Radicalization and Lone Wolf Terrorism

A case study of right-wing terrorists

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v

Declaration

I, Lars Endal, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature…………………………………………………………………..

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

The lone wolf terrorism issue is a difficult problem to understand and the tactic has gained increased attention in the last decade. It is, however, a less researched field compared to other kinds of terrorism research. The field of radicalization and extremism has focused mainly on individuals who join terrorist groups or networks and the radicalization processes that are characteristic for groups. By using process tracing to qualitatively assess two right-wing lone wolves, this case study seeks to supplement the current research on lone wolf terrorism, in order to broaden the understanding of what makes an individual carry out an attack alone.

The aim of this thesis has thus been to investigate how lone wolves emerge, especially with regards to internal thought-processes and behavior. Their motivations and social environment has been analyzed to understand more about their life and possible events that may have influenced them into carrying out their terror attacks. The two cases were selected from different time periods and cultures, and the analysis has tested one general theory on the radicalization process of terrorism and one specific theory on the radicalization of lone wolves.

The theories could overall describe the two selected cases well, and the findings of this thesis are thus additional empirical evidence that the theories are valid. The two cases differ somewhat in motivations, but still followed approximately the same process. There were three distinct commonalities that drove the cases to use violence. First, they both grew up in dysfunctional environments, thus producing insecurity and various degrees of paranoia. Second, they were both ignored and they did not feel that their right to be heard was acknowledged. Third, the use of violence may have been a way to portray themselves as something greater than themselves, where the act would represent their commitment to their cause. It is important to note that their motivations are *perceived* transgressions against them or the group they identify positively with.

Table of contents

xiii

Abbreviations

AUF – Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking (Worker's Youth League)

EDL – English Defence League

Europol – European Union for Law Enforcement Cooperation

FpU – Fremskrittspartiets Ungdom (Progress Party Youth)

FrP – Fremskrittspartiet (Progress Party)

IED – Improvised Explosive Device

NOK – Norwegian Kroner

NOU – Norske Offentlige Utredninger

PST – Politiets sikkerhetstjeneste (Norwegian Police Security Service)

SERE - Survival, Evasion, Resistance and Escape

SSBU – Statens Senter for Barne- og Ungdomspsykiatri

ZOG – Zionist Occupation Government

List of figures

"My target wasn't Northside or any particular employee of Northside; my target was the institution of abortion itself. ... abortion isn't a common crime; it's an institution of mass murder supported by the full power of the Washington government." (Rudolph 2013, p. 26)

"Multiculturalism (cultural Marxism/political correctness), as you might know, is the root cause of the ongoing Islamisation of Europe which has resulted in the ongoing Islamic colonization of Europe through demographic warfare (facilitated by our own leaders) ... Everyone can and should contribute in one way or the other; it's just a matter of will."
– Andrew Berwick[1], from his compendium *2083 – A European Declaration of Independence*
(Berwick, 2011, p. 9)

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[1] The pseudonym Anders Behring Breivik used in his manifesto.

1 Introduction

The lone wolf terrorist[1] has gained wide-spread media attention in the last couple of years, mostly because of the amount of Islamist terror attacks (BBC 19th August 2016), but also because of the attacks in Norway on 22nd of July 2011, when right-wing extremist Anders Behring Breivik killed 77 people in two successive attacks. This terrorist attack is the largest attack on the Norwegian political apparatus and society since the German invasion on 9th of April 1940. This attack prompted a full-scale investigation and debate regarding the failed Norwegian preparedness for these types of attacks and why his intentions was not discovered (NOU 2012). The attack produced a new perspective on terrorism in Europe as the European Police Chief Convention Working Group of 2011 (EPCC 2011, p. 1) asserted: "*The changing dynamics in our societies, together with technological advances, may encourage isolated, disaffected individuals to turn into violent extremists, to the extreme of becoming 'lone wolf' terrorists*". Statistically, these attacks are relatively rare, as well as being less deadly than attacks carried out by groups. In one of the most comprehensive studies of solo terrorists, which examined all terrorist incidents between 1968 and 2010 in 15 countries, only 198 (1,8%) of them were carried out by lone wolves (Spaaij 2012). As well as being less frequent, the study also explains the low lethality in these attacks. This is due to the disconnect between intention and capability, since the bar for carrying out a violent act is quite high, thus demotivating the individual from carrying out the attack. Furthermore, the number of attacks by lone wolves have increased after the 11th of September attacks in New York, but the lethality has not. (Hamm & Spaaij 2017).

The lone wolves are hard to discover, mostly because of their tendency to isolate themselves. On the other hand, there is a growing debate whether lone wolves exist or not (Aftenposten 10th April 2017; Foreign Affairs 26th July 2016; Foreign Affairs 27th March 2017). This phenomenon is a critical issue for society and the agencies that maintains security, as understanding the different threats may help to disrupt or prevent terror attacks. The focus has been, both in academia and society in general, on Islamist movements and their impact in recent years. Law enforcement agencies claim that Islamist movements continue to pose the greatest threats to security, both in regard to the ability to carry out attacks, but also inspiring through the use of mass media (EUROPOL 2017; PST 2018; US Department of State 2017). With the statistical data provided by Spaaij (2012), this assumption is valid and the war on terror and the threat posed by people influenced by different Islamist movements should continue to be the main focus, but it is important to maintain attention at other extremist

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[1] For a definitional debate on this term, see section 2.3.

ideologies, so they are not neglected. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the motivation and the process into committing acts like these based on a right-wing ideology.

The two right-wing terrorist cases this study will examine are Eric Rudolph and Anders Behring Breivik. Eric Rudolph was responsible for the Centennial Olympic Park bomb in Atlanta during the Summer Olympic Games in 1996. He then planted three more bombs the next two years, one outside a lesbian nightclub and the two others outside abortion clinics. This was in order to hurt the government and the liberal establishment for its abortion laws (CNN Library, 8th September 2017). The other case is Anders Behring Breivik, as was introduced earlier, but his reasons were to fight "multiculturalism" (Berwick, 2011). These two cases are important, because the perpetrators have the same modus operandi (acting alone and using bombs) and they both blame "the system" for the decline in moral values linked to race or ethnicity and/or a change in society. They both wanted society to revert to a time where their personal moral values stood stronger. However, they claim to represent different segments of society and their justifications for their actions are different.

The objective of this study is thus to understand the radicalization processes individuals may go through to become an extremist, and what motivations and reasons that makes them use violent acts to reach their goal. There are three distinct, yet undeniably linked fields that needs to be examined. First, the psychological events and thought processes that lead an individual into a radicalization process. Second, the sociological environment these individuals are situated in, and third, the political and structural factors they are affected by. This thesis concerns itself with the radicalization process of right-wing lone wolf terrorism and what may characterize a lone wolf terrorist. Through a case study of the two lone wolves, the aim is to understand how an individual may radicalize and go from peaceful extremist to violent terrorist. The research questions for this thesis was chosen because of the overall amount of research and focus in the media on Islamist terrorism that was discovered in the preliminary research for this thesis. I thought it important to enlighten one of the other extremist ideologies and understand what factors affect the individuals that are drawn to them. However, as this case study is supposed to test two theories, the causation limits itself to the two cases. Generalization is thus not possible, but the aim is to gain a better understanding of the processes. This led me to develop the following research questions:

How are the motivations that the selected cases of right-wing lone wolf terrorists base themselves on created?

Why did these individuals go from "peaceful" extremists to violent terrorists?

How were the two cases being influenced into carrying out an attack?

The scope of this issue is fairly broad, but this thesis limits itself to the two chosen cases. The cases have been chosen to see if there is any possibility of drawing cross-case conclusions across different contexts, as they are from two different countries and they carried out their attacks at different points in time. The two cases have to be examined in different contextual light, as they happened before and after the 11th September attacks in New York. The case of Anders Behring Breivik also needs special attention when it comes to the role of the Internet, as he was affected by other extremists' actions online. Furthermore, radicalization is a collective term for processes that generally applies to most extremist beliefs, but this thesis does not compare across ideological boundaries unless it is important for the understanding of right-wing lone wolf terrorism.

The next chapter outlines the literature review where previous and current research has been described. Chapter three explains the theoretical frameworks for the thesis, which will be assessed by examining the two cases. Chapter four describes the methodology chosen for this study and why it is relevant. Chapter five is divided into two sections which analyze the cases of Eric Rudolph and Anders Behring Breivik, while chapter six is a cross-case analysis of the case reports linked to the theoretical framework. The last chapter will summarize and present the findings and conclusions of the thesis.

2 Literature review

2.1 Radicalization

Radicalization and extremism are debated terms, as there is contention regarding how and when it happens. These terms are perceived differently and, according to some, radicalization happens to most people at one point in their life without their knowledge. Radicalization is thus not necessarily a process, with fixed start- and endpoints, but a development of the individual's thought and behavior in which the individual radicalize and deradicalize constantly (Bailey & Edwards 2017; McCauley & Moskalenko 2014). Using McCauley & Moskalenko (in Fenstermacher 2010, p. 82), radicalization can be defined as: *"changes in belief, feelings and behavior in the direction of increased support for a political conflict"*. Using this definition, Bailey & Edwards (2017) argue that one does not exclude either violent or non-violent radicalization in conceptualizing the issue, since the individual follows paths of legality and illegality as opposed to crossing an imaginary line between law-abiding citizen and terrorist. Following the first logic, the individual may then also transition into deradicalization. Others argue that radicalization follows distinct paths. Crone (2016) argues that an individual is either an "extremist by thought" or an "extremist by method", whereas the former adheres to extreme ideas and is based on an ideological reasoning, while the latter is a form of extremism where the individual has accepted or is ready to accept violence as means. Furthermore, Bartlett & Miller (2012) argue that there are four different elements that lead to violent action or not. First, the individual must be subject to an emotional "pull" that leads them to act in the face of perceived injustice. This "pull" is usually based on a narrative of "us versus them", where the individual identifies with a certain group which is unjustly attacked. Second, a sense of thrill, excitement and coolness of the act drives an individual into using violence as a means, often after being influenced by material produced by other extremists. Third, a feeling of status and adherence to an internal code of honor is created after being influenced by other extremists. Fourth, the individual is subjected to peer pressure that furthers their extremist beliefs and push them into violent actions.

However, Horgan (2014) argues that the term radicalization has become ambiguous and is thus subjectively interpreted. The term can be both broad and specific, but the main problem is that there is a split between interpreting the term as a process or as causation. Furthermore, the term has been popularized and widely used as "common sense", yet talking of "radical", "radicalism" or "radicalization" in one context is not necessarily the same in another. Horgan mentions that "radical reform" is positive, but "Islamic radicalism" is not, thus making it hard to operationalize the term. However, by making a distinction between the two core themes in radicalization research, namely radical *views* and radical *action*, it is possible to ground the term in strong theory using other

conceptions. This is important, because an individual that holds radical views, may not act upon them through violent action, and those who do act, may not hold any strong ideological views. Additionally, Horgan argues that one should strive to move away from thinking of radicalization as indicative of a "state" or "condition", but rather as a process. This way, factors that intertwine in maintaining involvement, sustaining commitment and contributing to carrying out acts of terrorism can be identified. Root causes are thus important, because they can be regarded as preconditions or possible triggers to engage in terrorism, however, not as causal factors.

One theory on radicalization is Moghaddam's (2005) staircase theory. He claims that an individual can ascend through six "floors", where each floor represents certain behavior. The metaphor is meant to represent the different levels an individual may climb dependent on their perspective of what their options are. The individual decides where to stop, if they believe their options are spent. The individual is faced with fewer and fewer alternatives as they ascend the staircase, based on rational choices, in which terrorism is the final and last option. However, Moghaddam has been criticized by Lygre, Eid, Larsson and Ranstorp (2011) for not explaining the transitions more thoroughly, as well as not referring to his sources. The individuals that are situated in this staircase have the ability to move up and down, but at the same time are not able to bypass steps. The conditions for the previous "floor" must be met, before the individual can ascend. What is problematic with this is that the conditions on the three last steps can be viewed as parallel processes because of their similarities, and the theory thus contradicts itself. Lygre et al. (2011) further argue that step three and four are empirically weak steps, as they found little to no evidence that links these two to terrorism. Additionally, the staircase theory is ethically and practically impossible to test in full and is thus hard to prove.

Dalgaard-Nielsen (2008) argues that there are three major schools of approach in radicalization theory. The first is the sociological approach, where for example the hypothesis of relative deprivation is one of the most famous. According to this hypothesis, terrorism emerge when people perceive a relative deprivation of cultural, social or economic benefits they feel entitled to. Another is the frustration-aggression theory, which posits that terrorism is a response to oppression. A third theory is that individuals need to avenge a transgression that has been committed against them. However, these explanations have been criticized because terrorism still is a marginal phenomenon even though millions live in frustrating conditions. Dalgaard-Nielsen (2008) thus proposes a modification to these theories in which she claims that terrorism emerge from a *perceived* transgression, whether it is obstructing ambitions or is a result of a humiliation. Thus, imagined humiliation or humiliation by

proxy become important factors. Furthermore, the theory on social learning claims that behavior learned from observation and imitation of an aggressive model explains an individual's turn to violence. People who are exposed to aggressive models, such as growing up in conflict zones or in certain subcultures that glorify violence, are particularly inclined to use violence as a means to meet their ends. On the other hand, this theory has been subject to the same scrutiny as the relative deprivation hypothesis, because it lacks an explanation for why only a minority exposed to aggressive models use violence. Dalgaard-Nielsen argues that sociological models cannot stand alone in an explanation for terrorism, as they cannot explain why only a minority use violence.

This leads us to the approaches at the individual level (Dalgaard-Nielsen 2008). One such theory is the Narcissism Theory, where an individual is neglected by their parents at infancy, which prevents the development of healthy morality, self-image and identity as an adult. This may result in the individual developing narcissistic fantasies of grandiose nature or immerse themselves in a group, making a strong group identity serve as their identity. Terrorism is thus a result of these individuals' projections of anger and frustrations outwards unto the surrounding society. Another is the Paranoia Theory, where internal problematic feelings are blamed on something external. The paranoia that the individual experience materialize itself by using violence on the perceived enemy in order for them to "protect" themselves or the idea they believe in. The same reaction is prominent in Absolutist and Apocalyptic Theory, where the perceived annihilation of the individual described by a conspiracy theory legitimize the use of violence. These four theories are based on Freudian psychodynamics, which argues that mental life is shaped in early childhood development. Unresolved tension in a child's psyche can result in either repression or projection, where the latter may be expressed through violence on an external object. The last theory Dalgaard-Nielsen refer to on the individual level is Identity Theory, which posits that ideology may help form a young adult's identity. The ideology may work as an "identity stabilizer" if the individual struggles to fit in a larger community and the use of violence may be justified by claiming they "defend" their ideology. The last major approach, according to Dalgaard-Nielsen (2008), is the group processes. These processes argue that there is a "psychology of rewards" instead of a "psychology of needs". When an individual becomes a part of the group, ideological indoctrination, peer pressure and repetitive behavior create the inclination towards violence. The goal is thus to be rewarded by the other group members in the form of acceptance. However, Dalgaard-Nielsen argues that a combination of several of these factors may strengthen the effect of chance encounters. Becoming a terrorist is thus possibly a result of being at the wrong place at the wrong time, along with a propensity for being influenced.

2.2 Right-wing extremism

According to Holbrook & Taylor (in Taylor, Currie & Holbrook (eds.) 2013) and Strømmen (2013), right-wing extremism is a way of classifying people with meanings along a spectrum based on left, center and right. However, right-wing political views are more nuanced than this. Right-wing extremism is, in today's sense, an umbrella term that fathoms groups or political views that targets specific actors and communities who are blamed for the failed ambitions and grievances of the adherents. These groups or political views include, but are not limited to, neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic groups, racists (often represented by white supremacy groups), anti-jihad, nationalist movements and religious movements (often Christian). The targets of these extremists include left-wing and liberal activists or politicians, non-white races, immigrants, homosexuals, multiculturalists, Muslims, Jews and the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG) or "traitors", meaning people who have failed to support the particular group in question. Holbrook & Taylor further argues, that radicalization of right-wing extremists has increased in recent years, as a result of the focus on Islamist-inspired violence. This may lead to reciprocal radicalization, meaning that when right-wing extremist groups that are anti-Islamic emerge, the radicalization in certain Islamic communities will grow, thus creating a spiral of radicalization.

