



BI Norwegian Business School - campus Oslo

MAN 31772

Master thesis in Security Management and
Cultural Understanding

Term paper

Preventive Measures Against The Nordic Resistance
Movement

ID number: Magne Langseth, Stian Løland

Start: 16.01.2017 09.00

Finish: 15.12.2017 12.00

Table of contents

| | |
|---|----|
| Title..... | 2 |
| Summary | 2 |
| 1. Introduction..... | 3 |
| 1.1 Research question..... | 4 |
| 1.2 Scope..... | 4 |
| 1.3 Method | 4 |
| 1.4 Introduction and clarification of the term “Extremism” | 5 |
| 1.5 The Nordic Resistance Movement..... | 6 |
| 1.6 NRM, VAM and ZOG ideology | 9 |
| 1.7 The NRM recruitment methods | 11 |
| 1.7.1 Internet | 11 |
| 1.7.2 Webpage..... | 11 |
| 1.7.3 Social medias – Facebook | 12 |
| 1.7.4 Activism | 14 |
| 2. Theories..... | 14 |
| 2.1 New Movement Theory..... | 15 |
| 2.2 Resource Mobilization Theory | 16 |
| 2.3 Rational Choice Theory | 16 |
| 2.4 Summary theory section | 17 |
| 2.5 Preventive and countermeasures..... | 18 |
| Endnotes chapter 2 | 20 |
| 3. Lessons Learned from the 1990 decade..... | 20 |
| 3.1 Vennesla..... | 21 |
| 3.2 Nordstrand; The Viking Nationalist Group | 23 |
| 3.3 Best Practice and Transferrable Efforts | 25 |
| 3.4 How does NRM differ from Viking and the xenophobic milieu at Vennesla?..... | 28 |
| 3.5 Transferrable or Not..... | 28 |
| 3.6 Police Radicalization-contacts and coordinators..... | 30 |
| Endnotes chapter 3 | 31 |
| 4. Preventive and Countermeasures..... | 32 |
| 4.1 SLT – Coordination of Local Assets | 33 |
| 4.1.1 Individual Prevention | 34 |
| 4.2 Pull and Push Factors | 34 |
| 4.2.1 Disengagement | 35 |

| | |
|---|----|
| 4.2.2 Factors inhibiting disengagement | 36 |
| 4.3 Clarification Interviews | 37 |
| 4.3.1 The Dialogue-model | 39 |
| 4.4 Challenging Ideology | 39 |
| 4.4.1 Competing Ideologies, Coinciding Prevention?..... | 41 |
| 4.5 Incentives | 42 |
| 4.6 Mentor..... | 43 |
| 4.7 Legality of the Movement | 46 |
| 4.7.1 Legality of activism | 47 |
| 4.8 Derivation strategy | 48 |
| 4.9 Online Presence | 49 |
| Endnotes chapter 4 | 51 |
| 5. Conclusion | 53 |
| Table of References..... | 56 |
| Books | 56 |
| Reports | 56 |
| Papers..... | 57 |
| Articles..... | 57 |
| Web pages..... | 59 |
| Interviews..... | 60 |

Title

Preventive Measures Against The Nordic Resistance Movement

Summary

The Nordic Resistance Movement, declaring themselves as national socialists, displaying values closely related to those of the World War II Nazi regime, are rapidly expanding in Scandinavia, with Sweden as their base of operations.

From here, they seek to expand into controlling the North, as a National Socialistic entity. In this thesis we'll use semester theories, which one serve as the main theory, and the two others as supporting theories. In addition to theories, we have examined the milieus of Vennesla and Nordstrand, and the successful preventive-and countermeasures taken by the police and

municipality back in the 90's to identify whether these measures are transferrable or not.

As a third source of knowledge, we have interviewed a Police Specialist, a Police Superintendent, a Municipal representative, and a Right-wing populist. Combining these sources of information, we have identified preventive-and countermeasures, that we believe will have an impact on the NRM methods of recruitment in Norway.

1. Introduction

In this Thesis we want to examine the main differences in the nationalists of Nordstrand, Viking, the Xenophobic milieu of Vennesla, and the emerging neo-Nazi group, the Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM, own note). We want to start off defining the NRM - based upon literature, and interviews conducted working on this thesis - as an extremist movement, and hence its members as, extremists. This first chapter will provide the reader with an introduction and clarification of the term "Extremism" and then a brief introduction to the NRM, their ideology compared with ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government) and VAM (Vitt Arisk Motstånd – White Aryan Resistance), and their recruitment methods.

In the second chapter we have chosen three theories - New Movement Theory; Resource Mobilisation Theory and Rational Choice Theory - that we find descriptive when trying to understand why some individuals choose to enter the NRM. By examining these three theories we want to identify preventive - and countermeasures that we expect to serve the police, and municipality in their work targeting preventive and disengagement efforts towards NRM and its members. In chapter three, we'll give an introduction to the xenophobic milieu of Vennesla and the Viking movement at Nordstrand in the `90`s, and we will examine why the preventive and countermeasures executed in Vennesla and Nordstrand, were so successful, giving us certain expectations what might be transferable targeting NRM. In chapter four, we will take a closer look at which preventive and countermeasures, based upon findings in chapter two and three – that`s expected to have an impact on the continuous expansion of NRM.

1.1 Research question

To which extent may preventive and countermeasures, executed by the police and the municipality in the 90's, be transferable to the aspiring neo-Nazi group, the Nordic Resistance Movement, today?

What are the main differences between members of the milieu of the 90's and the Nordic Resistance Movements members, and what kind of challenges does these differences generate for the Police and its associates, when trying to help members/individuals disengage from the movement?

1.2 Scope

It's important understand why The Nordic Resistance Movement attracts its members, and how the police and the municipality can work together to prevent the recruitment. Which people are recruited into a neo-Nazi organization today, what factors come into play? What can be done to disengage activists from the NRM?

May successful preventive methods from the '90's be transferrable? May elements of the Exit project be transferred into preventive efforts facing NRM?

What is different about The Nordic Resistance Movement versus its predecessors concerning recruitment, and in relation to possible ways out?

Ideologically, the groups have similarities, but socially the groups seem to be radically different.

Countermeasures based on theory and empiricism, will be analysed to find out to which extent they may be transferrable to the current members of the Nordic Resistance movement, and if not, why?

1.3 Method

This thesis will use a dual approach to its research - practical and theoretical. Interviews of carefully selected subjects will be the base of the practical research part, while data through existing literature will be the base of the theoretical research part.

When doing Qualitative interviews, one has in-depth interviews with a few subjects, while applying Quantitative interviews one may send structured interviews to a much larger group of subjects. A larger group provides statistical data that can be quickly assessed, but may not be fully accurate due to the nature of voluntarily respond and what the respondents share, leading to a potential bias. Qualitative on the other hand provides in-depth insight into subjects' motivations and thinking, but these findings may not be applicable to the public in general.

Qualitative method also has the positive side by being flexible - in a sense that one can re-evaluate and initiate follow-up questions during the interviews enabling the interviewer to optimise the result, an option Quantitative method doesn't have.

Our thesis would not benefit from responses from Quantitative structured interviews sent to a large group of random subjects, without the desired experience or knowledge. Therefore, we have carefully selected four interview subjects, each one with desired experience and knowledge. They have been chosen to gather as much information from different professions, with different perspective - as possible.

1.4 Introduction and clarification of the term "Extremism"

When discussing extremism in general, it's important to draw a line between populism, radicalism and extremism, even though these expressions is often mixed. Populists is often a part of the political ballgame. Right-wing radicals may accept the Democracy as an alternative, while the extremists are antidemocratic, often authoritative, denouncing liberalism, freedom of religion and pluralism (Jupskås, 2017).

Right-wing radicals base its believes in nationalism, xenophobia, to a certain extent in conspiracies, but are by far more moderate, although they may be conceived as extremists. Traditional, they've a nationalistic identity (Jupskås, 2017). Radicalization on the other hand, is a process in which an individual develops acceptance for the use of violence as a legit measure to enforce a

political, religious or ideological view. Extremists accept violence as a legitimate tool for this purpose, and tend to have a black and white perspective.

The extremists emphasize more on ethnicity. There are 6 characteristics on right-wing extremism:

1. The idea of Nation State, an ethnic state, consisting of a homogeneous people.
2. It is Antidemocratic, believing that the democracy in its current form doesn't represent the will of the people.
3. Authoritarian focus, emphasize law and order, defence and discipline.
4. It is Racist.
5. Xenophobic, even homosexuality may be considered something alien to the ideal way of life.
6. Conspiratorial, their world view contains a vast set of reasons why something isn't right, and who to blame (Jupskås, 2017).

Traditional right-wing extremism focus on race. Now, cultural aspects may also express race (Jupskås, 2017).

Within the extreme way of view, The Enemy is of important. There is an Internal enemy and it is the External enemy. The internal enemy is hatred towards the elites in the society, established political parties, especially Left-wing parties or activists. Academic indoctrination to political correctness is also considered as a part of the internal enemy. The external enemy is "The Others", the Muslims, Jews, homosexuals etc. (Jupskås, 2017).

Hatred towards "The Others" remains strong, but hatred towards the enemy within is exceeding, because they are the ones to blame for the presence of "The Others" in the first place (Jupskås, 2017).

1.5 The Nordic Resistance Movement

Origin:

NRM was founded in Sweden in 1995 as Independent Young Nationalists, but changed its name, course and leadership to revolutionary racism under Erik

Hägglund in '97, now as National Youth (NY). Their magazine Folktribunen (Peoples Tribune, our remark) was edited by Klas Lund, and promoted texts inspired by the novel *The Turner Diaries* by the American neo-Nazi William Luther Pierce. Lund was formerly a central VAM (White Aryan Resistance) member. VAM was infamous as a violent organization. Out of Folktribunen grew Swedish Resistance Movement (SRM). SRM was to focus on loyalty and discipline, being an elitist organization, but kept NY as their youth organization. Klas Lund overthrew leadership of SRM, steering the ideological direction towards National Socialism in 2001 (Strømme, 2017, p. 4-6).

According to a 2003 Norwegian newspaper article, *Nasjonal Ungdom* (National Youths, our remark), former neo-Nazi Bootboys members tried to merge with Swedish NY. They conducted propaganda by putting up stickers on the Oslo sub-way, and posed together with the Swedes in their magazine. These activists were notorious in Norway, and their frontman Mikkel Vetvik had a very violent history (Kragh & Lindberg, 2003). Norwegian neo-Nazis organized a Norwegian branch in 2003, but soon crumbled. In 2006, NY was merged into SRM. Ideological, SRM now became anti-Semitic and maintained an anti-immigration focus. In 2011, the Norwegian branch was re-established. In 2015, Klas Lund stepped down as the NRM leader, replaced by Simon Lindberg (Strømme, 2017, p. 6-10). Esa Holoppa, a Finnish NRM defector, states that the older generation of NRM wanted to maintain their VAM reputation, and that the younger generation want to prove they're in the same league. Holoppa says that a well-liked activist may commit almost anything, even though unwarranted violence is not accepted (Strømme, 2017, p. 16).

Today:

The Nordic Resistance Movement is now the strongest neo-Nazi organization in Scandinavia (Strømme, 2017, p. 21).

The Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM) declares themselves as a revolutionary National Socialistic combat-organization, active in Norway, Sweden and Finland. They claim to provide enlightenment to the people through activism, both traditional and untraditional (www.frihetskamp.net). Their homepage is one out their main channels for this enlightenment, and one

of a few highlighted articles is called “radical and uncompromised combat is the road to victory”. In this article it’s stated that the people is seeking a strong leader to rally around, in which the existing political paradigm has failed to provide. In the NRM narrative, media is deliberately preventing this from happen, deceiving the people to believe that there is no threat to our people. There is a foreign minority controlled by the banks that drives the mass-immigration and created cultural-Marxism. NRM wishes to change the society from its roots, and there can only be one winner; National Socialism or Liberal democracy. It’s about the survival of the people (Elofson, 2015).

