You are better off slowly circling downwind for about 1hr, then coming back into the wind, till you pick them up.

Posted: 22 June 2010 at 9:07pm.

Twodogs wrote:
what if the animal is wearing a turban?

same thing applies. don't follow up on their trail if you don't have to. |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 08.

Development Path Stage Title: Accumulating multiple firearms and large quantities of ammunition.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members acquiring and stockpiling numerous firearms, significant quantities of ammunition and other high powered non-chemical projectile weapons, such as recurve and compound bows, crossbows etc. This stage of Australian survivalist development is based on a reaction to the belief in a likely post disaster dystopian future, where an anticipated desperate population with overwhelming numbers is likely to threaten the member's ongoing survival.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post chain below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to accumulating high powered non-chemical projectile weapons, such as recurve and compound bows, crossbows etc. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to his accumulation of several compound bows and one recurve bow, which he constructed himself. In addition, the member also commented on the channels from which he and other survivalists can acquire arrows and bladed arrow heads by the dozen. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 08 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

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[504] Fiamma, 'Firearms', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14112&KW=Fiamma

| Fiamma
Member

Joined: 09 October 2007
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 3144 | *Posted: 14 February 2010 at 7:00pm.*[505]

Kaii, a good beginners starter kit is the PSE "Stinger" compound. Most places offer it fully set up with sights, rest and bow quiver for about $500-$600It's a short axle to axle compound, you should be able to get a 60lb, and let if off a bit then wind it up as your muscles get used to it. As for Arrows, get easton power flight 300's carbons (approx 10 grains per inch) these are going for ABOUT $60-$70 a dozen. use Tusker 2 blades bought singly, not in those fancy expensive cardboard six packs, these should cost about $3.50 each with insert. save your fancy expensive 3 blade muzzi's for deer. DO NOT use aluminium shafts. One miss and the arrow is permanently f**ked. use a bow sling, and carry the bow on your back pack or bare back.

http://www.huntinggearonline.com.au/shop/images/PSEstingerpa ckage.jpg

http://www.archeryshop.com.au/p/515825/pse-stinger-ni-ready-   to-shoot-rts-package.html

Posted: 15 February 2010 at 10:19pm.

100th Monkey wrote:
> I personally wouldn't buy a bow without seeing it unless it had fully adjustable cams. Even if you can pull the pounds if the draw length is not right for you will never be able to fire the bow accurately or comfortably.

That's a tad misleading because for Bows like mathews single cams, which have specific draw length cams, even if you do buy second hand with the wrong cam draw length, you only need a new cam fitted (trade the old one in for a cheaper price) for about $80-$90.it'd only be a problem if you had a long draw length like 31 inches, then you'd need to buy the specific model like a XT LD over a normal XT.I payed about $2000 a few years back for an XT kitted to hunt, they're going 2nd hand with all fitted kit, for about $800. A very good buy for the beginner. heaps of bows have adjustable cams anyway, so shouldn't be a prob, buying 2nd hand.

Posted: 16 February 2010 at 7:26pm.

No absolutely not, I'm talking specifically compounds here. I should have made that clear from the start. some of the old recurves get big bucks (as in $$$$) now. hey TC, I also shoot an osage orange stick bow I made myself. below is the day I cut it from the tree.

Posted: 17 March 2010 at 8:06pm.

there is a 4 page review of the samick 'devastator" 3 piece take down recurve in the annual "Bowhunter Australia' magazine out now. On page 236.Oz Hunting and Bows, is supposed to be selling them retail for $599, which is more than $150 less than some other retailers. It is the top of their take down hunting range. the belcher 'longhorn' laminated long bow on page 226 looks nice @ $700 U.S out of the states. It's a very nice looking trad bow. Might have to put an order in for one, while our Aussie $ is good. |

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[505] Fiamma, 'Bows', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13711&KW=PSE+Stinger+compound&PN=0&TPN=2

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 09.

Development Path Stage Title: Fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack [bug in] <u>OR</u> packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape [bug out] routes to a predetermined location.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns activities surrounding one, or both, of two perceived preparatory strategies relating to potential engagements with violent masses after a societal collapse. This stage of Australian survivalist development signifies the member's acceptance of an inevitable dark future for humanity, requiring the need for them to fortify their current living quarters and plan escape routes complete with pre-packed supply bags and caches of food, water and equipment previously established along the way. Positioned towards the end of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, the stage title for this level of the path may seem less of a threat than others before it. In reality it is here that the Australian survivalist's combat capability has already been established, with the possession of war-based skills and access to multiple firearms, ammunition etc, and now with a growing acceptance that the future holds many direct threats from expected desperate masses, the survivalist accepts that the wider society of today will inevitably be the enemy of tomorrow. It is at this level of the development path that a growing anti-society outlook accompanies a considerable combat capability, which accounts for its position towards the end of the *Path Chart*.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to preparatory measures associated with escape [bug out] route strategies. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to the tactic of looting and caching necessary supplies to make the trek to a predetermined safe location. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 09 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Fiamma**
Member

Joined: 09 October 2007
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 3144 | *Posted: 10 August 2010 at 9:34pm.*[506]

Volksie, I saw how easy looting will be, when my area was hit by a storm and rain, and had no power for a week. sh*t EASY. there's no lights at night, cops are busy manning major intersections doing the job of the stop lights, and heaps of roads are blocked by fallen trees and flooding. I could have filled my house with looted gear if I'd wanted.

Most people will take a week to figure out the government won't be coming to their rescue. Survivalists should be able to get all the gear they need in the first 12 hours. Some can even be cached nearby for retrieval at a later date, some taken with you if you bug out, some looted on the trip out to the retreat. it's a mindset you start putting in place NOW that will get individuals through TSHTF, in the first 48 hours, before the rest of the sheep, wake up.

I look forward to it. I hope everyone know's where their nearest gun shop is? |

[506] Fiamma, 'Action Plans', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14251&KW=Fiamma

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 10.

Development Path Stage Title: Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members creating self-sufficient homesteads on defendable private properties. In what may be seen as the final defensive strategy for those Australian survivalists that firmly believe in an impending conflict with violent masses after a societal collapse, investing a significant amount of money, time and conviction in a defensive retreat signifies the member's complete and total commitment to an immoderate form of the Australian survivalist ideology and life-style. Beyond the planning concerns of Stage 09 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, but similar in its stage title seeming less of a threat than others before it, this level of the development path is the ultimate point of commitment to the survivalist life-style that may be measured in physical preparations and capability.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to creating self-contained and defendable retreats, on secluded private land. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to ownership of a developed survival retreat and related defensive considerations. The member also referred to an alternate option of retreating to a dug out bunker in the Australian bush, where an abundance of native animals may be taken for food. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 10 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| Fiamma
Member

Joined: 09 October 2007
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 3144 | *Posted: 02 November 2010 at 8:56pm.*[507]

> **IZULA wrote:**
> With all this said, I'm not saying that a retreat is a bad idea. I certainly think that in the case of survivalism relating to changes in society and the economy, that a retreat provides the perfect lifestyle to enhance one's own self-sufficiency whilst avoiding some of the ills that might be experienced by the general populous. However, I think that the idea of defending a retreat in times of violence, will not simply be a case of having the right amount of isolation, blockades and guns and ammo.

Izula, do you have a 'retreat' to go to here in Aus? You write like it's all in your head. A properly picked 'retreat' is not going to be hard to defend, in fact I'd be surprised if anyone more than the locals would give you trouble. Imaginary 'hordes' of starving people, invading all those little miniscule survivalist retreats, is nothing but paranoia and hollywood hype.

And what if you're not in your retreat, but camped out in a dug out bunker in a local state forest? How are they going to find you? Will you be carrying a homing device especially for the zombie hordes? Australia is f**king H U G E, and you are a nobody. Stop worrying mate. what are you going to eat? Go bush mate and you'll see how much meat hops past or flys past daily. |

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[507] Fiamma, 'PATRIOTS by Rawles', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14055&KW=Fiamma&PN=0&TPN=2

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 11.

Development Path Stage Title: Possessing and promoting an anti-government / anti-society outlook.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members presenting an anti-government and / or anti-society outlook. Having done all that can be done in making preparations against potential life-altering disasters and the anarchy of the aftermath, this level of the survivalist development path signifies a point where the survivalist member considers a larger picture of potential threat to their ongoing survival. At this level the survivalist member looks toward the government, its policies and representatives, as contributing to diminishing their freedoms and as an entity that risks their individual security and prosperity with international conflicts and economic control.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to possessing and promoting an anti-government and / or anti-society outlook. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to his resentment of a perceived ignorant and unquestioning general populace and a manipulative Australian Government. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 11 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

| **Fiamma**
Member

Joined: 09 October 2007
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 3144 | *Posted: 05 January 2011 at 11:18pm.*[508]

The media will write any sh*t they can make up that week, and the gullible dumb sheep will take it as gospel.

Just read the automatical, without logical thought-out replies, generated here. NEVER ever questioning the authenticity of a post, but always quick to jump on the 'anti' bandwagon. exactly what the grubbyment want.

People who ride bikes are exactly the f**king same as people who drive cars morons. It's a mode of transport, nothing more. |

Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart Stage: 12.

Development Path Stage Title: Making implied or direct anti-government / anti-society violent threats.

Development Path Stage Notes: This stage of the Australian survivalist development path concerns the activity of members making anti-government and / or anti-society implied or direct threats of violence. At this level of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, the survivalist member possesses the capability and intention / outlook that present them as a

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[508] Fiamma, 'a', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14579&KW=Fiamma

potential risk to government interests and wider society. Threats of violence, either directly or implied are openly made in the forums toward the government, its representatives and mainstream society, both groups within, and at large.

Example Post Analysis Notes: The post below concerns the stage of Australian survivalist development relating to making implied or direct anti-government and / or anti-society violent threats. In this case, the sample member contributed to a discussion in which he referred to his intense distrust of Australian politicians. The member also made an implied violent threat towards Australian officials holding political appointments, by communicating his belief that politicians are motivated by inherent self interest and should be executed because of it. The subject and motivation for the post is consistent with the behavioural concerns of Stage 12 of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, detailed in the Australian survivalist progression narrative of the previous section [4.4.5.].

Fiamma Member Joined: 09 October 2007 Online Status: Offline Posts: 3144	*Posted: 08 April 2011 at 10:03pm.*[509] Politicians are psychopaths out to further their own careers. NOTHING more. if all 'weapons' were banned tomorrow, in 10 years time, the scum of the day would call for a ban on butter knives, lest they, 'fall into the wrong hands'. They NEED to make sh*t up that soccer moms can fear, in order to look like they are achieving something. crossbows in reality are about as dangerous as a f**king BBQ fork. Everyone KNOWS that. Politicians should be f**king lynched. Anarchy all the way.

4.4.7. Case Study Observations.

When considering the three previous Australian survivalist case studies collectively, some important observations are able to be made which contradict the survivalist stereotypes perpetuated by popular news media interests; these include all survivalists as either right-wing racists, nationalist extremists, Christian fundamentalists and / or violent terrorists.[510]

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[509] Fiamma, 'Cross Bow legislation change in WA', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=14920&KW=Fiamma

[510] K. Eichenwald, 'Right-Wing Extremists are a Bigger Threat to America Than ISIS', *newsweek.com*, 04 February 2016, http://www.newsweek.com/2016/02/12/right-wing-extremists-militants-bigger-threat-america-isis-jihadists-422743.html, (accessed 12 August 2016).

When directly examining the case studies the most noticeable quality concerning Australian survivalists is their seemingly endless preoccupation with acquiring, discussing and almost venerating emergency survival equipment and stores. This combined with a conspicuous belief in, and dependence upon, their own established survival systems and plans represents possible indicators of a predominantly defensive mindset, far removed from the media-presented impressions of survivalist extremist groups and individuals actively plotting to bring about the end of civilisation in its current form. Overriding Australian survivalist concerns with establishing preparation supplies and creating survival response plans are suggestive of a desire not to actively contribute to the destruction of the social systems in which we live, but more so to live beyond such catastrophic events should they occur.

In regards to the right-wing reputation many survivalist individuals and groups have earned overseas, interestingly the Australian case study progression posts display a considerable lack of references to Australian nationalist extremist interests or objectives. Only one forum post with an implied nationalist tone was identified, in the second case study (Stage 11 post), with the survivalist member expressing an unsubstantiated *global* view, in which he suggests people across the world are rejecting their relevant government's policies relating to multiculturalism. Additionally, while some derogatory and seemingly racist comments and threats were made towards individuals possessing radical Muslim beliefs, by the survivalist in the first case study (Stage 12 post), overall the case studies do not highlight racist extremist leanings as being particularly common among Australian survivalists. This is also supported by a predominant absence of racist material in the discussion forum data analysis results; though it must be conceded that any racist content posted in the discussion forum environment would likely be discouraged by site owners and potentially policed and deleted by site administrators. Those outwardly racist comments displayed in the Australian member's final post may be interpreted as being made in response to a perceived threat, perhaps more so than made as a product of any identifiable established racial prejudices, as the member who posted the comments and threats did so in response to a news article which highlighted individuals in Australia who support an extremist interpretation of the Qur'an. In addition, the content analysis data results did not support that Australian survivalist member as having or promoting any specific religious views that were in

opposition to those of the greater moderate Muslim faith. In relation to the personal religious beliefs of Australian survivalists, a clear absence of related references in the case studies and in the content analysis data results support religion as an unlikely influencing factor in the Australian survivalist development process.

In regards to things observed to be absent from the case studies and data analysis results, it is noteworthy that despite Australian survivalists having access to firearms and other weapons, attaining military-style skills and making open threats of violence against the government and various elements of wider society, there are no identified references or posted accounts which indicate Australian survivalists have perpetrated any physical acts of violence in support of their views.

The observations made in examining the three Australian survivalist case studies and the aussurvivalist.com content analysis data results do not support the limited popular media claims against all survivalists as extremist entities seeking to promote and advance various political agendas. With this in mind, a number of the observations made in this section will be considered further in a later Results and Discussion chapter of this thesis.