Koehler (2014) argues that some scholars think that one can use a form of "profiling" where certain factors, and the combination of these, turn an individual into an extremist. Koehler thinks this is the wrong path in which to assess radicalization, as it is deterministic and assumes that the chosen factors lead to radicalization, when in fact there is a multitude of factors and combinations. Koehler (26th June 2015) holds the view that radicalization is a process of de-pluralization of society, where individuals manifest a notion that there is no other alternative to their specific political concepts. The more de-pluralized an individual, the more advanced the radicalization process. This in itself is not a problem, but when it is combined with ideologies that seeks to deny individual freedom to certain groups of society that is not a part of the individual's group, or is incompatible with the political culture or ideology of its environment, it pushes the individual towards action. Specific religious, societal or political issues are defined and contextualized at the beginning of a radicalization process, usually within the context of a group's or an individual's experiences and background, trying to link global issues with micro-societal issues. By using targeted propaganda to alter the political concepts and values of individuals, they gradually shift the focus from competing issues to theirs. Through the propaganda, there is also a call to action which stresses the lack of viable options to reach their vision of a better future. Thus, de-pluralization does not only change the solutions and goals, but shape political concepts and values for individuals, which ultimately change their worldview.

Koehler (2014) breaks the research of right-wing extremism into three aspects that have been problematic. The first is the "center-edge dichotomy" in which right-wing extremism is opposed to the "normal" democratic center. Extremism thus becomes an enemy of democracy or suitable for those on the edges of the political spectrum. However, this provides a problem when linking theory and reality, as it implies that right-wing extremism is clearly disconnected from the center and the edges and that right-wing extremism is a phenomenon that only occurs on the edge. The second dichotomy is the right-left opposition, where the edges are equally opposed to the democratic center and therefore seen as "extremes". The ideology of hostility towards constitutions is the main criteria for this theory, and in the process, it blurs the differences between left and right. The third aspect is the theory versus praxis which in essence is analyzing the two aforementioned dichotomies together. Koehler therefore claim that right-wing extremism is various ideologies that encompass the social reality of individuals that claim political affiliation on the grounds of biological and/or ethnical-cultural criteria. The right-wing extremists seek to implement non-democratic forms of government and suspend civil rights and freedoms for those that do not meet the criteria of the "superior" group.

2.3 Lone wolf terrorism

There is no one definition of lone wolf terrorism[2], which makes it important to discuss the implications of using the term "lone wolf" and how it differs from the other terms like "solo" terrorism, "lone actor" terrorism and "lone offender" terrorism. In an article published on Stratfor, a geopolitical analysis company, a lone wolf is defined like this: *"A lone wolf is a person who acts on his or her own without orders from – or even connections to – an organization"* (Burton & Stewart, 30th January 2008). Bakker and de Graaf (2011) expands this definition, since lone wolves may have much in common with groups and networks and they then function as inspiration for the individual. They therefore add this aspect into the definition, which makes a lone wolf an individual that is inspired by a certain group, but who are not under their command or any other groups or persons. Others, like Simon (2013, p. 266), argue that lone wolf terrorism are *"the use or threat of violence . . . by an individual acting alone or with minimal support from one or two other people."* This definition is problematic as even minimal support is still support, thus making the act a somewhat coordinated effort between more than one actor. However, Spaaij (2012, p. 16) argues that a lone

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[2] Not to be confused with hate-crime. Hate crime and right-wing terrorism are closely related by definition, although contested how they manifest themselves. The general distinction is that terrorism is a planned act, while hate-crime is relatively spontaneous. A further discussion on this topic falls outside the scope of this thesis.

wolf terrorist *"(a) operate individually, (b) do not belong to an organized terrorist group or network, and (c) their modi operandi are conceived and directed by the individual without any direct outside command or hierarchy"*.

Others have tried to define lone wolves more thoroughly, by creating a typology of lone wolves. Pantucci (2011a) has divided lone wolves into four different kinds, based on his research of Islamist terrorism, but it is possible to apply these to other religious or ideological affiliations. The first kind is the "loner", which a single individual with no contact with any network except for passive influence by the Internet. This kind of perpetrator is uncommon and it is hard to determine their commitment to a cause or belief as they rarely leave any evidence to what their motivations or beliefs were, or if it is just a result of psychological or social issues. The second kind is the "lone wolf", which is an individual that has been in contact with extremist groups, but act without any control by other actors. These individuals usually have issues of their own and seek comfort in an extreme ideology or idea and their thoughts are reinforced by extremists through online contact. The third kind, is what Pantucci calls the "lone wolf pack", which is a group that radicalize each other, but has not yet contacted an extremist network or group. The group plans and carries out an attack and justify their actions by claiming ideological affiliation to a group or network. The last kind is the "lone attacker", which operates under a clear line of command by a network but carries out the attack itself alone. These individuals get their resources and training directly from the network they operate for. However, the latter two of these four kinds of lone wolves are firstly, oxymorons, and secondly, consist of more than one individual or are directly controlled by a group or network, and are thus irrelevant for this thesis.

Others believe that the term "lone wolf" is a glorification of the perpetrator. Jenkins (2011), argues for this in his report for the RAND Corporation. In literature, a lone wolf is the protagonist that gets the job done, regardless of the consequences and legality of his actions. Instead, he proposes that "stray dog" should replace "lone wolf", as a stray dog is *estranged from but dependent on society, streetwise but lacking social skills, barking defiantly, and potentially dangerous but at the same time, suspicious, fearful, skittish."* (Jenkins 2011, p. 21). Schuurman, Lindekilde, Malthaner, O'Connor, Gill and Bouhana (2017) consequently use the term "lone actor", as they believe that "lone wolf" implies a high degree of lethality and cleverness that is often not the case among these individuals. Furthermore, they argue that it perpetuates the glorification by right-wing extremists that originally coined the term. Researchers, according to Hamm & Spaaij (2017), thus use other terms they deem to be more "scientific", like: "lone actor terrorism", "solo actor terrorism", "single actor terrorism",

"solitary terrorism", "idiosyncratic terrorism", "lone avenger terrorism", "freelance terrorism" and "self-starter terrorism". However, as Feldman (2013) argues, these different definitions add nuance of the phenomenon and show the difference between self-generated terrorism and solo actor terrorism. The former is a terrorist that is inspired by extremist ideology, but act alone, while the latter acts on behalf of an organizational hierarchy or network. A lone wolf is thus understood in this thesis as a single individual outside of an organizational structure that carries out a terror attack alone, yet may seek inspiration from extremist networks and organizations or other terrorists.

2.4 Psychological and sociological aspects

The psychological aspects of lone wolf terrorism are difficult to grasp, as they are fairly individualistic. A common conception is that lone wolves suffer from a certain degree of psychological or personality disorders. According to Gill (2015, p. 103), several researchers have claimed that an identifiable personality of a terrorist is *"... spoiled, disturbed, cold and calculating, perverse, excited by violence, psychotic, maniac, irrational and fanatic"*. In the 1970s, the common conception was that pathological factors could explain the terrorist psyche meaning that an individual possessed inherent personality disorders. Thus, a terrorist was usually psychopathic or sociopathic individuals that used political rhetoric as an excuse to use aggression (Brynjar 2000; Cooper 1978; Tanay 1987). In the 1980s, psychoanalytic theories took over, where the motivations of an act are in focus. Through this method, one reveals the relationship between conscious and unconscious thought, and development from childhood is important. This type of research concluded in the same way as in the 1970s regarding the personality being abnormal, but the motivations are unconscious drives developed in childhood (Akhtar 1999; Bollinger 1985; Lasch 1979; Pearlstein 1991). These approaches were dismissed in the 1990s and early 2000s, on empirical and methodological grounds. A consensus that group dynamics was responsible grew. One of the key issues thus became when to draw the line between mass murderers with personal grievances and/or mental health issues and politically motivated lone wolf terrorism. A false dichotomy of lone wolves has prevailed in both public and academic debate, which equates the two. According to Gill (2015), terrorists in general usually do not exhibit any psychological disorders, they are in fact close to the statistical average of the rest of the population. However, the rate is higher among the lone wolves. The psychological and personality disorders lone wolves usually suffer from are mild, and the lone wolf has in most cases a certain connection to reality. Yet, they often suffer from social ineptitude, which usually result in the individual isolating themselves from social settings (Hewitt 2003; Koomen & van der Pligt 2016; Spaaij 2012). However, as Feldman (in Steiner and Önnerfors 2018) argues, radicalization networks are an important influence on what he calls "self-directed" lone wolves. He argues that radicalization

networks actively or passively influence the individual into developing extreme thoughts. These networks may actively encourage the individual in the use of violence, if the individual is connected to and actively participating in the network. They may also passively encourage the use of violence, by inspiring others through their members actions and statements. So even though an individual isolate themselves physically, it is very rare that they are not passively influenced by others.

The Internet has become an important social arena for extremists, among them lone wolves (Berger 2015; Koehler 2015; Sageman 2008; Spaaij 2012). In this social arena, likeminded individuals may find one another in virtual communities they would not have access to in the physical world. The Internet is a cheap and effective way of communicating, which makes it easier to create and maintain contacts and networks. The Internet provides these virtual communities with operational material and information that can help them plan and eventually execute terror attacks. This is evident from one of the two cases examined in this thesis. Anders Behring Breivik used the Internet to access right-wing forums and learned techniques on how to make bombs and how to avoid raising suspicion. This form of remote intimacy is, according to Berger (2015), possible due to the relative anonymity of the Internet, which reduce the physical risk of meeting a person that is associated with extreme beliefs. The Internet is also perceived as an extrajudicial space, where the individuals feel a degree of privacy, and thus a sense of freedom to live out their ideology without the scrutiny of society. This motivates individuals with radical beliefs to speak or act more radically online than they would have offline (Koehler 2015). Through regular contact with extreme forums, the individual establishes social connections, just as the real world. The process of radicalization is affected by this remote intimacy, as the individual choose which forums to participate in, which are often those that affirm the extreme thoughts the individual may have, thus creating a personalized ideology. Furthermore, Sageman (2008) argue that what is put on the Internet is also likely to stay there. Breivik, for example, uploaded his compendium to the Internet and it is still readily available. Eric Rudolph, the other case in this study, also provides an example. Several of his texts have been uploaded and are easily accessible, and most were written after his arrest. Even though an extremist is arrested, killed, or deradicalize, their work may inspire new generations, since their posts in forums are archived or uploaded by sympathizers. This in turn develop the ideology, as the participants on forums engage in theoretical discussions and gives them a perception of a critical mass that may be able to reach its goals.

The research on radicalization of lone wolves has gained little attention compared to other types of terrorism. The most comprehensive studies that have been carried out have either focused on lone wolf terrorism in general (Spaaij 2012; Gill 2015; Simon 2013), while others have focused on context-

specific studies (Hamm & Spaaij 2017) and Islamic extremists that carry out lone wolf attacks (Pantucci 2011a; Teich 2013; McCauley & Moskalenko 2014). Others yet have focused on the high-profile cases of lone wolf terrorism (Pantucci 2011b; Appleton 2014; Hemmingby & Bjørgo 2016). There is, however, little research done on right-wing lone wolves using cross-case analysis with multiple cases. Furthermore, there are few studies on the individuals that radicalize in relative isolation (or by influence of the Internet), since radicalization and extremism are usually linked to the individuals' participation in a group and how the group further radicalize the individual. These individuals may not be subject to the same peer pressure as the ones in groups, and extreme ideas are therefore not challenged or encouraged in the same way. This thesis seeks to find some understanding of these issues by testing the theory of radicalization of lone wolves by Hamm & Spaaij (2017) and the theory on radicalization processes by McCauley and Moskalenko (2014) to see if they apply to the two cases of right-wing lone wolf terrorism.

3 Theoretical frameworks

3.1 Pyramids of radicalization

Moskalenko and McCauley (2011) have explored the psychological motives for an individual to become a terrorist. They argue that one of the main drivers are the group identification of man. As humans, we relate more with our own species than with others, thus concerning ourselves with the welfare of other groups in society, even though our own welfare does not increase from the effort. It may even go as far as impact our own personal welfare negatively. Positive and negative identification therefore are important concepts. Positive identification is a state of mind which means that when others do well, you feel well on their behalf, and when they are having problems you feel bad for them. Negative identification, however, means that when others are having problems, you feel good, and when they do well, you feel bad. It is likely then, that an extremist that carries out a lone wolf terrorist attack may have experienced a perceived injustice towards a group or someone they identify positively with, or that it has been carried out by a group they identify negatively with, which makes them believe that violence or the threat of violence becomes the only possible measure. Spaaij (2010; 2012) corroborates this in his works. In all the cases of lone wolves Spaaij examines, they mix personal grievances with broader extreme ideologies into a complex web of ideological, political and personal motives. However, his study also showed that lone wolves are more prone to suffer from some level of psychological disorder and/or some degree of social ineffectiveness or alienation. This is not necessarily true for all lone wolves and some act rationally and with logic without being socially inept or having any form of personality disorder.

A motive, however, does not explain the process, merely gives a justification for radicalizing. As illustrated by figure 2.1 and 2.2, McCauley and Moskalenko (2014) differentiate between radicalization of opinion and radicalization of action. These two processes of radicalization follow their own distinctive paths, illustrated as pyramids. The path of radicalization of opinion goes from an individual being neutral, in which most people find themselves, to sympathizer of a cause. Then, they start to justify the cause before they eventually feel morally obligated to argue for the cause. This is a psychological process which is affected by factors outside of the individual. The pyramid of action, describes the processes of radical action. The individual starts out as an inert actor to becoming an activist (legal political action). Then, the individual becomes a radical actor (illegal political action) which then may lead to using terrorism as a means. These processes, despite the illustrations, are not linear and the individual may skip steps either in favor of radicalization or deradicalization.
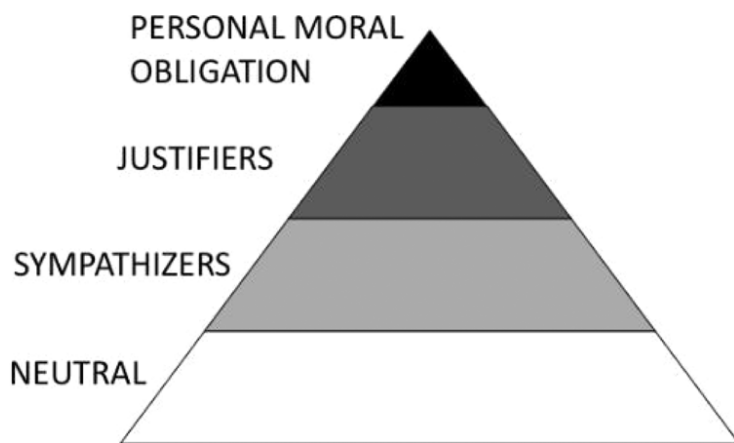
Figure 2.1. Radicalization pyramid of opinion (McCauley & Moskalenko 2014)
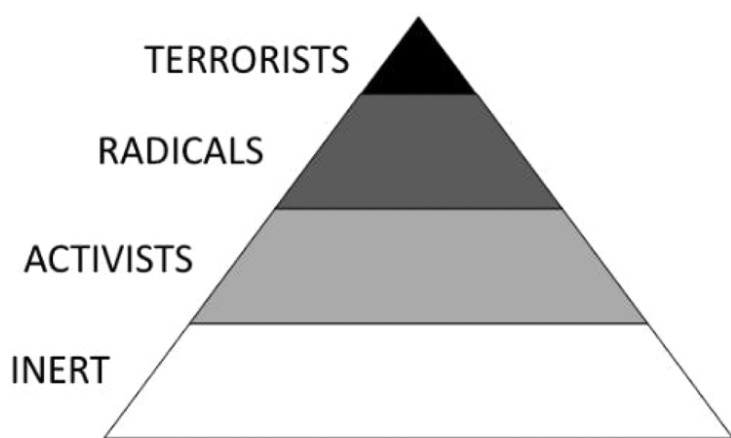
Figure 2.2. Radicalization pyramid of action (McCauley & Moskalenko 2014)

McCauley and Moskalenko (2014) thus provide two profiles of characteristics: the "caring-consistency" and the "disconnected-disordered". The latter is the more common one, as these individuals are socially disconnected and suffer from a degree of psychological or personality disorder, and have weapons experience. The former covers the individuals with a moral sense of obligation, where they feel a personal responsibility to carry out justice for the suffering of others. Spaaij (2012, p. 47-53) argues that becoming a lone wolf usually involves a process of violent radicalization, which is one of several ways to radicalize. Radicalization occurs in many ways depending on several factors and is thus a complex process that spans different mechanisms at various levels and is dependent on environmental factors, as well as psychological factors. This means that radicalization occurs when personal approaches and enabling environments intersects, such as neo-Nazi groups or specific forums on the internet. However, the process does not occur without the specific social connections kept by each individual or the dynamics and socialization of each group the individual belongs to. Therefore, violent radicalization, according to Spaaij (2012), occur because of specific events pertaining to each individual's subjective experiences, making the radicalization of

a lone wolf a series of random circumstances. Lone wolves thus come from diverse backgrounds, but they tend to be socially advantaged and intelligent. On the other hand, they tend to isolate themselves, mostly because of their inability to function in a group. This may be because they do not feel a sense of success or belonging. Once they isolate themselves, it is easier to self-radicalize or find belonging with others on the Internet which in turn further radicalize the individual. It is also easier to plan and carry out terror attacks against the real or perceived injustices and personal grievances they may have.