The movement is organized hierarchy, with a Commander-in-chief, a National Council, followed by an administration, Operations commander (Nest chiefs), and a propaganda/ activist branch (Nests). As NRM is a transnational organization, Swedish Simon Lindberg, is the Commander-in-chief (Aftonbladet.se, 2017). The Norwegian resistance Nests was created in 2014, after the Swedish model. Nest 1 is Østlandet, Nest 2 is Sørlandet, Nest is Vestlandet, Nest 4 is Midt-Norge (Nerheim, 2015, p. 22). Nest 5, Nord-Norge is currently not operative. The nests provide combat groups. As NRM publishes activism-reports on their homepage, it’s transparent that it’s the combat groups who’s conducting the activism in Norway. Commitment to NRM may be divided into different levels; supporter, member, activist and sworn. The more committed, the tougher the combination with “a normal life”. The activist is to be totally committed to the fight (Nerheim, 2015, p. 24). Sweden has the largest group of members. Their goal is to unite the Scandinavian countries into one unified state under their rule, eliminating the liberal democracy, and the political parties of today. NRM have produced their own party program with nine main political objectives they want to implement when they come to power. The objectives ranging from Environmental issues, changing laws and education-models to the removal of the Monarchy, and repatriation of citizens with a different ethnical background than Scandinavian/ Northern origin. Throughout the manifest “A new policy for a new era”, the Zionist conspiracy is obvious. International organizations and financial systems all is ran by Jews, according to the manifest. First paragraph state that the Nordic race is threatened, later, advocating the Norther race to be superior, and

National Socialism to be the cure. Everyone not supporting this idea, is considered an enemy of the people, and is allegeable for a tribunal court (Forwald, 2016). The Norwegian leader, Haakon Forwald, thinks of the NRM as the only real opposition to the system. As their organizations website was hacked, Forwald states that their opponents are large intelligence organisations (Skille, Hansen & Lied, 2017).

The Nordic Resistance Movement has conducted non-violent public appearances and marches in cities and municipalities in Norway, enraging some, and have created discussions whether the national socialist movement deserve the highly valued freedom of speech, due to their excluding policies. These marches are recommended method of educating the people, as stated in the Activist handbook (Strømmen, 2017, p. 22). On the one hand there is the universal idea of freedom of speech, on the other hand, it`s the atrocities the national socialist ideology is historically connected to.

Forwald and NRM spokesman Pär Öberg, declared that they are ready to seize power in the Nordic, as they fight for the survival of the people. The power shift is preferable to happen through election, but they do not out-rule civil war, Öberg states he`s ready to engage in armed combat (Stokholm, Zaman & Aune, 2016).

NRM Activist handbook outlines strategies and methods to conduct activism to both enlighten the people and to recruit and create fanatical national socialists. Uniformed marches, leaflets, posters, confetti, banners and “sensational actions” is listed, and making reports of their actions on the web site is of outmost importance (Strømmen, 2017, p. 22).

1.6 NRM, VAM and ZOG ideology

The former leader of NRM, Klas Lund, was in the core of VAM during the `90. VAM became the synonym to all race-ideology in Sweden, claiming to be “the medicine that the white race desperately needed to gather all white activists in the struggle against Zionist occupation” (www.expo.se). VAM represented a course known as ZOG; a conspiracy theory of a Zionist order that have occupied the government. This was closely inherited from Nazi Germany

ideology (Bjørgero, 1997, p. 291). ZOG claims that the immigrants are the weapons of the Jews to mix races into a perverted multicultural race-mix, towards the extermination of the race, an ideology supported by some Norwegian neo-Nazi groups at the time (Bjørgero, 1997, p. 292). In continuance, ZOG stresses the need for a war on Jews within the internal political realm, bureaucracy and the media, rather than the individual immigrant (Bjørgero, 1997, p. 293). This ideology has much resemblance to the current NRM. Maybe not entirely ZOG, but there are strikingly similarities. ZOG is about fighting a race-war that has already started, the political realm is overthrown by Jewish World Governance, and thus, being a legit target for the resistance. As for the anti-immigrant way of view, the race-war is something in the future (Bjørgero, 1997, p. 305).

Klas Lund claims in an article dated 27/5-2014 on the NRM Swedish website, that Hitler was one of the past century's greatest personalities, to be considered a reformist. Contemporary National Socialists should aim to rehabilitate him into his righteous place in history, rather than idolize him. National Socialists should not emphasize artificial borders, as they're not cultural nor ethno-nationalists, even though National Socialism has its heir in nationalism. Rather than looking back into history choosing a vague term as nationalism, National Socialists should evolve the ideology to fit current needs to create the ultimate National Socialism to the present (nordfront.se)

“The 14 words” is a much-used phrase by right-wing extremists or white supremacists, by the late extremist David Lane; “We must secure the existence for our people and a future for white children” (POD, 2001, p.18). Reading NRM manifest primarily objective in their first paragraph, the 14 words seems closely related, even though they do not mention “white”, but stresses “aliens of the race”, and “the survival of our race”.

Considering the 6 characteristics presented, based upon their own manifest, NRM is pro a nation state, in the sense of creating a new entity of the Nordic people. It is anti-democratic, as far as democracy is practiced in the western world today. They represent an authoritarian rule. They are racist, as far as denying other ethnicities but the Nordic from Scandinavia, considering the

Nordic race to be historical superior. NRM also represent a kind of xenophobia, as it may concern not only other ethnicities, but everything different – pluralism. Thus, considering homosexuality to be something of an alien decadent lifestyle and by considering pluralism as genocidal. The belief of a Zionist/ Jewish world conspiracy is a continuous theme and completes all 6 characteristics of a right-wing extreme organization.

1.7 The NRM recruitment methods

1.7.1 Internet

Internet has several functions. As a recruitment base, geographical gatherings point gets obsolete. Online in an effective arena of spreading propaganda, as one can reach many, fast. Using violent rhetoric on “traitors” one may also terrify opponents. Internet is also a swift way of mobilizing activist for any reason necessary (Jupskås, 2017).

They´re (NRM) extreme skilled online. To stay hidden, not to fall into pitfalls. Their media strategy has been damn good (The right-wing populist).

Internet provides the Nordic Resistance Movement with an arena where they can construct an image of the enemy without any interference from its opposition. Extreme opinions may be shared and supported by members and potential members, and by doing so, creating a segregation between “us and them”. A result of this destructive synergy - a common enemy to stand up against - also describes as an “ideological greenhouse” (Nerheim, 2015, p.14).

1.7.2 Webpage

The web page “frihetskamp.no” is a well-developed site. It is easy to manoeuvre, information about the Nordic Resistance movement and information on how to apply for membership is easily available. It provides guidelines on how to comment on the page, where to download their programme, posters, propaganda and a link to information in English. Altogether it gives an impression that it´s made by professionals.

“FRIHETSKAMP” is typed in large letters and the Norse “Ty-rune” is visible on right hand side on their banner in its characteristic black, green and white colour. The rune represents the Norse god of war and combat in Norse mythology, Ty (Klaus Johan Myrvoll, 2015). Frihetskamp.no provides a range of different articles with focus on historical events, demonstrations, and individuals that the group idealize.

Frihetskamp.no offers alternative narratives to the main stream media. Issues such as mass immigration, asylum, crime and politics in general is presented in a narrative that corresponds to the Nordic Resistance Movements world view (<https://www.frihetskamp.net/>).

People visit their web-page, thinks it looks good, but doesn't care to read the whole thing (The right-wing populist).

According to the new NRM chief-editor Martin Saxlind, one of the main objectives of NRM is to radicalize and recruit the part of the population that is critical to mass immigration and the existing immigration policies. In the same interview (September 5th, 2017) he states that it's not necessarily an objective that everyone in the Nordic Resistance Movement call themselves National socialists, but the important thing is that everyone stands behind the groups party programme to serve the group in best possible way (Fredrik Vejdeland, 2017).

1.7.3 Social medias – Facebook

Social medias provide the ability to maintain and build networks. The possibility to communicate “many-to-many”, makes the spreading of propaganda easier and faster than traditional medias. Facebook is by far the most popular social media platform in Norway (Haanshuus and Jupskås, 2017, p. 150).

The number of posts say something of the movements activity, while “likes”, comments, and sharing, reveals something of their members activity. This will also say something whether the site is informative, a communication-platform or works as a recruitment platform. Many “likes” may reveal that the site is

merely a one-way information-platform, while many comments may reveal that the site also function as a communication-channel. The number sharing, where the ideas and values are passed on to others, not following the site in the first place, reveals that the site may function as a recruitment-platform (Haanshuus and Jupskås, 2017).

NRM established “Frihetskamp”, an open access Facebook site in February 2016, and gained 420 followers within 6 months (Haanshuus and Jupskås, 2017). As for September 2017, the open access site has gained a slight increase, to 463 followers. At the site, 445 “likes” is registered by September 2017, many posts have but 1 “like”, while information on campaigns gather a few more.

There are several Facebook sites that are administrated by The Resistance Movement, as a recruitment arena, that people doesn't have a clue who's running. It seems kind of moderate, but then they post links to the NRM web site, and thus people reads that to. The problem is the web, that's the biggest challenge, the most happens on Facebook (The right-wing populist).

The lack of National socialistic movements on Facebook may be due to Facebook policies, and are therefore blocked, the lack of interest of this sort of activism or the lack of resources (Haanshuus and Jupskås, 2017), even though NRM is present to some degree as of 2017.

Right-click report concludes that Facebook sites works primarily as an information-platform, rather than a communication- and spreading channel. This might be because many prefer to support the views, without having to formulate comments or engage in a public debate, nevertheless, several of the sites is active concerning comments and sharing (Haanshuus and Jupskås, 2017).

After the 1990`s when Nationalist groups more or less disappeared, it seems to have risen again on social medias, although activism online isn't necessarily

the same as activism in real-life. Some limit themselves to computer-activism; “Slackitivism” (Haanshuus and Jupskås, 2017).

1.7.4 Activism

NRM holds activism high as they consider this as enlightenment of the people. Activism is being conducted in several ways; by handing out propaganda such as the manifest, to people or in mailboxes, or by posters and stickers in public places. These news-pamphlets and stickers may be ordered through their web page. Most of these activism is being posted on their webpage as “combat-reports”, and are mostly being saluted by the followers. Another way of conducting activism, is through demonstrations and stands (Strømmen, page 22). The idea of spreading pamphlets, is to provide the receptor time to study the message, and by public appearance, the motive is to meet and talk to people to convince the audience. By public appearance, media coverage will contribute in spreading the message. NRM want to inform the people of National Socialism because it represents a complete system, capable of creating a revolution (Nerheim, 2015 p. 111).

2. Theories

We have chosen three theories, New Movement Theory, Resource Mobilisation Theory and Rational Choice Theory, in which is New Movement Theory is our main theory, and the two others serve as supporting theories when trying to identify effective preventive and countermeasures toward present and future members of the NRM.

The Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM) find themselves within the ideas explained in the New Social Movement Theory, as values like culture and identity is core values within NRM. How they recruit, maintain and spread their views, however, may to some degree be found within The Resource Mobilization Theory. Leadership and structure is important elements to sustain a functional movement. Rational choice theory explains why individuals chose as they do. This theory mostly handles monetary values, but it also points out important issues for individuals within extreme groups, considering leaving, revealed in studies on leaving extreme milieus.

2.1 New Movement Theory

“The radical right builds its identity through populist appeal, feeling the disenfranchised sector’s cultural pain, identifying a common enemy/target and then building in-group strength through out-group hostility. These are the issues paramount within the tenets of New Social Movement Theory.”
(Tridico, 2011, p. 42)

New Movement Theory emphasises on culture, and that emotions may be analysed as values and morality. Emotions is a part of all social action. Emotions is a significant factor in the creation and to sustain the movement, both creatively and conventionally through three criteria: 1 Legitimate protests and reinforce group loyalty 2 Building collective identity through pride 3 Calming members when confronted by outsiders or from within the group
(Tridico, 2011, p. 56).