4.4.8. The Three Australian Survivalist Categories.

The *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* functions as an indicator list that can be used to plot the behavioural progression of Australian survivalists. The *Development Path Chart* can also serve as a means to identify various Australian survivalist categories within the sub-culture, relevant to specific ideological commonalities and individual dynamics of self-identification [see Section 3.1.1. relating to the concept of *sub-culture*]. The 12 stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* display clear behavioural and ideological distinctions within the list sequence that delineate various survivalist classes. Using the security risk assessment measurement criteria of *capability* and *intent*,[511] in this case, combat capability and anti-government and / or anti-society outlook or intent, three unique categories of Australian

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[511] B. Schuurman and Q. Eijkman, 'Indicators of Terrorist Intent and Capability: Tools for Threat Assessment', *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2015, p. 215.

survivalists were identified. Assessing the capability and intent of individuals and groups is used by security agencies across the globe as a means to determine potential threat.[512] Capability in a security context refers to the activities and assets that sustain and allow individuals and groups to conduct successful attack events, while intent refers to their purpose, mindset, or willingness to perform an act.[513] Both elements must exist within those individuals and groups for them to pose a legitimate risk.[514] As no established names for the identified Australian survivalist category groupings currently exist, it is out of necessity that descriptive titles for the three classes are proposed here.

4.4.8.1. Preppers.

The first category of Australian survivalists can be labelled as *Preppers*; a term with associated meaning relating to *those who prepare* and a designation used by a number of entry level survivalists to describe themselves.[515] It should be noted that others in the same position, engaging in the same behaviours in response to the same type of perceived threats as those who call themselves *Preppers*, refer to themselves as Survivalists exclusively. The behaviours and beliefs of *Preppers* are illustrated in stages one and two of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart. Preppers* have no combat capability whatsoever and do not possess an anti-government or anti-society outlook. They are individuals who prepare for all types of naturally occurring or human-influenced disaster events, which have the potential to impact upon their current way of life. Preppers promote complete self-reliance by committing to the task of stockpiling amounts of emergency food, water and equipment. In this, *Preppers* work to alleviate their dependence on other people, or the government, for life-saving supplies during hard or dangerous times. Although related to the other two survivalist classes, in that they all accumulate quantities of similar stores, *Preppers* do not have the practiced survival skills or mindset of the members in those other groupings.

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[512] S. Cupp, and M, Spight. 'A Homeland Security Model for Assessing US Domestic Threats.' Kaplan University, 2004, p. 3 http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com/web/A_Homeland_Security_Model_for_Assessing_US_Domestic_Threats.pdf (accessed 20 August 2016)].

[513] Ibid. p. 4.

[514] Ibid. p 3.

[515] Old Codger, 'Newbie from Melbourne', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16012&KW=Old%5FCodger

4.4.8.2. Mainstream Survivalists.

The second category of Australian survivalists can be labelled as *Mainstream Survivalists*; a term in the literal sense, which identifies the survivalist majority and those typical of the sub-culture. Their behaviours and beliefs are illustrated in stages three through ten of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, having first passed through the two earlier stages of development restricted to *Preppers*. Members within this grouping can have a combat capability but do not possess an anti-government or anti-society outlook. *Mainstream Survivalists* are individuals who are actively preparing for future collapses in local, national and international social and political order, by stockpiling large amounts of emergency food, water and equipment and in some cases, weapons and ammunition. *Mainstream Survivalists* distinguish themselves from *Preppers* by acquiring and maintaining varying degrees of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills; including some pursuing proficiencies in war-based training areas, such as, battlefield tactics, combat firearms use, urban and wilderness survival techniques and austere field medical training.

4.4.8.3. Militant Survivalists.

The third category of Australian survivalists can be labelled as *Militant Survivalists*; a term in the literal sense, which identifies survivalists advocating the use of violence in support of their life-style and ideology. Their activities and attitudes are illustrated in stages eleven and twelve of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, having first passed through earlier levels of development restricted to *Preppers* and *Mainstream Survivalists*. Members within this grouping have both an advanced combat capability and a concentrated anti-government and / or anti-society outlook. *Militant Survivalists* are individuals who share an extreme self-preservation philosophy, which sets them apart from others within the larger survivalist collective. *Militant Survivalists* are intensely anti-government and look upon politicians, police and other representatives of authority as an enemy focused on controlling them by slowly diminishing their freedoms. Australian *Militant Survivalists* also despise present day society, which they believe is populated by a majority of weak and ignorant conformists. It is the case that *Militant Survivalists* not only prepare for the decline of civilization but openly desire it.

Having established three separate classes of Australian survivalists, by identifying behavioural and ideological distinctions within the 12 stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* sequence, the behaviours and beliefs of the members of the 125 aussurvivalist.com forum sample may now be re-evaluated, with the objective of grouping participants in the appropriate Australian survivalist category.

Table 16 displays the Australian survivalist category breakdown for the 125 aussurvivalist.com forum member sample:

Table 16: The Australian Survivalist Category Distribution of the 125 Forum Member Sample.

Survivalist Category	Number of Members within the 125 AusSurvivalist.com Sample	Expressed as a Percentage
Preppers	53	42.4%
Mainstream Survivalists	65	52%
Militant Survivalists	7	5.6%

The results displayed in Table 16 show that the 125 aussurvivalist.com Australian survivalist forum member sample is composed of (a) 53 [42.4%] *Preppers*, that is, people occupied with activities specific to levels one and two of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, (b) 65 [52%] *Mainstream Survivalists*, those engaged in behaviours specific to levels three through ten of the *Chart* list, and (c) seven [5.6%] Australian *Militant Survivalists*, who display actions and attitudes defined within the limits of levels eleven and twelve of the *Path Chart* sequence.

4.5. Data Collection and Analysis Chapter Summary.

This chapter presented the data collection and analysis process of this thesis, resulting in the construction of an *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* and the identification of three distinct Australian survivalist member categories.

Regarding the Australian survivalist-specific keyword reference terms used in the aussurvivalist.com discussion forum content analysis, this chapter established that a total of 89 keyword reference terms and equivalent meaning phrases were determined and used in the identification of Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs.

Regarding Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, indicative of specific levels of development, which were recognised in the content analysis, this chapter identified 12 common Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological development stages. Common behaviours and beliefs were acknowledged as those exhibited on a minimum of 10 occasions by different individuals within the 125 forum member sample, for the 10 early and middle level development stages identified, and conduct presented in three or more instances, regarding the more extreme positions of the final two development stages detected.

Regarding the appropriate successive order of the 12 common Australian survivalist behavioural and belief development stages, this chapter identified a list sequence which was determined by associated levels of increasing threat severity and validated by the chronology of the behaviours, as they were first displayed in the forum posts of 86.4% of individuals in the 125 member sample. Functioning as components of an overall Australian survivalist path of progression, the levels of the ordered list created an *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*.

Regarding Australian survivalist progression through the 12 levels of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, this chapter examined survivalist movement through the behavioural and ideological development stages in an explanatory narrative presenting that process, as experienced by the members of the 125 forum participant sample.

Regarding specific examples of Australian survivalists that have experienced all 12 stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, this chapter identified three such survivalists within the 125 aussurvivalist.com forum member sample. Establishing that just three survivalists from the 125 member group had reached the final stage of the *Development Path Chart* indicated that more militant Australian survivalist members are likely represented in small numbers, within the 125 forum member sample, and potentially within the sub-culture as a whole. The three members identified and examined as case studies in this chapter supported the validity of the behaviour sequence of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* and confirmed the escalating

nature of Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, reflected in their progressive forum post content.

Regarding specific points of behavioural and ideological divergence identified within the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, which may be used to delineate different Australian survivalist member categories, this chapter recognised three such survivalist member classes within the sub-culture. Using the security risk assessment measurement criteria of *capability* and *intent*, relating to combat capability and anti-government and / or anti-society outlook or intent, the 12 points of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* were found to contain clear behavioural and ideological distinctions among the list sequence that delineated the three different survivalist groupings. As no established names for those Australian survivalist category groupings currently exist, descriptive titles and definitions, based on behavioural and ideological boundaries, for those three unique survivalist member classes were proposed. The three Australian survivalist category titles suggested in this chapter are *Preppers*, *Mainstream Survivalists* and *Militant Survivalists*.

This chapter identified the patterns of data relevant to determining the Australian survivalist path of development. Supported by the data analysis results, the established *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, as an indicator list of the various stages of Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological progression will now be considered in respect of its resemblance to a path towards radicalisation and discussed in regards to its contribution to debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories. The details of this undertaking will be presented in the next chapter of this thesis, titled *Results and Discussion*.

Chapter 5: Results and Discussion.

5.1. Results and Discussion Introduction:

This chapter answers the research question of this thesis by discussing how the identified Australian survivalist development path may resemble a pathway towards radicalisation and by examining how it may contribute to debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories. Specifically, this chapter will discuss:

[1] The factors that motivate individuals to become Australian survivalists and the factors that drive Australian survivalists to progress through the various stages of their identified development path.

[2] The Australian survivalist development path as a potential radicalisation process, supported by the presence of radicalisation themes which are also common among various established radicalisation pathway models.

[3] The radicalisation themes present in the Australian survivalist development path that are in contrast to those identified in established radicalisation pathway models, which contribute to debates concerning the validity and significance of non-violent radicalisation processes and why it is that not all individuals who are engaged in radicalisation processes turn to acts of political violence.

This chapter will begin with the presentation of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, representing an indicator list of the various stages of Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological progression, as the result of the data collection and analysis undertaking of this thesis. Subsequent to this, material both reflected in the literature review and identified in the data analysis, which examines the motivating factors that drive individuals to become Australian survivalists and progress through the identified stages of the Australian survivalist development path, will be considered. Following that, the nine established radicalisation pathway models previously examined in the literature review and the radicalisation themes found to be reiterated among those models will be displayed in a comparison table and consulted in an effort to identify

similar themes that appear within the range of the behavioural progression stages of the Australian survivalist development path. Next, the Australian survivalist development path will be discussed in regards to the radicalisation themes and elements identified within that process that exist in contrast to those noted as common to the nine established radicalisation models and how those identified contrasting themes may contribute to debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories, and in particular scholarly positions concerning non-violent radicalisation processes. The final portion of the discussion chapter will directly answer the thesis research question by considering the overall findings of this work.

5.2. Data Analysis Results - The Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart:

The data collection and analysis results, determined in the previous chapter, support the survivalist behaviours and beliefs that comprise the 12 stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, seen in Table 17.

Table 17: The Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart.

Stage	Australian Survivalist Behaviour
01	Developing ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions.
02	Actively seeking preparedness information.
03	Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills.
04	Participating in online interactions with like-minded people.
05	Using survivalist-specific language and rhetoric.
06	Attending survivalist meetings, camps and training groups for basic skills development.
07	Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities.
08	Accumulating multiple firearms and large quantities of ammunition.
09	Fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack [bug in] <u>OR</u> packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape [bug out] routes to a predetermined location.
10	Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.
11	Possessing and promoting an anti-government / anti-society outlook.
12	Making implied or direct anti-government / anti-society violent threats.

The *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* demonstrates a behavioural and ideological progression process that is reliant on individuals engaging in stages of activity which gradually narrow their outlook, social associations and future available behaviour options. Forward movement through the 12 Stages of the Australian survivalist development path is measured in

associated growing threat potential, determined by escalating levels of combat capability and anti-government / anti-society outlook and intent. Progression among the three different Australian survivalist classes is as a direct result of individuals partaking in activities that close them off to the behaviour and mindset options and limits of previous stages of the development path and compel them in the direction of stages that are increasingly uncompromising and ultimately militant. It should be noted that as the activities of new *Development Path* stages are commenced by Australian Survivalists, they also continue to engage in many of the preparation behaviours associated with previous stages of development. All stages of the *Development Path* generate particular Survivalist behaviours which occur in response to specific perceived threats. It is the case that while advancing through the levels of the *Development Path*, Australian Survivalists are both unable to withdraw to the mindset and behavioural options within the limits of previous stages (they cannot cease to know what they now know), and they also cannot discount the potential threats that were once the focus of those earlier stages. The central perceived threats and fears of a new stage of development do not replace those of previous stages, which are instead maintained to different degrees. The factors that motivate progression from one to the next of each of the 12 *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* stages will be considered in the following section.

5.3. Factors That Motivate Australian Survivalist Progression:

When considering the factors that motivate Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological progression, those specific driving forces can be separated into two main time-relative categories, [1] pre-development path entry influences; that is, influences which steer individuals from the general public towards becoming Australian survivalists and [2] post-development path entry influences; that is, influences that compel already committed members of the sub-culture through the stages of the Australian survivalist development path.

5.3.1. Pre-Development Path Entry Influences:

The literature review of this thesis identified that members of the United States general public had turned to survivalism as a way of confronting the fear of various future social uncertainties, brought on by perceived threats of human-made or naturally occurring disasters, with resulting preparation

behaviours seen as a likely attempt to alleviate personal survival-related anxieties.[516] United States survivalist preparation and planning activities, such as stockpiling food, water, equipment and weapons supplies, can be seen as a way of dealing with expectations and fears of future societal destruction and chaos; expectations and fears identified through the relevant literature as being perpetually fuelled and refreshed by influential modern media entertainment mechanisms.[517]

In many respects the Australian survivalist sub-culture appears to have developed in a similar way to that of the United States, with members of the general public being drawn to the survivalist lifestyle for largely the same reason as that of their American counterparts. Although the Australian survivalism literature is extremely limited, with very little material considering anything of the origins and evolution of the sub-culture, the literature review of this thesis identified that Australian survivalists, both old and new, are joined by the understanding that in a complex modern globalised society, ultimately all things end and by a common compulsion to ready themselves for when they do.[518] Revealing a common Australian survivalist belief, in which the resources and support networks that people require to live today are gauged to be finite, the data analysis results identify that all levels of Australian survivalists make a considered choice to respond to anticipated future threats, by seeking to free themselves from being dependent on others and to develop skills that will preserve them after essential resources are depleted.[519]

5.3.2. Post-Development Path Entry Influences:

The fear of future social uncertainty resulting from potential human-made or naturally occurring disasters, likely the largest motivating factor that initially drives members of the general public towards the Australian survivalist lifestyle, appears to remain a significant and constant influence for individuals throughout their time as members of the sub-culture. In addition to this great motivator that drives and continues to inspire people to identify as Australian survivalists, there are also numerous progressive influences, which intermittently affect survivalist thought processes and

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[516] Mitchell, op. cit., p.3.