3.2 Radicalization of lone wolf terrorists

Hamm & Spaaij (2017) has developed a theory on how individuals become lone wolves, as illustrated by figure 2.3. This study was focused on American lone wolves, but the process itself is applicable to other lone wolves. The process of radicalization for a lone wolf follows five distinct but overlapping stages that eventually end in an attack or attempted attack. This process is thus one of violent radicalization, as the result is a violent act. The first stage is the development of a motive affected by both personal and political grievances. It is important to note that lone wolves rarely, if ever, radicalize in total isolation. Actually, in the pre-9/11 era, radicalization of lone wolves happened mostly in extremist groups and other formal social organizations, while in the post-9/11 era this shifted to extremist forums on the Internet and other informal social networks. Using the ideologies and beliefs that the other extremists produce, the lone wolves develop an individualistic and complex combination of political causes with highly personal grievances, which challenge the traditional motives like racism, Neo-Nazism and jihad. Lone wolves use these personal and political grievances as motives for further radicalization. Sometimes personal grievances play a large part, other times it is less important. The same logic goes for politics.
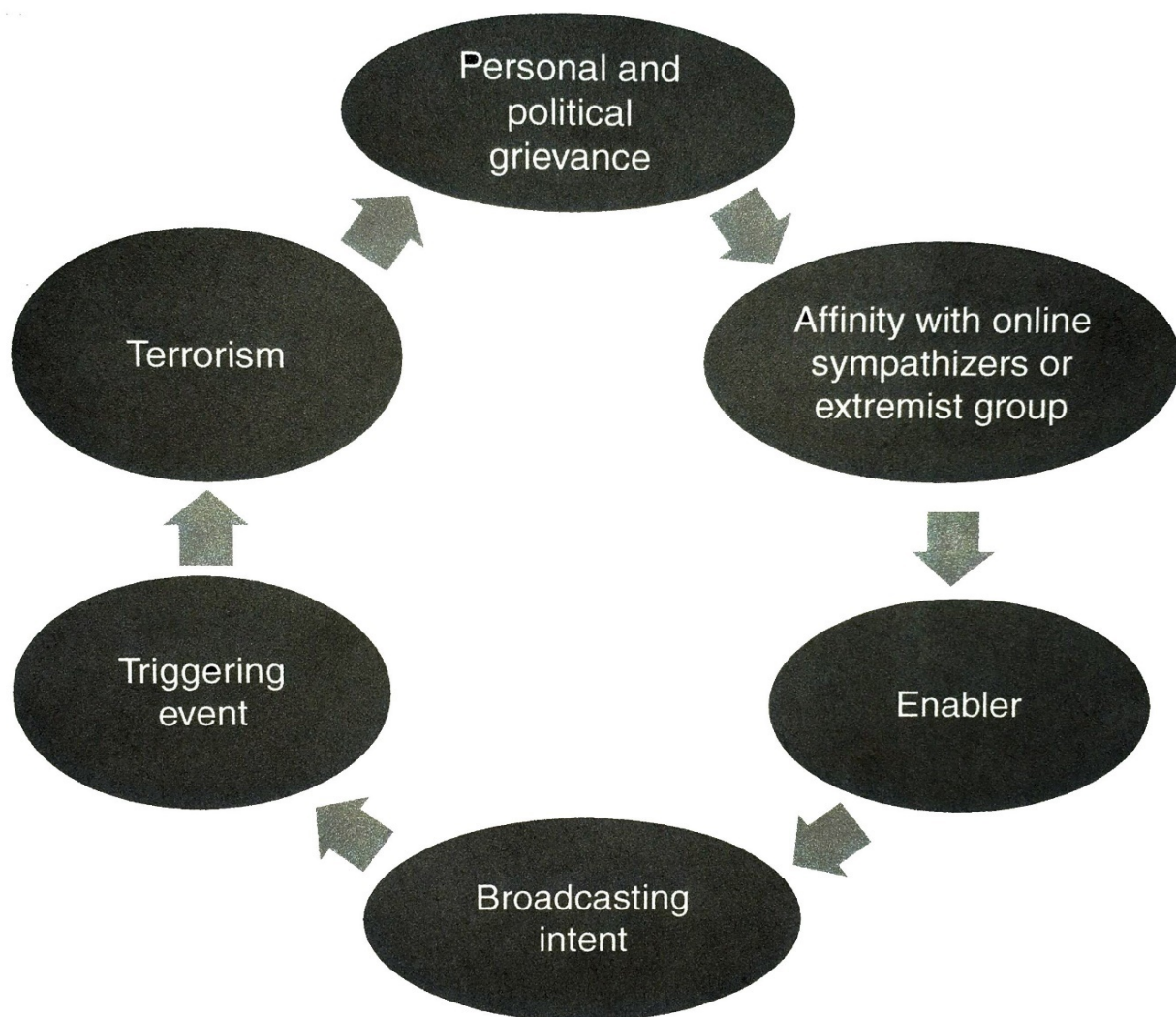
Figure 2.3. The radicalization model of lone wolf terrorism. (Hamm & Spaaij 2017, p. 159)

The third stage occurs when the lone wolf is enabled by others. These are either people who directly enable the attack by unwittingly assist the lone wolf, or indirectly, where they provide inspiration for the lone wolf. An enabler is thus a person that either performs tasks that help plan or carry out an attack or someone who encourages terrorism by example. The ones that provide indirect inspiration can be historical or contemporary persons, like Adolf Hitler has been for the Neo-Nazi movements. The indirect enabling usually occur through what Hamm & Spaiij (2017, p. 84) calls *"stochastic terrorism"*. This is the use of mass media to provoke political violence inspired by ideology, which is individually unpredictable, yet statistically predictable. Enablers send out messages that is picked up by a large number of people, where only one needs to act upon it. These messages often need to be emotionally intense and interpreted in a certain way for the lone wolf to be inspired, meaning that

the message does not need to actively promote violence. The fourth stage occurs when the lone wolf wants to broadcast their intent. Through these communications, the lone wolf wants to publicly announce its grievances, and at the same time seek physical and verbal or written confrontation with adversaries. The aim is to gain a renowned status as an activist of a moral cause and show that they act on behalf of others. In a sense, this is an effort to force others to see the world as they do. Broadcasting intent is important for the ones that seek to prevent lone wolves from carrying out attacks, because if a lone wolf announce its attack, preventative steps can be taken against the individual.

The fifth and last stage occurs when certain events trigger the individual into carrying out an attack. These events may be personal or political or a combination, but usually relate to the grievances the individual already has. The events may either result in an immediate attack or evolve through a series of escalation thresholds, where the lone wolf eventually snaps under the psychological pressure. However, as the authors acknowledge, these stages are only commonalities that apply to the majority of their cases. The first stage (personal/political grievances) apply to the same percent of both the pre- and post-9/11 cases, while the second decreased from the pre-9/11 to the post-9/11 cases. This shows the impact of the Internet, as more extremists use it as a tool to reach out to other extremists. The number of cases with an enabler increased after 9/11, which confirms the availability of inspiration from other extremists through the Internet. Both the fourth (broadcasting intent) and the fifth (triggering event) commonality declined from the pre-9/11 cases to the post-9/11 cases. It is interesting then, to examine the cases in this light, to see if the commonalities apply to cases outside the U.S.

4 Methodology

4.1 Multiple case study

The objective of the thesis intends to test already established theories regarding right-wing lone wolf terrorists by analyzing two cases. These theories revolve around the radicalization process, and the justifications for the violent radicalization these individuals go through. The theories on radicalization are contextualized when analyzing each individual as they come from two different, yet similar, cultures. The research has relied upon official documents, academic articles and books written by professionals and scholars.

Yin (2014) argues that a case study is appropriate when (a) the research question(s) posed focus on the "how" and "why", (b) the researcher does not have control over behavioral events, and (c) focus on contemporary events. My thesis fits these three criteria as, first, the research questions posed focus on the "how" and the "why" of the radicalization of right-wing lone wolves. Second, I do not have any control over the behavioral events that led to these individuals radicalizing and third, these are contemporary events that have affected each other. I am interested in understanding *how* they created their motivations (psychological aspect), *why* they went from broadcasting their extremist beliefs peacefully to carry out a terror attack alone (behavioral aspect) and *how* they were affected by other extremists (inspiration).

The scope of a case study, is according to Yin (2014, p. 16): *"An empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the "case") in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident."* This last part is important when researching multiple cases, as they likely are affected by contextual conditions. This connection between the phenomenon and context helps separate the method from other methods, as for example surveys have difficulty investigating the context of the respondents without compromising the amount of given degrees of freedom, and experiments are conducted in as sterile environment as possible without contextual factors. A case study thus *"… copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis."* (Yin 2014, p. 17). These features combined with the scope thus cover the logic of design, data collection techniques, and the particular approach to data analysis.

Furthermore, what is important in a multiple case study, according to Yin (2014), is to follow the logic of replication, rather than the sampling logic that is used in statistical studies. The replication logic works similarly as the logic used in experimental studies, where one conducts new experiments based upon significant findings in the first experiment. The ensuing experiments may alter certain minor conditions that affect the result to see if the result can be duplicated, while others seek to replicate the experiment exactly. The selection of cases in a multiple case study must follow the same logic, that they either produce a literal replication or a theoretical replication. The latter is what this thesis seeks to do, as the cases come from two distinct cultures, yet used a similar modus operandi and adhered to approximately the same ideological values. The theoretical frameworks outlined above will serve as the logic for analyzing the cases. This replication logic requires the researcher to constantly assess the theoretical background and selection of cases, as they might not fit the original design. Each case needs to be conducted by itself, and reported as they are, without the researcher inferring his or her preconceived ideas. The case reports will then be analyzed and cross-compared, which will lead to a possible modification of theory and then a cross-case report.

4.2 Theory testing

For my thesis, I considered several qualitative research strategies, and when conducting the literature review, I discovered that there were few, if any, multiple case studies that compared cases. This may be because of the individualistic nature of lone wolves[3], the fact that lone wolves are recognized as less "lone" than they give credit for (Aftenposten 10th April 2017; Foreign Affairs 26th July 2016; Foreign Affairs 27th March 2017), or the overall focus on the majority of terror attacks committed by groups and networks (Spaaij 2012). There have been two large studies on the field and that is the one by Spaaij (2012) and Hamm & Spaaij (2017), which both use mixed methods with a reliance on quantitative data, but where qualitative data have supplemented the findings. By testing the theory proposed by Hamm & Spaaij (2017), this thesis aims to add some qualitative notes to their work in order to gain an understanding of radicalization of lone wolves. The important argument here, is that this marginal field is worth researching, as the individuals that are radicalized may either join terrorist groups, carry out attacks by themselves or inspire others that come after them. By testing the theory by McCauley and Moskalenko (2014), the thesis aims to add empirical evidence to their proposition, to show how and when an individual may ascend or descend the pyramid of opinion and pyramid of

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[3] As outlined in chapter 2.

action. I have operationalized the theories by applying them to the life events described in different sources on the two cases, thus analyzing their process into becoming a terrorist.

4.3 Data collection

According to Yin (2014), a case study allows the researcher to choose which technique to collect data, which also means that the researcher should be skilled in every data collection technique there is. The researcher should use multiple sources of evidence, such as using both documents and interviews to collect data, and then converge the evidence derived from each technique. This is called data triangulation and will strengthen the findings of the study. However, this study has chosen to focus on documents written by and on the lone wolves as its main sources. These documents provide insight both from an objective and subjective point of view, which makes it possible to evaluate their own worldview as well as how others perceive them. In Eric Rudolph's case, these documents are mainly books regarding his life and terror attacks, but also his own memoirs and other texts written in prison. The case of Anders Behring Breivik is the one with the most sources of the two. There are several books, academic articles, media reports and official documents that are relevant as this is one of the most commented lone wolf cases.

Furthermore, examining archival records relating to the perpetrators' trials will supplement the main sources to provide data triangulation and thus improve the construct validity. Using documents and archival records as sources provide a number of strengths. Documents are stable sources of information, they can be specific in that they contain the details of events and exact names, and they can cover longer spans of time, several events and settings. The same can be said for archival records, as well as providing precise and quantitative information.

4.4 Process tracing

The method of process tracing, (George & Bennett 2005; Yin 2014) is the most fitting method of analysis for this thesis. This method is iterative by nature, which means that it fits multiple cases studies where the cases are similar. This analytic method seeks to explain the mechanisms that lead up to an event, thus producing a causal inferential relationship. This is a valuable method when analyzing events to empirically establish the variables and implications that should be true in a case if the explanation of said case is true. Explanation of events are conducted in two approaches, either through a generalization strategy, in which the researcher seeks to use the case as an example of a certain type of event, or through a particularization strategy, where the sequence of events in a case is outlined without necessarily placing it in a larger category. However, process tracing is only

valuable when conducting within-case analysis, but by using process-tracing on multiple cases, the researcher may map out the potential paths that lead to the same outcome and the conditions in which they occur. This helps the researcher narrow down the potential causes and find a causal relationship in a process. The method is thus valuable when testing theory. Through process tracing, the analysis seeks to enrich the findings of the theories by finding causal or spurious effects of the relationship between the radicalization process (independent variable) and the outcome (dependent variable).

When it comes to generalization, Berg & Lune (2012) argues that case studies provide good insight into how *some* individuals in a certain group of society behave like they do. Human behavior is fairly consistent which make case studies a reliable source for understanding the ones that actually involve themselves in deviant behavior. Analytic generalization will be applied when examining these cases, as Yin (2014) describes. Yin thinks case studies can further build on established theories by examining the case or cases as experiments, rather than treating the cases as statistical samples. The difference is that with analytical generalization, one makes inferences about the cases after the results have been analyzed and then claim (or not claim) replication of a given theory. Analytic generalization should also consider rival theories, to see if the cases strengthen or weaken the theory.

4.5 Challenges and ethical considerations

Yin (2014), argues that the limitations of a case study using documents and archival records as sources are firstly, retrievability, as sources may difficult to find. Second, the biased selection of the researcher gives the study a restricted view of any given topic. Third, an unknown biased account by the author of the source may influence the result if the researcher is not made aware of this. Fourth, documents and archival records may be subject to restricted accessibility. Furthermore, Yin (2014) argues that a researcher needs to strive for the highest ethical standard possible and that ethical considerations must always be taken into account when conducting research. A special consideration for case studies is that the researcher needs to understand the issues beforehand, thus providing supportive evidence before the study is conducted. Therefore, the researcher has to seek out contrary evidence to counter the already preconceived ideas of an issue.

I faced several challenges when collecting data for the case study. The largest challenge was to obtain documents from the courts that pertained to the cases. Many documents in Breivik's case was made available for the public on the Norwegian site Lovdata.no and was thus easy to obtain. On the other hand, most of the documents in Breivik's case are written in Norwegian and translating without changing the meaning of the content thus becomes a challenge. However, legal documents in

Rudolph's case was hard to find. Some of the documents were available through the US Courts, but they are locked behind a paywall, and some were restricted from public access, likely due to protection of privacy. The documents that was publicly available for free in Rudolph's case was his own guilty plea and plea agreement, a note from the defense on scheduling of the trial, as well as his sentence. I also found his statement after the Centennial Park bombings and his essays from prison. These last documents were collected from his supporters at the Army of God website, which then could be considered a weak source since it is impossible to know if they have altered the text.

5 Case reports

5.1 Eric Robert Rudolph

Eric Robert Rudolph is an American lone wolf terrorist that is responsible for bombing the Centennial Olympic Park during the 1996 Summer Olympics in Atlanta, Georgia. He then went on to bomb an abortion clinic, the Northside Family Planning clinic in Sandy Springs, Georgia and a gay nightclub, the Otherside Lounge, in Atlanta in 1997. His last bomb was placed at another abortion clinic, the New Woman All Women clinic in Birmingham, Alabama in 1998. These bombs directly or indirectly killed three people and injured over 120 others. After the bombings, Eric fled into the Appalachian Mountains in western North Carolina, where he avoided capture for five years (CNN Library 8th September 2017). In letters sent to law enforcement (Vollers 2006), he claimed responsibility in the name of the "Army of God" for the attacks, arguing that they would not stop until abortion was outlawed. The first letter included "the Waco code" (4-1-9-9-3), which the FBI believes symbolizes the date 19th April 1993, where a failed FBI raid on a Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas resulted in over 80 deaths. This case was chosen because of the American experience with religion as a catalyst for right-wing beliefs, not necessarily political ideology. However, Seegmiller (2007) claims that, Christianity has been used in several instances as an excuse for carrying out right-wing acts of terrorism, but political, strategic and social factors may be more significant in radicalizing an individual. Yet, religion may be used as an excuse. This is true in the case of Eric Rudolph, as he claims his values are more political than religious (Rudolph 2013), but Christianity is portrayed as the upholder of the morally acceptable standards that Rudolph adheres to.

