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The Long-Term Impacts of the July 22, 2011 Attacks in Norway – Ten Years After

Special Issue of *Perspectives on Terrorism* (June 2021)
prepared by Guest Editors *Tore Bjørgo and Anders Ravik Jupskås*

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Words of Welcome from the Editors

Dear Reader,

We are pleased to announce the release of Volume XV, Issue 3 (June 2021) of *Perspectives on Terrorism* (ISSN 2334-3745). Our independent online journal is an Open Access publication of the *Terrorism Research Initiative* (TRI), Vienna, and the *Institute of Security and Global Affairs* (ISGA) of Leiden University's Campus in The Hague. All past and recent issues are freely available online at URL: https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/perspectives-on-terrorism.

Perspectives on Terrorism (PoT) is indexed by JSTOR, SCOPUS, and Google Scholar where it ranks No. 3 of journals in the field of Terrorism Studies. Now in its 15th year, it has over 9,400 registered subscribers and many more occasional readers and website visitors in academia, government and civil society. The *Articles* of its six annual issues are fully peer-reviewed by external referees while its *Research Notes* and other content are subject to internal editorial quality control.

The current issue is a **Special Issue**, published on the occasion of the 10ᵗʰ anniversary of the July 22, 2011 terrorist attacks in Oslo and Utøya. It is guest-edited by Tore Bjørgo and Anders Ravik Jupskås from the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo. In their Introduction, they explain the rationale behind this Special Issue – why it is relevant to explore the long-term impacts of major terrorist attacks – and introduce both topics and authors.

In addition to the seven *Articles* and one *Research Note* that form this Special Issue, the reader will find another Research Note – not directly related to the July 22, 2011 attacks in Norway - by the editors of this journal and TRI Associate Tim Lowe, focusing on the current state of research in the field of Terrorism Studies.

Our *Resources* section contains book reviews by Joshua Sinai und Alex Schmid, followed by a bibliography by Judith Tinnes and an overview of new web-based resources on terrorism by Berto Jongman.

The **Announcements** section features, next to the regular *Conference Calendar* by Olivia Kearney, the publication of a *Handbook of Terrorism Prevention and Preparedness*, edited by Alex P. Schmid which can be downloaded for free.

All the texts of the current issue of *Perspectives on Terrorism* have been co-edited by James Forest and Alex Schmid, the journal's principal editors, in collaboration with guest editors Tore Bjørgo and Anders Ravik Jupskås, while the technical online launch of the June 2021 issue of our journal has been in the hands of Associate Editor for IT, Christine Boelema Robertus.

Introduction by the Guest Editors of the Special Issue

The Long-Term Impacts of Attacks:
The Case of the July 22, 2011 Attacks in Norway

by Tore Bjørgo and Andres Ravik Jupskås

Abstract

This special issue explores the long-term impacts of the July 22 attacks in Norway in 2011, carried out by an extreme right terrorist lone actor. The Introduction article will first describe the car bomb attack on the Government District in Oslo and the subsequent mass shooting of young participants at the Labour Party' youth organisation at the Utøya Island. Next, it will discuss dimensions of impact at three levels: the individual, the national/societal, and the global levels. Finally, the article asks why some terrorist attacks have stronger and more lasting impacts than others, comparing the July 22 attacks with some other large-scale terrorist atrocities (like the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks in the US and UK) but also some small-scale but nevertheless significant attacks. Three factors stand out: Severity (in terms of casualties and other harm), innovation (the terrorists did something different that became extra shocking and newsworthy), and responses (from governments, the public or potential supporters).

Keywords: Breivik, lone actor, right-wing extremism, Norway, Oslo, Utøya

Introduction

One of the defining criteria of terrorism is that the violence is intended by the perpetrators to have effects beyond the immediate targets of physical violence. The Global Terrorism Database (University of Maryland) has recorded more than 190,000 terrorist attacks worldwide since 1970, killing more than 140,000 people. Beyond the pain, grief and tragedy suffered by those directly affected, most of these attacks had limited or no lasting consequences at a higher societal or global level. However, some of these terrorist attacks did have long-lasting impacts, nationally and even globally, although many of the lasting consequences were not quite what the perpetrators had intended.[1]

In this Special Issue we focus on the long-term impacts of the July 22, 2011 attacks in Norway. First, we provide a chronological summary of the attacks, as well as the subsequent trial of the perpetrator. Second, we assess the long-term impacts of the attacks, distinguishing between individual, national and global dimensions. In this part, we mainly draw upon the contributions to this Special Issue, but we also refer to other publications on the July 22 attacks, and compare the attacks to other large-scale terrorist attacks, most notably 9/11. Third, and finally, we briefly discuss why some terrorist attacks are more likely to have a long-term impact.

Background: The July 22 Attacks in Oslo and Utøya

Shortly after 3 p.m. (CET) on July 22, 2011, a Friday afternoon, a white van was driven up in front of the main government building in Oslo, housing the Prime Minister's office and the Ministry of Justice.[2] A man, dressed as a police officer, left the van and walked away. A few minutes later, a 950 kilo (approximately 2,000 lbs.) fertiliser-based bomb exploded, causing massive material damage and immediately killing eight individuals, while another ten persons suffered serious injuries. More than 300 people received minor injuries or were so close to the explosion that their lives were endangered.[3]

In the midst of the chaos following the explosion, the perpetrator, Anders Behring Breivik (32), drove his rented car out of Oslo, some 40 kilometres towards his next target, Utøya Island, where the Labour Party's

youth movement Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking (AUF), had its annual summer camp. That afternoon, 564 people were present on the island. Dressed in his fake police uniform and armed with a semi-automatic rifle (Ruger Mini-14), a Glock pistol, and loads of ammunition and other equipment, he tricked the ferry crew into taking him over to the island, claiming that he was sent by the Police Security Service to make a security check of the camp in the aftermath of the attack in Oslo. On the island, he was received by the female camp administrator and an off-duty police officer in charge of security. As the unarmed police officer started to become suspicious, Breivik shot and killed the two before proceeding to massacre young camp participants. Hunting down youths who fled from the shooting, he shot everyone he came across.[4] The massacre took the lives of 69 people (among them 33 below the age of 18), seriously injuring another 33, while causing immense mental harm to many of the survivors. During the police investigation and the trial, it became clear that Breivik had intended to kill everyone on the island, either by shooting them or by chasing them out in the cold water to make them drown, using water as "a weapon of mass destruction".[5] He had also intended to capture and kill the former Prime Minister of Norway, Gro Harlem Brundtland, who gave a talk to the camp participants earlier that day. He had planned to film her "execution" but dropped the plan due to technical challenges.[6] However, she had already left the island when Breivik arrived several hours later than originally planned.[7] Breivik did not stop the killing spree until the first team of the police anti-terrorist Delta Force arrived and confronted him, one hour and 13 minutes after the shooting had started. They were delayed, too, due to a combination of communication failures, coordination breakdown at the systemic level, and mishaps.[8]

When Breivik was arrested, he immediately claimed that what he had done was not the main operation but "only the fireworks for something to come," and that there were two other "Knights Templar" cells ready to strike – unless the Norwegian government gave in to his demands: to give him absolute power and reinstitute torture and the death penalty. The threat that there might be more attacks to come was taken seriously, although the police investigation eventually found this to be a bluff and that the alleged "Knights Templar" organisation did not exist. Breivik never admitted that the Knights Templar was a phantom group, though he conceded in court that his description of it was a bit "pompous".[9] However, he realised early on that his demands were unrealistic. His purpose was to provoke the Norwegian authorities to torture him and break their own principles, as this would give him an ideological victory.[10] This part of his strategy clearly failed: the police investigation and interviews with the perpetrator and the ensuing court process went by the book and upheld all the principles of the rule of law.[11]

The police investigation and the court process showed that Breivik had spent at least two years preparing for the attacks and putting together a 1,500-page compendium [12] which he tried to distribute just before the attack to 8,109 e-mail addresses he had collected (only 958 e-mails actually got through).[13] More than half of this volume consisted of cut-and-paste texts from various anti-Islamist writers who had inspired his idiosyncratic variety of an extreme right ideology that was meant to justify his violent plans. The last part of the compendium described his (phantom) organisation "Knights Templar" and his ideas for the war against the "invasion" of Islam into Europe and the alleged "traitors" who had facilitated this. He described various categories of traitors and the punishments (including the death sentence) that awaited them. The final part of the compendium devoted a large section to various operational details, including how he was able to construct a functional fertiliser-based bomb, even though based on fertiliser that was modified to make an explosion more difficult. It was stated that the purpose of describing this in such detail was to help other like-minded militants to make their own explosive devices and prepare their operations. The compendium was meant to inspire and assist other anti-Islam activists to emulate him and carry out their own terrorist attacks.

After his arrest, Breivik was put in high-security custody but until his trial and formal conviction a year later he had some opportunities to communicate with his supporters by mail (see Berntzen & Ravndal's article in this Special Issue). During this period in custody his mental health was evaluated by two separate psychiatric teams to assess whether he was sane and could be held criminally responsible for his violence. The report by the first forensic psychiatric team concluded that he was psychotic at the time of the criminal actions as well as during their observation after his arrest, suffering from paranoid schizophrenia and delusions. The Attorney General

accepted this report and decided to go for an insanity plea so that he would be convicted to compulsory mental health care – which would also mean that he could not be held legally accountable or punished for his acts. However, this psychiatric report was heavily criticised by other forensic psychiatrists and psychologist as well as by experts on terrorism and right-wing extremism for its very narrow perspective – a perspective that did not take into consideration that Breivik might actually be an ideology-driven terrorist, acting rationally within the framework of a right-wing extremist worldview.[14] The court therefore decided to appoint a second psychiatric team which eventually came to a different conclusion: this team found Breivik to have a "dissocial personality disorder" as well as a "narcissistic personality disorder", which meant that he could be held legally responsible for his acts. Which of these two psychiatric assessments should prevail became one of the core issues during the trial, which lasted two months – from mid-April to mid-June 2012.[15] In August 2012, the verdict held Breivik guilty and legally responsible for the July 22 attacks. He received the maximum sentence possible at that time, 21 years in prison and preventive detention, a conviction which can be prolonged for as long as Breivik would be considered a danger to society. He serves his sentence in a high-security wing of the prison, isolated from other inmates, and with very limited opportunities to communicate with supporters outside.

Dimensions of "Impact"

What does "impact" mean in the context of terrorist attacks? Obviously, there are several dimensions of the concept of impact. For our purpose, we will focus on the long-term impacts on the individual level, the national (or societal) level, and the global level.

At the ***individual level,*** the consequences are obviously total and permanent for the direct victims killed in the terrorist attack. For the victims' families and persons close to them, the grief and loss are also extremely severe and long-lasting. For the survivors of the attack, the suffering varies according to the degree of physical and mental injuries, as well as the length of time they continue to be affected. One of the studies in this Special Issue (by Glad, Stensland & Dyb) addresses the long-term impact on the mental and physical health of the survivors of the Utøya attack. The authors found that the attack had a wide range of negative repercussions for the survivors' mental and somatic health for years post-attack, including symptoms of post-traumatic stress, anxiety, depression, complicated grief, headache, and other symptoms. Moreover, exposure to the attack also led to long-term functional impairment for many, particularly in relation to the survivors' academic performance and well-being at school. Furthermore, it had negative health consequences for people close to the survivors, such as their caregivers.

However, although the horrible killings and the suffering of the victims made a strong impression on the Norwegian society and the international community when it happened in 2011, it can be argued that the shock and the feelings of empathy and solidarity with the victims subsided after a while, becoming overshadowed by other terrible events on the world scene. At least, several surveys suggest that the share of Norwegians thinking about July 22 on a weekly basis has dropped from 13 per cent in 2013 to a mere 1 per cent in 2020, while the share that seldom or never thinks about July 22 has increased from 55 to 80 per cent during the same period (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: How often Norwegians Think about the July 22 Attacks, 2013-2020
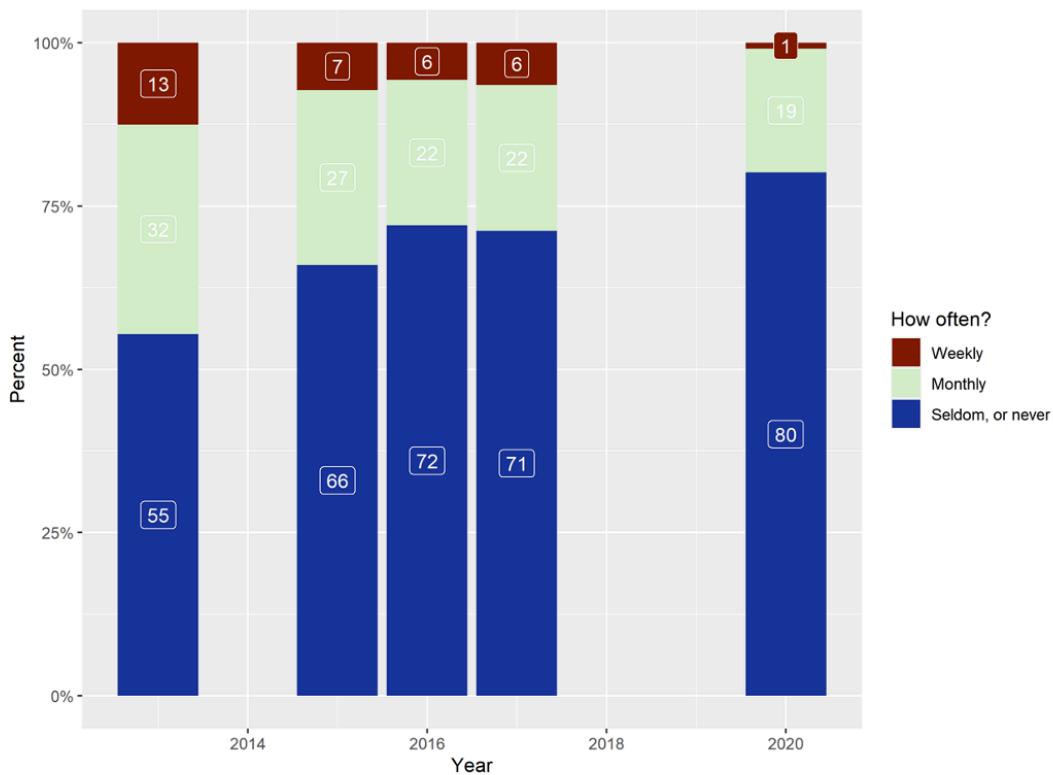
Source: Surveys from two different projects of the Institute for Social Research.

At the **national or societal level,** there can be a variety of short-term and long-term impacts in different sectors of society. Large-scale terrorist attacks can have consequences for public health, the economy, public administration, security measures, legislation, political processes, culture, and other sectors.

The task of following up with survivors and the bereaved in the aftermath of such terrorist attacks is largely a responsibility of health services but also other public agencies (e.g., schools and social services) and civil society (e.g., churches, mosques, aid organisations, and volunteers) became involved.

The 564 persons that were present at Utøya during the attack – mostly youths in their teens and early 20s – came from local communities all over the country. Many Norwegians knew someone – killed, wounded, survivor or family member – who had been directly or indirectly a victim of the terrorist attack. This closeness to the atrocity made most people in Norway feel that they were affected in one way or another. A survey conducted a few weeks after the attack showed that one out of four Norwegian knew someone victimised by the attacks. [16] For those most directly affected, survivors and bereaved established a joint self-help group that continues its activities, ten years later.[17]

Large-scale terrorist attacks can also have considerable economic consequences. The physical destruction caused by the 9/11 attack on the Twin Towers in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, DC was devastating, as was the car bomb attack on the Government district of Oslo. Several government buildings were so damaged that many ministries and the Prime Minister's office had to be relocated to other parts of the city. The Government district had to be totally reconstructed, a process that will not be completed until at least 15 years after the attack, with an estimated cost of at least NOK 36.5 billion Crowns (3.5 billion Euro).[18]

Failures to prevent or handle major attacks can also lead to changes in public administration. In the United States, the security and coordination failures led to the establishment of a Department of Homeland Security with more than 240,000 employees, and a new Office of the Director of National Intelligence. In Norway, the police

response to the attacks was severely criticised in the media and in the report of the July 22 Commission,[19] pointing out a number of blunders and deficiencies, implying that many lives could have been saved if the police had been better prepared and had performed better. This critique led to a thorough reorganisation of the Norwegian police, with mixed results. The number of police districts was reduced from 27 to 12 in order to make the units more robust and better able to handle major events like a terrorist attack. The number of local units was reduced as well, although at some loss of local know-how and community networks.[20]

One of the goals of terrorist actors is often to provoke political authorities to respond in ways that will undermine the legitimacy of the government or cause chain reactions that might further the goals of the terrorists.[21] If governments display a lack of capacity or will to respond adequately, this may indeed serve such goals. Overreactions are more common, with governmental displays of force such as taking military action or engaging in excessive repression, causing radicalisation among segments of the population affected by such overreactions, while also undermining the legitimacy of the governments. It can be argued that the "Global War on Terror" in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, involving large-scale and long-lasting military invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan and a broad range of repressive measures at home and abroad, was an overreaction that caused unforeseen negative consequences.[22] Anders Behring Breivik was quite explicit in stating that provoking overreactions and repression was one of his goals.[23] He generally failed to achieve this. Trust in the government remained high in the population after the attack.[24] The immediate political response by the Prime Minister and by other leading politicians as well as by the Norwegian population was widely admired abroad.[25] Moreover, the government administration and the political system was back in operation surprisingly fast after the attack. The response by the health services was also highly effective.[26]

A common response to major terrorist attacks is a dramatic increase in security measures. Typically, this includes more resources and authorisation for methods to security services as well as a broad range of protective measures. The July 22 attacks exposed how naïve Norwegian society had been in terms of general threat perception, and its lack of sufficient protective security measures against terrorist attacks. During the following months and years, a wide range of security measures were implemented in and around public buildings, and the Police Security Service and several operational police units and functions were strengthened.

Frequently, a long-term national level impact of high-casualty terrorist attacks involves changes in terrorism legislation. Norwegian terrorism legislation in force at the time of the attack in 2011 criminalised conspiracies (*inngå forbund*) to prepare terrorist attacks, based on the (often mistaken) assumption that terrorism is necessarily a group activity. This meant that if Breivik's July 22 terrorist plot had been detected some weeks before his attack, his evident preparations to carry out terrorist attacks would not have been punishable because he did it alone. The new Penal code, in force from 2015, removed this loophole for preparations by lone actor terrorists.[27]

One would expect that such a devastating attack on the governing Labour Party and its youth organisation – perpetrated by an individual who some years earlier had been an active member of the right-wing populist Progress Party – would change the political landscape. And to some extent it did. The electoral support for the Labour party increased, while support for the Progress Party decreased – both in the polls and in the local elections, which took place only about two months after the July 22 attack. The Progress Party lost ownership to the immigration issue and fewer voters believed immigration was an important political issue.[28] Furthermore, as in the case of 9/11 and the Madrid bombing of 2004, there was a noticeable increase in electoral turnout among young voters.[29] Moreover, many youth wings, particularly the Labour youth but also those on the right, experienced a substantial influx of new members.[30] However, some of these effects turned out to be short-lived. Just one year later, the electoral strength of major parties was similar to what it had been prior to the terrorist attacks[31]. Furthermore, in 2013 the Labour Party-led government lost power and had to make room for a coalition by the Conservative Party and the Progress Party. The Labour Party was highly sensitive to potential accusations of playing "the July 22 card" and avoided holding the Progress Party responsible for fomenting some of the anti-Islam/immigration views that the July 22 terrorist took to the extreme. Many members of the AUF were critical of this reluctance by the mother party to address this sensitive issue properly. These are some of the issues discussed in the articles by Anna Grøndal-Larsen and by Anders Ravik Jupskås

and Øyvind Solheim. These controversies are also addressed in the article by Jone Salomonsen. The news media and the culture industry (television, movies, theatre, art) also played important roles in shaping the narratives in the aftermath of terrorist attacks. Although an emotionally sensitive topic, the July 22 attacks were eventually addressed in several movies, television series and theatre productions.[32]

A related dimension at the national/societal level concerns how society commemorates the tragic event, and how narratives are shaped. In the aftermath of large-scale terrorist attacks, conflicts regarding the establishment of memorial sites are a recurring feature. Since such terrorist attacks tend to take place in localities where people will continue living their day-to-day lives – some of whom have been directly or indirectly affected by the attack – such memorials tend to function as reminders of these horrible events, triggering traumatic feelings and disrupting a return to normality. Such controversies around the location and design of memorials were prominent in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks in New York as well as after the Bali bombings in 2002, to mention a few examples. In Norway, some neighbours to the planned memorial next to Utøya were fiercely opposing these plans – an issue also covered in the article by Jone Salomonsen in this issue.

Global impacts of terrorist attacks are less common but some attacks have repercussions of transnational dimensions, including security politics, global economy, travelling, international law, human rights, and research agendas. The emergence of international live television news, the Internet and a variety of social media channels increases the potential global impact of terrorist attacks and the capacity of terrorists to communicate their messages to international audiences through graphic images and verbal manifestos.[33] Among terrorist attacks taking place during the last 50 years that had a kind of 'global turning point' impact, a few stand out, such as:

- The hostage taking of Israeli athletes during the 1972 Olympics in Munich. The failed rescue operation by untrained and ill-prepared police forces, resulting in the death of all the hostages, exposed the fact that German authorities (as well as those in most other countries) were ill-prepared to deal professionally with such terrorist hostage situations. This led to the establishment of highly trained special police and military forces in most countries, soon making hostage attacks far more risky and less profitable to terrorists. Security became a major concern in relation to large sports events.

- The 9/11 plane attacks on New York and Washington D.C. in 2001, organised by Al-Qaida, had truly global and geopolitical impacts. The spectacular live images of the planes crashing into the twin towers in New York were televised globally, causing powerful reactions worldwide, ranging from shock and horror among those who identified with the victims to celebrations among those who identified with the terrorists' cause. Whereas 2,977 people were killed directly by the 9/11 attacks, the War on Terror campaign resulted in invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan and other wars, leading to the death of at least 800,000 people, according to one conservative assessment.[34] The repercussions of the 9/11 attacks and the resulting War on Terror are still influencing world politics on several dimensions.[35] One of the outcomes was that this event reinforced and normalised the idea that there is a "clash of civilizations" between the Western world and the Islamic world – a perception which increased hostility and fear on both sides. The 9/11 attack led to increasing Islamophobia in the West, whereas the "War on Terror" response was perceived as a war against Islam among many Muslims, feeding popular support for al-Qaida and similar extremist and terrorist movements.

- The London bombings in 2005 (preceded by the Madrid train attacks and the murder of the film maker Theo van Gogh in Amsterdam in 2004) led to a significant shift in threat images and counterterrorism. Whereas the 9/11 attacks led to military responses against what was perceived as an external enemy, the London bombing shifted the focus towards homegrown terrorists and fear of radicalisation among local Muslims – "them" – living among "us", giving Islamophobia a new twist.[36] Furthermore, with a perceived threat from within society, policies to counter violent extremism (CVE) began to put far

stronger emphasis on non-military means of prevention. This led to a flurry of policies, action plans and interventions at local, national, and international levels to prevent radicalisation and violent extremism.

The July 22 attacks in Norway had less long-lasting impacts than these three events, but it did have some global impacts as well. First and foremost, the magnitude of the victimization in Utøya and property destruction in Oslo led to increased concerns among security services, police, and policymakers in many countries about the potential threats from lone actor terrorists and their potential for causing massive harm. In addition, terrorism from the extreme right also became perceived as a more serious threat than before – although this concern did not really take hold until the series of (attempted) mass shootings by extreme right terrorists in 2019. The July 22 attacks were at the time (rightly) considered an outlier – both when compared with other lone actor attacks,[37] and in the history of right-wing terrorism. The two previous main cases of high-casualty attacks considered (rightly or wrongly) as carried out by lone actors were the so-called Octoberfest bombing in Munich in 1980 (13 killed, including the perpetrator) and the Oklahoma City bombing in 1995 (168 killed, including 19 children). In both cases, it is questionable whether the perpetrators were lone actors in a strict sense.[38]

Figure 2: Number of Extreme Right Fatal Attacks and Fatalities per Year in Western Europe (1990-2020)
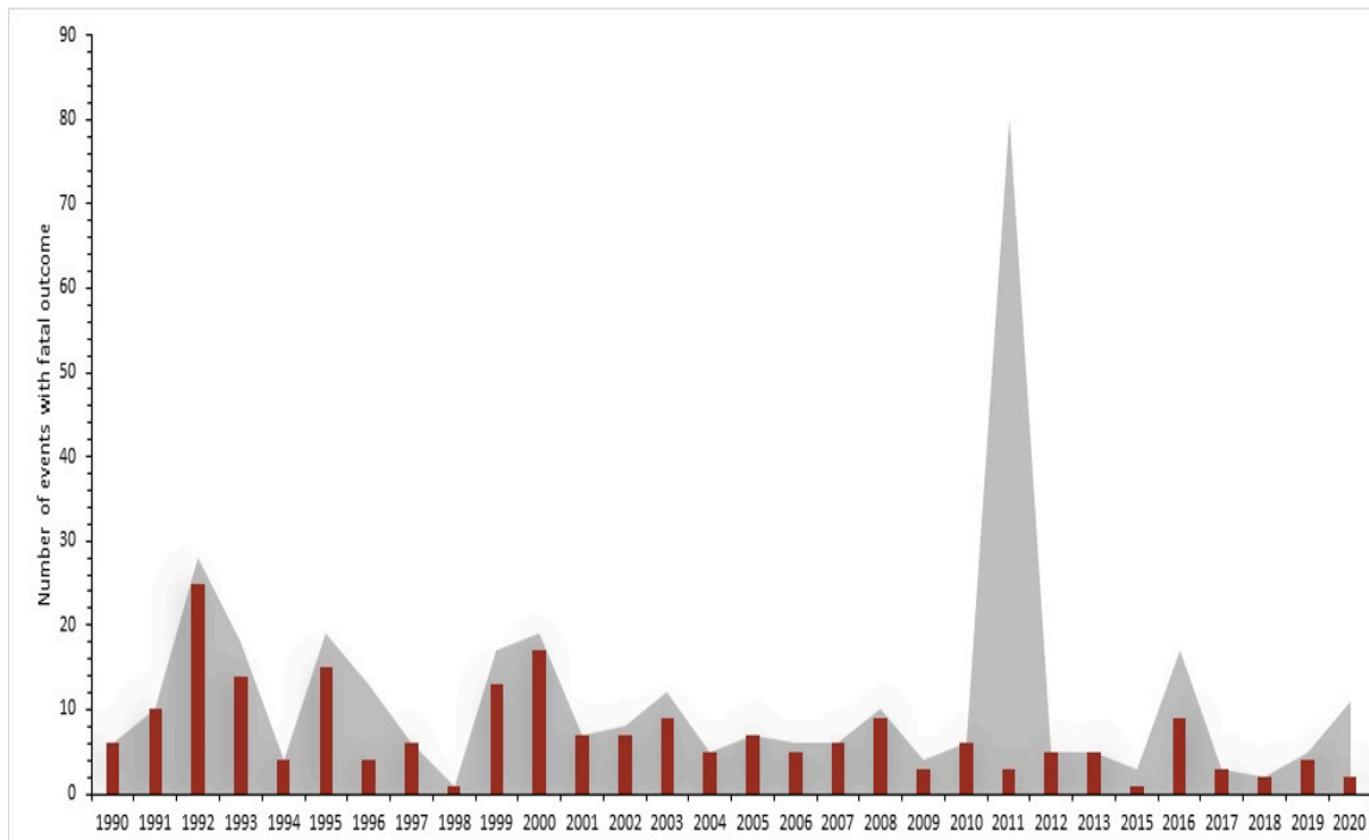
Source: RTV Trend Report 2021

Figure 3: Number of Fatalities per Fatal Extreme Right Attack,
Ranging from 1 per Attack to 5 or More. (1990-2020)
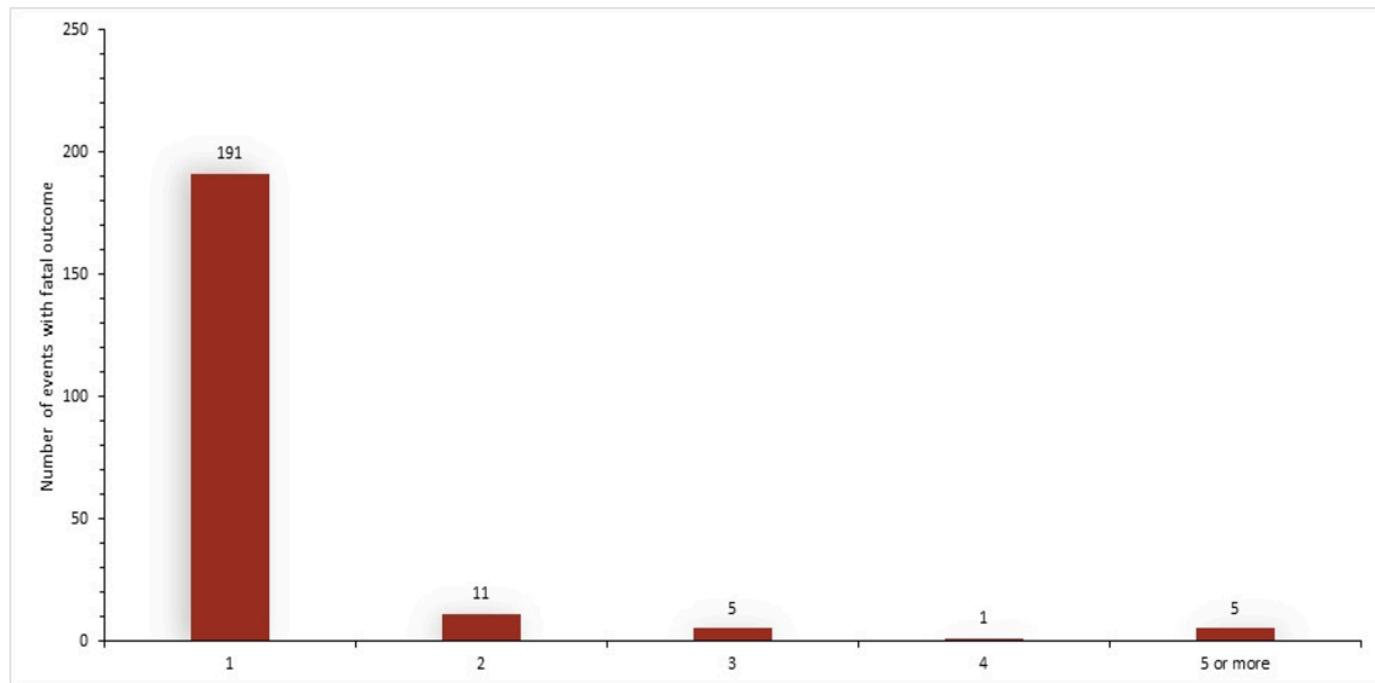
Source: RTV Trend Report 2021

The July 22 attacks also had a significant impact on the research agenda in terrorism studies. Although Jihadi terrorists had also increasingly turned to lone actor attacks during this period, the July 22 attacks in 2011 demonstrated the destructive potential of a lone actor. In the aftermath, there was a huge increase in academic articles, books and reports on "lone wolf terrorists" and "lone actor terrorists".

Figure 4: Use of the term "Lone Wolf (N = 15 243) and "Lone Actor" (N= 1 856) as Terms in Full Text Scientific Publications. Absolute Numbers, period 2000-2020
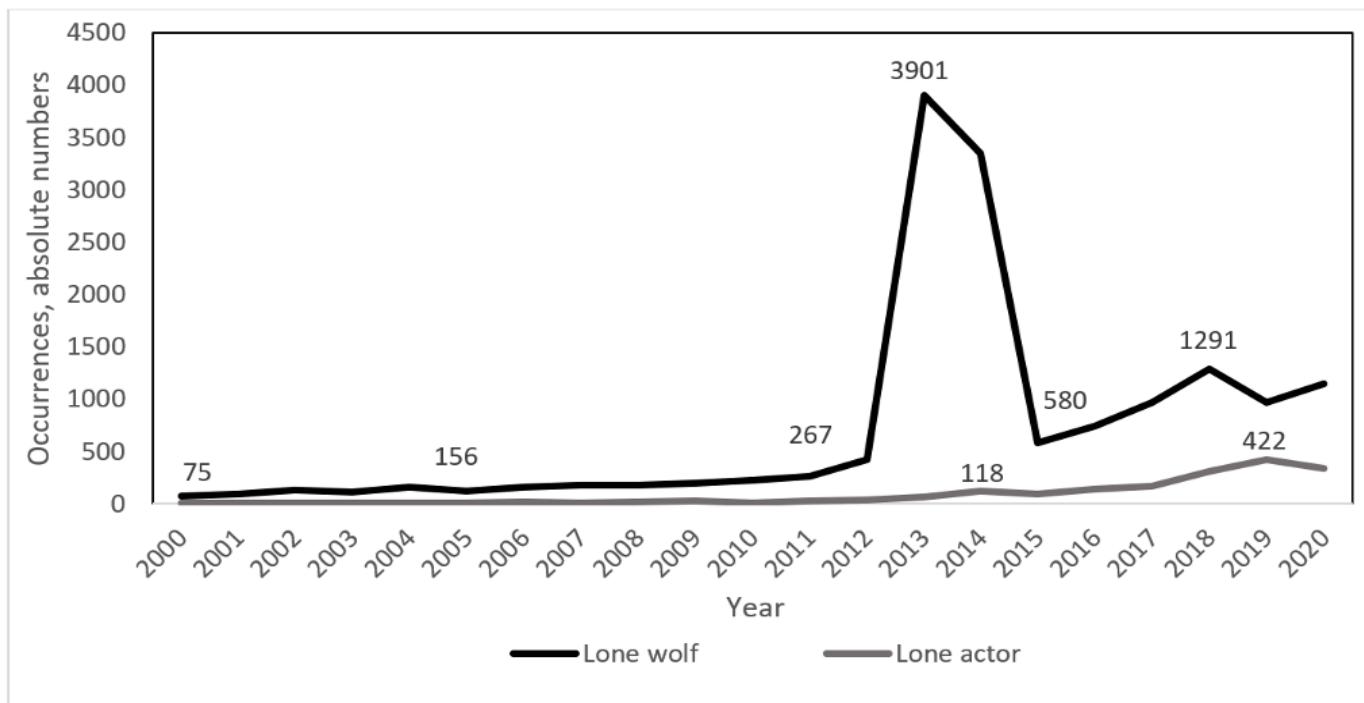
Source: Google Scholar. Compiled by Lars Erik Berntzen, University of Bergen. See Research Note by Berntzen and Bjørgo in this Special Issue.

The fact that the huge increase in publications on the "lone wolf/lone actor" occurred in 2013 and 2014, two-three years after the July 22 attack, reflects the research and publication cycle – but also that "lone wolves" suddenly became a hot topic for researchers, resulting in a flurry of academic output [39] of mixed quality. These patterns will be discussed more thoroughly in a Research Note by Lars Erik Berntzen and Tore Bjørgo in this Special Issue.

It should be mentioned that the establishment of the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX) is also a direct outcome of the July 22 attack, as this exposed an urgent need for updated research on right-wing extremism and violence, leading to a government decision to finance a research center to focus specifically on right-wing extremism. C-REX was established at the University of Oslo in February 2016 (after a competition with other two other consortiums), with funding for ten years.

What Makes Some Terrorist Attacks Have Lasting Impacts?

There are, in our view, three factors that account for a lasting impact of some terrorist attacks: severity, response and innovation.

Severity: One obvious reason is that terrorist attacks with large-scale destruction and with a high number of casualties will make for a greater and more lasting impact than small-scale attacks. This was clearly the case with the July 22, 2011 attacks in Norway as well as with the 9/11 attacks in 2001, the London bombings of 2005, the Barcelona attacks of 2017 and the Christchurch attacks of 2019, to mention a few. It is obvious that the high-casualty attack in Christchurch, with 51 fatalities and 40 more wounded, made a far stronger impact than the attacks in Poway (California, 2019), Bærum (Norway, 2019) and Halle (Germany, 2019), with only one or two persons killed. However, some small-scale hate crimes may also have major impacts for other reasons. In Oslo in February 2001, the racist knife murder of a young black boy, Benjamin Hermansen, by a group of Nazis skinheads, the Boot Boys, caused a huge shock in Norwegian society, bringing tens of thousands out in the streets to protest against racism. The shock and the powerful public response caused the end of the Nazi skinhead movement in Norway, leading to widespread defections, stopping recruitment, and making it unacceptable to display support for Nazism in public.[40] The brutal violence and open racism against an innocent victim were sufficiently shocking to bring racism high up on the public and political agenda. A similar racist knife murder of the black boy Stephen Lawrence in London in 1993 had a great and lasting impact as well. Widespread outrage over faulty police investigation and the reluctance of the police to consider the racist dimension of the attack led to a public enquiry (the MacPherson Report), concluding that London's Metropolitan police was marred by institutional racism.[41] The issue is still haunting the English police and its relations with minorities. Thus, severity in terms of destruction and the number of casualties is not alone sufficient to make a lasting impact. Many large-scale terrorist attacks are soon forgotten by those not directly affected, whereas smaller attacks can gain lasting significance.

Response: The nature of the response or responses to terrorist attacks is also decisive. Terrorists usually want to provoke certain types of responses (such as over-reactions or inability to act) that can undermine the legitimacy of the government or the enemy.[42] However, terrorist attacks do also frequently backfire, as responses serve to bolster opposition to the terrorist cause and increase support for the authorities. Some terrorist attacks overstep the limits of acceptable violence and lead to a backlash among the constituency of (potential) supporters. One example was the Omagh bombing in 1998, which killed 29 people and was carried out by the Real IRA in an effort to undermine the Northern Ireland peace process. This carnage led to strong local, regional and international outcry against 'dissident' republicans and increased support for the Northern Ireland peace process.[43]

Innovation: Terrorists generally try to make news. However, if terrorist attacks become repetitious, such attacks may over time lose their newsworthiness and impact. One way that terrorists try to avoid this trap is by innovation – doing something that has not been done by terrorists before, even if only a few people are killed.[44] The poison gas attack on the Tokyo subway by the Aum Shinrikyo group is one example, suicide

attacks with hijacked airplanes on buildings in New York and Washington, is another. The innovation may be in terms of attack methods but also in terms of targeting: attacking sports events (the Munich Olympics), school children (the Beslan school siege) or political youth camps (Utøya) illustrate the shock effects of such unprecedented attacks.

There are many important aspects of long-term impacts of terrorist attacks that are not covered (or merely touched upon superficially) in this Special Issue. We have tried to address some of the main consequences related to the July 22, 2011 attacks specifically, sometimes with an eye toward other major attacks as well. Other academic studies [45] covering major events like the 9/11 attacks in New York and Washington and the 7/7 bombings in London have had multiple long-term impacts, including increased discrimination of ethnic and religious minorities, infringements on personal liberties, increased surveillance, and major changes in the security sector as well as changes in legislation, public opinion, the economy, travel patterns, and more. There is an obvious need for more comparative studies of the long-term impacts of major terrorist attacks. There is a need to explore how and why some of these consequences became severe and lasting whereas other consequences were only temporal and more manageable.

About the Authors

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Anders Ravik Jupskås *is a senior researcher and deputy directoriat the Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo. His work covers right-wing extremism, populism and party politics. He has published articles in* Scandinavian Political Studies, Swiss Political Science Review *and* Norsk statsvitenskapelig tidsskrift*, as well as chapters on far-right politics in recently published edited volumes on ECPR Press, Palgrave and Routledge. He is the author of* Ekstreme Europa *(Cappelen Damm, 2012/2017).*

Notes

[1] Richard English (2016). *Does Terrorism Work? A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Diego Muro (2018). *When Does Terrorism Work?* London and New York: Routledge; Max Abrams (2006). "Why Terrorism Does Not Work," *International Security*, Vol. 31, pp. 42-78.

[2] Description of the attacks is based on *Rapport fra 22. juli-kommisjonen.* Oslo: NOU 2012:14. URL: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumenter/nou-2012-14/id697260/. English summary: https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/bb3dc76229c64735b4f6eb4dbfcdbfe8/en-gb/pdfs/nou2012_14_eng.pdf; and Cato Hemmingby and Tore Bjørgo (2016). *The Dynamics of a Terrorist targeting Process: Anders B. Breivik and the July 22 Attacks in Norway*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Pivot.

[3] Breivik had actually planned to carry out three car bomb attacks but due to a combination of several constraints (time, work capacity and financing) he had to settle for only one bomb attack. On the day of the attack, he was also several hours delayed. This saved many lives as most of those working in the building had already left for the weekend. See Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2016), op.cit.

[4] He spared only two: a nine-year-old boy and a "conservative looking young man" he considered to be out of place, looking a bit like himself. See Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2016), p. 69.

[5] According to statement by ABB in court (NTB court transcripts 20.04.2012).

[6] According to Breivik's statements in court, 19 April 2012 (NTB court transcripts).

[7] Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2016), op.c cit., p. 60-61.

[8] For details on Breivik's surrender to the Delta Force, see Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2016), op.cit., p. 70-75. The delayed police operation was heavily criticised by the July 22 Commission's report. For a critical assessment of this report, see Helge Renå (2019), *Police Coordination in Crises. Who knew what, when, where and why in managing the terrorist attacks in Oslo and Utøya in 2011?* (PhD thesis, University of Bergen).

[9] The police investigation showed that he was alone to develop and carry out his terrorist plot although he belonged to a larger anti-Islamist and extreme right universe on the Internet [Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2016)].

[10] Statement by Breivik in the first police interview with him immediately after he was arrested at Utøya. See note [23] for details. In connection with a research project on Breivik's target selection and decision-making process, we were given access to all the police investigative interviews with Breivik, including 1.200 pages of transcripts and DVD recordings. See Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2016) [note 2], and a shortened version in Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2018), "Terrorist Target Selection: The Case of Anders Behring Breivik". *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. XII, Issue 6 (Special issue on "Terrorism from the Extreme Right", edited by Jacob Aasland Ravndal and Tore Bjørgo).

[11] There was general agreement among legal experts in Norway that the criminal justice process passed the test but there was more disagreement among experts on whether his prison conditions deviated from the standard. URL: https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/i/jPrpz/vi-maa-nettopp-motstaa-den-fristelsen-det-er-aa-gjoere-ham-spesiell

[12] Berwick, Andrew, aka Anders Behring Breivik (2011): *2083 – A European Declaration of Independence* (retrieved from Internet, 23.07.2011).

[13] Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2016), op.cit., p. 62.

[14] One of the editors/authors of this article (Bjørgo) was one of these critics, also serving as an expert witness during the trial. URL: https://www.aftenposten.no/meninger/kronikk/i/XgkXr/med-monopol-paa-vrangforestillinger

[15] See Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2016), op. cit., pp. 78-82; Tore Bjørgo, Beatrice de Graaf, Liesbeth van der Heide, Cato Hemmingby and Daan Weggemans(2016), "Performing Justice, Coping with Trauma: The Trial of Anders Breivik, 2012. In: Beatrice de Graaf & Alex P. Schmid (Eds.). *Terrorists on Trial: A Performative Perspective*. Leiden: Leiden University Press (pp. 457-502).

[16] *Klassekampen*, 19 august 2011

[17] The Norwegian support group after the 22nd July terror attacks. URL: https://22juli.info/english/

[18] URL: https://www.aftenposten.no/oslo/i/Ln6mz1/i-dag-starter-et-av-de-stoerste-byggeprosjektene-i-norge-noensinne

[19] See note 2.

[20] Vanja Lundgren Sørli and Paul Larsson (Eds., 2018). *Politireformer – Idealer, realiteter, retorikk og praksis*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

[21] Richard English (2016). *Does Terrorism Work? A History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Tore Bjørgo (2013). *Strategies for Preventing Terrorism*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (pp. 76-79).

[22] Mark Mazzetti. "Spy Agencies Say Iraq War Worsens Terrorism Threat," *The New York Times*, Sept. 24, 2006.URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/24/world/middleeast/24terror.html ; Richard English (2016) [note 1].

[23] During the initial police interviews with Breivik after he was arrested at Utøya, one of his demands was that the Norwegian government should reinstate torture and the death penalty. This would make the government break its principles, which would give him an ideological victory – although he conceded that this was not a very realistic demand. During the trial, he also claimed that one of his goals was to "launch a provocation leading to persecution of the moderate cultural conservatives, in turn boosting their motivation for resistance." Cit. Hemmingby & Bjørgo 2016, p. 35.

[24] Bernard Enjolras, Kari Steen-Johnsen, Francisco Herreros, Øyvind Bugge Solheim, Marte Winsvold, Shana Gadarian & Atte Oksanen (2019). "Does trust prevent fear in the aftermath of terrorist attacks?" *Perspectives on Terrorism*. 13(4), pp. 39-55. The paper by Jupskås and Solheim in this special issue discussed diverging views on the question whether voices critical of the current immigration policy had been repressed or not.

[25] Uri Friedman (2011). "Comparing How Norway and the U.S. Respond to Terror: Norwegians appear to have largely bypassed bloodlust and vengeance." *The Atlantic*, July 27, 2011. URL: https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2011/07/comparing-how-norway-and-us-respond-terror/353336/

[26] *Rapport fra 22. Juli-kommisjonen*, chapters 9 and 10. [note 2]

[27] URL: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/sub/radikalisering/radikaliseringskonferanse/id663873/

[28] Tor Bjørklund and Johannes Bergh (2013). «Lokalvalget i skyggen av 22. juli». In: Johannes Bergh & Dag Arne Christensen (Eds.) *Et robust lokaldemokrati : Lokalvalget i skyggen av 22. juli 2011*. Abstrakt forlag (pp. 21–44).

[29] Johannes Bergh and Guro Ødegård (2013). «Ungdomsvalget 2011». *Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift*. 29(1), pp. 30- 50

[30] Guro Ødegård (2014), «Små partier – store endringer Medlemskap i ungdomspartiene i Norge 1998–2011». *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning,* 14(1), pp. 135-148.

[31] See e.g., Anders Ravik Jupskås and Tore Wig (2012). "One year after terrorism struck Norway: taking stock". *OpenDemocracy*, July 24, 2012. URL: https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/one-year-after-terrorism-struck-norway-taking-stock/

[32] For a discussion on media productions about the July 22 attacks, see Anne Gjelsvik (Ed., 2021) *Bearbeidelser: 22. juli i ord og bilder*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

[33] Brigitte Nacos (2016). *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: Mainstream and Digital Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism* (3rd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

[34] According to "The Costs of War" project at Brown University. URL: https://watson.brown.edu/costsofwar/

[35] See, for example, Michael Cox (2002). "Paradigm Shifts and 9/11: International Relations After the Twin Towers," *Security Dialogue* 33(2).

[36] Mike Hardy (2015) Home-grown terror and clashes within civilisations: Reflections ten years on from the July 7th 2005 terror attacks in London. In: Serena Hussain, Mike Hardy and Fiyaz Mughal (Eds., 2015). *7th July London Bombings: A Decade of Reflection*. Open Society Foundation. URL: https://pureportal.coventry.ac.uk/en/publications/77-reflections-7th-july-london-bombings-a-decade-of-reflections

[37] Ramon Spaaij (2012). *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism* (London: Springer); Hemmingby & Bjørgo (2016), op.cit., chapt. 8.

[38] The Oktoberfest bomber, who was killed when his device exploded prematurely, had been involved with a banned neo-Nazi militia group (*Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann*), and there were suspicions that other persons had been involved in the preparations of the attack, but this could neither be proved nor disproved. The Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh had a partner (Terry Nichols) and two other helpers and should not be considered a lone actor terrorist.

[39] Even pop idol Michael Jackson dedicated his album "Invincible" to the Norwegian victim of racist violence, Benjamin Hermansen. URL: https://www.vg.no/rampelys/i/wEP3OP/hedrer-benjamin

[40] This was confirmed by former leading figures in the local Nazi scene at the time. See Tore Bjørgo (Ed., 2018). *Høyreekstremisme i Norge: Utviklingstrekk, konspirasjonsteorier og forebyggingsstrategier.* PHS Forskning 2018:4. Oslo: Politihøgskolen, pp. 48-49, 59-60.URL: https://phs.brage.unit.no/phs-xmlui/handle/11250/2568904

[41] URL: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-stephen-lawrence-inquiry

[42] The fumbling investigation of the decade-long series of murders of immigrants and other crimes in Germany by what eventually turned out to be a cell known as the National Socialist Underground (NSU) lead to a crisis in confidence in the police and security agencies due to their reluctance to share relevant information and explore properly the possibility that this might be an extreme-right terrorist campaign. Daniel Koehler (2018*). Right-Wing Terrorism in the 21st Century: The 'National Socialist Underground' and the History of Terror from the Far-Right in Germany*. London & New York: Routledge.

[43] John Morrison (2020). "Reality Check: The Real IRA's Tactical Adaptation and Restraint in the Aftermath of the Omagh Bombing," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, vol 14, Issue 6. URL: https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/binaries/content/assets/customsites/perspectives-on-terrorism/2020/issue-6/morrison.pdf

[44] Adam Dolnik (2007). *Understanding Terrorist Innovation: Technology, Tactics and Global Trends*. London: Routledge.

[45] See e.g., Rachel E. Utley (ed., 2012). *9/11 Ten Years After: Perspectives and Problems*. London & New York: Routledge; Robert M. Brackbill & W. Allen Robison (Eds. 2019), Long-Term Health Effects of the 9/11 Disaster. Special issue of *Environmental Research and Public Health* (Nov. 2019).URL: https://doi.org/10.3390/books978-3-03921-813-4; Arabinda Acharya (2015). *Ten Years After 9/11 - Rethinking the Jihadist Threat.* London & New York: Routledge. Lars Erslev Andersen, Mani Crone, Peter Hansen, Ann-Sophie Hemmingsen, Ulla Holm, Søren Hove and Leila Stockmarr (2011). *Ti år efter: 11. september 2++1 – Tilbageblik, Status og aktuelle tendenser.* Copenhagen: DIIS - Dansk Institut for Internationale Studier; Serena Hussain, Mike Hardy and Fiyaz Mughal (Eds., 2015). *7/7 Reflections - 7th July London Bombings: A Decade of Reflection*. Coventry University. URL: https://www.faith-matters.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/A-Decade-of-Reflections-Final.pdf; Mike Hardy (2015). *Home-grown terror and clashes within civilisations: Reflections ten years on from the July 7th 2005 terror attacks in London*. In: Hussain, Hardy and Mughal (Eds., 2015).

Breivik's Long Shadow? The Impact of the July 22, 2011 Attacks on the *Modus Operandi* of Extreme-right Lone Actor Terrorists

by Graham Macklin and Tore Bjørgo

Abstract

This article investigates the extent to which Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik has influenced the modus operandi of extreme right lone actor terrorists in the decade since his own attacks on July 22, 2011. The article presents an overview of the principal cases in which Breivik's name has appeared as either a potential influence or inspiration. It argues that despite his own best efforts, detailed in his manifesto, and the Christchurch shootings on March 15, 2019—for which his inspiration, at first glance, appears to be writ large—Breivik's actual tactical influence upon the subsequent trajectory of extreme attacks from the extreme right has been limited.

Keywords: Anders Behring Breivik, Christchurch, extreme right terrorism, lone actors, *modus operandi*, political violence

Introduction

This article examines the extent to which Anders Breivik's *modus operandi* has, or has not, influenced subsequent acts of extreme right-wing terrorism in the decade since the July 22, 2011 attacks. It examines what Breivik hoped to achieve through his violence and contrasts this with what has actually transpired. Breivik's influence on the course of extreme right terrorism is often assumed, not least because of sensationalist headlines pronouncing that a terrorist or would-be terrorist was "obsessed with" or "influenced by" the Norwegian murderer and had planned a "Breivik-style" massacre. Using a case study of the Christchurch attacks that took place in New Zealand on March 15, 2019—in which, superficially at least, Breivik's influence appears to loom large—the article examines the actual extent of the Norwegian terrorist's influence upon its planning and commission. It outlines the numerous differences between the two terrorists, which complicate straightforward assertions about Breivik's influence. Thereafter the article examines the extent to which Breivik has influenced, either directly or indirectly, a range of plots and attacks that have taken place between 2011 and 2021. The article concludes by considering both the nature of Breivik's legacy for violence from the extreme right and his waning subcultural influence, as new, highly mediatized acts of mass violence have come to eclipse his own massacre.

Since this article seeks to ascertain the extent, or lack thereof, of Breivik's "influence" upon right-wing terrorism, it is worth establishing what we mean by this term at the outset. Our overarching concern here is to understand and explain the extent to which, through his ideas and actions, Breivik changed the operating method—the *modus operandi*—of extreme right terrorism. It does not concern itself with the popularity or otherwise of the ideas that he espoused in his manifesto and which he himself considered his primary contribution.[1] The focus of this article is narrower; concerned only with whether or not Breivik has had an impact on the subsequent tactical trajectory of extreme right terrorism. It does not therefore deal with Breivik's broader appeal within the far right milieu, which is the subject of Berntzen and Ravndal's contribution to this Special Issue.