Originally, the Movement Theory has its base in Marxism, focusing on class. New Movement theorists argue that working-class struggle has been replaced by another set of values; gender, ethnicity, race, age, environment and peace. This transition is explained to be a process from condition to action because of ideology, politics and culture (Tridico, 2011, p. 57-58).

New movement theory emphasises on creating new ideas and values motivated by cultural aims, which differ from socialist tradition. The chief objective is not to seize power, but to change attitude in the civil society. It aims to develop values and alternative lifestyles and ensure autonomy amongst members through transformation of personal identity, manipulate symbols and challenge mainstream values (Tridico, 2011, p. 58-59).

Members may experience personal autonomy, integrity, an in-group solidarity and commitment to the movement, if they feel that the movement is changing the society through their common identity. New social movements are understood as reactionary to bureaucratic and capitalistic influences that threaten the traditional social life. The theory doesn’t explain how a group mobilize or create strategies. It’s primarily seen as a radical opposition between

themselves and the State, as social movements focuses on the civil society and the cultural dimension (Tridico, 2011, p. 60, 63).

Collective identity is an important element in the absence of a formal structure, cultural factors play an important role. Emotional commitment to the common cause is found to have a significant function (Beck, 2008, p. 1570).

Outside formalized structures, networks are utterly important to recruitment and mobilization. Networks increase solidarity, and individuals are more likely to be recruited if friends or family already is participating (Beck, 2008, p. 1571). Transnational movements, such as new social movements, links not so much because of formal structure, but because of collective passion for an issue through ties between activists. Such movements continuously engage in justifying their cause and views through collective identities and networks (Beck, 2008, p. 1573, 1576).

2.2 Resource Mobilization Theory

The theory emphasis on management and structure like hierarchy such as leadership and different roles of members. It focuses on mobilization of resources, following two main courses. One is political-interactive, the other is organization-entrepreneurial.

The political-interactive works within the political paradigm, focusing on measures such as lobbying and supporting campaigns, while the other focuses on structure such as leadership, dynamics and mobilization management to manage resources and its capability to mobilize to achieve its goals. Both include objecting the state and challenges power (Tridico, 2011, p. 45-47). Leadership is necessary to identify goals, develop and sustain the movement. The leader is both the theorist and the propagandist, mobilizing supporters and influences members through its core ideas (Tridico, 2011, p. 49).

2.3 Rational Choice Theory

Basically, this theory holds that decisions is solely and mechanically based on value. It`s a choice on costs and benefits, it`s purely rational, and denies any other form of choice but rational calculation. Social change is a result of

actions and interaction of individuals, individuals must anticipate the alternative outcome of different courses, and rationally choose what will benefit themselves the most. As for social interaction, rational choice theory holds that the human behaviour is based upon reward and punishment. They choose actions that lead to reward, and avoid actions that leads to punishment. In social interaction, the actors mutually reinforce each other, rewarding or punishing behaviour, creating a joint behaviour through interaction. Acknowledgment and approval is a fundamental human goal. As such, rational choice theory explains that the threat of punishment, and the promise of reward, is motivation for action, and so lead the individual towards a valued behaviour (Scott, 2000, p. 1-5).

These theories focus on a micro and meta level, the individual and the group-sphere, although macro level causes like world politics, immigration, conflicts etc., may be important motivation factors for the movements.

2.4 Summary theory section

New Movement theory advocates that the aim is not to seize power, but to change the attitude in the society. Although NRM stated that they`re ready to seize power in the Nordic countries, this is an unrealistic scenery. They also state that their main objective is to enlighten the people using national socialistic propaganda, by spreading the manifest, pamphlets and online reports. When conducting their activism, they`re spreading their attitude and values on ethnicity, race, environment and general politics to the general society. By presenting themselves as guarding the last outpost of the Nordic people, defending the race and Nordic people from annihilation, they legitimate their actions, and build in-group pride as soldiers, thus creating strong autonomy identity. Resource Mobilisation theory focuses on mobilization of resources, following two main courses. One is political-interactive, the other is organization-entrepreneurial. In Norway, NRM has no political branch within the existing political realm. As such, the political course is of less relevance, while the other course, stressing the role and importance of leadership, is.

Rational choice theory emphasize that people choose the lesser evil, the choice were he`ll gain the most. Why should an activist of the NRM leave a strong in-

group, common identity community, if there is nothing to gain? Violent countermeasures by competing cultures and activists will likely have the opposite effect, as we'll display in chapter 3, and the NRM activists may seek protection within the organization. Exit may become an option when a better alternative is plausible.

2.5 Preventive and countermeasures

Based the characteristics of the three theories, we have identified a few preventive and counter measures that we expect to have an impact. In the following paragraph we will elaborate why we have chosen these measures, followed with a brief introduction to each one. These measures will be further discussed in chapter four.

Information is important to enable us in deciding which measures that should be taken, and when they shall be taken. Based on our knowledge on how NRM operates regarding recruitment and distribution of propaganda material, individual preventive and countermeasures are in the essence. Preventive and countermeasures targeting the group, won't be as effective since NRM doesn't have regular physical meeting points, and NRM operates in more fractioned manner, were there may be waste geographically distances between members, facilitated by internet.

Our first measure is Clarification Interviews. Clarification Interviews are based on volunteerism, and is an offer provided by the Police - unless the individual is under the age of 18, and there's reason to believe there has been committed a crime. Then its mandatory for the individual and parents to attend. The interview adheres to a certain protocol developed by PST. The main goal with the clarification interview is to get to know the individual at hand, and clarify what kind of challenges he or she's having, enabling us to draft a strategy to offer best possible aid. It's important to ask the hard questions, challenge the person; "Who are you really? What are your true dreams of the future?" There might be several reasons for a person to join a movement like NRM, getting to know them is in the essence to a successful exit strategy draft.

Since one of NRM main objectives is to enlighten people through national socialistic propaganda, one countermeasure may be enhanced knowledge concerning the Ideology. One possible solution is to offer ideology lessons during the clarification interview through a person that has the necessary influence. A former neo-Nazi might be an option, or it might be a professional that the individual trusts and respects.

Incentives, based on needs, is also an option. On the notion that individual aid is the best possible solution, a mentor programme should be useful. The basic thought of having a mentor, is to make the disengagement process as seamless as possible for the individual at hand. The less troublesome, intricate and bureaucratic the process gets, the more alluring it will appear. A Mentor will function as a point of contact towards the different departments of the municipality, and will be helpful when applying for jobs, or in the process of receiving benefits, an apartment, or child custody matters.

One radical solution is to pass a law that will cause any form of interaction with NRM illegal. Rational Choice theory emphasises that people will choose the lesser evil, and the threat of imprisonment, considerable fines, and a criminal record, may send some to the path of disengagement, and some to refrain from initiating contact with NRM. Resource Mobilisation theory stresses the role of leadership, and prosecuting the leaders of NRM, and remove them by incarceration may also be a solution. There's a pitfall by declaring NRM for an illegal movement, on one side we have the freedom of speech, no one should risk being prosecuted and convicted for their opinions. The second factor is that such actions may retaliate, and accelerate the radicalisation process for those in the initial phase, and push people away from the society. A scenario quite the opposite of the desired.

A softer version of declaring NRM illegal, is to prosecute the activists whenever they post stickers on public places, which is prohibited according to Norwegian law. This may also retaliate, and push people away from the society and enhance the impression "it's us against them".

Another way to approach the situation is through derivation strategy.

Derivation strategy is when one removes the individual away from the milieu he or she's a part of, and introduce them to a new milieu. In any case, it must be voluntary, as it's hard to force anyone above legal age to relocate against their will.

Endnotes chapter 2

Based on the three theories; New Movement Theory; Resource Mobilisation Theory and Rational Choice Theory, we have identified preventive- and countermeasures, that we believe in. Some of them probably have the potential to a greater success rate than others, but we are targeting individuals, and what might be perfect for one, might be wrong for others. Therefore, we have an open mind, and choose to have these measures in our toolbox working towards individuals that hopefully will accept when ready for it.

3. Lessons Learned from the 1990 decade

Entering a Neo-Nazi milieu may have similarities among the members.

Extremism researcher Katrine Fangen observed the nationalist and neo-Nazi milieu during the '90's. In a 1994-95 newspaper article, she stated that “even though there are multiple groupings in Norway, such as Arian Brotherhood, Bootboys, Varg and Viking – in reality, we've only got one nationalist milieu in Norway, it doesn't matter which group they belong to, because they all know each other. They're all participants in what they call race-war” (Hole, Svein-Erik).

A study of 9 previous neo-Nazis in the '90's, revealed that everybody was under legal age when entering, most was of labour-community background, and only a few had parents with a degree from higher education. Most had a troublesome family situation, lacking a father figure. There were homes with low economic, social and cultural capital. This contributed to an undesirable environment at school, which in turn resulted in an early debut with Child services and the Police (Olsen, 2011, p. 42).

Overall, few had close friends before entering the milieu, they were unsecure, seeking a community. This contributed to the development of anger and frustration. Some felt racial biases, but this was not the main factor of entry.

The neo-Nazi milieu offered friendship, a cause, a social identity. They made ties locally, nationally and sometimes internationally. Common for all was that the milieu was perceived as open and including (Olsen, 2011, p. 43-45).

Some of the informants did experience an ideologic indoctrination, radicalization, towards the whole spectre of neo-Nazi views. The embrace of violence, denial of holocaust and the embrace of Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG). The study revealed that most of the informants did suffer from some degree of anti-social behaviour disorder, and as such, the violent philosophy became a reinforcing effect, making violence an acceptable solution to a conflict (Olsen, 2011, p. 46).

The police executive revealed through years working with violent milieus, that there were similarities then and now, on who were recruited into extreme organisations.

The continuous resemblance, as I've worked with these issues since 1994, is that it's people that one way or the other, find themselves outside the society, who isn't successful professionally, at school or in their leisure time. Obviously, if you're struggling handling your own life, it's much easier to hate someone too. Some of these haven't had the best preconditions, either. For those successful in society, it's much harder to understand hate, they see no reason to, because they're managing just fine. That's the core, there's reason to hate in their lives.

Then there is someone, presenting an ideology that blame others, that makes you feel important, that they need you in the forthcoming battle. You may still become valuable, through the ideology (The police executive).

3.1 Vennesla

Vennesla was a small, but, a strong industrial labour-movement community. Working at the local factory was a culture that went from father to son in generations. The labour morality cared for its locals, accepting the individual for its mistakes, in what was described as a tolerant proletarian Christianity; a

combination of radical political ideology and religious awakening (Carlsson & Lippe, 1997).

When the local factory majorly decreased, youth unemployment increased. For the youth that didn't succeed at school, proletarian labour was a kind of machoistic pride to prove one's skills and toughness. As this possibility disappeared, so did the sense of moral standing in the community. These changes occurred at the same time as refugees arrived in Vennessla. The municipality had been acknowledged for its work on handling the refugees, providing jobs or job training as a term for receiving welfare benefits. They also received an establishment benefit (Carlsson & Lippe, 1997).

A person well-known in the xenophobic arena at the time, Arne Myrdal, influenced some of the youths, giving them "facts" on unjustness and discriminatory treatment between the refugees and the local youths. As the youths gathered and drank in The Square, stories were told, twisted, and strong feelings created (Carlsson & Lippe, 1997).

During 1992, a series of threats towards immigrants, destruction of property, violence, and terror-like attacks took place. This included shotgun fire towards a housing for immigrants, several attempts to arson by throwing "molotov-cocktails" (a bottle of gasoline, with a burning cloth, our remark) towards a house, and a car parked close to a house was put on fire. These incidents happened within a short timeframe, less than three weeks, and some of the incidents were carried out by the same persons. The Norwegian youths felt that the immigrants were to blame for everything that went wrong (Carlsson & Lippe, 1997).

The serious offences were promptly solved by the local police, arresting the most central individuals, aged 17-19 years old. This quickly dismantled the xenophobic environment, as the individuals was kept apart. There was no competing culture in Vennessla, creating a need for maintaining protection, like anti-racial movements confronting them (Carlsson & Lippe, 1997).