According to court documents (US District Court of Alabama 3rd November 2003), his defense attorneys had not received any funds to carry out an expert observation on Rudolph's mental condition. The defense thus claimed that they would be unable to assess the insanity defense until those funds were released. Furthermore, there are no other publicly available documents relating to his trial that claims he has been assessed by experts, and it is thus not possible to discuss his exact psychological diagnosis, if there are any. On the other hand, different psychologists have tried to establish a diagnosis on Rudolph. After he pled guilty as charged to some of the counts in his trial in Alabama (in order to avoid death penalty in Georgia), he released a statement (US District Court of Alabama 4th April 2005; NPR 14th April 2005). Three psychologists claim in an interview with The Spokesman-Review (Breed 17th April), that Rudolph appears to show symptoms of paranoia, anti-social behavior and delusions of grandeur. Furthermore, Harmening (2014) claims that Rudolph suffers from being ego-directed and assumes a hyper ideological self. This is because he killed for a sense of purpose, not just to kill. He further claims that when Eric lost his father, he lost his primary

influence on his developing self-efficacy and identification, and building a sense of self vanished with his father. Joining the Army was a way for Eric to try and build a new identity, but when this failed, he turned to extremist ideology to fill the void.

5.1.1 Paranoia, Christian Identity and the Patriot movement

According to his memoirs (Rudolph 2013), Eric Robert Rudolph grew up with his four brothers and sister, under relatively poor conditions at different places in Florida, and after his father's death, in Nantahala, North Carolina. His parents, Robert and Patricia Rudolph, were devoted religious people, and wanted a religious life for their children as well. All the children were baptized in the Catholic faith. In an interview with Maryanne Vollers (2006), Patricia describes her religious life as a struggle to find herself and the meaning of her existence. During Eric's childhood, she exposed her children to different faiths. She herself engaged in Catholicism, before converting to Pentecostalism, and later joining the Christian Identity Movement and the Church of Israel. She was an active participant in the Catholic Worker's Group before Eric was born, which was closely monitored by the FBI. In this group, she developed a deep distrust for the federal government and a disdain for the mainstream media. She believed that the government had monitored her throughout her entire life, which reflects some of her paranoid feelings. She also made sure that none of the children in the Rudolph family had social security numbers and they were not vaccinated. Patricia and Robert were strict naturopaths and did not believe in modern medicine. When Robert got a malignant melanoma, he did not want treatment and died in 1980 (Vollers 2006). Patricia also gave natural births, preferably at home, and taught the Lamaze-method[4] to as many women as she could. This distrust of government and authority had a significant impact on the children in the Rudolph family, as their parents used a mixture of conspiracy theories and religious interpretations to raise them. Patricia believed that *"... children are like animals, they have to be trained to learn the commands of their elders"* (Vollers 2006, p. 248). The children had to memorize biblical passages and behave within a strict set of rules. If they did not do as their parents commanded, they would be punished physically. However, Patricia contradicted herself several times, according to Schuster and Stone (2005). For example, even though she was strongly against any involvement from the government, she claimed social benefits and subsidies from the government housing program. In Vollers' (2006) interview with one of Eric's ex-girlfriends, her impact on the children is evident. When Eric got a bad burn from his hand to his elbow, he would not let anyone take him to a hospital, supposedly because his brother Daniel would

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[4] A form of natural birth where special techniques replace medical intervention

find out. Eric looked up to his brother, and Eric's girlfriend believed he was afraid of him. Eric seemed paranoid even at an early age, but he was never diagnosed with any psychological disorder because of the family's aversion for modern medicine and federal government. According to Vollers (2006), Eric did not want to be photographed, did not sign anyone's yearbooks because he did not want his handwriting identified, he never told where he was going and he told people he could navigate wherever he wanted in the area without using roads.

Eric blames the public school system for not providing a proper education. He claims in his memoirs: *"At home, I was taught to love; at school, I was taught to hate."* (Rudolph 2013, p. 32). It is in third grade, he claims to have been made aware of the concept of race, as his teacher, a Navajo Indian, taught them the many transgressions of "the evil white people". After realizing it was his skin color she talked about, he wanted to become an Indian of the Apache tribe, but soon came to realize he could not become anything other than "an evil white person". Eventually, his life at school became an issue of survival because of bullying and lack of consequences for the bullies. According to Rudolph (2013), this was due to racial tensions, where different gangs based on race controlled different turfs and punished trespassers. Eric and a group of his friends just left school one day and he was transferred to another middle school. He claims that this is where he started his real education, as he had *"... taken a stand against injustice and felt proud of myself."* (Rudolph, p. 34). This statement further adds to the argument that he started his radicalization process in school. His reasoning argues that he was, and still is, a warrior fighting for justice where authorities fail.

According to Vollers (2006), Eric was sent to Tom Branham, a family friend that lived in the Appalachian Mountains, after his father died, so that his mother had one less burden to worry about. When he returned to Florida, he was assaulted yet again, but this time, he had had enough. He gave his mother an ultimatum: either send him to Tom in the Appalachian Mountains or call the Youth Authority. She chose the former, and she and Eric's youngest brother would move to the Appalachians as well soon after. In the Appalachians, Eric learned how to be self-sufficient from Tom and it was he who introduced him to the Patriot movement and "the Conspiracy". Eric (Rudolph 2013) argues that "the Conspiracy" is an umbrella term for the different theories created by the Patriot movement, on how the federal government assumed power in all parts of the U.S. under the banner of socialism, progressivism and liberalism. It is this process the conservative Patriot movement tries to withstand. The Second Amendment to the Constitution is the key issue for the Patriot movement, as they believe that without arms, they cannot keep a government that is out of control in check. The socialists' goal is thus to dismantle the Constitution and turn everyone into slaves if the Patriot

movement fails to withstand the government. According to Eric's mother (Vollers 2006), Branham was not a good influence on Eric. Branham believed in "the Conspiracy" and practiced a form of ultraconservative lifestyle where he would stockpile books, supplies, firearms and explosives to be prepared for the *"... coming confrontation between the forces of good and evil"* (Vollers 2006, p. 96). Eric would stay at his house, reading books on history and politics, but also on the Holocaust. This led to Eric writing a paper at Nantahala High School, denying its existence. These sentiments were most likely imprinted in him by Tom. His classmates also described him as a loner, and this would be a theme throughout his life. He never maintained a relationship for longer periods and had few friends. He ended up dropping out of Nantahala High School, since his mother believed she could do a better job herself. However, Eric (Rudolph 2013) claims that he did not believe in the conspiracies that the Patriot movement propagated, because it in essence removed them from any serious political debate. But Frank Sauer (Vollers 2006), the man that bought the Rudolph house in 1996, claims that especially Eric was convinced that the world soon would erupt into chaos and civil war.

According to himself (Rudolph 2013), he was immersed in the Patriot movement at the age of 15, because he believed that they had a purpose, and that the "system" did not. Preparation for the coming war with the government that the Patriot movement believed in, intrigued him and motivated him to acquire certain skills in survival and firearms. When reading the books of American historical figures like George Washington and George S. Patton, he started to identify with them on a spiritual level. He felt proud of being an American, and all the guilt that had been instilled in him by his teachers disappeared. He believed that their idols, for example Malcolm X and Cesar Chavez, were "mere pygmies" compared to the giants of George Washington and George S. Patton. He believed that their hatred came from a feeling of enviousness, like *"the weak have for the strong"*, the *"mediocre have for the exceptional"* and the *"lazy have for the industrious"*. (Rudolph 2013, p. 102-103). However, according to Vollers (2006), at the age of 18, his mother could not find the right curriculum for his home-schooling, so she brought him to the Church of Israel, where Dan Gayman preached about Christian Identity. She had been encouraged by Nord Davis, the man that represented Tom when he was charged with possession of a machine gun and illegal explosives. According to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL 15th April 2018), Christian Identity believes that the Bible is the story of the white man, not the Jews. Their belief is that all non-white races will perish and the white race will survive. The movement is thus one of many white-supremacy groups. Christian Identity also believes that the world will end someday, and contrary to evangelical Protestantism, that Jesus will arrive *after* the great battle between good and evil. This apocalyptic end is a racial battle, and Jesus will save the

whites who have survived. According to Schuster and Stone (2005), members of this congregation said in an interview with the FBI that Eric was a definitive believer in Christian Identity, even before he got to the Church of Israel. They claimed that he had been influenced by his violent neighbor (Tom) back in Nantahala. The family eventually returned to Nantahala, supposedly because of a falling-out between Eric and Dan Gayman. Vollers (2006) claims that Dan wanted Eric to marry one of his daughters and eventually take over the ministry. Eric fell in love with another follower, Joy, and they got engaged. However, she broke off the engagement and married another man within the sect. She later took her own and her two children's life. When Eric found out, he was distraught. When searching his camp after Eric's arrest in 2003, the FBI found a sweater she had knitted for him, carefully wrapped and stored along other prized possessions.

According to himself (Rudolph 2013), Christian Identity intrigued him, because he identified with the struggle of the Israelites. Christian Identity compares their fight for the "Promised Land", to the fight the Pilgrims had to endure in America. This underdog's story of success in becoming a powerful nation appealed to him. However, he claims he never believed the theory of how race was the defining characteristic of man. Ideas are the paramount issue, and Rudolph believed that it was white liberals that were the problem. He eventually left the Church of Israel, and decided to not join the Patriot movement in their activities, as he believed they were not serious about taking back the country. Furthermore, he believed they were crawling with government informants. He only kept contact with a few individuals in the Patriot movement that did not indulge in the Christian Identity or conspiracy theories. However, Christianity stood strong in his life after he left organized faith, especially Catholicism, but mostly because of the values that Christianity stood for. After he went to college, he realized that free speech does not really exist. His essay on one of the professor's books resulted in a threat of expulsion because they believed it resembled hate speech. Through this class, Eric started believing that the communists that threatened his conservative ideas acted and looked like any other American. However, Vollers (2006) interviewed some of his classmates, and they remember him as arrogant and argumentative in class. He (Rudolph 2013) started believing that academia was filled with communists that tried to undermine capitalist society and was thus enemies of the Constitution. College was a project of indoctrination, not education, in Rudolph's view. When approaching the 1990s, he soon realized that the politicians that had the same conservative values as himself were retiring, and the generation of democratic socialists of the counterculture were starting to take over the political life of the U.S.

According to his mother, the Army changed him (CNN Law Center 23rd August 2005; Vollers 2006). Eric enlisted in the Army in 1987, at the age of 20. The student that despised government and authority, suddenly joined the Army. Eric had always wanted to be a part of an elite unit, like the Rangers or Special Forces. He was trained in different skills required of a soldier, among them survival, evasion, resistance and escape (SERE) and how to construct improvised explosive devices (IEDs). They were taught the skills Eric would use in his bombings: namely placing two devices, where the first concentrate the target(s) and the other is lethal in order to maximize the causalities. He does well in the Army, and according to Vollers (2006) tries to become a Ranger or Special Forces, in which he believes he needs to enlist for another 10 years. Because he does not want to stay in the Army, he decides to get kicked out, and was discharged after testing positive on narcotics-tests. Eric (Rudolph 2013) blames all of this on the system and the government that is governed by people that has lost their morality during the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. He becomes convinced that the country's leaders only seek to transform the "good" system of conservative values and moral where the Constitution is central, to a "bad" system where communism is the main ideology. Tom Branham also noticed that Eric was a different person (Vollers 2006). He described Eric as a more isolated, bitter, secretive and radical person after his time in the Army. When he returned to North Carolina, he started cultivating marihuana and selling it in Nashville. Eric had become more violent, and anyone who called the police on him was considered an indirect threat. Furthermore, Eric supposedly "… *shot one of his own dogs, a pit bull, because it barked too much."* (Vollers 2006, p. 112). He also shot Branham's cat because it *"... was killing wild rabbits that he might need to hunt to survive someday."* (Vollers 2006, p. 112). The Rudolph family eventually sold the house and left Nantahala in 1996, but even though Eric claimed to have left the area, he was living in isolation in the neighboring county, secretly planning and preparing for his first attack.

5.1.2 Conservatism, moral standards and the fight for justice

Rudolph's values are conservative, and these values becomes known in his chapter "The Cause" in his memoirs (Rudolph 2013). This chapter is dedicated to his views on what conservatism should be and who is their enemy. He meant that politicians had overthrown the Constitution for a justice system based on rulings, not the Constitution. He also meant that society should uphold its views on homosexuality, abortion, family and other important causes from before they changed during the social revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. Furthermore, his views become more and more nationalist, but following his own idea of how society should be, namely reverted back to the age of the Founding Fathers, where moral standards actually meant something. This is confirmed when he talks about feminism, where feminists are the worst propagators of the moral decay, especially in regard to views

on abortion. He views communism as an enemy of society, where all its adherents will erase history and moral standards in favor of a standardized society without personal freedoms and class warfare as a means to keep the people oppressed. A nation has no identity without its history. Abortion became Rudolph's main cause, where the legalization of abortion meant that the government had lost its moral authority by allowing abortion, because it was contrary to what they were supposed to protect: the life of its citizens. By Rudolph's definition, the government was thus illegitimate and someone had to rebel by force. According to his confession (NPR 14th April 2005), he claims his actions were to protect these lives that the government had legalized to kill. He portrays himself as a warrior fighting for justice for the innocent that has no possibility of protecting themselves. He argues that the life of an unborn child is just as valid as any other human being. Furthermore, he believes that homosexuality is a "condition", but not a threat to society if practiced in the confines of their private lives. What he calls the "homosexual agenda", is the effort by homosexuals to force society in an "in your face" way to accept and recognize their "unnatural" relationship.

As previously mentioned, Eric (Rudolph 2013) eventually considered himself a member of the Patriot movement, and a strong opponent to the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. He did not, however, indulge in the conspiracies, but claims to rationalize his views on historical grounds. This counterculture, in Rudolph's view, meant that man needed to revert to nature, which would throw over a thousand years of Western culture in the trash. Man was supposed to revert to a mentality of "man-as-he-is". He thinks the virtues of Aristotle and the Christian Church needs to be preserved, as these virtues were based on reason, not emotion, so whether or not something felt good was irrelevant as long as it was right. Rudolph thus believes that man should strive to become "man-as-he-could-be". He thinks the counterculture's attack on traditional morality produced anti-social behavior, which led society to pass tougher laws. The exact opposite of what the "hippies" wanted, happened.

On the other hand, according to Vollers (2006), several people remember Rudolph making racist and sexist remarks. He had started doing this already at school, *"... mouthing off about "queers", "dykes", and "niggers"* (Vollers 2006, p. 101). One of his ex-girlfriends, Claire Forrester, remember him saying that she had *"... the right Aryan traits"* (Vollers 2006, p. 107). Members of his troop in the Army heard him openly praise Adolf Hitler and complained that he was ordered around by blacks and women. According to Rudolph, Jews ran the banks, the government had too much power and he hated paying taxes. His mother claims that the racist sentiments stemmed from his experiences at public school, where he was bullied by African-American students. However, she blames Tom Branham for developing his thoughts further on racial problems. Vollers (2006) also claims that

western North Carolina was a gathering point for people with right-wing ideas. Several neo-Nazis settled in this area after the legal segregation of schools and other public institutions was ended by the U.S. Supreme Court. These people believed that this was evidence of "the Jewish plot" disguised as "world Communism", later called the "New World Order". Rudolph use the term "New World Order" in the letters to authorities after the bombs at the Otherside Lounge. Rudolph thus lived in an environment with many like-minded, even though he never actively engaged himself with these people or organizations. He preferred to maintain his solitude.