[517] Lamy, *The Meek Shall*, op. cit., p.3.

[518] Shepherd, loc. cit.

[519] pugs, 'Why do you prepare?', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13117&KW=why+do+you

subsequently inspire the movement of individuals from one Australian survivalist development stage to the next. Those influences and associated thought processes, relative to each of the different levels of the Australian survivalist development path, will now be highlighted through a summary of the Australian survivalist progression pathway stages, which is as follows:

Stage 01 [developing ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions] concerns individuals who possess preparedness-specific attitudes and are inclined towards emergency provision stockpiling activities, as a result of a unique world view in which they are responding to a variety of perceived future threats to existing social, economic and political systems.

Stage 02 [actively seeking preparedness information] concerns a broadening of thinking by the individual, where it is established that emergency supplies alone will not be enough to cope with potential future disasters. At this point the individual recognises the additional need to educate themself with preparedness-specific information and actively seeks that material both in printed form and on the Internet.

Stage 03 [acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills] concerns the individual experimenting with practical survival skills and a resulting realisation, where they acknowledge inadequacy in their preparations, a lack of valid knowledge and the need to develop a realistic survival capability.

Stage 04 [participating in online interactions with like-minded people] concerns the individual seeking the practical knowledge, experience and guidance of like-minded people, offered in Internet discussion environments. Upon entering the realm of online interaction, the individual receives validation for their life-style choice and is exposed to the various levels of Australian survivalists, including those that hold militant opinions concerning the government and wider society.

Stage 05 [using survivalist-specific language and rhetoric] concerns the individual exhibiting behaviours online that display their commitment to the Australian survivalist life-style. At this point,

the individual becomes increasingly content to use survivalist-specific words, abbreviations and a style of expression that is unique to the Australian survivalist sub-culture. Using the language of the sub-culture is not only an indicator that the individual is closer embracing the survivalist world view but also demonstrates to others within the sub-culture that they are beginning to distance themselves from the expectations and customs of wider society.

Stage 06 [attending survivalist meetings, camps and training groups for basic skills development] concerns the individual developing a greater level of acceptance within the survivalist-specific Internet discussion environment, reaching a point of trust where they are invited, or may seek, to make face-to-face contact with other survivalists and engage in basic survival training activities.

Stage 07 [pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities] concerns the individual moving from engaging in basic survival skills development to the pursuit of war-based training activities. This change of focus relates to a new outlook motivated in part by more senior survivalists who hold a dystopian view of the future, and who have interacted with the individual during face-to-face survivalist gatherings. The idea of a future post-apocalyptic existence is reiterated by the same senior survivalists in the discussion forum environment. At this stage, the individual turns from plans to endure an array of disaster events and gives consideration to preparing against the possible hoards of starving, desperate people who will still be alive afterwards.

Stage 08 [accumulating multiple firearms and large quantities of ammunition] concerns the individual increasing their combat capability in preparation of a likely dystopian future. In making ready for a perceived future ruined world where the rule of law no longer exists, the individual commences stockpiling numerous firearms, vast quantities of ammunition and other high powered non-chemical projectile weapons, such as recurve and compound bows, cross-bows, etc.

Stage 09 [fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack (bug in) OR packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape (bug out) routes to a predetermined location] concerns the individual committing to the inevitability of a dark future and the certainty of engagements with violent masses after a societal collapse. The individual at this stage develops multiple contingencies for surviving within a hostile setting or escaping quickly from it. Both

fortifying the individual's current place of residence and stocking it with extensive supplies so that the dwelling can effectively be shut off from the world (Bugging In), and rapidly escaping from the individual's place of residence, taking with them nothing more than essential supplies to serve them along an established route to a predetermined location (Bugging Out), represents the two typically considered response options. At this stage, the individual's combat capability, established by the possession of war-based skills and access to multiple firearms, ammunition etc, is now accompanied by a growing view that the desperate enemy masses of tomorrow are able be seen in the wider society of today.

Stage 10 [establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land] concerns the individual establishing a self-contained and secure homestead on their privately owned land. Representing the point in the Australian survivalist development path where an individual's combat capability is at its highest level, experienced Australian survivalists can invest considerable time, conviction and hundreds of thousands of dollars in establishing and supplying a defendable retreat location. Defendable retreats are seen by many survivalists as a final fallback position when faced with post-disaster anarchy. However, some senior survivalists consider the establishment of secluded homesteads an essential means to withdraw from wider society, judged as broken and ultimately doomed, as soon as possible.

Stage 11 [possessing and promoting an anti-government / anti-society outlook] concerns the individual re-examining the threats they had previously been preparing against and coming to the determination that the vulnerabilities in the systems that represent risk are controlled by the government, its politicians, police and other agents of authority. The individual at this stage sees the government as an oppressive enemy determined to control them by slowly diminishing their freedoms and believes that the Australian Government's ineptitude and corruption is advancing conflict both on a national and international scale. From the individual's perspective at this time, the government directly threatens their ongoing survival. In addition, the individual believes that only they and other like-minded people see through government deception. The individual at this point also looks upon themselves as superior to the general public, which they believe is populated by weak, ignorant and expendable conformists. In regards to discussion forum indicator activity, while posts by individuals at this stage do not directly threaten violence, they do highlight a

potential danger in the combination of an advanced combat capability and an anti-government and anti-society outlook.

Stage 12 [making implied or direct anti-government / anti-society violent threats] concerns the individual progressing beyond merely possessing an anti-government and / or anti-society outlook, now blatantly publishing public discussion forum posts that make implied or direct threats of violence against the Australian Government, its representatives and members of the general public. It is notable that individuals at this stage have posted comments that emphasise the belief that they will inevitably have to take a revolutionary stand against oppressive Australian Government authority. Stopping short of moving from threats of violence to conducting violent anti-government and anti-society acts, resulting in death or casualties, this point in Australian survivalist development is the most extreme position observed to date. At this far end of the Australian survivalist development path, the individual has the capability, possesses the incentive to act and has made threats against Australian Government interests and the interests of wider society and, at face value, may be considered a potential domestic risk.

The Australian survivalist development path represents a sub-culturally specific, 12-stage, linear, ideological and behavioural progression process. Individuals who identify as Australian survivalists experience some, or all, of the sequential stages of the Australian survivalist development path, displaying behaviours and beliefs which incrementally escalate in regards to associated threat-severity and that are unique to their position at the time within one of three different Australian survivalist class groupings, nominated previously as *Preppers*, *Mainstream Survivalists* and *Militant Survivalists*. Notably, the higher behaviour and belief indicator levels of the Australian survivalist development path are associated with increased potential threat, but also with a considerable decrease in the number of Australian survivalists that participate in such behaviours, when compared to other levels of the pathway.

Having examined the Australian survivalist progression influences and some of the associated thought processes, relative to each of the different stages of the Australian survivalist development path, the next section of this chapter will consider the radicalisation themes which are reiterated among the established radicalisation pathway models previously presented in the literature review

of this thesis. Once this has been achieved, the Australian survivalist development path will be analysed for the presence of those identified themes.

5.4. Reiterated Radicalisation Themes and Australian Survivalist Development:

The nine established radicalisation pathway models previously examined in the literature review of this thesis and the radicalisation themes identified within each of those models will now be displayed in a comparison table, so that reiterated radicalisation themes among the models are able to be confirmed. Once that has been accomplished, the Australian survivalist development path will be examined for comparable radicalisation themes to those reiterated among the already established pathway models. Identifying radicalisation themes within the behavioural and ideological progression stages of the Australian survivalist development path, which are also reiterated among the established radicalisation pathway models, lends support to the Australian survivalist development path as a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process. The nine established radicalisation pathway influence models considered in the literature review were:

[1] Association of Chief Police Officer's Prevent Radicalisation Pyramid,[520]

[2] Fathali M. Moghaddam's Staircase to Suicide Terrorism,[521]

[3] Marc Sageman's Four-Stage Al-Qa'ida-Influenced Islamist Radicalisation Process,[522]

[4] New York Police Department's Four-Stage Jihadi-Salafi Islamist Radicalisation Process,[523]

[5] Paul Gill's Four-Stage Suicide Bomber Radicalisation Pathway Model,[524]

[6] Quintan Wiktorowicz's al-Muhajiroun Islamist Radicalisation Influences Model.[525]

[7] Randy Borum's Four-Stage Process of Ideological Development.[526]

[8] Tomas Precht's Four-Stage Model of the Process of Islamist Radicalisation.[527]

[9] Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko's Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation,[528]

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[520] Audit Commission, op. cit., p.12.

[521] Moghaddam, op. cit., pp. 161-169.

[522] Sageman, op. cit., pp. 223-231.

[523] Silber & Bhatt, op. cit., p. 21.

[524] Gill, op. cit., p. 412-422.

[525] Wiktorowicz., op. cit., pp. 7-11.

[526] Borum, *Understanding*, op. cit. pp. 7-10.

[527] Precht, loc.cit.

In regards to Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko's *Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation*, that model is presented not as a linear radicalisation method but as a list of identified influences that can drive radicalisation at different times, either individually or together.[529] With this in mind, it is inconsistent to examine McCauley and Moskalenko's model against the other established pathways, as if evaluating the similarities of one sequential progression process against another, as is the case with the other established pathway models. Consequently, the radicalisation theme comparison table will not include McCauley and Moskalenko's model, as in essence all of their mechanisms represent an identified radicalisation theme. Instead, each of McCauley and Moskalenko's identified mechanisms of political radicalisation will be assessed against the Australian survivalist development path directly, with the aim of identifying which mechanisms may be relevant to the Australian survivalist situation and their sub-culturally specific development process. This separate assessment will occur after the Australian survivalist development path is considered against the reiterated radicalisation themes of the other established pathway models [see section 5.4.4.].

5.4.1. Radicalisation Themes Identified in the Literature Review:

When conducting the review of academic literature in Chapter 2 of this thesis, identifying current theorised models which consider individual and group radicalisation pathways, numerous specific radicalisation themes from the range of models considered were identified. These radicalisation themes are as follows:

1. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a predominantly linear process in which some individuals enter the pathway from mainstream origins and with relatively moderate world views, advance through stages of ideological and behavioural change, which incrementally narrows their outlook, social associations and available behaviour choices, and which gradually escalates their threat potential to a point where they ultimately advocate and conduct violent acts.

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[528] McCauley & Moskalenko, *Mechanisms*, op. cit., p. 418.

[529] Christmann, op. cit., p. 21.

2. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which some individuals can develop in response to economic, social, political or personal crises, which act as catalyst events that unsettle previously held beliefs and drive those who seek to gain a measure of assumed control over their lives towards believed important and stabilising religious frameworks.

3. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which some individuals pass through stages of interaction with, or influence by, those who hold extremist views, resulting in connections being made that can drive individuals towards more militant end stages of the pathway.

4. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which some individuals undergo changes, resulting in them determining that responsibility for their apparent disadvantages, vulnerabilities and lack of security and control over their own lives, rests with perceived human enemy and support elements from various out-groups.

5. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which some individuals in later stages of the pathway rationalise their outlook by dehumanising perceived enemy population elements to justify their hostility against them and / or consider themselves to be revolutionaries, fighting for freedom and security against an oppressive authority force.

6. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which behavioural reinforcement effects result from individuals interacting with like-minded people via the Internet.

7. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which the higher levels of the pathway are associated with increased stages of radicalisation but decreased numbers of individuals involved, when compared to lower and middle levels.

5.4.2. The Radicalisation Theme Comparison Table:

Table 18 presents the key, for a later displayed Radicalisation Theme Comparison Table, where the titles of the nine radicalisation pathway models that were considered in the literature review of this thesis have been assigned an identification code [ID Code].

Table 18: The Radicalisation Theme Comparison Table Key.

Radicalisation Pathway Model	ID Code
The Association of Chief Police Officer's [ACPO] Prevent Radicalisation Pyramid.	ACPO
Fathali M. Moghaddam's Staircase to Suicide Terrorism.	FM
Marc Sageman's Four-Stage Al-Qa'ida-Influenced Islamist Radicalisation Process.	MS
New York Police Department's [NYPD] Four-Stage Jihadi-Salafi Islamist Radicalisation Process.	NYPD
Paul Gill's Four-Stage Suicide Bomber Radicalisation Pathway Model.	PG
Quintan Wiktorowicz's al-Muhajiroun Islamist Radicalisation Influences Model.	QW
Randy Borum's Four-Stage Process of Ideological Development.	RB
Tomas Precht's Four-Stage Model of the Process of Islamist Radicalisation.	TP
Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko's Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation.	M&M

The Radicalisation Pathway Model ID Codes of Table 18 are used in the following Radicalisation Theme Comparison Table, Table 19, where they are positioned at the beginning of rows adjacent to numbers, from one to seven, which represent each of the seven radicalisation themes determined during the literature review and detailed in section 5.4.1 of this chapter. Where the word 'Yes' is displayed in the cells of the table row applicable to each of the radicalisation pathway models, as indicated by their ID Codes, that particular radicalisation theme, from one to seven, has been identified as being present within the relevant radicalisation pathway model. The letters 'N/A' have been used throughout the row relating to McCauley and Moskalenko's radicalisation model, as though it is included among the nine radicalisation models examined in the literature review, its evaluation was not applicable to the theme comparison table, for reasons previously specified in section 5.4 of this chapter.

Table 19: The Radicalisation Theme Comparison Table.

ID Code	Identified Radicalisation Theme						
-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ACPO	Yes	-	Yes	Yes	-	-	Yes
FM	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-
MS	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-
NYPD	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
PG	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	-	-
QW	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	-
RB	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	-
TP	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
M&M	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Total	**8/8**	**7/8**	**8/8**	**8/8**	**5/8**	**2/8**	**3/8**

Table 19 identifies the radicalisation themes which are reiterated among the established radicalisation pathway models that were examined in the literature review of this thesis.

The Radicalisation Theme Comparison Table shows the following results:

[A] Eight out of the eight established radicalisation pathway models included Theme 1:

1. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a predominantly linear process in which some individuals enter the pathway from mainstream origins and with relatively moderate world views, advance through stages of ideological and behavioural change, which incrementally narrows their outlook, social associations and available behaviour choices, and which gradually escalates their threat potential to a point where they ultimately advocate and conduct violent acts.