The milieu seems in retrospect as a spontaneous reaction of youths, perceiving unjustness, lesser opportunities and thus, addressing their anger towards the immigrants whom received a stately support.

There were no clear leadership and the ideology seems somewhat blurry. The youths were mainly working-class individuals, having lost their idea of being a respected worker, felt unjustly treated and gathered in the town square and shared stories alongside with drinking alcohol, agitating each-other. Stories were retold, fuelling the idea of the immigrants being better treated than the locals.

An explanation for the xenophobic environment may be frustration, as the locals felt a sense of relative deprivation. The Norwegian unemployed youth witnessed how the municipality provided for the refugees, following state regulations, which differ from ordinary social benefits (Carlsson & Lippe, 1997).

This sense of injustice is closely linked to Defence League environments. Defence Leagues are often based on the reasoning that the lack of jobs is a direct result of immigration, mainly Islamophobic, the “known” is replaced with the “unknown”. The English Defence League claims that there are parallels on the fall of status of the labour class/ “the working men” and an increasing Muslim society, losing the fight of social welfare (Jupskås, 2017).

3.2 Nordstrand; The Viking Nationalist Group

Nordstrand, a district in the city of Oslo, is an affluent area with high level of education, high income and large private housing. The xenophobic youths in this area was not unemployed, they were still in school, and their parents was quite resourceful. At a junior high school in Nordstrand, a strong xenophobic culture grew, and a young man, aged 14, called himself the leader of a group called Viking. He called out for a new policy as he meant that the multicultural society had failed. To stop ethnic conflicts, each race had to live separately. He claimed that the Norwegians had become a minority in its own country. This young man was skilled and few like-aged managed to argue against him. At the same time, right-wing extremists sought out Nordstrand as a place to recruit.

The youth milieu calling themselves nationalists grew from 1995, including kids from the age of 13 to 14 years old. Girls created their own group, “Valkyria”. They all dressed up in bomber jackets and wore army boots, wearing white-power t-shirts, and gathered in at a local meeting place for youths (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999).

During 1995, more than 100 youths was a part of this culture, almost one third lived in the same area as they met up. Mostly, they spread racial propaganda material at their school and went to parties and concerts with people with the same views, although police reports that the kids possessed both knives and firearms. Even though it was an affluent area, some didn't necessarily succeed at school. National media caught attention to this growing nationalist movement, and their conflict with their left-wing counterpart at Blitz. The kids interviewed felt appreciated for their affiliation. Now, Viking was the defender of “the white municipality of Nordstrand”, as a collective understanding of common values was established. There was few other than people of white ethnicity at the time, the idea of “us and the others” was easily created (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999).

In an internal, unpublished communication note dated April 1995, the nationalistic movement in Nordstrand; Viking, state that they consider the police as political police, and that any cooperation is considered fraternization with the enemy. The press was considered “anti-nationalistic”, and that all contact with the press was considered fraternization with the enemy. The use of violence is glorified as one activist was acknowledged with a medal for harming an opponent. Viking aimed to be somewhat military-like organized, there were uniform codes, the note is signed “group commander” and also refers to local team commanders for further questions. The policy is closely linked to what VAM (Vitt Arisk Motstånd – White Arian Resistance, our remark) argued in Sweden at the same time. The militant VAM published in a neo-Nazi magazine, “Werewolf nr.9”, that the main enemy is the internal, not primarily “black” individuals. Attacks against media houses, politicians, journalists, police are promoted, as they are claimed to be an obstacle for the

freedom fight, and to be the reasons of “increased homosexual activity”. They promote the use of grave violence.

Local municipal politicians didn't consider the ideological part. The absence of action allowed the environment to grow. As the municipality didn't offer any youth-clubs, field workers, nor a proper manned child care service, there were few to raise alert (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999).

Late 1995, a new municipal employee in Nordstrand, became a project manager on fighting this xenophobic milieu. Police intensified patrolling in the areas where they gathered and apprehended the youths for even petty crime, and informed their parents. In 1996, the municipality declared a manifest against any form of racism or xenophobia. The right-wing milieu became stigmatized, for many it became distressing to be associated with neo-Nazism. During 1995, in cooperation with researcher on violence, Tore Bjørgo, the EXIT project was created. Two years after its peak in 1995, the right-wing extremist community was no longer present at Nordstrand (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999).

3.3 Best Practice and Transferrable Efforts

Carlsson and Von der Lippe refers to the German scientist, Helmut Williams, as he presented a social characteristic of right-wing extremists, divided into four groups.

1. The political and ideological extremists, often successful in school, middleclass.
2. The xenophobic, often not so successful at school or otherwise.
3. The criminals, often with troublesome family situation or background, often violent in their conflict orientation.
4. The followers, those who join movements to gain social acceptance, and the sense of belonging (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999).

As a tool in defining the phenomena's, Willems characteristics will be referred to as type 1-4.

In Vennessla, it is likely that most of the youths may be categorized as type 2/3: xenophobic and criminals. It was xenophobic, but not ideological motivated. It

was the social aspect that kept the group together. The youths met at a public place and therefore made police patrolling easier as a preventive method, addressing the youth and victims promptly.

As there were no obvious leadership within the xenophobic milieu or any clear memberships, there were none to pressure others to stay, either.

The most active was the first to commit crime towards the refugees, and thus, making them allegeable for prosecution and imprisonment (Carlsson & Lippe, 1997).

The civil society didn't exclude or marginalized the perpetrators, maybe due to the strong proletarian Christian morality, but as the society didn't stigmatize, re-entry became possible (Carlsson & Lippe, 1997).

At Vennesla, local police patrolling, and swift crime management probably contributed greatly in dismantling the milieu, and as the society forgave, there was a way back after serving time.

At Nordstrand, the youth were either type 1, political ideologists or they were type 4, followers; many just hang out to meet, and thus, some was recruited. Some was type 2, xenophobic, but few were criminal (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999). But here there were leader figures, there were members and there were uniforms, unifying the nationalists within a common cause. Nobody bullied a skinhead guy with bomber-jacked and boots. Affiliation with Viking provided a sense of safety. But Viking also encountered a competing milieu at Blitz, representing the far left.

The internal Viking document revealed that the leaders considered any affiliation with the police as fraternization with the enemy, and threatened members with consequences. This way members not only experienced the sense of safety, they also felt a fear of punishment if not submitting.

Local police were deeply engaged in the issue, establishing concern-based interviews (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999), now made into the framework for crime preventive policing (POD, 2011, p.12). These talks are related to ordinary police interviews, but was a low-threshold measure, aimed at people under the

age of 18, involving the parents and thus providing information and advice on handling an issue (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999).

Preventive policing does not necessarily aim to punish, but to make a shift in behaviour and clarify why the youth acted in the manner it did.

The police tried to map out what was necessary for the youth to leave the environment. One youth were set in contact with the Armed Forces, serving one year. This is derivation strategy, as the youth become cut off from the milieu (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999). Imprisonment, mentioned earlier, may also be a derivation strategy, given that they don't serve time alongside with like-minded. There's also a chance of making a hero that have sacrificed for the cause.

Another arrangement was the personal engagement, arranging activities like mountain climbing, hiking, rafting etc. An important element was ideological education, thus making an alternative identity amongst the nationalists. An unintended consequence of these trips was that it created a diversion within the nationalist's community, as the participants fraternised with the police. As leaders violated the rule of not engaging with the police, internal justice became harder to uphold (Carlsson & Lippe, 1999).

Such trips represent measures that were utilised by the police to promote collective disengagement from "Viking" (Exit, Voksne for barn, 2001). These trips weren't risk free, as The Police Executive explained.

We tried to help them as a group as well, with extreme trips, but it's important to know what you are doing, it's really a risk sport. You can just as easily stimulate the group cohesion as to dissolve it (The police executive).

I've heard of those trips, it could be exciting to try. But these are a little older (The NRM, our remark), they're not as easy to change as when you're 17 years old (The police specialist).

3.4 How does NRM differ from Viking and the xenophobic milieu at Vennesla?

The Vennesla milieu differs completely from NRM both in ideology, management and in sustainability. Vennesla was a somewhat spontaneous local reaction, loosely organized without a vision, whereas NRM are militant organized, pan-Nordic revolutionary national-socialists with a written policy. The nationalists of Viking shared probably some of the ZOG ideas, they had a military-like management and wore uniforms, but were mostly locally based, and they were young. The political believes was not necessarily the main motivator for the nationalists.

Today, there`s more political engagement. We experienced little political awareness nor knowledge at Nordstrand. Some did, however, have parents with historical and political ties to the Nazi milieu since the War (The municipal employee).

This separates also the way they recruit in many ways. As the predecessors hung out at the local square, they recruited by being visible and seemed tough. They were mostly school kids, and recruitment happened at school, at local parties, concerts. Their local bonds could also be a personal load, because many knew who was member. That may not be the case of many NRM supporters, unless they`ve participated in uniformed marches and stands. Exit was also made possible by the involvement of their parents, this is not the case for most NRM members, as most of them are above legal age. The idea of being part of a group with a collective identity seems to be transferrable. One significant difference to be noted is the shift in locations. In Vennesla and in Nordstrand the police had the opportunity to meet, and talk to the youths in fixed physical meeting points. Because of the digitalisation of our society today, members of NRM doesn't have to leave their home to communicate and socialise amongst equal minds.

3.5 Transferrable or Not

NRM isn`t a sudden reaction to perceived unfairness, it has evolved over some period, attracting right-wing activist from the Nordic countries, merging into one transnational organization. It isn`t bound to a specific area, although they

have their strong-holds (in Sweden), nor is most of the members under legal age.

This also affect the proactive measures.

First, NRM isn't out in the streets. Close patrolling will only be annoying, rather than effective. It's no use driving around searching, their inside, watching a political video, listening to music and grabs a few beers, that's it (The right-wing populist).

Close patrolling was possible because the activists gathered at a specific public area. This is not the case for the NRM.

...Close patrolling will only distress them. It's important to me to make their encounter with the police a positive one, so that they'll discover that this is someone that wish to listen, to keep a dialogue going. The Police needs to be somewhat humble, but at the same time, be strict in terms of which direction the police see fit, and then make distance between the individual and the leader (The police specialist).

The police specialist also points out that all the individuals they've been in contact with, had history with the police. One way or the other, maybe their parents had a history. Thus, the police had visiting at all hours, creating a somewhat harsh cooperation ground.

It's about the police, as well, how we handle the situation sometimes. That's not always the most proper or humble (The police specialist).

According Willems typography, type 1 is the political and ideological extremist. These are not school drop-outs from, they are often middleclass individuals in the society. Leaders of NRM are announcing that they're National-Socialists, they promote an extreme political aim and they're instructing their members in how they shall or shall not behave.

As for the leader in Nest 1, racism and National-Socialism is likely the core reason for his activity, despite that, he's functioning very well in society, having less criminal history. Some of the other guys, this may not be the primarily focus, rather being a part of the gang, to be a man

and fight for their values, and then the full package comes along (The police specialist).

Compulsory concern-based interviews were possible because of the activists young age. This is neither the overall case with the NRM.

It was easier to create parents care-groups, compulsory interviews, and the Child Service. It's tougher today, as the activists are grown up; 70% are 20 or more. If they're in jobs and function relatively ok in society, nor NAV or Health care are relevant partners, that leaves us with the police, and they don't want to talk to us (The police specialist).

However, the concern-based interviews may be offered as voluntary.

The former neo-Nazi informants revealed that they felt that the concern-based interviews conducted by the police was of grave impact to them (Olsen, 2011, p. 49). How and who to conduct these interviews is another matter.

Don't use someone educated, academic, political, correct person. Use someone like me, I've the contacts, I've access. Use the resources you have available; a person who's been, or partly is (a right-wing activist), rather than the police, someone they can relate to (The right-wing populist).