5.1.3 Path towards violence and failure of the system

It is hard to pinpoint Rudolph's exact ascendance in the pyramid of opinion, although it seems like he went through a gradual process. Eric adopted a lot of the values that his mother imposed on him. These rules and values, it seems, made Eric feel somewhat insecure in his own family and the communities they lived in. His (probable) fear of his brother Dan, and the strict, religious upbringing may have led Eric to go into the woods and exercise his survival skills as a way of escaping and/or controlling his own existence. Religion and politics became a justification for maintaining his own survival, as the messages from his family and community was that the government would invade their personal liberties. The Constitution became a sacred symbol for Eric. The micro-events mentioned earlier arguably pushed him to ascend in the pyramid of opinion. In regard to the Patriot movement, there are clear steps from being neutral to develop a personal moral obligation. His neutrality is mostly in his childhood and early teens, before he starts sympathizing with the Patriot movement. His sympathy with this movement is conceivably the result of living with Tom Branham in the community of the Appalachian Mountains. Here he also starts justifying their cause when he witnesses the failings of the system in the Army and at college, as well as his experiences at public school in Florida. When he realized that the people in the Patriot movement only talk about acting, and use conspiracy theories to argue, he decides that it is his moral obligation to act. Using Christian values as his basis, he decides that abortion clinics are the best symbolic target for his beliefs, and thus starts his campaign.

Rudolph was influenced by his family and environment in several ways that could have had an impact on him. There were several micro-events that led him to believe what he did, and when these accumulated, combined with his perceived failure of the system, resulted in an expression of violence. Of these events, there are the bullying at school, both in Florida (both physical and verbal, usually linked to race) and in North Carolina (only verbal), the environment of anti-government ideas both within his family and in the community, the religion that preached pro-life morality and the thought that another era was better to live in. According to Schuster and Stone (2005), his mother was strongly

against any involvement from the government and made sure they did not have any social security number, yet claimed social benefits and subsidies from the government housing program. She also despised the media, which gives the impression that she was the one that influenced Eric to feel the same. The contradictions Eric and his siblings were subject to may also have given Eric a sense of insecurity. Eric developed a form of paranoia at an early age, but he was never diagnosed because of the family's aversion for authority and government. As mentioned earlier, his probable fear of his own brother when he got the burn on his elbow and the fact that Eric did not want to be photographed, nor sign anyone's yearbooks because he did not want his handwriting identified shows the insecurity and paranoia he felt.

There are several notable events that led Rudolph towards using terrorism as a means to his views. His devout religious nature, his relatively dysfunctional family, the structural environment of poor communities of Florida and the Appalachian Mountains all influenced his path towards violent action and extreme beliefs. He also never found his place in any community, becoming alienated from his peers in school, at college, in the religious communes they visited and in the Army. His perception is that the system failed, and that the government only wanted to restrict their way of life. His motivations, according to his memoirs (Rudolph 2013), for bombing the Summer Olympics in Atlanta in 1996, was that the disruption of the games would be a huge embarrassment and a loss of money for the government that sponsored the organization that Rudolph despised the most, namely Planned Parenthood. He had hopes that he could disrupt the entire event, but had to settle for a smaller scale, because of time-constraints. He further claims (Rudolph 2013), that this bomb was a mistake and he changed his mind about setting off the other bombs in Atlanta. His later bombs were directed at abortion clinics and one nightclub, but he did not want to injure civilians. His targets were the personnel at the abortion clinics and the authorities that would respond to the scene, as well as homosexuals that frequented the Otherside Lounge (or the "sodomites", as he calls them). The targets were symbolic, as he wanted to make a statement to the government that no one would be safe as long as the laws that legalized what he called "despicable moral actions" were in place, since they undermined traditional values and the Constitution. His actions were motivated by the belief that America would become a Third World country under a Marxist-communist system, and the only way to prevent this was to give the people an ultimatum: either remove the liberal system or live under the most radical proponents. However, he soon realized that fighting was futile, as he would need support from a larger population in order to bring down the liberal establishment.

Rudolph (2013) mentions several times that his "cause" is to protect children that are being aborted. His biggest enemies are not the individuals that get abortions, but the system that allows them to do it. He thus has a strong negative identification with the government. This is seen several other times, where he mentions that the system of America fails. He experiences this in public school, where he gets bullied and beaten up and the teachers do not care. His family also had to move a lot, mostly because of his father's work, but also because of his mother's devotion to religion. He then has no way of establishing a proper social network in Florida. His father eventually lost his job, and with that, health benefits and his pension. This is probably the first moment that Eric realizes that the "system" has failed him. However, he feels at home in the Appalachian Mountains, where Tom Branham becomes one of his closest connections outside the family. His experience at college is no different than public school. But instead of being bullied by other students, he feels that his teachers try to undermine is right to free speech. Furthermore, he claims that his fellow students were not there to gain knowledge, and that it was impossible to actually have a proper debate on key issues. After he joins the Army, he experiences yet again, a failing system. According to himself (Rudolph 2013), his motivations for going were only to prepare himself for the coming war with the government, but it ends up being another reason for carrying out something by himself. His troop is constantly failing its missions, mostly because of his officers that do not care if they actually carry out their mission. He blames all of this on the system and the government that is governed by people that has lost their morality during the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. He only becomes more convinced that the country's leaders only seek to transform the "good" system of conservative values and moral where the Constitution is central, to a "bad" system where communism is the main ideology.

When it comes to the pyramid of action, however, Rudolph goes from inert to terrorist quite rapidly, just as McCauley and Moskalenko (2014) assumes most terrorists do. There is no record of him engaging in legal political activism, nor illegal political activism before his attacks. This may be because of Rudolph's belief that the governmental system was corrupt, thus driving him to carry out an attack instead of pursuing a legal or illegal political activity. He probably believed that he could not influence political processes in the way he wanted. Furthermore, to gain political leverage, he realized he would need more supporters in the American people on his side. Since he had none, efforts would have been futile. However, after his arrest and conviction, he has published several texts about abortion, the prison system, his life and personal experiences and other political texts. One can thus argue that he has descended down the pyramid of action to be an "activist", as he is using his right to free speech, even from within prison.

5.1.4 The counterculture, religious devotion and the enablers

Following the theory of Hamm & Spaaij (2017), Rudolph developed personal and political grievances when he realized that society was "taken over" by socialists and communists. The "counterculture" of the 1960s and 1970s was a direct affront to the values that the founders of America stood for. He had already found sympathy in the Patriot movement, which believe that the government only wants to restrict personal freedoms (mostly in the form of gun ownership and infringement on private life), even though he believed some just had conspiratorial ideas. However, according to Vollers (2006), the community in the Appalachian Mountains has a history of being anti-government and racist, which gave him an opportunity to discuss his ideas with like-minded people. The key factor was that he believed they did not do enough or nothing at all and someone had to act. Furthermore, when he actually wanted to discuss these ideas outside of this community, he felt his freedom of speech was restricted. In the case of anti-abortion, he felt the system was hypocritical and that something had to be done. The anti-abortionists were systematically oppressed by a corrupt system, in his view. Rudolph claims that they were not represented or heard in the political debate, so they had to act. Additionally, Rudolph developed a distorted world view, especially his interpretation of his enemies. This is evident when he talks about the people he calls "free lovers", which believe in free sexual expression. He writes in his memoirs: *"All varieties of sexual expression are legitimate; one variety is no better than another. Varieties can include group sex, homosexual sex, sex with animals, sex with relatives, and sex with inanimate objects. And because they don't believe society has a right to impose its definition of maturity on the individual, free lovers accept sex between adults and children."* (Rudolph 2013, p. 29). It is thus clear, that he equals fighting for equality in terms of sexuality and gender to be the same as removing the "repressive" form of sexuality as well as performing illegal sexual acts. And this is only another step in a gradual process to abolish the fixed nature of man. He further claims that the sexual revolution is almost complete in Europe and that child pornography is sold openly in Copenhagen and Stockholm. The LGBTQ-movement[5] in the U.S. is according to Rudolph a relative of the same "free love" tradition.

He started to develop affinity with several movements, most notably the Patriot movement and the Army of God. Both movements are loosely organized and are more ideas than organizations. The Army of God represents a part of the anti-abortionist wing of the American population, which are adamant in their views. Abortion is wrong, for any reason. However, differing from the pro-life

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[5] LGBTQ stands for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer/Questioning

movements, this movement believes in using force to end abortion, one way or another. Even though he claims to have not trusted the Christian Identity theory, evidence from his personal Bible, referred to some of the passages the Christian Identity movement considers essential. He had cherry-picked passages from the Bible to fit his world-view, which could be interpreted that violence was a necessary means to an end. Most passages that could be interpreted violently or that could be wrong according to his moral values, was noted by Rudolph. For example, in the margin beside the passage in Leviticus 18:22[6], he had written *"Homosexuality is an abomination"* (Vollers 2006, p. 78), and beside Chapter 16:21 in the book of Revelation[7], he had written *"bombs"* (Vollers 2006, p. 79).

There were several enablers in his life, but the most influential person must have been Tom Branham, which he visited and lived with in the Appalachian Mountains during his childhood and youth. From him, Rudolph learned to survive in the wild, use firearms and become self-sufficient as most in the Patriot movement were. When there was nothing else to do, Rudolph would read Tom's books on conservatism and Tom was also the one to introduce him to the theories of "the Conspiracy". Furthermore, according to Vollers (2006), the community in the Appalachian Mountains has a history of being anti-government and racist, which gave him an opportunity to discuss his ideas with like-minded people. His mother and family was also an influence on his values, as he grew up in different Christian communities, among them the Pentecostal Church and the Church of Israel. Even though he felt that these communities were just exploiting people, their values of conservatism made an impact. These influences, according to Vollers (2006) can be seen through the letters he sent to the media after the bombing of the Otherside Lounge, where he claimed credit in the name of the Army of God. Another event that influenced Rudolph, as well as the entire Patriot movement, was the incident at Ruby Ridge. This event was a standoff between the Weaver family and the FBI, which suspected them of participating in an extremist movement. The standoff resulted in several deaths and a display of the failed tactics employed by the FBI. According to Hamm & Spaiij (2017), he was also influenced by Timothy McVeigh, also known as the Oklahoma City Bomber, which carried out a terror attack in Oklahoma City on the 19th of April 1995. After Rudolph's arrest, the unauthorized biography on McVeigh was found at his residence and it is arguable that McVeigh indirectly radicalized Rudolph by acting as an example.

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[6] Leviticus 18:22 "Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is abomination"

[7] Chapter 16:21: «And there fell upon men a great hail out of heaven, every stone about the weight of a talent, and men blasphemed God because of the plague of the hail…"

He also broadcasted his intent several times, the first time being the two phone calls he made to emergency services after he planted the bomb at the Summer Olympics in 1996. These phone calls were meant to warn the authorities so that civilians could be evacuated from the park. The second time occurred after he had planted two bombs at an abortion clinic in Sandy Springs, Georgia. After the first bomb had exploded, Rudolph claims that the plan was to call emergency services to warn them about the second bomb. However, he seems to have forgotten to do this, or he abandoned this part of the plan in order to escape. The letters he sent to the news agencies after the bombings of the Otherside Lounge in Atlanta and the New Woman All Women clinic in Birmingham, confirms his intent. They received letters that the emergency services would get a call that gave them time to find and defuse the bombs he would plant, and the authenticity of the call would be confirmed by citing the "Waco code". The letters contained threats towards abortion clinics and homosexuals and showed the intent to bomb yet another target.

Rudolph (2013) also confirms that the incident at Waco, Texas was one of several events that drove him into action. Yet, he claims there was one event that finally triggered him to carry out the bombings. This event was when Paul Hill shot and killed Dr. Britton, which worked at an abortion clinic. In a discussion with his neighbor, he justified the killing by claiming that if abortion is murder, then killing the ones that perform the abortion is justified. His reasoning for justifying this extrajudicial act is by referring to the laws that their ancestors rebelled against in the late 1700s. Christian ethics, in his view, justifies the "… *use of force to protect innocent life"* (Rudolph 2013, p. 180) and carrying out several bombings against abortion clinics would force the liberal establishment to back the conservatives into a corner, thus forcing them to defend themselves. However, his actions were not supposed to make them compromise. He wanted them to fear a new attack as soon as they made compromises on issues like abortion or rights for homosexuals. He wanted them to understand that only a restoration of Western culture and the Constitution could make him stop. However, in a letter to Maryanne Vollers (2006, p. 301-302), he claims that there was no such thing as a triggering event. Here he claims that he thoroughly considered his actions and that it took years of seeing "the horrors of abortion". The event he refers to was, among others, a friend of his ex-girlfriend who had an abortion, where the atmosphere around the choice was indifference. He believes that this is the same way people who have abortions make their decisions.

5.1.5 Summary

Rudolph thus seems to have developed several personal grievances because of his social environment. First, there was the issue of not feeling safe because of his race, especially in public school. He felt

like he had to survive, instead of being educated. Second, his growing contempt for religions that, in his view, only sought to make a profit off of gullible believers. However, Christianity in itself provided a moral base for society, in Rudolph's view, especially the teachings of the Catholic church. Third, his social environment consolidated his views on how the world *should* be. His values were greatly influenced by the Patriot movement, and he believed that conservative virtues were the only ones to follow. His mother instilled anti-governmental values in her children from an early age. He also believes to adhere to a morally higher standard than other people as a conservative Christian. This is evident throughout his chapter "the Cause", where he writes about all that is wrong with society, even within the conservative movement. Since he could not find a place he belonged and was respected for his views, he decided to prepare himself for the "coming war" by joining the Army in 1987, where his goal was to acquire as much training in as short amount of time he possibly could.

5.2 Anders Behring Breivik

Anders Behring Breivik is a Norwegian lone wolf terrorist responsible for the bombing of the government quarter in Oslo, before he went to the AUF summer camp at Utøya and shot many of the participants (NOU 2012). He killed a total of 77 and wounded 42 others in the two successive attacks. This case was chosen because of its magnitude, both in terms of fatalities and in symbolic sense. The attack on the 22nd of July 2011 was an attack that deliberately targeted the largest left-wing party in Norway, Arbeiderpartiet. This, according to Breivik (Berwick 2011), is that they (among others) represent the "multiculturalist" sympathies that allow Islam to invade and occupy Europe. Breivik's ideas base themselves on anti-Islamism, claiming he is the commander of the "Knights Templar", a secret organization that works to rid Europe of Muslims. Just before his attacks he also uploaded a compendium of texts to the Internet, that he had collected from right-wing extremist forums and groups online. This case thus shows the importance of how the Internet can affect an individual.

During his trial, he was assessed by four court-appointed psychiatrists in two different reports (TV2 2nd December 2011; VG n.d.). The first deemed him psychotic and thus criminally insane with the diagnosis paranoid schizophrenia, manifesting itself in psychotic delusions. The other deemed him not psychotic, as they only found *"... extreme political opinions, combined with conscious disregard for opposing views"* (Lovdata 2012, p. 70), and thus eligible for prison with the diagnosis anti-social personality disorder or narcissistic personality disorder. Another statement from the psychiatrist at Ila Landsfengsel, where he was imprisoned during the trial, also claimed he was not psychotic (VG n.d.). However, the psychiatric experts that testified in court argued that there were up to six possible diagnoses for Breivik. These may be the previous mentioned diagnoses, but also Asperger's,

Tourette's or paranoid psychosis (Dagbladet 9th June 2012). His psychiatrist from his childhood also believes he suffers from Aspergers (Aftenposten 8th June 2012). Ulrik Fredrik Malt, one of the psychiatrists that witnessed, argued that Breivik likely suffers from a combination of Aspergers, Tourettes and narcissistic personality disorder, which would explain his childhood behavior (NRK TV 8th June 2012). The psychiatrists claim that it is thus hard to pin down the exact diagnosis, mostly because his symptoms are not that discernable. The judgement (Lovdata 2012), states that he was declared sane at the time of the crime.

5.2.1 Insecurity, alienation and political activism

Anders Behring Breivik's childhood was one of insecurity and alienation. According to psychological evaluations TV2, a Norwegian news agency acquired (20th April 2016), the child psychologists at the National Centre for Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (SSBU)[8] wanted to forcibly remove Breivik from his mother's care. The psychologists' belief at the time was that Breivik was a victim of the third-generation hypothesis. The essence of the third-generation hypothesis, is that if the parents had a difficult childhood relationship with their parents (i.e. grandparents of their child), and then fail to evolve healthy relations with their own child, then that child will struggle in life. This was the case for Anders, as his mother's mother got infected by the polio-virus and became paralyzed from the waist down. According to Seierstad (2015), she isolated herself in their hometown, Kragerø, and no one was to know of her handicap. Anders' grandfather died when his mother, Wenche, was just eight years old, so she ended up caring for her mother, as she was bound to a wheelchair. Breivik's mother would regularly be blamed for her mother's paralysis, as she contracted the virus when giving birth to her. It was later assumed that Breivik's grandmother also suffered from both schizophrenia and paranoia, as well as being psychotic. Wenche was commanded to stay at home to care for her, and no friends were allowed to visit. This went on until she was 17, when she packed her bags and left for Oslo. She soon met Jens Breivik and became pregnant with Anders. According to reports, Anders' mother described him as a difficult child already in the womb claiming that he was: *"a nasty child that wreaked havoc and tormented her."* (TV2 20th April 2016). She wanted to abort him, but by the time she had the opportunity, she was past the legal three-month limit in Norway. The psychologists at SSBU believed that she experienced Anders as an evil child, which was *"... determined to destroy her"* (TV2 20th April 2016). They also concluded that she saw herself as a victim of a paranoid

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[8] In Norwegian: Statens Senter for Barne- og Ungdomspsykiatri (SSBU)

system. Her relationship with Jens ended, and in the apartment she borrowed from Jens, the children were left alone while she worked night shifts.