[B] Seven out of the eight established radicalisation pathway models included Theme 2:

2. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which some individuals can develop in response to economic, social, political or personal crises, which act as catalyst events that unsettle previously held beliefs and drive those who seek to gain a measure of assumed control over their lives towards believed important and stabilising religious frameworks.

[C] Eight out of the eight established radicalisation pathway models included Theme 3:

3. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which some individuals pass through stages of interaction with, or influence by, those who hold extremist views, resulting in connections being made that can drive individuals towards more militant end stages of the pathway.

[D] Eight out of the eight established radicalisation pathway models included Theme 4:

4. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which some individuals undergo changes, resulting in them determining that responsibility for their apparent disadvantages, vulnerabilities and lack of security and control over their own lives, rests with perceived human enemy and support elements from various out-groups.

[E] Five out of the eight established radicalisation pathway models included Theme 5:

5. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which some individuals in later stages of the pathway rationalise their outlook by dehumanising perceived enemy population elements to justify their hostility against them and / or consider themselves to be revolutionaries, fighting for freedom and security against an oppressive authority force.

[F] Two out of the eight established radicalisation pathway models included Theme 6:

6. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which behavioural reinforcement effects result from individuals interacting with like-minded people via the Internet.

[G] Three out of the eight established radicalisation pathway models included Theme 7:

7. Radicalisation was hypothesised as a process in which the higher levels of the pathway are associated with increased stages of radicalisation but decreased numbers of individuals involved, when compared to lower and middle levels.

The results displayed in the Radicalisation Theme Comparison Table, Table 19, support the notion that certain radicalisation themes are likely to be present in a majority of radicalisation pathway models. Testing the Australian survivalist development path, as a potential sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, it will now be examined in an effort to identify similar radicalisation themes that appear within the range of its behavioural and ideological progression stages.

5.4.3. Reiterated Radicalisation Themes in the Australian Survivalist Development Path:

Though some of the ascertained reiterated radicalisation themes are more prevalent among the established radicalisation models previously considered than are others, the Australian survivalist development path will now be analysed for the presence of all seven themes identified.

In concurrence with the first reiterated radicalisation theme identified, the Australian survivalist development path is demonstrated as a linear process in which some individuals enter the pathway from mainstream origins and with relatively moderate world views. Additionally, the Australian survivalist development path demonstrates a process in which individuals advance through stages of ideological and behavioural change, which incrementally narrows their outlook, social associations and available behaviour choices, and which gradually escalates their threat potential to the point where they advocate violent acts against the government and wider society. Notably, the Australian survivalist development path, to date, does not contain a final progression process stage, common among the established radicalisation models, which includes Australian survivalists conducting violent extremist acts.

In concurrence with the second reiterated radicalisation theme identified, the Australian survivalist development path is demonstrated as a process in which some individuals can develop in response to a perceived lack of personal or communal security, inspired by anticipated future economic, social and political crises, driving those who seek to gain a measure of assumed control over their lives towards believed stabilising survivalist lifestyle frameworks. Notably, the Australian survivalist development path does not include religious influences of any kind as motivation for progression, which was found to be common among the established radicalisation models.

In concurrence with the third reiterated radicalisation theme identified, the Australian survivalist development path is demonstrated as a process in which some individuals pass through stages of interaction with, or influence by, those who hold extremist views, resulting in connections being made that can drive individuals towards more militant end stages of the pathway.

In concurrence with the fourth reiterated radicalisation theme identified, the Australian survivalist development path is demonstrated as a process in which some individuals undergo changes, resulting in them determining that responsibility for their apparent disadvantages, vulnerabilities and lack of security and control over their own lives rests not only with the government and its agents of authority, both domestic and foreign, but also with the general civilian population that supports those entities.

In concurrence with the fifth reiterated radicalisation theme identified, the Australian survivalist development path is demonstrated as a process in which some individuals in later stages of the pathway rationalise their outlook by dehumanising perceived enemy government and general population elements to justify their hostility against them and consider themselves to be revolutionaries, who will have future cause to fight for freedom and security against an oppressive government authority force.

In concurrence with the sixth reiterated radicalisation theme identified, the Australian survivalist development path is demonstrated as a process in which behavioural reinforcement effects result from individuals interacting with like-minded people via the Internet.

In concurrence with the seventh reiterated radicalisation theme identified, the Australian survivalist development path is demonstrated as a process in which the higher levels of the pathway are associated with increased stages of radicalisation but decreased numbers of individuals involved, when compared to lower and middle levels.

The above radicalisation theme comparison indicates that the Australian survivalist development path includes all seven of the radicalisation themes identified as reiterated among numerous established radicalisation pathway models and is reflective of the Australian survivalist progression pathway as a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process.

5.4.4. McCauley & Moskalenko's Model and the Australian Survivalist Development Path:

Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko's *Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation* model was examined in the literature review of this thesis though, unlike the other eight established radicalisation models also considered, it does not depict a radicalisation process measured in stages. Rather, McCauley and Moskalenko's model is identified as a list of influences that can drive radicalisation at different times, either separately or in conjunction with one another.[530] As it is not a model that illustrates a progressive radicalisation process, it was deemed inconsistent to examine McCauley and Moskalenko's model for reiterated radicalisation themes in the same fashion as the other eight established pathways. Instead, a separate assessment of each of McCauley and Moskalenko's identified mechanisms against the Australian survivalist development path will follow, with the aim of identifying which mechanisms may be relevant to the Australian survivalist situation and their sub-culturally relative radicalisation process.

Mechanism 1: Personal Victimisation -

The first of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Personal Victimisation*, where individuals are influenced to commit terrorist acts as a result of responding to personal grievances. It is of interest that the word *grievance*, used by McCauley and Moskalenko,[531] originates from the Old French word *grever*, which means *to burden*, later evolving into *grevance*, where it was adopted and changed to *grievance*, as a Middle English word, which meant *injury*.[532] While the available data does not suggest that Australian survivalists commence their development path in response to personal grievances, in the sense of the modern meaning of the word, the research does indicate that they enter the survivalist development process as a way of responding to various perceived threats of physical injury that may arise from future human-made or naturally occurring disasters.

Mechanism 2: Political Grievance -

The second of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Political Grievance*, where individuals are influenced to commit terrorist acts as a result of responding to

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[530] Christmann, loc. cit.

[531] McCauley & Moskalenko, *Mechanisms*., loc. cit.

[532] Oxford Dictionary, Grievance, [website], 2016, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com, (accessed 29 May 2016).

unacceptable political events and trends. This identified influence impacts upon Australian survivalists towards the end of the Australian survivalist development path, in stages 11 and 12, where Australian Militant Survivalists determine that the government, with its politicians, police and other agents of authority, is an oppressive enemy determined to control them and an entity that directly threatens their ongoing survival through economic manipulation and by involving Australia in foreign conflicts.

Mechanism 3: Joining a Radical Group - the Slippery Slope -

The third of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Joining a Radical Group - the Slippery Slope*, where individuals become members of radical groups, after a slow and gradual process, in which they take part in activities that incrementally limit their social circle, mindset, and available future behaviour choices. This identified influence impacts upon Australian survivalists within all 12 stages of the Australian survivalist development path, which together both form and demonstrate a progression process that is reliant on individuals engaging in activities that gradually narrow their outlook, social associations and available behaviour options. Of particular importance is the *Slippery Slope* influence driving the movement of individuals through the three survivalist categories within the Australian survivalist sub-culture. Movement forward among the three different Australian survivalist classes is as a direct result of individuals partaking in activities that close them off to the behaviour and mindset options of previous stages of the path and compel them in the direction of stages that are increasingly uncompromising and ultimately militant.

Mechanism 4: Joining a Radical Group - the Power of Love -

The fourth of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Joining a Radical Group - the Power of Love*, where individuals are recruited to terrorist groups through familial, friendship or romantic relationship links. This identified influence impacts upon Australian survivalists towards the middle of the Australian survivalist development path, in stages 06 and 07. During those stages, Australian survivalists establish physical networks of like-minded experienced people, who promote the likelihood of a future post-apocalyptic existence and in part motivate the individual to pursue war-based training activities in response to that believed

eventuality. It is through these associations and commonly impermanent friendship ties that middle-level Australian survivalists are driven forward in their development to adopt the beliefs and behaviours of Militant Survivalists, who represent the greatest potential domestic threat.

Mechanism 5: Extremity Shift in Like-Minded Groups -

The fifth of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Extremity Shift in Like-Minded Groups*, where individuals experience the reinforcement of collective views as the result of contact with like-minded group members. As seen with the association and friendship ties that influence Australian survivalists, identified in the previous mechanism *Joining a Radical Group - the Power of Love*, this fifth identified influencing mechanism impacts upon Australian survivalists from the middle of the Australian survivalist development path, in stages 06 and 07. Resulting in the acceptance of increasingly radical views that mirror *group* opinions expressed among survivalists in development stages 06 through 12, the reinforcement of collective views as the result of contact with like-minded members is a considerable motivating factor in all levels of progression relative to Mainstream and Militant Survivalist categories.

Mechanism 6: Extreme Cohesion Under Isolation and Threat -

The sixth of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Extreme Cohesion Under Isolation and Threat*, where small groups display greater levels of unity and an increase in pressure to comply with the acceptable behaviours and internalised values of the group, when under threat. This identified influence has a limited impact upon Australian survivalists for two main reasons, [1] Australian survivalists are not under direct threat, in an immediate physical sense. However, the research data does indicate that Australian survivalists hold the belief that they are constantly under the stress of scrutiny from law enforcement agencies and the under the pressure of ongoing media-supported public ridicule for their life-style choice, which is likely to promote some sense of relationship among the like-minded. This understanding has made way for Australian survivalists to anonymously come together in the online environment, where certain behaviours are observed as acceptable and often encouraged, such as those relating to survivalist-specific language use and the describing of particular common real-world preparation actions, and [2] Australian survivalists are not a group, in the traditional sense. The

research data shows Australian survivalists operating in the real-world predominantly as individuals and rarely together in anything greater than a family sized unit.[533] Though Australian survivalists may at this time network with each other for the purpose of information sharing, skills development and the acquisition and trade of supplies, which may appear to the uninitiated as a type of bonding, the data results indicate that the commencement of any large-scale disaster event would likely see the great majority of Australian survivalists cutting ties with any previously established networks and putting into action their individual survival plans.[534]

Mechanism 7: Competition for the Same Base of Support -

The seventh of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Competition for the Same Base of Support*, where groups are moved to greater levels of radical action and violence when competing with others for a wider support base. This identified influence is not likely to impact upon Australian survivalists as they do not function as a group and are not in competition for support. On the contrary, the research supports Australian survivalists operating as individuals and with the clear goal of becoming self-reliant in all things.

Mechanism 8: Competition with State Power - Condensation -

The eighth of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Competition with State Power - Condensation*, where groups commit progressively more violent acts in response to reciprocated state violence, engaging in a cycle of ever escalating violent reaction and counter-reaction. This identified influence is not likely to impact upon Australian survivalists as they do not function as a group and have not been previously subjected to government violence.

Mechanism 9: Within Group Competition - Fissioning -

The ninth of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Within Group Competition - Fissioning*, where groups split into different factions due to conflict, with one or more of those factions becoming more extreme through competition with the others. This

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[533] pugs, 'Why do you prepare?', [internet forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13117&KW=why+do+you

[534] Ibid.

identified influence is not likely to impact upon Australian survivalists as they do not function as a group. In addition, though the research supports the Australian survivalist sub-culture being composed of three different survivalist categories, individuals within each of those survivalist classes do not have competing interests.

Mechanism 10: Jujitsu Politics -

The tenth of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Jujitsu Politics*, where a population hardens and becomes unified behind a leader, or a movement, as a result of an external threat. This identified influence is not likely to impact upon the Australian survivalist sub-culture on the whole, though it is possible that *Jujitsu Politics* could affect members of specific Australian survivalist classes, such as *Preppers* and *Mainstream Survivalists*. The research identifies a great number of *Preppers* and *Mainstream Survivalists* as people that make survival preparations while remaining content to live and contribute within conventional culture. Within this arrangement there is potential for Australian survivalists of those two categories to be shaped by a radicalisation influence that could be directed towards the greater population within which they choose to exist. In contrast, for the third and final Australian survivalist category, *Militant Survivalists*, *Jujitsu Politics* may not represent an influencing radicalisation factor at all. Australian *Militant Survivalists* may prove to be impervious to the radicalising effects of *Jujitsu Politics* simply because they are individuals who possess a severe distrust of all aspects of the government and as such are unlikely to rally around its leaders to resist an external threat.

Mechanism 11: Hate -

The eleventh of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Hate*, where a population supports acts of extreme violence as a result of an out-group being represented as so remote that they become dehumanised. This identified influence is not likely to impact upon the Australian survivalist sub-culture on the whole, though there are some indications that the smallest and most extreme of the Australian survivalist categories, *Militant Survivalists*, could respond to some of the influence's effects. Australian *Militant Survivalists* look upon themselves as superior to the general public, which they regularly promote as weak, ignorant and expendable conformists. Referring to them constantly as *Sheeple,* a derogatory term that seeks to

highlight the masses as having a sheep-like mentality, unable to think for themselves and content to blindly go where authority and mainstream media directs them, *Militant Survivalists* dehumanise the wider population in the eyes of other members and promote animosity towards all non-survivalists.

Mechanism 12: Martyrdom -

The twelfth of McCauley and Moskalenko's mechanisms of political radicalisation is titled *Martyrdom*, where a population reveres the memory of those who have died for their cause, so much so that the fallen appear to personify the cause itself. This identified influence is not likely to impact upon the Australian survivalist sub-culture as no one has yet died in support of Australian survivalist beliefs. In addition, any notion of dying or sacrificing oneself for survivalist causes is contrary to basic Australian survivalist ideology, that being to make all possible preparations and take all available precautionary measures to ensure the continuation of the individual survivalist's life.

The comparison between Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko's Mechanisms of Political Radicalisation and the Australian survivalist development path identified key radicalisation influences, which may be applicable to the Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological progression process.