This article explores the question of whether or not the July 2011 attacks occasioned innovation in the *modus operandi* of extreme right terrorism. Martha Crenshaw succinctly defines innovation as the "adoption of new patterns of behavior."[2] Building upon this, Lubrano defines *tactical* innovation—the focus of this article—as "substantial shifts that pertain to the material execution of operations and redefine the behavioral patterns of a terrorist organisation. Therefore, it concerns changes that regard target selection, the time and location of the attack, the weapon and/or technology adoption, the composition of the hit squad(s), and so on."[3]

As Adam Dolnik argues, terrorists are often risk averse and not particularly innovative tactically.[4] It should not be assumed therefore that even if new modes of operating do diffuse within a milieu that they will actually

be adopted and enacted. As Rydgren observes, an idea is not "contagious" in an epidemiological sense; "it only diffuses if actors want it to diffuse."[5] The same is true of violent strategies and tactics which, while circulating within a radical milieu, do not automatically translate into action simply by virtue of their existence – the concept of "leaderless resistance" being a prime example.[6] Concrete decisions have to be made by individuals to adopt a certain set of tactics. Moreover, for particular tactics to be adopted by an individual or group, they need to be viewed as feasible, legitimate, and effective, otherwise they would have little to recommend them in terms of their applicability to any given situation.[7] Even if a set of tactics fulfil all three of the aforementioned requirements, there are still questions of individual capacity and capability that often serve to frustrate adoption and enactment. Studies of the "contagious" diffusion of terrorism over the course of the last half century have found it to be a "rare" phenomenon but that when it does occur it "very likely" does so according to the "domino effect".[8]

This article explores the evidential base for claims of Breivik's influence on the *modus operandi* of extreme right terrorism. It does so by reviewing some thirty cases in which, according to publicly available information, Breivik has been mentioned by name. Our findings are in one sense pointing in two contradictory directions. While each of these cases show that the perpetrator or would-be perpetrator drew some level of inspiration from Breivik's atrocity, we simultaneously observe that very few of these attacks or plots actually sought to emulate or build upon the July 2011 attacks either in terms of its scale or tactics. The majority of Breivik's "influence" appears to be indirect and ideational. There is little evidence that Breivik has exerted a direct tactical influence on extreme right terrorism. Indeed, only in the case of the Christchurch terrorist, Brenton Tarrant—discussed in further detail below—is there a strong evidence base, suggesting Breivik's influence upon his attack planning. However, even in this seemingly paradigmatic case, there is arguably a rather more complicated pattern of influence at work.

Empirical data for this study was collected from extreme right manifestos, official reports, and author observations of several terrorist trials and court records. The authors also utilised the RTV dataset, their own media monitoring of cases since 2011, and a more systematic interrogation of media databases (i.e., Factiva), using a selection of key words designed to capture any missing data about individuals "influenced" by Breivik. Reports that provided little or no substantiation for asserting that a perpetrator or would-be perpetrator was influenced by Breivik—for instance those that portrayed any plan for mass murder as being a "Breivik-style" massacre simply because they aimed at mass casualties—were excluded from our analysis.

Background

On July 22, 2011, Breivik, dressed as a police officer, parked a white transit van outside the main government building in Oslo, then walked to a nearby car he had parked at the scene and drove away. Several minutes later a fertilizer bomb hidden inside the van detonated, killing eight people, seriously injuring a further ten individuals, and badly damaging the surrounding buildings. Breivik then drove to Utøya Island, approximately 40 kilometres away, where the Labour Party's youth movement was holding its annual summer camp. Having gained entry to the island using the ruse that he was a police officer coming to secure the area following the attack in Oslo, Breivik then proceeded to kill as many of the 564 people present on the island as he could. In the hour and thirteen minutes it took for the police to arrive and arrest him, Breivik stalked the island murdering everyone he could find. He killed sixty-nine people, thirty-three of whom were under eighteen and seriously injured many more.

Breivik made it clear in the police interviews following his arrest, and during his subsequent trial, that his atrocities were merely "the fireworks" to announce the presentation of his manifesto, the distribution of which "was one of the most important motives for the operation."[9] Breivik claimed to have begun *A European Declaration of Independence – 2083*, his sprawling 1,521 page compendium of sources culled from the "counter-jihad" milieu, interspersed with his own thoughts on how to plan and prepare an attack, several years before his atrocity. This compendium consists of three "books". The first two sections, covering history and ideology, was largely cut-and-pasted or otherwise plagiarised from other right-wing authors. He authored the third

"military" book largely by himself. This part of the manifesto offered strategic and operational advice to future "militant nationalists" whom he hoped would follow in his footsteps. Large sections featured detailed descriptions of a broad range of attack preparations. These pages combined his own experiences with materials from other manuals he had found on the Internet and adapted for his own purposes. These guidelines included advice on organisational structures and nitty-gritty details on uniforms, instructions on how to carry out a coup, moral justifications for brutal violence, information on weapons acquisition, target selection, and other issues referring to operational planning and preparations. Breivik was at pains to explain how he was able to overcome obstacles and produce a working explosive device based on fertilizer.

Breivik believed that his "courageous actions" would illustrate to "the people" that "the powerful are vulnerable," hoping that his violence would therefore "inspire admiration and respect."[10] He claimed inspiration from numerous other figures—"many incarcerated and some have even martyred themselves"—who had been fighting what he described as the "cultural Marxist/multiculturalist alliance". This nameless roster – "the true heroes of the conservative revolution" – had inspired him to act, he claimed in his manifesto. "Hopefully, I will be able to contribute and inspire others," he stated.[11] In his diary, published as part of the compendium, Breivik was clearly preoccupied with the thought that his terrorism would inspire others. Indeed, his entry for June 11, day 41 of his preparations, recorded that he had prayed: "I explained to God that unless he wanted the Marxist-Islamic alliance and the certain Islamic takeover of Europe" then he had to ensure Breivik "succeed with my mission and as such; contribute to inspire thousands of other revolutionary conservative/nationalists; anti-Communists and anti-Islamists throughout the European world."[12]

Breivik made every effort to ensure that his violence would inspire others. Superficially, it would appear he has been successful. In the ten years since his atrocity there have been a number of cases in which an extreme right terrorist or would-be terrorist has reportedly been "obsessed with" or "influenced by" him while attempting to commit what press reports invariably refer to as a "Breivik-style" massacre. There is clearly a "cultural script" upon which extreme right-wing terrorists can draw. One *New York Times* study indicates at least a third of extreme right terrorists since 2011 had been inspired by similar perpetrators, revered them, or studied their tactics and *modus operandi*.[13]

Breivik's Impact on the Christchurch Attacks

On March 15, 2019, Brenton Tarrant, an unemployed Australian previously employed as a gym trainer, murdered 51 people during a terrorist attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, while wounding many others. He had planned to attack a third mosque but police intercepted and arrested him before he was able to perpetrate further carnage.[14] Prior to the atrocities, Tarrant uploaded to the Internet a manifesto with the title *The Great Replacement*. Full of extreme right clichés and larded with irony and insider jokes, Tarrant's manifesto highlighted the inspiration of numerous extreme right killers. He also scrawled their names and those of others on the weapons he used to carry out his own atrocity. In a mock interview with himself that formed the centerpiece of the manifesto, Tarrant asked himself whether he had any ties with other "partisans/freedom fighters/ethno soldiers." "I have only had brief contact with Knight Justiciar Breivik," he replied to himself, "receiving a blessing for my mission after contacting his brother knights." Tarrant followed up this question with another: "Were your beliefs influenced by any other attackers?" He had read the writings of other racist terrorists like Dylann Roof, he stated, "but only really took true inspiration from Knight Justiciar Breivik."[15]

Tarrant's claim of "contact" with Breivik occasioned a flurry of media coverage concerning his supposed links to the Norwegian terrorist. Øystein Storrvik, Breivik's lawyer, informed the press "it seems unlikely" that there was any direct contact between the two men, given the strict controls imposed on Breivik. Indeed, the deputy head of Skien prison, where Breivik is incarcerated, pointed out that the authorities had a "good control" over Breivik's communications.[16]

Laying a False Trail

Contrary to his own assertions, which were little more than propaganda, Tarrant was never in touch with Breivik. Indeed, *Ko tō tātou kāinga tēnei: Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Terrorist Attack on Christchurch Masjidain on 15 March 2019* (2020) later dismissed much of what Tarrant wrote about Breivik in his manifesto as "trolling." Tarrant confirmed this to them in a subsequent interview.[17] The Royal Commission probed Tarrant's claim that he received a "blessing" from Breivik "after contacting his brother knights" in the "Knights Templar" organisation – a group Breivik claimed to have co-founded in 2002 to act as a "leaderless network, comprising of self-driven cells," that would "defeat the cultural Marxist/Multiculturalist Alliance of Europe," seize political control, and implement "a cultural conservative political agenda."[18] Though the group was fictitious, Tarrant used the myth of Breivik's "reborn Knights Templar" as a foil for his own actions, mentioning them when interviewed by New Zealand police in the aftermath of his own atrocity.[19] The most interesting thing about such claims was the lengths to which Tarrant went to perpetuate the charade.

In December 2018, Tarrant had travelled to Poland, telling his mother that he would attend a rally there. Poland's domestic counter-intelligence agency subsequently identified a "Knighting Ceremony" organised by the Knights Templar Order International/Knights Templar International (KTI) that took place in Wrocław on December 15 as the rally he was referencing.[20] This was *not* the "reborn" Knights Templar of Breivik's fantasies, however. This incarnation of the Knights Templar was a far right group that employs militant Christian iconography from the Crusades to bolster its anti-Muslim narratives. Its main preoccupation was "a marketing operation selling Knights Templar-themed products and conferring on those who buy a sufficient amount of products the title 'Sir Knight.'" Neither Polish nor Australian intelligence agencies found evidence that Tarrant was in contact with KTI or indeed attended its "Knighting Ceremony."[21] Tarrant subsequently confirmed to the Royal Commission that his Breivik references were a "red herring", designed to distract police and security services. Remarking on this curious episode, the Royal Commission noted that Tarrant "went out of his way" to create an elaborate false trail of evidence supporting his claim of a link to Breivik in the three months before his attack.[22] In their subsequent report, the Royal Commission described the purpose of this subterfuge as serving to add "credibility" to the claim in his manifesto that he had received external support for his attack. "That he went to such trouble to support what in the end was just an elaborate trolling exercise illustrates the extent of his preparation," the Royal Commission report concluded.[23]

Operational Guidance and Attack Planning

If Tarrant's claims of contact with Breivik and his non-existent Knights were palpably untrue, the Norwegian terrorist had nevertheless "significantly influenced"[24] the operational side of his attack planning. Indeed, the Royal Commission found that Breivik's manifesto and actions offered "considerable guidance" for Tarrant. "To a very large extent, the individual's preparation was consistent with that guidance," the Royal Commission recorded:

> This was evident in his joining a gym and bulking up with steroids,[25] joining rifle clubs to gain firearms expertise, attempts at operational security generally, cleaning up electronic devices to try to limit what counter-terrorism agencies might discover after a terrorist attack and might detract from the 'optics' of the exercise and the preparation of a manifesto to be released at the same time as the attack. In these respects, the guidance offered by the Oslo terrorist was largely operational in nature.[26]

Although the Royal Commission highlighted the "operational" inspiration that Breivik provided, Tarrant's *modus operandi* differed in certain key respects. Breivik's terrorist attack, which combined a bomb attack with a mass shooting, had been an act of "malevolent creativity"[27] in the sense that as an act of terrorism it was tactically innovative in comparison to what had preceded it. While the July 2011 attacks enthused and inspired future terrorists, none of them have repeated Breivik's combination of a bomb and gun attack. In his manifesto Tarrant boasted that he could have chosen "any weapons or means" including a "TATP-filled rental van" because "I had the will and I had the resources."[28] Neither statement appears to be true, although he did manufacture

four rudimentary incendiary devices with which to burn down the mosques after his massacre. For whatever reason, he did not do so. The devices which the police recovered from his car were unused.[29] Where Tarrant's ambitions came closest to rivalling Breivik's was in his selection of multiple targets. He attacked two mosques and was driving to a third when police rammed his car off the road.

Following Breivik's advice, Tarrant had enquired about gun club membership even before he arrived in New Zealand, which the Royal Commission interpreted as the first sign of his attack planning. Having obtained the necessary permits, Tarrant legally acquired ten guns (four of which he resold prior to the attack) and subsequently he illegally modified some of these weapons.[30] One of these modifications involved mounting a strobe light to one of his semi-automatic weapons, presumably in order to disorientate his victims inside the building. Tarrant decorated his weapons with a range of slogans. Breivik possibly inspired this action too, though this is speculative, since it is unknown whether Tarrant knew that he had carved names on his pistol and rifle in runic script.[31]

The atrocities both men perpetrated aimed at "discriminate mass casualties",[32] meaning that while the wider symbolic target was deliberately chosen, the actual victims were selected randomly. Breivik's violence was arguably more "revolutionary" in its intent in the sense that he was attacking both the government and those he regarded as a future generation of "traitors". Proclaiming in advance that he felt no remorse for the attacks, Tarrant's attacks targeted those he regarded as "invaders".[33]

Breivik's fastidious preparation also held lessons for Tarrant. Breivik claimed he began preparing his attack in earnest in 2006 or 2007, five years before the day when he (and those that followed his advice) would become "immortal".[34] Writing his manifesto took him three years alone, he claimed, though this assertion in his manisfesto should be treated with caution.[35] In comparison, Tarrant's attack required "roughly two years" of preparation, according to his manifesto.[36] This time differential likely reflects the difference in the complexity of their attack plans. Both men also proved adaptive to circumstances. Their plans changed over time. Breivik, who initially drew up a list of 65 potential targets, gradually whittled these down to two, though some of his decision-making was dictated by external circumstances which forced these changes upon him.[37] Tarrant, insofar as we can glean from publicly available information, selected his targets rather later in the attack preparation process, only three months beforehand, according to the manifesto, but stuck with them. He elected to bring forward the date of his attack only when he realised he was running out of funds.

There were several other stylistic similarities in their attacks. To execute them, both men dressed up. This element of "cosplay" (i.e. wearing a specific costume to embody a particular character) highlights the centrality of ideological performativity for both terrorists.[38] However, in each case this served a different function. Breivik dressed as a policeman as part of his deception to gain entry to Utøya, whereas Tarrant donned military fatigues reflecting his belief that his assault on the Christchurch mosques was part of a supposedly eternal "war" against Islam. Breivik had offered detailed advice on how to organise a terrorist attack, counselling readers to prepare their own information package for media management since the police often released "retarded looking" photos of a perpetrator in the aftermath of an attack.[39] Tarrant's marketing strategy was slightly different. He posted multiple photographs not of himself but of his weaponry and clothing, though the effect was similar in many ways since the media publicised these, thereby helping to spread his message further.

Both men acquired their guns legally and joined local rifle clubs in order to train in sharp shooting and obtain a gun license, but ultimately to prepare themselves for their attacks. Breivik was also able to gain a Storm Ruger rifle (Mini-14) and a trigger to make rapid firing easier, together with laser sights, a large quantity of ammunition and—once his attempts to buy a silencer had failed—a bayonet. A "good alternative" to joining a rifle club was playing *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare 2*, Breivik had written in his manifesto. He regarded the game as "probably the best military simulator out there" and "more as a part of my training-simulation than anything else" since "You can more or less completely simulate actual operations."[40] Tarrant was also an avid gamer, though there is no evidence to date that he was mimicking Breivik in this regard, as opposed to simply enjoying such a pastime on its own merits.

Technological Differences

Breivik had fantasised about forcing the former Norwegian prime minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, to read a prepared text about her "betrayal" of Norway and making her beg for her life before beheading her. He imagined filming this deed and uploading the footage to YouTube.[41] The idea was a non-starter. He arrived at Utøya too late to catch her, but he had also failed to acquire an iPhone on which to film his deed in the first place.[42] Echoes of Breivik's sinister idea could be found in Tarrant's attack. Tarrant livestreamed his atrocity using a helmet-mounted GoPro digital camera, popular with extreme sports fans, and linked it to Facebook from whence footage of the massacre went viral. Here technological advances since 2011 played to Tarrant's advantage. Facebook Live—launched to a restricted audience in 2015, before becoming available to all in 2016—had been unavailable to Breivik. Three years later, Tarrant became the first lone actor to livestream a terrorist attack, although several jihadist terrorists had previously incorporated some element of livestream or film into their attacks. One of the early adaptors was Larossi Abballa who murdered two police officers in their home in June 2016 and then livestreamed the aftermath of the killings.[43]

There were also differences in how technology was integrated into preparations for their respective attacks. While Breivik physically studied the island of Utøya from the other side of the shore,[44] Tarrant used a drone to conduct surveillance of his first target, the Al Noor mosque, ten weeks before his attack.[45] There were also similarities and differences in how both men disseminated their respective manifestos. The mass distribution of a manifesto was new in the sense that it utilised technology to reach a much wider audience than previously available for terrorists. One can point to Ted Kaczynski (the "Unabomber") as someone whose manifesto had also been widely distributed as a result of its publication in two national newspapers, though in his case this led to his identification and life imprisonment, marking the end of his terrorism rather than announcing new acts of violence.

Breivik attempted to disseminate his manifesto to 8,109 people whose email addresses he had been "farming" meticulously since November 2009.[46] The majority of these emails were rejected, however, because Breivik's spam filter only allowed him to send 1,000 emails a day from a single account, something he only learned in retrospect. Tarrant experienced none of the technical problems that bedevilled Breivik. Moments before he commenced his attack, Tarrant emailed his manifesto to a more limited list of thirty-four recipients, twenty-eight of which were media organisations, the remainder being the Prime Minister's Office and others in the New Zealand parliament.[47] Tarrant had previously uploaded his manifesto to Mediafire, a file hosting website, and Zippyshare, a free cloud-based file hosting service. He also provided links to both in his announcement on 8chan the next morning that he was about to commit his atrocity.[48]

That Tarrant announced his attack on 8chan, an Internet image board founded in 2013, was instructive of the possibilities that digital culture affords a new generation of extreme right terrorists who emerged after Breivik was imprisoned.[49] Tarrant was also socialised and acculturated into the visual culture of the 4chan image board – from which 8chan had emerged – which he had begun using when he was fourteen years old.[50] Indeed, one of the reasons he announced his Livestream and links to his manifesto on this forum was because he knew that its users could be relied upon to continue propagandising on his behalf after the atrocity. "I have provided links to my writings below", he announced on 8chan moments before his attack commenced, "please do your part spreading my message, making memes and shitposting as you usually do."[51] He made a similar point in his manifesto, urging readers: "Create memes, and spread memes. Memes have done more for the ethno-nationalist movement than any manifesto."[52]

Manifestos

As well as providing an insight into his self-image and the strategic rationale he constructed for his attacks,[53] Breivik in his manifesto wanted to provide other would-be terrorists with "the tools required to win the ongoing Western European cultural war."[54] Åsne Seierstad, author of the book *One of Us,* writing about the massacre, observed that the compendium was a "declaration of war" designed "to inspire fighting spirit, to fire up the reader."[55] Rather than looking to compare and contrast the ideological content of Breivik's

manifesto with those of other subsequent terrorists,[56] this article instead examines what his manifesto meant to Breivik and how subsequent treatises, such as that penned by Tarrant, have differed in certain key aspects. For Breivik, his manifesto was absolutely fundamental for his entire attack.[57] He framed his atrocity as a "marketing operation" to aid the "distribution of this book."[58] Breivik also created a short film to "market the compendium" which he would upload to YouTube shortly before his killing spree. However, that was the extent of his digital innovation.[59]

If Breivik framed his attack as a "marketing operation", what was he selling? In short, "ideology" was the "product" Breivik wanted to "sell to the European peoples."[60] Describing his massacre as a "book launch" reflected his own understanding that no one would otherwise be interested in his ideas.[61] It is not the purpose of this article to detail the ideological similarities and dissimilarities between Breivik and Tarrant's manifestos. Suffice to say that racial and racist fears about Europe's changing demography were central to both. For each man the overriding concern was immigration in general and Muslim immigration in particular. Breivik argued that Muslim immigration was a form of "demographic warfare" aimed at replacing "the indigenous peoples of Western Europe and our cultures" in what amounted to "a merciless and bloody genocide."[62] An identical belief saturated *The Great Replacement.* "It's the birthrates. It's the birthrates. It's the birthrates," Tarrant wrote. "If there is one thing I want you to remember from these writings, its [sic] that the birthrates must change."[63] Both men framed their violence as "pre-emptive" and "defensive" as a result. Both texts also presented a moral justification for their killings which they intuitively knew would be repugnant to many. To obviate this, they framed their mass murders as a burden nobly born so that future generations would not have to bloody their hands.[64]

The Great Replacement was seemingly less central to Tarrant's enterprise than Breivik's manifesto had been to him. While undoubtedly important for understanding his motivations, or at least his presentation of them, Tarrant feigned a certain disinterest in his manifesto. He claimed to have written a much longer document but said he had deleted it—a statement that the Royal Commission considered fictitious. For Tarrant, livestream video was the more important communicative component of his terrorism. It was not a medium for his message. It *was* the message. The central point of the attack, Jason Burke highlights, was not just to kill Muslims, "but to make a video of someone killing Muslims."[65] Tarrant's manifesto was also written both for a different audience and indeed a different generation than Breviks. Unlike Tarrant's manifesto, Breivik's longer, more ponderous tome, was devoid of mordant humour or other such rhetorical devices. Tarrant's manifesto was also considerably shorter, and therefore far more digestible, than Breivik's bloated compendium. This facilitated its rapid translation into several non-English languages. The same can not be said for *2083*.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which Breivik's manifesto inspired Tarrant in comparison to other factors. He was clearly familiar with it. New Zealand police recovered a copy of it from the SD card of Tarrant's drone while a subsequent investigation of his IP address highlighted that he had accessed a number of "suspicious files", including Breivik's manifesto, between August 24, 2017 and September 4, 2017. During his interview with the Royal Commission, Tarrant told them that "he did not download the Oslo terrorist's manifesto until mid-2018,"[66] long after he had begun planning his own terrorist attacks. This indicates perhaps that much of Breivik's "guidance" was applied selectively as Tarrant went along with his preparations, or appeared *post facto* rather than providing the "true inspiration" for the Christchurch attacks, as he had boasted in his own trolling manifesto.

In terms of providing a template for subsequent acts of extreme right violence, Tarrant's manifesto has, ironically, become more important than Breivik's in the sense that it inspired a trend among extreme right terrorists to produce their own manifestos and to post them online to message boards as a way of announcing the carnage they were about to unleash. Those copying Tarrant may, or may not, have been aware that he was structuring his own manifesto along the same lines that Breivik had and, in penning their own manifestos, they too were following in his footsteps. The "nucleus"[67] of the Norwegian terrorist's manifesto was a sixty-four page interview in which Breivik posed himself a series of questions. This self-interview format was copied by Tarrant as well. While Breivik pioneered this narcissistic format,[68] it was derived in essence from celebrity profiles which Breivik had read.[69]

The Trial as Stage

There was a marked difference in how both men approached their respective trials. For Breivik, whose trial ran from April 16 to June 22, 2012, his arrest and prosecution was not an unhappy end to his "operation" but the beginning of the eagerly anticipated "propaganda" phase that would provide him with the opportunity—so he believed—to explain his ideas to the world.[70] Perceiving that his trial offered "a stage to the world", Breivik believed he would be free to use it to court the world's media.[71] He went so far as to include an example of his own intended opening and closing court statements in his manifesto.[72] Tarrant made no such preparations, though he joked with himself that he would eventually be awarded the Nobel Peace prize like Nelson Mandela. [73]

Breivik's strategy was derailed, however.[74] The trial was handled in such a way that he was unable to use it as a platform for his views. Breivik did not manage to follow his own instructions for turning his trial into a propaganda platform either. Rather than finding a lawyer who supported his extreme right ideology, he selected a lawyer who was an active member of the Labour party, whose youth movement he had attacked at Utøya. Breivik had prepared a lengthy speech for the trial but, unlike other parts of the trial which were broadcast, this self-serving statement was not transmitted beyond those present in court, something which severely curtailed his audience. To defend himself against the psychiatric assessment that he suffered from grandiose delusions, Breivik also had to downplay his previous claim that he was a "Justiciar Knights Commander of the European Knight Templar", admitting that it was a "pompous" way of describing "four sweaty guys in a cellar". However, as we have already seen, this did not deter Tarrant from aligning himself with such claims. Breivik also lost much time and energy fighting the psychiatrists' insanity charges. This stood in the way of pursuing his real aim: to present himself as a right-wing vanguard in "the battle against Islamism and its defenders."[75]

Envisioning his future trial in his manifesto, Breivik appears to have believed that he would become a "living martyr". As his advice to readers revealed, he naively thought that, despite incarceration, he could continue to contribute to the consolidation of the "cause" from within prison, either through building a pan-European political organisation or at least a prison group.[76] In 2013 it was reported that he wanted to register a "one-man party" entitled "Den norske fascistparti og den nordiske liga"[the Norwegian Fascist Party and the Nordic League] for the "democratic fascist takeover of Norway." Predictably enough, this idea also came to naught.[77]

Breivik had failed to reckon with the tight controls that would be imposed upon him in prison. "Everything is 100 percent monitored," his lawyer confirmed.[78] By 2017 an estimated 4,000 letters—to and from Breivik—had passed through the prison's censorship department. The authorities censored 600 of them, mostly *from* Breivik. [79] Such conditions brought Breivik's fantasy of becoming a political leader from behind bars to an abrupt end. He was unable to communicate with would-be acolytes, build networks, or spread his influence directly through personal contact. He was largely prevented from fraternising with other inmates and has had few visitors aside from a paid "friend" (a priest), a handful of academic researchers, and his mother, before she died.

Prison did not diminish his beliefs, however. Frederik Sejersted, Norway's Attorney General, stated in 2017 "He still wants to inspire others. He still wants a fascist revolution."[80] "He has completed the active phase, and now he is working on his project as an ideologist and a writer to create networks," Sejersted argued.[81] One of the methods he considered was to use dating ads to spread his ideology, though again he appears to have been singularly unsuccessful in this endeavor as well.[82]

Despite such setbacks Breivik, who assumed his conviction had rendered him a figure of political substance, still believed he had wisdom to impart to others. In November 2012 he sought to write to another terrorist defendant, Beate Zschäpe, of the National Socialist Underground (NSU), who was then standing trial in Munich for her involvement in ten murders (nine racist killings and the murder of a female police officer), membership of a terrorist group, and arson. The NSU, which had perpetrated a bomb attack in Cologne in 2004, injuring twenty-two people, had also carried out at least fourteen bank robberies to finance its activities between 2000 and 2007. Breivik advised Zschäpe to use her trial to spread her ideals and to emphasise that she was a "militant nationalist" so that she would be seen as a "courageous heroine of national resistance who has done and sacrificed everything to stop multiculturalism and the Islamification of Germany." While he

applauded the NSU killings, Breivik patronised Zschäpe by claiming that his own attack on the "political elite" had been more effective. Zschäpe never received the letter. The German authorities had confiscated it.[83] She was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment in 2018.

Breivik also penned letters to three imprisoned members of the Aryan Brotherhood in the United States, but these never left Skien prison either. Similarly, Breivik never received a letter written to him by Nikolai Korolev, a former FSB officer who was serving a life sentence for his part in the 2006 bombing attack on the Cherkizovsky Market in Moscow, an attack which left thirteen people dead. Korolev's group Spas (The Saviour), an extreme nationalist Russian group, had carried out the attack and seven of its other members were also jailed.[84]

Breivik's failure to use the court and the prison system to amplify his message was writ large during the subsequent case he brought against the Norwegian government for breaching a ban on "inhuman and degrading treatment" under the European Convention on Human Rights in January 2017, a case he lost. Compared to his original trial there was little interest in him from wider Norwegian society. Most of the ten seats in the Oslo court that were available to the public were empty throughout the hearing. "He's being forgotten, step by step…. People are kind of done with him," observed author Åsne Seierstad. Even she was surprised by the lack of public interest.[85]

Tarrant had also claimed in his manifesto that, if he survived the attack, he intended to go to trial and plead not guilty because his attack was a "partisan action against an occupying force, and I am a lawful, uniformed combatant."[86] Initially, it appeared Tarrant would follow in Breivik's footsteps. He pleaded "not guilty" to all 51 counts of murder and—like Breivik, who defiantly made a clenched fist salute in court on the opening day of his trial—he signalled his own ideological defiance by flashing a white power symbol during his arraignment. [87] However, for reasons that remain unclear, after a year on remand awaiting trial, Tarrant unexpectedly changed his plea to guilty. This voided the necessity of a trial, which had been scheduled for June 2020, and alleviated fears that he would use the opportunity as a platform to peddle his views and cause further distress to his victims' families.[88] Tarrant was sentenced to life imprisonment without parole, having never uttered a word of justification. Indeed, as Mr Justice Mander highlighted in his sentencing remarks, Tarrant had "taken no steps in the course of this hearing to advance the ideology that motivated you." Unlike Breivik, Tarrant appears to have conceded that "nothing good" came from his crimes and accepted that his actions were "abhorrent and irrational" though, as the judge recorded, "it is not apparent, despite your claims, that you are genuinely remorseful beyond being regretful of the situation that now faces you."[89]

What Impact has Breivik had upon the Broader Trajectory of Extreme Right Terrorism?

Even in the seemingly paradigmatic case of the Christchurch attacks, the difficulties of ascribing "influence" are substantial. It becomes even harder in relation to several other less well known cases for which the extant publicly available documentation is far weaker. This investigation of Breivik's influence on the *modus operandi* of extreme right-wing terrorists in the past decade is, of course, selecting on the dependent variable. Looking to ascertain what level of influence Breivik might have exerted upon the attackers or would-be attackers that followed him, leads one to find cases in which an influence is ascribed to him. This approach does not, of course, account for the many cases of extreme right violence and terrorism upon which Breivik has had *no* discernible influence whatsoever. Gauging Breivik's lack of impact upon wider trends of extreme right terrorism can be addressed in part by using data from the Center for Research on Extremism's (C-REX) RTV dataset, with the caveat that this database only covers Western Europe while several of the cases "inspired" by Breivik hail from Eastern Europe, North America, and, in Tarrant's case, Australasia.

While the violence in Norway might seem to have ushered in a new era of extreme right lone actor attacks, in fact—as the RTV dataset highlights—the proportion of fatal events perpetrated by lone actors in Western Europe between 1990 and 2019 (the area and period currently covered by the RTV dataset) has not risen dramatically, but has instead remained relatively stable. However, although the first half of the last decade saw a drop in the number of fatal lone actor attacks in Western Europe, there was an increase in such attacks in the

second half of the decade. If such attacks appear as the dominant *modus operandi* today it is also because other forms of fatal extreme right violence—such as those committed by organisations, gangs, or autonomous cells— have diminished across the same period (Figure 1). The Extremism Crime Database (ECDB), which covers fatal right-wing attacks in the United States, highlights a similar stability of lone actor perpetrators across the same time frame.[90]

Figure 1: Fatal Right-wing Attacks in Western Europe by Perpetrator Type, 1990–2019
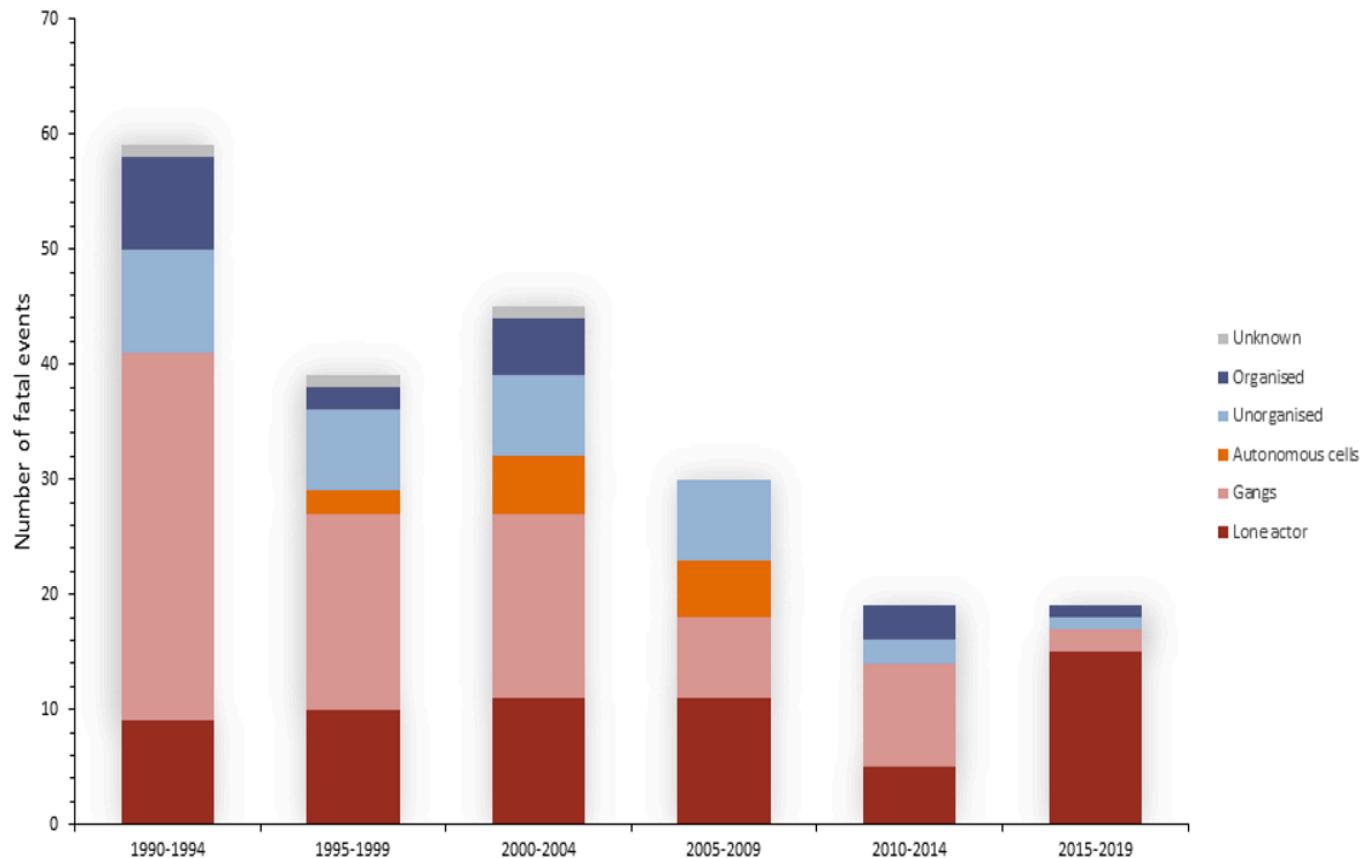
Source: RTV Dataset

There are key differences in other respects too. Mass casualty attacks, such as those Breivik perpetrated, remain an outlier when compared with more general patterns of extreme right violence. Indeed, the majority of fatal attacks committed between 1990 and 2019 in Western Europe only had one single victim (see the introduction to this Special Issue).

Breivik's target selection of government officials, state institutions and political opponents he considered "traitors" is also at odds with wider attack trends, since the majority of attacks target ethnic and religious minorities (Figure 2), though the number of attacks against "state institutions" has also been growing.

Figure 2: Fatalities per Attack in Western Europe, 1990–2019
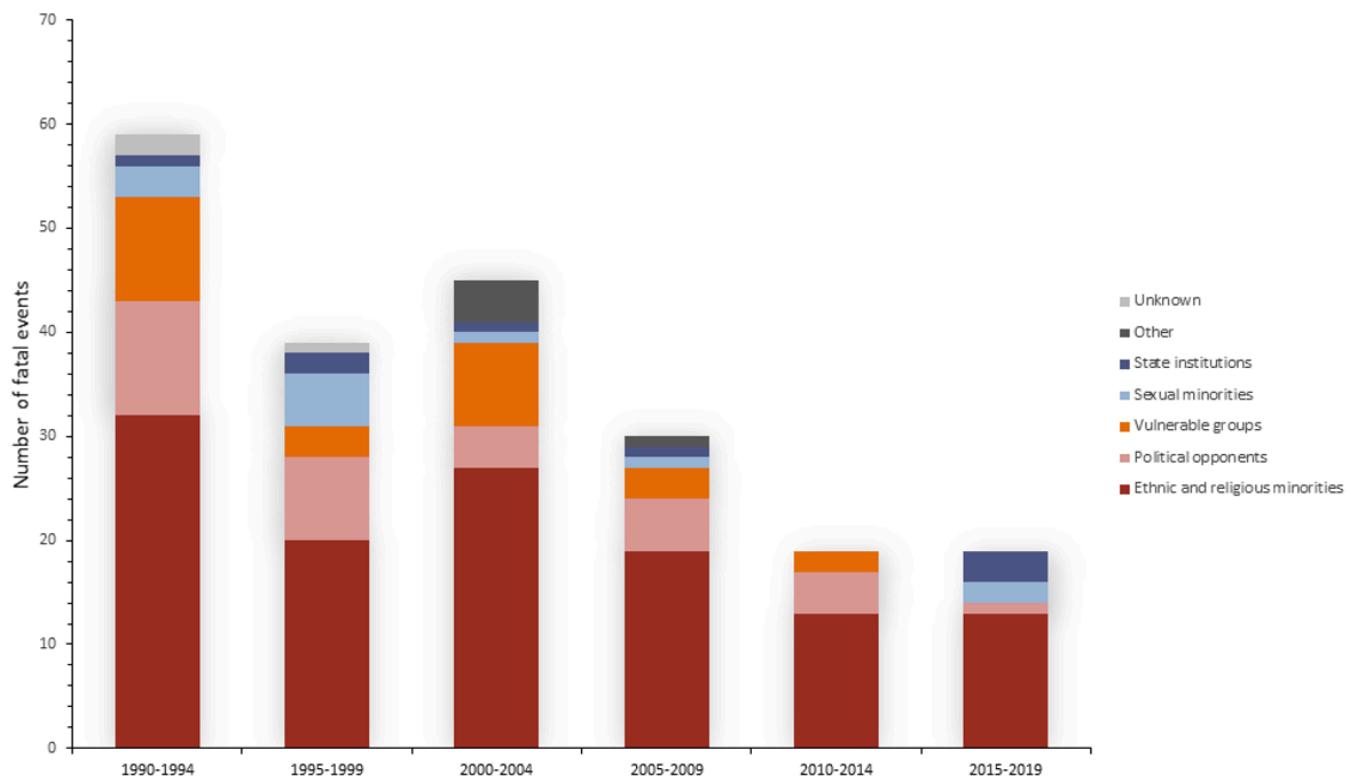
Source: RTV Dataset

It is also notable that, tactically speaking, no extreme right terrorists since 2011 have successfully combined bombs and firearms within the same attack or deliberately attacked multiple targets during the course of the same attack (the Christchurch attack, which is not covered by the RTV, is an exception in this regard). Here again the Breivik case falls outside the general trend. Indeed, the majority of extreme right attackers do not choose guns or bombs as weapons but have employed instead knives, fists and boots.

Breivik's Influence – Direct, Indirect, or Entirely Negligible?

The following section explores the extent to which Breivik has had a direct, indirect or entirely negligible impact upon the *modus operandi* of those extreme right terrorists who have claimed some form of inspiration from him or his actions. Publicly available information for the majority of these cases is weak in comparison to the volume of material available regarding the Christchurch shootings. Nevertheless, in line with the wider literature, press reports indicate that psychological disorders, often unspecified or based upon anecdotal remarks rather than clinical diagnosis, feature in several cases.[91] This can, however, not be regarded as a causal explanation for their offences or as a means of explaining Breivik's appeal to them, not least because the empirical base with regards to most of these cases is so low.

For reasons that are not entirely clear, in the immediate aftermath of July 2011, Breivik appealed to several individuals in Eastern Europe.[92] The first case occurred on August 10, 2012 and involved a twenty-nine-year-old man from Ostrava in the Czech Republic who used the name "Breivik" on the Internet. He was accused of making preparations for a similar attack as the Norwegian terrorist. Police recovered explosives, hundreds of rounds of ammunition, helmets, police uniforms and a police ID from his apartment. However, his intended target, if any, was unclear. Neighbours stated that he had "mental problems" rather than being an "extremist".[93] The second case involved Brunon Kwiecień, a doctor of chemistry formerly employed by the University of Agriculture in Kraków, Poland, who was arrested on November 20, 2012. He was subsequently found guilty of preparing a terrorist attack on the Sejm, the lower house of the Polish Parliament, which he

reportedly planned to destroy with the help of four tonnes of explosives. The attack was to have taken place during a budgetary session that would have been attended by the president, the prime minister, and numerous other leading politicians. Kwiecień was jailed for thirteen years in 2015, a sentence lowered to nine years in 2017, though he died in prison two years later.[94] A third East European terrorist allegedly "obsessed" with Breivik was a Ukrainian student, Pavlo Lapshyn, who murdered an elderly Muslim man and detonated a series of bombs outside mosques in the West Midlands within days of arriving in Britain in 2013, for which he was sentenced to life imprisonment. However, little concrete evidence has emerged as to how this apparent obsession manifested itself in relation to his *modus operandi* or ideological views.[95] He selected different targets, killed his victim with a knife, and manufactured a series of rudimentary nail bombs which were a good deal less sophisticated than Breivik's device. No mention was made of Breivik's supposed influence in court either, further diminishing the claim that the Norwegian terrorist provided any direct influence.[96]

The types of actor for whom Breivik appealed during this period were varied, as can be concluded from three cases in Belgium, Latvia, and the United Kingdom, though evidence of actual attack preparation was low in each instance. The first "plot," which Belgian police foiled in Sint-Niklaas involved a twenty-three-year-old man (dubbed the "Dutch Breivik") arrested in a café as he tried to recruit others to help him perpetrate an attack. The man had apparently penned a manifesto describing his desire to overthrow the Belgian state and had planned attacks against Flemish state broadcaster VRT and other undisclosed political targets. The extent of his preparations, which was likely very low, has not yet emerged.[97] He was subsequently detained in a psychiatric ward.[98] A potentially comparable case, in which mental health issues also appear to have been a factor, occurred in 2018 when Latvian police arrested a man who reportedly was "completely obsessed" with Breivik and had planned to attack a minority school and several commercial premises on his hero's birthday. [99] Another case, which occurred in the United Kingdom, appears to have been driven by personal grievance as much as by politics, highlighting the blurred boundaries between extreme right lone actors and a wider pool of grievance-motivated violence.[100] Arrested in June 2014, a thirty-seven-year-old man claimed he was "inspired by Breivik and McVeigh", having become angry at being constantly ridiculed for his ginger hair. He had obtained the ingredients to manufacture cyanide to kill "non-Aryans" and (following a retrial) was found guilty of preparing terrorist acts, though the jury rejected aspects of the allegation that he had intended to use the chemicals as part of a terror plot. In a notebook the man had written: "I don't want to be a serial killer. I'm more of an Anders Breivik. I have left potential targets open. I was waiting for an opportunity to kill one of them. Let it be Prince Charles which would be good."[101]

Such cases are perhaps indicative of the type of actors that Breivik was influencing in the immediate years after the 2011 attacks. His name was also frequently mentioned in relation to right-wing activists arrested for illegally possessing explosives, but here again, there was little evidence of any actual attack plan. Two Swedish cases are illustrative. In January 2015, police—acting on a tip off from his mother and girlfriend—arrested a forty-year old man in Jönköping with Nazi sympathies who apparently idolised Breivik. Reportedly suffering from mental health issues, the man was arrested in possession of 10kg of black powder explosives.[102] Later that year, in July, Swedish police arrested two men in Falkenberg, finding large quantities of explosives. A well-known neo-Nazi had bought 50 kilos of explosives from a dynamiter on sick leave, who had 500 kilos of dynamite illegally stored in his home. During the trial, a witness explained that the neo-Nazi claimed that he "would be greater than Breivik". The man was sentenced to two and a half years in prison.[103]

While many of the foregoing cases involved individuals whose attack planning was at an early stage, the same could not be said for two fatal attacks that occurred during the summer of 2016. On June 16, Thomas Mair murdered the British Labour MP Jo Cox. He remained silent as to the inspiration or motive for his attack beyond shouting "Britain First" during his frenzied attack and then giving his name as "death to traitors" in court. While focus upon the ideological materials recovered from his home highlighted the influence of North American and South African extreme right propaganda, Mair was also allegedly "fascinated" by Breivik. Police recovered "newspaper clippings" Mair had kept relating to Breivik's terrorist attacks among items of Nazi paraphernalia he had also collected.[104] This does not prove Breivik exerted a significant influence upon Mair, not least because his *modus operandi* differed significantly (though his targeting of a political figure

was similar). Yet it at least suggests that the Norwegian terrorist featured somewhere and at some level in his ideological imaginings.

Breivik's influence is easier to discern in a second fatal terrorist attack that occurred the following month. On July 22, 2016, the fifth anniversary of Breivik's attacks, a German-Iranian teenager, David Sonboly, went on a rampage in Munich, using the same type of pistol as Breivik, indiscriminately killing nine people, seven of whom were also teenagers. He appears to have targeted those he perceived as foreigners. Sonboly subsequently took his own life. It later emerged that he had "concerned himself extensively" with Breivik while conversing with a friend. Although the Bavarian police did not find a copy of Breivik's manifesto amongst his personal belongings, a classmate informed one newspaper that Sonboly used a picture of the Norwegian terrorist as his WhatsApp profile picture. Sonboly, who was fascinated by spree killers, had previously been admitted to a psychiatric unit, causing some alarm there by allegedly drawing swastikas on his drawing pad and giving the Nazi salute to another patient. His extreme right proclivities were discussed in relation to his treatment.[105]

Initially, Sonboly's attack was not perceived as a "politically motivated crime" but as being spurred by personal revenge; he had been bullied in school by youths of Turkish and Albanian heritage. In October 2019, however, the Bavarian police reclassified the crime to recognise that "the radical right-wing and racist views of the perpetrator should not be ignored."[106] The Bavarian Ministry of the Interior highlighted that Breivik "had been a type of role model" for Sonboly, though whether this had any impact upon his murderous actions or political attitudes with respect to right-wing extremism "remains open". With regards to the timing of his atrocity, the Ministry asserted "We can only assume, that David S. purposefully selected the date," though their own investigations "did not deliver any concrete evidence of this."[107] Subsequent investigations revealed that Sonboly held xenophobic and far-right views and considered himself part of the Aryan race—but also that he was obsessed with school shootings and rampage killers.[108] Probably due to its ambiguous motivation, this particular mass shooting does not seem to have inspired other far-right terrorists.

While Sonboly's was the deadliest of attacks influenced by Breivik (until Christchurch), the Norwegian terrorist's name continued to appear intermittently after 2011. In France, there were three such cases during the course of 2017, one of which stands out because it involved a group rather than lone actors. In the first case, a "group" calling itself Commando de défense du peuple et de la patrie française (Defence Command of the French People and the Motherland) attacked women wearing the veil and other members of ethnic minority groups in Chalon-sur-Saône and Dijon. In a sound recording sent to a newspaper, the group claimed to be "directly inspired" by Breivik, but there was little else beyond anti-Muslim animus to suggest any tactical learning from him. This "Commando" it transpired was a single teenager who subsequently surrendered to police. [109]

In October 2017, French police dismantled a larger "criminal terrorist conspiracy" intending attacks on politicians and mosques. Eight men and three minors were charged. The group, founded in November of the previous year, called themselves the "OAS" (Secret Army Organisation—a reference to the 1960s terrorist group that had fought against Algerian independence). It was led by a twenty-one-year-old who had become frustrated with the inaction of the extreme right groups he had been associated with, leading him to form his own clique. He had previously been arrested in Vitrolles in June after posting online that he had planned to attack ethnic minorities, jihadists, migrants and "scum." He had come to the police's attention as the administrator of a Facebook page that openly glorified Breivik. When these OAS members were arrested, they only had "vague" plans to commit violent actions, according to Parisian prosecutors. However, these plans included (according to one report) plots to kill the then Interior Minister Christophe Castaner and a radical left MP, Jean-Luc Mélenchon. "The organisation was planning purchases of weapons and paramilitary training. Some were already trained in shooting."[110]

The third case, which involved an individual known as Guillaume M. whom police arrested on June 28, 2017 in Argenteuil. This case bore similarities to other cases involving lone actors who found inspiration in Breivik. Guillaume M. had only recently been released from prison for inciting racial hatred and for glorifying Breivik's acts of mass murder. He also had a prior conviction for possessing explosives. Regarding Breivik as a "hero," he was also fascinated by the Columbine killers, indicating that the Norwegian terrorist was but one source

of inspiration. Described in press reports as "unstable" and manifesting "personality disorders," the central charge against him related to his "plot" to kill French president Emmanuel Macron, whom he had mused about murdering during the traditional July 14 parade on the Champs-Elysées. Guillaume M. had also expressed more inchoate ideas about attacking the police or committing a "mass killing", stating on an online forum (which led to his detection) that "I am looking for a weapon, semi-auto compulsory" because "I want to kill people" and to "do as much damage as possible." His vague list of targets included "several people from each minority, Muslims, Jews, Blacks, homosexuals, Freemasons." When police arrested him, they seized several knives he had purchased only minutes earlier. Researching his digital footprint, police learned that Guillaume M. had conducted online research on Macron and on the manufacture of explosives; they also unearthed several YouTube videos posted by "Guillaume Breivik" in which a hooded individual could be seen handling petrol bombs.[111]

Another significant case involved Christopher Hasson, a U.S. Coast Guard Lieutenant from Maryland, who had pleaded guilty to four federal weapons and drug charges in October 2019.[112] He was given a prison sentence of more than thirteen years.[113] In addition to conducting online searches and making "thousands" of visits for "pro-Russian, neo-fascist, and neo-Nazi literature," from 2017 onwards, Hasson had "routinely perused" the portions of Breivik's manifesto instructing a would-be terrorist to amass firearms, food, disguises and survival supplies. "Consistent with the Breivik manifesto, the defendant performed thousands of visits to websites selling firearms and tactical gear," court documents highlighted. Hasson collected an arsenal of fifteen firearms and, according to a "conservative" estimate, over 1,000 rounds of ammunition. He had been researching gun clubs and firing ranges, as well as stockpiling illegal drugs, including steroids and over thirty bottles of human growth hormone. He also compiled a list of targets, predominantly Democrat politicians and journalists, whom—in accordance with the relevant section of Breivik's manifesto—he had designated as "traitors". A review of his online activity from January 2017 onwards "revealed targeting indicators consistent with Breivik's instructions," prosecutors argued.[114] While his plot was only in a preliminary stage, Hasson had "intended to exact retribution on minorities and those he considered traitors," prosecutors told the court. [115] He was inspired by other extreme right figures as well, but "Breivik appears to be the guiding force that shaped his specific plans."[116]

During the course of 2019, seventy-eight men, women, and children were murdered in five separate extreme right attacks, in four countries, on three continents. Following the attacks in Christchurch, this particular form of extreme right terrorism gained a cumulative momentum as subsequent attacks, inspired by Tarrant, sought to emulate his violence and, apparently, to exceed it. During the following months, lone actors committed attacks in Poway, California (April); El Paso, Texas (August); Bærum, Norway (August); and Halle, Germany (October). What is notable about this "wave" of violence, in the current context, is that the attackers were all influenced, to a greater or lesser degree, by the Christchurch terrorist rather than by Breivik.[117] The attack perpetrated by Phillip Manshaus—who murdered his adopted sister before attacking a mosque in Bærum, just outside Oslo—stands out because even here, in his native Norway, Breivik played second fiddle to Tarrant, whom Manshaus described himself as a "disciple" of. Manshaus watched the video shortly after the Christchurch attack but first it did not make much of an impression. It was only when he read Tarrant's manifesto on August 2, 2019 that he felt compelled to act. He carried out his attack just eight days later.[118] Copying his idol, Manshaus also tried to livestream his attack (using a helmet-mounted GoPro camera) but failed to get online. Instead, he recorded his botched mosque attack, which was screened as evidence against him during the trial. This is not to argue that Breivik has no discernible trace in this attack. Manshaus conducted Internet searches on Breivik, [119] and posted three photos to his Instagram page – two of himself and another of Breivik when the latter was giving the Nazi salute in court.[120] However, during the trial it was striking how insignificant Breivik appeared to be as a source of inspiration in comparison with Tarrant. In the final verdict, Tarrant's name is mentioned thirteen times, Breivik not even once. Manshaus was jailed for 21 years.[121]

There were also several plots to commit violence in which Breivik appears to have had more of an influence on the *modus operandi* of the would-be attackers. However, because the police intervened early on to interdict the plots, it remains difficult to gauge the precise nature of this influence. On November 13, 2019, Polish police

arrested two men in Warsaw, the day before the annual Independence Day march in the city, for plotting attacks on Muslims. Breivik and Tarrant were both mentioned as having helped to inspire the plot, according to press reports, which was to have targeted mosques to prevent the "Islamisation of Poland". The men had written a manifesto to accompany their atrocity, with one of them making public calls to "exterminate" Muslims. The two men – one of whom appears to have come to the attention of Polish intelligence as a result of their investigations into Brunon Kwiecień – had also allegedly planned to use both firearms and explosives in their attacks, echoing Breivik's *modus operandi*.[122] A third man was also arrested, for illegal possession of explosive precursors. [123]

Nearly a decade later, while the evidence for Breivik's direct influence upon the *modus operandi* of extreme right terrorism is not particularly strong, especially when his actions are measured against wider trends in right-wing political violence, his indirect influence upon would-be attackers continues to be felt. However, this appears to be growing weaker as the milieu generates new "heroes" and "martyrs". In December 2019, Scottish police arrested another would-be assailant, a man who was accused of planning an attack on an Islamic Centre in Fife. The BBC reported that he made social media posts "glorifying terrorist acts" committed by others, including Breivik. Insofar as we know anything of the attack plans in this case, we can judge that Tarrant was probably the prevailing influence, since the man faces accusations "that he made online statements that he 'intended to stream live footage of an incident' and that he was going to 'carry out an attack on the Fife Islamic Centre' in Glenrothes." Police also charged him with possessing both Tarrant's and Breivik's manifestos.[124]

Breivik's Influence on Other Violent Actors

While the preceding discussion has focused upon Breivik's direct and indirect impact on extreme right terrorism, it is important to note that the influence of the Norwegian attacks has been felt beyond these parameters. The literature on lone actors highlights numerous socio-demographic similarities with other types of violent offenders, particularly school shooters—although, according to one study, their behaviors differed "significantly," with regard to the degree to which they interact with co-conspirators, their antecedent event behaviors, and the degree to which they leak information beforehand.[125] Breivik had himself been inspired by the "cultural script" [126] provided by several previous school shooters and his own attacks have since played a role in inspiring other such perpetrators and would-be attackers.[127] We discuss a (non-exhaustive) list of such cases here as a means of demonstrating the breadth of Breivik's appeal beyond the right-wing extremist milieu. Shortly after his own attack, Breivik's name appeared in relation to one of the highest profile school shootings in recent U.S. history.