According to the psychology reports (Seierstad 2015; TV2 20th April 2016), when Breivik was only two years old, in 1981, his mother applied for social welfare benefits and for respite care the following year. She felt exhausted and Anders was becoming more and more demanding. When she tried to correct Anders verbally or physically, he only responded with smirks and laughs. His mother thought he was clingy and demanding, and he slept in the same bed as his mother with close physical contact. She tried to stop this but had made futile attempts. The psychologists believed she may not have wanted to. Her application for respite care went through and a young couple was awarded care for Anders, but his mother soon canceled the arrangement. The young couple told police in questioning after the attack in 2011, that at Anders' arrival, his mother had asked that he be allowed to touch the man's penis, because *"All he ever saw were girls' parts"* (TV2 20th April 2016). The reports further states that, in 1983, the family was admitted to SSBU, where Anders was diagnosed a "difficult child" based on his mother's testimony. At home, she claimed he would beat her and his sister, demanding his bottle, refusing normal meals, as well as demanding to sleep next to her. The SSBUs task was to assess the relationship and behavior within the family. The idea, was that if the family were "fixed", the child would improve and the symptoms would lessen. Most families returned home after treatment, but after four weeks, Anders and his family were still there. They soon discovered that Anders acted the opposite of what his mother had described. He was joyless in play, acted almost mechanically in activities, showed few emotions and moved carefully and controlled. The psychologists assessed him to be a normal child, but his home environment was his problem (Seierstad 2015; TV2 20th April 2016).

His mother, according to the reports (Seierstad 2015; TV2 20th April 2016), was assumed to be a borderline case, namely in a condition between neurotic and psychotic. The report states: *"Anders is a victim of his mother's projections of paranoid-aggressive and sexual fears toward men in general"*, and *"she projects onto him her own primitive, aggressive and sexual fantasies; all the qualities in men that she regards as dangerous and aggressive."* (TV2 20th April 2016). She was obsessed with sexual themes, and openly told her son that she wished he was dead. One report states that she could be happy and affectionate towards him, before screaming and acting aggressively the next moment. She held tightly on to Anders, while at the same time rejecting him. Their relationship was one of defiance, where he would alternate from clinginess, extreme childishness and petty aggression. According to the psychologists (TV2 20th April 2016), Anders had developed several negative

personality traits, and they eventually concluded that he had to be removed from his mother's care to try to correct the negative development. Anders was put in respite care during the weekends, as the Child Welfare Service believed it would be too dramatic for his mother. SSBU believed this was the first step in removing him from his mother altogether. However, according to Borchgrevink (2013), when Anders' father found out about the negligence, he filed for parental custody. Anders' mother, who initially was positive to respite care, suddenly rejected the possibility of leaving Anders in someone else's custody. The respite care was in her eyes, a sign that Jens would eventually get full custody over Anders, and then rejected the arrangement. Oslo District Court eventually ruled in favor of Anders' mother. Jens dropped his further court case, as he interpreted the ruling to mean there was no possibility of him getting parental custody and he had since very little contact with Anders. After this, the family was placed under supervision (TV2 20th April 2016), but nothing seemed amiss. Anders was thus never placed in foster-care or in respite care and supervision was discontinued. The psychologists at SSBU believed he would develop severe anti-social behavior, but not psychiatric issues. In the interviews conducted by police after the attacks, they described him as a *"… loner, with little discernable emotion and no close friends."* (TV2 20th April 2016).

The neighborhood that Anders grew up in was predominantly white, with people that belonged in the upper middle and upper class of society (Seierstad 2015). His family was not affluent in any way, which made them the odd ones out in their neighborhood. During his time in primary school, Gro Harlem Brundtland and the Worker's Party assumed power in government. This was a watershed in terms of equality, as the government now consisted of almost as many women as men. Several welfare policies were implemented, many directed at women and children's welfare. The general political standing in the area where Anders lived was conservatism, and this was not a welcome change of society in certain groups. Anders spent his time mostly by himself, except when he was with his friend Ahmed. They were best friends and could do everything together, but many of the children at his school and in his neighborhood thought of him as intense and creepy. The other children were also told that he was not allowed to come near their pets, as he was known to torment animals. Seierstad (2015) writes that he had developed a disdain for women, and when he was caught by a female neighbor for doing pranks, he avenged himself by urinating on her doormat, on her paper, in her postbox, and her section of the basement. But when he was reprimanded by a mentally disabled girl's father for bullying her, he never did anything to her again. However, in third grade, he started adapting to social life at school, and was considered mediocre in most. According to Seierstad (2015), during the early 1990s, gangs developed based on ethnicity that controlled different territories. These gangs started a new criminal trend that became very popular at this time: child robbery. Teenage

gangs from the poorer parts of Oslo would come to the richer parts, among them Anders' neighborhood, and demand payment for different reasons. If you did not pay, you were beaten up and robbed. However, even though Anders had made an alliance with the immigrants, this alliance did not last, as Anders was struck down by a Pakistani, of which he believed Ahmed was behind. Anders started carrying weapons when he went to parties and stayed in the neighborhoods on the western side of Oslo.

When he reached his teens (NOU 2012; Borchgrevink 2013; Seierstad 2015), he was involved in a gang that was spraying graffiti on public property. After trying to ascend the hierarchical system, he was frozen out, but kept spraying for himself. When he painted over one of the important gang members' graffiti, he was considered a wannabe, an outcast. The gang started a rumor that he was an informer for the police, which became the start of incessant bullying, not just in the graffiti gangs, but also at school. He was bullied for his looks, especially his large nose, and for trying to be something he was not. He continued his graffiti activities, and was reported by the police twice for trying to smuggle a large number of spray cans from Denmark, which resulted in the Child Welfare Office opening another case on him. This was not considered a serious case for the Child Welfare Office, but it had an impact on Breivik's social life at home. His father, Jens, did not want any more contact at all, and they only spoke shortly on the phone ten years later. According to Seierstad (2015), Anders developed low self-esteem because of the bullying, and he started using make-up, wear nice clothes, and he even fixed his nose in plastic surgery when he got older.

Seierstad (2015) writes that, in 1997, at 18 years old, Breivik engaged himself in FpU, the Progress Party Youth, formally becoming a member of FpU and FrP (the Progress Party) two years later. He was deputy chairman, as well as board member for Oslo West FpU during his time in the party, before formally ending his political career in 2007. It was at FpU that Anders met Lene Langemyr, a girl that had just as strong opinions about Islam as Anders. Anders became more active on FpUs forum writing about tips and different ideas he had for how they should do things, as well as being positive about others' ideas. According to Seierstad (2015) and Turrettini (2015), he also posted positive messages about Islam as a religion. The leader of FpU Oslo Jørgen Kallmyr, thought of him as someone who tried too much. Both Jørgen, Lene and Anders was nominated to enter the political list as representatives for FrP in the city council at the election in 2003. Lene and Jørgen was elected, but Anders was not even called in for an interview. After this he started being more negative, claiming on the FpU forum: *"What is sad with the political system in Norway, is that it often isn't the most competent who get political power, but those who are best at networking."* (Seierstad 2015, p. 105).

In one of his last messages on the forum, he claimed that there would be civil war when the Muslims took over power in Norway and that the Islamization of the West was terrifying.

Anders fared relatively well during his years in school, at least until high school (NOU 2012; Seierstad 2015). He ends up dropping out of high school, for the purpose of starting his own businesses and becoming rich. He established several, but most of them were declared bankrupt and dissolved. Among them was diplomaservice.com, which sold fake diplomas from American universities to foreign citizens. This business was successful and he earned a couple million Norwegian Kroner (NOK), even though it was in a moral gray-area. He had several friends and he lived a fairly social life, however, when his friends started getting girlfriends, Anders usually went home alone. He complained that Norwegian women *"... were too liberated and would never make good housewives."* (Seierstad 2015, p. 110). He thus went to a Ukrainian dating-website, where he made contact with Natascha, a girl from Belarus. However, she only had intentions of exploiting him for his money, and she was sent home after a short time. Anders' mother was the one who was sad when she left, claiming that *"Anders hadn't been able to afford to keep her."* (Seierstad 2015, p. 112). He eventually dissolved his fake diploma service in fear of being named as the person behind it, after the websites had been exposed by Aftenposten. He started trading stocks but tied up too much of his capital as the stock market dropped. Anders then started to withdraw from his social life, isolating himself in his room. Seierstad (2015), further writes that his mother suggested he should move back in with her to save money, which he did in 2006. His computer became an escape from reality, and he started playing games that was prioritized over his social life. He started eating unhealthy food, stopped exercising, did not socialize with his friends and claimed that *"Life is a rat race. Dancing in never-ending circles to get rich. I can't do it anymore"* (Seierstad 2015, p. 120).

Anders was successful in the game World of Warcraft[9], where he eventually became leader of a guild, and he was considered a good and inspirational leader for the rest of his team (Seierstad 2015). Six months after he started gaming, he was accepted as a member in the Freemasons, something he had dreamt of for a long time. However, the gaming was prioritized over the Freemasons, and he dropped out after only a couple of meetings. His activity on World of Warcraft became more and more aggressive, demanding progress from his fellow guild-members. He removed players that were

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[9] A MMORPG (Massive Multiplayer Online Role-Playing Game) where the goal is to ascend in levels and rank, completing missions with other players.

openly defiant of his commands, that he thought was not skilled enough or he simply did not like. This was serious to Anders, and people who were not dedicated enough was removed from the guild. After a year online, he claimed he had started collecting texts to include in his book on the Islamization of Europe. In the summer of 2008 he took a break and socialized with his former roommates, but they claimed he had become single-minded, as he said that *"the Muslims are waging a demographic war"* (Seierstad 2015, p. 154) and that *"The Muslims will take power in Europe because they have so many bloody children."* (Seierstad 2015, p. 154). He had discovered the world of right-wing extremist forums, that were just a click away from his games. The forums and websites took all his time, and all had the same message: to crush the Islamic influence on the West, using a strong language of unity, that "we" had to crush "them". Anders could also engage in these forums without the requirement of proving himself to join them. He had found a new place where he believed he fit in, and there was no ambiguity like he had experienced in other social arenas. One of the forums were called "Gates of Vienna", which was a hub for extreme anti-Islamic texts. On Gates of Vienna, Breivik was introduced to "Fjordman"[10] (VG 23rd December 2011), and other writers that believed in the Eurabia-theory created by Bat Ye'or. According to Strømmen (2011), this is a conspiracy theory that believes European leaders actively seeks to Islamize Europe by gradually implementing Islam-friendly policies in return for oil and peace. The goal is to merge Europe and the Arabic world to create "Eurabia" in order to undermine the cultural heritage of Europeans and erode the alliance between Europe and the U.S., thus weakening the state of Israel. Breivik started compiling the texts he was inspired by into a compendium that he called *"2083 – A European Declaration of Independence"* (Berwick 2011, p. 1). He also started preparing for an attack on his enemy, the multiculturalists, or at least what he believed was the symbol of multiculturalism in Norway at the time: The Worker's Party.

According to the NOU (2012), in the spring of 2011, Breivik rented a farm at Åsta, where he produced the bomb and prepared for his attack. Several people that came by the farm, reacted to his extreme statements and hateful opinions, but did not believe he was violent. While preparing, he started using anabolic steroids to try and reduce his anxiety of being caught. At this farm, he also produced a narcotic substance, called ECA-stack[11], to calm his nerves (Aftenposten 31st May 2012). By April, Breivik had used all of his funds in Norwegian bank accounts, and thus started withdrawing money

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[10] His real name is Peder Jensen.

[11] A combination of ephedrine, caffeine and aspirin used as a stimulant or for weight loss. The effect on him was considered to be similar to a beginner's dose of amphetamine.

on credit cards he had obtained in 2009. By 22nd of July, he had a credit card debt of 217.798 NOK. He realized that he had spent all his funds and had to accelerate his plans. His plan was to carry out the attack in the fall, where he could maximize his damages, but he now had to carry it out during the summer, when few people were at work. This is supposedly where he figured that he could attack the Worker's Youth summer camp at Utøya in addition to the bomb at the government's quarter.

5.2.2 The quest for a "pure" Europe

Just before his attacks, Breivik posted his compendium online under the pseudonym "Andrew Berwick" (Berwick 2011). The compendium is divided up in three parts, where each part was intended to become its own book. The first gives a general background on what the reader should know on the *"falsified history of Europe"* and the *"cultural Marxist/multiculturalist propaganda"* (Berwick 2011, p. 45). The second book is called *"Europe burning"* (Berwick 2011, p. 287) and encompasses the problems with current European policies and possible solutions to these. The last book is named *"A declaration of pre-emptive war"* (Berwick 2011, p. 776), which Anders claims is the only solution. Here he lists the different strategies and tactics one must employ to wage the war, as well as a list of the different threats and traitors they must face and destroy. In this compendium (Berwick 2011), he claims to be a warrior in the Knights Templar that fights against multiculturalism in the name of cultural conservatism. He declared himself the "Justicious Knight Commander", the highest rank obtainable in the organization.

The document is mostly copy-pasted from different sources, a lot of repetition and some contradictions, but it gives insight into his values and beliefs. He also employed a known tactic from Robert Spencer, to cut passages out of context and alter them, so that they suited his beliefs about the violence and hate that Islam through the Quran conveys (Strømmen 2011; Seierstad 2015). He claims to adhere to the "Vienna-school", a term he has most likely invented himself, which consists of *"... a hybrid of several conservative and traditionalist directions"* (Berwick 2011, p. 1235). He further claims that this perspective cannot be called a proper ideology, but a caricature of a reactionary ideological platform, yet work as an alternative to the left. His ideology is a strictly anti-jihad/Islamic stance, where the aim is to *"... ensure a consolidation of anti-Marxist forces before Europe is overwhelmed demographically by Muslims."* (Berwick 2011, p. 1235). This "ideology" is detailed in the next pages, where he lists what it supports, and what it does not. Among the issues it supports are nationalism, Christian identity, "monoculturalism" and patriarchy. The media is supposed to get restricted rights, and the Knights Templar is generally against a socialist/communist economic model,

as well as liberalistic/individualistic ideas if they restrict the development of the collective society. These few keywords seem to indicate a desire for an authoritarian, homogenic state, where Christianity provides the moral framework. Yet, despite using these terms, he claims that the "Vienna-school" is anti-fascistic, anti-nazi and anti-racist. He legitimizes this claim by arguing that after staging a coup, the constitution and democratic rules will only be suspended for a limited time. A new, controlled democratic model inspired by Russia, will be the new system to *"... ensure that Marxists will never again get the chance to infiltrate state or media bodies."* (Berwick 2011, p. 1355.) Multiculturalism is the largest problem, according to Breivik (Berwick 2011). The immigration policies in Europe are the result of multiculturalist doctrines that has infiltrated the system. This wording gives indication that "multiculturalism" is a foreign and negative idea, that is the catalyst for society's decay. His ideas come from different authors (Berwick 2011; Seierstad 2015; Strømmen 2011), of which he names the most important: Bat Ye'or (aka Giselle Littmann), Robert Spencer and Fjordman. Seierstad (2015) and Turrettini (2015) claims that Anders tried to come into contact with Fjordman but did not receive any positive replies. In his compendium, he criticized the writers on Gates of Vienna for not doing enough, especially for only using democratic methods to convey their message, Anders wanted some action, especially by deporting the Muslims from Norway (Berwick 2011). This is the general message throughout the compendium: that no Muslim can be trusted. Only a reversion to a society where there were no Muslims in Europe is an acceptable course of action.