The research presented in previous chapters of this thesis identified that Australian survivalists primarily operate as individuals and predominantly develop survival plans for themselves only.[535] It is therefore unsurprising that the greatest number of McCauley and Moskalenko's radicalisation influences identified as relevant to the Australian survivalist development path were those specifically stated to affect people on an individual level. These were, [A] Political Grievance, [B] Joining a Radical Group - the Slippery Slope, [C] Joining a Radical Group - the Power of Love, and [D] Extremity Shift in Like-Minded Groups. Of the identified influences that impact upon individuals progressing through the Australian survivalist development path, Joining a Radical Group - the

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[535] AUSSIE, 'Why do you prepare?', [internet forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13117&KW=why+do+you

Slippery Slope is perhaps the most easily observable, with it clear that Australian survivalists engage in a sequence of activities that incrementally narrow their outlook, social associations and available future behaviour choices.

In regards to McCauley and Moskalenko's radicalisation influences which affect people at a group level, the research presented in previous chapters of this thesis identified that Australian survivalists do not predominantly function as a group.[536] Consequently it was found that none of McCauley and Moskalenko's group level influence mechanisms were likely to directly apply to the Australian survivalist situation.

Similarly, McCauley and Moskalenko's identified radicalisation influences which have a mass level effect were found unlikely to apply to Australian survivalists overall. It was determined that mass level radicalisation influences may affect some Australian survivalists who occupy lower and middle stages of the Australian survivalist development path, those being the *Preppers* and *Mainstream Survivalists*, who still consider themselves part of the wider population. However, it was established that McCauley and Moskalenko's mass level radicalisation influences were unlikely to influence *Militant Survivalists* at the far end of the Australian survivalist progression path. This conclusion was supported by the reported intense distrust that Australian *Militant Survivalists* have for all elements of the government, making it unlikely that they would support its leaders in any national effort to resist an external threat.

5.5. Radicalisation Elements in Contrast to Australian Survivalist Development:

Although the radicalisation themes reiterated among the established pathway models considered in this thesis were also found to be present in the Australian survivalist development path, two of those identified themes included elements that exist in contrast to the Australian survivalist situation. Owing to their recurring appearance among established radicalisation models, [1] the presence of religious influences and [2] the inclusion of a progression process end stage that involves the perpetration of violent acts, are outwardly suggested as playing an inevitable role in a great number of pathways to radicalisation. The Australian survivalist development path however

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[536] AUSSIE, 'Why do you prepare?', [internet forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2009, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13117&KW=why+do+you

defies this notion with the absence of those two elements. In regards to the lack of a progression process end stage that involves the perpetration of violent acts, the Australian survivalist development path supports scholarly theories regarding the significance and validity of conceptual models of non-violent radicalisation, and may be potentially examined further in order to contribute to explaining why it is that not all individuals who are engaged in radicalisation processes turn to political violence [see section 5.5.2.]. Non-violent Radicalisation refers to the process by which individuals develop radical views in relation to the status quo but do not engage or aid in violent extremist actions.[537]

5.5.1. The Presence of Religious Influences:

The role that religious beliefs play in influencing radicalisation, in particular as a pathway to violence, is contentious. There are two main schools of thought on the issue, with one arguing that religion itself is part of the problem and the other arguing that religion is a frame, or vehicle, through which other problems are expressed.[538] Though the presence of religious influences featured in all but one of the established radicalisation pathway models considered in this thesis, this motivating element was found not relevant to the Australian survivalist development process. In addition, some Australian survivalist members were identified to have openly considered and subsequently rejected the idea of religion as an Australian survivalist motivating force, as is illustrated by the main posts of the following aussurvivalist.com forum discussion:

Initial post enquiring about the importance of a religious framework / religious influences that may impact upon the Australian survivalist situation:

MissUnleaded Newbie Joined: 03 July 2008 Online Status: Offline Posts: 6	*Posted: 26 July 2008 at 6:59am.*[539] Is the survivalist movement in Australia as heavily concerned with Christian religious fundamentalism as it is the US? Does anyone have any experience or knowledge about this? *Edited by MissUnleaded - 26 July 2008 at 6:59am.*

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[537] Bartlett & Miller, loc.cit.

[538] Ibid. p. 9.

[539] MissUnleaded, 'Religion', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12144&KW=religion

Response indicating the belief that any link between Australian survivalism and religious fundamentalism is primarily a media construct, and a clear rejection of religious influences having an impact upon the Australian survivalist situation:

WarriorWoman Survivalist Joined: 18 July 2004 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 3697	*Posted: 26 July 2008 at 7:27am.*[540] The media tends to link religious fundamentalism & survivalism - but their aim is to make headlines & sell newspapers (and do the governments bidding). The govt aims to link survivalism to zealots (religious or otherwise) - it suits their agenda. The answer to your question is No.

Response indicating the belief that Australian survivalism is not related to religious fundamentalism and a reference to previous forum discussions concerning religious topics, where it was determined that survivalist issues are not inclusive of any type of influential religious framework:

hillbilly Survivalist Joined: 02 November 2006 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 4035	*Posted: 26 July 2008 at 7:36am.*[541] 'survivalist movement'? ... 'religous fundamentalism?' as far as I am personally involved / interested / active, its purely for personal reasons. A good search / read of past posts will show you there is sometimes religous topics / discussion, but you'll see, most are not based on religous reasoning. *Edited by hillbilly - 26 July 2008 at 7:37am.*

Response from the aussurvivalist.com forum administrator and website owner confirming the absence of religious influences that may impact upon the Australian survivalist situation, supported by the results of two internally conducted member surveys. In addition, the forum administrator identifies that religious fundamentalism is a concern, only in that it can lead to persecution and war, which may ultimately present a direct threat to Australian survivalists:

sparhawk5 Admin Group éminence grise Joined: 01 October 1998 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 5645	*Posted: 26 July 2008 at 9:19am.*[542] MissUnleaded If by your question you mean are Australian survivalists as religiously fundamental as some in the US then the answer is no. In fact most survivalists in Australia are atheists or agnostic (we surveyed them . . . twice). Are we concerned with religious fundamentalism in the US, then the answer is yes. The blurring of church and state is of concern because it can lead to actions for the wrong reasons . . . e.g. the crusades, the inquisition etc. John M

[540] WarriorWoman, 'Religion', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12144&KW=religion

[541] hillbilly, 'Religion', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12144&KW=religion

[542] Sparhawk5, 'Religion', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12144&KW=religion

Post by the discussion thread creator acknowledging the absence of any type of religious framework / religious influences that may impact upon the Australian survivalist situation; this in contrast to a number of survivalist movement members in the United States of America, with which she had personal experience:

| **MissUnleaded**
Newbie

Joined: 03 July 2008
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 6 | *Posted: 26 July 2008 at 4:36pm.*[543]

That's good to hear. I just spent a few months on a US survivalist forum and the members were pretty intense believers. Most of them seem to have become involved in the survivalist movement due to passages in the bible and their belief that Revelation time is at hand. I got a pretty stern lecture for saying that Christians who campaign to have creationism taught in science class were nuts. It was a bit of an eye opener.

I was curious if the survivalist movement worldwide attracted people of this mentality. It makes me happy to know that in my home country at least it's not a driving force. |

Response indicating a member's knowledge of a remote 'off forum' survivalist-oriented Christian fundamentalist group that exists in Australia:

| **silverbug**
Sin Binned

Joined: 18 September 2007
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 410 | *Posted: 26 July 2008 at 5:29pm.*[544]

Just to broaden the question slightly: Where I used to live (NW Tassie) reside some of the most fundamental survivalist Christians in Australia - The Exclusive Brethren. They meddle in politics, business and agriculture. There are supposed to be about 10,000 of them in the NW region. They are also strong in parts of WA.

The Exclusive Brethren are preparing for an Armageddon as well as the seventh day Adventists and Mormons. There are also many smaller groups of Christian cults with a 'survivalist' mentality in the NW. They may or may not be a concern for other survivalists in the future. They may be good to trade with or not. It would be an advantage to stay in their good books if you have to deal with them. |

Response indicating a clear rejection and fear of religious fundamentalism in the Australian survivalist landscape, with specific references to the likely threat such an entity would pose after a global disaster event:

| **flymaster**
Survivalist

Moderator

Joined: 29 January 2004
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 7515 | *Posted: 27 July 2008 at 9:36am.*[545]

"They may or may not be a concern for other survivalists in the future. They may be good to trade with or not. It would be an advantage to stay in their good books if you have to deal with them."

This sort of thing I fear as there is nothing so deadly as a religious zealot who planned for Armageddon cus they believed it would happen and it did happen proving him right.

He now has a mandate in his mind to do as he believes as it is gods will.

Religious fruits are bad enough now, imagine then. |

[543] MissUnleaded, 'Religion', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12144&KW=religion

[544] silverbug, 'Religion', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12144&KW=religion

[545] flymaster, 'Religion', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12144&KW=religion

Response indicating a concern about any possibility of religious fundamentalism invading the Australian survivalist sub-culture:

Lucid Member Joined: 16 July 2007 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 705	*Posted: 27 July 2008 at 9:50pm.*[546] "Concerned" … Very. Involved? No.

Response indicating the belief that Australian survivalists are not predominantly religious and a comparison warning between Christian fundamentalism and Islamic inspired religious extremism:

greyman Survivalist Joined: 11 October 2002 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 2412	*Posted: 28 July 2008 at 10:46am.*[547] Few survivalists I've met in Australia openly proclaim to be religious. From my atheist standpoint, I have no problem with someone quietly believing in the existence of a god/s if it helps them cope with life. What I object to is people openly and persistently harassing others to believe their fairy tales. Religion in the US has almost reached the fanatical pitch of Muslim extremists.

Most notably within the discussion forum thread above, the member sparhawk5, who is the aussurvivalist.com site administrator and owner, identified that Australian survivalist members of the forum had participated in two previous surveys, which found that the great majority were not of any particular religious persuasion. The data analysis results of this thesis do not support religious influences as playing any significant role in motivating Australian survivalist progression through the stages of their sub-culturally relative radicalisation process.

5.5.2. Inclusion of a Pathway End Stage Where Violent Acts are Perpetrated:

As was previously seen in Table 19, the Radicalisation Theme Comparison Table [see Section 5.4.2.], all of the established radicalisation progression pathway models considered in this thesis suggested an end stage which included the perpetration of acts of violence. In assessing the Australian survivalist development path for a similar stage of progression, it was found that despite Militant Survivalists advocating the use of violence to promote their ideology, physical acts of

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[546] Lucid, 'Religion', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12144&KW=religion

[547] greyman, 'Religion', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2008, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=12144&KW=religion

violence had not yet been committed by anyone from the Australian survivalist sub-culture in support of those views. While the identified behavioural and ideological development path of the Australian survivalist sub-culture also includes the themes reiterated among established radicalisation pathway models, reflective of it as a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, it appears that it is also the development path of a sub-culture that has been, since the time of its inception, resistant to violent extremism.

The Australian survivalist sub-culture includes members that have a significant combat capability, with access to arms and ammunition and training in military skills, in addition to holding anti-government and / or anti-society views. It also includes members possessing those attributes and attitudes who openly and sometimes frequently threaten the government and wider society with acts of violence, in public Internet discussion forums. With this in mind, the question must be asked, in the decades that the survivalist sub-culture has existed in Australia, why have survivalists' not committed any real physical acts of violence? The answer may be found in scholarly concepts concerning the issue of non-violent radicalisation, which suggest factors that influence individuals not to become involved in political violence, referred to as *resistance to violent extremism*.[548]

In her 2014 journal article, *Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model for Non-Radicalization*, Kim Cragin identifies four factors as potential barriers to violent extremism, *family obligations*, *logistical costs*, *financing* and *fear*.[549] Each of these factors will now be considered in regards to their potential impact upon Australian survivalists, in an attempt to elucidate why despite the potential threat, there has not yet been an act of violent extremism committed by a member of the Australian survivalist sub-culture. As it is within the Australian survivalist sub-culture that Militant Survivalists represent the greatest potential risk of individuals likely to engage in acts of violence, it will be against this category of Australian survivalist that the four factors will be measured. Additionally, as there appears to be a certain amount of overlap between logistical costs and financing, those two potential barrier influences will be examined collectively.

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[548] Cragin, loc. cit.

[549] Ibid, pp. 337-353.

5.5.2.1. Family Obligations as an Influence Against Violent Extremism:

The centrality of family and family obligations emerge in academic studies that consider potential influences that may prevent an individual from turning to violent extremism.[550] In regards to Islamic-inspired extremists, it has been suggested that the obligation to provide for family members is an influencing force over individuals who elect not to become involved in suicide attacks.[551] Concerning non-Muslim terrorist and insurgent groups, a similar rejection of involvement was identified by some individuals in South America, who nominated family obligations as the reason for their lack of commitment to political violence.[552] Though there are numerous examples of individuals who have engaged in violent extremist acts despite their obligations to family, it is suggested that this potential influencing factor may be one of a number of likely barrier influences that could have an impact on an individual's choice not to engage in violent extremism, when working in conjunction with others, such as logistical costs, financing and fear.[553]

In regards to Australian Militant Survivalists, the research data of this thesis indicates that their attitude towards family varies between immediate members being looked upon as a resource that may contribute to ensuring future security,[554] to family being considered a liability and potentially discarded after a catastrophic disaster event occurs.[555] For Militant Survivalists, personal survival appears to be of overriding concern, with family ties seemingly having value for as long or as little as they are strategically relevant. Family obligations are not considered a specific influence that would likely prevent Militant Survivalists from turning to violent extremism to support and promote their ideology, if it was their objective.

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[550] C. Kurzman, *The Missing Martyrs: Why There Are So Few Muslim Terrorists*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2011, p.55, cited in R.K. Cragin, 'Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model for Non-Radicalization', *Terrorism and Political Violence,* Vol. 23, 2014, p. 343.

[551] Ibid.

[552] F. Wilson, 'Transcending Race? Schoolteachers and Political Militancy in Andean Peru, 1970-2000', *Journal of Latin American Studies,* Vol. 39, No. 4, 2007, pp. 719-746, cited in R. K. Cragin, 'Resisting Violent Extremism: A Conceptual Model for Non-Radicalization', *Terrorism and Political Violence,* Vol. 23, 2014, p. 343.

[553] Cragin, op. cit., p. 344.