The right-wing populist point out that the police doesn't enjoy much trust within NRM, and is somewhat supported by the police specialist, but who also states that the police needs to rebuild trust, to listen, to keep the door open and the dialogue going, -to go the whole nine yards, as the opportunity appears. The right-wing populist also states that his experience with police-activist-dialogue has been positive and needs to be further developed as a tool, the only obstacle is the lack of trust.

3.6 Police Radicalization-contacts and coordinators

There is a radicalization specialist in every police district handling concerns. The Police Specialist is one example of current police preventive effort. The Police Executive was active preventive officer in the '90's.

The police may address concerns by inviting the individual to a concern-based

interview. This conversation resembles formal police interrogation, but has different legal pursuant. It's important not to present unrealistic expectations while conducting such talks (POD, 2011, p.19).

It's important to me that the one time they actually meet up with the police, it shall be a positive experience. That they are given the impression that this is a person that actually listen to me, that can some way or another, aid me (The police specialist).

The NCSI is handling tips and concerns as they are delivered online. The official police web site, www.politiet.no, offers a guide on how to notify the police on individuals which may be radicalized into a violent extreme milieu, religious, ideological or political extremism. NCSI handles the tip and hand it to the local police radicalization coordinator/contact or to Police Security Service (PST) (politiet.no).

The Police Executive pointed out that every police officer can conduct such an interview, but stresses that it demands training. The local police radicalization specialists may supervise. The radicalization coordinator/contact is the specialist on extremism in their respective districts.

Endnotes chapter 3

The most successful efforts towards Viking, was the combination of increased close patrol policing, compulsory concern-based interviews including parents, and thus giving the parents guidance and different derivation strategies.

Some of the measures of the `90`s is considered unadaptable because NRM aren't hanging out in a geographically known local place, and even if they were, they are older and that demands another approach. Increased patrolling is likely ineffective, supported by both the police specialist and the right-wing populist.

Concern-based interviews can't be compulsory, these interviews are compulsory by The Police Act §13, and is guided towards those under legal age of 18 years (POD, 2011, p.17). As most activists are above legal age, they may be offered a voluntarily conversation, if the golden opportunity was to appear, in which the police may focus on matters like future social costs of being a NRM activist etc. Focusing on the individual and his needs. Involving

the parents aren't plausible as they are above legal age. It is reasonable that radicalization specialists can conduct talks resembling concern-based interviews.

Derivation strategy might still work, but NRM aren't as local as the former, nor is the same opportunity to relocate. There's Universities and College Universities in other areas, but that's something the individual needs to apply for, and be applicable for. Some of the strategies of the '90's may be adaptive, but needs to be redressed to fit grown-ups.

4. Preventive and Countermeasures

This chapter focuses on preventive measures towards the NRM according to chapter 2, considering lessons learned. The interview objects were all presented questions on their opinion on both our suggestions and were asked of possible measures based upon their own point of view.

From my point of view, one must build a society where individuals do not fall aside. When including everyone, it is hard to nurture hatred, and where there isn't hatred, one will have a hard time recruiting to extreme milieus (The police executive).

The informants from the '90's neo-Nazis revealed that the individuals made it despite the social services, not because of, rather choosing crime as an income. They experienced labour unions making it difficult for them to be employed because of their former attitudes and public appearances, in addition to militant anti-racists, pin-pointing them as targets (Olsen, 2011, p. 70).

They explained that the counterattacks from the Far left, such as the Blitz milieu, had the opposite effect as intended, it strengthens the inner milieu. After an encounter with the Far left, they felt like having bled for the white race, creating an ever-escalating circle of violence (Olsen, 2011, p. 48).

Rational choice theory states that the individual will choose what is best for him. If there is no reason to disengage, if there'll be nothing but condemnation because of the current, or the former attitude and affiliation, why should he leave?

Thus, it's necessary to underline the experience of the Police Executive; by creating an including society, there's less nutrition for hate.

4.1 SLT – Coordination of Local Assets

SLT is a municipal function, short for Coordinated Local Crime-prevention Assets. The SLT coordinator is to make sure that local assets meet and finds a common ground to coordinate their efforts. However, SLT is mainly towards young offenders (Skedsmo, Knut).

SLT must be professionalized. Some have been doing this for a long time, others are newly educated social-workers, idealists, doing their first task. We need someone with experience within the social service sphere. Someone who know the bureaucratic system, grant SLT a better title. Someone with more impact, who can address the NAV chief, because they represent the core of the issues (The municipal employee).

Olsen learned that the informants expected more follow-up from the ones that encouraged them to leave their milieu; a person for discussing issues, having dialogues. They expected a more positive follow-up in the after-math of their exit, a more including attitude within the society (Olsen, 2011, p. 69,70).

The Right-wing Populist explained that the right-wing milieu consider the SLT as just a bureaucrat, not trustworthy, as he lacks hands-on experience, just sitting in an office.

The challenge of addressing exit to SLT, is that the model is limited to those under legal age. Finishing the interview with the Populist, he stressed that the preventive efforts should include all ages, not only limited to those under legal age.

SLT, limited to children and youths should be terminated, and re-established to be age-unlimited, keeping the young as a particularly important target group. It`ll be reasonable social economics to include radicals over legal age (The police executive).

There are certainly not only individuals under legal age that might experience the public service as bureaucratic and hard to compass. The coordinator of local assets should include also people above legal age.

4.1.1 Individual Prevention

The Police Specialist stated that it may be necessary to have a key-person to guide them through the system, as they tried to have a tailored package to offer the activist that wants out. A possible solution to this is a “Individual Plan(IP)”. Social Service is obligated by law to offer a complete and coordinated plan, specially tailored for the individual at hand. However, such a plan demands active cooperation from the receiver (nav.no). This plan doesn't guarantee the user a priority of service, but it is an important first-step. IP isn't limited to those in need of rehabilitation (Helsedirektoratet.no). It's important to notice that such a plan can't be developed without the user's consent (lovdata.no/forskrift).

Tom Olsen revealed that most of the informants felt the need for a package solution, guidance from the police, the concern-based interview, an immediate follow-up talks with NAV (social service) mapping the need for housing and other economic issues, and in some cases, the possible need for psychiatric treatment of some sort (Olsen, 2011, p. 72). It is necessary to offer such a coordinated service, to make the exit doable, acknowledging that the individual is going through a personal struggle, facing quite some issues.

Individual measures are more to the point for NRM members than the group/situational measures that was successful in the past:

We try to tailor a complete package for those at hand. We don't concern ourselves so much with the group as an entity. We have a more individual-based focus. Keep it simple, have a key-person to guide them through the system (The police specialist).

4.2 Pull and Push Factors

Personal relationships and work situations may change and effect everyone. Including members and activists of NRM. These changes may come from within the individual, on a personal level, or something he or she is being exposed from the outside world. These factors are called Push and Pull factors. Push factors may be self-doubt and lose faith in ideology and politics of the group. Pull Factors may be loss of job for being a neo-Nazi, starting a family,

or getting a girlfriend or boyfriend outside the group (Bjørgero & Horgan, 2009, p. 37).

Social isolation, as when a member perceives that the only contact with the outside world is through the internet because there is no-one else in the community that's a part of the group and share the same values and ideology, may be a push factor.

Perhaps, the strongest motive to pull out of a neo-Nazi movement, or any racist movement, is the new responsibilities that comes when starting a new family. Being a part of a neo-Nazi movement generates possible security risks from opponents which doesn't conform with starting a family (Bjørgero & Horgan, 2009, p. 40). But, leaving isn't always easy, it often depends on position and extent of involvement.

4.2.1 Disengagement

The Police Executive had the impression that for most members, belonging was the main motivation factor.

Individuals may enter, and exits neo-Nazi groups - often because of expectations and reality doesn't match - without anyone ever noticing because of the short amount of time they spend in there and it hasn't been any significant changes in behaviour that would alarm the surroundings. Others, on the other hand enters and stays for a longer period, and they are often subjects for something called "The community building and bridge burning process". During this process the individual undergo a parallel and mutually reinforcing process where he or she gets socialised and included into a reclusive and stigmatised community, and in the same time cuts of their ties to the "normal" community outside. As this process progresses, it's getting harder for the individual to leave the group (Bjørgero & Horgan, 2009, p. 33).

John Horgan explains psychological and physical disengagement, in which physical change might bring with it psychological change, or the latter may serve as a catalyst for the former.

The start of a psychological disengagement process may originate from a mismatch between fantasy, the reason the member joined the group, and reality. It could also be disillusionment rising from strategical, political and

ideological differences amongst the members.

Physical disengagement may be expressed as voluntary or involuntary exit from the movement or voluntary or involuntary movement into another role within the group. It could also be changes in personal life, such as marriage or children.

One crucial difference between physical and psychological disengagement is the voluntary or involuntary change of role in the activities (Bjørgero & Horgan, 2009, p. 21-26).

A push factor in direct conflict with one of the most common reasons to join such a group as The Nordic Resistance Movement, is lack of loyalty among members. This source of disillusionment may be initiated by paranoia amongst members which accuses each other of being infiltrators from rival groups, or it can be manifested by friends spreading false rumours, and stabbing each other in the back to enhance their own position within the group (Bjørgero & Horgan, 2009, p. 37).

A member in a leading role, loosing standing, status and position within the group, combined with social isolation, and being stigmatised, over time would tear on the member both physically and emotionally, which may lead to a reconsideration of involvement in the group.

As learned from the dissolution of Viking, when members, and members with leading roles, participated in activities involving the police, their authority to punish disobedience faded. This possible reconsideration is a “Window of opportunity” as mentioned by the Police Specialist and The Police Executive.

4.2.2 Factors inhibiting disengagement

Despite of complete loss of faith in the ideology and politics of the movement, some members continue to support it, often because of what the movement represents for the individual. When individuals enter a neo-Nazi movement, often it becomes their substitute family, and all their friends are within the movement. The consequences of the bridge burning process often leaves the individual who want to disengage in a sore spot. In some Neo-Nazi movements, it's not a problem to leave, and in some others, it might be a

problem. It often depends on the extent of involvement and position within the group. The more involved and the higher position, the bigger the chances are that the defector is in possession of potentially damaging information about the group and members. A dilemma for the neo-Nazi movement is what the defector is going to do. - Is he going to a political opponent, media, or is he going to the Police? The answer on these questions may decide which treatment the defector is given by the movement and its members (Bjørngo and Horgan, 2009, p.40-42).

One of the difficulties by disengage from a neo-Nazi group, or an any racist groups as such, is the loss of protection. Being a part of a racist movement provides protection for the individual. And, when the defector isn't a part of the movement any longer, he or she might be threatened or physically attacked by former enemies and previous co-members. For some, the fear of not having any support from anyone, not your former friends and family, and the fact that career opportunities might be shattered because of previous involvement in a neo-Nazi movement, might be enough for the defector to rethink the disengagement (Bjørngo and Horgan, p.40-42).

An ex-member of the Nordic Resistance Movement experienced to be being hung out by former opponents:

...This was previous a distinct part of him, but he has pulled himself together, and do not want to be associated with the group. Off course, it's a great burden for him and his family (The police specialist).

In the abovementioned case, the person was being hung out in public with pictures after he left the Nordic Resistance Movement, an act from his former opponents that could represent a major threat to his existing daily life regarding friends, family and career. The "skeleton" in the closet is not to be underestimated (Bjørngo & Horgan, 2009, p. 42, 44).

4.3 Clarification Interviews

Concerned-based interviews, successful in the `90`s, was aimed at people under legal age. This is the legal framework for such interviews.

The police specialist states that it's important that the interviewer creates an impression of being a person that actually listens. That cares.

As for the individuals in the '90's, these talks also provided a mapping of the needs, the visions and dreams of the person at hand. These talks are a way in, a way to create a sort of relationship, given that trust is created.

During the disengagement process it's important that one representing the Police engage in conversations with the individual, have some fundamental knowledge of the psychological aspects of the disengagement process in which the individuals go through. Having so enables the Police to offer better and more effective guidance to the member in need, and provides the Police with insight to know when help may be accepted by the member.