On December 14, 2012, Adam Lanza murdered his mother before killing a further twenty-six people, including twenty children aged between six and seven years old, at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Newtown, Connecticut. Reports soon emerged that he was "obsessed with" [128] or "inspired by" [129] Breivik. Police had indeed found several news articles about Breivik at the family home, though the Norwegian terrorist was in fact one of several mass murderers Lanza had researched online.[130] Others have since stated that Breivik was the "most influential" of the mass killers Lanza researched. "We believe Adam studied him closely and may have tried to imitate some of his techniques," an official familiar with the investigation stated. "They both used the same video games to train and prepare and they were both obsessed with other mass killers."[131] *CBS News* also reported that Lanza saw himself "as being in competition" with Breivik and had chosen Sandy Hook Elementary because it was the "easiest target" to help him achieve his goal of exceeding Breivik's death toll, though police have dismissed such statements about Lanza's motive as "mere speculation".[132]

Since Sandy Hook there have been several other reports of Breivik's influence in relation to similar acts of violence. One such case was William Atchison, who idolised school shooters, and subsequently murdered two Hispanic students at Aztec High School in New Mexico on December 7, 2017, before taking his own life. Atchison's online activity indicated "all the hallmarks of the 'alt-right,'" according to the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC). He reportedly used numerous names online while gaming (including "Future Mass Shooter") as well as adopting those of other school shooters and terrorists, including Adam Lanza, the "incel" mass

murderer Elliot Rodger and Anders Breivik.[133] What marks Atchison's case as unusual is that he was also in direct contact with, and talked to, David Sonboly, who had killed himself the previous year after murdering nine people in Munich on the fifth anniversary of Breivik's massacre.[134]

Two other notable cases occurred in the United Kingdom. A teenager who was jailed for life in 2015 had stockpiled five pipe bombs, two home-made explosive devices, a Glock semi-automatic pistol, and 94 jacketed hollow point expanding bullets, as well as CS gas. He had planned to use these arms to perpetrate a massacre at Newcastle College, a large educational institution with 12,000 students, where he had briefly studied. His plot was considered to be in an advanced stage. He had posted comments online, praising U.S. high school shooters and Breivik.[135] He had also expressed a desire to kill someone during Skype conversations with a girl in Iceland that referenced both Breivik and Jaylen Fryberg, a fifteen year old freshman student who murdered four fellow students at a Seattle high school in 2014, indicating, however, that the Norwegian terrorist was not his only point of reference.[136]

The fascination Breivik exerted for would-be school shooters with mixed ideologies was also evident in another British case four years later. It involved a British teenager who was arrested in June 2018 in Gloucester, after trying to purchase a Glock 17 and ammunition with which he planned to perpetrate a massacre. Police stated that they had foiled his plot at what the would-be terrorist had termed "phase one" and that he had yet to identify a target. He had ordered his gun from the United States but the parcel, addressed to him, was intercepted by Homeland Security, who passed on the details to their British counterparts. The teenager, who had a "deep and persistent" interest in mass shootings, was said to have regarded Breivik and the Columbine high school killers as "poster boys", according to the prosecution. In his home, police discovered a shopping list of other items he intended to buy, including petrol, a gas mask and body armour. He had also drawn 77 stickmen to represent the victims of the July 2011 terrorist attack. On his laptop police discovered, among other items, a document entitled "The Breivik Timeline".[137]

Breivik's Legacy and his Ongoing Struggle for Influence

While Breivik believed his manifesto had outlined a feasible, legitimate, and effective recipe for activists to follow in his footsteps, the majority of far-right militants, both at the time and since, have disagreed, understanding that his attacks have been detrimental to their political cause. Even those who glorify his actions have rarely been moved to emulate these themselves. Breivik has had little direct impact upon the *modus operandi* on the trajectory of extreme right-wing terrorism. However, his use of a manifesto to announce violence rather than to claim responsibility only in its aftermath, and his stated desire to video-record his atrocity which, while unsuccessful, were used to much greater effect by the Australian mass murderer Brenton Tarrant eight years later. While Tarrant turned to Breivik's manifesto for "operational guidance", neither he nor other subsequent extreme right terrorists have sought to emulate the Norwegian terrorist's combination of a bomb attack and mass shooting, which was a key component of his *modus operandi*.

Mass casualty killers remain a tiny minority. As evidence from the RTV dataset highlights, Breivik continues to be an outlier insofar as more general trends of extreme right political violence are concerned. That Breivik's tactical model has failed to diffuse more widely is partly due to his target selection but also due to the comparatively complicated nature of his attacks which have been hard to replicate, though the Christchurch attacks are a partial exception in this regard.

If Breivik has failed to have a discernible tactical influence—either directly or indirectly—in the broader field of political violence, he has clearly been influential for a small handful of lone actors even if, due to a lack of publicly available documentation, it is often hard to discern the precise extent of this "influence". Early police intervention in the majority of these cases has also meant that these instances have been thwarted plots, which makes it difficult to draw any hard and fast conclusions as to how they might have developed or how Breivik might have influenced that development.

However, just because Breivik's *modus operandi* has not widely diffused in the last decade does not meant that

others will not try and emulate him in the future. The 2019 shooting attacks in Christchurch indicate that influence and diffusion do not necessarily occur at a particularly rapid pace. Furthermore, as Berntzen and Ravndal highlight as part of their article in this Special Issue, there remains a subculture of "dark fandom" [138] surrounding Breivik, perpetuated on Chan forums and through Telegram channels. This online eco-system seeks to keep Breivik's name and those of other extreme right terrorists alive so that others might come to be inspired by his deeds—even though, in comparison to extreme right terrorists of a more recent vintage, his digital presence is far less pronounced.[139]

Indeed, Breivik no longer appears to be a preeminent influence ideologically or tactically for a younger generation of terrorists, regardless of whether or not they glorify him online as a "hero". His wider struggle for cultural and political influence within the milieu can be detected in the declining number of blogs set up to venerate him in the aftermath of the atrocity. Berntzen and Ravndal (in this Special Issue) highlight that number of blogs dedicated to Breivik which were set up in 2011 had largely disappeared by 2014 though those that had "an ideological and 'romantic' focus endured for longest."[140] The last post on "The Commander Breivik Report" blog was made in January 2015. "Cut off from their hero, Breivik's fans began discussing other nationalist issues. Some shut down their blogs. Some sites were left without any updates," noted Åsne Seierstad. [141]

As the sudden wave of attacks engendered by the Christchurch massacres in 2019 highlights, the most likely reason that Breivik's visibility has declined is because he has been replaced by others who have succeeded in staging highly mediatised murderous attacks against more direct racial and religious enemies like Muslims or Jews. Indeed, Tarrant's livestreamed killings of Muslims had a far greater appeal to those immersed in such online spaces where footage of the murders freely circulate, than Breivik's killing of predominantly (though by no means exclusively) white Norwegian children.[142] There is likely a generational effect at work here as well. Many of those "inspired" by Tarrant are very young men. They were children when Breivik acted, even though there was only eight years between the two attacks. For this reason, the events in Norway, one might speculate, likely had much less resonance for them. If the past decade is a reliable indicator of future trends terrorism from the extreme right, then Breivik's influence – such as it is – might continue to fade. However, it is equally likely, given the cases discussed in this article, that the echo of his deeds will continue to linger on within violence-prone extreme right subcultures for years to come.

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Monster or Hero? Far-right Responses to Anders Behring Breivik and the July 22, 2011 Terrorist Attacks

By Lars Erik Berntzen and Jacob Aasland Ravndal

Abstract

This study maps and seeks to explain the evolution of far-right responses to the July 22 terrorist attacks in 2011. We identify substantial temporal and spatial variation in how different far-right actors responded between 2011 and 2021. These findings present us with four puzzles: First, why was Breivik rejected by the far right in Western Europe, while receiving substantial support in Russia and eventually also from online subcultures originating in the United States? Second, why did parts of the far right not only reject Breivik, but vehemently condemn him? Third, why did initial support for Breivik in Western Europe come from individuals outside the organized far right? And fourth, why does support for Breivik seem to increase with distance in time and space? We argue that the nature of taboos offers an elegant explanation to these puzzles. We propose that the strength of the macro-cultural taboo against violence provides an overarching explanation, mediated by three taboo-related mechanisms referred to as contagion, rebellion, and decoupling. In regions where the taboo against violence is strong, most future support for right-wing terrorism will probably continue to manifest itself through anonymous online spaces, while the more organized far right will continue distancing itself from taboo violators to avoid becoming (complete) social and political pariahs.

Keywords: Breivik, cultural taboo, far right, political violence, terrorism

Introduction

For all the ways the far right has changed since World War II, one thing has remained constant: a particularly deep-seated animosity toward the political left.[1] Variously labelled "multiculturalists", "socialists", "globalists" and "cultural Marxists", the left is generally understood as an internal enemy. They are the traitors causing moral and societal decay that – wilfully or otherwise – lets outsiders take over.

When, on July 22, 2011, a 32-year-old white Norwegian man by the name of Anders Behring Breivik struck the governing Social Democratic Labour Party in two devastating attacks, one could therefore have expected that the far right had cause to celebrate and support Breivik. The fact that his manifesto mirrored the belief that Islam is a totalitarian ideology, and that Europe was being taken over by Muslims, lends further credence to the notion that Breivik would find support among the far right. These anti-Islamic beliefs had already come to dominate both West European radical right parties and far-right activists more generally.[2] It is therefore understandable that support for Breivik on the far right was raised as a major concern in the aftermath of the July 22 terrorist attacks. Yet, the flurry of writing and speculation along these lines was followed by little substantive empirical investigation. This article aims to narrow this gap by mapping the evolution of far-right responses to Breivik between 2011 and 2021.

Our mapping exercise identifies four puzzling patterns. First, while Breivik was rejected by the far right in Western Europe, he received substantial support in Russia and eventually also from online subcultures originating in the United States. Second, parts of the far right, most notably leaders of radical right parties in Western Europe and members of the anti-Islamic movement, not only rejected Breivik, but vehemently condemned him. Third, initial support in Western Europe came from individuals outside the organized far right. Fourth, support for Breivik appears to increase with distance in time and space.

We argue that the nature of *taboos* offers an elegant explanation to these puzzles. We therefore begin this article by presenting existing theory on cultural norms and the taboo against violence. Next, we describe the methods used in this article to map far-right responses to Breivik. We then provide an extensive overview of

these responses organized into three subsections: (1) complete and partial rejection; (2) partial and complete support – Wave One; and (3) partial and complete support – Wave Two. Finally, we apply our taboo framework to explain variation in far-right support across actors, time, and place.

The Violence Taboo

As is widely discussed in introductory sociology courses, culturally transmitted norms guide and constrain human behavior in profound ways.[3] Within a society, people are motivated to follow cultural norms based on both internal and external reasons.[4] When internalized, norms are followed because they are an end in and of themselves. Externally, norms are followed for strategic purposes – achieving goals and avoiding sanctions by others. Some norms possess such strong moral valence and agreement within society that breaking them is considered taboo. The term taboo has its etymological origins in the Polynesian word *tapu* – meaning "prohibited". From the start, taboos have been understood as an effect of sacredness.[5] It is only taboo to transgress against that which is held to be sacred and holy. A common characteristic of taboo violation is that whoever violates the taboo also becomes taboo.[6] Taboo violation therefore has ripple effects, where the stigma transfers from the act onto the actor and then again onto those who become associated with the actor. [7]

What is taboo and how many taboos a society cultivates vary considerably across different cultures and within cultures over time. While it has been argued that "Western" culture is characterized by having very few taboos,[8] it harbours a strong taboo against violence.[9] Several (controversial) studies indicate that Western societies have become dramatically less violent over the last few centuries,[10] and that this is in part due to the codification and institutionalization of this taboo.[11] A central thesis by Charles Tilly was that democratic values and institutions in Europe were deliberately developed to put an end to incessant violence and bloodshed.[12] Political theorists have also argued that, ideally conceived, violence is "anathema" to the "spirit and substance" of democracy.[13] Outside the realms of normative theory, empirical studies also demonstrate that democratic societies are overall less violent than autocratic ones.[14] Survey data from some Western European countries suggest that only very small minorities accept the use of political violence against their political opponents.[15]

At the individual level, most will adhere to and uphold taboos. Some, however, have internalized them to the extent that they are willing to make extreme sacrifices to punish transgressions. In contrast, a small minority seem immune to social taboos. Sergey Gavrilets and Peter Richerson describe these extreme categories as the "oversocialized" and "undersocialized", respectively.[16] A minority within this minority of "undersocialized" individuals can, for various reasons, also become motivated to actively rebel against taboos. The literature does not specify the underlying reasons for why some might be immune to or rebel against taboos, but sociological studies show that reasons for rebelling vary tremendously, depending on the nature of the taboo. Sometimes such rebellions can result in the dismantling and collapse of taboos. For instance, Western societies have witnessed major backlashes against "traditional norms and values", such as the taboo against homosexuality. Notwithstanding the major substantive differences to the case under investigation here (the July 22 attacks), the implication is that we should expect similar patterns to play out in the case of the violence taboo. While this taboo will motivate most to reject violence and the perpetrators of violence wholesale, the very strength of this taboo may also drive a subset of the population to rebel against it and embrace violence.[17]

Finally, the literature on the phenomenon of humor provides an important clue about the nature of taboos that has implications for our case as well. Emerson argues that jokes "provide a useful channel for covert communication on taboo topics."[18] More recent survey-based studies indicate that while people initially respond negatively to jokes about specific acts of violence, natural disasters, and other traumatic events, they become more accepting with time.[19] This change is correlated with whether people still see the events as threatening or not. As time passes, these jokes lose their appeal and simply become stale. In other words, the connection between a specific transgressive act and the general taboo becomes weakened as the act becomes more distant.

Mapping Far-Right Responses to Breivik

Ever since the July 22 attacks in 2011, we have actively monitored and archived expressions of support for Breivik as well as negative responses. In total, the material we have gathered during this ten-year period amounts to an extensive collection of primary sources, including letters to and from Breivik, public statements, online support blogs, online message board archives, and far-right publications, supplemented with some secondary sources, most notably news articles describing far-right responses to Breivik. To promote transparency and replicability, primary sources cited or referenced in this article have been uploaded to an online repository and can be accessed by other researchers.[20]

In Western Europe, our analysis covers radical right parties in the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, the United Kingdom, France and Italy. Outside the political party domain, we cover prominent anti-Islamic groups and online communities such as Stop Islamization of Norway and the English Defence League, as well as some extreme-right groups such as the Nordic Resistance Movement.

Beyond Western Europe, we look at how Russian neo-Nazis responded and–later–online communities operating at the transnational level. To the best of our efforts, we have also tried to track down and map supporters of Breivik that are unaffiliated to established far-right communities by actively scouring the web for expressions of support through a combination of using search engines, tracing hyperlink networks and manually following references ("snowballing"). This led us to an overlapping online community of support blogs that, at its peak, operated a total of 38 different websites.

For all cases, our categorization of responses ranges from complete rejection ("reject actions and ideas"), via partial rejection ("reject actions but not ideas") and partial support ("support actions but not ideas") to complete support ("support actions and ideas"). The premise on which this response typology is based is that supporting Breivik's actions is qualitatively different and more severe than supporting his ideas. In the following sections, we map various far-right responses to Breivik by situating them within this framework.

Complete and Partial Rejection

We begin with the most influential political actors on the far right, namely the (populist) radical right parties. Next, we turn to the Counter-Jihadi community and the broader anti-Islamic movement, and finally the white nationalist movement. Figure 1 below provides an overview.

Figure 1. Far-right Actors Completely or Partially Rejecting Breivik. (WE = Western Europe, NWA = North-Western Europe, NA = North America)
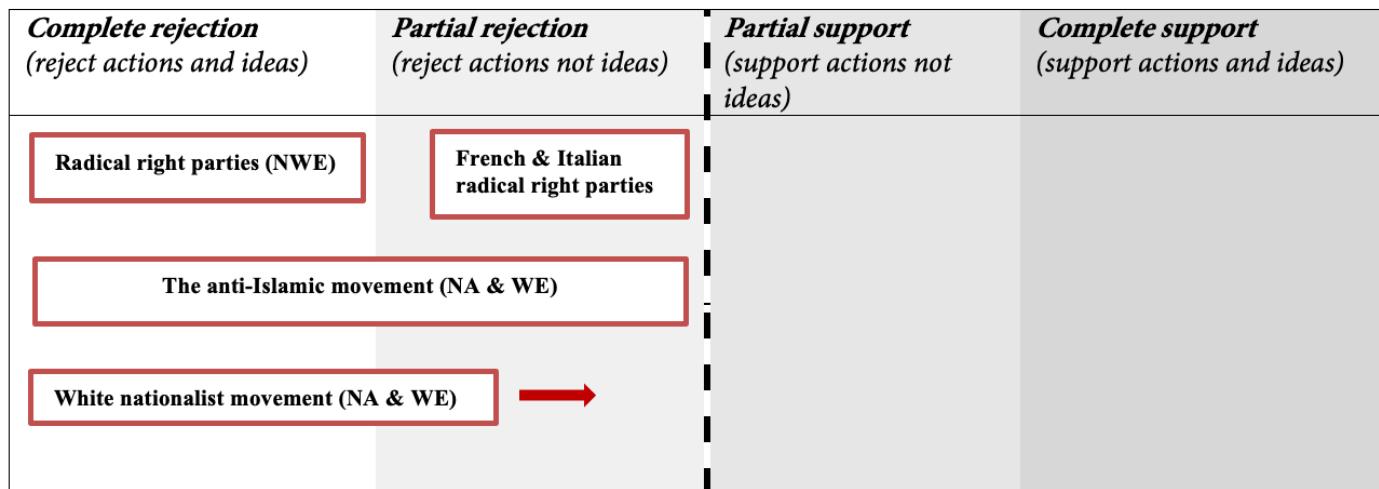
Western European Radical Right Parties

No radical right party in Western Europe voiced official support for Breivik's actions or ideas. Many made public declarations condemning the attacks. Most of these parties faced massive levels of media scrutiny,[21] as well as public criticism after the attacks, often revolving around whether the far right in general could be held ideologically and morally responsible.[22] A final and crucial element is therefore how these parties dealt with such criticism. We start with the most proximate case, the Norwegian Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet, FrP).

After the attacks, no other party came under such intense public scrutiny as the Progress Party. Figure 2 shows the amount of newspaper coverage between 2011 and 2020 – instances where Breivik and the Progress Party were mentioned in the same article.

Figure 2. Norwegian Newspaper Articles Mentioning Both the Progress Party and Breivik by Year
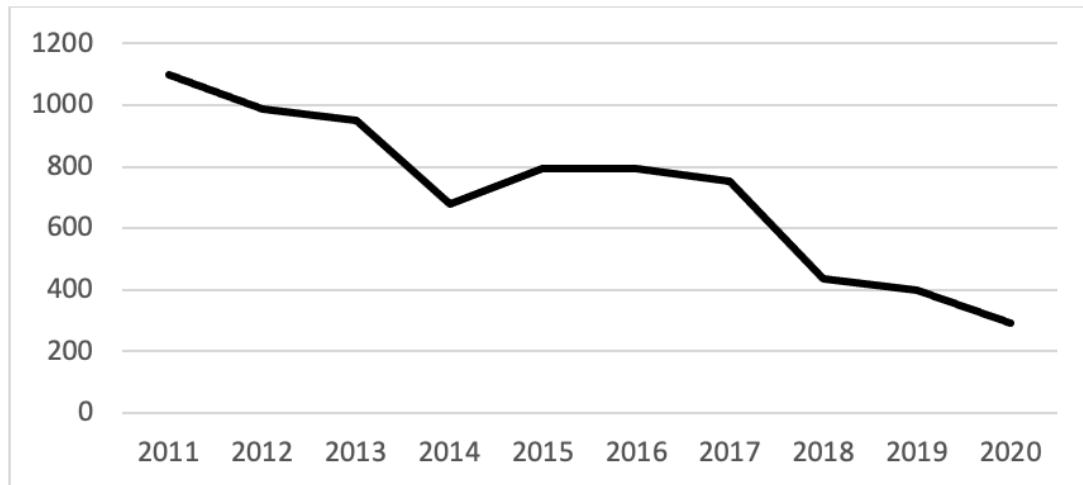
*Source: Atekst Retriever. *Search string: Breivik AND "Frp" OR "Fremskrittspartiet" OR "Siv Jensen".*

Between July 22 and December 31, 2011, exactly 1,100 newspaper articles mentioned both the Progress Party and Breivik. While such co-mentions have declined from the peak in 2011, the number of articles nevertheless remained high throughout the entire period. This level of media coverage reflects several factors. First, the day after the attacks the public learned that Breivik had been a member of the Progress Party and representative for the Progress Party's youth wing in Oslo between 1997 and 2007.[23] Second, Breivik's manifesto demonstrated his obsession with the supposed "sneak Islamization" of Norway for which he primarily blamed the Labour Party, the main target of his attack. Progress Party leader Siv Jensen initially introduced "sneak Islamization" as a term during the parliamentary election campaign in 2009, also putting the blame on the Labour Party.[24] Third, during his trial, Breivik himself stated that "Had I not experienced that the press had torpedoed FrP in 2009 [the national elections], then I would probably not have gone through with the attacks."[25]

These three factors triggered a still-ongoing discussion and bitter conflict between those arguing that the Progress Party was in some way responsible, versus Progress Party representatives who decried these charges. Most prominently, a strong contingent within the Labour Party leadership and their youth wing has called for holding the Progress Party morally accountable for Breivik's attacks.[26] This remains a wellspring of conflict and has contributed to the polarization of citizens' perceptions of the two political factions.[27]

When confronted with the fact that Breivik had been a member of the Progress Party, its leader Siv Jensen described the attacks as "horrible and cowardly" and a "national tragedy" that went against the "principles and values of the entire Norwegian society."[28] Jensen also said it was a day when "all 25,000 Progress Party members are Labour Youth members."[29]

Unlike other radical right parties, the Progress Party openly said they would tone down their rhetoric and they

did not campaign on opposition to Muslim immigration during the local elections, which resulted in a loss of support.[30] The party leadership also demonstrated a willingness to sanction anybody that crossed their newly imposed line, particularly expressions that could be interpreted as support for Breivik.[31] In response to the criticism, questions and charges, however, Jensen and Progress Party candidates also responded by describing these as a political ploy to destroy them and their credibility and accused opponents making associations between Breivik and the Progress Party as "playing the July 22 card".

On July 23, 2011, Jimmie Åkesson, leader of the radical right Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna, SD), issued a statement condemning the attacks as an attack on democratic society, saying "we will never accept that violence and terror take root in our society" while offering his condolences to the victims, their relatives and the Norwegian people.[32] Four days later, during an interview on *Sveriges Radio*, Sweden's national publicly funded radio broadcasting service, Åkesson was pressed on whether SD held some responsibility for the attacks. This was just one of several hundred times SD was linked with Breivik in the Swedish mass media. As seen in Figure 3, co-mentions of SD and Breivik have been more frequent than co-mentions of Breivik and FrP, the party of which he was a former member.

In the abovementioned radio interview, Åkesson rejected any responsibility for the attacks and any comparison made between SD and Breivik. When asked about the difference between SD's and Breivik's politics apart from the methods Breivik used, Åkesson said: "One cannot disregard a person's methods since they are clearly connected with the ideology one has. I believe in democracy and I believe in openness and I make no compromise on those values."[33] There were nevertheless some incidents where local SD politicians expressed sympathy and support for Breivik online. These politicians were exiled from the SD,[34] with party leader Åkesson openly condemning some of their statements.[35]

Similar patterns of media scrutiny and harsh criticism from political opponents played out across Western Europe. The Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti, DF), the UK Independence Party (UKIP), the Belgian Vlaams Belang (VB), and the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) all responded with complete rejection. Party leaders condemned Breivik, described him as a "monster", "cynical mass murderer" and "madman". Furthermore, all party leaders went on the counter-offensive, arguing that Breivik and the attacks were used strategically for political gain and to silence (legitimate) debate.

Figure 3. Swedish Newspaper Articles Mentioning the SD and Breivik and FrP and Breivik, by Year
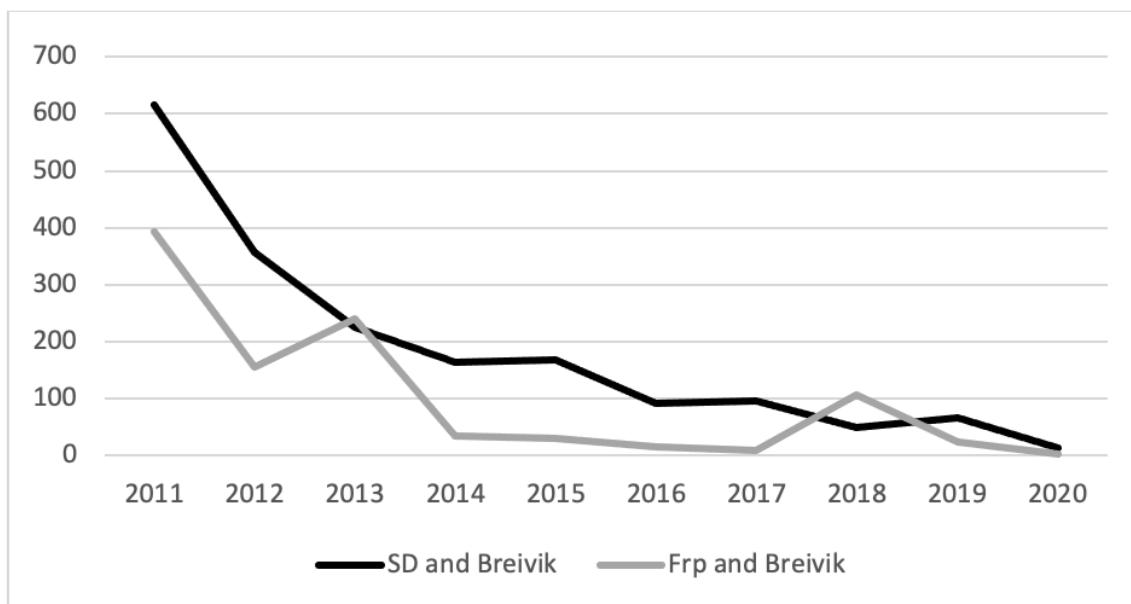
While French Front National (FN) and Italian Lega Nord (LN) leaders also accused the media and their opponents of using Breivik's attacks against them, their response to Breivik differed from the others in marked ways. While FN leader Marine le Pen described Breivik's actions as "cowardly and barbaric" and former FN leader Jean-Marie le Pen described Breivik as a "madman", they blamed the Norwegian government for not taking into account the "global danger of massive immigration which is the main reason in this deadly crazy man's thinking."[36]

Going further, prominent Italian LN politician and member of the European parliament Mario Borghezio went on the radio saying that some of Breivik's ideas were "great", agreeing with Breivik's opposition to Islam and his accusation that Europe has surrendered to Islam.[37] This caused a political uproar, resulting in LN politician Roberto Calderoli putting out an official statement on behalf of the party, both condemning the attacks and apologizing for Borghezio's statements.[38] It was just shortly afterwards, however, that LN politician and co-president of the radical right Europe of Freedom and Democracy group (EFD) in the European Parliament, Francesco Spironi, leapt to Borghezio's defence, saying that while he condemned the attacks, "If [Breivik's] ideas are that we are going towards Eurabia and those sorts of things, that western Christian civilization needs to be defended, yes, I'm in agreement."[39] Borghezio was subsequently suspended for three months, while Speroni faced no repercussions.

The Anti-Islamic Movement

In the aftermath of 9/11, the far right grew with the expanding movement mobilizing against Islam and Muslim immigration to the West. It developed extra-parliamentary initiatives in the form of alternative news sites, blogs, and street-oriented protest groups such as Stop Islamization, PEGIDA and the English Defence League (EDL), as well as creating some new political parties. In the years prior to the attacks, Breivik had been an active, but peripheral participant in the anti-Islamic movement. Substantial portions of his manifesto consisted of articles he had appropriated from ideological authorities within the movement. He claimed to be Facebook friends with several hundred EDL members, hailed Stop Islamization of Europe (SIOE) as an important organization and praised several of the anti-Islamic movements' most prominent leaders. In Norway, he was a frequent commentator, issuing opinion pieces on the anti-Islamic, alternative news site *Document.no*. Breivik attended meetings hosted by it and approached its editor with business proposals. Among the more established Norwegian actors at least, he was continuously rebuffed – characterized as a "weirdo" and a "lone island".[40] By and large, anti-Islamic activists resoundingly rejected Breivik after the attacks he committed.[41] However, whereas some rejected Breivik wholesale and decided to stop using polemical words such as "traitors" to describe their political opponents, others said they agreed with what he wrote about Islam but rejected his actions and a few went even further.[42]

We begin with Geert Wilders, leader of the Freedom Party in the Netherlands and possibly country's the most influential anti-Islamic figure. Breivik had lauded Wilders' party as one Europe's "truly conservative parties" and is thought to have attended an event in 2010 where Wilders gave a speech to EDL members.[43] Like many of the previously discussed radical right party leaders, Wilders completely rejected Breivik's ideas and actions, lambasting him as a "violent and sick character" and offering his condolences to Norwegians and families of the victims.[44] He went on to state that neither he nor his party were responsible for a "lone idiot who twisted and violently abused freedom-loving anti-Islamization ideals, no matter how much some people would like that."[45] He also argued that Breivik's acts must not be allowed to discredit the anti-Islamic campaign.

In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, it became known that Breivik had frequented the alternative news site *Document.no.*[46] Its editor, Hans Rustad, responded by condemning Breivik's actions, stating that "this was a time for reflection" and, in parallel to steps taken by the Norwegian Progress Party, said the website would tone down its rhetoric – in particular, no longer describing opponents as traitors. Beyond that, Rustad has also maintained that the attacks have been misused in a "scandalous" manner to defame the right, and has been adamant in advocating a view of Breivik primarily as someone who is mentally ill.

Within the street-oriented activist community, the response was more mixed. The leader of the Norwegian Defence League, Ronny Alte, resigned from his position, in an attempt to distance himself from Breivik and the attacks.[47] In contrast, Arne Tumyr, leader of the larger activist group Stop Islamization of Norway (Stopp islamiseringen av Norge, Sian) went on record stating that "Breivik was a superb Islam-critic with substantial knowledge about Islam." Nevertheless, Tumyr also said he rejected the attacks and described Breivik as "evil" and "mad".[48] In the UK, the EDL put out an official statement saying that "No form of terrorism can ever be justified, and the taking of innocent lives can never be justified." EDL leader Tommy Robinson did nevertheless state that the Breivik's behavior "shows how desperate some people are becoming in Europe." SIOE put up a statement with a blanket condemnation of Breivik as a madman and that any attempts to link them with Breivik was "absurd", while joint SIOE and Stop Islamization of Denmark leader Anders Gravers stated he had denied Breivik membership in the organization and completely rejected his attacks.

Writing under the pseudonym Fjordman on the web pages of Gates of Vienna, Peder Nøstvold Jensen was one of the Counter-Jihadi community's most important ideological authorities. Breivik copied many of Fjordman's articles verbatim into his manifesto and described Fjordman as his favourite author. In an interview a few days after the attacks, Jensen described Breivik as a monster motivated by violent desires, while stating that the manifesto was "utter rubbish", adding that notions that Breivik had anything in common with anti-Islamic activists were nonsense.[49] Jensen also said he had rebuffed Breivik's attempts to make contact with him because he thought Breivik was "boring".[50] Another prominent anti-Islamic intellectual, Bruce Bawer, penned an op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* lamenting that " [Breivik's] violence will deal a heavy blow to an urgent cause."[51]

German *PI-News*, an influential German equivalent to *Document.no*, framed the attacks as a catastrophe for conservatives and as acts of a madman, while also saying that it is "important to note that the 'bad guys' aren't always just others. We must not evade our own responsibility by pointing-fingers-to-others."[52] Striking a different note, Manfred Rouhs, chairman of the anti-Islamic Pro-Germany Citizens' Movement denied that there was any similarity between Breivik's ideology and theirs, saying the "message and hate" he brought into the world had nothing to do with them.

Some prominent anti-Islamic figures in the United States gave a more ambiguous response to Breivik, simultaneously condemning his actions while also presenting arguments that, while not supporting the attacks outright, certainly came close to justifying them. The person that went furthest was perhaps Pamela Geller of Atlas Shrugs. Geller stated that while there was no justification for Breivik's actions there was also no justification for Norway's "antisemitism" and "demonization" of Israel. She went on to describe the victims at Utøya as having a pro-Islamic agenda, and that if they had grown up, they would have become future leaders of the party responsible for "flooding Norway with Muslims" attacking and raping "native Norwegians".[53]

The White Nationalist Movement [54]

Unlike most radical right parties and anti-Islamic groups, the white nationalist movement explicitly promotes a political system favoring people of a white ethnic or racial descent. As a movement, it comprises different actors, often referred to as white supremacists, national socialists, fascists, or simply right-wing extremists.

Considering Breivik's ideas and actions, the white nationalist movement has had an ambiguous relationship to him. On the one hand, Breivik promotes a form of ethno-society that white nationalists long for. For example, he suggests preserving the Nordic race by using "reprogenetics" in state-run surrogate clinics where Nordic children would be born and raised.[55] During his second trial, he also proclaimed that he was, and had always been, a true national socialist.

On the other hand, Breivik killed white children, he supported Israel, and his white nationalist ideas are completely overshadowed by the anti-Islamic rhetoric permeating his manifesto. Therefore, the initial response from the white nationalist movement was one of complete rejection. For example, although Breivik had been a

registered user of the white nationalist forum Stormfront since 2008, several Stormfront-users blasted Breivik for the attack, and the website administrators posted a warning that they would delete any postings from those "cheering this slaughter" of children.[56] Other well-known white nationalists rejected Breivik because they saw him as a "Zionist puppet", including David Duke,[57] Varg Vikernes,[58] and the most active group in the Nordic countries at the time, today known as the Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM).[59]

However, some white nationalists did offer initial support to Breivik. One such was Alex Linder, the founder of the *Vanguard News Network* (VNN), the second most important white nationalist website after *Stormfront* at the time of the attacks. One week after the attacks, Linder wrote: "Breivik sacrificed his future to save his nation. He acted heroically."[60] Furthermore, with time, parts of the white nationalist movement changed its opinion about Breivik, thereby moving from complete rejection to partial acceptance. For example, in a 2018 documentary about the NRM, the leader of NRM's Norwegian division stated that he "could understand" why some people living in the Nordics go to such extreme measures. When asked directly about whether the NRM distances itself from the attacks, he replied that "he did not see any reason why they should do that" and reiterated that the NRM "understands why people can act in that way when seeing that their people slowly but surely is being replaced."[61]

A similar development happened with Greg Johnson, another prominent ideological authority within the American white nationalist movement. In a blog post devoted to Breivik, Johnson wrote that he initially detested Breivik but during the trial came to see him in a new light – as somebody who believes in the white race rather than being a straightforward Counter-Jihadist, which Johnson alongside other racially oriented figures on the far right sometimes reject as a "Jewish ploy".[62]

This growing approval of Breivik within parts of the white nationalist universe culminated in complete support being given to Breivik within a particular segment of the movement predominantly active online and mainly based in the United States. However, American activists were not the first to fully support Breivik. Long before them came the Russians.

Partial and Complete Support – Wave One

While condemnation of Breivik by radical right parties and the wider far-right community primarily occurred immediately after the attacks, support for Breivik has manifested itself in two waves. The first wave began after the attacks and gradually died out after the trial ended; a second wave then began several years later.

Figure 4. Far-right Actors Giving Partial or Complete Support to Breivik (Wave One)
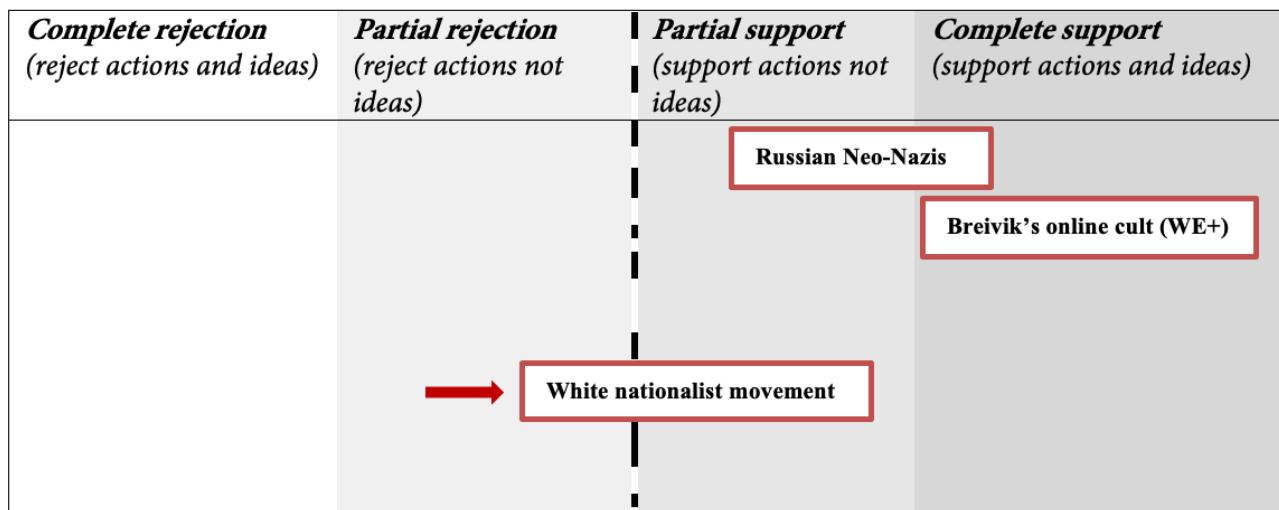
The Russians

Only months after the July 22 attacks, Russian nationalists were chanting "Slava Andersu Breiviku!" ("Glory to Anders Breivik") in the streets of Moscow.[63] This is one of many examples showing that Breivik was quickly adopted as a hero by the Russian extreme right. Such lionizing came both from street activists and from prominent leaders praising Breivik publicly on their websites, in social media, and even on national TV.[64]

One such supporter was Nikolay Korolyov, a Russian terrorist sentenced to life in prison for having orchestrated the bombing of a marketplace in Moscow in 2008, killing 61 people. During the early days of Breivik's imprisonment, Norwegian correctional services did not stop letter exchanges between Breivik and his supporters. As a result, Korolyov was able to reach Breivik via a network of Russian activists operating on his behalf.[65] In his letter, Korolyov paid respect to Breivik and promised that his clandestine prisoner network fully supported Breivik's "creative abilities", offering him "their trust".[66] In the letter Breivik wrote in response, he accepted Korolyov's proposal of cooperation between them.[67] Later, Korolyov commented extensively on Breivik's motivation and actions in the second volume of his so-called Skinhead Bible [Biblia skinkheda], hailing Breivik as someone who proved how much a single person can do in fighting "the System". [68]

According to Enstad, this view of Breivik still lingers within the Russian extreme right. He is still regularly mentioned as someone they remember and respect. If only there were a few hundred like him, goes the argument, entire regimes could be overthrown.[69] However, while Russian support for Breivik has been extensive and without comparison, the Russian extreme right has shown little interest in his writings, his ideas, and his overall project, which is to stop non-Western cultural influence in Europe. Instead, Russian support to Breivik appears to be mostly instrumental in the sense that his actions serve as an inspiration in their quest to topple the Russian government.[70]

However, the other part of this initial wave of support, Breivik's online cult, was in contrast deeply affective and fixated on Breivik's person and writings.

Online Followers

This section traces the evolution and eventual dissolution of the online community of blogs dedicated to Breivik between 2011 and 2015. It represents the most sustained far-right mobilization directly tied to Breivik and the attacks. Actively scouring the web for his supporters in this period, we were able to uncover a total of 38 blogs and fan sites dedicated to Breivik. These websites ranged from small blogs with only a couple of posts, to larger blogs that remained online for several years with more than a hundred unique participants. A majority used names that clearly signalled their support for Breivik, such as *Awaiting 2083*, *Breiviks Army* and *Marxisthunter*.

Most of the blogs were hosted using *WordPress* or *Tumblr*, platforms for self-publishing that at the time exerted little to no control over incoming content.[71] Fourteen of the 38 blogs were flash-in-the-pan duds that were set up and then quickly taken down again – sometimes with no content at all. That left 24 websites that (i) stayed up for a longer period and (ii) had some content and activity.

Breivik's online fanbase had three main obsessions – mass murder, romantic interest, and ideological conviction. The first two of these are well-known phenomena referred to in existing literature as "dark fandoms"[72] and "hybristophilia"[73] respectively. While active, visual material stood front and centre on most of these sites. The mass murder community created "humorous" memes gamifying Breivik's killings and comparing Breivik to other mass killers. The women romantically obsessing with Breivik posted drawings of him idealized with boyish good looks, as a knight on horseback or an angel, which featured alongside fictional romantic stories as well as the occasional real-life picture of a woman and a cake she had baked for Breivik. Among the ideologically convicted, images consisted of more traditional "propaganda" props such as posters with slogans, flags and the symbols of the Knights Templar. When these posts are categorized according to which obsession was paramount, we see that ideology was predominant (Figure 5). Over time, the few blogs interested in mass murder disappeared, whereas those with an ideological or "romantic" orientation endured for a longer period.

Figure 5. Number of Active Websites Dedicated to Breivik between 2011 and 2014, Categorized According to Focus (N = 24)
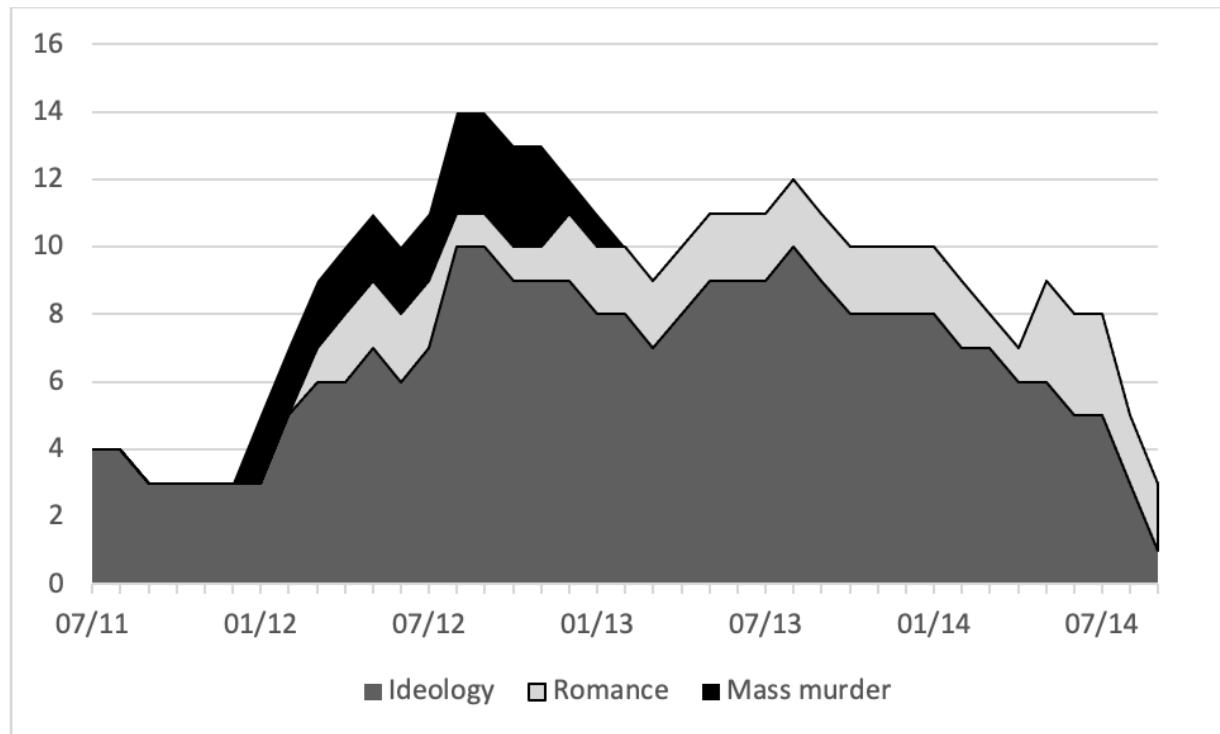
The nationalities of the owner/hosts of these 24 blogs indicate that this was a predominantly West European phenomenon, but that it stretched beyond to North America and Russia as well.[74] The Nordic countries represent eight of the 24 blogs, with four Norwegian, three Swedish and one Finnish. A further three were German, two Russian, one Spanish and one Canadian. A whopping eight, however, were Dutch. This is down to the activity of one individual: Angus.

The Story of Angus and Breivik's Cult

As the ideologically convicted blogs grew in prominence, the community also became more hierarchical and clandestine. Over time, the community gravitated toward *The Commander Breivik Report*, a blog administered by a person calling himself Angus Thermopylae. While a majority of the support blogs primarily posted images and memes rather than text, Angus' blog primarily contained text and was more oriented towards Breivik's political project. We analysed all posts written by Angus on The Commander Breivik Report, in total 171 texts posted between February 2012 and January 2015.[75] A majority of these posts sort into six main categories: (1) news updates relating to Breivik; (2) transcripts from the trial; (3) the publication and discussion of letters written by Breivik from prison; (4) Internet security; (5) discussions about ideology and race theory, and (6) discussions about Breivik's reception within the wider far-right community.

Besides writing blog posts, Angus also coordinated an extensive effort to translate Breivik's manifesto into other languages, resulting in 14 different translations. It was apparent that the person behind Angus was both intellectually and technologically resourceful. Besides following Breivik's situation closely, Angus also wrote an Internet security manual for his network members. Multiple security services and journalists were simultaneously trying to track him down but without success, which testifies to his technological skills. Ironically, it was human interaction that eventually led to him being identified by a Norwegian journalist.[76]

With time, Angus managed to develop a small network of dedicated Breivik supporters, centred around North-European countries. We have reviewed all commenters active on The Commander Breivik Report. In total, 62 different users with nicknames were active on the blog between 2012 and 2015, in addition to several

anonymous posters, before Angus disabled anonymous posting in July 2012. Among those who stated their nationality, a majority were from Northern Europe, with seven users from the UK, five each from Germany and Sweden, and three from Norway. In addition, there were users from Iceland, Brazil, Bulgaria, Finland, Israel, New Zealand, Poland, Russia and the US.

Together, these users wrote a total of 178 posts. Table 1 shows all users who posted more than three comments. The two most active users, Anka P and RusFebruary, were both women. Our review also shows that at least half of female users were mainly interested in Breivik for romantic reasons, while the most active user, Anka P, comes across as more politically motivated. In fact, it was a woman from this inner circle who initially helped establish contact between Angus and Breivik, as she had already been a pen pal with Breivik for some time. [77] Once this contact was established, Breivik granted Angus the "privilege" of being his official spokesperson outside prison. As a result, Angus ended up becoming something of a cult figure himself inside this small online community.

Table 1. Most Active Users on The Commander Breivik Report
by Nationality, Number of Posts, Gender and Interest

Names	Origin (self-reported)	Total number of posts	Gender	Affiliation to Breivik: Ideological/political or romantic
Anka P	NA	21	Female	Ideological/political
RusFebruary/rusfeb	Russia	11	Female	Romantic
Hederosus	UK	7	Male	NA
Kingfish	NA	7	Male	Ideological/political
Lillith Nefer	Sweden	7	Female	NA
thunor/thunor14	NA	6	Female	Romantic
MS13	NA	5	NA	NA
Jprivers	NA	5	Female	Romantic

While being extremely careful with internet security, Angus was apparently less careful with women. This carelessness ultimately revealed his real identity, as one woman from the inner circle gave his name to a Norwegian journalist. Following extensive background research, the journalist then exposed Angus publicly as a 36-year-old Dutchman living with his wife in the United States. The journalist also travelled to Angus' home in South Carolina to confront him with a series of pieces of circumstantial evidence strongly suggesting that he was the person behind Angus. For obvious reasons, the Dutchman never admitted to being Angus, but his behaviour during two encounters with the journalist confirmed rather than disproved the initial suspicion. Furthermore, shortly after the journalist left, the blogs ran by Angus became inactive.

Two years later, Angus briefly resurfaced with a message on the Vkontakte site of his support network, informing its members that Breivik had now changed his name to Fjotolf Hansen, and providing Breivik's mail address in prison. Then, on July 22, 2017, Angus posted a long text about National Socialism and race theory and invited people to contact him via a Vkontakte page that no longer exists. This is the last trace of Angus we have been able to find.

## *Partial and Complete Support – Wave Two*

Following the exposure of Angus and the subsequent implosion of Breivik's online support network, concerted support activity was absent for several years. Every now and then, there would be references to Breivik relating to attacks or plots in different countries, but in most cases, Breivik did not appear as a primary source of inspiration.[78] The second wave of support thus only began to rise in parallel with the development of two online subcultures: the chan-subculture and the Siege-subculture. It was also during this period that we saw

lone-actor attacks inspired by Breivik.

The Chan Subculture

The chan subculture grew out of the websites 4chan and 8chan. These are so-called online message boards where users post content anonymously about various and oftentimes controversial topics. The chans have become notoriously known for their trolling culture, where users make morally transgressive and shocking statements to trigger negative emotional reactions in other persons or groups for the users' own amusement. [79]

Figure 6. Far-right Actors Giving Partial or Complete Support to Breivik (Wave Two)
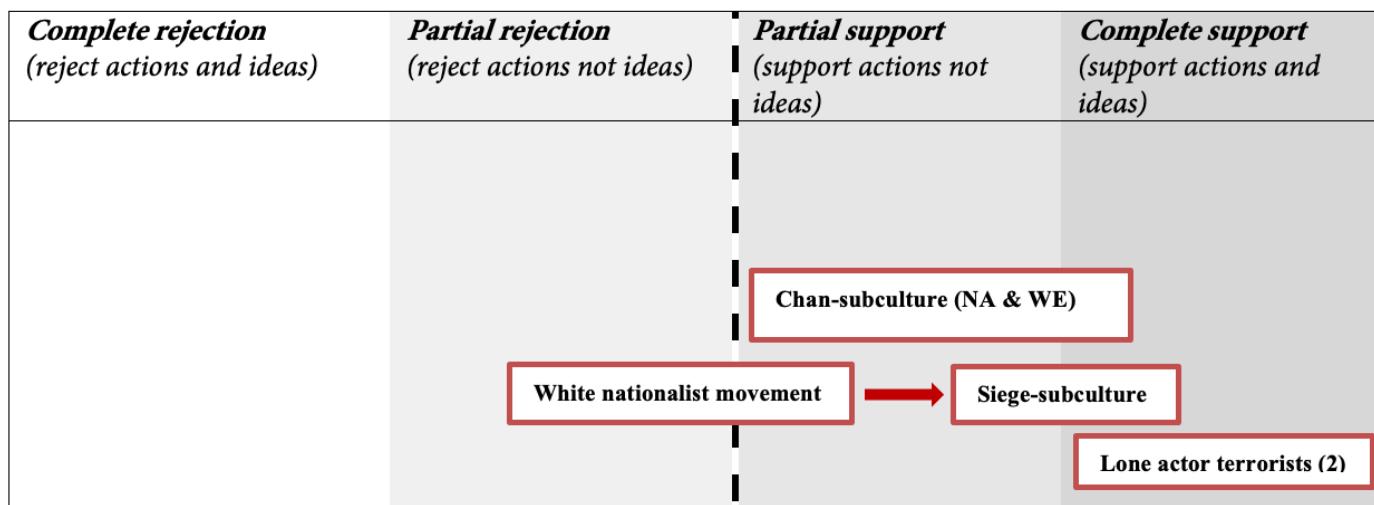
Because so many chan users are also avid online gamers, cultural, textual and memetic references to online games are everywhere to be found. This also includes references to first-person shooting games, which constitute a fundamental part of online gaming culture. Combined with its shock-seeking trolling culture, this gamification of chan discourse has therefore led to a practice of celebrating high "kill-counts" in mass-casualty attacks. The July 22 attacks are no exception.

As chan records are continuously deleted, it is hard to keep track of the precise timeline and extent of Breivik-supporting posts, especially on 8chan. When it comes to 4chan, we were able to extract all posts mentioning Breivik on the /pol/ (politically incorrect) message board between 2016 and 2018 from a dataset created by Papasavva et al. – in total, 16,504 out of 134.5 million posts.[80] What these posts show is that Breivik was regularly mentioned and celebrated as a hero on this message board. Out of these 16,504 posts, 587 posts contain the word "hero". The posts are typically very short and contain few deliberations besides shameless support for Breivik, sometime coupled with references to online games or other mass-murderers. While not all posts speak of Breivik in positive terms, even posts containing the word "monster" describe other people, and not Breivik, as being one.

In addition to this dataset, we also reviewed more recent posts mentioning Breivik on 4chan's /pol/ message board by using an online 4chan archive.[81] A search for Breivik on the /pol/ message board returned more than 34,000 hits. A brief review of recent posts from 2021 shows that Breivik continues to be regularly hailed, while negative mentions are much fewer and further between. In other words, when posting anonymously, a considerable number of mostly young people appear to support his actions. That said, it is difficult to interpret the level of sincerity behind anonymous posts on message boards infamous for their trolling culture.

The Siege Subculture

The Siege subculture grew out of an Internet site called Iron March, founded by a Russian Uzbek and a handful of other activists in 2011, the same year as the July 22 attacks.[82] The purpose of Iron March was to create a transnational forum for the latest generation of young and tech-savvy right-wing extremists – or "metanationalism", which was the preferred ideological brand of its administrator.[83]

At one point, the entire Iron March forum was leaked online by anti-fascist hackers.[84] Utilizing a dataset containing the full Iron March archive, we were able to review all posts mentioning Breivik.[85] Just like on 4chan, Breivik was regularly referenced by anonymous users, and nearly all posts speak of him in positive terms. Many posts also compare the July 22 attacks to other lone-actor attacks and even argue that Breivik's targeting was better.