[554] bluedave, 'moral dilemma - the family', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2005, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=7373&KW=family&PN=0&TPN=2

[555] deejim, 'moral dilemma - the family', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2005, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=7373&KW=family&PN=0&TPN=3

5.5.2.2. Logistical Costs and Financing as Influences Against Violent Extremism:

It has been suggested, as it may be the case with some modern Islamic-extremist foreign fighters, that the monetary cost for individuals to travel from their immediate place of residence to conflict zones in other countries might represent a possible barrier to violent extremism.[556] Additionally, those individuals arriving at their intended destination may also have to consider financing for food, shelter, equipment, weapons and transportation. Beyond the likely substantial cost of travelling to participate in violent extremist actions, the funding potentially required to sustain involvement in certain arenas for some individuals could be considerable and may also contribute as a barrier to violent extremism.[557]

In regards to Australian Militant Survivalists, the research data of this thesis indicates that some have access to, and are prepared to spend, tens to hundreds of thousands of dollars to arm and equip themselves and build extensive stockpiles of food, water, fuel and other supplies, often housed at retreat properties that they own and which are situated in costly isolated locations.[558] For some Militant Survivalists, their financial commitment to personal survival preparations and the level of their resourcefulness in achieving any objective to ensure their self preservation is considerable. Logistical costs and financing concerns are not considered a specific influence that would likely prevent Militant Survivalists from turning to violent extremism to support and promote their ideology, if it was their objective.

5.5.2.3. Fear as an Influence Against Violent Extremism:

Fear is cited by Cragin as the fourth factor likely to be a barrier influence to violent extremism.[559] While she intends the term to primarily reflect fear of opposing forces, by extension the reference may also include an individual's fear of wider ranging repercussions for their perpetrated violent extremist acts.[560]

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[556] Cragin, op. cit., p. 344.

[557] Ibid.

[558] Twodogs, 'for Tamara', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2014, (accessed 31 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=17803&PN=1

[559] Cragin, op. cit., p. 345.

[560] Ibid.

In regards to Australian Militant Survivalists, the research data of this thesis indicates that fear is a considerable and ongoing motivator. Both in initiating their entry into the sub-culture, as a way of confronting numerous future social uncertainties, and in driving them through the various stages of survivalist development, in an attempt to alleviate one personal survival-related anxiety after the next, fear may also be a potential contributing factor to why Australian Militant Survivalists have not committed acts of violent extremism. Though unlikely to relate exclusively to the fear of any potential law enforcement or intelligence agency action levelled against them, the research data suggests that it would more likely be the considerable fear of removal from their believed life-saving preparation assets and established survival systems, that would have a significant effect on the decision of Australian Militant Survivalists to risk engagement in violent extremist acts or not.

Furthermore, directly engaging in violent extremist actions against the government or wider society may be considered, to some extent, contrary to Australian Militant Survivalist ideology. That is, such actions go against their fundamental position of security and survival through concealment and anonymity, and taking all necessary preventative measures to distance themselves from any potential threats and dangers, including those risks that could see them blocked from accessing their essential survival resources. Fear is considered a valid influence that may likely prevent some Militant Survivalists from turning to violent extremism to support and promote their ideology.

The following aussurvivalist.com discussion forum post examples illustrate the Australian survivalist preference to avoid the potential risks of violent engagements and the unparalleled value they place of their survival preparation resources and systems:

Australian survivalist discussion forum post example indicating some of the realities of being a survivalist, where all actions are well considered and designed to minimise survivalist vulnerabilities, with engaging in defensive / offensive combat actions seen as an extreme risk and done as an absolute last resort:

| sparhawk5
Admin Group

éminence grise

Joined: 01 October 1998
Location: Australia
Online Status: Offline
Posts: 5645 | *Posted: 27 February 2010 at 8:41am.*[561]

WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO BE A SURVIVALIST?

Source: http://www.ezonline.com/ditto/texts/reality.html

Realities of Being a Survivalist

(Getting Past the "Bug Out" Mentality)

Written by Benjamin T. Moore

Those of us who've figured things out to various and lessor degrees, realize the need to prepare for a time in the not to distant future when the society we've become accustom to will no longer be functional. Let's pause a moment and savor the meaning of what I just said. Some people who have not really paused to consider the true ramifications of a societal collapse, look forward to these times with an almost naive glee. Visions of "Red Dawn," fire fights with well armed but incompetent troops, camping out and feasting on venison seem to figure heavily in these ill conceived fantasies.

Let's explore some of these myths. Anyone who has spent anytime in the bush or in actual combat knows that running and gunning is the option of *LAST* resort!!! When things get down to running and gunning your prospects for long term survival have just become tragically thin. Even elite forces such as the Navy Seals, try to avoid "running and gunning." They operate from a base. They are inserted, do their jobs and are extracted back to the safety of their base. In the scenario so often fantasized, it would be like being permanently behind enemy lines with no support, no hope of extraction and no supplies. Could you survive? Some could, but they are few and far between. Even they could not survive for long.

Let's explore the notion of living off the land. The reality is, there isn't enough game except in a few places out west, to support a group of any size for any length of time. By the way, you've got to figure you're not going to be the *ONLY* person or group out there fighting for the limited resources. Small game? How many rabbits will you have to kill to feed your self per day? Per week? How about your family? You're going to run out of rabbits pretty quick in whatever area you happen to be in.

Fishing? That's a good plan if you're near a body of water. But again, you're not going to be the only one with that idea. Suppose you have a good day and harvest a deer, or twenty or thirty fish, how are you going to preserve the meat? You're probably aren't going to be lugging around a refrigerator or a freezer.

What about items you take for granted, like toilet paper? How much are you going to carry with you on a bug-out? There are many things to consider. The closest description of the bug-out experience is the Mountain Man life style. However, it's important to note, even the "Mountain Men" had to come back to society for supplies every so often. When you begin to consider all the ramifications of "bugging-out," the magnitude of what you're attempting begins to become clear. Of course all this becomes a moot point if you become stuck in a traffic jam trying to leave the city, or if you get rounded up at an unexpected road block. A simple rule for survival in these circumstances is, look at what everybody else is doing, and don't do it!

Let's be smart. The best place to be at in a survival situation is your home. |

[561] sparhawk5, 'What Does It Take To Be A Survivalist?', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2010, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=13756&KW=survival+

Your home should be your survival retreat! If it's not, make it into your survival retreat. If it's not suitably located, buy one or build one that is. Even a well conceived and located apartment or condominum can become a survival retreat with some work and planning. The two most powerful assets you can have are storage and concealment. If you want to understand survival, study the masters. The animal kingdom is without exception the best place to learn survival. Almost all animals, as a first line of defense use concealment or camouflage. Even predators such as tigers, cheetahs and lepoards use camouflage to assist in their survival. How can we profit from this strategy? The most important thing we can do as survivalist is to *NOT* draw attention to ourselves. A friend of mine once suggested we join an "intentional" community of like minded people and live in a rural communal setting. Visions of Waco and Ruby Ridge immediately sprang into my mind. I told this friend I'd rather live next door to the Governor. The likelihood of them taking tanks through the Governor's yard to get to me would be extremely slim. Not to mention being able to keep the News Media five miles away! In essence, "bugging-out" is like leaving the safety of the herd. If you've ever seen predators hunt animals in the wild, the first thing they do is cut them off from the protection of the herd. Then they descend on them and rip them to pieces, while the rest of the herd looks on grateful that it's not them being ripped to pieces. Do you see the anology between Waco and Ruby Ridge?

These were people who were cut off from the herd by the government predators and savaged. The rest of society has gone back to grazing, thanking their god it wasn't them. They've even gone so far as to justify what happened by saying these people were extremist. This is very much like what happens in the animal kingdom. Only the sickly and diseased fall prey to the lion. Hence, if people are attacked by our government... they must be politically sick. But enough of this. It is not my intent to give you my political exigesis.

Being a Survivalist is a way of life! It's not just storing away supplies for a rainy day. I'm intrigued by people who spend thousands of dollars on camping equipment, semi-automatic rifles and hand guns, and who don't spend money where it counts. Let me give you some examples. Are you physically fit? How many miles can you run? How many miles can you run with a full pack on your back? Take an honest assessment of your self. Would you feel safe as the cruise ship pulled away from the dock knowing you had brought along your scuba tank, mask and fins, but had never had a swimming lesson and couldnt swim? If so, you'd better check the ship you're sailing on... It might be the Titanic.

The other thing that fascinates me, is the number of arm chair survivalist that spend great time carefully assembling a firearms battery, but don't take the time to become truly proficient with the firearms of their choice. Too many times we trade the illusion of security for reality. The reality is, everything is governed by chance and probability. Our goal should be to turn a low probability of survival into a high probability of survival. I can only shake my head in disbelief at those who spend hundreds of dollars on the finest handgun they can afford - as well they should, how much is your life worth - but then spend $9.95 on a little suede inside the pants holster for it. That holster will most likely get you killed! I practice quick drawing each of my primary pieces at least 100 times per day. I go to the range regularly. I practice quick draw with carry ammunition, that's the ammo I carry for survival and defense at 100 yards. I can draw, fire and *keep* all shots in the kill zone at 100 yards quicker than most of the hollywood enhanced draws you see in the movies.

Does this make me the baddest thing walking? Nope! Because nobody's shooting back! What it does is increase the probability of my chances for survival against someone who's got their nice, shiney, new-in-the-box looking pistol in a 9.95 brown suede inside the pants holster. I'm not worried about the chap who carries an almost new looking pistol in a holster that looks like he just took it out of the plastic. I'm worried about that chap who's pistol has the fine patina of holster wear, the chap who's pistol is scratched and worn. To me he's a far more dangerous foe. It's been said and it's true, beware the

	man that owns one gun... and shoots it!
	Being a survivalist is a way of life. Is your home hardened? Is it stocked and supplied? Are you constantly thinking of ways to manufacture more of the things you go to the store and purchase? If your mate doesn't sew, do you? Could you make a serviceable out fit out of cloth or fabric? Or will you be reduced to foraging for garments if TEOTWAWKI comes in our life time? It certainly looks like it's just around the corner... Being able to "Bug-Out" is good, but it should never become your primary survival strategy!
	If you don't have a hardened place to "Bug-Out" to, you're probably wasteing your time. Your best bet is to harden your home. Don't blow your cover by bragging about your supplies, in fact be extremely cautious about who you allow into your home. If things blow up, you don't want someone who's seen and noted your food stores, showing up on your door step with their family asking to share what you've set aside through your hard labor and sacrifice. The best neighbors are those that mind their own business. Mind yours and insist they mind theirs. You want to develop a support network of people who not only believe the way you do... but who believe strongly enough to act on their beliefs. In a survival situation everyone must pull their own weight.
	Benjamin T. Moore, Jr. (Jian #BlackTech IRC Chat - Efnet)

Australian survivalist discussion forum post example indicating the distinction between the combat attitude of a warrior and that of a survivalist:

Gcs15 Survivalist Joined: 22 September 2005 Location: Australia Online Status: Offline Posts: 1491	*Posted: 23 July 2006 at 5:26pm.*[562] These are my thoughts - not really researched or discussed but here I go anyway **Warrior** - Will go forth to defend his family and his home. Will be proficient in his choice of arms (legal, financial, physical, diplomatic). There will be no doubt that the warrior is engaged in Battle. The warrior will also be willing to go forth and take what he wants / needs. **Survivalist** - A good survivalist will see trouble on the horizon and when trouble arrives, the good survivalist will be safely a good distance away with his family and prep's. An average survivalist will see the trouble at the end of the street and will grab his BOB and family and exit stage left. The "I have a rough idea survivalist" will grab his family and get out with the shirts on their backs. The survivalist will fight and fight hard but only when his back is against the wall. It's not because he is a coward but rather he see's futility in risking his life and that of his family needlessly. The survivalist weapons are his preps and his knowledge and preparedness to bug out before the sheeple. Prompted by the observation that when politicians talk about sacrifice for the common good they are talking about sheeple sacrificing, not themselves or their families whom are all right Jack.

Although the Australian survivalist development path is presented as a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, unlike the established radicalisation pathway models considered in this thesis, it does not include an end stage of development where violent extremist acts are

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[562] Gcs15, 'Survivalist or Warrior?', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2006, (accessed 09 May 2016), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=9076&KW=survivalist

perpetrated. Potentially due to the overriding concern of Australian Militant Survivalists to endure beyond all possible hazards and risks that could place them in direct physical danger, or result in them being prevented from accessing the advantages that their established survival assets and systems afford them, fear of such vulnerabilities may be seen as a likely barrier influence to them engaging in acts of violent extremism.

From the established pathways considered in this thesis it is seen that radicalisation is represented as a process in which individuals are changed to accept that violent activity is justified and ultimately come to participate in violence themselves.[563] Contributing to the debate concerning the issue of non-violent radicalisation, the Australian survivalist development path stands as a potential example of a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process with which it may be possible to test specific hypothesised barrier influences, in an attempt to address the question of why is it that not all individuals who are engaged in radicalisation processes turn to acts of violent extremism.

5.6. Answering the Research Question of this Thesis:

The research question of this thesis may be divided into two parts, [1] in what ways do the factors that drive individuals to develop as Australian survivalists resemble a path towards radicalisation, and [2] how does this contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories?

In answering the first part of the research question, this chapter presented the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, representing an indicator list of the various stages of Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological progression, as the result of the data collection and analysis undertaking of this thesis. Acknowledging scholarly critiques of the assumption of linearity in the radicalisation process [see Section 2.4], the Australian survivalist development path is indeed identified as a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process where individual linear progression through its 12 sequential stages is measured in associated growing threat potential, determined by escalating levels of combat capability and anti-government / anti-society outlook and intent. Movement through the various stages of the Australian survivalist development path was found to be driven by individuals engaging in activities that gradually narrow their outlook,

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[563] Borum., *Radicalization I*, op. cit., p. 13.

social associations and available future behaviour options, which inevitably steer them in the direction of new stages of development that are increasingly uncompromising and ultimately militant.