One of the important factors, according to Strømmen (2011), is that Breivik was not alone in believing what he did. Breivik was rarely exposed to different opinions, mostly because he actively sought out the extremist forums, as well as believing that the mass-media were one of the enemy. Breivik was increasingly influenced by the extremists online from about 2007 onwards. Anders and Fjordman established contact via e-mail after Breivik left him his e-mail address in an article at document.no, another right-wing website. In his e-mails to the former blogger, he writes about how he is going to distribute his book (i.e. his compendium), as was sent to different news agencies just hours before his attack. Fjordman denied any wide-spread contact with Breivik and dismissed most of his claims and proposals. However, Breivik copied and pasted most of Fjordman's essays into his compendium, and praise his opinions and writings, claiming that: *"He is most likely the most talented right wing essay writer in Europe."* (Berwick 2011, p. 1405). The NOU (2012) states that he maintained contact with the extremist environments during his preparations for the attack. His statements online and in the physical world, was considered radical and extreme, but none considered him dangerous. His demeanor was intense and determined, but also isolated, silent and withdrawn when the topic was not about Islam or immigration, according to people that engaged with him in social settings.

Furthermore, he kept a relatively moderate profile online, to avoid suspicion from the authorities. However, his ambitions within the anti-jihad forums were not realized and he struggled to gain a position in the community. His ideas for content on document.no was rejected several times and he kept a moderate profile at physical meetings arranged by document.no. Breivik was also active on the English Defence League's (EDL) forums and physical events by EDL, according to Strømmen (2011).

The list of traitors, according to his compendium (Berwick 2011), is an extensive list of different professions, including teachers, cartoonists, artists, journalists, scientists and Church leaders. People who directly or indirectly funded activities that promoted multiculturalism were also accused, but only if they had done so knowingly. He accused them of contributing to the cultural genocide of native Europeans and allowing a foreign invasion and colonization by facilitating a systematic Islamic demographic warfare, claiming Europe was in the same situation as Tibet. Seierstad (2015) writes that Anders also claim that the multiculturalists were responsible for silently accepting the rape of a half to a million European women and actively supporting feminism, egalitarianism, Islamism and emotionalism. Traitors would be punished by the category of offence they belonged to, as either A- or B-traitors. However, all multiculturalists would be pardoned if they gave themselves over to the Knights Templar by the 1st of January 2020. This is also when the deportation of Muslims would begin, if they did not convert to Christianity and assimilate to European culture. On the other hand, he claimed that one should not attack the Muslims, as they are not the immediate threat. His reasons for the attacks, were not to attack Islam, but the ones that were responsible for promoting "multiculturalism", so that the influx of (mainly Islamic) immigrants would stop. His actions were to be the spark that started the debate and eventual restrictions on immigration policies.

Breivik was asked by his attorneys if he wanted to give a direct interview after his arrest, but he was uncertain because he feared ridicule (VG 25th October 2011). This is a confirmation of his assessment of the press as the "enemy", which he claims in his compendium: *Unless you are a master at this game you should never give direct interviews and you should never agree to give interviews unconditionally.*" (Berwick 2011, p. 396). He thought of the media as a propaganda-machine for the Islamization of Europe, and all journalists are multiculturalists. Breivik also argues in his compendium (Berwick 2011), that the European cultural Marxists/multiculturalists believed in a "matriarchal Europe". Europe was gradually going to be dominated by females, because that was the only "natural society". He further claimed that their goal was to destroy the hegemony of white males, using their "totalitarian" and "fanatical" ideology. Furthermore, he claims that modern liberalism

propagates a way of life that only results in chaos and social anarchy. Preserving his perceived social hierarchy is important, and it is the "New Age Baby Boomers"[12] that is in charge in Europe and the USA, which through their counterculture in the 1960s and 1970s are eroding the "good" moral values and power structures. He also writes about how people who engage in several sexual relationships are the *"... living manifestations of the complete breakdown of sexual moral"* (Berwick 2011, p. 1174), and how he could list all of his friends that had which number of sexual partners, as well as how he *"... could easily have chosen the same path if I wanted to, due to my looks, status, resourcefulness and charm."* (Berwick 2011, p. 1174). Breivik believes that the state institutions as well as the schools are brainwashing the population into believing that the "multiculturalist" doctrines will prevent their annihilation. Breivik mentions one of these brainwashing techniques when he describes how to make uniforms. He claims that the mandatory sewing and knitting courses in primary school is *"implemented with the goal of deliberately contribute to feminize European boys in their insane quest to attempt to create the Marxist utopia consisting of "true equality between the sexes."* (Berwick 2011, p. 863).

5.2.3 Rejection, failure and the need to fit in

In the pyramid of opinion, there are easily discernable events that led him further upwards towards feeling he had a personal moral obligation. One can argue that his ascendance into becoming a sympathizer started in his late teens, when he experienced the immigrant gangs that robbed children and teens on the westside of Oslo. He claims to have been betrayed by his former best friend, Ahmed, which may have been a crossroads for him psychologically. Already here, he had been taught indirectly by the experience, that there was an "us" and a "them". Breivik (Berwick 2011) claims he started sympathizing with his cause by referring to this experience, and that the lack of political will to bring the Muslims to justice for their attacks on Norwegian youth made him sick. The lack of integration became the symbol for his growing nationalism, and he started believing he should protect Norway (and eventually Europe) from those that did not want to assimilate. Therefore, he started justifying the cause when he started his political career. He was active in FrP and FpU, and when he did not succeed here, went over to extremist forums. It is thus discernable how he believed that the FrP and FpU was not extreme enough in their rhetoric and had to find another arena. In the extremist forums, he also did not have to prove himself to join. He was an openly welcome member, but he wanted to be seen and recognized by his idols. When he eventually realized that his fellow participants

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[12] A reference to the term used on the generation born between the mid-1940s and early 1960s.

in the forums only talked about changing society, he began telling himself that it was his personal moral obligation to act since no one else did.

There were many reasons why Breivik sought out extremist forums, such as the negative experiences with immigrants in his teens. He had also developed an anti-social behavior, which may have facilitated an easier involvement with extreme thoughts, likely produced by his troubled childhood (TV2 20th April 2016; Seierstad 2015). One can argue that his environment at home made Anders feel insecure, as he had an ambivalent relationship with his own mother likely produced by her own issues, while possibly suffering from Asperger's[13]. He thus repeatedly failed to understand the social codes that were provided for him in each group, making him insecure of what to do. He may also have learned some of the social codes and believed one had to follow these strictly in order to succeed, as well as not really making an impact on anyone, thus being ignored. The groups where he initially fit in, eventually realized that he was trying too much to be something he was not and excluded him. This happened with his friends in the graffiti gang, in his political career and on the extremist forums. It is probably the rejection from the people he looked up to, like Fjordman and other in the extremist forums, that tipped him over the edge towards violent action. There are several indications that he kept these sentiments before he was rejected (Seierstad 2015; Turrettini 2015), but those rejections pushed him to believe he had to act upon his personal moral obligation. However, this insecurity only resulted in him feeling excluded from society. He therefore had to create his own. His actions in planning and preparing for the attack, can therefore be seen as a way of controlling his own life and giving it a higher purpose. Through his compendium he defined himself as a man of the highest rank in an organization that, according to the psychological experts in court (Dagbladet 19th April 2012), likely does not exist. The compendium also describes what Europe should look like, and how it should be governed (Berwick 2011). He also gives a detailed account of how the process up until the year 2083 will look like, what the cultural conservatives should do and who is the enemy. He has thus written down what he believes should be his history, and why.

Anders was thus attracted to an ideology that advocated force as a measure for fulfilling their goal. According to Gullestad (in Jupskås 2012), the forums worked as echo chambers, where all that was said was "mirrored" by the other participants, thus developing the ideology without influences from the outside. The ideology that Anders developed justified the use of violence in his view, as he

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[13] It is important to note that he has never been formally diagnosed with Asperger's.

claimed that the multiculturalists was responsible for the wrongdoings against his society. However, his actions can be argued was a result of personal grievances against important people in his life that let him down. This "subjective war scenario", legitimized the need for violence because of a "distant war" that he felt obligated to fight in. Gullestad (in Jupskås 2012) claims that the relationship between psychological motives and the ideology becomes dialectic in nature, as the individual seeks an ideology that "fits" the purpose, yet is needed to legitimize the actions. In Breivik's case, the idea of a "pure" Europe facilitated the violence. Furthermore, as Hylland Eriksen claims (in Jupskås 2012), the smaller the group, the larger the perceived pressure from the outside. One can claim that Anders felt a certain pressure from society, even though it may not have been there. This manifested itself mostly in his desire of becoming an important person, whether it be as an influential or rich person. The reasons for this may be that he sought attention from his mother or father, as he was neglected in this area as a child. It may also be that he sought to establish his own identity, in which he believed he would be accepted if he strove to become something society would think of as "good". However, his aspirations failed and he thus blamed everything but his own actions. This failure may also have led him to isolate himself, seeking to avoid the confrontations with his own decisions.

Breivik can be argued to have skipped only one step in the pyramid of action. He started out as an inert individual up until his late teens. From the age of 18, he joined FpU and FrP (NOU 2012; Seierstad 2015; Turrettini 2015) and can be considered what McCauley and Moskalenko describes as the "activist", which engage in legal political action. He then skipped the third step, as he did not engage in illegal political activism but became a terrorist. He figured he had to either go the legal way by influencing people through his own conservative media agency (which failed) or use force, in which he decided to use terrorism as a tactic. Breivik is thus one of the terrorists that McCauley and Moskalenko argue are the least of, since he stopped by the "activist"-stage. It is also clear that Breivik wanted to stay on the level of activism, since he wanted to pursue a political career in FpU/FrP. However, when this failed, he tried to engage himself in extremist forums and wanted to publish the texts of the other participants. He tried hard to fit in in both places, but his efforts were rejected and he felt he had failed, much like he had failed to climb the hierarchy in his graffiti gang. When he was rejected from the election for city council, he stopped being active, and later ended his political career altogether. The rejection from Fjordman and his consequent failure to establish a conservative news agency played a defining role. It seems like this was the last failure that drove him to act, since no one else would. The frustration of not being seen or heard throughout his political career and activity on online forums can arguably have triggered some latent feeling of not being good enough.

5.2.4 Personal morality, online activity and a desire for attention

Breivik was, according to the psychological reports from the 1980s (TV2 20th April 2016), a victim of mental and physical abuse from his mother, which likely developed an anti-social personality in Breivik. He blames the immigration policies of Europe for the "Islamization" of the continent, while also blaming citizens that they do not get enough children (Berwick 2011). It is evident that Anders carried some personal grievances against his mother, even though it most likely was subconscious. She had broken him down all his life, developing a grievance against all women that was self-sufficient and fighting for the feminist cause. According to Seierstad (2015), he was unable to connect on a deeper level with women, even with his mother. He also had a strong desire to succeed, whether he became rich or powerful. He did not want to be one of many and sought out communities where he had a chance to succeed: in the graffiti gang in his teens, in his businesses and his political career in FpU, his short time in the Freemasons, in the game World of Warcraft, and lastly in the extremist forums. When these attempts failed, he started isolating himself from everyone. Breivik also did not deal with rejection very well. When he was rejected, he reacted with anger, as is evident from his posts on the FpU forum after he was turned down for the city council election. He had initially been positive on the forum, but was increasingly negative after being rejected.

As he claims in his compendium (Berwick 2011), he kept grievances for all those that he perceived had wronged him in any way. First was his mother and sister, which he claims got different sexual transmittable infections. His sister, according to himself, went untreated for chlamydia and gonorrhea, which led her to not be able to have children naturally and almost died during her second cesarean section. His mother got genital herpes from her boyfriend at the age of 48, which led to an infection that eventually spread to her brain and caused meningitis. She thus had to retire early, and that her mental capacities had reduced to those of a ten-year-old. The family had brought shame over themselves and him. Second, his childhood friend Ahmed, was blamed for hating the Norwegian culture, by engaging in the Islamic culture which was destructive. He accused him of beating people up and raping women. He was not properly integrated, which meant that integration was not possible for anyone. Breivik claims that *"... his total lack of respect for my culture (and Western culture in general) actually sparked my interest and passion for it"* (Berwick 2011, p. 1389). Third, he claimed that the graffiti gangs are the worst hypocrites he had met in his life. The gangs were racist and fascistic, even though they claimed to be tolerant and antifascist. He dropped out of the gang, according to himself (Berwick 2011), not because he was frozen out, but because he wanted to focus on school and not be involved in drugs and crime. Fourth, were FrP, where he claimed to have been betrayed by a fellow politician, Jørgen Kallmyr. All these grievances were, however, just products of

a corrupt system and culture that collectively will result in the demise of Western culture. He developed an online activity that frequented extremist forums, blogs and websites, especially in closed groups on Facebook. These groups were in large part anti-Islam groups (Strømmen 2011). He was active on forums related to EDL, document.no and on closed groups on Facebook. He also expressed his opinions to people he met, even though they were not interested. This happened several times at the farm he rented, where he prepared for the attack (NOU 2012). He claims to adhere to cultural conservatism, which tries to counter multiculturalism by trying to enlighten people about the brainwashing they have been subject to throughout their life. His affinity with online sympathizers mostly came from texts he read online, and his beliefs was shaped more online than any physical encounters where he had to verbally express his beliefs.

He was likely indirectly enabled from childhood by his mother, which provided an insecure environment with little to no respite from mental and physical abuse. He developed an anti-social behavior, which may have helped him isolate and create his own personal ideology. Another enabler was the environment at FpU/FrP. Here he met fellow people who believed in the danger of letting Muslims into the country. He would seek out the same environment on the Internet, although in an extreme form, only a few years after his departure from FpU/FrP. On the other hand, according to Strømmen (2011), Breivik was influenced the most by the right-wing bloggers Fjordman, Robert Spencer and Bat Ye'or, which he cited several times in his compendium. Fjordman was the most important of these, and he used rhetoric that may be interpreted to use force in order to defend their way of life. For example, he had published his own "European declaration of independence" in 2007, which is the same name Breivik gave his compendium. These two are fairly similar in content, mostly since many of Fjordman's essays were included in full in Breivik's compendium. Fjordman further claims that "the European people", have to use "appropriate means" to "defend themselves and their national survival". Among these were to remove Jens Stoltenberg and his followers from power, who are just as traitorous as Vidkun Quisling. This must be done before Europe is taken over, colonized and occupied by Islamists (Strømmen 2011). Many of Breivik's sentiments, thus seem to be similar to Fjordman and his opinions. As Strømmen (2011) argues, the Internet is a valuable and easily accessible source to many ideological texts, but also material that is created to emphasize the extreme political standpoints. Among these materials are music, movies and pictures. Breivik (Berwick 2011, p. 855-856) highlights the use of music to sustain high morale. Furthermore, according to Hamm & Spaaij (2017), Breivik was enabled on an operational level by other terrorists, because he studied their tactics and employed bomb-making skills that the IRA, ETA and Timothy McVeigh had used.

The way Breivik broadcasted his intent was to publish his compendium online and sending it to over a thousand recipients (Gardell 2014). He also posted videos online that explained the contents of his compendium (Berwick 2011). His aim was to distribute his compendium to create awareness for his cause. Otherwise, he had limited interactions with other people, as his tactic was to stay out of the spotlight. He claims that having accomplices only increased the chance of being caught (Berwick 2011). He therefore did not broadcast his intent before releasing the compendium. However, he claimed at numerous times, that he was going to fight the multicultural system by peaceful means, trying to establish a national news media agency that would represent the cultural conservatives. This would try to influence people to vote for FrP and thus removing the cultural Marxists of the left from power (Seierstad 2015; Turrettini 2015). His intent was also broadcasted several times in the extremist forums, however by more peaceful means.

The triggering event seems to have been at the time he tried to establish a conservative news media agency and sending the unfinished compendium to Fjordman. When he was rejected by Fjordman, and the prospects of establishing a news agency failed, he started preparing for the attack himself (Seierstad 2015; Turrettini 2015; Hamm & Spaaij 2017). However, according to himself (Berwick 2011), the triggering event was the Norwegian involvement in the NATO-sanctioned bombings in Serbia in 1999. He reasons that bombing Serbia was unjust, because *"All they wanted was to drive Islam out by deporting the Albanian Muslims back to Albania."* (Berwick 2011, p. 1380). He further claims that since then, several events have only confirmed his beliefs. It is thus arguable that Breivik went through the escalation thresholds that Hamm & Spaiij (2017) describes. The different events, both the ones he claims himself and those reported by Seierstad (2015) and Turrettini (2015), have contributed to the psychological pressure that eventually tipped him over. Turrettini (2015) argues that this was just an excuse, and he needed to sound reasonable in his compendium. She further argues, in line with Seierstad (2015) and Hamm & Spaaij (2017), that the combination of events that culminated in being rejected by Fjordman and the political life in Norway triggered his actions. The NOU (2012) claims, that the operational triggering event for Breivik, was the lack of economic funds. His original plan was to carry out his plan in the fall, where the damage to civilian lives would have been greater. When realizing he had to do it during the summer, he then also decided to attack the Worker's Youth summer camp at Utøya.