The style and tone in posts mentioning Breivik on Iron March are similar to that of 4chan and 8chan. Posts are generally short, lacking in-depth elaboration, and have a playful and at times insulting tone. As Table 2 shows, the highest proportion of posts mentioning Breivik on Iron March was in 2012 and 2013. Table 2 also shows that the share of posts mentioning Breivik was considerably higher on Iron March than on 4chan, although the total number of posts mentioning Breivik is considerably higher at 4chan.

Table 2. Posts Mentioning Breivik on the Iron March and 4chan/pol/- Forums by Year, 2011–2017

Year	Iron March posts	Posts mentioning Breivik	Percentile	4chan /pol/ posts	Posts mentioning Breivik	Percentile
2011	5,680	8	0.001	0	0	
2012	37,237	216	0.006	0	0	
2013	25,465	138	0.005	1,240,075	358	0.0003
2014	24,555	102	0.004	15,480,253	3,551	0.0002
2015	37,281	83	0.002	19,304,366	5,074	0.0003
2016	33,581	136	0.004	45,284,126	7,125	0.0002
2017	31,329	86	0.003	49,837,851	5,823	0.0001
Sum	195,128	769	0.004	131,146,671	21,931	0.0002

Furthermore, Table 3 shows that other notable topics and names associated with the extreme right drew more interest from Iron March and 4chan users than Breivik did. In particular, both the terms "Charlottesville" and "Tarrant", referring to violent events that occurred in 2017 and 2019 respectively, return more hits on 4chan than "Breivik" in searches covering the entire period between 2013 and 2021. In other words, 4chan users regularly referenced Breivik as an inspiration and a hero, but compared to other persons and events, their interest in Breivik was somewhat limited. On Iron March, interest in Breivik was more notable, both in terms of the relative proportion of posts and when comparing him against other extreme-right figures and events.

Table 3. Ranking of Notable Topics and Names Associated with the Extreme Right
on Iron March and 4chan/pol/

Keyword	Iron March (2011–2017)	Rank	4chan /pol/ 2013–2021	Rank
Hitler	7,607	1	1,343,637	1
Siege	1,003	2	58,149	2
Mason	847	3	56,882	3
Breivik	769	4	34,133	6
Savitri	318	5	3,894	8
McVeigh	97	6	13,545	7
Charlottesville	53 (2017)	7	41,134	5
Tarrant	N/A (2019)		51,108	4

In 2015, the American group Atomwaffen Division announced its creation on Iron March. This group was ideologically inspired by a collection of newsletters titled "Siege" and authored by the American white nationalist James Mason during the 1980s. These texts promote terrorism by way of "leaderless resistance" to trigger a race war.

Besides drawing on Mason's Siege newsletters, Atomwaffen Division and its in-house graphic designer, a Canadian using the alias Dark Foreigner, also developed a unique style and aesthetic characterized by a mixture of occultism, conspiratorial symbolism, splatter culture, and revolutionary terrorism. This aesthetic was in turn appropriated by other groups inspired by Atomwaffen Division and the wider Siege subculture, such as Sonnenkrieg Division in the UK and Feuerkrieg Division, whose membership is more transnational. Together, these groups generated a sizeable production of online visual propaganda promoting the Siege subculture.

A relatively small part of this propaganda included pictures of Breivik combined with short Norwegian phrases, such as "Vår helt" [our hero] from Atomwaffen Division, "Fri vår helt" [free our hero] from Sonnenkrieg Division, and "Ingen anger" [no remorse] from Feuerkrieg Division. However, apart from such references, Siege subculture propaganda never seemed to take much interest in Breivk's writings, ideas, or person. In many ways, as a self-styled Christian crusader, Breivik may actually have come across as too "straight-edge" and boring for this particular subculture, characterized by its esoteric Nazi-occultism and keen interest in figures such as Charles Manson, David Myatt and Savitri Devi.

Lone-Actor Terrorists

The ultimate way of supporting Breivik is by carrying out new terrorist attacks while alluding to Breivik as an inspiration. These types of copycat attacks were a major concern in the immediate aftermath of the July 22 attacks. Because this question is the main topic in Macklin and Bjørgo's contribution in this Special Issue, we only summarize their main findings here.[86] Perhaps the most striking finding is that few copycat attacks have to date taken place. Having reviewed a number of attacks and plots allegedly influenced by Breivik, Macklin and Bjørgo conclude that the attacks against two mosques in New Zealand in 2019 are the only clear-cut case of a completed action in which Breivik served as a major source of inspiration. However, Macklin and Bjørgo also note that Tarrant only downloaded Breivik's manifesto after his own operational attack planning had started, and that he showed little interest in its contents.

In addition to the Christchurch shootings, the German-Iranian teenager who killed nine people in an attack on a McDonald's restaurant in Munich on July 22, 2016—the fifth anniversary of Breivik' s attacks—also seems to have drawn considerable inspiration from Breivik. The perpetrator had, according to an Afghan friend, "concerned himself extensively" with Breivik during their conversations. However, he was apparently also influenced by a number of other mass shooters with less political ambitions.[87]

Apart from these two examples, Breivik does not seem to have been a major source of inspiration in other right-wing terrorist attacks completed after July 22, 2011. Clearly, other lone-actor terrorists were cognizant of Breivik and some had also downloaded his manifesto. Macklin and Bjørgo have also reviewed a number of more or less vague attack plots in which Breivik was mentioned or where his manifesto was found on the plotters' computer. However, they find that most claims that Breivik has acted as an inspirational figure either cannot be precisely documented or have been mistaken. They also note that, unlike Breivik, the attacker from New Zealand quickly generated a string of copycat attacks in the United States (Poway and El Paso), Germany (Halle), and finally in Norway (Baerum). While these perpetrators were clearly inspired by and also alluded to the Christchurch terrorist, their manifestos or online postings displayed little interest in Breivik.

Explaining Variation in Support Among the Far Right

Figure 7 summarizes the patterns of support and non-support evidenced in our data. We see an interesting inverse relationship between radical right and extreme-right support. Whereas radical right support tends to come in the form of embracing Breivik's ideas but not his actions, the extreme right appears to support his

actions but show limited interest in his ideas. Beyond this general pattern, our findings leave us with four puzzles. First, why have we seen so little support in Western Europe? Second, why did parts of the far right not only reject Breivik, but vehemently condemn him? Third, why did the initial support for Breivik in Western Europe come from individuals outside the organized far right? And fourth, why did extreme-right support for Breivik materialize several years after the attacks rather than in its immediate aftermath?

Figure 7. Overview of Far-right Responses to Breivik, Sorted by Actor Type and Ideology
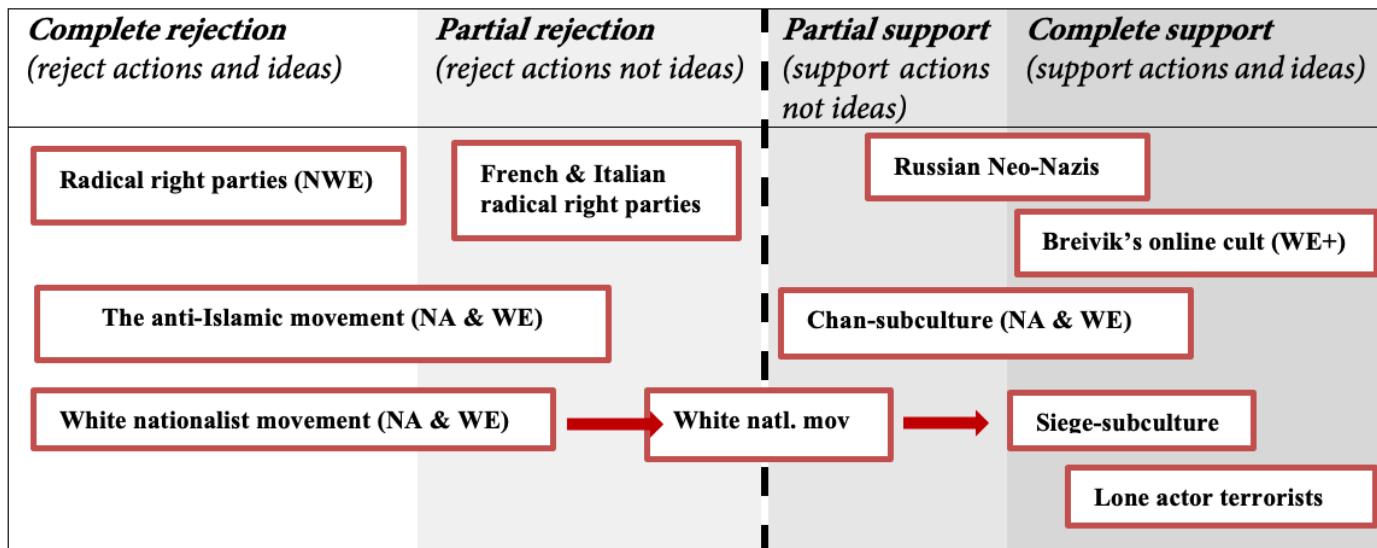
The nature of taboos provides us with an elegant explanation to these four puzzles, as illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4. Four Puzzles and Answers to them Provided by the Taboo Framework

Puzzle	Answer
(I) Why so little support by far right in Western Europe but substantial support in Russia, and eventually also from American subcultures?	Taboo against violence. Strong taboo at the macro-cultural level in Western Europe acts as a ceiling; this taboo is weak(er) in Russia and the United States.
(II) Why did leaders of Western European far right condemn and denigrate Breivik?	Contagion mechanism. To ward off taboo transferral, which would have made them and any potential supporters themselves as well as their ideas impure.
(III) Why did initial support for Breivik in the West come from a small group of individuals outside the organized far right?	Rebellion mechanism. "Undersocialized" individuals are immune to normative pressures and rebel by acting out desires that run counter to taboo.
(IV) Why does Western support for Breivik increase with distance in time and space?	Decoupling mechanism. The linkage between the specific events and the general taboo grows weaker when their felt reality becomes more distant and therefore less threatening.

We begin with the far right's complete rejection of Breivik in Western Europe and the concomitant partial support from the far right in Russia. Classical literature on taboos argues that post-modern Western societies have few taboos left.[88] While they have shed many taboos from the past, the taboo against violence has increasingly become a central organizing principle in Western and liberal-democratic societies. The macro-level variation in taboo strength between liberal democracies in Western Europe and an illiberal Russia stands

out as a clear and plausible explanation for this discrepancy.[89] In Western Europe and other regions where the use of offensive violence is taboo, its strength is in part owed to an investment in democratic society and the rule of law. Therefore, it is plausible that a societal taboo against violence *could* have been equally strong in Russia were it not for the regime's own willingness to employ violence and look away when non-state actors use violence against groups and individuals perceived by the regime as a threat or as morally delinquent (such as homosexuals).

Some Western countries, such as the United States, represent plausible intermediary cases where the taboo is not as strongly embedded in all spheres of society. While the United States on average has a more violent culture than West European countries, the taboo itself may have eroded further during the last decade due to the rise in affective polarization,[90] sectarianism [91]and democratic backsliding.[92] Survey data indicate that a sizeable minority of U.S. citizens now think political violence is justifiable.[93]

Next, our findings show that the far right in Western Europe not only rejected Breivik, but also went to great lengths in disparaging him. Why? Classical studies of taboos describe these as norms revolving around purity/impurity. The act of transgressing a taboo results in impurity, and everything that comes into contact with the impure risks becoming contaminated and being seen as taboo-breaking as well. Consequently, taboo violation causes a cascading spread of impurity – or rather the stigma of impurity – first onto the transgressor and then onwards to people, institutions and ideas associated with the original transgressor. This process was seen in the intense focus directed toward the far right and in the proclamations of guilt levelled against them by political opponents and the far-right's concomitant attempt at warding off this contagion by denigrating and vilifying Breivik, most clearly manifest in their recurring description of him as a "madman" and "monster".

The literature on norms further tells us that some individuals are "immune" to their influence, and in some cases a taboo's very existence may drive a small subset of the population to rebel by violating the taboo directly or supporting the taboo violator and thereby making themselves susceptible to the stigma of impurity in the eyes of the majority. Such a response to an overwhelming taboo can be understood as a mechanism of rebellion. The rebellion mechanism offers a plausible account for the support that manifested itself in the online cult and community around Angus Thermopylae, as well as in the chan and Siege subcultures of Wave Two. While the underlying motivations to violate taboos can be manifold, our textual data suggest that much of the motivation in these cases derives from a mixture of sadistic and sexual predilections, nihilism, and morbid humour, as well as an intense drive to create communities of belonging.

One pertinent question is whether these communities could have come into existence at all without access to the internet and social media. These technological developments have made it so much easier for people exhibiting abnormal tendencies and obsessions to come together and create microcosmoses where societal taboos and cultural constraints have little impact. This is most pronounced among those who take pleasure from, and revel in, violence and destruction for its own sake – the fan community surrounding school shooters, mass and serial killers. Without access to the Internet (or if the Internet were tightly regulated), it would be exceedingly difficult for this small subset of individuals scattered across many countries to come together and form such "free zones".

Our findings also indicate that the coupling between the July 22 terrorist attacks and the general taboo against violence is dampened by distance in space and time. We refer to this mechanism as decoupling. While radical right parties that were proximate responded with vehement rejection of Breivik and even toned down their own rhetoric, leaders and prominent politicians from geographically and culturally more distant countries such as France and Italy openly said they agreed with some of Breivik's ideas. Among the parties further to the north, we only saw scattered utterances of support for Breivik's ideas among low-level politicians and members. In addition, activists from even more geographically and culturally distant countries such as Russia and the United States were amongst those expressing support for Breivik's actions.

The recent rise in support for Breivik among elements within the extreme right also indicates that distance in time decreases the coupling between the attacks and the general taboo. The role played by distance in either time

or space in diminishing the association between an event and a general taboo has previously been suggested in the study of the phenomenon of humour. In our material, this form of decoupling is most evident in the case of the white nationalist movement, which has evolved from complete rejection of Breivik to partial support.

There are some obstacles to supporting Breivik that fall outside the taboo against violence framework that have been mentioned by members of the far right themselves. These include the fact that Breivik murdered white children (i.e., members of the in-group) and that his ideological platform was derived from the Counter-Jihad and broader anti-Islamic movement, which portrays Israel and Jews in a positive light.[94] The relevance of these statements is hard to discern because they may have been an excuse used to avoid breaking the general taboo against violence while not losing face internally. However, it is possible that we would have seen more initial support from the Western European extreme right if Breivik had avoided targeting white children and built his entire manifesto around white nationalist ideas instead of anti-Islamic ideology. On the other hand, as we have noted, much of the eventual support from the extreme right was characterized by sadism and reveling in the gruesome nature of the killings, together with the fact that the victims were (mainly) left-wing, while being unconcerned by elements in Breivik's ideology that are at odds with "traditional" white nationalism.

Some final points of clarification are warranted. Are we implying that everybody rejecting Breivik found such violence morally abhorrent? No. As initially outlined, even "normal" people follow norms to avoid being stigmatized and sanctioned – i.e., for strategic purposes. As is often the case when academics raise the issue of so-called frontstage and backstage strategies, we have little evidence to either support or refute such claims. Nevertheless, there is evidence in other cases of right-wing extremists adopting such disavowal strategies in public while condoning acts of political violence in private.[95] It is therefore a distinct possibility that some members on the far right rejected Breivik solely based on a perception of strategic necessity, thinking that they might face severe repercussions unless they did so.

Furthermore, it is likely that the external motivation to uphold the taboo is stronger among the radical right and anti-Islamic actors as they seek legitimacy and influence within the current political system. In contrast, white nationalists and others among the extreme right are not primarily oriented to seek legitimacy from society at large. It is therefore probable that they are primarily motivated to follow a disavowal strategy to avoid severe sanctions such as surveillance and imprisonment. Whether the rejection is based on strategic calculation or derives from an internalized belief in the illegitimacy of violence, the immediate outcome remains the same. If "frontstage" rejection based on strategic calculations is followed by "backstage" support, however, the potential consequences further downstream can be dire.

On a similar note, our mapping did not cover far-right actors who remained silent about Breivik. Three plausible explanations of such silence are: (1) approving his deed but choosing to remain silent to avoid stigma; (2) disapproving but remaining silent to avoid having others question the veracity of the disapproval; and (3) ignorance of the attacks. Investigating the prevalence of these justifications would require interviews with, or surveys from, a representative sample of the far-right universe, something which falls outside the scope of this article. Therefore, we are unable to draw any conclusions about the motives behind those who kept silent after the events of July 22, 2011.

Conclusion

In our mapping of responses to Breivik's actions and ideas, we found four different patterns. At the overarching level, the first pattern is *absence* of support. Breivik and his actions never gained substantial traction with the organized far right in the West. This holds for the radical right and, initially, for the extreme right as well. In the immediate aftermath, substantial and open support for Breivik came from further away, namely Russia. Second, most responded not only by rejecting Breivik, but also by actively condemning and denigrating him as a monster. Third, in the West, support for Breivik came predominantly from a small online community of people outside the organized far right. Fourth, it took several years before Breivik gained some wider traction among the Western extreme right. Nothing similar has happened among the radical right. This means that

support for Breivik has risen among the extreme right, but not among radical right parties or among anti-Islamic, extra-parliamentary initiatives.

The taboo framework provides us with simple but plausible explanations for each of these four patterns. The general absence of support and even outright vilification of Breivik by the Western European far right (puzzles I and II) can be explained by the strength of the taboo against violence and a desire to ward off the stigma of being associated with someone who violated that taboo. This process did not play out in Russia because the taboo against violence is weaker there. We stress that the importance of the taboo against violence for the West European far right is a consequence of the cultural taboo against violence in the societies in which they are embedded. This means that the far right can simultaneously be constrained by internalized beliefs about violence as illegitimate as well as by external constraints imposed on them by the environment they exist in. The two explanations are not mutually exclusive.The small online cult that coalesced around Breivik without any clear ties to the organized far right (puzzle III), can be explained by the taboo rebellion mechanism whereby a small minority actively seeks to rebel against taboos due to their very strength. Furthermore, this minority's ability to make something out of their individual desire to rebel and form a community seems entirely dependent on unfettered access to the Internet and social media.

Finally, documented support for Breivik appears to be mediated by distance in time and space (puzzle IV), which can be attributed to what we refer to as a decoupling mechanism. Distance renders the events less threatening and therefore less relevant to people's lived life. This means that associations with specific incidents, perpetrators and their ideas become successively less likely to be perceived as a form of taboo violation.

One implication of our findings is that if the macro-cultural taboo against violence had been weaker in Western Europe, we would probably have seen more open support for Breivik. Consequently, it is unlikely that we will see anything other than low levels of support for Breivik and similar right-wing terrorists in the near future unless the taboo itself becomes fundamentally weakened. As it currently stands, the taboo imposes a very significant ceiling effect. Nevertheless, within the boundary of this low ceiling, we may see a continuation of current developments where segments of the (marginal) extreme right become more brazen in their embrace and utilization of Breivik and his misdeeds.

A second implication is that future support will likely continue manifesting itself in online spaces where people can express themselves in (partial) anonymity, whereas the more organized far right with a physical presence will continue distancing themselves from such taboo violators to avoid becoming (complete) social and political pariahs.

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Notes

[1] In this article, we use "far right" as an umbrella term at the highest level of abstraction for nativist ideologies of both a radical and extreme variety. The distinction between the radical and extreme varieties of the far right rests on their view of democracy and violence. The radical right does not reject democracy per se and opposes the use of violence, whereas the extreme right seek to overthrow the democratic system and see violence as both glorious and necessary. Beneath this level, we find specific iterations of both radical- and extreme-right ideologies – such as fascism, ethno-nationalism, and anti-Islamic, cultural nativism. For an in-depth discussion and ideological taxonomy of the far right utilizing Giovanni Sartori's (1970) ladder of abstraction, see Berntzen, L. E. (2019). *Liberal Roots of Far Right Activism: The Anti-Islamic Movement in the 21st Century*. London: Routledge, pp. 313–316, p. 173; DOI: 10.4324/9780429275012; also, Bjørgo, T. & Ravndal, J. A. (2019), "Extreme-right violence and terrorism: Concepts, patterns, and responses." The Hague: International Centre for Counter-Terrorism. DOI: 10.19165/2019.1.08

[2] Berntzen (2019) describes this as a result of two separate processes with opposite starting points. First, a gradual anti-Islamic reorientation on the part of Western European radical right parties where they underwent an ideological change, and second, an expansion with new, primarily extra-parliamentary initiatives originating outside the established far right, building on an explicitly anti-Islamic platform from the onset.

[3] The decisive role played by culture and the existence of cultural variations among societies has again come to the fore with the recognition that many traits assumed to be of a universal nature are in fact delimited to specific cultures, and that attitudes and dispositions among people in so-called WEIRD countries (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, democratic) may be outliers rather than the norm (Henrich, J., Heine, S. J. & Norenzayan, A., (2010). "The weirdest people in the world?" *Behavioural Brain Science,* 33(2–3): pp. 61–83; discussion pp. 83–135. DOI: 10.1017/S0140525X0999152X.

[4] See, for example, Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Penguin UK; Buckholtz, J. W. & Marois, R. (2012) ,"The roots of modern justice: cognitive and neural foundations of social norms and their enforcement," *Nature Neuroscience*, 15(5): pp. 6556–6561.

[5] Durkheim, E. (1912 [2008]) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Trans. J. W. Swain. New York: Dover Publications; Freud, S. (1912). "The dynamics of transference," *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Vol. 12: pp. 97–108.

[6] Callois, R. (1950). *Man and the Sacred*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

[7] Anthropologist Mary Douglas famously talked about these ripple effects in terms of pollution and contagion (Douglas, M., 1966 [2002]. *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge.

[8] See Douglas (1966); Durkheim (1912) used the term interdiction as a synonym for taboo.

[9] For example, Decety, J. & Cowell, J. M. (2018). "Interpersonal harm aversion as a necessary foundation for morality: A developmental neuroscience perspective," *Development and Psychopathology*, 30(1), pp. 1531–64; Gavrilets, S. & Richerson, P. J. (2017). "Collective action and the evolution of social norm internalization," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 114(23), pp. 6068–6073. The specific taboo against violence is also described as interpersonal harm aversion.

[10] For overviews, see for example, Eisner, M. (2003). "Long-term historical trends in violent crime," *Crime and Justice*, *30*, pp. 831–42; Pinker, S. (2011). *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*. New York: Viking, Penguin Group. One of the main controversies relates not to the decline in homicide and violent crime, but to the decline in casualties of war.

[11] Steven Pinker (2011) talks of "the moral sense".

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Tilly, C. (2004). *Contention and Democracy in Europe, 1650–2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

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[15] On mass level support for political violence in Norway, see forthcoming work by Berntzen, L. E. & Ravndal, J. Survey items on the acceptability of political violence designed by Berntzen were fielded in rounds 3 and 19 of the Norwegian Citizen Panel. Data available on request from the Norwegian centre for research data. URL: https://www.nsd.no/nsddata/serier/norsk_medborgerpanel.html

[16] Gavrilets and Richerson (2017), p. 6068.

[17] Kallis makes this case for fascism and the extreme right, describing them as "taboo-breakers" for directing both violent transgressive language and action toward their enemies (Kallis, A., 2021. "Counter-spurt' but not 'de-civilization': fascism,

(un)civility, taboo, and the 'civilizing process," *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 26(1), pp. 32–32). Speaking of the persecution and subsequent mass murder of Jews in the 1930s and 1940' initiated by the Nazis, Kallis says: "It was as if many waited for someone else to break the taboo before they, too, could act on the precedent." Kallis, A. (2013). "Far-right 'contagion' or a failing 'mainstream'? How dangerous ideas cross borders and blur boundaries," *Democracy and Security*, 9(3), pp. 221–46, p. 235.

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[22] For example, Poohl, D. (2012). "Jimmie Åkesson, erkänn att du och Breivik drivs av samma ideologi" [Jimmie Åkesson, admit that you and Breivik are driven by the same ideology]. *SVT*. URL: https://www.svt.se/opinion/jimmie-akesson-erkann-att-du-och-breivik-drivs-av-samma-ideologi

[23] Breivik was a paying member of the Progress Party between 1999 and 2004; he was formally removed from the party registry in 2006. He was a foreman in the local FpU Oslo West division between January and October 2002, and member of the board from October 2002 until November 2004. He remained a member of FpU until 2007 (Langset, K. G., 23 July 2011. "FrP: Breivik har vært medlem og har hatt verv i ungdomspartiet" [Progress Party: Breivik has been a member and has held positions in the Youth Party]. *Aftenposten*. URL: https://www.aftenposten.no/norge/i/g7og9/frp-breivik-har-vaert-medlem-og-har-hatt-verv-i-ungdomspartiet

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[27] See for example, Berntzen, L. E. (2020). "How elite politicization of terror impacts sympathies for partisans: Radical right versus social democrats," *Politics and Governance*, 8(3), 193–91. Berntzen finds that the political conflict surrounding the July 22 attacks is driving an affective sorting of citizens based on their personality, where non-authoritarians become more sympathetic to Social Democrats, while those with intermediate to high authoritarianism scores become more sympathetic to the radical right.

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[37] BBC News (2011, July 27). "Italy MEP backs ideas of Norway killer Breivik". URL: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-14315108

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[40] See Berntzen, L. E. & Sandberg, S. (2014). "The Collective Nature of lLone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the anti-Islamic social movement," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26(5), note 42.

[41] Berntzen (2019), p. 118.

[42] See for example, Rayner, G. & Holehouse, M. (2011, July 30). "Norway attacks: is the man who inspired Breivik a Briton?" *The Telegraph*. URL: www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/norway/8670685/Norway-attacks-Is-the-man-who-inspired-Breivik-a-Briton.html; Storhaug, H. (2011, July 1). "Han massakrerte også ordene" [he also massacred the words]. URL: www.rights.no/2011/08/han-massakrerte-ogsa-ordene/; Rustad, H. (2011, July 25). Har vi lært noe? [Have we learned something?]. *Document*. URL: www.document.no/2011/07/25/har-vi-laert-noe/; Adressa (April 18). SIAN-leder skryter av Breiviks islamkritikk [SIAN-leader praises Breivik's Islam criticism]. URL: www.adressa.no/nyheter/terrorangrepet/rettssaken/article1808174.ece

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The Terrorist Attack on Utøya Island: Long-Term Impact on Survivors' Health and Implications for Policy

by Kristin Alve Glad, Synne Øien Stensland, Grete Dyb

Abstract

In this article, we summarize some of the main findings from The Utøya Study, a comprehensive longitudinal study on the impact on the survivors of the July 22 Utøya Island terrorist attack, and describe some implications for future policy. In total, 398 (79%) of the survivors participated in one or more of the four data collections in the study. Their mean age at the time of the terrorist attack was 19.2 years (SD=4.3, range 13.1–56.7, 94.0% < 26 years of age), and 49.0% were female. The vast majority (88.9%) were of Norwegian origin. Participants were interviewed face-to-face at 4-5 months (T1), 14-15 months (T2), 30-32 months (T3), and 8.5 years (T4), post-attack. We found that the terrorist attack had negative repercussions for the survivors' mental and somatic health for years after the attack, including symptoms of posttraumatic stress, anxiety, depression, complicated grief, headache, and other somatic symptoms. Exposure to the attack also led to long-term functional impairment for many, particularly in relation to the survivors' academic performance and well-being at school. Furthermore, it had negative health consequences for people close to the survivors, such as their caregivers. An important factor associated with how survivors cope after a terrorist attack is the support and help they receive from their social network, but also from the health care system. In line with the national health outreach plan, most survivors had received early proactive outreach from their municipality, but many missed a broader and longer lasting follow-up. The comprehensive documentation of short- and long-term health and social consequences in this study underlines the challenges societies are faced with after terrorist attacks. This insight calls for actions from decision makers in providing adequate outreach programs in health and social services. In particular, survivors with a non-Norwegian origin reported higher levels of PTSD symptoms and were less satisfied with the follow-up. After future attacks, the official outreach should be proactive, long lasting, and consider the diverse needs and characteristics of the affected individuals. For example, there should be a particular focus on survivors with a minority background. Furthermore, the outreach should be broad, and include people in the survivors' immediate social network, schools and workplaces.

Keywords: Mental health, Norway, public policy, PTSD, somatic health, terrorist attack, Utøya, victims of terrorism, young survivors

Introduction

Terrorist attacks are acts of violence intended to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through provoking widespread, collective fear and insecurity.[1,2] Over the past decades, terrorist attacks have become a severe and concerning threat to societies and individuals in many parts of the world.[3] From the trauma literature, it appears that the malicious human intent and unpredictable nature of terrorist attacks may result in particularly adverse outcomes for those affected, including high risk of serious health problems.[4] In this article, we will first outline some potential consequences of being directly exposed to a terrorist attack, with a particular focus on survivors' mental and somatic health, and their daily functioning. Subsequently, we will briefly describe the terrorist attack that targeted politically active youth on Utøya Island, Norway, on July 22, 2011. Then we will describe the comprehensive longitudinal interview study we designed to explore the impact of the attack and sum up some of our main findings regarding the health and functioning of the young survivors. Finally, we discuss how the new knowledge gained can help decision makers provide necessary health care and follow-up in the aftermath of future terrorist attacks.

Potential Consequences of Terrorist Attacks for Survivors

Impact on Survivors' Mental Health

The most studied mental disorder that can develop after exposure to a traumatic event, such as a terrorist attack, is posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Characteristic symptoms of PTSD are *re-experiencing* the event as if it is happening again, including intrusive thoughts and images of the event, nightmares, and flashbacks; efforts to *avoid* stimuli associated with the trauma, including places or thoughts reminding of the event; and *increased arousal*, which often results in sleep disturbances, poor concentration, an exaggerated startle response, and irritability. Some may also experience *negative changes in thoughts and feelings* after the event, including their thoughts about the self (e.g., "I'm weak") or the world (e.g., "Nowhere is safe").[5] In a recent systematic review of the literature on PTSD among terrorist attack survivors, Garcia-Vera et al. (2016) found that as many as 33% to 39% of those directly exposed to life-threatening danger during a terrorist attack developed PTSD within the first year.[6] Furthermore, they found that 6 to 7 years after the attack, 15% to 26% still had PTSD. These findings demonstrate that many people are at risk of experiencing severe psychological reactions in the aftermath of a terrorist attack and that, for some, these reactions last for many years post-trauma. However, the large individual variation in post-trauma reactions raises important and difficult questions, including: "Why do we respond so differently to trauma?" and "What are the main factors that determine how we respond?"

Extensive research on potential predictors for PTSD during the last 30 years has led to marked advances in our understanding of factors associated with elevated risk of this disorder. Such factors include individual characteristics (e.g., female gender, ethnic minority, low socio-economic status and psychiatric history), characteristics of exposure to the traumatic event (e.g., exposure intensity, bereavement, personal injury, perceived life threat), and post-trauma factors (e.g., low social support).[7] It has also been suggested that exposure to trauma reminders (i.e., cues that resemble the traumatic event and elicit distressing reactions) may play a superordinate role in PTSD, because it can trigger symptoms in all the PTSD symptom categories.[8] Furthermore, highly publicized disasters, such as a terrorist attack, can lead to considerable media attention on the survivors, which can be experienced as an extra strain.[9]

Other well-known forms of psychopathology that terrorist attack survivors may experience are anxiety and depression.[10] For example, in a systematic review of the literature on major depressive disorder after terrorist attacks, Salguero et al. (2011) found that the risk of developing this disorder ranges between 20-30% among those directly exposed in the first few months after an attack.[11] Furthermore, given the brutal nature of such attacks, levels of mortality can be high. Whereas grief is a normal response to the loss of someone close, traumatic loss (e.g., by a terrorist attack) can lead to severe and persistent psychological reactions, such as symptoms of complicated grief. The hallmark of complicated grief is "persistent, intense yearning, longing and sadness, usually accompanied by insistent thoughts or images of the deceased and a sense of disbelief or an inability to accept the painful reality of the person's death."[12] While the dual burden of direct traumatization and traumatic loss is characteristic of terrorist attacks, few have explored the combined psychological consequences.[13]

Impact on Survivors' Somatic Health

Through infliction of death, injury and destruction of physical and social environments, terrorist attacks may violate all aspects of survivors' health—including their physical, mental and social well-being. Although these aspects of health are heavily entangled post-trauma, symptoms originating from or relating to the body (or *soma*) are commonly differentiated from those previously described, relating to the mind, soul, spirit or *psyche*.[14] In the aftermath of a terrorist attack, *soma*tic symptomatology in survivors may result directly from exposure to a range of physical hazards, such as penetrating or blunt force, infectious, toxic or radioactive agents or irritants.[15-17] Among the survivors of the July 22 Utøya Island shooting, however, the most severe injuries were caused by gunshots, while survivors' less severe injuries were largely related to falls incurred during flight. [18-20] Other than direct exposure to physical hazards during a terrorist attack, horrifying impressions can give rise to a range of individual somatic and behavioral stress responses.[21.22] Somatic symptoms, such as

headaches, pain, palpitations, insomnia or fatigue, are common in the early days and weeks post-trauma.[23] Such symptomatology has largely been understood as transient, normal reactions, without further need for follow-up.[24-26] On the other hand, long-term somatic complaints or illnesses have predominantly been seen as a sequela of persistent posttraumatic stress or PTSD.[27-29] However, results from large epidemiological studies indicate that frequent headache, pain, and other somatic symptoms contribute to considerable functional impairment.[30] It is likely that a high level of somatic symptoms and related functional impairment in the early phase post-trauma could compromise survivors' capability to take on everyday tasks necessary for recovery, such as preparing and eating healthy meals, ensuring good sleep hygiene, and abstaining from overuse of pain medication and alcohol.[31] If the somatic symptoms experienced by survivors post-trauma are more impairing and persistent than previously understood, these could play an active role in hindering healthy recovery, not accounted for in current guidelines [32] and clinical practice.

Impact on Survivors' Daily Functioning

Given the major impact that exposure to a terrorist attack may have on the survivors mental and somatic health, it is not surprising that it also can affect their daily functioning, such as their ability to do daily chores, their interests and activities, and how they get along with family and friends. The experience of terror can also impair the survivors' academic performance and well-being in school. In a recent systematic review of the literature on school-related outcomes of trauma, Perfect et al. (2016) reported that many studies have found significant associations between trauma exposure and related PTSD symptoms among youth and impaired cognitive functioning, lower academic performance, and social-emotional-behavioral problems.[33] Clearly, such outcomes may have detrimental, long-lasting impact on young trauma survivors' lives, for example in terms of their future career.

Social Support and Follow-up

An important factor associated with how survivors cope after a terrorist attack is the support and help they receive from their social network, as well as from the health care system. In societies enduring terrorist attacks, questions immediately arise as to how the attack will affect the bereaved, the survivors, their families and the community, and how authorities should respond. Unfortunately, findings from international studies on disasters, including 9/11, suggest that many affected do not receive the help they need from the public health care system.[34-36] We also know that many who are affected do not seek help when they need it.[37-38] As such, a proactive follow-up is recommended after large-scale disasters, such as a terrorist attack.[39]

The Terrorist Attack on Utøya Island and the Outreach Program

The Terrorist Attack

On July 22, 2011, Anders Behring Breivik conducted two consecutive terrorist attacks in Norway. After having detonated a car bomb outside the government quarter in Oslo, killing nine people and injuring many more, while also causing immense material damage, the perpetrator moved to Utøya Island, 30 kilometers north of Oslo, where the Norwegian Labor Party was holding its annual youth summer camp. In total, 564 people were gathered on the island, mostly youths and young adults. For about one hour and twenty minutes, the perpetrator shot, killed and wounded those who crossed his path. Sixty-eight people were killed at Utøya Island, and 34 were hospitalized with physical injuries, of whom one died in the hospital.[40-42] Many more had minor injuries.[43]

Numerous factors amplified the brutality of this attack. First, the youths were isolated on a small island of only 26 acres as the perpetrator hunted them down and shot them. They all heard gunshots and most hid or ran away from the terrorist as they realized they were in mortal danger. Their only chance to escape was to swim to the mainland, across the cold fjord, with the risk of drowning. Second, the survivors witnessed extreme trauma as many saw dead bodies and witnessed others being injured or killed. Third, the perpetrator was extremely brutal. He often shot the victims several times, and the mortality rate was high. Since the participants of the

summer camp had many friends and acquaintances on the island, most of them lost friends and/or family members in the attack. Finally, the perpetrator was disguised as a police officer, to lure the youths out of their hiding places. This left many with prolonged fear, as they did not know whom to trust when the first rescuers came to their aid.[44] During the next few days, the survivors returned to their homes and a national outreach program for affected families was implemented.[45]

The National Outreach Program

The Norwegian Directorate of Health advised affected municipalities on how to organize the health services and offer support to the directly affected families. Survivors and their families lived in municipalities across the entire country, and since the gravity of the massacres indicated that many would need follow-up over time, the outreach plan was anchored in the existing health services in the municipalities.[46] The outreach program was based on three main principles; proactivity in early outreach, continuity in responses, and targeted interventions for individuals in need. The crisis teams in the municipalities were required to establish early contact with the survivors and their families. The municipalities appointed a designated professional to serve as the "contact person" for the survivors and their families for at least the first year. The contact person was to make direct contact with the affected families, offer a personal meeting, and provide information about available help measures in the municipality and in the specialist health care services. The contact person was also expected to ensure a good and regular assessment of the victims' functioning level, their access to social support, and any need for help. The aim was to ensure that all the directly affected survivors' and close family members' needs for services were identified and met.[47-48]

The Utøya Study

The Utøya Study is a comprehensive longitudinal interview study that commenced shortly after the terrorist attack on Utøya Island. The main aim of the study was to provide increased knowledge about how people exposed to terrorism react in the immediate aftermath, and to identify important predictors for their long-term responses. This is imperative for preparedness planning and the ability of health professionals to develop and provide efficient, evidence-based services following a terrorist attack. The study has been funded by the Norwegian Directorate of Health and consists of four data collection waves, conducted at 4-5 months (T1), 14-15 months (T2), 30-32 months (T3), and 8 years (T4) after the July 22 attack.

Methods

According to police records, 495 people survived the massacre on Utøya Island. Five survivors were not invited to the study at T1 due to their young age (<13 years) or the lack of contact information. Additionally, the study included seven camp members who happened to be on the mainland during the attack [they self-recruited to the study—see Figure 1 for details]. In total, 398 (79%) of the survivors participated in one or more of the four data collection efforts in the study. Their mean age at the time of the terrorist attack was 19.2 years (SD=4.3, range 13.1–56.7, 94.0% < 26 years of age), and 49.0% of the survivors were female. The vast majority (88.9%) were of Norwegian origin. One in five (22.2%) reported that their economic situation was below the national average. There were no significant differences between participants and non-participants with respect to age or sex.[49]

Participants were interviewed face-to-face at 4-5 months (T1), 14-15 months (T2), 30-32 months (T3), and 8.5 years (T4), after the attack of 2011. At T4, our study also included the youngest camp survivors, who were younger than 13 years of age at the time of the attack. As such, all survivors for whom we had contact information (n = 501) were contacted and invited to participate.

Figure 1: Overview of the Survivors (n = 399) who Participated in the Utøya Study
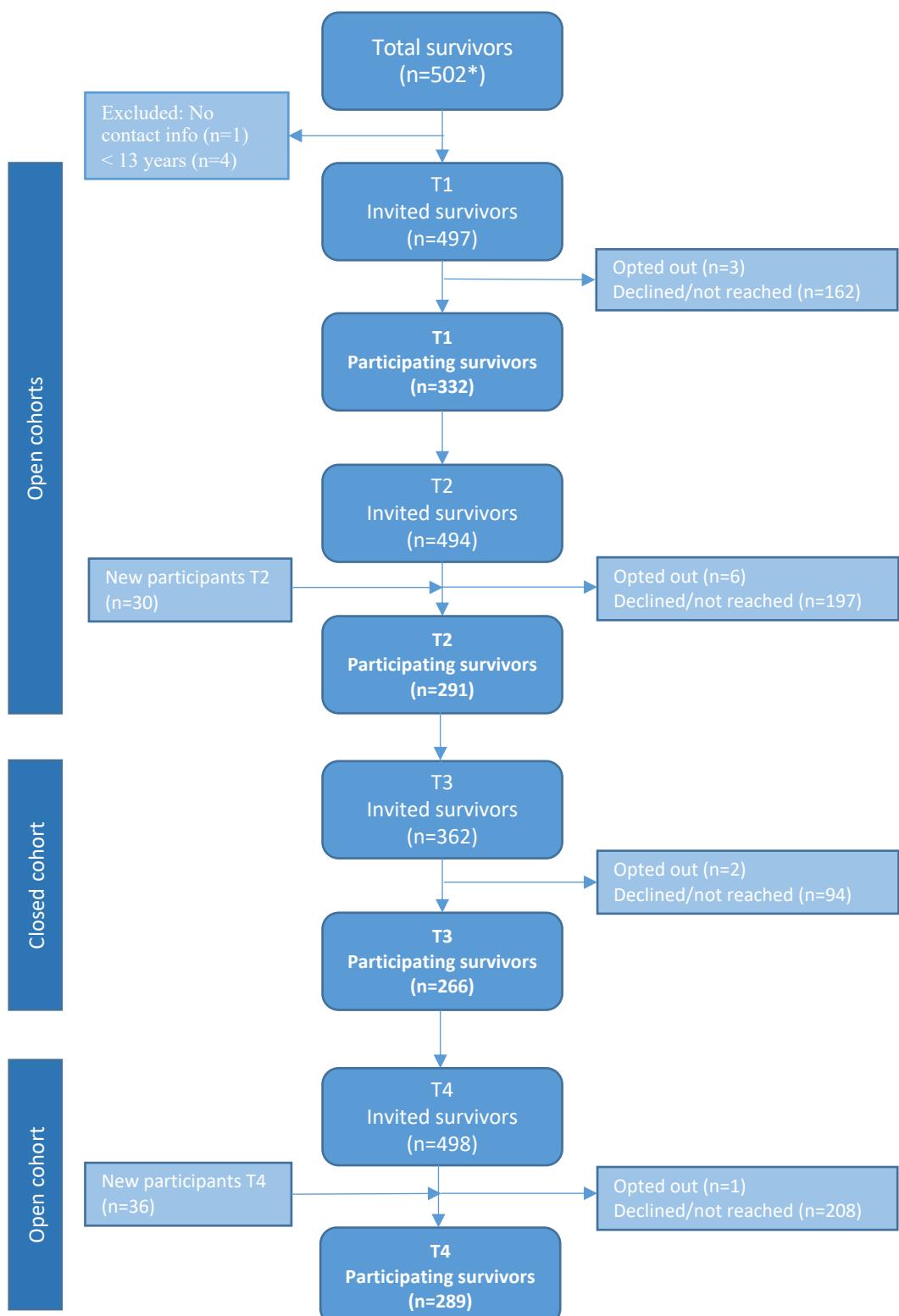
* 495 were on the island during the attack; 7 were on the mainland. In total, 398 (79%) of the 502 survivors participated at one or more time point(s).

In each data wave, postal invitations describing the purpose of the study were sent to potential participants. Interviews were performed in the participants' home by health care personnel (mostly psychologists, medical doctors, and nurses); these had been specially trained for the task. The interviews were audiotaped and lasted approximately an hour and a half, with topics ranging from mental and physical health pre-and post-trauma, to personal experiences with the media, and their post-trauma school performance. To measure the participants' reactions to the attack, we used several validated measures. For example, to assess their level of PTSD symptoms, we used the 20-item UCLA PTSD Reaction Index (PTSD-RI).[50,51] Because three items have two alternative formulations, of which the highest score was applied to calculate the total score, the total symptom scale score is made up of 17 items, corresponding with the DSM-IV criteria for PTSD.[52] Responses were recorded on a 5-point Likert-scale, ranging from 0 (never) to 4 (most of the time), and possible total scores range from 0-68. A threshold score of 38 was used to determine likelihood of meeting the criteria for a PTSD diagnosis. All measures used in the study are thoroughly described in relevant publications (see the Notes section of this article). Of note, because the fourth data collection was only recently completed, most of the results presented in this article are from publications based on data collected in the first three interview waves. The study was approved by the Regional Committee for Medical and Health Research Ethics in Norway (REK 2011/1625 and REK 2014/246).

Main Findings

The Utøya Island study has produced more than 50 peer reviewed papers and reports on topics ranging from the survivors' adverse mental and somatic health outcomes (including posttraumatic stress reactions, complicated grief, migraines, other headache, pain and somatic symptomatology), to school functioning, experiences with the media, and experiences with the outreach model.[53] In the following, we will summarize some of the main findings from the study, with a particular focus on health and post-disaster follow-up.

Mental Health Reactions

We found that 47% of the survivors reported clinical levels of PTSD in the first wave, 4-5 months post-attack, whereas 11% met the diagnostic criteria for full PTSD and 36% for partial PTSD (i.e., meeting criteria for only two out of three PTSD symptom subcategories).[54] Survivors' PTSD levels were more than six times higher when compared to youth in the general population.[55] Furthermore, the number of survivors with clinical levels of anxiety and depression was roughly 45% in the first wave, and about 30% and 25% in the second and third wave, respectively.[56] In the fourth wave, a substantial minority of the survivors reported major mental health symptoms and were still in need of health care services.[57]

In line with previous studies in the field, we found that significant predictors for the survivors' level of PTSD included female gender, minority ethnic status, high level of trauma exposure, current physical pain, the loss of someone close, and low levels of social support.[58] Furthermore, physically injured survivors had increased risk for later PTSD symptoms, as compared to non-injured.[59] Surprisingly, minor injuries—such as bruises, a sprained or twisted ankle or broken leg—were related to particularly high levels of PTSD symptoms.[60] This could imply that the presence of minor injuries in survivors may signal a high level of proximity and exposure to the atrocities (i.e., urgent need to flight), and thereby increased risk of PTSD symptoms.[61] Feelings of shame and guilt among the survivors were also uniquely and positively associated with their PTSD symptom level.[62] In the second and third interview waves, we asked how often the survivors had experienced various trauma reminders (i.e., sounds, visual experiences, emotions, bodily reactions, touch, smells, and situational reminders) during the last month, and which one they perceived to be the worst.[63,64] In both waves, auditory reminders—especially loud and sudden noises—was the type of trauma reminder that the survivors reported experiencing most often, and the one they found to be the most distressing.

One survivor described it like this:

> Sounds and bangs are uncomfortable, for example if I'm sitting in the library and I hear a bang in the cafeteria, I become very alert. That's something that I really cannot control. Then the whole day… then I'm down the rest of the day, it affects my schoolwork and stuff like that.[65]

Of the 261 survivors who participated in the third interview wave, approximately 2.5 years post- attack, we found that almost 90% had experienced one or more reminder during the month prior to the interview, and about 20% said that they had experienced strong emotional reactions when they experienced their worst reminder.[66] Survivors who met the diagnostic criteria for PTSD reported significantly higher frequency of exposure to trauma reminders compared to survivors who did not meet the criteria for this disorder.

In sum, these findings suggest that many survivors were struggling with mental health reactions for a long-time post-attack, that trauma reminders were common for years post-attack, and that PTSD is strongly related to frequency of exposure to reminders.

Loss and Complicated Grief

Of the 355 survivors who participated at some point during the first three interview waves, 275 had lost someone close (i.e., a family member, partner, and/or close friend) in the attack. We explored the longitudinal association between symptoms of PTSD and complicated grief reactions among these young, bereaved survivors.[67] As hypothesized, in all three interview waves we found that participants who reported higher levels of complicated grief also reported higher levels of PTSD symptoms. From analyses of our longitudinal data, we found that posttraumatic stress symptoms predicted complicated grief reactions, but not vice versa. This supports the existing hypothesis that PTSD reactions may disrupt the mourning process and affect the severity of complicated grief symptoms.[68,69]

Somatic Symptoms

Among the survivors, headaches, fatigue, and lumbar pain were the most frequently reported somatic symptoms in the early phase post-trauma.[70] As headaches were the most frequent early complaint, known to commonly cause considerable disability [71], we explored the effect of terror on risk of headache in a case control study of the adolescent survivors as compared to matched controls.[72] The findings clearly showed that survivors of the terrorist attack had a four times higher risk of weekly and daily migraines and tension type headaches in comparison to a matching control group. Further, we investigated how somatic symptomatology overall—such as headaches, stomachache, other musculoskeletal pain, palpitation, faintness and fatigue—relate to PTSD over time.[73] To our surprise, we found that survivors' early somatic symptoms predicted later posttraumatic stress reactions. This finding is at odds with current theory and practice that assumes symptoms of PTSD precede the development of adverse somatic health outcomes after trauma.[74-77] The present findings suggest that early identification of survivor's somatic symptoms and provision of adequate services may represent an untapped potential to improve and increase the efficiency of post-trauma interventions.

Impaired Functioning

Almost half of the survivors reported that they found it very difficult to perform their everyday tasks, and approximately 25% said they were less interested in the things they used to do before the attack.[78] Furthermore, about 10% said that it had become much more difficult to get along with their family and friends. [79] Many of the survivors were part-time or full-time students and we found that 61% reported impaired academic performance and 29% reported impaired well-being in school.[80] In a qualitative interview of 65 students (aged 16–29 years), a majority of students (69%, n=45) reported negative changes in their academic performance, particularly having difficulties in concentration and noticing a failure to remember what they had just read.[81] For example, one girl in her final year of high school said:

> Everything fell apart! It used to take me one minute to read a page, maybe half a minute. But now I had to read the page over and over again. I spent 20 to 30 minutes on a page – I'm not kidding. I just sat there staring at it, reading over and over, trying to make it stick. And in math … well, I simply couldn't concentrate (…) Everything went so slow. I used to have top grades, and then I ended up with Cs. My plans for university were blown … just like that.[82]

These findings demonstrate both how exposure to a terrorist attack can negatively affect young survivors' academic performance and well-being at school, and the potential long-lasting impact of this, in terms of their future career. When asked to what extent they had resumed functioning normally in various life areas eight years after the attack, two thirds of the survivors answered that they were back to normal in relation to school, studies and work and/or in relation to family.[83] About 50% said they were completely back to normal in their spare time and in relation to friends. The fact that so many reported that they are not back to functioning normally almost a decade after the attack shows how long-lasting the impairment can be, and is, for many survivors.

The Impact of Massive Media Attention

The Utøya survivors received considerable media attention after the attack. In fact, almost everyone who participated in our study said that journalists had contacted them, and 88% had given interviews about their experiences on Utøya.[84] We found that survivors who experienced their contact with the media as upsetting had more symptoms of PTSD compared to survivors who did not. [85] At T3, we explored their personal experiences with the media in more detail and analyzed written descriptions of positive or negative personal media experiences of 235 survivors after the attack.[86] As many as 90% described negative experiences with the way journalists' approached them. A recurring theme was that the journalists had neither shown them respect nor been considerate, but had been rather invasive. For example, one survivor stated:

> My first encounter with the media was pretty negative. There was a meeting that day when the entire press corps was outside and the camera flashes were going like crazy in the room where we were trying to take care of each other and grieve. It annoyed me so much. (…) Basically, it was rough that we didn't even get 12 hours to process what had just happened.[87]

In relation to the interview situation, the journalists themselves were mostly described as both caring and considerate, while their experiences with the media's coverage of their story were more mixed. Positive experiences included being pleased with the angle on the story or having been given the opportunity to read the result of an interview prior to publication. Others reported negative experiences—e.g., that the angle of their story had been excessively negative and dramatic, or that their story or picture had been published without their consent. For some, it had been a burden to be recognized in public after being photographed by journalists for the media.[88]

Social Support

It is generally known that one of the most important protective factors for people who have experienced something traumatic is support from their social network, including family and friends.[89.90] In all four waves of the study, most survivors reported that they had experienced a lot of support from the people around them. However, in each wave, about 10% reported that they missed having people around them who cared about them; someone to talk to about their problems, someone to be with, and someone who could give them important advice.[91-94]

Unmet Healthcare Needs Despite Proactive Outreach

The Norwegian health authorities implemented a national outreach program to meet the health care needs of citizens directly affected by the terrorist attack. For participants in our study, it seemed to have worked well in the first phase after the attack.[95] For example, we found that 84% of the survivors reported that they had been contacted by their contact person.[96] In addition, in a qualitative study where the authors of this article explored how the caregivers of the survivors had experienced the follow-up, only few reported that they were unaware that the health services proactively contacted their child who had been on the island during the attack. [97] That said, the most salient theme in the caregiver's interviews was a wish for a more active and enduring follow-up, especially for siblings and the family as a whole.[98] For example, one mother stated:

> I have missed help from the municipal crisis team beyond a single conversation. We have not

received follow-up locally – no one has contacted us as a family after the first week. We had to get help ourselves and feel forgotten by the municipality![99]

Similarly, in a qualitative report on how the directly affected survivors themselves assessed the outreach from the public health services, we found that many felt that the outreach disappeared too quickly, and that the follow-up had not been proactive enough.[100] Furthermore, during the third interview wave (approximately 2.5 years after the attack), one in five survivors reported unmet needs for addressing their negative psychological reactions, and one in seven for attack-related somatic health problems.[101] Unmet healthcare needs were associated with higher levels of posttraumatic stress, depression/anxiety, somatic symptoms, and low social support. Survivors with a non-Norwegian background were more likely to report unmet needs for attack-related physical health problems. They were also less satisfied with the post-attack healthcare.[102] Of note, we also found that the parents of the Utøya survivors experienced high levels of emotional distress following the attack, including symptoms of posttraumatic stress, anxiety and depression, and that they developed a wide range of healthcare needs.[103,104] Eight years post-attack, a substantial minority of caregivers still reported high levels of PTSD symptoms.[105] These findings are in line with the limited literature in the field on reactions among people in the immediate social network of the survivors. They also illustrate how caregivers may themselves suffer severe emotional traumatization associated with a life threat to their children.[106-108]

How Can This Knowledge Improve Practice?