In answering the second part of the research question, this chapter recognised that the Australian survivalist development path includes seven radicalisation themes that are identified to be reiterated among eight established radicalisation pathway models [see Section 5.4.3.]. Unlike the established radicalisation pathway models examined in this thesis, it is the case that the Australian survivalist development path does not include an end stage of progression where violent extremist acts are perpetrated. Despite the survivalist sub-culture having existed for decades in Australia and its well armed, anti-government and / or anti-society oriented militant members advocating the use of violence to promote their ideology, real physical acts of violence have not yet been committed by anyone from the sub-culture in support of those beliefs. This was suggestive of the Australian survivalist development path as a potential non-violent radicalisation process. Non-violent radicalisation has been theorised as the process by which individuals develop radical views in relation to the status quo but do not engage or aid in violent extremist actions.[564]

With this in mind, the Australian survivalist situation was assessed against four previously hypothesised barrier influences against violent extremist development, *family obligations*, *logistical costs*, *financing* and *fear*.[565] It was identified that *fear* may be a legitimate barrier influence against violent extremist development within the Australian survivalist sub-culture. That is, the research data results support that directly engaging in violent extremist actions against the government or wider society is likely contrary to Australian survivalist ideology, which dictates an overriding concern with taking all necessary preventative measures, including distancing themselves from any potential threats and dangers, to ensure their survival. It was identified that the likely fear of participating in combative actions that could put them in direct danger, or result in them being blocked from accessing their believed life-saving preparation assets and established survival systems, could be an influential factor that deters the militant members of the Australian survivalist sub-culture from perpetrating violent acts. Ultimately, despite the threats and posturing of some

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[564] Bartlett & Miller, loc. cit.

[565] Cragin, op. cit., pp. 337-353.

militant members of the sub-culture, the overall motivation and world view of Australian survivalists is not concerned with seeking changes to current social or political systems through violence, but rather to survive the imminent collapse of those systems when it occurs.

In sum, the Australian survivalist development path is a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, which lacks a progression end stage that includes the perpetration of violent acts; this potentially presents it as a unique progression pathway example that may contribute to debates concerning the validity and significance of non-violent radicalisation processes and theorised barrier influences against violent extremist development.

5.7. Results and Discussion Chapter Summary:

This chapter presented the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, representing an indicator list of the 12 stages of Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological progression, as the result of the data collection and analysis undertaking of this thesis. The Australian survivalist development path was identified as a progression process that depends on individuals engaging in stages of activity which gradually narrows their outlook, social associations and available future behaviour options. Advancements through the stages of the Australian survivalist development path result in growing associated threat potential, measured in escalating levels of combat capability and anti-government / anti-society outlook and intent.

This chapter discussed the likely motivating factors that both inspire individuals to become Australian survivalists and those influences that may drive member progression through the identified stages of the Australian survivalist development path. Fear was identified as a considerable motivator that likely inspires an individual's entry into the Australian survivalist sub-culture, as a way of responding to various future social uncertainties, brought on by perceived threats of human-made or naturally occurring disasters. Fear was further identified as a potential driving force that motivates members of the sub-culture to advance through the sequence of behavioural and ideological survivalist development stages, with each progression level experienced inclusive of a new range of fears for members to consider, which produce specific

behavioural responses and thought processes that inevitably steer them towards the next stage of the path.

This chapter considered the nine established radicalisation pathway models previously examined in the literature review and the radicalisation themes found to be reiterated among those models. Seven radicalisation themes that were reiterated among the established radicalisation pathway models were identified and displayed in a comparison table. Those reiterated radicalisation themes were used to identify similar themes that appear within the range of the behavioural and ideological progression stages of the Australian survivalist development path. All seven reiterated radicalisation themes were found to be present in the Australian survivalist development path, supporting it as a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, though two elements within two of the reiterated radicalisation themes were identified to be absent from the Australian survivalist situation. Those two elements were [1] the presence of religious influences and [2] the inclusion of a progression process end stage that involves the perpetration of violent acts.

While the absence of religious influences in the Australian survivalist development path was found to be a simple matter of them not being relevant to the Australian survivalist situation, the lack of a progression process end stage that includes the perpetration of violent acts was identified as more significant. It was found that the non-existence of a radicalisation pathway end stage where violent acts are perpetrated may be suggestive of the Australian survivalist development path as a non-violent radicalisation process, potentially subject to previously hypothesised influences that act as barriers against violent extremist development.

The Australian survivalist development path, as an example of a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process lacking a progression end stage that includes the execution of violent acts, was assessed against four theorised barrier influences, *family obligations*, *logistical costs*, *financing* and *fear*. It was identified that *fear* may be a potential valid barrier influence against violent extremist development within the Australian survivalist sub-culture. The research data indicates that Australian Militant Survivalists possess and display a fanatical commitment to self preservation and preparedness issues, with an overriding concern to alleviate all possible risks

that could place them in direct physical danger, or result in them being prevented from accessing the advantages that their perceived life-saving established survival supplies and systems afford them. It is therefore probable that the fear of potential vulnerabilities resulting from any self-imposed risk to their safety or situation may be seen as a likely significant barrier to Australian Militant Survivalists engaging in acts of violent extremism.

This chapter concluded by answering the research question of this thesis. The Australian survivalist development path was reiterated as a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, which lacks a progression end stage that includes the perpetration of violent acts, potentially presenting it as a progression pathway example that may contribute to debates concerning the validity and significance of non-violent radicalisation processes and theorised barrier influences against violent extremist development.

Chapter 6: Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations.

6.1. Conclusions Concerning the Main Findings of this Thesis:

This thesis makes a significant original contribution to knowledge, presenting the findings of the first empirical research to be conducted on the Australian survivalist sub-culture. This thesis directly reports on the experiences and interactions of Australian survivalists, which have been observed and established through a summative approach to conducting a qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com. This thesis identified the following three main research findings:

6.1.1. Finding 1: Identification of the Australian Survivalist Development Path.

The data collection and analysis results of this thesis support the survivalist behaviours and beliefs that comprise the 12 stages of the Australian survivalist development path, which are displayed in the following table, Table 20.

Table 20: The Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart.

Stage	Australian Survivalist Behaviour
01	Developing ever-increasing stores of perceived life-saving emergency provisions.
02	Actively seeking preparedness information.
03	Acquiring and maintaining a degree of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills.
04	Participating in online interactions with like-minded people.
05	Using survivalist-specific language and rhetoric.
06	Attending survivalist meetings, camps and training groups for basic skills development.
07	Pursuing proficiencies in war-based training activities.
08	Accumulating multiple firearms and large quantities of ammunition.
09	Fortifying current place of residence to resist anticipated attack [bug in] OR packing / caching survival supplies for use along established escape [bug out] routes to a predetermined location.
10	Establishing self-contained and defendable homesteads, or retreats, on secluded private land.
11	Possessing and promoting an anti-government / anti-society outlook.
12	Making implied or direct anti-government / anti-society violent threats.

Acknowledging scholarly critiques of the assumption of linearity in the radicalisation process [see Section 2.4], the Australian survivalist development path is indeed identified as a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process where individual linear progression through its 12 sequential stages is measured in associated growing threat potential, determined by escalating levels of combat capability and anti-government and / or anti-society outlook and intent. Advancement through the various stages of the Australian survivalist development path is driven by individuals engaging in activities that gradually narrow their outlook, social associations and available future behaviour options, which inevitably steer them in the direction of new stages of progression that are increasingly uncompromising and ultimately militant.

6.1.2. Finding 2: Identification of Three Different Australian Survivalist Member Categories.

The 12 stages of the Australian survivalist development path reveal conspicuous points of behavioural and ideological distinction within the sequence, which delineate various Australian survivalist sub-culture member classes. Using the security risk assessment measurement criteria of *capability* and *intent*, in this case, combat capability and anti-government and / or anti-society outlook or intent, three unique categories of Australian survivalists were identified. Assessing the capability and intent of individuals and groups was recognised as a means used by national security agencies across the world to determine potential threat.[566] Capability in a security context refers to the activities and assets that sustain and allow individuals and groups to conduct successful attack events, while intent refers to their purpose, mindset, or willingness to perform an act.[567] Both capability and intent were acknowledged as being needed within those individuals and groups for them to pose a legitimate risk.[568] As no established names for the Australian survivalist category groupings existed, descriptive titles and definitions based on observed behavioural and ideological boundaries for those three unique survivalist member classes were proposed in this

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[566] S. Cupp, and M, Spight. 'A Homeland Security Model for Assessing US Domestic Threats.' Kaplan University, 2004, p. 3 http://indianstrategicknowledgeonline.com/web/A_Homeland_Security_Model_for_Assessing_US_Domestic_Threats.pdf (accessed 20 August 2016)].

[567] Ibid. p. 4.

[568] Ibid. p. 3.

thesis. The three Australian survivalist category titles suggested were *Preppers*, *Mainstream Survivalists* and *Militant Survivalists*.

Preppers -

The first category of Australian survivalists were labelled as *Preppers*; a term with associated meaning relating to *those who prepare* and a designation used by a number of entry level survivalists to describe themselves.[569] *Preppers* have no combat capability whatsoever and do not possess an anti-government or anti-society outlook. They are individuals who prepare for all types of naturally occurring or human-influenced disaster events, which have the potential to impact upon their current way of life. Preppers promote complete self-reliance by committing to the task of stockpiling amounts of emergency food, water and equipment. In this, *Preppers* work to alleviate their dependence on other people, or the government, for life-saving supplies during hard or dangerous times. Although related to the other two survivalist classes, in that they all accumulate quantities of similar stores, *Preppers* do not have the practiced survival skills or mindset of the members in those other groupings.

Mainstream Survivalists -

The second category of Australian survivalists were labelled as *Mainstream Survivalists*; a term in the literal sense, which identifies the Australian survivalist majority and those typical of the sub-culture. The behaviours and beliefs of *Mainstream Survivalists* result from having first passed through the earlier stages of development restricted to *Preppers*. Members within this grouping can have a combat capability but do not possess an anti-government or anti-society outlook. *Mainstream Survivalists* are individuals who are actively preparing for future collapses in local, national and international social and political order, by stockpiling large amounts of emergency food, water and equipment and in some cases, weapons and ammunition. *Mainstream Survivalists* distinguish themselves from *Preppers* by acquiring and maintaining varying degrees of self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills; including some pursuing proficiencies in war-based training areas, such as, battlefield tactics, combat firearms use, urban and wilderness survival techniques and austere field medical training.

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[569] Old Codger, 'Newbie from Melbourne', [internet discussion forum post], AusSurvivalist.com, 2012, (accessed 22 August 2015), http://www.aussurvivalist.com/forum/forum_posts.asp?TID=16012&KW=Old%5FCodger

Militant Survivalists -

The third category of Australian survivalists were labelled as *Militant Survivalists*; a term in the literal sense, which identifies survivalists advocating the use of violence in support of their life-style and ideology. The behaviours and beliefs of *Militant Survivalists* result from having first passed through the earlier levels of development restricted to *Preppers* and *Mainstream Survivalists*. Members within this grouping have both an advanced combat capability and a concentrated anti-government and / or anti-society outlook. *Militant Survivalists* are individuals who share an extreme self-preservation philosophy, which sets them apart from others within the larger survivalist collective. *Militant Survivalists* are intensely anti-government and look upon politicians, police and other representatives of authority as an enemy focused on controlling them by slowly diminishing their freedoms. Australian *Militant Survivalists* also despise present day society, which they believe is populated by a majority of weak and ignorant conformists. It is the case that *Militant Survivalists* not only prepare for the decline of civilization but openly desire it.

6.1.3. Finding 3: Contribution to the Discourse Concerning Non-Violent Radicalisation.

The Australian survivalist development path was presented as a radicalisation process, which includes seven identified radicalisation themes that are reiterated among eight established radicalisation pathway models. Unlike the established radicalisation pathway models, the Australian survivalist development path does not include an end stage of progression where violent extremist acts are perpetrated. It was identified that despite the survivalist sub-culture having existed for decades in Australia and its well armed, anti-government and / or anti-society oriented militant members advocating the use of violence to promote their ideology, real physical acts of violence have not yet been committed by anyone from the sub-culture in support of those beliefs. This is suggestive of the Australian survivalist development path as a non-violent radicalisation process, potentially subject to previously theorised influences that act as barriers against violent extremist development. In contributing to the discourse concerning the validity and significance of non-violent radicalisation processes, in which individuals develop radical views but do not engage in violent extremist actions,[570] the Australian survivalist development path, as a

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[570] Bartlett & Miller, op. cit., p. 2.

potential example of such a process, was assessed against four hypothesised barrier influences against violent extremist development, *family obligations*, *logistical costs*, *financing* and *fear*.[571] Given their fanatical commitment to self preservation and their overriding dedication to a preparedness life-style, it was identified as probable that the fear of potential vulnerabilities resulting from any self-imposed risk to the Militant Survivalist's safety or situation may be a potential valid barrier influence against violent extremist development within the Australian survivalist sub-culture.

Reaching the three previously specified main findings was the result of a considered research planning and implementation process, which is presented and discussed as follows:

6.2. Conclusions Concerning How the Findings of this Thesis were Achieved:

The objective of this thesis was to examine the under-researched Australian survivalist sub-culture, by ascertaining in what ways the factors that drive individuals to develop as Australian survivalists resemble a path towards radicalisation and by determining how that development process may contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation theories. To achieve this objective, a literature review was first conducted which focused on two key themes, survivalism, from an international and Australian perspective and radicalisation theories, specifically those theories relevant to individual and group radicalisation pathway models. The review considered the content of both international and Australian-specific survivalism literature and literature that focused on accepted theoretical models of individual and group radicalisation processes, identifying seven radicalisation themes reiterated among those models. The literature review determined that a significant gap existed in the current understanding of the Australian survivalist sub-culture, demonstrated by a clear absence of any considered published works or empirical studies relating to the Australian survivalist subject. Understanding the paucity of the Australian survivalism literature established the need to go beyond the examination of the available limited published material and directly observe the Australian survivalist sub-culture to understand the development path of its members.

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[571] Cragin, op. cit., pp. 342-348.