The Police Executive explained how he once sat down and talked to established neo-Nazis which expressed that they didn't have any plans of disengage from the group, because it suited them for the time being. He explained that if they ever should change their mind - whether it was in one week, one month, one year, three or four years - they should establish contact to receive support. He also explained that he would be talking to them every time they met and ask them if they have changed their mind, and by doing so he held the retreat option warm:

Motivation is easily spoiled... Suddenly some event in their lives has opened a window, and that's when we need to be there. For every time we're in contact with them, we should always saw a seed of doubt, and then we must nourish the seed each time we meet, and when ready to be collected, we offer help to exit (The police executive).

The Executive is supported by the opinion of The Police Specialist, who underlines that they're keeping the doors open for anyone that wants out. They keep in touch to make sure that they know who to reach out for when that time comes. The specialist has learned that to be a success.

4.3.1 The Dialogue-model

The Right-wing populist explained that his experience with police-activist-dialogue has been positive and advised it to be further developed as a tool, also outside Oslo, the only obstacle is the lack of trust.

One may overcome stereotypes by trying to understand the counterpart. It is a way of creating safety and trust. The police need to understand the way of thought of the other. The alternative is developing fronts and violence.

Violence is the dialogue that never began (Stubberud and Jensen, 2011, p.14).

Dialogue with a counterpart may be organized in three levels; strategic, tactical and operational. Strategic dialogue happens before any conflict, and stresses to establish trust and understanding. The Police shouldn't have any hidden agendas. Strategic dialogue targets the counterpart authority figure. That person is being trusted by its members and is in position to decide on behalf of the crew he represents. Tactical dialogue is performed as an event is taking place, and operational is conducted by officers handling the event on the ground. This model is closely linked to negotiation, it's necessary to establish contact, trust and then maintain dialogue. Counterpart may be reluctant to engage in dialogue, but it's necessary to keep up pressure to make them meet (Stubberud and Jensen, 2011, p.15-29).

Former right-wing extremist Kimmie Åhlén, explain that his way out of the violent right-wing milieu, was the meet with a correctional officer that listened to him, not making him feel low. The fact that she let him explain, and she listened, was an eye-opener, and he started an deradicalization-process, questioning his former ideas (Åhlén, 2015).

4.4 Challenging Ideology

The study of the 9 previous neo-Nazis revealed that the ideological believes was somewhat relative. The most sought a brotherhood. Some did however experience indoctrination. The municipal employee observed that there weren't so much political knowledge amongst the Viking members, either. On the other hand, the police executive told about action trips to the mountains were historical education on the national socialism was an issue. The executive also

exposed that they had to be very certain that they would win any debate with the youth, so they selected carefully who to engage to lecture the nationalists. The police executive said that in some occasions, the youths themselves exposed a lack of historical knowledge. On the contrary, the NRM posts daily ideological and historical propaganda on their website “Frihetskamp.net”, providing their members with such knowledge. The NRM leadership have also stated that they aim to radicalize their members.

The Executive claimed that addressing their narratives online may be a risky ball-game, as it may only strengthen conspiracy ideas, if the government through the police were to impose their own narrative.

If a policeman confronts ideology, it will end up somewhere else, and used as a confirmation on their conspiracy. It`s important to stick to crime, to not become politically involved (The police executive).

It`s reasonable to claim that the NRM leaders are the type 1, ideological propagandist that influences the members. These will be the hard core of the NRM, but the members, as the police specialist reviled, is a complicated group.

When I speak to one member and then another, some is important to the first, something else is important to the other. It is the traditional Neo-Nazism; hatred towards Jews and conspiracy-theories, versus the more contemporary; single issues, immigrants, preservation of the race. Now, it seems to be a mixture of everything; it`s Adolf Hitler stickers, it`s anti Jews, anti-homosexuals, calling refugees for “rape-fugees”. It`s all of this. Some grasps the one cause more than the other, some is willing to talk to the police because they have more important issues at hand, others seems brain-washed on what to say and what to not. It is a complicated group (The police specialist).

Not all have the same ideological motivation. The right-wing populist said that the average NRM member was the common man, that didn`t find any other platform to discuss immigration politics, without being labelled racist, other than at the NRM. If this is so, these might be possible to influence.

The right-wing populist suggested that a former activist, or a person within the far-right milieu, except from NRM, would have a better chance of influencing the falling member, because he would have arguments he could relate to.

4.4.1 Competing Ideologies, Coinciding Prevention?

It is our view based upon the material presented, that the Nordic Resistance Movement is an extreme organization. This is also supported by the objects interviewed. In this perspective, considering new alternative preventive measures, it is relevant to discuss whether the right-wing extremists differ much from other types of violent extremism.

The extreme-right-boys, for there are mostly boys, have much resemblance to the extreme-Islam-candidates; They've failed to complete junior college, felt marginalized or outside, one way or another. Some have had drug-related problems in the past, some other crime, like violence. Some comes from good, stable families, but most don't. Some have jobs and are well-functioned, but that's only a few. It is a very complicated group of individuals (The police specialist).

There's a very short distance between being a Nazi on becoming an Islamic extremist. Several well-known Nazis has converted and is fighting for IS (Islamic State) today.

If you remove hatred towards immigrants and replace it with infidels, then what's left is hatred towards government, money is shit, and the Jews is to blame. If you're neo-Nazi and seek excitement, it's just to turn to Islam (The right-wing populist).

Both neo-Nazism and the extreme Salafists rejects liberal democracy, proclaiming it as a failed order. Both advocate a strong collective identity and the search for significance and glory, often in battle (Atran, 2017, the Economist). The new movements theory explains pride and collective identity as a driver for individuals to join such groups, and apply for both groups.

It is not the scope of this paper to analyse similarities in these ideologies, but it's useful to consider that some efforts that have turned successful on extreme Islamic individuals, may be useful in combatting the extreme right. Maybe there's similarities in the core reasons to turn to extreme ideologies in the first

place. Feeling outside the greater community is reasons that's frequently been mentioned.

As the police executive had observed through his career, when someone's presenting an ideology that blame others for your situation, and that your effort's important, that's indulging.

4.5 Incentives

Pull factors may be to aspire for a normal life, including a higher education and a career. This train of thought tends to start when members are as young as at the early 20's. Being a member, or former member of a neo-Nazi movement might make these ambitions hard to reach, and therefore members in this position might reconsider their participation in the movement. In German law there is something called "Berufsverbot", which translates into "professional disqualification", regarding certain professions for individuals involved in a neo-Nazi movement, or other political extremist movements. A second pull factor is the fear of losing one's existing job because of former unhealthy decisions (Bjørgero & Horgan, 2009, p. 39).

Family is very often highly valued in these milieu, thus, the family theme is an important. Some may have already experienced negative consequence for their family, maybe been hung out, got their house vandalized, such things. That's where we may ask; "What's your dreams? What is your real engagement? (The police specialist)"

As getting family is a strong pull-factor, this may also be an important indicative to be used in talks with the individual. To confront him on family values, stigmatization he might feel for himself, and transfer this to the family.

A term in negotiation theory is called coinage. In short, it is bringing something into the negotiation that the opponent desire. Clarification interviews may grant a way in, a "golden opportunity". As the police specialists suggested; challenge the person; who are you really? What are your true dreams of the future? Coinage must be planned according to what one already knows about the person at hand. Coinage may be job, job-training course, housing through public welfare service, etc. This demands that it is something the interviewer can deliver. At the same time, as for concern-based

interviews, it's important that one doesn't create unrealistic expectations. As it is a negotiation, the other must make sacrifices in return. This could be if not a complete withdrawal from NRM, at least stepping down activism. Family is important both for NRM as a value, but also for the individual. This leads to strong inner emotions that might be an issue in these negotiations.

The GROW model is a method on coaching individuals, based on personal development. GROW consist of Goal, Reality, Opportunity and Will. It's about encouraging the individual to tell of a dream, a vision and support him in reaching it. Challenge him on his current situation and how it matches his goals. Create confidence in reaching his goals, create motivation and how-to skills (Lyster and Reinholdt, 2017).

4.6 Mentor

The concept of the Mentor programme is based upon the notion that individuals that needs help getting a job, place to stay, applying into a school, and so forth, should have one contact person to relate to. The basic thought of this arrangement is to make it as easy and efficient for the individual applied as possible. Oslo just recently hired 22 new Mentors, being educated in the Correctional services. The Police Specialist reveals that Bergen, Kristiansand and a few other Norwegian cities has also a Mentor-programme in the start-up-phase.

In Kristiansand, an intercommunity project through the SLT model, called "Plattform", cooperated with RVTS Sør (a regional competence centre on violence trauma, our remark), and formed Mentor-school. Their mandate was to educate ground-ups to work close to youths and ground-ups to prevent extremism. Those educated has been recruited from a wide spectre of backgrounds; mosques, healthcare, police, SLT coordinators and others. Their aim is to create better relations and a common sense of belonging to the society. Those who may be mentored, may be people struggling with feeling alienated in the society, and such being drawn towards extreme milieus. One of the graduates explains that at the Mentor School, they learn to see the individuals, their needs, rather than focusing on group-belonging. Another

explains that she believes in building relations, but recognize that it's time-demanding (Dønnestad, RVTS, 2017).

As described in a Danish Method Manual, the Mentor programme has three core components. First, the local municipality is responsible for the implementation of the Mentor programme, which, among other things, implies a screening of relevant candidates to the Mentor programme. They are responsible ensuring that the formal frameworks are in order, such as, role - and assignment descriptions. They're responsible to make sure that those being chosen as mentor-coordinators/mentors has the work experience that's required, and that they're receiving necessary training in courses that's needed, such as solution-oriented work-methods. Second, the Mentor-coordinator, is responsible for matching the mentor and mentees, and offer coaching to the mentor at least once a month, when the mentor is working with a mentee. The coaching session should adhere to a certain systematically protocol, regarding; Different models of coaching based upon a solution-oriented approach; Stepping stones in the solution-oriented conversation; and conversation maps in the solution-oriented conversation. The Mentor-coordinator is also responsible for time set aside for reflection and development-oriented learning, and National networking amongst the Mentors. Three, Mentor and Mentee have weekly sessions. The Mentors main objective is to assess the mentees problems and challenges while simultaneous execute a continuous risk assessment of the mentee. Conversations with the mentee should adhere to a predefined protocol, including solution-oriented conversation techniques, increasing the mentees competence regarding managing every-day difficulties, varying from violent behaviour to other challenges and conflicts. The Mentor should also have, amongst other things, in-depth knowledge about extremism and its narratives, and knowledge about signs of concern regarding radicalisation (uim.dk).

One of the big questions the Mentor programme raise is - what kind of qualifications and background should the individuals occupying the Mentor-role have?

The Police Specialist explained in the interview that amongst the 22 Mentors being hired in Oslo, different professions are represented, such as the Sociology and Psychology professions. The common ground is that they have experience working with children and youths in the past, and despite of profession and experience, the most important thing is that the Mentor and the individual has a good chemistry and connection. The Municipal employee felt strongly about the Mentor concept as well. One of his thoughts was that the Mentor title should be more substantial, signalling that the Mentor is an official at Senior level, capable of influencing the right individuals in the Municipality. The Right-wing populist felt strongly about the fact that a Mentor shouldn't be a bureaucrat, he explained that there's a deep distrust towards academia. Instead, he suggested that there should be an individual that talks from experience, who don't represent the established mainstream society, and who has the knowledge needed to pick the neo-Nazi individual's views apart in a matter of facts, and thus guide the mentee on the right path.

Data from different programmes that facilitates disengagement in Germany and Sweden, has shown that having individuals with experience being a part of a racists, or Neo-Nazi movement, has a positive impact. The basic idea is that these individuals makes it easier to establish contact with individuals considering disengaging these movements, and they have the first-hand knowledge - based upon own experiences - of what kinds of challenges one may stump upon, and how to face them, during the disengagement process (Bjørgero and Horgan, 2009, p.138-150).