The terrorist attack on Utøya Island had long-term health implications for those directly affected, including high levels of PTSD reactions, anxiety, depression, complicated grief, headaches, and other pain and somatic symptoms. It also impacted the victims' daily functioning, including their ability to study and their interpersonal relationships. This impact on functioning may be caused by the psychological and physical consequences of the trauma, but it can also be related to the lack of sufficient outreach from health and social services, and a lack of support and understanding from schools, workplaces, families and friends. Based on these findings, we offer the following suggestions for future policy.

The official recommendation after the July 22 terrorist attack in Norway was that the proactive follow-up should last for one year. In retrospect, however, we see that many survivors struggled for several years after the attack, and that the need for help therefore needs to be extended well beyond the first year. This is in line with findings from a recent systematic study on PTSD following another terrorist attack.[109] As such, we recommend that a core principle for follow-up after future major terrorist attacks should be long-term assistance and support. The study also revealed that many survivors experienced a great need for help for their somatic reactions related to the attack, even those who themselves were not physically injured. Current recommendations for preparedness planning focus primarily on assessment and interventions targeting psychological symptoms. Current guidelines should be revised to encompass identification and accommodation of survivors' psychological *and* somatic reactions and needs.[110]

After the Utøya attack, most of the outreach was concentrated on helping those who survived. However, importantly—and in line with a recent systematic review on traumatic reactions following a terrorist attack— we found that the people close to the directly affected, such as their caregivers, can themselves be traumatized and develop post-trauma health problems.[111-113] As such, people in the immediate social network of the survivors should be considered 'affected' in their own right and receive follow-up.[114] We also found that survivors with a non-Norwegian origin reported higher levels of PTSD symptoms, and that they were less satisfied with the follow-up, than those with a Norwegian background were.[115,116] Hence, after future attacks, we recommend a particular focus on the follow-up of survivors with a minority background.

Exposure to a terrorist attack can be particularly detrimental for young survivors, as it may affect their psychosocial development and education, with potential long-term adverse effects, including impaired academic performance, spoiling future career opportunities. Given the long-term disruption and impairment we found in the survivors' academic performance after Utøya, it is important that appropriate school support is provided after future attacks.[117,118] For example, greater educational follow-up by a teacher may offer a

good point of intervention with traumatized students.[119]

The media coverage of a terrorist attack can be extensive and long lasting, but few have explored how media attention may affect survivors. Our results suggest that media exposure can be an extra strain for the survivors, particularly for those who are struggling post-attack. As such, journalists need to be careful and considerate when they approach, interview and report on people exposed to trauma. In addition, survivors should be warned about the media attention they may receive – and be briefed on how to handle it.

Conclusion

Terrorist attacks are traumatic events that violate security and feelings of safety. The prevalence of post-traumatic stress reactions, other mental and somatic health problems, and negative social consequences are often substantial among survivors. Recent research indicates that about 1/3 of those directly exposed to a threat against their own life during a terrorist attack develop PTSD the first year, and that many survivors struggle with these posttraumatic stress reactions 6-7 years after the attack.[120] The terrorist attack at Utøya Island on July 22, 2011, targeted politically active youth on a summer camp in an extremely brutal way. On this small island the victims were exposed to a heavily armed perpetrator, who killed 69 people. The survivors quickly realized their lives were in danger, and they witnessed extreme trauma, including exposure to the sight of dead bodies and others being injured or dying. The Utøya Study is a comprehensive longitudinal interview study designed to explore the impact of this attack on the survivors and their parents. As summed up in this article, 47% of the survivors had posttraumatic stress reactions on a clinical level 4-5 months after the event. For many, these reactions and other psychological problems lasted for many years. The need for using mental health services was substantial, and about 70% required specialized mental health services during the first years. Grief about the loss of friends was complicated by their posttraumatic reactions; it interfered with their own healing process. Pain and other somatic symptoms were common and appeared to also complicate recovery from psychological problems.

The results of our study underline the challenges survivors and their families are confronted with after terrorist attacks. Our study's findings calls for action from decision makers in providing adequate outreach programs in health and social services. To successfully improve readiness and respond adequately to victims' needs after terrorist attacks, disaster guidelines and future outreach programs must integrate empirically based knowledge. Therefore, ensuring a systematic need-based response to terrorist attacks and other disasters over time requires integration of real-time research in preparedness planning. Post-attack outreach should be proactive, long lasting, and consider the diverse needs and characteristics of the affected individuals. For example, there should be a particular focus on survivors with a minority background. Furthermore, the outreach should be broad, and include people in the victims' immediate social network, schools and workplaces.

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Norwegian Memorial Work after July 22, 2011

by Jone Salomonsen

Abstract

Following the twin terror attacks of July 22, 2011, two public memorials will be built, one in Oslo, another close to Utøya. Furthermore, since the Labour Youth (AUF) experienced the massacre in their summer-paradise Utøya, AUF decided to reclaim the island by building their own private memorials to mourn the dead and teach democracy. The concept of "memorial" was endorsed by both agencies and the decisions were grounded in the engaged public spirit that had followed the massacres. Huge flower oceans were built in Oslo and the acts were interpreted as popular expressions of "love, solidarity and grief," and as vivid messages to Breivik: "not your people." Yet, some of the locals in Utøya's vicinity did not want to re-engage with the trauma of the massacre, and refused memorials close to their home. Why does AUF welcome memorial sites open to ritual performance and inter-active memory work but the local people do not? The article explores this antagonism as expression of different forms of symbolic communication, performativity and ritual, and as result of political disagreements. To separate the political from the social, the political protest from social condolence, the author uses analytical distinctions developed by H. Arendt and C. Mouffe.

Keywords: memorial, Norway, paganism, performance, ritual, terrorism, Utøya

Introduction

How should a democratic nation commemorate a terrorist attack? What is the main purpose – to honor the individuals who died, or defend democratic ideals and ways of life of the democratic citizens who were attacked and killed? Should we also remember the bereaved and the love and care given to them by co-citizens in the period after the attack? The answers to these questions are not self-evident. Following Anders Behring Breivik's twin attacks in Oslo and Utøya on July 22, 2011, the Norwegian Government decided early on to establish two national memorials. One at the bombed-out government building in Oslo and one on the mainland across from 'Utøya Island.' Utøya is owned by the Norwegian Labor Party's Youth League, AUF, and every summer, AUF Utøya hosts a week-long political summer camp for teens and young adults. In 2011, 564 young people camped when Breivik arrived and shot 69 face to face, or as they were hiding, running or swimming away. Therefore, AUF wanted to build two private memorials at Utøya – a meditative place to remember the dead and a democratic learning center. All in all, four memorials were under consideration.[1]

The government's template for the national memorials was largely grounded in the engaged public spirit that followed the massacres. People's immediate responses to the attacks were non-stop gatherings in the streets of Oslo. A huge "ocean of roses" emerged in front of major institutions of power. Acts of condolences to the bereaved, and flowers, letters, and other personal objects placed on the ground for the dead, were quickly interpreted as popular expressions of grief, solidarity, and love, but also as explicit messages to Breivik: "We are not your people". It made sense to embody aspects of this public spirit and its aesthetics when envisioning private and public memorials. In 2013, the official *Artistic Plan for Memorials after July 22* (KORO) had even surveyed people and asked what words they associated with the street assemblies following July 22 and what words they hoped future memorials would be able to evoke. A majority of the respondents reported that the words "love," "solidarity," "grief," "reflection," "hope," and "peace" best captured their post-July 22 experience.[2]

The survey confirmed the legendary naming of the "spirit in the streets" as "love." The street gestures also embraced the dead, reaching out for them and their families. In the language of "love", it proclaimed that the beloved dead had not lived in vain – even though they died young. However, the primary purpose of a national commemoration after a terrorist attack cannot simply be to remember the loving, gentle acts of the survivors or their unique post-terrorism experiences with each other. Love is not the emblem of democracy, but pluralism,

argument, negotiation. Therefore, the aim of KORO's survey was confusing, not least since Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg had launched a more sober counter-expression. On July 24, 2011, in his speech at the combined memorial service and high mass in Oslo's Cathedral, he had already helped Norwegians articulate a thoughtful and symbolic stanza to go with the act: *More Democracy, More Openness, More Humanity. But Never Naivety.* [3]

To further complicate the picture, not all citizens agreed with KORO's interpretations of the sentiment and norm "love." Some of the locals in Utøya's vicinity (in the municipality of Hole) disagreed both on the purpose, aesthetics and location for the proposed public memorial and argued that any memorial close to people homes would transform their neighborhood into a permanent stage for "terror tourism." This led to a significant political conflict that blocked further progress for this important national memorial until 2020. Initially Utøya also faced disagreements and uncertainties, but in the end they found common ground. The meditative memorial "The Clearing" was dedicated at Utøya in 2015 and the democratic learning center "The Hedge-house" in 2016.

In this process, both agencies (AUF Utøya and KORO) consulted professionals, including leading scholars of memory studies after massive acts of terrorism. In the USA, scholars who had been involved in the memory politics for the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (1982), the Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum (1995) as well as the National September 11 Memorial & Museum in New York (2001) were consulted. In Norway, historian Tor Einar Fagerland is a leading theorist in this tradition, and two of his international colleagues are James Young and Ed Linenthal. Fagerland played an important role early on as a consultant to the memorial process at Utøya and helped invite to Norway both Linenthal and Young and the director of the September 11 Museum, Alice M. Greenwald. All of them advised AUF on reaching circumspect decisions, both in terms of the overall rehabilitation of Utøya and concerning open and inclusive memorial designs.[4]

According to their line of thought, the concept of a classical monument is passé. Rather than embodying memory, a monument tends to displace it altogether, supplanting a community's possible memory work with its material form. The alternative concept to "monument," says Young, is the "memorial," which may be defined as a counter monument – a construction "in which the artist has attempted to create a performative piece that may initiate a dynamic relationship between artist, work, and visitors."[5] A memorial, therefore, is perceived as an egalitarian idea that attempts not only to commemorate the historical impulse that led to the murders or to commemorate only those killed, but to facilitate an 'enactment' in which the hierarchical relationships between object and its interlocutors are breaking down. One could add that such 'enactments' can be experienced both as multidirectional and as incentive to new social or political engagement. Multidirectional means in this context that the 'enacted' remembrance of a specific event in the present may recall painful losses from the past. It may re-enact trauma or it may be experienced as healing. Either way, to visit a memorial and be engaged with it should be more than "a visit".[6]

Since Norwegian professionals quickly agreed to endorse the concept of the "memorial," rather than opting for a "monument," the door to a plurality of *subjective* interpretations and enactments between visitor and artwork is deliberately left wide open. From the perspective of the "memorial," the result of KORO's survey is no longer confusing. It is rather the opposite, namely perfectly fitting. All the sentiments that the Norwegians had described in the survey and said they wanted a memorial to evoke, are all of a sudden very relevant. The question is rather, should the Norwegian state and AUF Utøya design memorials that both meet and prioritize among these criteria and the expectations embedded with these?

In the following, this article seeks to explore the essential considerations which guided the Government/KORO and AUF Utøya as they felt obliged to remember the massacre and to call on renowned artists and architects to design worthy memorial sites. The article also explores why a memorial open to inter-active memory work was welcomed by AUF Utøya, but not by some of the local people on the mainland opposite Utøya, and how this conflict finally was solved. However, to help explore the meaning and aimed-at-effect of inter-active and ritualized memory work, the author will introduce some analytical tools of ritual performance as theorized by ritual studies scholars. This will help us to analyze the first significant public ritual after Breivik's mass murder, the Ocean of Roses, as an instance both of condolence *and* of non-violent protest, and as the giving and receiv-

ing of gestures of love.

However, the rituals of the street are of two kinds: 1) rituals of death and mourning belong by convention to the private, the family, the social; 2) rituals of non-violent protest belong by convention to the public, the political. To make the social versus the political a preliminary, yet viable, analytical distinction, we borrow from Hannah Arendt's differentiation between the social and the political. This also helps us grasp what is uniquely new about democracy, and hence, about the kind of society Breivik attacked. Next Chantal Mouffe's re-reading of Arendt is introduced as she bends the concept of the political into a pop-up conflictual discourse that can surface anywhere. The political is related to issues that people often disagree on but that still need to be resolved, and may include contestation of norms and traditions. In the final summary, the article explores whether the discourse of "remembering the beloved dead" has prevailed over the discourse of "defending democratic argument against terrorist authoritarianism" in Norway's national memorial labor. It will be argued that the answer depends on how we understand the hegemonic relationship between the social and the political, and their interdependence.

Analytical Approaches

The Social and the Political

According to Arendt, the problem with attacking "democracy" is that it represents a genuine political space of continuous talking and listening, of oppositions and confrontations, of open debates and tough negotiations. This space is in principle different from the socially constituted and ordered "houses" of society, be it the family, religion, the church, or the welfare institutions of the state. According to the history of the sociology of religion, the domestic, the religious, and the social are co-constituted.[7] These spaces are "from the beginning" generated from the principles of lineage, ancestry, kinship and the domestic sphere. A desire to undo the political and return to the purely social may therefore equal a desire to return to the inherited hierarchical orders of the house, including the ghosts of the *pater familias* (authoritarian family father) and the possible use of violence in order to discipline family members. Arendt's point is that politics as such cannot be built on family grounds, on *ethnos*, since politics is by and of itself a constitution of *demos*.

Chantal Mouffe builds on Arendt's distinctions between the political/public and the social/private but recasts the spatial limits of the political when she argues that "the political" *is* the potential antagonistic inherent *in all social relations* – in the parliament as well as at the dinner table. It operates in public and private spaces and manifests itself in strong disagreements when decisions have to be made. Democracy, she argues, is a way of organizing human co-existence from *within* a context that is always conflictual – precisely because of this ever-present "political." The aim of democratic politics is thus to create the institutions through which this potential antagonism (hostility and strife) can be transformed into agonism (a community of disagreeing citizens) and enable pragmatic decisions to be made on matters of common concern.[8]

However, Mouffe warns that if we want democracy actually to work, citizens must also pay allegiance to two basic norms: (1) all humans have equal worth, and (2) all human rights are universal rights since they are inborn and not relative to a specific culture. Furthermore, Mouffe urges citizens to experiment with new forms of association in which a plurality of views can flourish and where ethical capacities for democratic decision-making can be practiced and enhanced. She defines such enhancement as belonging to the "pre-political," which is distinct from "the political" (the work of "the political" is to transform antagonism into agonism and facilitate acceptable decision-making). But the two are also related since a viable democracy implies a viable pre-political space as its necessary premise.

Mouffe's concept of the pre-political is meant to help us think about something as outside of democratic politics, and to be conscious of democracy's precondition. But one can disagree with Mouffe when it comes to the question whether or not the pre-political is limited to certain experimentations or exercises of rights within the social.[9] If Mouffe is correct in thinking that democracy begins with a new, constructed assembly (demos), founded on shared allegiances to certain ethical norms, the human capacity to pay allegiance to such norms,

and in due manner submit to them, begins not with experimentation but with ritualizing life in pre-political social domains. In this article, ritual will be approached as a creative cultural tool with which it is possible to discover, practice and enhance the 'cultivation' of skills, and through skills, establish new norms.

Ritual Theory and the Performative Register

Contemporary memory studies often analyze acts of terrorism as well as acts of remembrance as symbolic, performative communication and approach the indexicality of the performative with reference to J.L. Austin and his linguistic ideas about "performative utterances."[10] Austin's concept means that some words, spoken in a certain context, are able to evoke and materialize its reference: a word can create and make real that which it refers to or implicates. The marriage vow "yes" is a famous example. In his study of Breivik's manifesto, Mattias Gardell (2014) used the concept of the performative to explain in what sense Breivik's "military authority" exists, when writing:

> "Breivik's account of the Knights Templar should not be seen as a description of a preexisting military organization but as a *performative* narrative, a proposition designed *to create that which it refers to*: a vanguard of heroic crusaders paving the way for a nationalist revolution."[11]

Another interpretation of the power of the symbolic, used within a performative register, is the power of repetition. Ritualized practices entail repetition, and in their performance they both form "sensibilities" and enhance "skills."

In a new study on symbolic meanings attached to both terrorist attacks and their response (in Bali and Norway), Anne-Marie Balbi (2019) explores how policy-makers can learn from "local resilience to terrorism" and how collective narratives emerge "organically as part of the engagements by local stakeholders" in connection to sites of terrorist attacks. She argues that governments are not the ideal vehicles for creating counter-narrative messages. Instead, local resilience in the form of new communal "trust" with each other may be produced from the counter-terrorist symbolic, which implies a performative effect. Thus, "trust" may produce new local engagement which again may contribute to social change.[12]

This is a significant finding which confirms that sentiments of trust can develop in local and engaged (repeated) symbolic responses to acts of terrorism. This article will build on this insight but also take a step beyond the 'production of symbolic meanings' and focus on *embodied* ritualized acts that draw the ritualist into more transformative practices. To analyze embodied memorial *acts*, we will briefly introduce ritual studies and also propose a distinction between the ritual (transformative) and the ceremonial (performative).[13]

In the late 1970s, ritual studies scholar Roland A. Delattre proposed that rituals are one of the constitutive activities by which human beings *articulate* themselves. This is different from *expressing* oneself (which draws on a separation between content and form). Articulation brings into being something that otherwise would not be. It is a process by which a living impulse works itself out. Delattre further defines ritual as those carefully rehearsed symbolic motions and gestures which we regularly perform. Through them, we articulate humanity's felt shape and rhythm and reality as we experience it. The main accomplishment of ritual is the "articulation of feeling" (i.e. love) and a "disciplined rehearsal of right attitude" (i.e. solidarity). The ritual process yields social anchorage, orientation and a sense of the real (for a short while), but not lasting feelings of social unity. That is a reason why it will be repeated again and again.[14]

Furthermore, ritual engages us with the rhythms of a broader reality than our own humanity, such as the natural environment we are dependent on. However, according to Delattre, a ritual is not a 'magical power'; it does not achieve "change" or "the new" by itself. Ritual is rather the context for a "coming together" that makes some of the desired achievements possible. Thus, ritual enables and participates in bringing our humanity into being. This generative dimension of ritual refers to what is commonly called its subjunctive mode, its "what if" mode of creativity. It also refers to a ritual's ability to invent or bring new possibilities into being through its inner potentialities and subversive dynamics.[15]

To help scholars distinguish better between two very different forms of appearing together in the social, anthropologist Victor Turner split the category of ritual into "ceremony" (the actual) and "ritual" (the possible).[16] While a ceremony might be about *social* cohesion and about harnessing the *political* powers to rule, a ritual can facilitate the enactment and articulation of collective *aspirations* aimed at transformation and change. The secret tool of ritual is to achieve "change" is its interstitial and processual character, its framing and sequencing processes. Through the ritual process, a person or a group is transported from structure to a liminal space and back to structure – a process which in itself can create major "before" and "after" experiences. Thus, the liminal is essential and critical to this definition of ritual. According to Turner, it is, in fact, only liminality that can constitute (time-limited) zones of creativity, subjunctivity, and communitas.[17]

In line with the performative embodiment practices of a ritual, Judith Butler has argued that when bodies come together "in alliance in the street," the act produces more and other than what mere conversation does. It enables people to create a physical memory *in each other* by acting together, both by being physically close and vulnerable individuals. Based on experiences with the Arabic Spring and several Occupy movements in 2011 and 2012, Butler analyzed cases of non-violent actions, which both assumes and elaborates on living and sustainable social bonds. What typifies these bonds? According to Butler, they express in a general way that *social interdependency characterizes life*. Accepting this, we can "proceed to account for violence as an attack on that interdependency."[18] An act of terrorism is an attack on persons and material things, but just as fundamentally, it is an attack on "bonds." Since sustainable social bonds are a prerequisite both for society to exist and for democracy to express itself, an act of terrorism affects the foundations of normal life.

The Terrorist Attacks and the First Ritualized Responses

Breivik's Symbolic Framing of his Acts and Mission

On Friday, July 22, 2011, Norway experienced its biggest attack since WWII. Seventy-seven people were killed – 8 in Oslo and 69 at Utøya – and more than 150 others were wounded. Anders Behring Breivik saw himself as a leading protagonist in an imagined upcoming war in which Europe will expel all Muslims and be reborn as a patriarchal, mono-cultural, and non-democratic society. Like Hitler, Breivik believes in the existence of an inherent aristocratic and sexist principle in nature, which he prophesizes will manifest itself in its fullest form as patriarchy and authoritarianism in a new, ideal state. He primarily acquired the ideological pieces for his rhetoric from the new counter-jihadists, but also from the much older white power/white nationalism movements in Europe and the USA, which ideologically go back to the early 1900s. Assisted by the internet, Breivik became knowledgeable about their ideology and strategies.[19]

Breivik's vision is to destroy the political and return to the purely social, which in its simplest form should be based on the patriarchal householder and his indigenous, white, ancestral lineage. He framed his act in religious terms and communicated his goals with carefully chosen symbols. Breivik is not a religious person, but as a nationalist he believes religion is necessary to build a new society. Breivik also used ritual language and legitimized his deadly acts as religious self-sacrifice: his willingness to risk dying (while he killed others) for a greater cosmic good was termed "sacrifice" in his manifesto, whereas those Norwegians he intended to kill were not categorized as "sacrifices" but as enemies to be "taken out." Six hours before the bomb blast in Oslo, Breivik posted a ten-minute video of himself on YouTube, urging radical nationalists in Europe and the USA to "embrace martyrdom" and join him in "the war". The video shows him dressed as a Knight Templar, wielding a large sword, using text blurbs to call for a return to the zeal of the early Christian crusades – armies within the medieval political realm called Christendom. In the video, he also poses with a semi-automatic gun and a pistol, which he later would use at Utøya. About ninety minutes before the bomb blast, Breivik distributed a 1500-page manifesto titled "*2083 – A European Declaration of Independence*" via email, with a big red Christian Maltese Cross printed on top. With this text, Breivik sought to explain his mission and called on more 'soldiers' to help destroy the present-day European political system and return to the patriarchal mansions of old.[20]

However, during his trial – beginning in April 2012 – we learned that he also identifies with pre-Christian Odinism. Breivik explained to the judge that he called his pistol "Mjølner," after Tor's magic hammer in Norse mythology, and his gun "Gugne," which is Odin's magical spear of eternal return. These names were carved onto his gun and pistol with Rune letters to enhance their performative (or even "magical") powers. The same holds for the car used to transport "Mjølner" and "Gugne" to Utøya. Breivik named his vehicle "Sleipner," which is the Old Norse label for Tor's wagon as he roars across the sky, throws Mjølner at random, and creates thunderstorms and fears of "Ragnarok" – the final cosmic battle and the end of life as we know it.[21]

For the sake of persuasion and effective recruitment, Breivik portrayed himself strategically as a person from the past, coming forward with the acclaimed values of a pre-modern, medieval Christendom on the one hand and with the imagined norms of a pre-Christian Odinist warrior-cult of Germanic and Scandinavian origin on the other hand. The tactic of embracing two seemingly opposed politico-religious traditions to wage war against modernity and liberal democracy is not unique. It is a typical feature of the new, neo-fascist tactic that has been spreading in Europe and the USA for a long time.[22] However, when Breivik resurfaced briefly in public in 2016 (to accuse the state of Norway of having imposed inhumane prison conditions on him), he had resolved this apparent religious knot by purifying his thinking and taking sides. He is no longer considering himself a Christian but opted for Odinism only.[23]

Ocean of Roses: Ritualized Counter-response to Breivik's Massacre and Ideology

The immediate counter-response to Breivik's massacre was a small condolence ritual that began in the early morning of July 23 but quickly evolved into a strong mobilization of togetherness, solidarity, and protest. Some explained their participation as springing from a need "to come together," others that they felt a need "to act": "I had to do something" (*jeg måtte gjøre noe*).[24] The act of leaving one's home and "coming together" with other Norwegians one did not know in an unprotected space in downtown Oslo included other more minor acts such as picking or buying flowers, writing a personal condolence letter, bringing chocolate or an old teddy bear, or asking the children or the neighbors to join in. All the objects were placed in the streets. Some of them were intended for the dead, some "for my little country" (Norway), while others were more political, attempting to diagnose the situation. From an analytical point of view, this mass of people constituted a preliminary new social, a new "house," in the middle of the public square.[25]

On Monday, July 25, almost half of the capital's population (more than 200,000) attended this silent condolence ritual, and the flowers and other objects they brought grew into what Norwegians called an "ocean of roses." The event was co-initiated by a plurality of public and private actors [26] and attended by the royal family as well as prime-minister Jens Stoltenberg, who – in his speech – proclaimed that "What we see tonight may be the most important "march" that the Norwegian people has made since WWII." He encouraged the crowd to dress up the whole city with their flowers as a protective shield and as an expression of "love".[27] The "ocean of roses" spread out, and its dense materiality flowed into more streets, squares and parks. It touched buildings associated with Parliament, the Norwegian Labor Party, and Labor Union, and – as if a coordinated body in motion – it peaked at Oslo Cathedral.

Picture 1: The Ocean of Roses, Oslo Cathedral

Photo Credit: Odd Andersen NTB Scanpix

Oslo Cathedral opened its doors to the "push of the ocean" in a way that has never been seen before. The streets continued materially into the middle passage of the church, and people circulated in and out for weeks. This building (which ordinarily only holds 'the church') constituted – for a little while and un-ordinarily – a new social, a new "house," helping to symbolize Norwegians as one big "family."

On the town square bordering the Cathedral, the gathering grew. Its density stood in contrast with the quiet atmosphere that reigned. People behaved as if at a funeral or as if in church. They greeted newcomers with a nod, perhaps a smile and whisper, giving each other space, but there was no loud talking. These simple gestures were enough to create a sense of "love" and "solidarity" – befitting a family, a clan, a tribe – experienced and attested to by thousands of people, and the red rose became its symbol. At the same time, these actions were also symbolic expressions of something else. They were, in themselves, *embodiments of peace with unknown others*, expressing great trust and, therefore, also significant vulnerability. People stood side by side with others they did not know and were not afraid of being stabbed within the new boundaries of a new symbolic, that of a common home.[28]

Analysis 1 of the Ocean of Roses: Modes of Rituality

Two modes of rituality – ceremony and ritual – were present in people's response in the streets of Oslo, each leading to the other. The more political aspect of the gathering, the ceremonial, obviously signaled back to Breivik and the world, "we are not your people." It did so through the gesture of forming a large ritually structured "body" that positioned "itself" respectfully in front of significant political and ecclesial institutions. In doing so, it confirmed Norway's democratic constitution and its Christian-humanistic heritage. At the same time, this structured body was transformed into a *communitas* (a liminal form of togetherness) when it turned inward on itself, processing people's fear and grief at having lost fellow humans and their own sense of security. The ritual was, in this case, contemplative, opening up space for a new experience of togetherness, love, and solidarity, primarily characterized by an attentive collectiveness. The silence was privileged; so were material, individual

expression, and movement. In this mode, rituals are not the performances of the "as is" of democratic society or the perfection of business as usual, but enactments of collective aspirations of "what if," for example "what if we were to think (for a little while) of ourselves as living in, or occupying, the same home"?

The July 22 protesters' massive presence at the edge of Oslo Cathedral was part of their bodily (and strategic) statement against Breivik, not a sign of suddenly becoming "more religious."[29] People also gathered in and around the Cathedral because the church formally represents an extension of the family, a well-known space of sanctuary and safety, because the church is where people marry, baptize their children, and say farewell to their dead. In fact, this unusual close interaction between church and people should even be perceived as an invitation from the church "to be received" or "to be held," which refers to primary acts of hospitality, love, and healing expected from kindreds. We do not know precisely how people interpreted the invitation of an open Cathedral, but we know that at least a thousand people every day accepted it and walked in, lit candles, wrote prayers, touched things, looked at the art, listened to music, often joined in the singing, walked out and came back in. Generative ritual is not primarily about belief but about participation in what it creates and being willing to experience it.[30]

Drawing on both Delattre and Butler, we should ask: what was being rehearsed and expressed in the streets of Oslo? A possible answer was: letting the other press her or his living, bodily 'image' onto me, into my personal space, and tolerating their unique existence with me. In this take on ritual, it has become a context and an articulation of common humanity. It confirms sociality and interdependence. To accept the image of the other in my personal space, without pushing away or trying to eradicate it, may be interpreted as a non-violent and peaceful act of love, of neighborly or filial love.

Analysis 2 of the Ocean of Roses: Assessment with Young Adults

Inspired by global social (street) movements and by Judith Butler's work, our research team staged a workshop in October 2014 to learn more about how young adults experienced July 22, 2011. We invited people aged 18-30 to participate in open conversations and discussions with each other and with us in the rented venue DogA in Oslo.[31] For several of these young people, assembling in front of the Cathedral and in the streets of Oslo after July 22 were radically new experiences. Specifically, they were amazed at being part of *creating* something new. Although individuals were free to express what they felt on paper and on other materials placed on the ground, there was no preaching. Nor were there leaders or instructors, although silence was the tacitly obeyed rule. The assembly had no stable borders, ebbing and flowing with the changing number of people present, its flow structured by streets and walls. It was devoid of explicit religious or political symbols except for the red rose, representing love and an ethical passion for justice.

As already narrated, a majority of the Norwegians who responded to the 2013 KORO survey reported that the words "love," "solidarity," "grief," "reflection," "hope," and "peace" best captured their post-22 July experience. [32] The conversations in our workshop did not contradict this, but more emphasis was placed on inclusion, community, safety, contemplation, and space for individual needs.

The experience in the streets seemed to have created in and of itself a form of ritual resourcefulness, both to express resistance and to form a new type of floating community. Discussions revealed a need in young people for contemplation, with opportunities both for silence and for individual processing, while at the same time being part of a social group, a community. When in the streets, they had felt that they "gave" love and solidarity to strangers and that they "received" a sense of belonging in return. For a few days, they experienced a transformed city where it was safe to stand close to strangers. All of them were certain that love and solidarity are the glue of society, although many were aware of fear lurking just beneath the surface. They were afraid of racism and xenophobia, of Breivik's ideology, of what might happen if trust is undermined and fear encouraged, and if people started collaborating on the basis of fear and not community sentiment.

It also became evident that young people lacked venues where they could talk about July 22. They felt that both high school and college/university had failed to deal critically with Breivik's ideology in class. Neither their fear

of extremist ideology nor their experience of showing "love and solidarity" to strangers was ever discussed in connection with democracy or freedom of speech. Nor did teachers reflect with them on the nature of the acts in the streets of Oslo and elsewhere, or what it means to live in a democracy. Educational research had already documented that Breivik's ideology was not sufficiently discussed in Norwegian schools and that more education in "democracy" was needed.[33] But no research had yet documented the need of young adults to be able to understand the *nature of the acts* in the streets of Oslo, which implies knowing how to discern grief and condolence from memory work, and also the social from the political. And finally, there were no established memorial sites to re-visit this experience (after the Ocean of Roses was cleaned up from the streets) – places where they could continue to remember and pay respect.

National Memorials and Local Protests Close to Utøya

After the twin terrorist attacks in Oslo and on the island of Utøya, the Norwegian Government decided to establish two public memorial sites, one in Oslo and the other in the municipality of Hole, close to Utøya. It was decided that the two anticipated memorial projects could not be monumental or authoritarian but had to be contemplative, educational, interactive, and open-to-ceremony. Both memorials should encourage participation, including in rituals. People's response to terrorism in 2011 was interpreted as popular expressions of love, solidarity, and grief. Therefore, the memorial sites should be open to re-enact such rituals or create new ones by having prepared "ceremonial grounds." The memorials should honor those who were killed, the survivors, relief workers, and volunteers, and the names of the dead should be inscribed at the sites.

The Canceled Memorial: Memory Wound

After an open competition, Swedish visual artist and architect Jonas Dahlberg was in February 2015 chosen as art designer for the two national, inter-linked memorials. His model, "Memory Wound," was to cut a permanent wound in nature and thus recreate the physical sensation of brutal loss. By cutting out a large section of a cliff at Sørbråten, a small peninsula across from Utøya, a deep rift would go through the waters and make a barrier. Visitors would walk through a contemplative landscape and suddenly be prevented from reaching the cliff, and the longed-for view of the beloved lost to Breivik's killing spree. On the other side of the cut, inside the Wound, the names of the dead would be carved. People would see but not be able to touch the inscriptions and never reach the "other side." This art experience was expected to force people never to forget and help them reflect and relive how brutally death came to Utøya and Oslo. The rock mass carved out at Utøya would be used to create a submerged amphitheater memorial in Oslo. It would be placed in front of the bombed government building and take the embodied image and form of a democratic assembly.[34]

Nevertheless, would this memorial assembly also have the power to evoke feelings of love and solidarity, or spur engagement? Would it help us rehearse the social precondition to democracy? If so, what are the sentiments, powers or gestures that may help July 22 never to happen again?

Local Protests against National Memorials

Some of Utøya's neighbors, especially those with properties and houses close to Sørbråten, strongly opposed Jonas Dahlberg's memorial design. They protested via the media, arranged public meetings, argued with the state, announced that they might go to court. Their most important argument was that the drastic cut in nature that Dahlberg's artwork entailed would be a non-stop reminder of the killings on Utøya in addition to being an actual 'murder' of living nature. They believed it would be impossible not to register the cliffs' wounds daily and – taken all together – it would be traumatic. The residents presented medical proof that they had already suffered significant health damage due to Breivik's terrorist attacks on Utøya. The dispute continued until June 2017, when the Government officially canceled Jonas Dahlberg's "Memory Wound" as proposed national memorial in Utøya's municipality Hole.

Picture 2: Cancelled Memorial: Memory Wound

Photo Credit: @ Jonas Dahlberg Studio

In February 2017, historian Tor Einar Fagerland, leader of the National Support Group for July 22, Lisbeth Røyneland, and AUF leader, Mani Hussaini, had already written a column for the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* where they strongly recommend that the Government entirely dropped "Memory Wound" and instead chose Utøya quay as a site for a new, national memorial in Hole.[35] Their argument was typical of the new understanding of memorial sites: Memorials have a unique power when they are designed to remember *what* happened *where* it happened. Utøya quay on the landside is such a site. It had an essential function during everything that happened on July 22, 2011, including the rescue work. From here, Breivik took the ferry MS Thorbjørn and pretended to be a policeman before he began to shoot. Young people who swam from Breivik's bullets were rescued and put in safety on the Utøya quay by locals. For campers or members of the AUF Youth League, it would be easy to connect their own experiences with the inherent power of this particular place.

Furthermore, by establishing a national memorial on the mainland, at the embarkation point of the passage to Utøya, the connecting line between the terrorist attacks on Utøya and Oslo would be emphasized. Thus, a "memorial and a learning" axis could be extended from the July 22 center and the Government quarter in Oslo to the Hedge-house learning center and the Clearing memorial site, both at Utøya. By completing all memory constructions related to Utøya with a national memorial at the Utøya quay, former conflicts with locals in Hole might also stop. The fact that the quay is Utøya's property even gave the proposal the flair of a gift. Their recommendations were eventually accepted.

Yet, sixteen individuals tried to prevent the announced decision to go ahead with the construction on the same grounds as before: they would be traumatized by the constant flow of "terror tourism." In the fall of 2020, the residents went to court to present evidence that they already had suffered significant mental health harm as a result of the terrorist attack and that the memorial site would worsen it. However, they did not win the case. On February 8, 2021, the court finally considered the health aspect for these 16 individuals to be subordinate to society's need for a national memorial and the need to complete the memorial process before the 10th anniversary of the terrorist attack on Utøya in July 2021.[36]

In his new book *Ingen mann er en øy* (No Man is an Island) the manager to AUF Utøya, Jørgen Watne Frydnes, provided a detailed narrative and explained what seems to be a rather complicated situation. According to

Frydnes, Utøya has three kinds of neighbors: A large majority is called "the boat people," including those who helped rescue the swimmers from the waters on July 22, 2011. They are supportive of Utøya and recognize the national obligation to build a memorial site in Utøya's vicinity. A small minority finds it hard to live with a blatantly visible memorial of the 'Utøya massacre' close to home. This is the group that in the end went to court to stop it. An even smaller minority of political adversaries has for a long time resented that the Norwegian Labor Party's Youth League (AUF) owns Utøya. They disagree strongly with the Labor Party's version of social-democratic politics and have, according to Frydnes, used the incident of the terrorist attack to plead for the final lockdown of Utøya. This group is also against building any visible memorial in their neighborhood.[37]

This description of three stakeholders is probably a fair sketch of how many other small, local communities in Norway would have divided into 2 or 3 antagonistic groups after a local catastrophe, depending on what kind of national political response they approved of. The tragedy, in this case, is that the conflict is still not resolved. The community lacks "experimental tools" to acknowledge the strife and show a willingness or capacity to start negotiations to find common ground befitting neighbors. The government has not interfered or engaged professionals to help people find an acceptable solution to the conflict. From an analytical perspective, both minority positions may, in this case, be regarded as examples of the anti-political, of denying the existence of "the political" in the midst of their vicinity, insisting instead on "the social/private" as the only legitimate human sphere. To refuse the political is in Norway the same as to refuse to do democracy. As is evident in this case, to refuse the political also implies a refusal to practice and enhance (in the social sphere) one's ethical capacities for democratic decision-making. The result is continued strife, which is the opposite of resilience.

The National Memorial: Utøya Quay

The proposed new memorial to be built at Utøya quay is simply called the "National Memorial Utøya Quay." It was designed on commission by the architectural firm *Manthey Kula*.[38] The architects intend to invite to a commemoration victims and survivors of the dual terror attacks, both in Oslo and on Utøya July 22, 2011, but also of their rescuers. The memorial is in the process of being built on the dock area on the landside of Utøya. This is where the ferry leaves and also where many survivors were taken care of after the attack.

The memorial has been immediately supported by professionals, survivors, and AUF, and therefore also by the government. However, the government has switched the management of the project from KORO (Art in Public Spaces) to Statsbygg (Public Building). This move might mean that the memorial is perceived more as an architectural assignment than an art assignment. The actual memorial site will consist of 77 bronze columns, which represent both the 69 killed on Utøya and the eight who died in the government building in Oslo. Each column alludes to a high-rise, vague contour of a prolonged human body. Together the 77 columns will form a wave motion along the quayside. The wave is coordinated with the sun's movements as the tragedy in Oslo and on Utøya unfolded. Given the size of the place, it will have a smaller potential for collective meditation and reflection from a large assembly, but at the same time, it invites – in a straightforward way – people to sit down between the columns and "lean towards" the memory of a specific "person."

Picture 3: National Memorial Utøya Quay
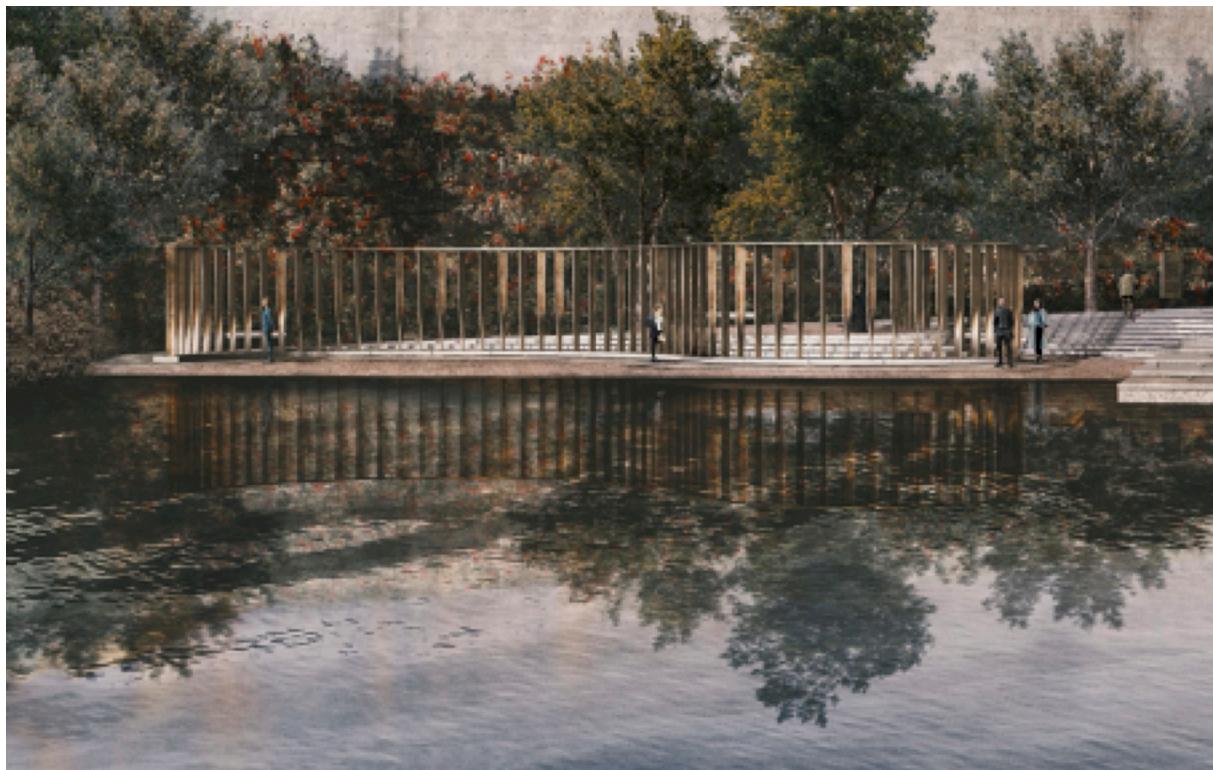
Photo Credit: Statsbygg/ Manthey Kula

Whether the National Memorial Utøya Quay becomes a memorial, as defined in this article, or rather turns out to be more of a monument that individuals look at but do not engage with, nor communicate with, remains to be seen.

Utøya's Memorials: The Clearing and the Hedge House

The Clearing

The firm *3RW Architects* were commissioned to design the private memorial for the dead at Utøya.[39] They started the process by choosing a site where nobody was killed. When working out the plan, they took inspiration from the simplest form of human sociability we know, the circle. They also took knowledge from the many archeological remains of circular campfires found at the campsites of the first migrants to the landmass called Norway thousands of years ago.[40] A small flock could easily be imagined to have gathered around the fire for protection, warmth, and community. Inspired by this pattern, a unifying, heavy steel ring was carved at Utøya and attached between four tall pine trees. It sits 1,5 m above the ground and moves with the wind. The names of the dead are carved into the steel, and the memorial itself is called *The Clearing* (in the woods). Bordering the uneven circle is a garden of bushes, flowers, and herbs. It is meant to attract life from the surrounding environment, including butterflies, not least the species named Mourning Cloak. Life lost is to be remembered with the smell and vision of new life. However, the fact that the names of the dead break the ring makes all the difference. The circle is full but broken by instances of human loss.

According to the architects, their design tries to address the duality of Utøya as both a unique natural site and the scene of a horrific crime. In this duality, nature represents hope. The memorial clears a space in nature to establish community and give shelter and protection from the elements, and from any possible traces of Breivik's killing spree – which still may be visible in other areas of the island. It is also meant to highlight the presumed fact that nature has no memory of Breivik's killing and is already healing from the scars and wounds of July 22, 2011. When a big tree in the forest dies, we know an organic process named a clearing begins. The memorial copies the form of this cleared spot, supposedly free from violence and free from history.

The "Memorial Committee" at Utøya that chose this design regards it to be both sophisticated and unpretentious: "No matter what social, cultural or religious affiliation, you can feel welcome here."[41] Thus, the memorial is intended to be both non-religious and trans-religious. It was constructed with voluntary work from survivors, parents, siblings and friends and was dedicated on July 22, 2015. Many families who had lost their children to Breivik's massacre were present at the time of the opening, primarily adults. All carried flowers. The prime minister said a few words. Then silence. No music, no talking, no singing. People strolled around the steel ring. Some stuck flowers into the carved-out name in the ring. Some put down flowers on the ground, under the name of their lost child, sibling, or friend. The flowers formed a new ring under the metal ring. The slope above the ring is occupied by benches and seats. It invites mourners to rest in contemplation with memories and views of the sea, the trees and flowers, and the memorial site itself. The same ritualized patterns that unfolded in the streets of Oslo are repeated here: silence, whispering, kindness, togetherness, roses, small movements, circles, contemplation, crying.

Utøya is a campsite on a small island and is in many ways already a liminal space. However, within it, different modes of rituality have been put in place. From the 3RW architects' point of view, it was essential to build the memorial in a place where nobody was killed and which materially and symbolically could harvest all the riches of nature for its design. However, it is just as important to be aware that the old gathering site for political speech and discussion, concerts, and rallies, "Bakken," is only a three-minute walk from the "Clearing." These two places are connected by a border of trees and flowers that demarcate two different modes of rituality: on the one hand, the political, ceremonial meeting grounds for a political assembly, that can instantly shift into a loud, singing crowd that creates a deep sense of bonding and social community; and on the other, a personal, spiritual memorial site inviting individual and collective commemoration, and open to ritual.

It was crucial for AUF to 'reclaim' Utøya as a living campsite for political meetings and social gatherings, and not let terrorism win. However, as pointed out already, this was perceived as controversial, including by some survivors and mourners.[42] The 3RW architects nevertheless captured this 'reclaiming.' The presence of a memorial site for young political activists killed by a terrorist is a constant reminder that democracy is not a given but must be defended and its supportive social institutions need to be strengthened. The two sites, the one linked with the political, the other with the social, are complementary.[43] However, it is important not to confuse them. It is ritual, as a time-limited tool of the social, which may support democratic politics, not the other way around. Rituals rehearse our common humanity while politics contains our wildest disagreements but offers civilized tools to come to terms, despite conflicts.

Picture 4: The Clearing Memorial at Utøya

Photo Credit: 3RW Architects

Utøya Learning Center: the Hedgehouse

The Hedge-house is designed by *Blakstad Haffner Architects* and is the project on Utøya that has received most attention.[44] AUF Utøya, in collaboration with survivors, relatives, young people, activists and professionals, had to decide what to do with the old café building where 13 young people were killed and many injured.

In the process of accepting this immense task, the young leaders and managers of AUF Utøya focused on connecting with a certain group of professionals and advisers, such as the earlier mentioned historian Tor Einar Fagerland. Supported by his and other people's advice, they travelled the country and conducted in-depth conversations with all survivors and all families that had lost a child to Breivik's massacre. Furthermore, Fagerland advised AUF not only to involve everyone affected by the terrorist killings at Utøya but also to contact the professionals who developed the memorial site Ground Zero after September 11, 2001, in New York.[45]

The main memorial design at Ground Zero consists of a structure of two deep, square waterfalls, placed in the footprints of each of the twin towers. Water constantly flows downwards, along the inner walls, into an abyss. The water begins its flow just under the names of all those killed. Names are grouped according to who sat or died close to each other physically, inside the building and on the planes, or who worked together in rescue teams on the ground and died while saving others. Visitors can see and touch the name inscriptions with their hands and leave flowers and other greetings. But the feeling of a never-ending death as the waters keep falling down into the abyss is palpable. The site also lacks a place, or practices, to spur new engagement.

A park is planted around the memorial, with oak trees blooming in the spring. They indicate new life across all forms of death and break some of the "darkness" of the abysses associated with the memorial itself. In addition, a Museum is established midway between the two abysses. It includes a learning center that respectfully portrays all the dead and which may educate the entire population on what happened on 9/11. It has also been essential to preserve some damaged objects – parts from distorted buildings or vehicles – and include these as tactile tracks in the museum. The Ground Zero Memorial used ten years to materialize and was dedicated on September 11, 2011.[46]

The first Director of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum in New York, Alice Greenwald, carefully advised AUF Utøya

not to tear down all traces of death, to leave something for posterity, but perhaps frame it in a new way. She also helped them find a way to balance personal losses with national grief. These challenges were quite similar in New York after 9/11 and in Norway after 22/07. Thus, *The 22nd July 2011 Learning Center*, first located in the destroyed government building in Oslo, is inspired by the museum at Ground Zero. The exhibition in the Oslo Learning Center was dedicated on July 22, 2015.[47]

Utøya's old cafe building has been transformed by being cropped and then incorporated into a new framing/building, designed by architect Erlend Blakstad Haffner. He found inspiration in old Norwegian building customs and a certain notion of "hegn" (hedge) in Herman Wildenvey's poem "A Summer Day". Haffner developed the idea of a hedged house that could "hang" and "surround" a part of the cafe building to protect and preserve it. He suggested that 69 inner, thick wooden pillars could support the roof and represent those killed at Utøya. The thinner, free-standing wooden pillars placed around the buildings outside to shield it would represent the 495 who survived.

The design is inspired by the old Norwegian longhouse associated with the Viking era, where free-standing earth-dug pillars carried the house's roof, which was separate from the pillars used to carry the walls. According to Heffner, we can see the same principle in the first stave churches, where the space between the two rows of pillars would be known as the "cool passage." The same effect has been achieved at Utøya.[48] Together, both the dead and the survivors symbolically hedge off and protect a new generation of young people who come to Utøya to learn about democracy and social-democratic politics and who meet for history lessons or democracy seminars in the learning center, the Hedge House. The building has become so successful that in 2016 it was announced by the British newspaper *The Guardian* as one of the world's ten most significant buildings that year.

Concluding Remarks: Implications for Memory Work

How should a democratic nation commemorate a terrorist attack? What is the primary purpose – to honor the individuals who died or defend democratic ideals and the ways of life of the democratic citizens attacked and killed? Should we also remember the bereaved and the love and care given to them by co-citizens?

This article has discussed these questions by presenting how the Norwegian Government and the AUF Youth League at Utøya recognized their obligation to remember the effects of the July 22 massacre and called on renowned artists and architects to design worthy memorial sites. It has discussed the conceptual implications of the different memorial designs, and to a certain extent compared the Norwegian process to New York's Ground Zero. It has shown that the ritualized discourse of "love and grief" has prevailed over the discourse of "defending democracy" as expressive of public preference in our national memorial practices and debates. However, AUF Utøya has managed to balance "remembering the beloved dead" with "rehearsing democratic attitudes" in its own memorial work. They have recognized and separated the two practices visually and spatially by giving each of them hegemony at one particular memorial site: "love" at the Clearing, "democracy" at the Hedge-house, thus linking them together. This is a didactic ploy copied from experiences made at Ground Zero. It works, and it would be a good idea for the Norwegian Government to also copy this experience when finalizing its plans for the Governmental quarter in Oslo. Learning from Utøya, it should prepare to consciously split the place-based memorialization of the beloved dead from debating what a robust democracy is, why democracy was attacked by Breivik, and why young people presently are being recruited to groups aimed at returning society to premodern lifeforms by acts of violence. Sequencing memory politics, the beloved dead must come first, although we as a collective only remember them once every year. Democracy must be practiced daily, although we know it does not exist without a deep and egalitarian respect for every single individual life and what we hold to be inborn human rights.

Picture 5: The Hedge House

Photo Credit: Are Carlsen

When the Norwegians answered KORO's survey in 2013, they were crystal clear that they hoped future memorials would be able to evoke both the relational sentiments we name "love," "solidarity," "grief," "reflection," "hope," and "peace," and the memory of why exactly these sentiments are connected to so many people's post-July 22 experience. Furthermore, since the concept of "memorial" includes an intention "to facilitate" enactment between the human visitor and the memorial itself, the visitor has a standing invitation to re-enter the historical moment of the event, or of another event, and dwell on anything that comes to mind or touches the heart. Although memory to one generation is history to the next, to re-enter the memory of time and its entanglement with the self is a way forward to actually remember Breivik's attack and the realities of death that took the life of specific, named persons. Thus, we may assume that remembering July 22, 2011 by visiting a memorial, most likely will (and should) *begin* as a remembrance of the facts of life and death of real people, not the facts of democracy.[49]

Memorial work is hard work. The Norwegian Government should therefore begin to remind itself and its people why public memorials after July 22, 2011, must be built, visited and engaged – collectively. To strengthen and protect the short history of democracy in our country, we must be reminded to never forget Breivik's revolting and hideous acts. We must be reminded that all Norwegians co-constitute "the democratic citizens" together with those who were killed. We must also be reminded to continue to honor the dead, care for survivors and defend the next generation by improving democracy now. To be reminded is to remember. More democracy and more humanity, as an intentional unifying practice, have not been called back to the streets of Oslo since 2011.[50]

As argued in this article, it is useful to draw on the analytical and spatial distinction between the social (private) and the political (public) to understand memorial work – first as stated by Hannah Arendt and later refined by Chantal Mouffe. It helps us grasp what is uniquely new about democracy, and hence what Breivik attacked. It also clarifies how an instant community of feeling and care can form and last in public space, enabled through the tools of social ritual, a practice associated with the domains of family, neighborhood, home. The social can also co-exist with the political rituals of non-violent protest, or with debate. This is supported by Mouffe's bending of the concept of the political, away from denoting a physical space to denoting a pop-up conflictual discourse, related to major issues or to contestations of norms and customs. Thus, the political may surface

anywhere. Therefore, we must not conflate politics with morality but accept the dimension of antagonism as "ineradicable in politics."[51] On the other hand, if we are willing to practice and enhance our ethical sensibilities in pre-political fields, Mouffe is certain that democratic cultures and debates can be improved and become more robust. As indicated in this article, the architects who designed the "Clearing" probably aimed at inducing a certain dormant memory in the mourners: a sense of a pre-existing interrelatedness, larger than death. Thus, to enter a specific memorial space might in fact also be an invitation to rehearse a specific ethical sensibility, productive to democracy.

Implied in Mouffe's argument is of course a deep critique of hate speech as not-belonging to either agonistic democracy nor to democratic "free-speech" since it is a performative practice aimed at killing trust, destabilize social bonds, and destroy the spirit and confidence to dare to speak up for the weak and do the right thing.

This article has approached ritual as a creative cultural tool with which it is possible both to discover, practice and enhance a certain 'cultivation' of social skills, and through skills, norms. Egalitarian ritual plays an important role in cultivating democratic dispositions. Ritual is not an organization but a *tool* with which people gather into a particular ritualized mode, for a particular reason and for a limited time. Neither is ritual democratic per se. It becomes part of democratic culture through its particular enactment in place, through how it is constructed and done.