5.2.5 Summary

Anders Behring Breivik was thus an individual that experienced several negative events in his life. He developed personal grievances for his family and society in general, blaming the "multiculturalist

system" for the negative effects he saw in his community. His isolation from the world and engaging with right-wing extremists online without seeking other interpretations of the world, created a single-minded perception of society that eventually drove him to commit an act of terrorism. He sought and found an understanding of the world that was perfectly logical according to his experiences, which was developed further to include a plan as to how one could overthrow the "enemies of society", as can be seen in his compendium. His constant experiences with rejection led him to feel he did not belong, and he had to act upon his ideas, since no one else did. His motivations for carrying out this campaign against multiculturalism, he claims (Berwick 2011), is his love for Europe and European culture, and claims that Europe has become a "dumping ground" for excess population in other countries. He does not hate Muslims, but he expects them to assimilate, or else they will be deported. Furthermore, if the cultural Marxists were to renounce multiculturalism, and removed all Muslims from Europe, he would stop his campaign and forgive them for their crimes. He gives a deadline until 2020, or else the Knights Templar will start killing the multiculturalists until they are annihilated. He also claims to support immigration in a limited form, where only a few people are allowed into Europe, and only non-Muslims that can contribute.

6 Cross-case discussion and findings

6.1 Social environment

Their childhood and family had fairly similar impacts on the two terrorists. Both home environments conditioned them to become loners, in Rudolph's case by instilling paranoia and fear of being watched and controlled. Rudolph was indoctrinated by his own mother, adopting the idea that life was a private and an isolated lifestyle should be something to strive for. This was only emphasized when he experienced what he perceives as "failures" in the system at school, in the Army and in society in general. Breivik's mother created an insecure space at home for Anders, which led him to develop anti-social behavior. Breivik's and Rudolph's stories are different, yet led to the same outcome, an isolated social life, and significant pressure from both themselves and their closest family to become something. There are at least three common factors that led to their radicalization process. First, both struggled to establish significant emotional relationships in life. For Rudolph, this is accentuated by his failed relationships (Vollers 2006). For Breivik, this is seen in his relationship with his mother and in his lack of adult relationships (Seierstad 2015). Second, they both isolated themselves, which contributed to their development of individualistic ideologies. Rudolph isolated himself several times, but mostly from his social life at school. When he started planning and preparing for his actions (Rudolph 2013), he claims that isolation was the best cause of action to avoid detection. Breivik isolated himself from 2007 to 2011, when he had moved back home to his mother (Seierstad 2015; Turrettini 2015). He ended all social contact with his previous environment and started writing his compendium. However, even though he was active on extremist forums, he was rarely challenged on his opinions, something he probably would have been in his former social group. Third, this isolation and lack of acceptance, or feeling thereof, in groups and society may have led to their feelings of becoming "warriors for justice". Both Breivik and Rudolph struggled in school, and struggling to fit into groups made them look for a greater purpose. They both claim to be members of their own groups, Rudolph in the Army of God, while Breivik claims to be a member of the Knights Templar. This shows that both had a desire to be a part of a group, and these groups defined their identities.

The political environment in their respective communities where they grew up were also similar. Both were conservative, however with different degrees of conservatism and aversion for socialism (Vollers 2006; Seierstad 2015). They both developed anti-governmental ideas, which were rooted in conspiracies that the system was failing because of a corrupt government. However, in Breivik's case, it was a development of his own idea and conspiracy, inspired by right-wing extremists online. His conspiracy was highly influenced by the right-wing extremists, but he developed these ideas further

and claimed that Europe would be part of a global war. Rudolph, on the other hand, was influenced by the Patriot movement into believing the "Conspiracy". He then mixed this conspiracy with his religious morals, which resulted in him choosing abortion clinics as symbolic targets for the government's betrayal of its own citizens. Breivik (Berwick 2011), contrasting Rudolph, did not want to abolish the government, he only wanted to change the regime and policies that were friendly towards Islam in Europe. His actions would, if the regime and policies did not change, inspire other terrorist cells in Europe to start the war he had proposed. The ultimate goal for Rudolph was to abolish the federal government, but he realized that he needed more support from the people to accomplish this. His plan, according to his memoirs (Rudolph 2013), was that the bombings would inspire others to carry out similar attacks, eventually forcing the conservative politicians to implement policies to counteract the liberal policies. He used abortion as a justification to carry out the conservative ideas others had instilled in him through his close relations, such as Tom Branham and his mother, but also through the Christian Identity movement and the Patriot movement.

6.2 The psychological factors

Comparing the two terrorists using the theory of McCauley and Moskalenko (2014), it is evident that they went through different processes. While Rudolph progressed through the pyramid of opinion rather gradually from his childhood, Breivik only started ascending when he was in his late teens. Rudolph was taught to sympathize with and justify the anti-abortionist cause from an early age, using religion as a moral guide (Rudolph 2013; Vollers 2006). His justification increased as he immersed himself in the Patriot movement, being exposed to several conspiracy theories on how the government would overthrow the Constitution. He began believing it was his personal moral obligation to act when he experienced several perceived deficiencies in the system and he believed the Patriot movement would not act upon their opinions. Breivik followed a similar process, but where Rudolph experienced inclusion in movements, Breivik experienced rejection (Seierstad 2015; Turrettini 2015). Experiences of rejection in his childhood and teens laid the foundation for his sympathy with the cause he believed in. The rejection he experienced in his early adult life, however, pushed him towards using violence as an expression. His ascension into believing it was his personal moral obligation came when he started frequenting extremist forums (Seierstad 2015; Turrettini 2015). He believed in the cause that was portrayed on the forums, but when he was rejected by the prominent authors like Fjordman and the ones that could realize his dream of creating a conservative news agency, he decided it was his obligation to use violence to express his beliefs. Following the pyramid of action, however, they are different. Rudolph went from inert to becoming a terrorist very quickly. Breivik went through the stage of legal political action, before he was rejected and realized he had to

act. Rudolph thus skipped two of the possible stages, while Breivik only skipped one. It also seems that Breivik wanted to stay in the activism-stage, as he wanted to influence the political processes either as a politician for FrP or as the founder of a conservative news agency. However, as they are both arrested and are serving time in prison, they have no ability to stay in the top two stages. Breivik has become inert to a certain degree, but Rudolph has descended to the stage of activism, since his texts are being published. He is thus trying to contribute to the legal political process by influencing those that reads what he writes.

Eric Rudolph and Anders Behring Breivik was fairly similar in their beliefs and motivations, even though they went through two different processes at different points in time. They both believed they would be the ones to force their "enemy" to change their ways, or at least inspire other to join them in their campaign. For Rudolph (2013), this meant that his actions would force conservatives to push the liberal establishment into a corner and change important policies like the ones on abortion. Breivik (Berwick 2011) believed he would be the inspiration for others who believed what he believed into overthrowing the multiculturalist government and start deporting Muslims from Europe. Both believed they adhered to superior morals, where piety, discipline and self-restraint are "good" morals and the countercultural morals of the 1960s and 1970s are the "bad". Both Rudolph and Breivik believe that the people behind the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s are to blame for the continuingly deteriorating moral values. Especially the sexual revolution, the fight for equal rights between genders and the message of peace and love were symbols of "bad" moral values being consolidated in society (Berwick 2011; Rudolph 2013). Both claim that the ones that fought the hardest for these new values came to power and thus further deteriorate society through politics. The difference is that they blame two different aspects of society as the gravest treason to their nation. For Rudolph (2013), this is the legalization of abortion and the general change in moral values that women can exercise their right to have an abortion. For Breivik (Berwick 2011), the immigration and "occupation" of Europe by Muslims are the indirect result of what he calls multiculturalism. Furthermore, they justify their actions by claiming to be nationalists and fight for what is right for their people. They both developed strong aversion for state institutions and believe the education system and media is riddled with enemies that brainwash the citizens of their respective countries, since it is the people behind the counterculture that is in charge of society. One can argue that they are both reactionary, since both want to return to a past era where their beliefs stood stronger. Rudolph (2013) claims this is before the 1960s and 1970s, but more specifically the time of the pioneers and establishment of the Constitution, since this was the time of "great men" who saw the Constitution as an important symbol. Breivik (Berwick 2011) believes this was before the 1960s as well, since the

counterculture opened for the immigration of Muslims. Justification for their actions were also picked from religious texts. Just as cherry-picking the Bible was important for Rudolph to confirm his views of the world, Breivik used the method on the Quran to confirm his views on the Islamization of Europe.

Both experienced social isolation and rejection in some form. Rudolph (Vollers 2006), was taught to isolate himself by his mother, to minimize government invasion of private life. She taught him to hate the government, as well as inculcating religious beliefs that based themselves on race and ethnicity. Rudolph was also influenced by Tom Branham and the Patriot movement to believe in conspiracy theories and the eventual destruction of the American people by the government. The rejection he felt likely came from his inability to sustain emotional relationships and the insecurity he had developed in his childhood. Strømmen (2011) argues that Breivik believed terrorist cells, especially solo-cells, were paramount in the beginning of the "European civil war". Breivik thus seems to believe in a coming end of the world (at least in the sense we know it today), only in a less apocalyptic manner than Rudolph. Even though he struggled to make friends during his childhood, he had no trouble making friends during his teens and adult life, but he was eventually rejected or he rejected them himself. His isolation was mostly self-inflicted, as he started staying inside working on his compendium (Seierstad 2015; Turrettini 2015). Both Breivik and Rudolph wanted to become something they were not, and they tried to establish themselves as important individuals. This is evident in Rudolph's claims that he was a part of the Army of God (Vollers 2006), while Breivik claimed he was the commander of the "Knights Templar" (Berwick 2011). They both wanted to be portrayed as warriors for justice, someone who saved society from its own destruction. However, there is a gap between what they claim to be, and what they are according to other sources. They tried to direct a certain perspective of their actions to make society believe they were something greater, but what happened was that society saw them as someone who *wanted* to be seen as something greater. Furthermore, these claims of belonging to a group also shows the desire to be a part of something greater than themselves. This imagined community they believed to be a part of, show that they felt some sort of remote intimacy with the group or idea they claim to represent. However, as previously mentioned, the Knights Templar are most likely not real (Dagbladet 19th April 2012), and the Army of God is also a more loosely used term on the general movement by Christian religious extremists in the U.S. (Martin & Kushner 2011).

Using this analysis of the two cases, they are arguably similar, yet different. The two profiles of characteristics provided by McCauley and Moskalenko (2014), indicates that they belong to different

profiles. Rudolph arguably belongs to the "caring-consistency" profile, since he believed he fought for justice for unborn children. This was his most consistent argument in his memoirs, and it is also evident in his other texts. Breivik on the other hand, can be argued belongs to the "disconnected-disordered" profile, as he was socially disconnected as well as suffering from some form of personality disorder.

6.3 The radicalization process

Applying the theory of Hamm and Spaaij (2017), both Breivik and Rudolph went through the same stages only in different order. Breivik kept highly personal grievances that manifested themselves in a political ideology created by people he admired (Berwick 2011; Seierstad 2015; Turrettini 2015). However, he created his own narrative based on their texts, claiming to predict the outcome of his actions. The ideology he adheres to was rooted in personal experiences with his family and friends, as well as how he felt he was rejected by society (Berwick 2011; Seierstad 2015). Rudolph also kept personal grievances, but these were mostly inspired by his upbringing and his social networks (Vollers 2006). Furthermore, Rudolph's grievances were directed at the system and the government, while Breivik directed his grievances towards anyone who had wronged or rejected him. Both claimed that there was a single issue that was to blame for their perceived failures of society, which had to be symbolized through an attack on a specific target.

They both developed affinity with extremist movements or sympathizers online, however on different arenas. Where Rudolph sought out these environments in the physical world, Breivik engaged with them online. This is mainly due to the fact that the Internet was not that widespread in the 1980s and 1990s. Breivik was in his teens when the Internet started becoming an all-access technology, and he was thus an experienced user by the time he started planning. The effect was the same, however, only more readily available for Breivik. In these two arenas, the terrorists met their enablers, both indirectly and directly. Rudolph was directly enabled by his closest social network, while Breivik was enabled by texts he found online. They were both influenced by people they looked up to, although in two distinct ways. Rudolph learned physically and verbally what was wrong with society from Tom Branham, his family and his personal experiences in the Army, in school and at college. Breivik, on the other hand, experienced rejection in the physical world and turned to the online community, possibly looking for someone to idolize and learn from. Here he found Fjordman, and his texts and opinions became essential to Breivik's turn to violence and isolation.

When it comes to broadcasting their intent, there were two distinct differences. Even though they both broadcasted their intent, Breivik did it before his attack, while Rudolph did it after he already had attacked two of his targets. Rudolph's intention was thus to harm before letting the government know what his intentions were, if they did not change their policy on abortion. Breivik on the other hand, wanted the extremist community to spread his compendium, so that it could serve as inspiration and a "handbook" on how to carry out an attack by themselves, thus starting the civil war that would result in the deportation of Muslims. The second difference is thus their aim by broadcasting their intentions. The triggering event was also different, as have been mentioned earlier. For Breivik, it was a rejection that spurred him into action, while Rudolph believed the incident where Paul Hill shot Dr. Britton to be a sign that others wanted the same as him and he had to act. Both also went through the escalation threshold, where several events pushed them towards the edge. For Rudolph, this was the incidents at Waco and Ruby Ridge, which confirmed the conspiratorial ideas he had about the government was true. For Breivik it was the multiple rejections and personal experiences that pushed him to isolate himself and carry out his attack.

7 Conclusions

The goal of this thesis has been to understand the radicalization processes of two right-wing extremists that carried out acts of terrorism. The thesis sought to answer three research questions:

How are the motivations that the selected cases of right-wing lone wolf terrorists base themselves on created?

Why did these individuals go from "peaceful" extremist to violent terrorist?

How were the two extremists being influenced into carrying out an attack?

By using case study as a method, these questions have been operationalized by researching two cases that went through radicalization processes with the aim of understanding their motivations, their structural environment and their thought-processes. Using their own texts as well as other sources where multiple sources have been investigated, two sides of the same issue have been presented. By investigating the process, the aim was to test two theories on the radicalization process of the terrorists, with focus on the psychological aspects, as well as how their structural environment affected their path to terrorism. The theories described their processes well, both in terms of radicalization and deradicalization. However, this thesis is limited to its cases, thus further research on the topic is required. I recommend multiple case studies, as most of the current research has focused on mixed methods with a focus on quantitative methods or qualitative studies with single or few cases. Hopefully, more multiple case studies can contribute to empirical evidence for theoretical development.

Structural environment, childhood, personal experiences and individual thought-processes combined had a lot to say when shaping the two extremists. It is evident, that negative micro-events in early life, as well as experiencing rejection or alienation at important arenas for the individual are important factors. The insecurity and feeling of alienation may have led the individuals into seeking out extremist communities for the pursuit of an identity or a way of controlling their own existence. The accumulative effect of the micro-events combined with personality arguably developed sympathy and affinity with extremist sentiments, as they only had negative experiences with the "normal" society. Motivations for the two cases have been to act upon what they *perceived* to be the enemy of their existence. These motivations were shaped by seemingly random experiences throughout their lives, where this "enemy" was a common denominator. However, the government has a broad spectrum of influence in society, and it may just have been convenient to blame something greater for their personal shortcomings.

In this study, I found several reasons why the individuals used violence as a means. Firstly, both were subject to violence in their close relations as children, which may indicate a propensity for their own use of violence when they become adults. Secondly, they were both "silenced" in a way, where Rudolph experienced to not be listened to at school and college. Breivik also was denied a way of communicating his ideas, when his conservative news agency was rejected. Violence thus became both these terrorists' way of communicating their message as they did not see any legitimate way of expressing themselves legally. The use of violence can be argued was an expression for their frustration as "misfits". Third, it was a way of portraying themselves as something greater, where the act would represent their commitment to their cause. They portray themselves as being part of a larger group or movement and as "warriors for justice". It is also evident, that these individuals were not only radicalized by themselves into believing what they did. The social networks they were both part of radicalized them directly by advocating violence as a means to stop their "enemies". Indirectly, they inspired both Rudolph and Breivik into believing in their ideas by promoting them. Furthermore, both Rudolph and Breivik were insecure individuals that needed a sense of identity, which these networks provided them. The role of the Internet has in many ways replaced the need for a physical network that Rudolph was influenced by. These radicalization networks now exist online and is readily available for the public without the same risk of being discovered by law enforcement. The amount of resources required of the individual to find these networks are also minimal, as all a person needs is a simple hand-held device that connects to the Internet.

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