The field worker ("utekontakt") is a public, low-threshold asset with some similarity with the mentor idea. This is a social worker who meet youths who's in danger of falling astray. The focus is to meet the young in an unbureaucratic and flexible way, and to guide them to the right Department within the public services. The field worker is to implement the right effort within the right time to reduce a possible harmful personal development (Kriminalforebygging.no/Utekontakt). In many ways, this is close to what the Populist is suggesting, as far as not being a bureaucrat, and facing the issues before it's too late. This asset is tailored for youths, but could be developed into a light version of the mentor asset.

4.7 Legality of the Movement

In Finland, Tammerfors district court decided to ban The Nordic Resistance Movement because of “unlawful activities”. It’s argued that the purpose of NRM violates Finnish democratic values, such as hate speech and members engagement in violence and harassment. It’s further argued that the NRM isn’t protected by the freedom of speech because they violate fundamental human rights (Salming, 2017). Pär Öberg stated that they might be controversial, but not unlawful, and will appeal the judgement (tv.nrk.no, 2017).

The Norwegian Constitution §101 states that everyone may establish, become a member, and leave an organization, political party etc. and engage in peaceful demonstrations. Freedom of speech is regulated in pursuance with the Constitution §100. It states that everyone may criticise the Government even in a boldly manner, and should only be limited due to a strict interpretation of the freedom of speech right (Lovdata, 1814).

A famous quote credited Voltaire is: “I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it” (ordtak.no).

It’s not easy to incriminate opinions in Norway (The municipal employee.)

The police executive stressed that the Police should concentrate on fighting crime, and not challenge ideology. The NRM leaders acts like the propagandist, unlike in Vennessla, were the leading figure committed crime.

Nerheim sites an article in the NRM activist handbook which states that the one that takes up arm against this tyranny, must be considered heroic. The rights and wrongs of an armed combat is not the question, it’s if it may make possible the final victory. The NRM doesn’t proclaim pacifism, but acknowledges that victory may only be won through combat (Nerheim, 2015, p.112). This doesn’t necessarily make NRM a private military organization, but their visions of armed combat to succeed makes it not irrelevant. Organizing a private army is illegal pursuant to the Norwegian criminal code, §128 (Lovdata, 2005).

Criminal prosecution as the member is facing jail time or a considerable fine may become a push factor. But it may also be the opposite, and tie the group even closer together; imprisonment confirms the conspiracy ideas and serving time may also be a personal sacrifice for the race.

Haakon Forwald explained in a tv interview, that they had lost their rental contract and felt opposed in Norway. Thus, he moved operations to Ludmilla in Sweden (tv.nrk.no).

Prohibition might limit NRM emerging further, but will unlikely dismantle the movement, unless it's a complete ban throughout the whole of Scandinavia.

4.7.1 Legality of activism

The basic rule is that every statement is legal, unless there is a legal act stating differently. The freedom of speech may be limited due to public considerations, national and public safety, and prevention of public disorder and crime (POD, 2001, p. 6-7).

The far-right Populist stated that there was no other platform to discuss immigration criticism, that the media is too far "left-oriented", thus NRM made an appeal. Pursuing this view, opening the public debate to the far right could be proactive in replacing NRM as a discussion platform.

But there's a catch, as "any news is good news" for the extreme milieu. Such a measure could also be yet another way of promoting hatred.

Violence, threats of violence and public hateful speeches is illegal pursuant to the Norwegian criminal code. NRM activism may be criminal if it includes hatred, discrimination or contempt towards people on the grounds of race/skin-color, ethnicity or religion (Lovdata, 2005). But there's also the freedom of political opinion and the freedom of speech to be considered.

NRM are conducting activism by putting up posters. This might be illegal depending on the city or municipal regulations.

It's illegal in Oslo, at least. It's illegal to put up posters unless it's on an approved public wall. Whether to sanction it or not, is a different matter (The police executive).

Putting up posters with glue on public and private buildings is close to vandalism, as the posters will be hard to remove for those not willing to have such propaganda on their walls. The challenge if sanctioning this activism, is what to do with all the other illegal statements? There are far more than the NRM that are putting up posters, except there`s a different message. But then there`s the matter of political opinion. Sanctioning NRM for vandalism, leads to sanctioning other statements, if it`s glued to a wall without permission.

The message must define the reaction; if it includes hate, promoting hate, racism or discriminative contents, in text or symbols, it`s a crime, if not; it`s a political statement, protected by the Constitution. The police specialist argued that rough glue, spray-painting, carving swastikas etc., is unlawful, and that`s the message to be directed to the NRM.

The NRM is also sharing their views in the public by standing in in front of buildings with their banner and handing out pamphlets. Some are provoked by this because of the nature of their views.

*This is a political statement, I don`t think this is a matter for the Police.
We must focus on crime. On the other side, these stands tend to provoke a counter-reaction from the far-left. Then the Police could intervene.
Police must preserve the democracy (The police executive).*

Ironically, to allow anti-democratic voices, by emphasizing freedom of speech, not the message, one preserves an open, liberal-democratic society. Contrary to what the authoritarian, anti-democratic group advocates.

4.8 Derivation strategy

There is more than one way to engage the civil society in situational prevention than rejection, the police executive said. One course is the counter-reaction, on the other hand, one can appreciate the individual, only condemning the criminal acts. The executive suggested that the local community could be stimulated into including the individual, despite his former attitude, offering him a job, as a trainee etc.

Derivation strategy is about turning the individual`s attention away from the undesirable milieu. One way or another.

In Vennessla, the leading activists was the ones first to commit crime, and thus, they were the first to be arrested. After served time, they were re-integrated to the society. Imprisonment removed them from the milieu. Being away from those influencing, the individual may start to question his believes. However, it may also be conceived as a sacrifice for the battle, and glorified. He may also use the time to study the ideology, becoming even more radicalized.

At Nordstrand, the members were of age for enlisting to the armed forces, and such, was a possibility for removing the individual from the milieu. There are obvious problems with this strategy; recruitment to the armed forces has been reduced due to the organization, NRM members is likely older than desired, or have already served. They may have criminal record, making them undesirable. Considering the NRM vision of seizing power in the Nordic, providing weapon and tactic training, seems like a lesser good strategy.

A derivation likely to fit some of the NRM members, is applying to Universities and College Universities outside his operating area. First, he must be applicable, then it must be voluntarily and willingly, as this is something the individual must do himself. He might need a push and motivation.

Derivation strategy towards ground-ups is therefore rather something only to be motivated, perhaps by the support of a mentor. If the NRM provides the individual with pride and a sense of significance, why should he choose something else? Rational choice theory proclaims that one chooses the option that offers the best gain.

4.9 Online Presence

Both Finland and Estonia have an online police presence. But the Police Executive explained that foremost, this was due to sex-related crime, more that extremism. It was more of a way to get in touch, and when it became “touchy” they advised the informers to use mail instead.

The right-wing Populist states that most happens online, on Facebook, the question of online preventive presence becomes relevant, but noted that policemen will be rejected at all NRM sites. He stresses that the actor must be

someone an NRM member can relate to. That the one confronting a NRM activist, needs to be sure on his facts and to be concrete.

The municipal employee finds online patrolling as an exciting effort, but stresses that it shouldn't be an ideal organization, but someone official, backed by the Government. He also remarks that public officials mostly leave office at four o'clock, and that such a service must be 24/7.

It's where people are, youths too, vulnerable youth indeed. Of course the police need to be present. It is the future. We're a little behind (The police specialist).

The Police Specialist stresses that when working online, the police identity and role must be obvious. The officer should conduct an open approach and address the legality, but admits that there are matters to keep in mind;

Of course, if you engage in this, you expose your name.. When you've got family, it is.. You need to consider that (The police specialist).

Norwegian NCSI, Kripos, has an online unit, called The Online-patrol (Politiets Nettpatrolje). Their mandate is to be a police presence online, to offer advice and to expose criminal activity, as presented by tips from the public. They're present at Facebook, offering advice.

Considering the claim of the Right-wing populist, question is whether open police presence will have any preventive effect on the NRM, adding the advise of the Police executive, refraining from ideological involvement.

There is a mismatch between online-activism and a public appearance. Few tend to show up at a demonstration, compared to the activity online. Thus, it may seem that online activism isn't necessary easy to transfer into real life. The need for militant public appearance may be reduced by steaming off online (Haanshuus and Jupskås, 2017).

Researcher Jacob Ravndal found that right-wing radicals may become less violent when gaining access to a political party, and as such, having political influence. This is related to the Movement theory, and called a safety vault, a pressure-cooker vault. Blocking this channel, violent protests increase (Ravndal, 2016, p. 11). On the other hand, the chat channels may function as

echo-chambers, a place where extreme opinions are only strengthened, but never questioned. Online right-wing activism makes violent ideology accessible and normalized, thus, advocates for spreading and intensifying ethnic nationalism, anti-democratic way of thought and conspiracy-theories (Haanshuus and Jupskås, 2017). Online activism is not the same as political influence, but NRM aims to conduct “enlightenment” and they chat with likeminded online. Even though many seems satisfied with “slacktivism”, NRM is likely to attract potential new members.

As discussed on the matter of legality, there`s a line between political opinions and hate speech. Active prevention may not be preferable, as that could lead to a ideological discussion, confirming a conspiracy theory, at least if there`s a police-officer conducting it. It is likely that online awareness is sufficient to monitor if there is a development in a violent direction.

Endnotes chapter 4

Clarification or concern-based interviews with the police might be effective for starting an exit-process, but it will be based on an individual assessment.

According to the Right-wing populist, the activists has evolved a deep distrust to the police, or public officials in general. The specialist suggests that the police needs to be a little humble to maintain the dialogue when an activist reaches out.

Having that in mind, both the municipal employee and the right-wing populist considered mentoring a good idea. At the mentor school, personal connection and focus on the individual rather than the group affiliation, was important. As a derivation possibility is attending higher education institution, being supported by a mentor may be essential. The police specialist stressed the importance of having a guide through the system. A motivator.

Keeping the door open, establishing and maintaining dialogue with the individual is crucial. This may not necessarily be the police, thus knowledge of rules of confidentiality, and when sharing information is within the law, as for preventive efforts, is of grave importance.

Although a common in-group identity is a strong incentive to stay in the group, as New Movement Theory advocates, members are still individuals. At least

when separated from their Nest leader, or propagandist, Rational Choice Theory becomes more decisive for motivating disengagement.

Understanding the motivations of the individual is important. Rejection may push to sources of information that can't be controlled. Internet chat channels for one, nobody critically questions the contention; echo-chambers. Rejection may lead to utter radicalization.

Rejecting individuals with extreme right ideology will not weaken recruitment to the NRM, on the contrary. Condemnation leads to stigmatizing. Pushing someone out, may escalate "bridge-burning", making exit and re-entering society even harder. There is no reason to quit.

Many measures are closely related to efforts towards youths, those under 18 years old. Preventive measures must not be limited to individuals under the age of 18, but should include all ages. It is the challenge or issue at hand that should decide the effort, not the age of the individual.

The police specialist observes that there is resemblance to the extreme-Islam boys, and is also supported by the right-wing populist, although they may disagree on how they resemble. The police executive stresses that it is something missing in an extremist's life, there is root for hatred.

The idea of protection from rival milieus is still relevant. Even more, as the NRM increasingly is making themselves public, and the Far left seems to have awoken, organizing rallies whenever the Far Right announcing a demonstration or stand, inhibiting disengagement, rather than motivate.

The local community could be stimulated into including the individual, despite his former attitude, offering him a job, as a trainee etc. This might be a result of negotiations as a part of clarification interviews. A coinage. Including makes less growth of hatred, and may in time, remove the ideas of a conspiracy.

The question of legality should be limited to whether the message or actions is within the law or not. One should refrain from mixing value-based discussions and question of legality. Protecting the value of freedom of speech and democratic values, even when opposed to their values.

5. Conclusion

The scope of this thesis was whether the preventive and countermeasures executed in the 90's is transferable to the contemporary group, the Nordic Resistance Movement, or not. We wanted to investigate if there was differences between members of the milieu of the 90's and the Nordic Resistance Movements members, and how possible challenges would generate for the Police and its associates, when trying to disengage members/individuals from the movement.