However, part of the skill of performing ritual in a democratic society is to make sure that ritual ends and to be aware of this fact. Otherwise, ritual can become a totalitarian way of life and impose utopian or nativist norms onto politics, or become a battlefield for never-resting antagonistic forces. This demand for ritual closure necessarily means that an experience of "togetherness" ends when ritual ends. For an experience to take hold and be "crafted" onto the body as sentiment, disposition, knowledge or memory, ritual must be repeated again and again. Thus, ritual *in this take* is a primary cultivating tool of "bodies in alliance" in a plurality of places. If successful, it imprints a physical memory of close and peaceful inter-action and may pull the participating individual to deeply accept another person's humanity and rights, as well as being aware of their joint social interdependence.

The ritual process may be prescribed or improvised. It nevertheless takes people into places and processes where they may be forced to see the other, often including those who do not belong to their own in-group. Ritual intends to build or confirm social community and, therefore, society. That is why it also needs to end. For if our social life becomes a single ritual event, society may turn into a version of Breivik's authoritarian dream.

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Notes

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[2] Cf. *Artistic Plan for Memorials after July 22* (KORO)'s 2013 Quest Back Survey and the word cloud that was figuring the dimensions of people's associations with July 22, p 47. URL: https://koro.no/content/uploads/2015/12/Minnesteder-Kunstplan.pdf.

[3] Stoltenberg's Speech July 24, 2011. URL:https://www.regjeringen.no/no/dokumentarkiv/stoltenberg-ii/smk/taler-og-artikler/2011/tale-ved-statsminister-jens-stoltenberg-/id651789/.

[4] Cf. Fagerland, Tor Einar (2013), «22 juli som minnested: ny bruk av offentlig rom». *Kunstplan for minnesteder etter 22. juli*, published by KORO 11.06.2013; Fagerland, Tor Einar (2016) «Følgeforskning og minneprosesser på Utøya 2013–2014», *De berørte etter 22 juli. Forskningsetiske perspektiver*, (Ed.) Vidar Enerbakk et al., Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, pp. 85-106; Linenthal, Edward T. (2001), *The Unfinished Bombing. Oklahoma City in American Memory,* New York: Oxford University Press; Young, James E. (1993), *The Texture of Memory – Holocaust Memorial and Meaning*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press. Other important scholarship in the field that also has influenced the Norwegian memorial work includes Margry, Peter Jan & Christina Sanchez-Carretero (2011), *Grassroot Memorials. The Politics of Memorializing Tragic Deaths,* New York: Berghahn Books; Santino, Jack (2004), Performative Commemoratives, the Personal, and the Public: Spontaneous Shrines, Emergent Ritual, and the Field of Folklore, *The Journal of American Folklore,* 117 (266), pp. 363-372.

[5] Young, James E. (1992), "The Counter-Monument. Memory against Itself in Germany Today," *Critical Inquiry,* Vol. 18, No. 2. (Winter, 1992), pp. 267-296.

[6] Rothberg, Michael (2009), *Multidirectional Memory. Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization,* Stanford: Stanford University Press; URL: https://doi.org/10.1515/978080478333.

[7] Arendt, Hannah (1998) [1958]. *The Human Condition*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. Arendt's thesis is supported by classical sociology. Cf. Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. (1945), Religion and Society, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 75, No 1-2, pp.33-43; Nisbet, Robert A. (1952), "Conservatism and Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, Sep, 1952, Vol. 58, No. 2, pp. 167- 175; URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2772188; Durkheim, Emil 2008 [1912], *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, New York: Dover

[8] Mouffe, Chantal (2002), "Which Public Sphere for a Democratic Society?" *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, (1), June 2002, pp. 55-65; Mouffe, Chantal (2005), *On the Political*, London: Routledge.

[9] Mouffe (2002), p. 64

[10] Cf. Juergensmeyer, Mark (2017). *Terror in the Mind of God. The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press; De Graaf, Beatrice (2011). *Evaluating Counterterrorism Performance. A Comparative Study*, London: Routledge; J. L. Austin (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[11] Gardell, Mattias (2014). "Crusader Dreams: Oslo 22/7, Islamophobia, and the Quest for Monocultural Europe," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 26:129-155, p. 147. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2014.849930.

[12] Balbi, Anne-Marie (2019) *Constructing Counter-Narratives to Terrorism: A Comparative Analysis of Collective Resistance in the Aftermath of Terror Attacks in Bali and Norway*, Ph.D. Thesis, Curtin University. Australia, May 2019, https://espace.curtin.edu.au/handle/20.500.11937/78145.

[13] Cf. Turner, Victor (1974) *Dramas, Fields and Metaphors. Symbolic Action in Human Society,* Ithaca: Cornell University Press; Schechner, Richard (1988) *Performance Theory*, London: Routledge.

[14] Delattre, Ronald A. (1978), "Ritual Resourcefulness and Cultural Pluralism." *Soundings: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Vol. 61, No 3 (Fall 1978), pp. 281-301.

[15] Cf. Handelman, Don (2005), "Epilogue. Toing and Froing the Social," *Ritual in Its Own Right: Exploring the Dynamics of Transformation*, (Eds.) Don Handelman and Galina Lindquist, Oxford: Berghahn Books, pp. 213-222; Grimes, Ronald L. (2020). "Improvising Ritual," in: *Reassembling Democracy*, (Eds.) Graham Harvey, Michael Houseman, Sarah Pike, Jone Salomonsen, London: Bloomington, pp.17-36.

[16] Turner, Victor (1979). "Frame, Flow, and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol 6. No 4 (Dec. 1979), pp. 465-499.

[17] Turner (1979), p. 469.

[18] Butler, Judith (2020) *The Force of Non-Violence. An Ethico-Political Bind*, London: Verso, p 16. See also Butler, Judith

(2015). *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

[19] Cf. Berntzen, Lars Erik & Sveinung Sandberg (2014). "The Collective Nature of Lone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the Anti-Islamic Social Movement," *Terrorism and Politics Violence*, Vol 26, 2014-Issue 5, pp 759-779; URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2013.767245; Ravndal, Jacob Aasland (2012). "A Post-Trial Profile of Anders Behring Breivik," *CTC Sentinel*, Vol 5, Issue 104, pp16-19; URL: https://ctc.usma.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/10/CTCSentinel-Vol5Iss104.pdf; Gardell, Mattias (2003). *Gods of the Blood: The Pagan Revival and White Separatism*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

[20] Breivik, Anders Behring (2011). *2083 – A European Declaration of Independence*, published on the internet on 22 July 2011. US White supremacist and ultranationalist Greg Johnsen discovered and endorsed Breivik during his trial. Cf. Johnson's representation of his own extreme/radical right philosophy in Greg Johnson. *The New Right vs. Old Right & Other Essays*. San Francisco: Counter Currents publishing, 2013. Salomonsen offers an analysis of Johnson's ideology in Salomonsen, Jone (2021). "Towards a new 1933? The Fascist Labor of the Extreme and the Radical Right," *Dialog. A Journal of Theology*, 2021, pp 1-8; URL: https://doi.org/10.1111/dial.12652.

[21] For more on Breivik's Christian-Pagan rhetoric, cf. Salomonsen, Jone (2015). "Graced Life After All? Terrorism and Theology on July 22, 2011." *Dialog. A Journal of Theology*, Vol 54, Issue 3, Sept 2015, pp 249–259; URL: https://doi.org/10.1111/dial.12186; and, Salomonsen, Jone (2017). "Det som Gud skapte mest likt sitt bilde. Totalitær livstolkning og teologisk respons," *Skapelsesnåde. Festskrift til Svein Aage Christoffersen,* (Eds.) Stine Holte, Roger Jensen og Marius Timmann Mjaaland, Oslo: Novus Forlag, pp.185-212.

[22] Cf. Wilkinson, Paul (1981), *The New Fascists.* London: Grant McIntyre University Press.

[23] Breivik's utterances to journalists during his case against the Norwegian state, V.G. March 16, 2016, which he lost. URL: http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/anders-behring-breivik-soeksmaalet/breivik-hevder-han-er-gaatt-fra-vold-til-politisk-aktivisme/a/23639646/.

[24] Salomonsen, Jone (2020), "The Ritual Powers of the Weak. Democracy and Public Responses to the July 22, 2011, Terrorist Attacks on Norway"; in: *Reassembling Democracy*, Graham Harvey, Michael Houseman, Sarah Pike, Jone Salomonsen (Eds.), London: Bloomington, pp.143-161; DOI 10.5040/9781350123045.ch-008.

[25] Cf. Døving, Cora Alexa (2018). "Homeland ritualized: an analysis of written messages placed at temporary memorials after the terrorist attacks on July 22, 2011 in Norway," *Mortality. Promoting the Interdisciplinary Study of Death and Dying,* Volume 23 (3), pp. 231-246; Høeg, Ida Marie (2015). "Silent actions – emotion and mass mourning rituals after the terrorist attacks in Norway on July 22, 2011," *Mortality. Promoting the Interdisciplinary Study of Death and Dying,* Volume 20 (3), pp. 197-214.

[26] The language of love was initiated on Twitter on the night of July 23 by an 18 years old girl named Hanne Gannestad, who tweeted, "When a man can cause so much pain – think how much love we can create together (Når en mann kan forårsake så mye ondt – tenk hvor mye kjærlighet vi kan skape sammen)." When a young AUF politician and survivor from Utøya, Stine Renate Håheim, was interviewed by CNN some hours later, and they asked her: «How do you tell the youth of Norway that revenge is not an option?» she answered with Gannestad's words. The saying went viral and spread rapidly, and not just in Norway. Cf. Kverndokk, Kyrre (2017) Sosiale medier og kjærlighetsfortellingen om 22. juli; URL: https://22julisenteret.no/ressurs/sosiale-medier-og-kjaerlighetsfortellingen-om-22-juli.

[27] Cf. Jens Stoltenberg July 25, 2011, who also said: "Det vi ser i kveld kan være den største og den viktigste marsjen det norske folk har lagt ut på siden den 2. Verdenskrig"; URL: https://www.arbeiderpartiet.no/om/historien-om-arbeiderpartiet/22-juli/jens-stoltenbergs-tale-pa-minnemarkeringen-25-juli-2011/ .

[28] People used plural terms to describe the gatherings in the streets of Oslo. They were called *Rosehav (Ocean of Roses)*, *Blomsterhav (Ocean of Flowers)*, and *Rosetog (Rose March)*. The Norwegian *Artistic Plan for Memorials after July 22* ("Kunstplan for Minnesteder etter 22 juli" (KORO) used *Blomsterhav* for the experience in Oslo, URL: https://koro.no/content/uploads/2015/12/Minnesteder-Kunstplan.pdf. Tellingly, on September 28, 2019, a national memorial named *Iron Roses Memorial* was unveiled outside Oslo Cathedral. URL: https://mdh.no/project/the-rose-monument/.

[29] As of 2017, almost 71% of the population is affiliated with the majority church, the Church of Norway, even though less than 4 % attended Sunday worship weekly. In 88% of all registered funerals, the bereaved chose ceremonies under the auspices of the Church of Norway, Cf. Ida Marie Høeg (2020). "The flower actions: Interreligious funerals after the Utøya Massacre"; in: *Reassembling Democracy*, Graham Harvey, Michael Houseman, Sarah Pike, Jone Salomonsen (Eds..) London: Bloomington, p.165.

[30] Seligman, A. B. (2009), "Ritual, the Self, and Sincerity," *Social Research, 76 (4). The Religious-Secular Divide: The US Case* (Winter 2009) concludes that generative rituals are not focused on belief and are inherently non-discursive. Ritual does, of course, create its world of meaning, but whatever its semantic contents turn out to be, it is still far secondary to its subjunctive creation, p.1077.

[31] We offered a 3-hour multi-workshop 3 days in a row. Altogether thirty people participated in the conversations. A majority

were female college students. Some of them were recruited through the University of Oslo and also assisted us in setting up the event. The event was hosted by the REDO project and took place in Oslo in October 2014. It was organized by Ida Marie Høeg, Cora Alexa Døving, Mari Lilleslåtten and the author of this article.

[32] Cf. Koro's 2013 Quest Back Survey and the word cloud that figured the dimensions of people's associations with July 22; URL: https://koro.no/content/uploads/2015/12/Minnesteder-Kunstplan.pdf

[33] Cf. Anker, Trine and Marie von der Lippe (2015), Når terror ties i hjel: en diskusjon om 22. juli og demokratisk medborgerskap i skolen. *Norsk pedagogisk tidsskrift,*Vol 99.(2) pp. 85-96. The main results of Anker & Lippe's research in Norwegian schools were already known at this point. Regarding the importance of "education in democracy" beyond learning *about* it, see also Biesta, Gert J. J. (2006) *Education and the Democratic Person. Beyond Learning. Democratic Education for a Human Future*, Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, pp.117-145;

[34] Cf. Hjort, Ingeborg (2019), "Memory Wound: Minnested mellom virkelighet og virtualitet," *Norsk Medietidsskrift* 26 (03), pp. 1-19.

[35] February 8, 2017; URL: https://www.nrk.no/kultur/foreslar-nytt-sted-for-22.-juli-minnesmerke-1.13368614.

[36] The neighbors lost the lawsuit about Utøyakaia, 8 February 2021; URL: https://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/i/Kyjy35/naboene-tapte-soeksmaal-om-utoeyakaia; National Memorial at Utøyakaia, Statsbygg & Manthey Kula Architects (2021); URL: https://www.statsbygg.no/prosjekter-og-eiendommer/utoyakaia and https://www.mantheykula.no/national-memorial-at-utyakaia.

[37] Frydnes, Jørgen Watne (2021). *Ingen mann er en øy*, Oslo: Res Publica, p. 157. For an account of the contemporary radical right in Norwegian social media, cf. Haanshuus, Birgitte P. & Anders Ravik Jupskås (2017) "Høyreklikk! En analyse av ytre høyre på sosiale medier i Norge," *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 2017, Vol.58 (2), p.145-165. For an account of how a re-articulation of Norwegian (ethno-) nationalism started to be visible on social media pre-Breivik, from about the early 2000s onwards, see Gullestad, Marianne (2006). "Imagined Kinship. The Role of Descent in the Re-articulation of Norwegian Ethno-nationalism"; in: *Neo-Nationalism in Europe and Beyond. Perspectives from Social Anthropology,* Andre Gingrich & Marcus Banks (Eds.) . Oxford: Berghahn, pp. 69-91. Due to the absence of significant critical public debates about Breivik's ideas and in light of a new growth in support of (ethno-) nationalist ideas, AUF has recently suggested that they require a new July 22 Committee to report on the situation and to examine why the government has not helped raise a public debate about the danger of Breivik's ideology. Cf. Rønning, Mats (2021) "AUF vil ha ny 22. Juli kommisjon," *NRK* 2 April 2021; URL: https://www.nrk.no/norge/auf-vil-ha-ny-22.-juli-kommisjon-1.15431159

[38] Cf. URL: https://www.mantheykula.no/projects/nationalmemorialutoykaia. The long-term plan is to also build a memorial in the Governmental quarter. So far, a very successful 22 July 2011 Learning Center opened in 2015, and a temporary 22 July memorial was built in 2018. Cf. URL: https://www.regjeringen.no/no/aktuelt/midlertidig-minnested-i-regjeringskvartalet-apnet/id2607490/

[39] The 3RW Architects; URL: https://www.archdaily.com/770709/the-clearing-memorial-at-utoya-3rw-arkitekter. The architects cooperated with ecologist Christian Mong and researcher Joseph Chipperfield at Norwegian Institute for Nature Research (NINA) to plan and develop the memorial site.

[40] Interview with 3RW architect Sixten Rahlff, January 21, 2021.

[41] Cf. Vegard Grøslie Wennesland; URL: https://archinect.com/news/article/132497273/the-clearing-memorial-to-norway-s-july-22-attacks-opens-on-the-tragedy-s-fourth-anniversary. Cf. also this link to the memorial: URL: http://www.utoya.no/minnested.

[42] Frydnes 2021, pp. 59-114, narrates the conflicting views that also emerged among the bereaved: reclaim and restore Utøya to new life, or let it become an abandoned place, a museum over the destructions effectuated by the biggest violent attack on Norway since WWII.

[43] Cf. also Anne-Marie Balbi (2019) and her detailed account of the Norwegian memorials after July 22, 2011, in particular the communicative resources at Utøya, and how the result is rebuilt trust and renewed community, and therefore resilience.

[44] URL: https://www.b-h-a.no/

[45] The terrorist attacks on the U.S. in 2001 were staged by 19 men who hijacked 4 planes and used them as weapons against American targets. Two planes crashed into the twin towers that made up the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan. The third plane crashed into the Pentagon building, and the fourth crashed in the countryside of Pennsylvania before reaching its destination (probably the Congress in Washington DC). The total number of dead was close to 3,000, with 2606 of them being killed in New York. The committee responsible for developing a memorial at Ground Zero spent several years understanding what the city, the country, and the bereaved needed and what it was possible to achieve on the site.

[46] Sturken, Marita (2002), Memorializing Absence, *Understanding September 11;* in*:* Craig Calhoun, Paul Price, Ashley Timmer

(Eds.). New York: W.W. Norton, pp. 374-384; Miller, Eric D. (2011), "Finding Meaning at Ground Zero for Future Generations: Some Reflections a Decade after 9/11," *International Social Science Review*, Vol. 86, nos. 3 & 4, pp. 113-133. The pavilion above the underground museum at Ground Zero has been designed by the Norwegian architectural firm Snøhetta.

[47] Decisions made at Utøya were informed by experiences both from the Oklahoma City Memorial (4/25, 1995) as well as from New York's Ground Zero (9/11, 2001). Cf. also Vogel, Wendy (2016). "The Story of Norway's Multiple July 22 Memorials," *Hyper-allergic,* published November 21, 2016. URL: https://hyperallergic.com/339320/the-story-of-norways-multiple-july-22-memorials/.

[48] Interview with architect Erlend Blakstad Haffner, January 21, 2021.

[49] Talsnes, Anne (2018), "Det som er minner for en generasjon er historie for den neste." URL: https://22julisenteret.no/nyhetsarkiv/det-som-er-minner-for-en-generasjon-er-historie-for-den-neste, published Sept 7, 2018.

[50] Talsnes, Anne (2020) "Minnesteder og debatt, 22. juli senteret," published June 2020; URL: https://nettsteder.regjeringen.no/22juli/files/2020/07/Minnesteder-og-debatt.pdf; Wiggen, Mette (2018), Norway has Failed to Combat a Climate of Hate, *Centre for the Analysis Of Radical Right,* published August 2, 2018; URL: https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/2018/08/02/norway-has-failed-to-combat-a-climate-of-hate.

[51] Mouffe (2002), p. 59.

Boundaries of Legitimate Debate: Right-wing Extremism in Norwegian News Media in the Decade after the July 22, 2011 Attacks

by Anna Grøndahl Larsen

Abstract

How to deal with voices deemed deviant and extremist is a recurring topic of debate, including questions such as whether deviant actors and ideas should be silenced or included in public debates. As with terrorist attacks in other parts of the world, the attacks in Norway on July 22, 2011 ignited discussions on the limits of legitimate debate, including the role of mainstream politicians and news media in setting the boundaries for what is appropriate in public debates. This article explores news debates on right-wing extremism in the decade after the attack, shedding light on how boundaries between legitimacy and deviance were drawn and negotiated. Analyzing articles on right-wing extremism in two national news outlets in Norway (NRK and VG) between 2013 and 2019, the author explores who got to speak and define the debate, to what extent actors deemed extremist were granted a voice, and how boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate political actors were negotiated. First, the analyses show that although the coverage was dominated by elites, actors deemed extremist were relatively prominent sources. Second, political and cultural elites engaged in continuous negotiations over the boundaries of legitimate and appropriate debate. However, third and relatedly, the analysis illustrates that debates concerning possible links between the views of legitimate elite actors—such as politicians in parliament—and deviant extremists were challenging to initiate.

Keywords: Boundary-work, deviant voices, extremism, journalism, mainstream, media, news access, news sources, terrorism, violent extremism

Introduction

How to deal with voices deemed deviant and extremist is repeatedly debated across the globe, often in terms of whether deviant actors and ideas should be silenced or included in public debate. While such questions are not new, in recent years, persistent calls for the silencing of a range of different voices has given rise to notions such as "cancel culture" and "deplatforming". When related to violent extremism in particular, terrorist attacks tend to spark debates concerning how the news media should report on perpetrators and their views, with opinions ranging from inclusion of extremist voices to a news black-out. The present article addresses such issues, focusing on boundary drawings and negotiations related to right-wing extremism in Norwegian news media in the decade after the 2011 attacks.

As with attacks in other parts of the world, the July 22, 2011 attacks in Norway [1] ignited discussions on the limits of legitimate debate, including the role of mainstream politicians and news media in setting the boundaries of permissible public debate. In the aftermath of the attacks, mainstream media definitions of what constituted legitimate and deviant actors were challenged. The attacks fueled debates on the question of how journalism and news media should deal with "deviant" ideas and actors, and where the boundaries of legitimate debate should be drawn. This included debates that specifically focused on the inclusion of deviant voices. Here, some opinion leaders argued that extremist voices should be included to a larger extent in the news, in order to prevent online echo chambers and to facilitate public debate and denunciation of extremist views (the so-called "pressure cooker thesis"). Others underlined the need for restrictive editorial practices when it comes to the inclusion of voices deemed extremist, arguing that inclusion could serve to spread, amplify and legitimize extreme views.[2] In line with the most prominent argument among media elites, pointing out that the boundaries of inclusion should be broadened, mainstream news debates were opened up to previously largely silenced far-right actors in the months after the attacks.[3] Simultaneously, however, and similar to the response to attacks elsewhere [4], established news media engaged in processes of solidarity and

consolation, serving as guardians of appropriate discourse, excluding voices that were perceived as offensive [5], and implementing stricter control of online debates.[6] In terms of the political response, immediately after the attacks, the Norwegian prime minister defined these as an attack on Norwegian society, community and democracy. In short, a key narrative was established, where the common "we" was attacked and people needed to stand up against the terrorist [7] – a narrative that was largely echoed in established news media. Although there were subsequently attempts to make a more structural explanation of the attacks, including attention to anti-Muslim sentiment and rhetoric online [8], the key narrative largely remained that Norwegian society and democracy had been attacked by a terrorist. The consensus related to societal unity against the terrorist meant that in the months following the attacks, party politics were largely absent from the public debate when it came to the dual attack and its perpetrator [9].

This article focuses on how the news debate evolved over time. Extending extant insights into boundary negotiations in the aftermath of crisis, the article explores characteristics of boundary drawings and boundary negotiations in established news media after the more immediate focus on societal and judicial responses to the attacks had declined. More specifically, analyzing articles on right-wing extremism in two national news outlets in Norway (*Norsk rikskringkasting - NRK* and *Verdens Gang - VG*) between 2013 and 2019, the article sheds light on:

i) who got to speak and define the debate,

ii) to what extent actors deemed extremist were granted a voice, and

iii) how boundaries between legitimate and illegitimate political actors and views were negotiated and drawn.

As such, the article contributes insights into how a right-wing extremist attack, and the dominant narrative of an attack, may over time have a bearing on the public debate and on newsroom practices of inclusion. Moreover, the analysis seeks to gain insights into how boundaries between legitimacy and deviance are drawn and which actors are the primary definers when key democratic principles are at stake.

Background: Immigration and Criticism of Immigration in Norway

Immigration has for the past decades received extensive attention in Norwegian news media, with emphasis on questions such as who should be admitted, how immigrants should be integrated into society, and what the effect of immigration on society are.[10] Research on immigration critics, in Norway and in other countries, have found that while immigration critics are not silenced, they have tended to be presented as deviant.[11] Hagelund and Kjeldsen (2021), for example, find that news stories on immigration critics "are hardly ever written to an audience where anti-immigration opinions are assumed to exist. In this sense, immigration critics are constituted as outsiders to a sphere of political normalcy." Simultaneously, as Norway has over time become an increasingly multicultural society, there is evidence to suggest the emergence of a normalization of anti-immigrant attitudes, in politics and in the news media.[12] For example, the right-wing populist Progress Party, which has as its main focus the introduction of strict(er) immigration policies [13], joined a conservative-led government in 2013 – a change that serves to illustrate the prominence of immigration on the public agenda, and indicates the broadening of what constitutes legitimate debate on immigration.[14] In addition, over the past decade, alternative right-wing media sites, characterized by skepticism – or hostility – towards immigrants and Muslims have been established and/or received increased attention. Some of these sites can be regarded as placed somewhere between "the sphere of legitimacy" and "the sphere of deviance" – whereas mainstream news reporting and debates on the one hand regularly present these sites as deviant [15], while, on the other hand, the editors of such sites are regularly invited into mainstream news debates.[16] However, some other right-wing sites, holding more extreme nationalistic and xenophobic positions, are firmly placed within "the sphere of deviance". Yet, the more modest sites may indicate a shift pertaining to what is understood as legitimate political debate.[17] Although it should be noted that trust in alternative right-wing media is significantly lower than trust in established news media, and readership figures remain relatively low (5-8 percent).[18] Moreover, despite the increased normalization of anti-immigrant attitudes, as reflected in

politics and in established and alternative news media, the Norwegian population's attitudes to immigration are relatively positive, and positive attitudes have also increased in the past decade.[19]

Theoretical Perspectives: the Boundaries of Public Debate

This article draws on the notion of boundaries to study the ways in which the limits of deviance and right-wing extremism are defined and negotiated in the news media. As central parts of public debate, the news media can be conceived both as actors whose practices shape and guard the boundaries of public debate and as arenas in which contestations over the boundaries of what is appropriate in public debates play out.[20] As noted by Carlson (2016), the notion of boundaries emphasizes "how social actors actively shape boundaries through a variety of expressive practices bent on inclusion and exclusion and how such implied difference structure[s] the social world of these actors."[21] In other words, the notion of boundaries draws attention to consequences of discursive practices, definitions and classifications. Understanding the news media as both arenas where symbolic contests play out and as actors contributing to these processes draws attention to journalism as a site of struggles over meaning among political actors, enabling and disabling (legitimate) understanding of issues.

An extensive research literature has documented that news practices tend to be organized on the basis of a consensus model. Here, the views of the political mainstream—specifically state and government officials—enjoy crucial advantages in securing news access, whereas views deemed deviant tend to be absent or delegitimized.[22] In his influential three-sphere model on deviance and legitimacy in journalism, Hallin (1986) distinguishes between three spheres, guided by different journalistic standards: *the sphere of consensus* (those issues generally not regarded as controversial), *the sphere of legitimate controversy* (those issues and views that are seen as legitimately up for debate within the political mainstream), and *the sphere of deviance* (consisting of those actors that are seen as unworthy of being heard by journalists and the political mainstream). [23] By being granted access to the news, sources may set the political agenda, define the premises of the issues under debate, and thereby can gain legitimacy. Yet, the news media may employ various strategies to minimize and undermine the credibility of sources.[24] Extremist views may be placed in the sphere of deviance merely by being labelled "extremist". Research, however, shows that when actors deemed extremist are reported and granted a voice in established news media, they tend to be actively and explicitly denounced, framed as holding illegitimate and potentially dangerous ideas.[25]

Emphasizing the ritual and communal aspects of journalism after traumatic events such as violent attacks, a strand of literature has foregrounded how journalism can serve as arena and actor in repair work to convey communal solidarity, set the boundaries of appropriate discourse and mark out core democratic values.[26] Thus, through triggering feelings of solidarity against extremist threats, the news media potentially work as a bulwark against anti-democratic forces.[27] From this perspective, public mediated responses to attacks are interpreted as "collective rituals" and as "counter-readings" to strengthen cohesion, clarify the boundaries of appropriate discourse and reaffirm society's moral order [28], constructing the discourse around "the wide inclusion of those who believe in freedom and liberal democracy, and the exclusion of those who do not – that is, extremists of all forms."[29] The aftermath of attacks tends to result in such discourses of solidarity and exercise "consensus pressure". Yet, after some time consensus gradually disintegrates into conflicting interests. [30]

Extant research provides valuable insights into the dynamics of public debate after attacks, including the role of the news media in marking out the legitimate boundaries of the debate. Yet, we know less of how such dynamics play out beyond the initial phases after an attack. Drawing on the strands of research presented above – foregrounding boundary making as rituals and as related to access and primary definition – the present article aims to address this gap.

Methods

The analyses are based on a quantitative content analysis of sources, supplemented with a close reading of a selection of the sample. The material analyzed includes online news stories on right-wing extremism in

the outlets *VG (vg.no)* and *NRK (nrk.no)* published between January 2013 and the end of December 2019 (n=341)—that is, the years *after* the attacks, the court case and the sentencing of Breivik.[31] As such, the material is well suited to cast light on characteristics of day-to-day editorial practices in reporting of right-wing extremism, after the focus on societal trauma and judicial responses to the 2011 attacks had diminished.

The two outlets selected for analysis are the two largest in Norway and include the principal tabloid (*VG*) and the public service broadcaster (*NRK*). Apart from being two of the most used online news sites, the two outlets represent somewhat different journalistic styles (tabloid versus public service broadcasting). Of the analyzed items, 154 were published in *NRK* (45 percent of the sample, 127 news articles, 26 op-eds) and 188 were published in *VG* (55 percent of the sample, 126 news articles, 62 op-eds). In other words, the two outlets granted more or less the same amount of attention to right-wing extremism in the period analyzed.

The article explores right-wing extremism as it is defined in the news media, by journalists and/or by sources. Rather than taking as starting point a specific definition of right-wing extremism, the material analyzed is selected through a key word search on the term "høyreekstrem*" (right-wing extrem*) in the Norwegian newspaper database *Retriever*. While the selection criteria are largely pragmatic, they are also well suited to explore where the lines between legitimacy and deviance are drawn in news debates. Analyzing items specifically concerning right-wing extremism entails that the focus is on phenomena defined within "the sphere of deviance"—that is, phenomena (explicitly) labelled as illegitimate and unworthy of being heard by journalists and/or sources.[32]

The selection criteria may in principle entail that items that would not fall within an academic definition of right-wing extremism are included in the sample. However, reading of the material indicates that when covering right-wing extremism, the analyzed news media arguably focus largely on phenomena, groups and actors that would fall within an academic definition of right-wing extremism. This, for example, includes the perpetrator of the 2011 attacks, the group the Nordic Resistance Movement, and the attack carried out by Philip Manshaus in Norway in 2019. In cases where definitions are less clear-cut—for example when it comes to the group Pegida—this is reflected in the news items. For example, in some articles Pegida is framed within a discourse of right-wing extremism, but the group is usually not explicitly labelled right-wing extremist. Finally, it should be noted that several items refer to right-wing extremism as a phenomenon, and do not focus on a specific group or actor. The sample includes all articles focusing on the Norwegian context and where right-wing extremism was a key topic. This means that news articles on right-wing extremism in, for instance, Sweden, Germany or the U.S. were not included in the sample.

The content analysis focuses specifically on the affiliation of sources quoted in the material. A coding scheme, including descriptions on how to carry out the coding, was developed by the author. To ensure reliability, the coding scheme was tested and revised before the full sample was coded. Sources were defined as actors or institutions that were *directly quoted* in the articles (marked by quotation marks). In addition, authors of op-eds and commentaries were defined as sources. Actors mentioned, but not quoted, were not included as sources. The first five sources of each article were included in the analysis.[33] The coding of source affiliation was based on the affiliation that the sources were presented with in the articles. For example, sources were coded as "right-wing extremist" when they were defined as such in an article, either by journalists or other quoted sources. The sample was coded in SPSS by the author. A second coder was trained for testing and re-coded a randomly drawn sample making up ten percent of the total codings. The intercoder reliability score for the source affiliation variable was 0.787 (Cohen's Kappa).

In order to explore i) the content and context of quotes by actors deemed right-wing extremist (70 articles) and ii) how the boundaries of legitimate debate were negotiated, a qualitative reading of a selection of the sample was conducted (91 articles). To explore the content and context of quotes by right-wing extremist actors, all items where right-wing extremists were quoted were selected (70 articles). The items were then read, focusing on the topic of the item, where in the item right-wing extremist actors were quoted (i.e., in the title, lead, middle, or end of the item), whether there were other sources quoted in the item, whether/how other sources engaged with the views of right-wing extremists, as well as the content of the quotes of right-wing extremists.

To explore how the boundaries of legitimate debate were negotiated, the items were selected when one (or

more) of the following key topics were present: items including statements or discussions of where to draw the lines of appropriate debate, items concerning the limits between extreme and legitimate views and actors, and items concerning how extremism should be dealt with in public debates. This resulted in a sub-sample of 91 articles that were read and analyzed by the author. The author read through the material several times, and categorized the material in the three key themes presented in the analysis (boundaries of inclusion into "mainstream" public debates; how to debate the views behind the July 22 attacks, and links between extremist and legitimate political ideas).

Analysis

Exploring how right-wing extremism was reported and debated and how boundaries of legitimate debate were negotiated in Norwegian news media in the decade after the July 22, 2011 attacks, the following section first explores which voices were prominent in the reporting. Second, the section analyses the items concerning "metadebates" – that is, articles concerning normative ideals of public debate, where to draw the lines of appropriate debate and/or the limits between extreme and legitimate views and actors.

Voices: "Contextualized Inclusion" of Right-wing Extremist Sources

Identifying which voices were most prominent in news articles and op-eds, sheds light on where the boundaries of legitimate mainstream news debate were drawn, and which actors functioned as primary definers in debates on right-wing extremism.

Table 1. Sources Quoted per Source Category [34]

	Main Source (n=340)		Overall Sources (n=846)	
	n	%	n	%
Journalists/commentators	48	14.1	75	8.9
National politician position	30	8.8	78	9.2
Police security services	29	8.5	63	7.4
Police	28	8.2	70	8.3
Researchers/experts	27	7.9	85	10.0
National politician opposition	25	7.4	57	6.7
'Right-wing extremists'	23	6.8	86	10.2
Lawyers	21	6.2	60	7.1
Victims [35]	20	5.9	57	6.7
Culture	18	5.3	45	5.3
NGOs	16	4.7	39	4.6
Local politicians	14	4.1	35	4.1

As shown in Table 1, and confirming extant research into sourcing patterns in news on (violent) extremism [36], the news debate was dominated by elite sources. This includes politicians (20 percent of all sources, 20 percent of main sources); the general police and the police security services (16 percent of all sources, 17 percent of main sources); researchers and experts (10 percent of all sources, 8 percent of main sources); and journalists (9 per cent of all sources, 14 percent of main sources). In other words, right-wing extremism was largely defined and discussed by judicial, political, and cultural elites. Notably, however, 10 percent of the quoted sources were actors deemed as being right-wing extremist. These actors were the main source in 7 percent of the articles that contained direct sources, and they were quoted in 20 percent of the articles (70 articles) in the sample. The most cited actors in this category include the July 22 perpetrator Anders Behring Breivik, Philips Manshaus (the perpetrator of an attack in Norway in August 2019), members of the Nordic Resistance Movement, and members of the group Soldiers of Odin. The findings imply that the news media did indeed include actors deemed illegitimate, and who held views that can be placed within the sphere of deviance.

[37] This indicates that newsrooms practices were in line with the so-called "pressure-cooker thesis" in relation to inclusion of deviant voices, arguing the need to invite deviant voices in so that they can be countered.[38] Although the two analyzed news outlets share many similarities in terms of sources, there are also some differences that are worth commenting on: In *VG*, 'national politicians in position' made up the largest source category (55 quotes in *VG,* making up 70.5 percent of the total source category). In *NRK*, experts/researchers made up the largest source category (49 quotes, making up 57.6 percent of the total source category). More notably, however, actors deemed right-wing extremists are to a larger extent included in *NRK* than in *VG* (52 quotes in *NRK*, 33 in *VG*, entailing that 12.6 percent of the quoted sources in *NRK* were right-wing extremists, compared to 7.7 percent in *VG*). This variation can hardly be interpreted as two completely different strategies regarding inclusion of extremist voices. However, it is arguably noteworthy that the public service broadcaster *NRK* practiced a somewhat more inclusive strategy than the tabloid *VG*.

The analysis of quoted sources in op-eds and commentaries shows a somewhat different picture than the overall source analysis. As seen in Table 2, actors deemed extremist were *not* participating in the news outlets' op-eds sections. The opinion format was characterized by a narrower selection of (elite) sources, including journalists (commentaries), NGOs and researchers (op-eds).

Table 2. Main Sources in Op-Eds and Commentaries (n= 87)

	n	%
Journalist/commentator	35	40.2
NGOs	10	11.5
Expert/researcher	9	10.3
Culture	8	9.2
Think tank	6	6.9
Politician opposition	6	6.9

To explore the ways in which actors deemed extremist were included in the news, a qualitative reading of the articles where extremists were quoted was conducted, focusing on the content of the quotes and the contexts in which they were invited in to speak (70 articles). This analysis shows that the news media conveyed extremists' explanations in court cases, and that "right-wing extremists" were granted space to speak about their views and ideology, to criticize "the establishment"—including mainstream politicians and news media—and to redefine the ways in which they were categorized by journalists (i.e., claiming that they were not Nazi or racist, but were "honoring the Nordic culture"). The quotes were often relatively short and frequently placed at the end of an article. Yet, "right-wing extremists" were occasionally quoted more at length, especially in articles exploring more in-depth the views of particular groups or milieus. The contextualization of the articles clearly established the deviance of these actors, labelling them as "militant", "violent", "neo-nazi" and/or "right-wing extremist". Moreover, rather than working as primary definers in the articles, extremist actors were mainly responding or reacting to claims from other (elite) sources. In sum, while extremist actors were granted space to speak about their views and defend themselves against criticism, the contextualization established them as deviant, and elite actors defined the premises for the debate. In sum, newsroom practices can thus be regarded as a form of "contextualized inclusion", on the one hand including extremist voices, while, on the other hand, characterising extremist actors as deviant, illegitimate, and potentially dangerous. This insight is corroborated by the analysis of sources in the op-ed sections (above) – where the news outlets include deviant voices in formats where there is room for journalistic contextualization, while reserving the op-ed sections for views that are deemed as legitimately up for debate ("the sphere of legitimate controversy"). (However, it should be noted that the analyzed data do not include information on which actors that actually submitted op-eds).

Debating the Debate

The following section focuses on the meta-debate. The analysis is based on articles (91 in total) where the main focus was on how to draw the lines of appropriate debate, the limits between extreme and legitimate views and

actors, and how extremism should be dealt with in public debate. In order to shed light on characteristics of these debates, this section focuses on who the sources in these meta-debates were (content analysis), which topics were discussed and how boundaries of appropriate debate were drawn and debated (qualitative close reading of the articles).

Primary Definers of what is Deemed Legitimate and what is Deemed Deviant in Public Debates

As Table 3 shows, the key sources in the metadebates were politicians (35.6 percent of the sources), journalists and commentators (16.1 percent), actors from the cultural realm (10.2 percent) and researchers (8.5 percent).

Table 3. Sources in Meta-Debate (n=236)

	n	%
Journalist/commentator	38	16.1
National politician position	37	15.7
National politician opposition	24	10.2
Culture	24	10.2
Local politician	23	9.7
Researcher/expert	20	8.5
NGOs	18	7.6
Victims	15	6.4
'Right-wing extremist'	9	3.8
Think tank	6	2.5

We can conclude that primarily the political and cultural elites engaged in discussions concerning the boundaries of appropriate debates and the limits between legitimacy and deviance. Actors deemed extremist were only to a very small extent part of this meta-debate.

Negotiating the Boundaries of Legitimacy and Deviance

A further question concerns *the content* of the meta-debates, including where the line between legitimacy and deviance, between appropriate and inappropriate debate were drawn. The qualitative reading of the articles concerning meta-debates shows that the following key themes were prominent in the period of analysis: which actors and views should be invited into "mainstream" public debates; how to debate the views behind the July 22 attacks, and the links between extremist and legitimate political ideas.

Boundaries of Inclusion

The first strand of debate, concerning which actors and views should be invited into "mainstream" public debates, focused in particular on boundaries of inclusion in public spaces and at public events. These debates focused on whether political organizations, actors and parties that were deemed (by some) to be right-wing extremist and hostile towards immigration should be allowed to participate in "legitimate" public and political arenas. This included debates on whether the political party Alliansen should be allowed to participate at an annual political festival, whether an Oslo bookstore should allow Martin Sellner (an Austrian deemed right-wing extremist) to speak at an event, and whether the Norwegian Free Speech Foundation should have granted a scholarship to the blogger Fjordman (who inspired Anders Behring Breivik).[39] Apart from the latter, these debates were not directly related to the July 22 attacks. Interestingly, in contrast to the period in the immediate aftermath of the attacks [40], and to media reporting of violent extremists in general [41] only very few articles dealt with the issue of how established news media should report right-wing extremism, including whether actors holding extremist views should be invited in to speak.

Overall, in these boundary negotiations the news outlets largely played the part as an arena to put forward

and debate different arguments concerning what constitutes a legitimate and healthy public debate, and how extremism should be dealt with. The debates featured differing views on whether or not deviant actors should be invited. There were those holding that deviant voices should be invited in so that they could be met with counter voices, and there were others arguing that inclusion equals legitimization of deviant actors and their ideas.[42] As such, these debates can be seen as routine ways in which established news media serve as an arena where (elite) actors negotiate the boundaries of free speech and appropriate debate, while simultaneously demarcating the boundaries between legitimacy (i.e., those who participate in the boundary negotiations) and deviance (i.e., those who are in the focus of the boundary negotiations).

Debating the Views Behind the July 22 Attack

A second (and relatively large) part of the meta-debate specifically concerned the July 22 attacks. Since 2013, there have been voices, particularly from the Labor Party, repeatedly calling for the need to properly discuss and denounce the views and ideas behind the attacks. These voices emphasized that while Norwegian society ("we") had denounced the attacks and the perpetrator, the attitudes behind the attack had never been properly discussed or denounced. For instance, in March 2013 then-Labor Party Youth (Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking - AUF) leader Eskil Pedersen was quoted in VG as saying that: "if there is one thing that we haven't come far enough with since July 22, it is to denounce extremism. […]. I and AUF have tried to bring it up, but we have been met with silence from the political parties and from the media".[43] In July 2014, Raymond Johansen, then-Party Secretary of the Labor Party, wrote in an *NRK* op-ed that:

> Norway has denounced the acts, but we also need to denounce his [Anders Behring Breivik] ideas. We can discuss how common they are, but they do exist. […] Immediately after the attack there was broad consensus that we should form a collective political front against what happened and what the perpetrator stood for, but at the same time it was a silent consensus that time had not come to take the broader debate on those in the Norwegian society who share many of the perpetrator's ideas/views.[44]

In July 2018, Labor Party politician and survivor of the Utøya attacks, Kamzy Gunaratnam, said to *NRK* that: "we haven't really gone into what happened […] Let us call what happened for what it was – a racist motivated attack. It was racism, Breivik was a racist, and there is a lot of everyday racism in Norway. But how many dare to say that?"[45] Apart from the occasional researcher and commentator forwarding similar claims, the claims were, as the quotes illustrate, largely forwarded by Labor Party politicians, including survivors of the 2011 attacks. Interestingly, these claims concerning the need to denounce the ideas behind the attacks were rarely met with counter claims and they did not lead to a broader discussion on how society should deal with the ideas behind the attacks. In other words, the claims were more often than not met with silence. This may be the result of the claims lacking a clear recipient. While the claims could be read as a critique of specific actors within the sphere of legitimacy, including the Progress Party, the recipient(s) was not clearly spelled out. Simultaneously, the lack of response to the claims may also to some extent confirm the notion that mainstream politicians and media indeed were not willing to debate the issue – indicating how the debate becomes more complicated when criticism goes beyond the views and actors that society agrees are deviant. In other words, while society, including established news media and mainstream politicians, may engage in "collective rituals", standing united against "a common enemy" [46], the debate becomes more complex and more sensitive when the common "we" breaks up and criticism goes beyond the perpetrator and those "we" agree are deviant. That is, when the debate is no longer directed at actors within the sphere of deviance, such as the July 22 perpetrator, but rather includes actors within the sphere of (full and partial) legitimacy.

Links Between Legitimacy and Deviance

The previous point is underlined by the third key strand of the meta-debate in the decade after the July 22 attacks – a debate on the relationship between right-wing extremism and the right-wing populist Progress Party which raised questions concerning the boundaries between mainstream, legitimate views and deviant extremist views. Previous research has shown that the Progress Party's rhetoric on immigration and Islam

became part of the media debate in the months after the attack, and as a consequence, the Progress Party had to some extent adjust its rhetoric, albeit for a limited period of time.[47] In the period analyzed here, this strand of debate first occurred after the parliamentary election in 2013, securing the Progress Party a place in a coalition government with the Conservative Party. After the election, international media (as opposed to Norwegian news media), foregrounded the Progress Party's connection to the July 22 perpetrator Anders Behring Breivik (who had been a member of the Progress Party Youth and the Progress Party from 1997-2007). The linking of the party with Breivik (and right-wing extremism more generally) led to an effort from the Progress Party, directed at international news media, to clarify their stance and point out important differences between their views and the views of Breivik. Although international media's focus on the link between the Progress Party and extremism – and the Progress Party's active effort to distance themselves from right-wing extremism – did receive attention in Norwegian news media, there was a broad consensus among Norwegian experts and commentators quoted in national media that international news reporting was biased and operating with too broad definitions of terms such as "far-right" and "extremism". In other words, there was an apparent consensus that there were indeed important differences between the Progress Party and those engaged in far-right rhetoric, and that it was in any case not the right time to discuss possible similarities. In sum, from the perspective of Norwegian news debates, it seems that the boundaries between the governing Progress Party (holding views presented as part of the sphere of legitimate controversy) and deviant, far right rhetoric (views that are placed within the sphere of deviance) were clear enough and not up for debate. With very few exceptions, the linking of right-wing extremism with the Progress party was absent from the debate until the fall of 2019.

In August 2019, right-wing extremist Philip Manshaus killed his stepsister (because she had been adopted from China), and then attacked a mosque in Bærum, outside of Oslo. The attack reignited debates concerning the rhetoric of the Progress Party, particularly the party's use of the term "creeping Islamization" ("snikislamisering"). In August 2019, Oslo City Council Leader Raymond Johansen, criticized the Progress Party and their use of the term "creeping Islamization", linking it to the Bærum attacks [48]. This criticism was echoed when in September 2019, a politician from the Liberal Party, Abid Raja, wrote in an op-ed that "the rhetoric of the Progress Party stinks", adding that the term "creeping Islamization" could be understood as right-wing extremist and calling it "brown intimidation propaganda."[49] Raja went on to say that "we will be loud and clear every time Siv Jensen or Sylvi Listhaug [Progress Party leaders] present brown propaganda. The Liberal Party will no longer be silent. To be silent is to concur. And going forward, I refuse to concur."[50] The Liberal Party leader Trine Skei Grande supported Raja – though saying to *VG* that she was not happy that Abid Raja used the term "brown" about the Progress Party's rhetoric, adding that she found the party's rhetoric reprehensible. [51] However, apart from Skei Grande's support, the op-ed received massive criticism and led to extensive news attention. In particular, Raja was criticized for using the term "brown", a term associated with Nazism (Norway had been occupied by Hitler's Germany during World War II), to categorize the Progress Party's rhetoric. This forced Raja to clarify his stance, and explain that his use of the term did not mean to denote Nazism. Thus, the debate largely focused on the use of the term "brown" rather than on the use of the term "creeping Islamization". However, while the Progress Party defended its use of the term "creeping Islamization", leading politicians from both sides of the political spectrum, including the Conservative Party, denounced the Progress Party's use of the term.

In sum, this debate shows that interconnections between the spheres of deviance and legitimacy were discussed at least to some extent. However, the analysis also illustrates how such boundary negotiations are more sensitive, more demanding to raise and harder to agree upon when they concern actors within the political mainstream. Moreover, the 2019 debate suggested that the apparent consensus about abstaining from discussing boundaries between mainstream views and deviant far-right rhetoric had been broken. The 2019 attack, carried out by a right-wing extremist, arguably served as a "window of opportunity" to again set the issue on the agenda and discuss interconnections between deviance and legitimacy.

Conclusion

By analyzing the ways in which right-wing extremism was reported and debated in Norwegian news media between 2013-2019, the article provides insights into how boundaries of legitimacy and deviance are drawn

and negotiated *after* the focus on communal and judicial responses to an attack have diminished.

A comparison of the number of articles shows that right-wing extremism was covered relatively sparsely compared to the attention granted to extremist Islamism, in at least parts of the period analyzed.[52] Simultaneously, however, the topic did receive continuous attention, indicating that Norwegian newsrooms, criticized immediately after the attacks for having ignored (online) right-wing extremism and anti-Islamism, [53] persisted to put resources into monitoring and reporting right-wing extremist actors. On the one hand, the findings suggest that newsrooms practices were in line with the so-called "pressure-cooker thesis", including deviant voices and inviting extremist voices into the debate so that they could be met with counter voices. Yet, on the other hand, extremist actors were contextualized in a way that clearly marked them as deviant. Therefore, confirming findings from other research on the period after the attacks [54] and the reporting of extreme Islamism [55], this analysis shows that while actors deemed right-wing extremist were indeed granted a voice in the reports, they were not granted a role as primary definers. Moreover, extremist actors were often responding to and/or defending themselves against comments or criticism from elite sources. Therefore, newsroom practices may be regarded as a form of "contextualized inclusion", informing citizens on anti-democratic and potentially violent forces, while simultaneously marking out clear boundaries between legitimate and deviant views and actors. This approach can be said to be both different from and have similarities to the approach taken by Norwegian newsrooms in the months immediately after the 2011 attacks. Deviant voices were to some extent included (and contextualized) also in the months after the attacks. However, a comparison of the present study with studies from the first months after the attacks suggests that deviant voices were included in an even more controlled and contextualized fashion in 2011 than in the decade that followed.[56]. In other words, journalism over time returned from a crisis and consensus phase to "regular, day-to-day" reporting, including newsroom practices and a public mood that were less sensitive to a broader range of voices. This shift is also illustrated by the absence of meta-debates focusing specifically on the news media, indicating that, although issues related to the 2011 attacks remained sensitive topics of debate, during the period analyzed, newsroom practices of inclusion to right-wing extremist voices were largely in line with the climate of opinion regarding the appropriate boundaries of debate.[57]

Clearly establishing the deviance of violent, anti-democratic and/or xenophobic views and rhetoric can be regarded as a key function of the normative duties of journalism in democracy. However, there is a risk that news attention may serve to further the legitimacy of leaders of extremist groups.[58] Moreover, and as elucidated by the qualitative analysis, sharp boundaries between legitimacy and deviance may contribute to making it difficult to raise public debates on possible links between, and similarities in, the rhetoric and views of deviant versus legitimate actors. In the period analyzed, boundaries of appropriate debate and the limits of inclusion of deviant actors in public debates were regularly negotiated (by elites). Meta-debates first concerned the extent to which actors deemed extremists should be invited into mainstream public debate and, second, the boundaries or links between the views of legitimate, mainstream actors—such as parliamentary political parties—and views deemed extremist. The analysis shows how this latter topic, concerning the links between legitimate political actors and extremist views, was more demanding to discuss as (elite) consensus disintegrated and criticism was no longer directed exclusively at those actors that society could "agree" are deviant. Raising discussions concerning ideas that were not violent, but that could nevertheless be linked to the ideas behind the July 22 attacks remained challenging throughout the period analysed. It proved hard to move beyond the initial societal narrative about our common response to the attacks (which foregrounded that "we" as society and democracy were attacked by a terrorist and needed to take a common stand against terrorism and violent extremism).[59] These findings suggest that societal trauma makes it particularly challenging to discuss possible similarities in the views and rhetoric of extremists and more legitimate (elite) political actors. In sum, if one regard positions on immigration as placed on a continuum ranging from moderate (legitimate and non-violent) to extreme (deviant and violent) positions, both legitimate and extremist positions were indeed included in mainstream news debate. However, possible links between these remained a sensitive topic.

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Notes

[1] On July 22, 2011 Anders Behring Breivik first set off a car bomb in the Government District in Oslo, killing eight and wounding more than 200. Breivik then drove to Utøya, a small island outside of Oslo, where the Labor Party Youth held its annual summer camp. Here he opened fire, killing 69 persons, most under the age of 18, and wounding more than 100 others. The attacks were thus directly aimed at the Labor Party. Breivik was arrested while still on Utøya. The trial against Breivik took place in the Oslo District Court from April to June 2012. In August 2012 Breivik was sentenced to 21 years of preventive detention in prison. The analyses conducted in this article focus on the years *after* the attack, the court case and the sentencing (2013-2019). At the time of the attacks in 2011, the Labor Party led a coalition government together with the Socialist Left Party and the Centre Party. After the election in September 2013, The Conservative Party joined a coalition government with The Progress Party. In January 2018, the Liberal Party joined the coalition and in January 2019, the Christian Democratic Party joined the coalition.

[2] Elisabeth Eide, Maria Kjølstad & Anja Naper (2013), "After the 22 July Terror in Norway: Media Debates on Freedom of Expression And Multiculturalism," *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 2: pp. 187–196; Tine U. Figenschou & Audun Beyer (2014), "The Limits of the Debate: How the Oslo Terror Shook the Norwegian Immigration Debate," *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 19: pp. 430–452; Tine U. Figenschou & Kjersti Thorbjørnsrud (2017). "Disruptive Media Events: Managing Mediated Dissent in the Aftermath of Terror," *Journalism Practice* 11: pp. 942–959.

[3] Figenschou & Beyer 2014, op. cit.; Figenschou & Thorbjørnsrud 2017, op. cit.

[4] Jeffrey C. Alexander (2011), *Performance and Power.* Cambridge: Polity Press; Michael Schudson (2011), "What's unusual about covering politics as usual?" In: B. Zelizer and S. Allan (Eds.), *Journalism after September 11.* 2nd Edition. Oxon: Routledge; Maria Luengo & Karoline A. Ihlebæk (2019). "Journalism, Solidarity and the Civil Sphere: The Case of Charlie Hebdo," *European Journal of Communication* 34(3): pp. 286-299.