In addressing the need to directly observe the Australian survivalist sub-culture, it was decided to use a summative approach to conducting a qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at Australia's largest survivalist-specific Internet discussion forum, at aussurvivalist.com. This unobtrusive research methodology was justified by both the absence of Australian survivalism-related published works and recognised impracticalities of engaging with Australian survivalists directly to achieve unbiased data results. In support of using an unobtrusive qualitative analysis of Internet discussion content, an established precedent of such means being successfully employed as a research method in the construction of a doctoral dissertation, which dealt specifically with the study of the United States survivalist sub-culture, was identified.[572] Lee'Ann Imel-Hartford, in her 2012 PhD dissertation, titled *The Preppers: A Multiple Case Study of Individuals Who Choose a Moderate Survivalist Lifestyle*,[573] employed a qualitative analysis of the posted content found in five survivalist Internet blogs, as a research method to ascertain common themes in that space, which relate to the United States Prepper way of life.[574] By establishing a system of coding, which identified reoccurring Prepper / survivalist themes within Internet blog text,[575] and qualitatively analysing that content, Imel-Hartford was able to identify the behavioural and ideological qualities of United States Preppers, which exist in contrast to those of committed United States survivalists.[576] Imel-Hartford's research processes and results were of relevance to this thesis, demonstrating the potential success of such unobtrusive analysis methods being applied to examine the textual interactions of Australian survivalist entities online.

The analysis of the aussurvivalist.com forum text data was undertaken to identify common Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, reflective of potential stages of Australian survivalist development. Concerning the sample size to be used in the content analysis, it was decided that given the scope of the thesis, the nature of its objectives and the quality of the direct first-person Australian survivalist accounts that are accessible from the aussurvivalist.com source, 10 percent of the forum's overall registered membership, that is 125 Australian survivalists, was a suitable

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[572] Imel-Hartford, op. cit., pp. 1-109.

[573] Ibid.

[574] Ibid. p. 78.

[575] Ibid. pp. 60-61.

[576] Ibid. p. 67.

sample size to gather the appropriate data required for this research work. Analysing the open-source content of the aussurvivalist.com forum, as an important Australian survivalist communications hub, allowed for a detailed retrospective longitudinal study to be made of the development of Australian survivalist individuals in that space, including the identification of changes to their directly reported or inferred activities and attitudes, since the time of the forum's creation in 2001.

The data results obtained from the forum content identified 12 common Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological development stages, with an order of succession determined by associated levels of increasing threat severity and validated by the chronology of the behaviours, as they were first displayed in the forum posts of 86.4% of individuals in the 125 member sample. Functioning as components of an overall Australian survivalist development path, the 12 ordered stages were identified as steps of a likely progression process where individuals engage in levels of activity which gradually narrow their outlook, social associations and available future behaviour options. Fear was identified as a potential significant and constant underlying motivator, likely to drive members of the sub-culture through the sequence of Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological progression stages, with each development stage inclusive of a new range of fears for members to consider, which produce specific behavioural responses and thought processes that inevitably steer them towards the next level of the path.

The 12 stages of the Australian survivalist behavioural and ideological progression pathway, expressed in a table format, created an *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*. Regarding specific examples of Australian survivalists that had experienced all 12 stages of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart*, three such survivalists within the 125 aussurvivalist.com forum member sample were identified. Establishing that just three survivalists from the 125 member group had reached the final stage of the *Development Path Chart* indicated that more militant Australian survivalist members are likely represented in small numbers, certainly within the 125 forum member sample, and potentially within the sub-culture as a whole. The three members identified were examined as case studies, supporting the validity of the *Australian Survivalist*

Development Path Chart sequence and confirming the escalating nature of the Australian survivalist behaviours and beliefs, as reflected in the progressive forum post content.

The sequence of stages in the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* was examined for specific points of behavioural and ideological change which delineate different Australian survivalist member categories. Using the security risk assessment measurement criteria of *capability* and *intent*, referring to potential combat capability and anti-government and / or anti-society outlook or intent, the 12 points of the *Australian Survivalist Development Path Chart* were found to have contained clear behavioural and ideological distinctions that separate three different survivalist groupings. As no established names for those Australian survivalist category groupings existed, descriptive titles and definitions, based on observed behavioural and ideological boundaries, for those three unique survivalist member classes were proposed. The three Australian survivalist category titles suggested were *Preppers*, *Mainstream Survivalists* and *Militant Survivalists*. It was determined that while the actions of *Preppers* begin and end with the storing of emergency supplies, the goals of *Mainstream Survivalists* differ in that they seek to obtain a degree of additional self-defence knowledge and self-sufficiency skills, to be employed during and after a potential societal collapse has occurred. In contrast to the seemingly moderate behavior of both *Preppers* and *Mainstream Survivalists*, Australian *Militant Survivalists* were identified as a smaller, *radical* element within the sub-culture that promotes an extreme self-preservation philosophy. *Militant Survivalists* encourage a hardline approach to survival issues and see the foreign and domestic policies of the Australian Government as a genuine threat to their continued existence. They stockpile weapons and ammunition and pursue proficiencies in war-based activities, such as battlefield tactics, combat firearms use and austere field medical training. It was determined that it is their significant combat capability combined with a concentrated anti-government and / or anti-society outlook that highlights Australian *Militant Survivalists* as a potential domestic risk.

The established radicalisation pathway models first examined in the literature review and the radicalisation themes found to be reiterated among those models were considered in relation to the Australian survivalist development path. Seven radicalisation themes that were reiterated

among the established radicalisation pathway models were identified within the behavioural and ideological progression stages of the Australian survivalist development path, supporting it as a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process. Two elements within two of the identified reiterated radicalisation themes were found to be absent from the Australian survivalist situation. Those two elements were [1] the presence of religious influences and [2] the inclusion of a progression process end stage that involves the perpetration of violent acts.

While the absence of religious influences in the Australian survivalist development path was found to be a straightforward matter of them not being relevant to the Australian survivalist situation, the lack of a progression process end stage that includes the perpetration of violent acts was identified as significant. From the established radicalisation pathways considered in this thesis, radicalisation can be seen as representative of a process in which individuals are changed to accept that violent activity is justified and ultimately come to participate in violence themselves.[577] It was found that the non-existence of a radicalisation pathway end stage where violent acts are finally perpetrated may be suggestive of the Australian survivalist development path as a non-violent radicalisation process and potentially subject to previously theorised influences that act as barriers against violent extremist development.

The Australian survivalist development path, as an example of a sub-culturally relative radicalisation process lacking a progression end stage that includes the execution of violent acts, was assessed against four theorised barrier influences, *family obligations*, *logistical costs*, *financing* and *fear*. It was identified that *fear* may be a likely valid barrier influence against violent extremist development within the Australian survivalist sub-culture. The research data indicated that Australian Militant Survivalists possess and display a seemingly fanatical commitment to self preservation and preparedness issues, with an overriding concern to eliminate or alleviate all possible risks that could place them in direct physical danger, or result in them being prevented from accessing the advantages that their established survival supplies and systems afford them. Recognising this, it was suggested as probable that the fear of potential vulnerabilities resulting

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[577] Borum., *Radicalization I*, op. cit., p. 13

from any self-imposed risk to their safety or situation may be seen as a likely significant barrier to Australian Militant Survivalists engaging in acts of violent extremism.

This thesis answered the research question, in what ways do the factors that drive individuals to develop as Australian survivalists resemble a path towards radicalisation and how does this contribute to current debates concerning radicalisation pathway theories? The Australian survivalist development path is supported as a likely sub-culturally relative radicalisation process, which includes seven identified radicalisation themes that are reiterated among eight established radicalisation pathway models; though unlike those established pathway models, the Australian survivalist radicalisation process lacks an end stage that includes the perpetration of violent acts. This presents the Australian survivalist development path as a potential behavioural and ideological progression pathway example that may contribute to debates concerning the significance and validity of non-violent radicalisation processes and theorised barrier influences which act against violent extremist development.

6.3. Implications of the Research:

This work contributes to addressing some of the media driven misconceptions and perpetuated misleading stereotypes concerning the Australian survivalist life-style. In addition, this thesis can be looked upon as laying the groundwork for further scholarly study of the Australian survivalist situation, which may lead to an advanced understanding of a predominantly unknown contemporary Australian sub-culture.

This research work has academic implications for understanding radicalisation and contributes to refining scholarly ideas about how the process works when introducing likely barrier influences which act against violent extremist development. Moreover, this thesis supports the validity of theorised non-violent radicalisation processes and adds weight to the scholarly discourse concerning the subject, with the Australian survivalist example.

Beyond academic interest, this thesis has practical implications for law enforcement agencies. A significant concern for law enforcement personnel, when considering domestic extremist entities,

is distinguishing between those individuals and groups who represent a legitimate threat and those who are not willing or likely to break the law and commit to acts of violence.[578] This thesis identifies that there are different categories of Australian survivalists, with the great majority of members far removed from possessing the anti-government and / or anti-society intent typical of those who are likely to perpetrate violent acts. Understanding the behavioural and ideological distinctions between the Australian survivalist member categories may afford law enforcement agency commanders a greater appreciation of the diverse operating procedures and resources required for their police units to successfully and safely engage with different survivalist personalities. For first responder police, those most likely to initially confront a violent extremist, being able to distinguish between the various member classes of the Australian survivalist sub-culture may result in a more appropriate tactical options response to survivalists who are not likely to present a threat to officer safety.

6.4. Limitations of the Research:

As there has been no scholarly analysis of Australian survivalism prior to this work and due to the focused research effort in meeting with specific goals in this thesis, there is considerable scope for future investigation of the larger Australian survivalist subject, which may potentially address some of the identified limitations of this first study of the Australian survivalist sub-culture.

Those identified limitations include the present impracticalities of academics engaging directly with various members of the Australian survivalist sub-culture to achieve unbiased data results. It was identified that there is a likely common and considerable distrust of academics by Australian survivalists, based on a perception that given the opportunity, the Australian survivalist situation would be adversely reported by university scholars, as it had been with numerous media interests in the past. It was identified that the use of individual interactive case studies, interviews, questionnaires and surveys as impartial research methods to study the Australian survivalist sub-culture is not currently likely, given that such methods would be reliant on the cooperation of Australian survivalists themselves, a number of which have fervently expressed their disdain for and disinclination to work with academics. Though the choice to conduct an unobtrusive

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[578] Clark, op. cit., p. 118.

qualitative content analysis of Australian survivalist discussion forum text was argued as and remains the best option currently available to achieve an objective assessment of the sub-culture, finding ways in the future to overcome inbuilt Australian survivalist prejudices against academics and ways to directly engage with them to obtain usable data, which may compliment and corroborate the results obtained through unobtrusive methods, would be ideal.

In regard to limitations identified within the processes that were employed to obtain usable research data for this thesis, the sample size for the qualitative content analysis of the publicly posted material displayed at the aussurvivalist.com Internet discussion forum may be considered. It was decided that given the scope of the thesis, the nature of its objectives and the quality of the direct Australian survivalist accounts that are accessible from the aussurvivalist.com source, 10 percent of the forum's overall registered membership, that is 125 Australian survivalists, was a suitable sample size to gather the appropriate data required for this research work. While the participant sample size used was appropriate to achieve the desired outcomes of this thesis, any future research work employing a similar methodology could only benefit from a greater sample size that could potentially lead to a more statistically strengthened study.

Another limitation may be found in the reliance of this research work upon individual pathway models to consider radicalisation theories. While it was the specific purpose of employing ideological and behavioural process models to determine reiterated radicalisation themes, as individual influence models represent a mechanism of historic academic constancy in attempts made to understand radicalisation processes, it is acknowledged that the scope of radicalisation concepts and theories exceeds the content expressed in linear pathway models. In taking the approach of focusing on process models, as a concentrated pool from which to draw upon well considered radicalisation theories and themes, this thesis provides a starting point for additional research to be conducted, looking beyond the use of progression models to explore other elements of radicalisation.

6.5. Recommendations for Further Study:

Though this thesis represents the first study to be conducted concerning Australian survivalism based on empirical research, it should really be looked upon as the first stage of a much needed larger and further scholarly examination of the relatively unexplored contemporary Australian survivalist sub-culture. Potentially having value in academic disciplines such as anthropology, criminology, psychology, sociology and security studies, among others, further research of the Australian survivalist sub-culture may contribute to a greater understanding of a lifestyle choice, which to date has only ever been outwardly represented as predominantly separatist in its philosophy, rebellious in its discourse and paramilitary in its behaviour.

Some Australian survivalist subject areas that are recommended for further research include, [1] the origins and historical evolution of the Australian survivalist sub-culture, [2] the online networks of Australian survivalists; identifying the complexity, extent and influence of Australian survivalist Internet communication and lifestyle promotion arrangements, [3] the effects of influential modern media entertainment mechanisms on Australian survivalist recruitment and development; examining the commercial and popular culture influences which potentially play a part in perpetually refreshing survivalist fears for the future and reinforcing their need to participate in a variety of preparation behaviours, [4] global survivalist sub-cultural comparisons; investigating the similarities and differences between the Australian survivalist sub-culture and other international survivalist movements, and [5] Australian Militant Survivalists as a potential domestic extremist risk; exploring in detail their psychology and behaviours, possible catalysts that could see them override barriers that may prevent violent extremist development and the resulting security challenges that are presented by such potential anti-government and anti-society threats.

6.6. Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations Chapter Summary:

This chapter presented conclusions concerning the main findings of this thesis, as an answer to the overarching research question and conclusions relating to the thesis research planning and implementation process, which determined how the findings of this research work were achieved. This chapter reiterated the contribution to knowledge that this thesis makes through its three main findings, [1] the identification of an Australian survivalist development path, [2] the identification of

three different Australian survivalist sub-culture member categories, and [3] the contribution of this research work to the discourse concerning non-violent radicalisation processes and theorised barrier influences which may act against violent extremist development. This chapter identified academic implications of this thesis, presenting it as laying the groundwork for any potential future studies of the Australian survivalist situation, and examined possible practical implications that sections of this thesis may have for law enforcement agencies, relating to behavioural and ideological differences between survivalist member categories that may dictate different levels of threat potential. This chapter considered the limitations of the research, in respect of the methods available to study the Australian survivalist sub-culture without bias and how any following unobtrusive studies of the Australian survivalist situation may be statistically strengthened by increased participant samples. Lastly, this chapter made specific recommendations for further study, encouraging this thesis to be looked upon as the first stage of a much needed larger scholarly examination of the predominantly unexplored contemporary Australian survivalist sub-culture.

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