After a brief introduction to the history, ideology, and methods of recruitment of NRM, we presented three carefully selected theories; New Movement Theory; Resource Mobilization Theory and Rational Choice Theory, to support us to identify preventive and countermeasures targeting NRM. We identified seven possible preventive and countermeasures that could be implemented in a disengagement strategy addressing NRM activists and members.

Presenting the xenophobic milieu of Vennesla and the nationalistic group "Viking" at Nordstrand, and identifying successful preventive and countermeasures taken then, was of great importance of us. This thesis included identifying "best-practice" from the `90`s in addressing the challenges NRM inflict on our society today. We found out that some of the successful preventive and countermeasures then, was somewhat obsolete, as the members and activists of NRM are older than 18 years and they do not gather in fixed physical meeting points. This makes compulsory concern-based interviews with parents present, and close patrol policing not possible or ineffective addressing NRM.

The differences between NRM and the milieus of Vennesla and Nordstrand affects the preventive and countermeasures available for the Police and Municipality. The Vennesla milieu differs completely from NRM both in ideology, management and in sustainability. NRM are militant organized, pan-Nordic revolutionary national-socialists with a written policy. The nationalists of Viking shared some of the ideology and was military-like management, but was locally based and they were younger than the members of NRM.

In chapter four we discussed the preventive and countermeasures identified through the three theories, best-practise experience from Vennessla and Nordstrand, and a few other measures based upon our interviews with the Right-wing populist, Municipal employee, Police specialist and the Police executive.

Our conclusion and recommendations for the Police and the Municipalities addressing activists and members of NRM are to continue to have focus on Mentor programs, The Dialogue Model, developing SLT to include individuals above legal age, Individual Plan and Clarification Interviews.

Clarification interviews with the police might be effective for starting an exit-process, but it will be based on an individual assessment and volunteerism. The Police officer conducting the Clarification Interviews needs to have some fundamental knowledge of the psychological aspects of the disengagement process in which the individuals go through. This enables the officer to offer better and more effective guidance to the member and provides insight to know when support may be accepted by the member - “the window of opportunity”.

Maintaining the relationship with the individual after the clarification interviews is important. The Dialogue Model may be useful, both before and after, at strategic, tactical and operational level. Strategic dialogue stresses to establish trust and understanding and targets the counterpart authority figure, as that person is being trusted by its members and is in position to decide on behalf of the crew. Tactical dialogue is performed as an event is taking place, and operational is conducted by officers handling the event on the ground. This model is closely linked to negotiation, it`s necessary to establish contact, trust and then maintain dialogue.

In addition to Clarification Interviews and Dialogue, it`s important that the local community contribute to include individuals during their disengagement process. The local community could be stimulated into including the individual, despite his former attitude, offering him a job, as a trainee etc. This might be a result of negotiations as a part of clarification interviews. A

coinage. Including makes less growth of hatred, and may in time, remove the ideas of a conspiracy.

As a final recommendation we would recommend a merger between the Mentor programs, SLT-Coordinators, and the use of Individual Plan, given that the SLT function is developed. SLT focus on individuals under the age of 18, but preventive measures shouldn't be age-limited, but should include all ages. It is the challenge or issue at hand that should decide the effort, not the age of the individual. If this is to be changed to apply a broader group of individuals, combining it with the existing platforms of Individual Plan, supported or motivated by a Mentor, it would make the point of "impact" among the numerous numbers of departments of the Municipality, much more approachable for individuals needing help. Combining Mentor, IP, SLT-coordinators, would be beneficial because of the improved versatility a merge represents. Individuals are complex, and we believe that a merge would represent a step in the right direction embracing the fact that people are, and the access to treatment should reflect that. We know that some of NRM members and activists are struggling with either, present or former drug addictions. They may have personal problems that would benefit from therapy, former extremists reveal that a person that listens and who takes him seriously, may have an impact. A merger would make the initial phase much easier for the individual, irrespective of what kind of support needed. It may range from aid getting an apartment, a job, legal help or medical issues for that matter.

For further research we recommend looking at to what extend the court decision in Finland, making NRM illegal, had on the movement. NRM said they'd file an appeal. Norwegian commander Forwald moved his base to Sweden when opposed in Norway. Will Finnish NRM do the same, and thus, continue as before? Or do they change leadership and the name of the movement, and then continue? Or did the ban had the desired outcome?

NRM hasn't had great success in getting a solid foothold in Denmark. Exploring the reasons why this is, could provide beneficial information on efforts to implement in Norway as well.

Table of References

Books

Jupskås, Anders Ravik: Ekstreme Europa, Ideologi, Årsaker and Konsekvenser, Cappelen Damm, 2017.

POD 2001: Politidirektoratet, Politiets og Påtalemyndighetens bekjempelse av straffbar høyreekstrem og rasistisk virksomhet.

POD 2011: Politidirektoratet, Håndbok om politiets bekymringsamtale, 2011, POD-publikasjon nr 2011/08.

Bjørgero, Tore: Racist and Right-Wing Violence in Scandinavia, 1997, Tano Aschehoug forlag.

Bjørgero, Tore: Hvorfor går ungdom inn i rasistiske grupper – og hvordan kommer de seg ut igjen? PHS Forskning 1998:2, Politihøgskolen i Oslo.

Bjørgero, T, Horgan, J: Leaving Terrorism Behind, Individual and Collective Disengagement, Routledge, 2009.

Reports

Strømmen, Øyvind: The History of the Nordic Resistance Movement, The Nordic Resistance Movement in Finland, Sweden and Norway, 2017, Hatespeech International.

Forwald, Haakon: Vår vei: En ny politikk for en ny tid, 2016;

<https://www.frihetskamp.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Vår-vei-Ny-politikk-for-en-ny-tid.pdf>

Haanshuus, Birgitte Prangerød and Jupskås, Anders Ravik: Right click! An analysis of the far right in Norway on social media, Centre for studies on extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo, Universtetsforlaget, Year 58, Nr 2-2017, page 145-165.

EXIT Håndbok: Voksne for barn, 2001. EXIT- Ut av voldelige ungdomsgrupper. Kunnskap, erfaringer og metoder i lokalt tverrfaglig og tverretatlig arbeid.

Carlsson, Yngve and Lippe, Herman von der: An industrial community and racism. NIBR Report 1997:17

Carlsson, Yngve and Lippe, Herman von der: Racism in an affluent area in Oslo. NIBR Report 1999:9

Stubberud, Roger and Jensen, Eirik; Alt starter og avsluttes med et håndtrykk – dialog med gjengstrukturer, erfaringer, resultater og råd, 2011, Oslo politidistrikt.

Styrelsen for International Rekruttering og Integration, 2015. Mentorindsats, forældrecoaching og pårørendenetværk. Løsningsfokuseret arbejde med tilværelseskompetencer; http://uim.dk/filer/puljer-2016/bilag-1_mentorindsats-foraeldrecoaching-og-parorendenetvaerk.pdf

Ravndal, Jacob Aasdal: Right-wing terrorism in Western Europe, Perspectives on Terrorism, volum 10, issue 3, 2016, page 2-15.

Papers

Nerheim, Elise Egeland: Nordfront og Nettekstrémisme, Den Nordiske Motstandsbevegelsens fiendebilder, 2015, Universitetet i Agder

Olsen, Tom: Neo-Nazi groups – a study of the processes of joining and exiting, 2011, University of Stavanger.

Articles

Tridico, Frank: Social movement theory and far right organizations, 2011, Wayne State University

Scott, John: Rational choice theory, 2000, Sage publications.

Beck, Colin J.: The contribution of Social movement theory to understanding terrorism, 2008, Stanford University.

Elofson, Sebastian; Radikal og kompromissløs kamp - er veien til seier, 2015; <https://www.frihetskamp.net/radikal-og-kompromisslos-kamp-er-veien-til-seier/>

Aftonbladet, 27.9.2017; <https://www.aftonbladet.se/nyheter/a/mOBe1/har-ar-karnan-i-den-svenska-naziorelsen>

Kragh, Espen & Lindberg, Per: Bygger opp nordisk naziunion: 25.8.2003; <https://www.ba.no/nyheter/bygger-opp-nordisk-nazi-union/s/1-41-731138>

Vejdeland, Fredrik: Intervju med Nordfronts nye sjefsredaktør Martin Saxlind (2017); <https://www.frihetskamp.net/intervju-med-nordfronts-nye-sjefsredaktor-martin-saxlind/>

Myrvoll, Klaus Johan: Ty, Norrøn mytologi, Store Norske Leksikon (2015); <https://snl.no/Ty>

Skille, Øyvind Bye, Hansen, Ståle & Lied, Henrik, 2017: Dataangrep avslører medlemmer av nazistorganisasjon; <https://www.nrk.no/dokumentar/dataangrep-mot-nazistorganisasjon-1.13687854>

Stokholm, Ane Rostad, Zaman, Kadafi & Aune, Aage, 2016; <http://www.tv2.no/a/8667400>

Hole, Svein Erik, Tønsberg blad; <http://folk.uio.no/katrif/tonsbergs-blad.pdf>

Skedsmo, Knut; <http://kriminalitetsforebygging.no/slt/slt-modellen/>

Åhlén, Kimmie; Jeg ble lyttet til for første gang, 2015, RVTS; <https://utveier.no/veien-ut/jeg-ble-lyttet-til-for-forste-gang/>

Lyster, Lars and Reinholdt, Nils Petter; RVTS, 2015; <https://utveier.no/veien-ut/hva-drommer-du-om-livsmal-kan-skape-en-endring/>

Atran, Scott, article at Erasmus/the Economist, 13.11.2017; <https://www.economist.com/blogs/erasmus/2017/11/versions-nihilism?fsrc=scn%2Ffb%2Fte%2Fbl%2Fed%2F>

[Dønnestad, Eva, Mentorskolen, 2017, RVTS Sør; https://dønnestad.no/mentorskolen/](https://dønnestad.no/mentorskolen/)

Salming, Per Olaf; Finnish Court Bans Neo-Nazi Group, UpNorth, 30.11.2017; www.upnorth.eu

Web pages

<https://www.frihetskamp.net/den-nordiske-motstandsbevegelsen/>

<https://www.politiet.no/tjenester/tips-politiet/radikalisering-og-voldelig-ekstremisme-pa-internett/>

<https://www.nav.no/no/NAV+og+samfunn/Samarbeid/For+kommunen/Relatert+informasjon/individuell-plan>

<https://helsedirektoratet.no/retningslinjer/rehabilitering-habilitering-individuell-plan-og-koordinator/seksjon?Tittel=om-individuell-plan-og-8179>

TV.nrk.no, 2017: <https://tv.nrk.no/serie/brennpunkt/MDDP11001717/06-12-2017#t=0s>

Lovdata, forskrift; <https://lovdata.no/dokument/SF/forskrift/2010-11-19-1462>

<http://www.forebygging.no/Litteratur/Hjelpeinstanser/Utekontakten/>

Lovdata, 1814; https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/1814-05-17/KAPITTEL_5#KAPITTEL_5

Voltaire: <http://www.ordtak.no/sitat.php?id=5018>

Lovdata, 2005 #1; https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/2005-05-20-28/KAPITTEL_2-2#KAPITTEL_2-2

Lovdata, 2005 #2; https://lovdata.no/dokument/NL/lov/2005-05-20-28/KAPITTEL_2-5#KAPITTEL_2-5

Nettpatroljen; <https://politiet.no/rad/politiets-nettpatrolje/>

Interviews

The Police Executive: a police superintendent at the Police Directorate.

The Police Specialist: a police superintendent active in preventing extremism.

The Municipal employee: a senior advisor at the Oslo city administration.

The Right-wing Populist: a former activist, former head of far-right groups.

These informants have been interviewed under confidentiality. Their identity is being withheld from the official reference list in respect of their line of duty.

Transcription of all interviews may be provided in confidentiality.