[5] Kjersti Thorbjørnsrud & Tine U. Figenschou (2018), "Consensus and Dissent After Terror: Editorial Policies in Times of Crisis," *Journalism*, 19(3): pp. 333-348.

[6] Karoline A. Ihlebæk, Anders S. Løvlie & Henry Mainsah (2014), "Mer åpenhet, mer kontroll? Håndteringen av nettdebatten etter 22. Juli [More openness, more control? Managing online debates after July 22]" *Norsk Medietidsskrift* 30(3): pp. 223–240.

[7] Tore W. Rafoss (2015). "Meningsløs terror og meningsfylt fellesskap: Stoltenbergs taler etter 22. juli [Meaningless terror and meaningful community: The speeches of Stoltenberg after 22 July]," *Sosiologisk tidsskrift*, 23(1-2): pp. 6-28: Hallvard Notaker (2021). *Arbeiderpartiet og 22. Juli [The Labor Party and 22. July].* Oslo: Aschehoug.

[8] Thomas H. Eriksen (2014). "Who or What to Blame? Competing Interpretations of the Norwegian Terrorist Attack," *European Journal of Sociology*, 55(2): pp. 275-294; Figenschou & Beyer, op. cit.

[9] Notaker 2021, op. cit. p. 125.

[10] Hovden & Mjelde (2019), "Increasingly Controversial, Cultural, and Political: The Immigration Debate in Scandinavian Newspapers 1970–2016," *Javnost – The public.* DOI: 10.1080/13183222.2019.1589285.

[11] Anniken Hagelund & Jens E. Kjeldsen (2021), "The Other Other. Representations And Rhetorical Estrangement Of Anti-Immigration Positions In Scandinavian Print Media, 1970 – 2016," *Poetics.* URL: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.poetic.2021.101529

[12] Hagelund & Kjeldsen 2021, op. cit.

[13] For more on The Progress Party, see for example Ann-Cathrine Jungar & Anders Ravik Jupskås (2014), "Populist Radical Right Parties in the Nordic Region: A New and Distinct Party Family?" *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 37(3): pp. 215-238; Anders Ravik Jupskås (2015). *The Persistence of Populism. The Norwegian Progress Party 1973 – 2009.* PhD dissertation, University of Oslo (Ph.D. dissertation); Anniken Hagelund (2002). *The Importance of Being Decent. Political Discourse on Immigration in Norway 1970-2002.* Oslo: University of Oslo (PhD dissertation).

[14] Anders Ravik Jupskås (2015, op. cit., pp. 200-201) noted that while the Progress Party favors stricter immigration policies, a key to the party's success is that it largely has avoided to frame immigration opposition in explicitly racist terms and that "the party leadership has cracked down on most members and representatives who have been linked to the extreme right". In a similar way, Anniken Hagelund (2002, op. cit., p. 175) has noted that while racism has been "an underlying theme in other party's relation to the party, mainstream political parties has been very reluctant to say that the Progress Party's or its representatives *are* racist".

[15] Silje Nygaard (2020), "Boundary Work: Intermedia Agenda-Setting Between Right-Wing Alternative Media and Professional Journalism," *Journalism Studies*, 21(6): pp. 766-782.

[16] Tine Figenschou & Karoline Ihlebæk (2019), "Challenging Journalistic Authority: Media Criticism in Far-Right Alternative Media," *Journalism Studies*, 20(9): pp. 1221-1237

[17] Figenschou & Ihlebæk 2019, op. cit.

[18] Nic Newman et al. (2020), *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2020*. Oxford: Reuters Institute.

[19] See for example: *SSB* (2020). Holdninger til innvandrere og innvandring [Attitudes toward immigrants and immigration], Available at: https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/statistikker/innvhold/aar/2020-12-14

[20] Matt Carlson (2017). *Journalistic Authority: Legitimating News in the Digital Era.* New York: Columbia University Press; Arnfinn H. Midtbøen, Kari Steen-Johnsen & Kjersti Thorbjørnsrud (2017), "Boundary-Making in the Public Sphere: Contestations of Free Speech," in: A. H. Midtbøen, K. Steen-Johnsen, & K. Thorbjørnsrud (Eds.), *Boundary Struggles: Contestations of Free Speech in the Norwegian Public Sphere.* Oslo, Norway: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.pp.13-43; DOI:10.23865/noasp.16

[21]Matt Carlson (2016), "Metajournalistic Discourse and the Meanings of Journalism: Definitional Control, Boundary Work, and Legitimation," *Communication Theory,* 26(4): pp.349-368 & p. 3.

[22] E.g. Paul Manning (2001), *News and News Sources: A Critical Introduction.* London: SAGE; Dan C. Hallin (1989), *The "Uncensored War": The Media and Vietnam.* Berkeley: University of California Press; Anna Grøndahl Larsen (2018), "Newsworthy Actors, Illegitimate Voices: Journalistic Strategies in Dealing with Voices Deemed Anti-Democratic and Violent," *Journalism*, 22(1): pp. 104-121; Figenschou & Beyer 2014, op. cit,; Larsen, op. cit.

[23] Hallin 1989 op. cit.

[24] Ian Taylor (2014). "Local Press Reporting of Opposition to the 2003 Iraq War in the UK and the Case for Reconceptualizing Notions of Legitimacy and Deviance," *Journal of War & Cultural Studies,* 7(1): pp. 36-53.

 [25] Larsen 2018, op. cit.; Figenschou & Beyer 2014, op. cit.

[26] E.g. Alexander 2011, op. cit.; Luengo & Ihlebæk, op cit: Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou op. cit; Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou, op. cit; Anna Grøndahl Larsen and Tine Ustad Figenschou (2019), "Metajournalism and Media Critique: Responses to 'Extremist Voices' in the Digitalized News Landscape," *International Journal of Communication",* 13: pp. 5463-5482.

[27] Luengo & Ihlebæk 2019, op.cit.

[28] E.g. Alexander 2011, op. cit.

[29] Luengo & Ihlebæk 2019, op. cit., p. 296.

[30] Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou 2018, op. cit.

[31] The trial against Breivik took place in Oslo District Court from April to June 2012, and in August 2012 Breivik was sentenced to 21 years of preventive detention in prison.

[32] cf. Hallin 1986, op. cit.; Taylor 2014, op. cit.

[33] Few articles included more than five sources. Of the total sample, 29 percent of the items included one source, 29 percent of the items included two sources, 17 percent included three sources, 10 percent included four sources, and 14 percent included five sources. Two items did not include any cited sources.

[34] Other sources include religious spokespersons (1.4 percent), think tanks (1.2 percent), and judges (1 percent). The remaining source categories were below 1 percent.

[35] This category includes individuals who have been the victims of extremist attacks and relatives of victims of attacks.

[36] E.g. Larsen 2018 op. cit.; Jamie Matthews (2013). "News Narratives of Terrorism: Assessing Source Diversity and Source Use in UK News Coverage of Alleged Islamist Plots," *Media, War & Conflict* 6(3): pp. 295–310.

[37] Cf. Taylor 2014, op. cit.

[38] Cf. Larsen 2018, op. cit.; Eide et al. 2013, op. cit.

[39] Peder Nøstvold Jensen, known as the blogger *Fjordman*, received extensive attention in Norwegian news media in the aftermath of the 22. July attacks. Anders Behring Breivik claimed *Fjordman* had inspired him, and he included several texts written by *Fjordman* in the so-called manifesto that he distributed shortly before he carried out the attacks. The Norwegian Free Speech Foundation's key justification for granting Nøstvold Jensen a scholarship to write a book, was his right-to-reply after the (negative) public attention he had received after the July 22 attacks.

[40] E.g. Eide et al. 2014, op. cit., Ihlebæk et al. 2014, op. cit.; Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou 2018, op. cit.

[41] E.g. Joy Jenkins & Edson C. Tandoc, Jr. (2017). "The Power of the Cover: Symbolic Contests Around the Boston Bombing Suspect's *Rolling Stone* Cover," *Journalism*, 18(3): pp. 281-297; URL: https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884915614240; Anna Grøndahl Larsen Tine Ustad Figenschou (2019). "Metajournalism and Media Critique: Responses to 'Extremist Voices' in the Digitalized News Landscape," *International Journal of Communication*, 13: pp. 5463-5482.

[42] Cf. Eide et al 2014, op. cit.; Larsen 2018, op. cit.

[43] *VG* (2013, 5. March). "Eskil Pedersen: - Ikke trygg på at PST har nok oversikt" [- Not confident that the security services have good enough overview].

[44] Johansen, Raymond (2014, 15. July). "Ett oppgjør med holdningene" [A confrontation with the attitudes]. *NRK*

[45]. *NRK* (2018, 21. July). «Utøya-overlevende: - Vi har ikke orket å ta ordentlig tak i det som skjedde» [Utøya survivor: - We have not really gone into what happened].

[46] E.g. Enjolras op.cit.; Luengo & Ihlebæk 2019, op.cit.; Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou 2018, op.cit.

[47] Figenschou & Beyer 2014, op.cit.

[48] *VG* (2019, 15. August). "Raymond Johansen (Ap) om 'snikislamisering': - Et skremmebilde" [Raymond Johansen on 'creeping islamization'].

[49] In Norwegian, the term "brown", used in this context, brings connotations to Nazism.

[50] *VG* (2019, 17. September). "Abid Raja: - Det stinker av FrPs retorikk" [Abid Raja: - The Progress Party's rhetoric stinks].

[51] *VG* (2019, 18. September). "Trine Skei Grande: - Jeg vil ikke be om unnskyldning" [Trine Skei Grande: - Jeg doesn't want to apologize].

[52] cf. Larsen 2018, op. cit.

[53] Cf. Figenschou & Beyer 2014, op. cit

[54] Ibid.

[55] Larsen 2018, op. cit.

[56] Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou 2018 op. cit. p. 341; Figenschou & Beyer 2014 op. cit.

[57] See for example Jenkins & Tandoc 2017, op. cit., and Larsen & Figenschou 2019, op. cit. for analyses of public metadebates concerning the media's inclusion of extremist actors and voices.

[58] See for example Philip Baugut & Katharina Neumann (2019), "How Right-Wing Extremist Use and Perceive News Media," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 96(3): pp. 696-720; Larsen 2016, op.cit.

[59] Notaker 2021, op.cit., showed how members of the Labor Party in the fall of 2011 sought, but largely failed, to raise a broader debate concerning links between "mainstream" and non-violent views on immigration and the ideas behind the July 22 attacks (violent extremist views on immigration).

Consensus or Conflict? A Survey Analysis of How Norwegians Interpret the July 22, 2011 Attacks a Decade Later

by Øyvind Bugge Solheim and Anders Ravik Jupskås

Abstract

The dominant narrative about the right-wing terrorist attacks in Norway on July 22, 2011, suggests that they were an attack on the Norwegian democracy, that the perpetrator was motivated by right-wing extremism and that Norway reacted by emphasizing tolerance, democratic values, and inclusion. Surveys carried out in the aftermath of the attacks show that this narrative received widespread support. In this article, we use a nationally representative survey to analyze how Norwegians interpret the July 22 attacks today – a decade later. We find significant levels of consensus, but also traces of conflict. While there are high levels of agreement regarding many of the interpretive frames, some of the frames are more contested. Moreover, some of these contested interpretations are associated with three conflicting narratives about the terrorist attack: the democracy narrative, the diversity narrative and the far-right narrative. These narratives are all characterized by a distinct understanding of why the attacks happened, who was targeted and how society reacted to the attacks. Given that the support for the different narratives varies according to ideological beliefs, partisanship, levels of trust and, to some extent, emotional reactions, we argue that discussions about July 22 today are likely to be politically polarizing – or even irreconcilable. The article shows how terrorist attacks that appear uniting in the short run may become more divisive in the long run, mirroring other existing political conflicts in society.

Introduction

Terrorist attacks are often met with strong displays of unity. The citizens rally around their political leadership[1] and around values they perceive to be at stake.[2] The aftermath of a terrorist attack is also often characterized by a lack of dissent from other elite actors such as the media and the opposition.[3] Consequently, the public, the political elite and the media converge on one interpretation, or narrative, of the terrorist attacks. Whether or not this suspension of politics is gradually replaced by conflict, however, is less clear. Thus far, most studies of the effects of terrorism on the public have looked at the first period of unity; few studies are focused on the long-term consequences of terrorist attacks. Similarly, prior studies on interpretations of terrorism have emphasized elite interpretations rather than the interpretations by the general public.

This article fills these gaps by studying the July 22, 2011, attacks in Norway. In the attacks, a right-wing extremist first detonated a bomb in the government district of the capital city, Oslo, before carrying out a shooting spree at the Labor Party's youth wing's summer camp on Utøya Island outside Oslo. 77 people were killed in total, 69 of them participants of the summer camp (for more information, see the introduction to this Special Issue by Bjørgo and Jupskås). The response to the attacks has been described as entering the "consensus sphere", "where critical discussions of public and political institutions were temporarily suspended."[4] Is this still the case? What happens when the memory of the attacks becomes weaker in the everyday life of most citizens and politics return to normality?

In this article, we use a unique representative survey to measure how the attacks are interpreted a decade after they took place. More specifically, the article looks at (1) the extent to which citizens agree or disagree on how to interpret the causes and consequences of the July 22 attacks, (2) whether citizens support distinct narratives about the attacks, and (3) whether these narratives are associated with ideological beliefs, partisan belonging, levels of trust and emotions. Is the perceived unity of the first months still present, or have the attacks become a point of political contention? We argue that to understand the overall level of conflict and consensus in society one must investigate the extent to which the different interpretations relate to distinct narratives and, in turn, to what extent these narratives overlap with ideology, partisanship, trust and emotions. Although the article does not aim to offer a causal explanation of the support for different narratives, the key assumption is that the

first three of these factors (ideology, partisanship and trust) are likely to influence how citizens interpret the attacks, whereas emotions are better seen as the outcome of specific interpretations. The emotional dimension is included because different emotions are associated with different forms of political mobilization, and therefore may contribute to the overall level of conflict in society.

We find that the Norwegian population tends to agree on many aspects related to the July 22 attacks. In general, Norwegians believe that the terror attacks were the act of a crazy person *and* that he was at the same time motivated by right-wing extremism; that Norway handled the attacks well; that the attacks made national values stronger; and that they did not result in less freedom of speech. At the same time, there is significant disagreement as to whether the Labor Party has tried to exploit the attacks for political gain, and whether the attacks should be understood as a backlash to Norwegian immigration policy or a consequence of parental neglect. We find that this disagreement is associated with three different narratives about the attacks: *the democracy narrative*, *the diversity narrative* and what we refer to as *the far-right narrative*. We use these labels because they communicate the essence of who are perceived to be the main victims. While Norwegian democracy is perceived to be the victim in the first narrative, 'diversity' is understood as the victim in the second. The third narrative turns the interpretation on its head, emphasizing that the attack itself is not related to politics, but that 'the left' politicizes the attack for political reasons. Thus, the victims in this narrative are those who share some political ideas, albeit in a moderate form, with the perpetrator. All three narratives have a specific understanding of why the attacks happened, what the main target of the attacks were and how the societal and political reactions to the attacks have been. Moreover, they are strongly associated with specific ideological beliefs, party preferences, levels of trust and, to some extent, the emotional reactions evoked by the attacks. Significantly, we find that the divisions over how to interpret the attacks ten years after the event mirror major political cleavages in Norwegian society. In short, the diversity narrative and far-right narrative represent a left-wing and a right-wing critique, respectively, of the more centrist democracy narrative.

The article makes two important contributions. First, in contrast to most existing studies which have a top-down approach focusing on conflicting interpretation among elites, our study has more of a bottom-up perspective, looking at (dis-)agreement among ordinary citizens. This is important, because—as Verovšek[5] argues—collective memory exerts its influence not only in a top-down manner, "as statements by public figures place certain events into the national consciousness while silencing or forgetting other," but also as a more bottom-up phenomenon, as ordinary citizens are not always passive 'memory consumers' but active producers of alternative narratives. This is particularly the case in the age of social media, where the elites and the established media have less control of the public discourse. This article seeks to provide insights into the underlying dynamics of the negotiations between the elites and the ordinary citizens. Second, by studying the interpretations a decade after the event took place, our study looks at whether the dominant narrative, which often emerges as a collective response to an act of terrorism in the immediate aftermath of an attack, becomes (more) challenged as time passes by. If this is the case, the long-term effects of terrorism might differ significantly from the short-term effects in the sense that initial unity is gradually replaced by growing division.

This article is structured as follows. First, we introduce some key concepts and theoretical perspectives, and present our research questions. Second, we discuss our method and data. Third, we turn to the empirical analysis, which includes assessing levels of (dis-)agreement on specific interpretations of the attacks, and explores the extent to which ideology, partisanship, trust, and emotions correlate with specific narratives. Fourth and finally, we summarize key findings and discuss some implications of our findings.

Terrorism, Narratives and Counter-Narratives

Although terrorism is seen as a form of communication, there is little information in the terrorist violence itself. Accordingly, terrorist attacks require interpretation to make sense. These interpretations of terrorist attacks often constitute specific *narratives*. The narratives create meaningful links between past, present and future, and "determine which aspects of the past event become meaningful points of reference in the aftermath, and which don't."[6] In other words, narratives create more or less coherent connections between interpretations of

the perpetrator(s) and the victim(s), as well as of the cause(s) and the effect(s) of the attacks.

The construction of narratives does not only apply to the discursive responses to terrorism but also to the terrorist tactic itself. In fact, seeing terrorism as performative acts, Alexander[7] claims that terrorists are trying to influence politics by using violence to promote a specific narrative. The terrorists' narratives typically provide both an explanation for why the terrorist attacks were necessary and legitimate, as well as pointing to some expectations about what it is that the terrorist(s) would like to achieve politically. However, given the brutality of terrorism, and the general fear it often generates, the narrative of the perpetrator is almost immediately challenged. Key actors in society, including political elites and the media, create a counter-narrative describing how the attacks should be understood and what the response should look like.[8]

As mentioned in the introduction to this article, the counter-narrative often becomes hegemonic, or at least dominant, in the initial aftermath of the terrorist attack. While the terrorists' own message seldom reaches the public, the aftermaths of terrorist attacks are often characterized by a very strong dissemination of the messages and interpretations given by the political leadership. On the one hand, the public rallies around the central politicians in response to terrorism.[9] On the other hand, both the media [10] and the opposition [11] take on different roles than under normal circumstances. Seeking to recreate the national community, both temporarily put their critical role aside and support the heads of government in efforts of 'meaning-making' after acts of terrorism. Whether or not the dominant narrative receives public support, however, depends on the extent to which it resonates with cultural and political values in society.[12]

The terrorist perpetrator of the July 22 attacks distributed a manifesto to the media in an effort to spread his own narrative. According to the perpetrator, Norwegian elites collaborated to "import" Muslims to Islamize the country. Consequently, "indigenous" Norwegians had to start a civil war, and elite "traitors" had to be put on trial. The perpetrator thought his attacks would mobilize the population and, in the long run, spark a civil war. Although his narrative was far more extreme than any views politicians had expressed in public debates, representatives from the Progress Party—a major right-wing populist party [13], which has been represented in parliament since the 1970s—had been expressing hostility towards the Labor Party and voicing concern that Norway was experiencing an ongoing 'stealth Islamization'. The perpetrator himself had also been a member of the youth wing of the Progress Party between 1997 and 2007 but quit because he thought the party had become too mainstream. Targeting the Prime Minister's office and the Labor Party's youth organization, the July 22 terrorist attacks sent strong signals to mainstream Norwegian politics.

Existing research on the responses to the July 22 terrorist attacks shows how the terrorist narrative was challenged by a narrative promoted by then-Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg, who at the time was also the leader of the Labor Party. His narrative was widely supported by the public across all parties. The counter-narrative put forward by Stoltenberg emphasized that July 22 was not primarily an attack against Norwegian social democracy, represented by the Labour Party in government and its youth wing, the Workers' Youth League of Norway (Arbeidernes Ungdomsfylking - AUF), but was an attack on democracy and democratic values in general.[14][15] The perpetrator was a *political* terrorist, but not *party* political. Stoltenberg also argued that Norway would not respond to this act of terrorism with hate or mistrust but that "our answer to violence is more openness, more democracy … but we will not be naïve". The attacks led to a spike in support for the government [16]—as many as 82 per cent of the population said they were positive to Stoltenberg's response.[17]

While a dominant narrative often emerges after terrorist attacks and becomes widely supported, it can still be expected to be contested by different groups. On the one hand, the victims or targets of terrorism may have their own interpretations of the attacks. This may be a different understanding of the shortcomings of security services and the state's response, a different (often more elaborate) understanding of the goals of the terrorists or a distinct understanding of the public's reaction to the attacks.[18] On the other hand, terrorists usually have an (imagined) constituency of people who are held to be supportive of the terrorists' cause or ideology.[19] These groups may be motivated to interpret the attacks in a different way [20], diminishing the importance of the attacks if they believe it is damaging to their cause or if the attacks cross the constituencies' "tolerance limit"

for violence.[21] Accordingly, even in the context of one dominant narrative, certain groups may hold other interpretations.

Again, there seemed to be support for some dissent after the July 22 attacks. Even if the 'democracy narrative' was dominant and widely supported in the early phase after the attacks, other narratives were present too. Lenz [22] identifies three other narratives, which to a varying degree challenge the narrative put forward by the perpetrator. These three narratives include the narrative of love, in which the attacks were seen as acts of hatred and evil to which 'we' – the Norwegians – responded with love; the diversity narrative, in which the perpetrator was part of an emerging extreme right or "counter-jihad" subculture, and that July 22 was an attack on Norway as a multicultural society; and the security narrative, in which the attacks were made possible by the lack of security measures and due to tactical mistakes by the police force. This last narrative was heavily reinforced after the government appointed the Gjørv-commission which concluded that attacks could have been prevented. In addition to these narratives, which to a varying degree have been present in the public discourse, existing research indicates the presence of dissenting voices that were suppressed in the initial phase after the terrorist attacks. Thorbjørnsrud and Figenschou [23], for example, have argued that "editors' alertness to the public mood accentuated their roles as guardians of appropriate discourse, weeding out deviant voices that could offend the (perceived) majority". In other words, terrorist attacks, including those of July 22, can be seen as a symbolic struggle in which the narrative put forward by the perpetrator is challenged by several counter-narratives. Usually, one of these tends to become dominant while the others are more peripheral or only gradually emerging.

We anticipate that people will support different narratives depending on their political attitudes. The July 22 attacks were strongly connected to the Norwegian political parties and people's interpretations may depend on their partisanship.[24] In addition, there may be a more general connection with political ideology.[25] While the link between the perpetrator and the Progress Party was obsolete, the fact that he was motivated by anti-Muslim sentiments was clear when reading his manifesto.[26] This motivation was also emphasized in the media coverage of the event.[27] Thus, the ideological leanings of the respondents may influence their views. Support for the narratives presented by the political leadership and especially by Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg could also be expected to be dependent on political trust.[28] Finally, much terrorism research emphasizes the emotional effects of terrorism.[29] While emotions might be important for how people react to attacks, we include emotions mainly because they are likely to affect the mobilizing potential of specific narratives. For example, anger is more associated with political mobilization than fear and we expect narratives related to anger to mobilize to a higher extent than other narratives.[30]

Based on these theoretical perspectives and empirical observations, we ask the following three questions:

1. First, are the interpretative frames of the July 22 attacks a decade later characterized by agreement or disagreement?

2. Second, are there distinct narratives about the nature of the attacks, their causes and consequences?

3. Third, are these narratives associated with ideological beliefs, partisanship, levels of trust and emotional reactions?

Data and Methods

To gauge the different interpretations of the July 22 attacks in the Norwegian public, we use survey data from a survey conducted in December 2020. The survey was fielded by Kantar TNS to their web-panel of a representative sample of Norwegians. The response rate was 44 percent and more than 2,000 respondents had answered.[31]

Our survey had a large battery of questions about July 22, which measured the respondent's view on four different aspects of the terrorist attack. First, we asked questions about how they interpreted the *target selection* of the attacks. The respondents could choose between four different options: democracy, Labor Party and its

youth wing, multicultural Norway, or the left wing. They could also respond that it had little to do with politics or that none of the options mentioned were appropriate. Given that some of these targets are not mutually exclusive, they were allowed to select as many categories as they wanted.[32]

Second, we asked the respondents about the reasons *why* they think the attacks of July 22 happened. We included all of the key hypotheses put forward in the public debate, including that it was caused by an extreme right ideology, by mental health issues (i.e., that it was the act of a crazy person), that it was related to parental neglect or that it happened as the result of Norwegian immigration policies. The first two of these played an important role during the trial, while the third received less media attention, but was emphasized in one of the first comprehensive biographical accounts of the perpetrator.[33] The fourth thesis, that it was the result of Norwegian immigration policies, has typically been advocated by some, but not all, far-right actors.[34] We also asked whether they believed that there was more than one perpetrator behind the attacks. Again, these explanations are not necessarily mutually exclusive, but some might be seen as more important than others. Respondents were therefore allowed to evaluate each statement on a 7-point scale from disagree completely to agree completely. Unfortunately, the survey did not include explanatory statements tapping into the security and love narratives identified by Lenz (e.g., that July 22 was the result of either poor security measures and/ or were the consequence of evil). Our study cannot rule out the presence of additional narratives, which is a limitation we should keep in mind when interpreting the results.

Third, we asked the respondents how they viewed the social and political *reactions* to July 22. We were interested in mapping support for some of the arguments put forward in public debates by various elite actors. Two of the statements, which have been advocated by right-wing populist and (to some extent) conservative representatives, argues that the Labor Party has exploited ("slått politisk mynt") the attacks for political gains, and that it has become more difficult to express oneself after the attacks. Two other statements, voiced by representatives from the Labor youth wing and other left-wing actors, focused on the alleged lack of confronting right-wing extremism—that July 22 was a "missed opportunity" [35]—and that there has been too little discussion about July 22 in Norway. We also included one general statement about the extent to which Norway has dealt with the terrorist attacks in a positive way.

Fourth, the respondents were asked about their emotional reactions to, and cognitive awareness of, the event. In terms of emotional reactions, we asked whether thinking about July 22 makes the respondents feel angry ("sint"), afraid ("redd") or sad ("trist"). Cognitive awareness was measured by using a question from the Norwegian Citizens Panel—namely, how often a respondent thinks, reads, or talks about July 22, ranging from "never" to "weekly". The last question about July 22 asked whether the respondent had participated in any commemorative events after the attacks, such as the so-called "rose marches", which were organized (more or less) spontaneously across the country in the days after the attacks.

Finally, in addition to these specific questions about July 22, the survey included many questions tapping into various political belief systems associated with the far-right, including nativism, xenophobia, racism, and authoritarianism. The number and variety of different indicators allow us to construct fine-grained indices, reflecting different degrees of ideological extremism. We constructed three additive indices, two of which are based on a principal component analysis of all the political variables mentioned above. The solution gave three indices that we have called right-wing extremism,[36] populism and anti-immigration.[37] We include the first and last of these indices since they are more associated with the ideological motivation and the political goal of the perpetrator. Finally, we constructed an index for political trust based on questions pertaining to trust in political institutions (parliament and government). Table 5 in the Appendix shows the distributions of responses on these four indices.

Results

Agreement and Disagreement on Interpretative Frames

In this first empirical section, we provide some simple descriptive findings from the various set of questions related to July 22: why it happened, who was targeted and how society reacted. The aim is to see whether interpretations of the terrorist event are characterized by agreement or disagreement.

Regarding the question of why July 22 happened, there are high levels of agreement among the respondents (see Figure 1). Most importantly, almost all respondents agree that it was an act of a 'crazy person'. This is not particularly surprising, given that much of the trial was concerned with whether the terrorist was sane or insane. [38] While the first psychiatrists assessing Breivik concluded that he suffered from paranoid schizophrenia, the second team of psychiatrists argued that he was not clinically insane but a political terrorist with a vulnerable psychological profile characterized by dissocial and narcissistic personality disorder. In addition to the focus on mental issues during the trial, saying that Brevik was a 'crazy person' can also be interpreted as a more layman understanding of why a person could carry out such atrocities.[39] More than 80 percent of the respondents who agree completely with the statement that the perpetrator was crazy also agree at least somewhat with the statement that the attacks were caused by right-wing extremism. This finding provides some evidence that most Norwegians do not see the insanity and ideology hypotheses as mutually exclusive, and that Breivik could have been motivated by right-wing extremism while also being 'crazy' (legally unaccountable, or not) at the same time.[40]

Figure 1. What was the Cause of the Attacks?
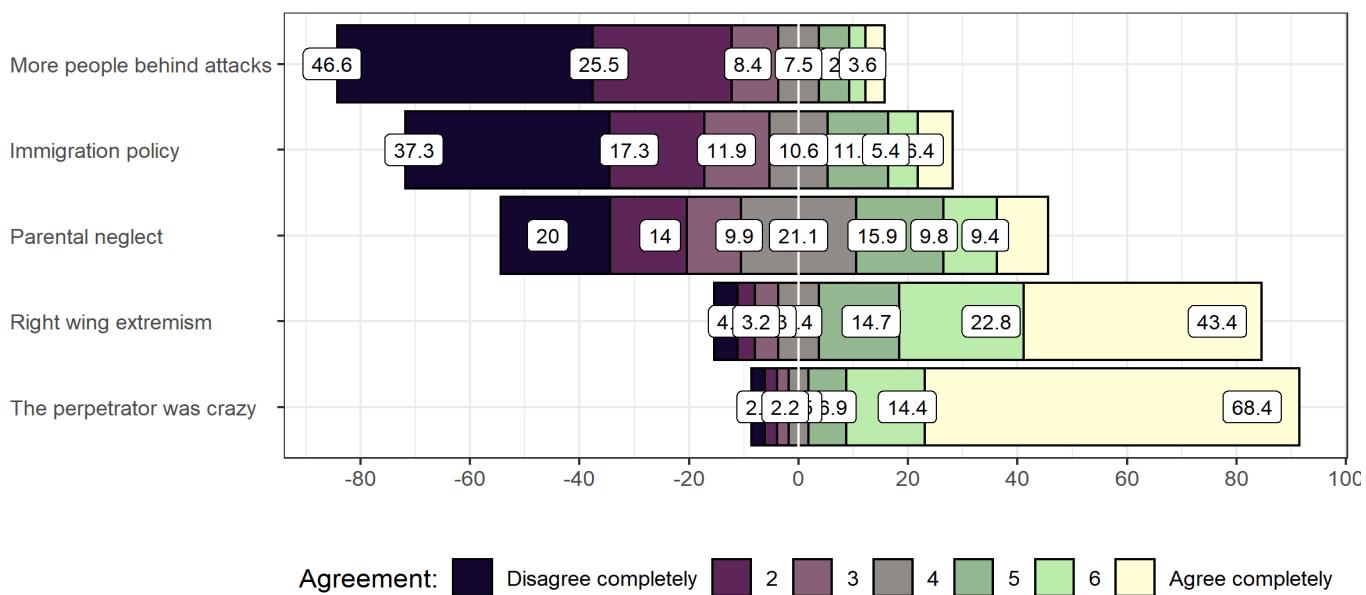
There is also consensus regarding the conspiratorial statement that more people were behind the attacks. Very few respondents support this statement and further analysis (not shown here) shows that most of these respondents probably interpreted the statements as a structural explanation (e.g., other right-wing extremists have inspired the terrorist) rather than as a conspiratorial one.[41]

Only two of the explanations produce some disagreement among the respondents. Although a clear majority of them do not see the attacks as a backlash against Norwegian immigration policy, a significant minority of about 23 percent do at least somewhat see it in that light. While such arguments were not advocated by any organized actor in Norway, some prominent far-right figures elsewhere—like the former leader of the French Front National, Jean-Marie Le Pen did portray the attacks along these lines (see Berntzen and Ravndal in this

Special Issue). The other explanation with low levels of agreement concerned the question whether the attacks were a result of parental neglect: 36 percent agreed, while 43 percent disagreed. As mentioned previously, the idea that parental neglect and a difficult childhood are crucial to understanding why Breivik became radicalized, or at least developed a personality susceptible to radicalization, is the key argument in one of the most comprehensive assessments of Breivik's life history.[42] However, high levels of respondents indicated not having a strong opinion either way (22 percent), and several others indicated "don't know", suggesting that disagreement perhaps reflects a lack of knowledge more than any high conflict potential. Additional analysis also shows that views about this statement, as well as the statement that more people were behind the attacks, are not strongly associated with any of the distinct narratives about the attacks (see Table 4 in the Appendix).

Turning to the questions of who was targeted, we find that there is also substantial agreement, though with some important deviations (see Figure 2). Not surprisingly, most respondents agree with the dominant narrative of July 22 promoted by the Prime Minister at the time, in which July 22 was an attack on democracy (60 percent). Many respondents also say that the Labor Party (and its youth wing) was targeted, but this does not necessarily mean the Labor Party as a *political* organization (54 percent). Given that respondents could select as many targets as they wanted, there is some overlap between the two. Still, nearly 3 out of 4 respondents chose one of these two options. At the same time, there are a large and a small minority who interpret July 22 as an attack against multicultural Norway (42 per cent) or the left wing (20 per cent), respectively. By doing so, they go beyond the cross-partisan metaphor of 'democracy' and what is arguably a less symbolic category 'the Labor Party', thereby moving towards a more ideological interpretation of the target selection. In this instance, the terrorist is not seen as someone who is only, or even mainly, targeting values and institutions characterized by consensus (democracies and political parties), but rather values and institutions that are more contested (multiculturalism and the left wing).

Figure 2. Who was the Target of the Attacks?
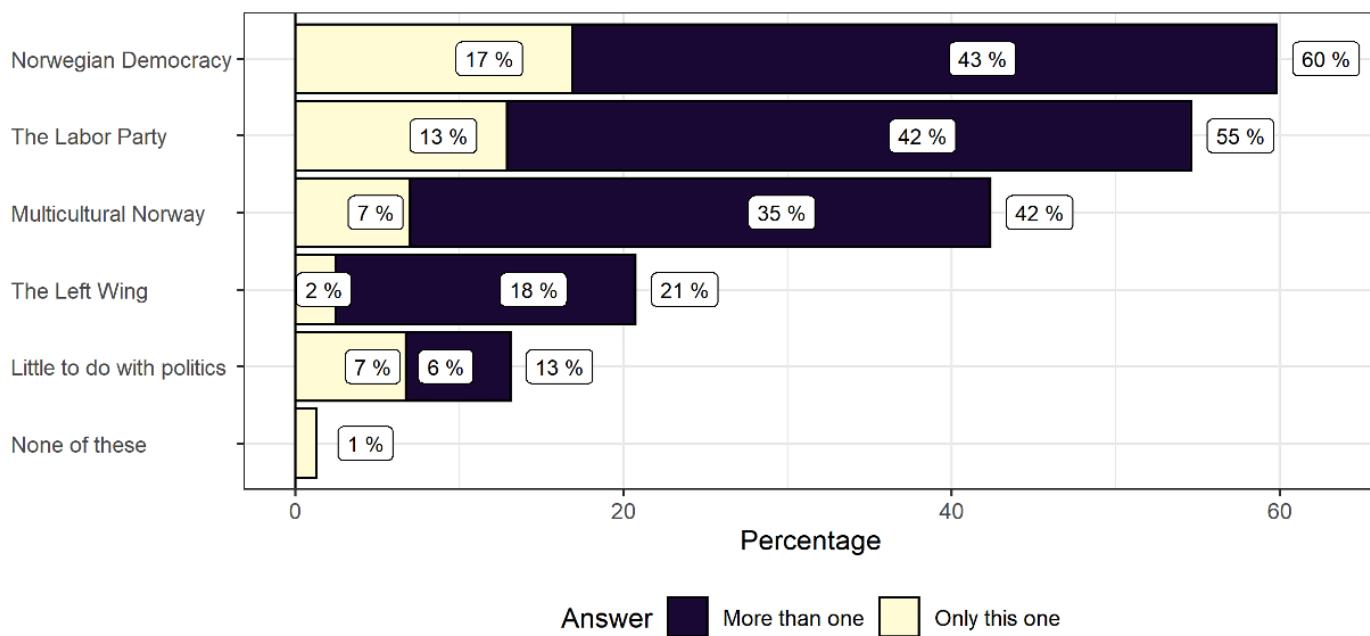
Our empirical findings also suggest that there is another minority (13 per cent)—though smaller than those who see July 22 as an attack on multiculturalism and the left wing—who believes that the terrorist attacks had little to do with politics. To be sure, some of these respondents may appear somewhat inconsistent given that they also believed it was an attack against the Labor Party or Norwegian democracy (6 per cent), but it does make sense with a more concrete and less abstract understanding of democracy and Labor Party. After all, it is difficult to ignore the fact that most of those who were targeted and killed were members of the Labor Party's youth wing.

While there are relatively high levels of agreement regarding the question why July 22 happened and, to a lesser

extent, whom the terrorist targeted, there is more disagreement about how Norwegian society has reacted, politically and socially, to the terrorist attacks (see Figure 3). To be sure, on some of the questions, Norwegians are remarkably united: very few respondents believe that July 22 has resulted in political censorship in the sense that it has become more difficult to express one's opinion. Most respondents think that our national values have become stronger in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks and most respondents agree that Norway has handled the attacks well. Yet, on questions related to the behavior of political actors in the period after the attacks, there is far more disagreement. This is particularly the case for a controversial and polarizing statement like "The Labor Party has exploited July 22 for political gain". In the public debate, several prominent politicians from the two right-wing parties, the Progress Party and the Conservatives, have criticized the Labor Party for 'playing the July 22 card', suggesting that they are trying to exploit their status as victims of terrorism. While a significant minority (31 percent) disagree completely with this argument and many others disagree somewhat (15 percent) or a little (10 percent), as many as 30 percent agree to a greater or lesser extent. There is also conflict regarding whether or not July 22 has been addressed too little in the public debate and whether extreme right ideologies have been confronted well enough in the period after the terrorist attacks.

The analysis of the descriptive statistics shows that while there are large majorities to be found on most issues, there are some indications of minorities of respondents holding dissenting views. This polarization seems most clearly present when it comes to the most political issue, namely the usage of the attacks for political gain by the Labor Party. In the following section we explore whether the different attitudes are connected to each other to the extent that we can speak about different key narratives.

Figure 3. Respondents' View of the Aftermath of the Attacks
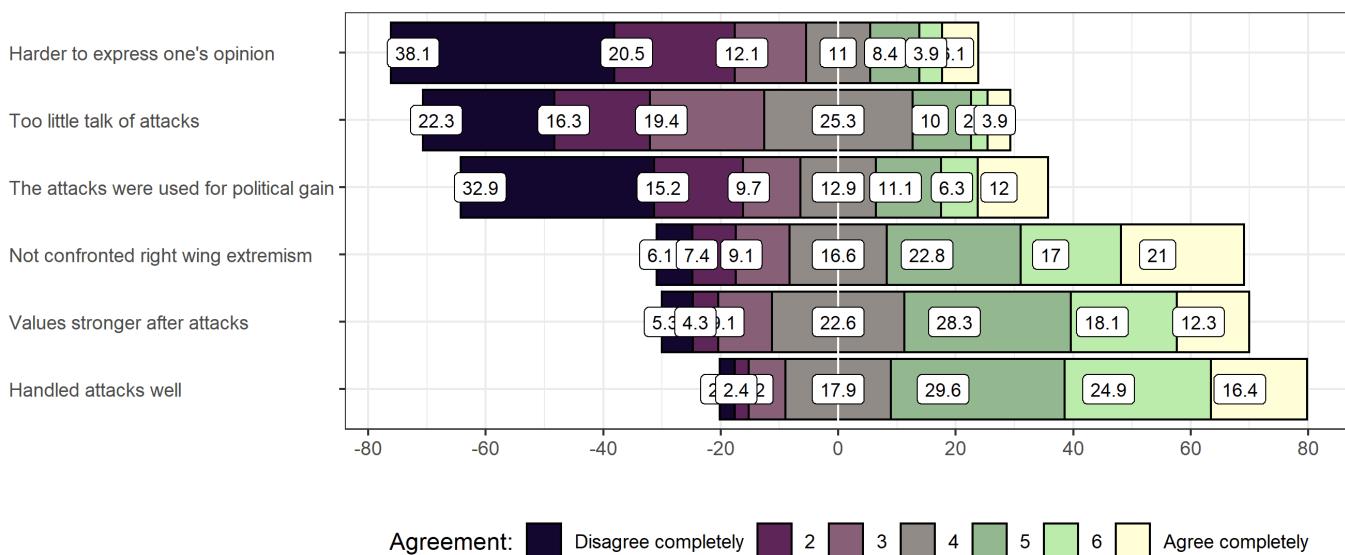
Distinct Narratives?

To study how the different attitudes are connected, and whether they make up distinct narratives about July 22, we use Principal Component Analysis (PCA). This type of analysis explores the relation between different attitudes in the dataset and seeks to discover underlying factors that influence the respondents' answers to individual questions.[43] Based on visual inspection of a Scree-plot and Kaiser's criteria we find three factors (see Figure 6 in the Appendix).[44] Only three of our indicators did not correlate with any of these factors (i.e., statements related to insanity, parental neglect and whether more people were behind the attacks). This makes sense given that they were either lacking variation or remain largely depoliticized. Given that the three factors we identify are also empirically related to views on target selection,[45] we interpret these indices as distinct narratives about the attacks. To make the analysis easier to interpret, we use additive indices with the variables that load heavily on each factor in Table 3 in the Appendix instead of the factors from the PCA.[46] We recoded these indices to go from 0 to 1. The key structure of the three narratives is summarized in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Main Components of the Three Narratives
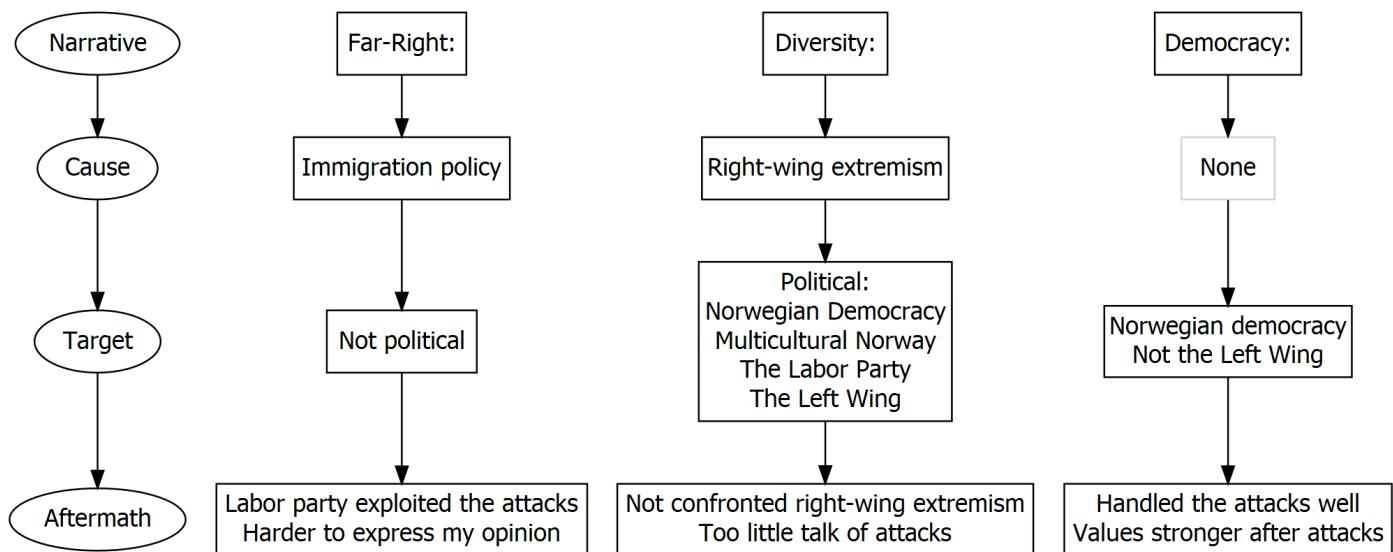
Two of the narratives are in line with previous research: the *democracy* and *diversity* narratives. According to our findings, the *democracy* narrative is (quite obviously) characterized by the idea that democracy was targeted. It also correlates with the idea that multiculturalism was targeted (though less so than the diversity narrative, see below), which makes sense given that values like "openness" and "tolerance" were emphasized in speeches after the terrorist attacks.[47] And it correlates negatively with both the view that July 22 had nothing to do with politics and that the left wing was the target. Moreover, and in line with the "proto-political"[48] response by the Prime Minister, in the sense that it emphasized core democratic values rather than partisan ideology,[49] those supporting the democracy narrative are not more likely to see July 22 as an attack on the Labor Party or the left wing more generally. Perhaps the most striking feature of the democracy narrative, however, is the idea that Norwegian society handled the attacks well and that values became stronger after the attacks. In general, the existence and content of the democracy narrative is very much in line with what the Prime Minister and his advisors wanted to achieve.[50] Stoltenberg's speechwriter, Hans Christian Amundsen[51], writes in his memoirs that he felt it impossible to describe the attacks as a "political" massacre without it being perceived as self-pity. Furthermore, he writes that they saw the terrorist as a lone actor and not as part of a milieu. They wanted to ignore the terrorist and his political ideas, and instead invite the public to a defense of "our values". Thus, the speeches seem to avoid emphasizing the right-wing extremist character of the attacks, presenting them more as an attack on our democratic values, leaving what was "political" to the prescriptions on how to react to the attacks ("with more openness and more democracy"). In other words, this narrative appears preoccupied with *how* we should react to terrorism rather than how we should explain *why* it happened. In fact, this narrative, in contrast to the other narratives, does not correlate with a distinct understanding of the causes of the attacks.

In the *diversity* narrative the target selection is considered to be more ideological compared to the democracy narrative. Although those believing in this narrative mention democracy as one of the targets of the attacks, they are more likely to believe that multicultural Norway and, to a lesser extent, the left wing and the Labor Party were targeted. They also have a much more distinct understanding about the causes of the attacks, namely that it was the result of right-wing extremism. To be sure, many of these respondents also believe that Breivik was/is 'crazy', yet they also believe that the perpetrator was motivated by a specific ideology. Furthermore, and perhaps not surprisingly, given the emphasis on ideology as an explanatory factor, this narrative is characterized by a more negative evaluation of the aftermath of the attacks compared to those mainly supporting the democracy narrative. These respondents believe both that Norwegian society has not sufficiently confronted right-wing extremism and that there is too little discussion regarding the attacks. In other words, the attacks have not been politicized enough. In many ways this narrative resembles the views advocated by Raymond Johansen, the Labor Party's secretary at the time of the attacks. Together with many in the Labor Youth and the Labor Party,

he saw a confrontation with the far-right more broadly as necessary after the attacks, but faced pushback both by others in the Labor Party's leadership and in the public debates following different attempts at starting such a discussion.[52]

We also find support for what we call *the far-right narrative.* This narrative was not one of the four narratives identified in the initial aftermath of the attacks [53], probably because it did not—for obvious reasons—feature prominently in the public discourse. As previously mentioned, Norwegian editors were very reluctant to publish dissenting voices in the period after the attacks.[54] Those supporting this narrative are much less likely to see July 22 as an attack on multiculturalism, the left wing and even democracy and far more likely to think that the attacks had nothing to do with politics. They are also more likely to choose none of the options provided in the survey, or to not respond at all to the question on target selection. At the same time, this narrative includes a strong feeling that the attacks have been politicized too much, as they believe that the Labor Party has exploited the attack for political gain and that it has become more difficult to express one's opinion after the attacks. This narrative is also related to seeing the attacks as not caused by right-wing extremism, but by immigration policy. Arguing that the attacks had little to do with politics and at the same time saying that it was caused by Norwegian immigration policies is indeed somewhat inconsistent, but narratives do not have to be consistent to make sense for those believing in them. In fact, the logic of this narrative gets very close to the delegitimized ideological sphere of the terrorist, in which the de-politization can be considered a strategy of disguise (comparable to "communication latency" in research on antisemitism).[55]

Table 1 indicates how much support and opposition there is for each narrative. We have divided the respondents by their levels of support and opposition for each narrative. It should be noted that support for the different narratives is not mutually exclusive, which means that they can add up to more than 100 percent. As one could expect, based on its' centrality in the aftermath of the attacks, more than four in five citizens are still supportive of the democracy narrative ten years after the attacks (40 percent agree strongly, and 44 percent agree somewhat). However, there is also widespread support for the diversity narrative. As many as three in four of the respondents are supportive of this narrative, though fewer citizens strongly support this narrative (only 25 percent compared to 50 percent of respondents who support it somewhat). For the far-right narrative the picture is reversed. Almost half of the respondents oppose this narrative completely. Still, a little more than one in four of the respondents are supportive of this narrative (8 percent are very supportive, and 19 percent are somewhat supportive).

Table 1. Levels of Support for the Three Narratives [56]

Support	Far-right	Diversity	Democracy
Full support	8%	25%	40%
Some support	19%	50%	44%
Some opposition	28%	18%	13%
Full opposition	45%	8%	4%

Who Believes in What?

To further investigate the polarizing potential of these narratives, we employed linear regression with the three indices as dependent variables. We use four sets of independent variables and control for age group, gender, and education. While we do not have strong hypotheses concerning these control variables, we are interested in seeing how age affects attitudes towards the attacks, and especially if the so-called "Utøya generation" supports different narratives than others.[57][58]

We first include variables on the respondents' personal connection to the attacks. These items ask whether the respondents participated in the commemorations afterwards the attacks,[59] how often they think of the attacks today and what emotions the attacks make them feel (angry, fearful, or sad). Existing research has shown that terrorist attacks are likely to produce different emotions, which in turn are associated with different patterns of behaviour.[60] For example, fear is likely to result in less political participation, while anger can produce the opposite. Our initial assumption is that both participation and emotions will correlate negatively with support for the first narrative and positively with support for the two others, particularly with the diversity narrative.[61]

The second type of independent variables cover political attitudes. The first is partisanship. The July 22 attacks were very much connected to Norwegian political parties, with both the victim being the Labor youth and the Labor Party and the perpetrator having a prior membership in the right-wing populist party, the Progress Party, and its youth wing. Partisanship may therefore be a crucial determinant of how people interpret the attacks. However, a correlation between partisanship and attitudes may have another explanation as well. In the ten years that have passed since the attacks, they have been debated from time to time, and the different parties have to a certain extent signalled different interpretations of the attacks. Partisan differences in the interpretations may stem from this kind of signalling from the political elites.

While partisanship may be one important part of people's interpretations of the attacks, there is also reason to believe that more general ideological leanings of the respondents may be important. After all, there is widespread agreement that the perpetrator was motivated by right-wing extremist ideology. Jakobsson and Blom [62] hypothesize that their findings of increased support for immigration was caused by cognitive dissonance experienced by people having similar attitudes as the terrorist. Here we might expect the effect of cognitive dissonance to be in the opposite direction. We can expect that respondents with right-wing extremist or anti-immigrant attitudes may be less likely to see the attacks as caused by right-wing extremism. We have used a wide set of questions on political attitudes (with an emphasis on far-right attitudes) in a principal component analysis (see the methodology section above). We include two of the indices in this discussion, right-wing extremism and anti-immigration. Finally, we have included a measure on political trust, creating an index from two questions on political trust (trust in the government and trust in the parliament - see the Appendix). While we do not have strong expectations regarding how trust affects support for the three narratives, the first narrative may be assumed to be negatively correlated with trust and the third positively.[63] The first narrative contains some questions associated with distrust (using the attacks for political gain) and the third some questions that could be associated with trust (that Norwegian society handled the attacks well).

Figure 5 shows average marginal effects from the OLS regressions with support for the three narratives as dependent variables. The first column shows the results with support for the *far-right* narrative as dependent variable, the second support for the *diversity* narrative and the last for the *democracy* narrative.

Figure 5. Average Marginal Effects from OLS (Ordinary Least Squares)
with the Three Narratives as Dependent Variables
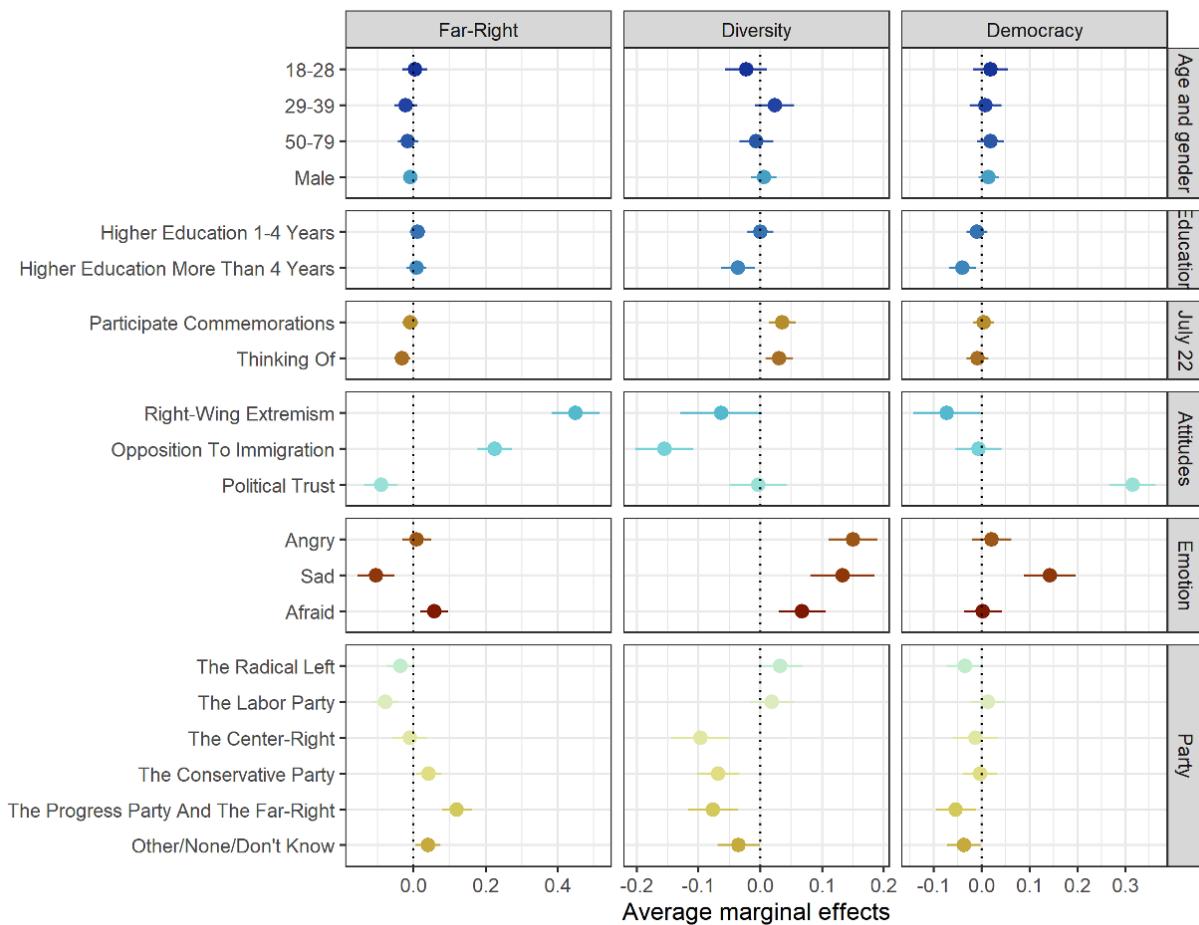
Starting with variables measuring involvement in commemoration and cognitive awareness of the attacks, the correlations with the three indices are relatively small. There does not seem to be a correlation between the far-right and democracy indices and participating in the commemorations nor with thinking of the attacks. However, both participation and thinking of the attacks are positively correlated with support for the diversity narrative. Also, for the three emotions the patterns differ between the indices. The first and last narrative are correlated with sadness, but in opposite directions. Feeling sad because of the attacks is correlated with lower support for the far-right narrative and higher support for the democracy narrative. Support for the diversity narrative is positively correlated with all three emotions, particularly anger and sadness.

Moving to party affiliation, there is a clear relationship with support for the far-right narrative, and this relationship seems to follow the parties' position on the left-right axis. People voting for the center party (reference category) have low levels of support for the far-right narrative, and the further to the right the higher is the support for this narrative. The diversity narrative shows the opposite pattern. The correlations with partisanship seem to follow the left-right-scale with people being less supportive of the diversity narrative the more right-wing their party is. For the democracy narrative, the relationship with partisanship does not appear to follow the left-right axis, but rather an inverse U-shape that separates the center from the two extremes. Supporters of parties both on the left and the right extreme of the left-right axis are less supportive of the democracy narrative.

On the ideological dimensions, both right-wing extremism and opposition to immigration are positively correlated with support for the far-right narrative. The correlation with right-wing extremism is particularly strong. The estimate for political trust is negative and statistically significant, but small. Regarding support for the diversity narrative, the correlations are all negative. Opposition to immigration is the most negative and

while the correlation with right-wing extremism is smaller, it is also significant. The correlation between support for the diversity narrative and political trust is close to zero. Finally, support for the democracy narrative is also negatively correlated with right-wing extremism, but the negative correlation with opposition to immigration is not significant. However, there is a strong and positive correlation between political trust and support for this narrative.

The correlations with the control variables are all small. There seems to be a small negative correlation between higher education and support for the two last narratives. This is a bit surprising, and the negative correlation with the highest level of education is not significant when only the control variables are included (see Table 4 in the Appendix). For gender and age, the correlations are small and insignificant at the 0.05 level. There are therefore no obvious signs of a "Utøya generation" effect in the data.

Conclusion

This article set out to measure how Norwegian citizens today interpret the terrorist attack on July 22, 2011 a full decade after these attacks took place. Existing literature on responses to terrorist attacks, including the July 22 attacks, emphasizes that societies tend to produce a strong and united counter-narrative showing that it will not give in to the political demands put forward by the terrorist.[64] We wanted to explore whether unity remains intact in the long run, arguing that such a united counter-narrative might be particularly difficult when the political motivations of terrorists resemble ideological positions associated with major political parties. In this article, we distinguished between three specific questions: First, do citizens agree or disagree on how to interpret various aspects of the attacks? Second, do they hold distinct narratives about the attacks? Third, are these narratives associated with other ideological beliefs, partisanship, trust, or emotional reactions evoked by the attacks?

The results show relatively high levels of agreement among Norwegians in their interpretations of July 22, including not only holding that the perpetrator was 'crazy' *and* motivated by right-wing extremism, but also that Norway handled the attacks well and that our society's core values became stronger because of the attack. However, there is also evidence of a certain level of disagreement on many of the questions we asked. This includes the issue of whether the attacks were related to parental neglect, whether they should be seen as a reaction to Norwegian immigration policies, and whether the Labor Party has exploited the attacks for political gain.

Furthermore, our analysis shows that there are clear patterns in how respondents interpret *the target selection* of the attacks, the reasons *why they happened* and *how society responded*. We interpret the interconnection between these dimensions as the existence of distinct narratives. The narratives are different, but internally coherent understandings where each element follows from the other. Based on the survey questions we included (questions which are arguably biased towards the *political* dimensions of the attack) we find support for three different narratives about July 22. The democracy narrative sees the attacks as attacks on Norwegian democracy, has a positive evaluation of the reaction by Norwegian society, and sees certain values as strengthened after the attacks. None of our questions about the reasons for the attacks are related to this narrative, though this might reflect the nature of the questions included in the survey.

The two other narratives reflect left-wing and right-wing critiques of the democracy narrative. The first, the diversity narrative, emphasizes the extreme-right motivation of the terrorist and sees the events of July 22 as attacks on multicultural Norway and on the left wing. Following from the emphasis on the political characteristics of the attacks, this narrative also sees the society's response as not sufficiently confronting right-wing extremism and also holds that there is not enough discussion about the attacks. Finally, the last narrative, which we called 'far-right', sees the attacks as caused by Norwegian immigration policy and sees the targeting as not political. Following from this apolitical understanding of the attacks themselves, the evaluation of the aftermath of the attacks is negative: the Labor Party has exploited the attacks and it became more difficult to express one's opinion after the attacks. In other words, the self-ascribed "apolitical" character of the July 22 attacks in the far-right narrative facilitates the double operation of interpreting the terror on the one hand as

not related to politics (and thus, legitimizing the motives) and of accusing political opponents of abusing the memory (and thereby de-legitimizing them).[65]

The regression analysis results show that the narratives are strongly associated with other political attitudes. This is especially the case with right-wing extremist and (anti-)immigration attitudes, but also with partisanship, trust, and emotions.

The democracy narrative is supported by centrist respondents, by those experiencing more sadness than others when thinking about the attacks and is supported more strongly depending on the higher political trust and the lower support of right-wing extremism the respondents have. These results underline the consensus character of the narrative, which probably explains why it is still widely supported. This narrative does not follow directly from the attacks, but primarily from the interpretation given by Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg and other prominent politicians. It is therefore no surprise that acceptance of this narrative depends on whether or not the respondent generally trusts political institutions like the government and the parliament.

The diversity narrative is supported by people who are generally positive towards immigration, by people who do not harbor right-wing extremist views, by people voting for the left-wing parties and by people who experience more anger, sadness and, to some extent, also more fear than others when thinking of the attacks. This narrative is the only one that seems to be connected to participation in commemorations and to regularly thinking of July 22 today. The narrative receives less support than the democracy narrative, but far more than what we had expected and far more than the right-wing critique of the democracy narrative (see below), with around 75 percent supporting, completely or partially, this narrative. The link between the diversity narrative and anger may indicate that this narrative has the largest potential for mobilization going forward. The current (2021) debate about establishing a commission on extremism, headed by the AUF and supported by the Labor Party, could be seen as support for this expectation.

The far-right narrative is supported more strongly by respondents with right-wing extremist views, respondents who oppose immigration, support right-wing parties, have lower levels of trust and who become less sad than others when thinking of the 2011 attacks. There is much lower support for this narrative compared to the two others, but (some or full) support from one in four of the respondents is far from negligible. Moreover, the results here are clear indications of the ideological and partisan basis for the far-right narrative. Although some of the elements of this narrative are also supported by citizens with more moderate views and by those voting for the mainstream political right and (to a lesser extent) other centrist parties, the full narrative is particularly strong among individuals whose ideology overlaps with the perpetrator's ideology – even if most of them do not support violence as political strategy.

Let us end by highlighting three implications of our findings. First, the results indicate that if the narrative created by the elites resonate well with the public in the immediate phase after a terrorist attack, it may have long-lasting impact on the dominant perception. As a result, society maintains a relatively high level of consensus regarding the narrative about the terrorist attack. This is perhaps even more likely in countries characterized by high levels of political trust or after attacks with a strong rally effect [66], where citizens generally trust the messages promoted by the government. Our findings show that those still believing in the dominant narrative are those with relatively high levels of trust.

Second, and at the same time, our results suggest that the democracy narrative is currently – and perhaps increasingly – challenged by those who believe the attacks have been politicized too little and those who believe they have been politicized too much. While there were exceptional high levels of unity in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, our results indicate a tendency towards more conflict as time goes by. Both of the two oppositional narratives include negative evaluations of the societal response to the attacks. Moreover, as the youth wing of the Labour Party becomes more articulate in pointing out the ideological motives of these terrorist attacks, the far-right narrative identified in the study can be expected to become a more pronounced push-back strategy.

Third, the (growing) polarization of how to interpret the terrorist attacks illustrates some of the weaknesses

in the democracy narrative and how it may have left the public discourse less prepared to negotiate tensions and handle contradicting interpretations in a deliberative mode. As we have seen, in our data, this narrative is less specific on some questions such as the reasons for the attacks, which makes it difficult to address the root causes of terrorism. Moreover, by insisting on its harmonic outlook, that Norway has dealt with the terrorist attacks in a good way, it may unintentionally contribute to the (far-right) delegitimization of the diversity narrative as "politicized".

On a final note: The fact that the interpretation of the terrorist attacks today seems to mirror closely other political cleavages in Norwegian politics makes it even more difficult for society to 'keep calm and carry on'. As recent debates in Norway have shown, public statements in favor of both of the two oppositional narratives seem to create heated exchanges. However, it remains an open question whether our results are generalizable to other terrorist attacks. While other memory research has shown that conflicts tend to emerge after a period of consensus, it may be even more difficult to maintain unity when the perpetrator is "one of us" [67] rather than "one of them" (e.g., a militant Islamist carrying out an attack in a Western country). This means that our findings might be valid only in cases where there is an ideological connection, however weak, between the terrorist and major political parties.

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Appendix

(selected Tables and Figures referred to in the text)

Table 2. Number of Targets Chosen by the Respondents

Number of targets chosen	Percent
0	7%
1	44%
2	24%
3	16%
4	9%
5	1%

Figure 6. Scree-plot of the Eigenvalues of the Different Factors
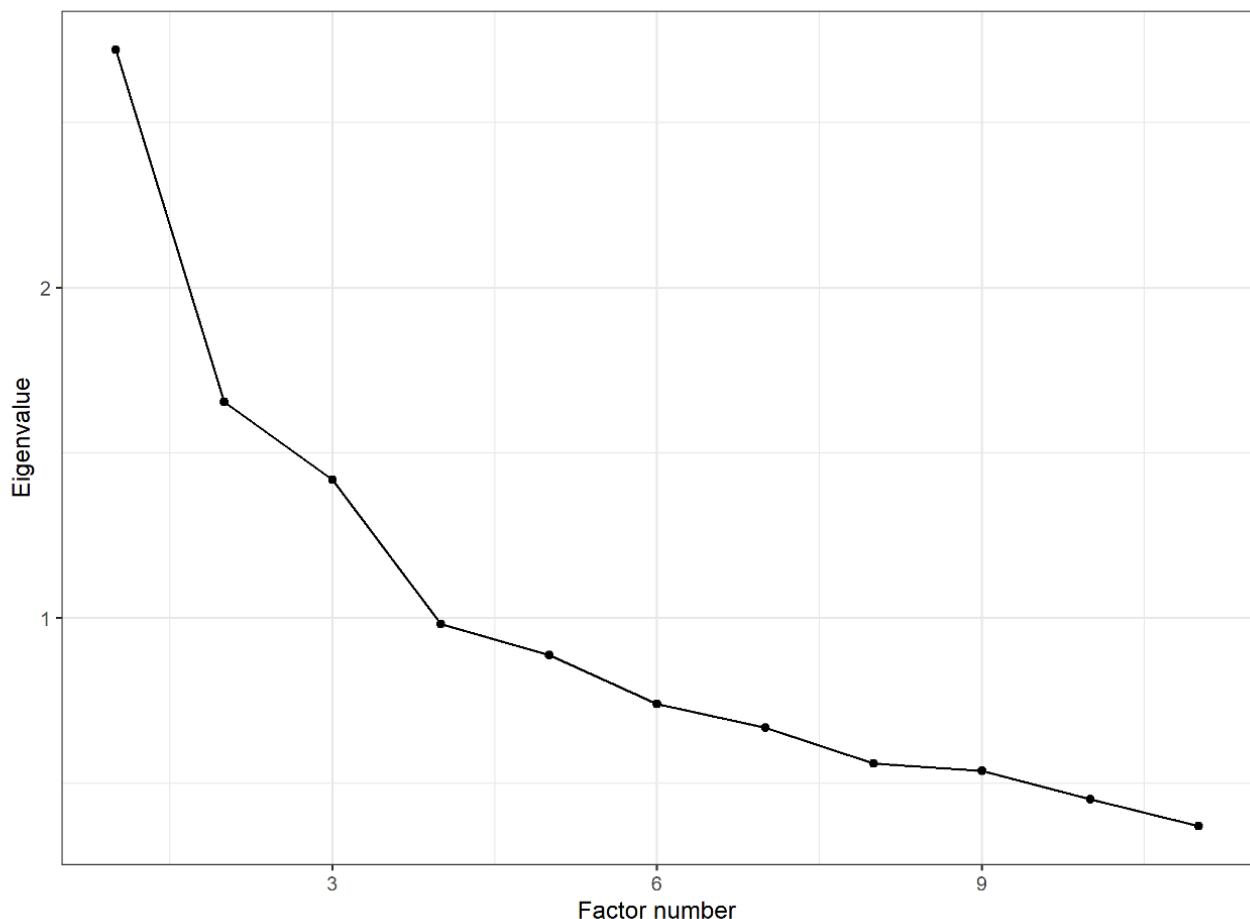
Table 3. Factor-Loadings from a Principal Component Analysis (PCA)
with Varimax Rotation (orthogonal)

	Far-right	Diversity	Democracy
Views on the aftermath of the attacks			
Used for political gain	0.68		
Difficult to express one's opinion	0.76		
Not confronted right wing extremism		0.56	
Too little talk of attacks		0.67	
Handled attacks well			0.54
Values stronger after attacks			0.82
Reasons for the attacks			
Perpetrator was crazy			
Right wing extremism		0.51	
More people behind attacks			
Parental neglect			
Immigration policy	0.57		

Table 4. Results from the OLS regression
with the Different Narrative Indices as Dependent Variables

	Far-right		Diversity		Democracy	
	Controls	Full model	Controls	Full model	Controls	Full model
(Intercept)	0.34**	0.23**	0.61**	0.46**	0.63**	0.33**
	[0.3, 0.38]	[0.17, 0.3]	[0.58, 0.64]	[0.39, 0.53]	[0.6, 0.66]	[0.26, 0.4]
Male	0.069**	-0.009	-0.068**	0.0056	-0.02.	0.015
	[0.044, 0.094]	[-0.03, 0.012]	[-0.089, -0.047]	[-0.015, 0.026]	[-0.041, 2e-04]	[-0.0063, 0.036]
Age (ref: 40-49)						
18-28	-0.075**	0.004	0.027	-0.023	0.031.	0.019
	[-0.12, -0.029]	[-0.031, 0.039]	[-0.01, 0.064]	[-0.057, 0.011]	[-0.0059, 0.068]	[-0.017, 0.054]
29-39	-0.033	-0.022	0.017	0.023	-0.016	0.0083
	[-0.075, 0.0092]	[-0.054, 0.0098]	[-0.018, 0.052]	[-0.0082, 0.055]	[-0.051, 0.019]	[-0.025, 0.041]
50-79	-0.023	-0.016	0.013	-0.0065	0.041**	0.019
	[-0.06, 0.014]	[-0.044, 0.012]	[-0.018, 0.043]	[-0.034, 0.021]	[0.01, 0.071]	[-0.0098, 0.047]
Education (ref: No higher)						
Higher Education 1-4 Years	-0.028*	0.011	0.0021	-0.00	-0.00037	-0.0094
	[-0.055, -0.00024]	[-0.01, 0.033]	[-0.021, 0.025]	[-0.021, 0.021]	[-0.023, 0.022]	[-0.031, 0.012]
Higher Education More Than 4 Years	-0.1**	0.0078	-0.0018	-0.036*	-0.00014	-0.04**
	[-0.14, -0.068]	[-0.02, 0.035]	[-0.032, 0.028]	[-0.064, -0.0083]	[-0.03, 0.03]	[-0.068, -0.012]
July 22						
Participate Commemorations		-0.009		0.036**		0.0044
		[-0.031, 0.013]		[0.014, 0.057]		[-0.018, 0.027]
Thinking Of		-0.032**		0.031**		-0.0083
		[-0.054, -0.0095]		[0.0084, 0.053]		[-0.031, 0.015]
Angry		0.009		0.15**		0.02
		[-0.031, 0.049]		[0.11, 0.19]		[-0.021, 0.062]
Afraid		0.057**		0.067**		0.0027
		[0.018, 0.097]		[0.029, 0.11]		[-0.037, 0.042]

Table 4 (continued)

Sad		-0.1**		0.13**		0.14**
		[-0.16, -0.053]		[0.081, 0.18]		[0.088, 0.2]
Attitudes						
Right-Wing Extremism		0.45**		-0.063.		-0.073*
		[0.38, 0.52]		[-0.13, 0.003]		[-0.14, -0.0031]
Opposition To Immigration		0.22**		-0.16**		-0.0066
		[0.18, 0.27]		[-0.2, -0.11]		[-0.055, 0.042]
Political Trust		-0.091**		-0.0035		0.32**
		[-0.14, -0.044]		[-0.05, 0.043]		[0.27, 0.36]
Party (ref: The Center Party)						
The Radical Left		-0.037*		0.032.		-0.034.
		[-0.073, -0.00017]		[-0.004, 0.069]		[-0.071, 0.0028]
The Labor Party		-0.078**		0.019		0.013
		[-0.11, -0.042]		[-0.016, 0.054]		[-0.023, 0.049]
The Center-Right		-0.01		-0.097**		-0.013
		[-0.058, 0.038]		[-0.14, -0.05]		[-0.061, 0.035]
The Conservative Party		0.042*		-0.068**		-0.0034
		[0.0071, 0.077]		[-0.1, -0.034]		[-0.038, 0.032]
The Progress Party And The Far-Right		0.12**		-0.077**		-0.054*
		[0.079, 0.16]		[-0.12, -0.036]		[-0.096, -0.011]
Other/None/Don't Know		0.04*		-0.035*		-0.037*
		[0.0044, 0.075]		[-0.069, -0.00066]		[-0.072, -0.0023]
N	1683	1461	1782	1517	1661	1436
R^2	0.05	0.51	0.02	0.32	0.01	0.22
. p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01						

Table 5. Results from T-tests Testing the Difference Between those Choosing a Target and those not Choosing that Target in the Three Narratives

Target	Far Right	Diversity	Democracy	Number of supporters
Norwegian Democracy	-0.15***	0.11***	0.076***	1687
The Labor Party	-0.057***	0.049***	0.0062	1521
Multicultural Norway	-0.095***	0.1***	0.02*	1185
The Left Wing	-0.07***	0.051***	-0.027**	569
Little to do with politics	0.044**	-0.072***	-0.048***	367
None of these	0.25***	-0.23***	-0.21***	41
Not chosen any of the options	0.11**	-0.058*	-0.043.	200

Table 6. Distributions on the Three Indices Measuring Ideology and Trust

Support	Right-wing extremism	Anti-immigration	Political Trust
Support/Trust	2%	30%	45%
Some support/ Some trust	9%	28%	41%
Some opposition/ Some distrust	27%	28%	9%
Opposition/ Distrust	63%	15%	5%

The groups used here are based on a division of the variables into four by level of support for the indices. The first group, 'Support/Trust' is the percentage answering 0.75 and above on the scale from 0 to 1. At the other extreme we find 'Opposition/Distrust'. This is the percentage answering below 0.25. In the middle the categories are from 0.25 to below 0.5 and from 0.5 to below 0.75.

Notes

[1] Hetherington, Marc J., and Michael Nelson. 2003. "Anatomy of a Rally Effect: George W. Bush and the War on Terrorism." *Ps-Political Science & Politics* 36 (1): pp. 37–42; URL: https://doi.org/10.2307/3649343.

[2] Abrahms, Max. 2018. *Rules for Rebels: The Science of Victory in Militant History*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

[3] Zandberg, Eyal, and Motti Neiger. 2005. "Between the Nation and the Profession: Journalists as Members of Contradicting Communities." *Media, Culture & Society* 27 (1): pp. 131–141; URL: https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443705049073; Chowanietz, Christophe. 2010. "Rallying Around the Flag or Railing Against the Government? Political Parties' Reactions to Terrorist Acts." *Party Politics* 17 (5): pp. 673–98; URL: https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068809346073.

[4] Rafoss, Tore Witsø. 2015. "Meningsløs terror og meningsfylt fellesskap: Stoltenbergs taler etter 22. juli". *Sosiologisk Tidsskrift* 23 (01–02): pp. 6–28.

[5] Verovšek, Peter J. 2016. "Collective Memory, Politics, and the Influence of the Past: The Politics of Memory as a Research Paradigm". *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 4 (3): pp. 529–543; URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/21565503.2016.1167094.

[6] Lenz, Claudia. 2018. "22. juli-fortellinger og forhandlingen om hva terroren skal bety for fremtiden".*Tidsskrift for kulturforskning* 17 (1): p.18.

[7] Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2004. "From the Depths of Despair: Performance, Counterperformance, and 'September 11.'" *Sociological Theory* 22 (1): pp. 88–105; URL: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9558.2004.00205.x.

[8] Alexander, op. cit.; Abrahms, op. cit.

[9] Hetherington and Nelson, op. cit.

[10] Schudson, Micheal. 2003. "What's Unusual About Covering Politics as Usual". In :*Journalism After September 11*, edited by Barbie Zelizer and Stuart Allan. London/New York, NY UK/US: Routledge, pp. 44-53.

[11] Chowanietz, op. cit.

[12] Alexander, op. cit.

[13] Jupskås, Anders Ravik. 2015. "The Persistence of Populism. the Norwegian Progress Party 1973-2009." PhD thesis, University of Oslo.

[14] Lenz, op. cit.; Rafoss 2015, op. cit.; Rafoss, Tore Witsø. 2018. "Hva betydde rosetogene?" In: *Norge etter 22 juli: Forhandlinger om verdier, identiteter og et motstandsdyktig samfunn*, edited by Henrik Syse. Oslo, Norway: Cappelen Damm Akademisk; URL: https://doi.org/10.23865/noasp.37.

[15] Interpreting terrorist attacks as attacks on democracy is a common theme by political leaders; see for example Abrahms, op. cit.*,* 65; Sinkkonen, Teemu. 2016. "Can Political Leaders Make a Difference? Norwegian Versus Spanish Experiences in Responding to Terrorist Attacks". *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 39 (4): pp. 326–41;URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/1057610X.2016.1117330.

[16] Wollebæk, Dag, Bernard Enjolras, Kari Steen-Johnsen, and Guro Ødegård. 2012. "After Utøya: How a High-Trust Society Reacts to Terror - Trust and Civic Engagement in the Aftermath of July 22." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 45 (01): pp. 32–37; URL: https://doi.org/10.1017/s1049096511001806.

[17] VG, 2011 in Rafoss 2015, op. cit.

[18] See e.g., Alonso, Rogelio. 2017. "Victims of ETA's Terrorism as an Interest Group: Evolution, Influence, and Impact on the Political Agenda of Spain". *Terrorism and Political Violence* 29 (6): pp. 985–1005; URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2015.1096783.

[19] Hoffman, Bruce. 2006. *Inside Terrorism.* 2nd rev. and expanded edition. New York, NY, US: Columbia University Press, p. 20.

[20] Solheim, Øyvind Bugge. 2020. "Right-Wing Terrorism and Out-Group Trust: The Anatomy of a Terrorist Backlash." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 32 (6): pp. 1206–1224; URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2018.1457526.

[21] Crenshaw, Martha. 1991. "How Terrorism Declines." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 3 (1): 69–87. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546559108427093.

[22] Lenz, op. cit.

[23] Thorbjørnsrud, Kjersti, and Tine Ustad Figenschou. 2018. "Consensus and Dissent After Terror: Editorial Policies in Times of Crisis". *Journalism* 19 (3): pp. 333–48. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884916657519, p. 345.

[24] Solheim, op. cit.

[25] Shanaah, Sadi, Kumar Yogeeswaran, Lara Greaves, Joseph A. Bulbulia, Danny Osborne, M. Usman Afzali, and Chris G. Sibley. 2021. "Hate Begets Warmth? The Impact of an Anti-Muslim Terrorist Attack on Public Attitudes toward Muslims". *Terrorism and*

Political Violence, forthcoming, pp. 1–19.; URL:"https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2021.1877673.

[26] Berntzen, Lars Erik, and Sveinung Sandberg. 2014. "The Collective Nature of Lone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the Anti-Islamic Social Movement." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26 (5): 759–79. https://doi.org/10.1080/09546553.2013.767 245.

[27] Rafoss 2018, op. cit.

[28] Wollebæk, Dag, Kari Steen-Johnsen, Bernard Enjolras, and Guro Ødegård. 2013. "Rallying Without Fear." In: *The Political Psychology of Terrorism Fears*, edited by Daniel Antonius and Samuel J. Sinclair. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 246-262.

[29] See e.g., Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, Charles S. Taber, and Gallya Lahav. 2005. "Threat, Anxiety, and Support of Antiterrorism Policies." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): pp. 593–608; URL: https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2005.00144.x.; Huddy, Leonie, Stanley Feldman, and Christopher Weber. 2007. "The Political Consequences of Perceived Threat and Felt Insecurity". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 614 (1): pp. 131–53; URL: https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207305951.

[30] Vasilopoulos, Pavlos. 2018. "Terrorist Events, Emotional Reactions, and Political Participation: The 2015 Paris Attacks." *West European Politics* 41 (1): pp. 102–27.URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2017.1346901.

[31] We use weights in the OLS-regression and when we measure support for the narratives. The weights are based on gender, age, region, and education (university-level or not).

[32] As can be seen in Table 2 in the appendix, almost half the respondents only selected one of the options, while a quarter selected two options and another quarter selected more than two options. Finally, seven percent did not select any of the targets.

[33] See Borchgrevink, Aage Storm. 2013. *A Norwegian Tragedy: Anders Behring Breivik and the Massacre on Utøya*. Translated by Guy Puzey. Malden, MA, US: Polity Press.

[34] See Berntzen and Ravndal in this Special Issue.

[35] Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 2019. "Lessons Learned or a Missed Opportunity? Norway After the 22 July Terrorist Attack". In: *Diversity and Contestations Over Nationalism in Europe and Canada.*, edited by John Erik Fossum, Riva Kastoryano, and Birte Siim, 269–284. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

[36] The right-wing extremism index includes the statements: "Norway is becoming a lawless society", "there should only be white people in Norway", "it is ok to use violence to defend Norwegian culture" and "violence among ethnic and religious groups is inevitable."

[37] The opposition to immigration index includes the statements: "Immigration is a serious threat to our national character" and "we should make it easier for immigrants to get access to Norway". The last of the questions is turned so that high values denote opposition to immigration.

[38] Melle, Ingrid. 2013. "The Breivik Case and What Psychiatrists Can Learn from It". *World Psychiatry* 12 (1): pp. 16–21; URL: https://doi.org/10.1002/wps.20002.

[39] However, Steen-Johnsen and Winsvold argue that seeing the terrorist as mentally ill may be part an individualization of the perpetrator that moves the focus away from possible societal causes of the attacks. See Steen-Johnsen, Kari, and Marte Slagsvold Winsvold. 2019. "Global Terrorism and the Civil Sphere in Norway: Renegotiating Civil Codes." In *The Nordic Civil Sphere*, edited by Jeffrey C. Alexander, Anna Lund, and Andrea M. Voyer, 229–55. Cambridge, UK: Polity, p. 250.

[40] One third of the respondents agreed completely with both of the statements: The perpetrator being crazy, and the attacks being caused by right wing extremism; only 3.5 percent agreed completely with him being crazy and not motivated by right-wing extremism.

[41] Of those agreeing completely with the statement that more people were behind the attacks, 72 percent agreed completely with the attacks as being caused by right-wing extremism.

[42] See Borchgrevink, op. cit.

[43] Because only continuous variables can be used for PCA we exclude the binary questions on the targets of the attacks, but we show how these are related to the different factors below.

[44] The fourth factor has an eigenvalue close to 1. The fourth factor in a four-factor solution correlates the most with seeing the attacks as caused by Norwegian immigration policy (0.42) and saying that there were more people behind the attacks (0.46). The correlation between the first factor and seeing the attacks as caused by immigration policy is reduced in such a solution, but it is still at 0.44.

[45] T-tests show that there are significant differences in the values on all three indices for nearly all the possible targets as shown in Table 5 in the appendix. Contrary to our expectations of the different substantial targets, "The Norwegian Democracy" and "Multicultural Norway" have the strongest correlations with the three indexes. Both of these correlate negatively with the Far-

Right index and positively the two others. Choosing "The Labor Party" or "The Left Wing" correlate similarly, albeit weakly, with the first two indexes. However, for the last index there is no relationship with choosing "The Labor Party" and a negative correlation with seeing the attacks as targeting "The Left Wing". The three last options, seeing the attacks as having little to do with politics, saying that none of the options was relevant and not selecting any option, show similar patterns. They are correlated positively with the Far-Right index and negatively with the other two indexes.

[46] There is a weak correlation (0.15) between the diversity and democracy narratives. In addition, both of these are negatively correlated with the far-right narrative at -0.32 and -0.25 for diversity and the democracy narrative respectively.

[47] Jenssen, Anders Todal, and Kaja Hovde Bye. 2013. "Da sorg og sinne ble åpenhet og toleranse? – Politisk talekunst etter 22. juli 2011." *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning* 54 (2): pp. 217–28.

[48] Rafoss 2018, op. cit., p. 147.

[49] Stoltenberg mentions the people killed and Utøya multiple times in his speeches. However, except for the speech held for the Labor Party at Folkets hus ("People's House", the labor movement center in Oslo), few of the speeches emphasize AUF as the target of the attacks. See Amundsen, Hans Kristian. 2018. *Vi Er et Lite Land, Men et Stort Folk - Slik Samlet vi Norge 22. Juli-21. August 2011.* Oslo, Norway: Juritzen forlag.

[50] Rafoss 2015, op. cit.

[51] Amundsen, op. cit.

[52] Notaker, Hallvard. 2021. Arbeiderpartiet og 22. Juli. Oslo: Aschehoug.

[53] Lenz, op. cit.

[54] Thorbjørnsrud & Figenschou, op. cit.

[55] Thanks to one of the anonymous reviewers for this comment and suggestion.

[56] We have divided the respondents into four groups based on their answers on the additive indices from 0 to 1. 'Full opposition' is below 0.25, 'some opposition' from 0.25 to below 0.5, 'some support' from 0.5 to below 0.75 and 'full support' from 0.75 and above.

[57] Bergh, Johannes, and Guro Ødegård. "Ungdomsvalget 2011." 2013. *Norsk Statsvitenskapelig Tidsskrift* 29, no. 01: pp.30–50.; Wollebæk et al.,2013 op. cit.

[58] We divide age into four categories and are especially interested in the group 18 to 28, respondents who was 9 to 19 at the time of the attacks.

[59] In our survey, 26 percent of the respondents say that they participated. This is a bit lower than the 33 percent that answered that they had participated in the Rose Marches one month after the attack. See Wollebæk, Dag, Bernard Enjolras, Kari Steen-Johnsen, and Guro Ødegård. 2011. "Hva Gjør Terroren Med Oss Som Sivilsamfunn?" Oslo/Bergen: Senter for forskning på sivilsamfunn og frivillig sektor, p. 40. In addition, Solheim finds no relationship between participation in the Rose Marches and change in out-group trust after the attacks. Solheim, op. cit.

[60] Vasilopoulous, op. cit.

[61] Since this study is only correlational, it is not possible to establish clear causal directions of the different relationships. The causal relationship may be especially blurry for these variables as one may assume that perceptions of the attacks may have affected the emotional reaction or the motivation to take part in commemorations afterwards.

[62] Jakobsson, Niklas, and Svein Blom. 2014. "Did the 2011 Terror Attacks in Norway Change Citizens' Attitudes Toward Immigrants?" *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 26 (4): pp. 475–86; URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edt036.

[63] Prior studies of the July 22 attacks have shown that both generalized trust and political trust reduced the amount of fear one experienced after the attacks. See Wollebæk 2013, *op. cit.*; Enjolras, Bernard, Kari Steen-Johnsen, Francisco Herreros, Øyvind Bugge Solheim, Marte Slagsvold Winsvold, Shana Kushner Gadarian, and Atte Oksanen. 2019. "Does Trust Prevent Fear in the Aftermath of Terrorist Attacks?" *Perspectives on Terrorism* 13 (4): pp. 39–55.

[64] Alexander, *op. cit.*

[65] Thanks to one of the reviewers for making this point.

[66] Steen-Johnsen, Kari, Øyvind Bugge Solheim, Marte Slagsvold Winsvold, and Bernard Enjolras. 2021. "Tillit etter terror i Norge, Frankrike og Spania. Betydningen av narrativer og politisk kontekst." *Norsk Sosiologisk Tidsskrift* 5 (3): pp.12–27.

[67] Seierstad, Åsne. 2015. *One of Us: The Story of Anders Breivik and the Massacre in Norway.* London, UK: Virago Press.

Research Notes

The Term 'Lone Wolf' and its Alternatives: Patterns of Public and Academic Use from 2000 to 2020

by Lars Erik Berntzen and Tore Bjørgo

Abstract

Prominent cases of terror attacks planned and perpetrated by individuals have generated an ongoing public and academic debate about how to understand this phenomenon. The moniker "lone wolf" stands at the center of this debate. In this Research Note, we highlight three overarching points of criticism levelled at the use of this term: one conceptual, one normative and one empirical. While the solution to the latter problem primarily lies in being stringent, proposed solutions for the first two problems involved the exchange of the metaphor "lone wolf" with terms such as "lone actor" and "solo terrorist". This Research Note focuses on patterns in public, popular cultural and academic use of "lone wolf" as well as the proposed alternatives "lone actor" and "solo terrorist". It does so by utilizing data from Google Trends, Google Books Ngram Viewer and Google Scholar for the period 2000 to 2020. Trends in Google searches across the world indicate a moderate increase in public attention whereas using English language literature as a proxy for popular cultural attention shows a steady increase. Finally, academic use of the term "lone wolf" exploded in the aftermath of the July 22, 2011 terror attacks and has remained at high levels ever since. Among the proposed alternatives to "lone wolf", only "lone actor" has truly gained academic prominence. While overcoming some of the issues with the "lone wolf" metaphor, patterns in the data indicate that the neutrality and abstract nature of the term "lone actor" also comes with some drawbacks. To help counteract this, we suggest that researchers avoid using shorthand versions and consistently use the full term "lone actor terrorist".

Keywords: Big data, concept, lone actor terrorist, lone wolf, metaphor

Introduction

Terror attacks planned and perpetrated by single individuals has been on the rise, constituting an increasing proportion of attacks by right-wing as well as by Islamist extremists.[1] Thus far, the deadliest act of terrorism planned and carried out by one person only was committed by the Norwegian right-wing extremist Anders Behring Breivik on July 22, 2011. [2] In terms of casualties, attacks carried out by such individual perpetrators represent most deaths ascribable to right-wing extremists during the last decade.[3] In both academic and public discourse, Breivik and similar perpetrators have been defined as "lone wolves". The use of this definition has been met with criticism from several angles – both in broader public debates and amongst academics. This Research Note provides a brief overview of key points raised in the academic debate concerning the understanding, conceptualization and classification of such perpetrators and attacks, followed by an analysis of patterns in public, popular cultural and academic use of the term "lone wolf" as well as the proposed alternatives "lone actor" and "solo terrorist". This is based on data from Google Trends, Google Books Ngram Viewer and Google Scholar in the period between 2000 and 2020. We begin with the term "lone wolf" and the main criticisms leveled at its general and academic use.

The Lone Wolf Concept and its Critiques

What precisely is covered by the term "lone wolf"? Let us start with its etymological origins. In their natural state wolves are pack animals. Only those that have been driven from their pack or are left on their own are described as lone wolves. Used for human beings, the term "lone wolf" is best understood as a metaphor. A

characteristic of metaphors is that by labelling one thing or being (a man) as something else (a lone wolf), one is causing a semantic paradox where a multitude of meanings are transferred between the two contexts – similarities as well as dissimilarities – and this transfer goes in both directions.[4] Human traits are transferred to an animal species (anthropomorphism), but a diversity of traits associated with the animal are also transferred to a human being. However, which traits of the lone wolf are ascribed to the human individual is ambiguous and open to diverse interpretations. As wolves have been both reviled and admired throughout human history, the use of the term wolf can be perceived in many ways. Wolves are first and foremost predators par excellence, and in this sense the term conveys deadliness. Some people perceive wolves as symbols of malevolence and brutal death, other see them as powerful, beautiful, and honorable. The prefix "lone" may signal abnormality – that the individual is an outcast, loser, or desperado, but others may ascribe something noble to this recluse. Thus, the notion of "lone wolf" may evoke positive as well as negative connotations. The representation of "lone wolves" in popular culture adds even more layers of meaning.

Using the term "lone wolf" to describe persons that plan and perpetrate acts of terrorism all by themselves has been criticized recurringly.[5] Three main critiques bear mentioning; that it is misleading, that it valorizes the perpetrator and that it has been misused. All three forms of criticism may surface in a hodgepodge manner during public debate but are nevertheless distinguishable from one another. These are presented in a Venn-diagram in Figure 1 and elaborated on below.

The first two critiques reflect the fact that "lone wolf" is a metaphor. We begin by unpacking the issue of "lone wolf" being misleading (a conceptual issue). This critique draws on a similar interpretation of the term as that which we presented in the previous paragraph. Signaling both abnormality and carnivorous behavior, some argue the metaphor can easily be misinterpreted and misused to mean that the perpetrator is completely ideologically and socially unaffiliated.[6] If one subscribes to this logic, applying the term "lone wolf" transforms the acts of violence and the process leading up to them into something wholly apolitical. Seen from this angle, "lone wolf" can therefore easily be understood as a strategic term that plays into the hands of those that for whatever reason wish to describe the terrorists as simply deranged, insane or some such. Attaching an ideological label such as "right-wing", "left-wing" or "Islamist" becomes self-contradictory.

Figure 1. Conceptualization, Normative, and Classification: A Venn Diagram of the Three Main Forms of Criticism Regarding the Use of the Term "Lone Wolf"

A second form of critique that stems from the metaphoric character of the term "lone wolf" is that the multitude of meanings are open to a variety of interpretations loaded, as it were, with different values (a normativity issue). Although the term may evoke negative images of outcasts and losers, the substantive history of the term "lone wolf" indicates that it has been used in a positive, normative manner by right-wing extremists themselves. This "original sin", the critique goes, taints the term up to the point that it serves to valorize murderers.

Neither of these two critiques can be directly met and rebutted through the academic exercise of clearly and precisely defining the term "lone wolf". This is because both critiques rest on assumptions about what the reader or listener attribute to the term. The inherent ambiguity of metaphors reminds us that we should avoid using such tropes as analytic concepts in academic research. To escape these various associations and all the cultural baggage that comes with using the term "lone wolf", academics have therefore proposed substituting the term altogether. The two main proposals on the table have been "lone actor" and "solo terrorist".

The third and final overarching point of criticism is more exclusively tied to the issue of research, namely that many terrorists initially categorized as "lone wolves" turn out to have been misdiagnosed (a classification issue). [7] This criticism overlaps with the first (that "lone wolf" is a misleading term) and is often presented together, but it is important not to conflate the two. The issue of misclassification does not disappear by replacing "lone wolf" with another term referring to an isolated individual. Rather, it can be met by operating with clear and precise definitions, exhibiting caution when initially categorizing an event and/or perpetrator and judiciously revisiting and evaluating relevant cases. Unlike the other two points of critique, it is therefore an issue which is eminently solvable by being methodologically stringent and transparent.

Tracking the Use and Interest in "Lone Wolf" and "Lone Actor" over Time

Setting aside the issue of misclassification for the remainder of this Research Note, we delve into the use of "lone wolf" and the competing terms proffered as a solution to the issues of it being a misleading and/or valorizing term.

We present data on the use of both "lone wolf" and "lone actor" over time, concentrating on the period between 2000 and 2020 while distinguishing between their public, popular cultural and academic usage. Public and popular cultural interest is measured by their use as search terms on Google across the world in addition to their use in (digitized) English language literature. The overview of their academic usage is derived from Google Scholar. Data for search trends are available from Google Trends, while use in English language literature stems from Google Ngram.

Based on our own prior knowledge of the field, our belief was that that the data from these sources would show a substantial spike in interest in lone wolf terrorism following July 22 across the board, and then a gradual replacement of lone wolf with lone actor in the academic literature. The evidence gives some support to our initial belief, but also provided us with some surprises.

We begin with public interest as gauged by their use as search terms based on Google Trends. Google Trends does not provide access to absolute numbers but offers information about the relative public interest in one or more search terms. Search terms can in practice be anything, commonly ranging from a single word to a short sentence. Figure 2 shows the trends in regular Google searches across the world for "lone wolf" and "lone actor" as search terms, respectively. As we can see, use of the term "lone wolf" has hitherto peaked in 2017, whereas the peak for "lone actor" came in 2013.[8]

While there has been a moderate increase in the use of "lone wolf" as a search term, the take-home point is that there has been surprisingly little fluctuation in its' use over the last fourteen years. This indicates that while "lone wolf" is used by ordinary citizens, it is not utilized on a very large scale. In any case, it is plausible that the July 22 terrorist attacks and subsequent attacks of a similar nature factor into the moderate increase in the use of both terms, but this is not a given.

Figure 2. Relative Search Term Interest for "Lone Wolf" and "Lone Actor" on Google across the World, Years 2006-2020 [9]

Source: Google Trends.
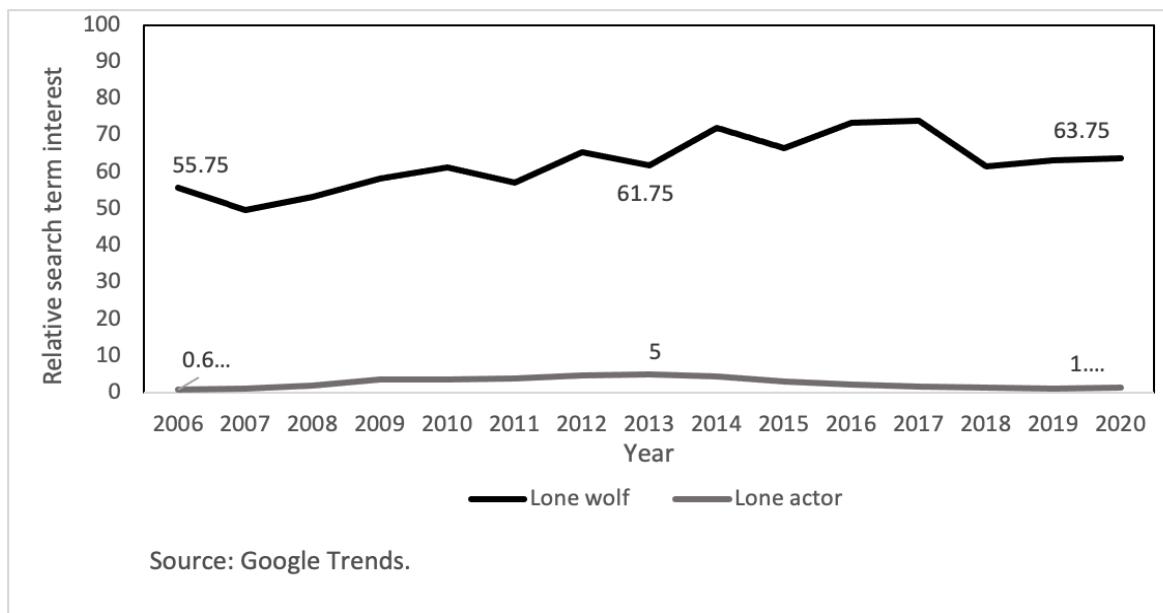
Let us now turn to our second indicator for general interest – popular culture – in the form of use as terms in digitized English language literature. This is available through the Google Ngram service. See Figure 3 below. Google Ngram allows us to see the relative popularity of words and phrases in comparison to the use of all other words in the corpus of available text. In this sense, Google Ngram data is superior to what is available from Google Trends, since the numbers represent something more tangible. We repeated the previous exercise by searching for the terms "lone wolf" and "lone actor", delimiting the time span to 2000 – 2019.[10]

Figure 3. Use of "Lone Wolf" and "Lone Actor" as Terms in Corpus of English Language Literature by the Relative Frequency of Use Compared to all other Words, year 2000-2019

Source: Google Ngram.
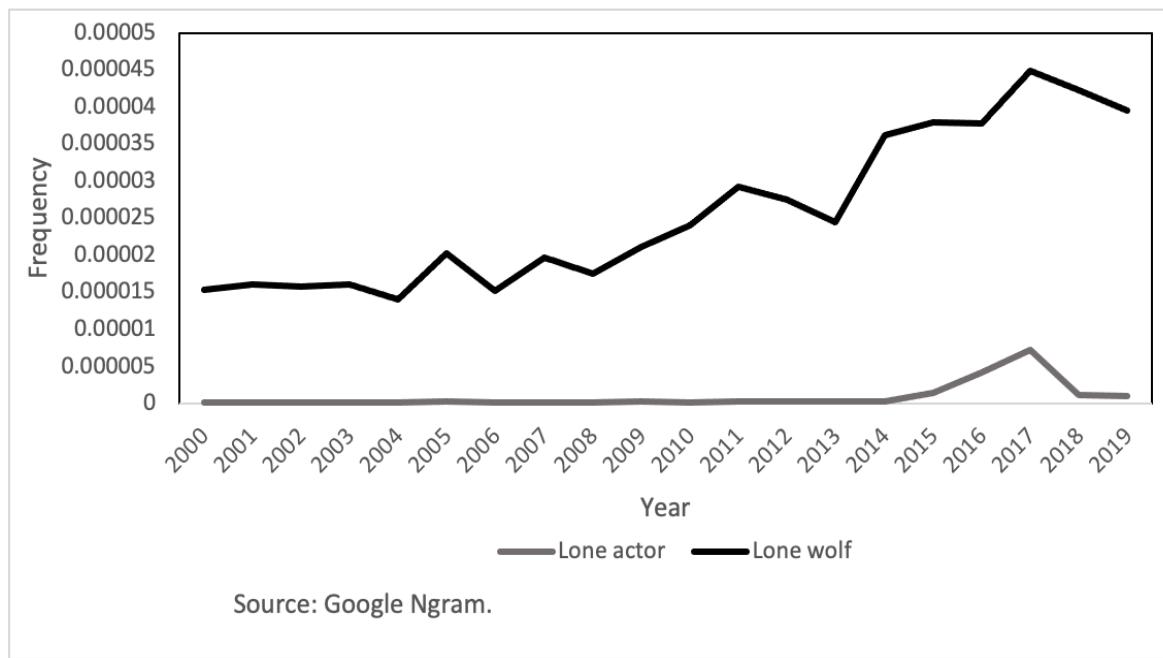
Note that the span (y-axis) ranges from 0 to 0.000005 percentage points. This number might seem miniscule, and in some regards it is. As a point of reference, we can compare it to the use of the word "you" in English language literature. In the year 2019 the word "you" accounts for 0.467 percentage points of all words used. That is just over four orders of magnitude more than the number of times "lone wolf" appears for the same

year. Naturally, if the frequency of terms "lone wolf" or "lone actor" would be anything near that of the word "you", it would either indicate that something was seriously wrong with the algorithm or with the world itself. Looking to the animal kingdom, "black cat" is a term that sees about the same amount of use as "lone wolf". As for the term "lone actor", we found a term that was just about as frequently used from the realm of plants – cloudberry (or "multebær" in Norwegian).[11]

What we see is, all things considered, a sizeable increase in the use of the word "lone wolf". This is in line with our general expectation, but any strong causal claim that the July 22 terrorist attacks or subsequent attacks were the main driver of this increase is unwarranted. For "lone actor" we can see a rise from near-nothing to something of note since 2015. This is in line with what we would expect if its increase also reflected the introduction of the term "lone actor" as a replacement for "lone wolf" in the 2010s. But again, we cannot positively ascertain that this is the case.

We now turn to the use of these terms in the academic literature based on Google Scholar data (Figures 4-7 below). These data provide us with a clear picture. Here we see a tremendous increase in the frequency of use of the term "lone wolf" in academic texts by 2013 (Figure 4), indicating that the July 22 terrorist attacks played a role. We then see a subsequent drop, but the term "lone wolf" still occurs at a much higher rate than before. The two-year time lag between the attacks and the spikes are a natural reflection of the timespan between the start of a research project and the publication of results. Turning to the occurrence of "lone wolf" in titles and abstracts (Figure 5), the pattern is one of continued increase after a similar spike in 2013 up until and including 2019. At this point we see a marked drop.

Figure 4. Use of "Lone Wolf"* (N = 15 243) and "Lone Actor"**(N = 1 856)
as Terms in Full Text of Scientific Publications (Absolute Numbers, Years 2000–2020) [14]
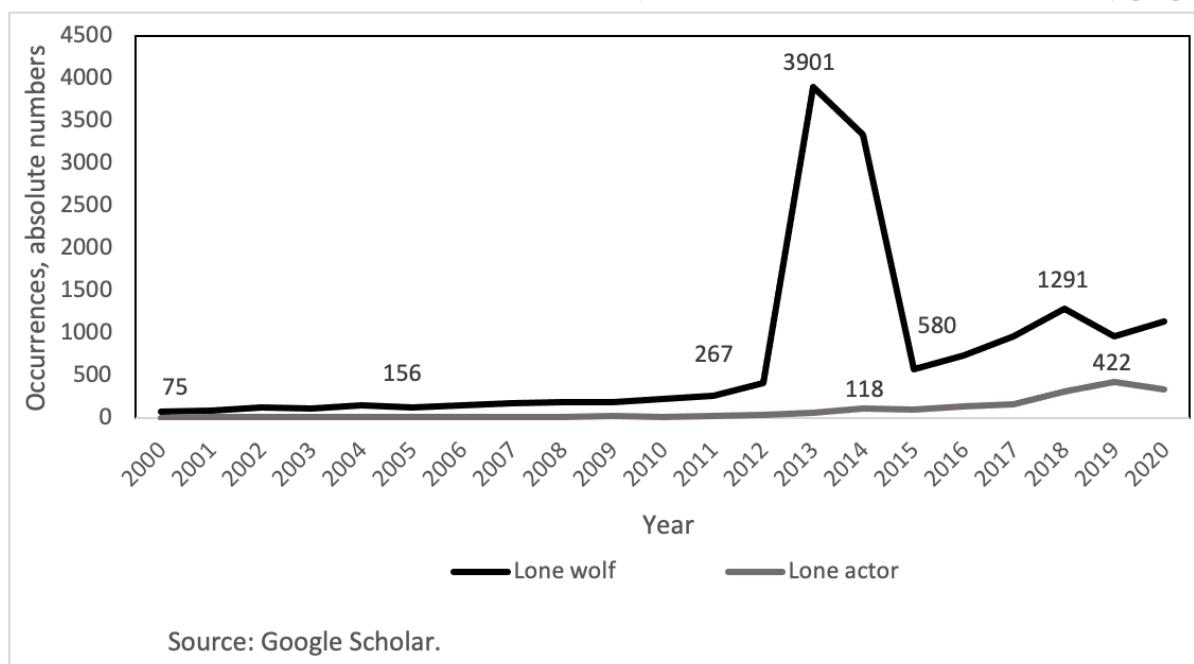
Source: Google Scholar.

The sudden peak during 2013-14 of academic publications on "lone wolf" terrorism indicates that this became a very hot topic around the time and in the immediate aftermath of the July 22 attacks in 2011. [12] This attack by a perpetrator from the extreme right was obviously the main event but from 2008 onwards there had also been an increase in lone actor attacks by jihadists, but mostly on a small-scale in the beginning.[13] However, after the attacks in Norway in 2011, academics who had never before written anything substantial about terrorism jumped on the bandwagon of "lone wolf" studies, producing a one-off article on the latest fad, and then moving on to some other topic. Few of these isolated contributions produced anything of lasting value to the field. However, there were also a number of dedicated terrorism researchers who continued to explore the phenomenon of lone wolves/lone actors during the following years,

building both datasets and theory. An important agenda setting was a research call by the EU's Framework Program 7 in 2012-13, calling for research projects that should address "individual fascinations with extreme violent ideas, and what would bring a single person from ideas to action."

As for "lone actor", we see a gradual increase in its' general use in academic texts from a very low level before 2013 (Figure 4). In titles and abstracts we see that its use almost reaches parity with "lone wolf" by 2020 (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Number of Scientific Publications that use "Lone Wolf"* (N = 416) and "Lone Actor"** (N = 143) as Terms in Titles and Abstracts. (Absolute Numbers, Year 2000–2020)[15]
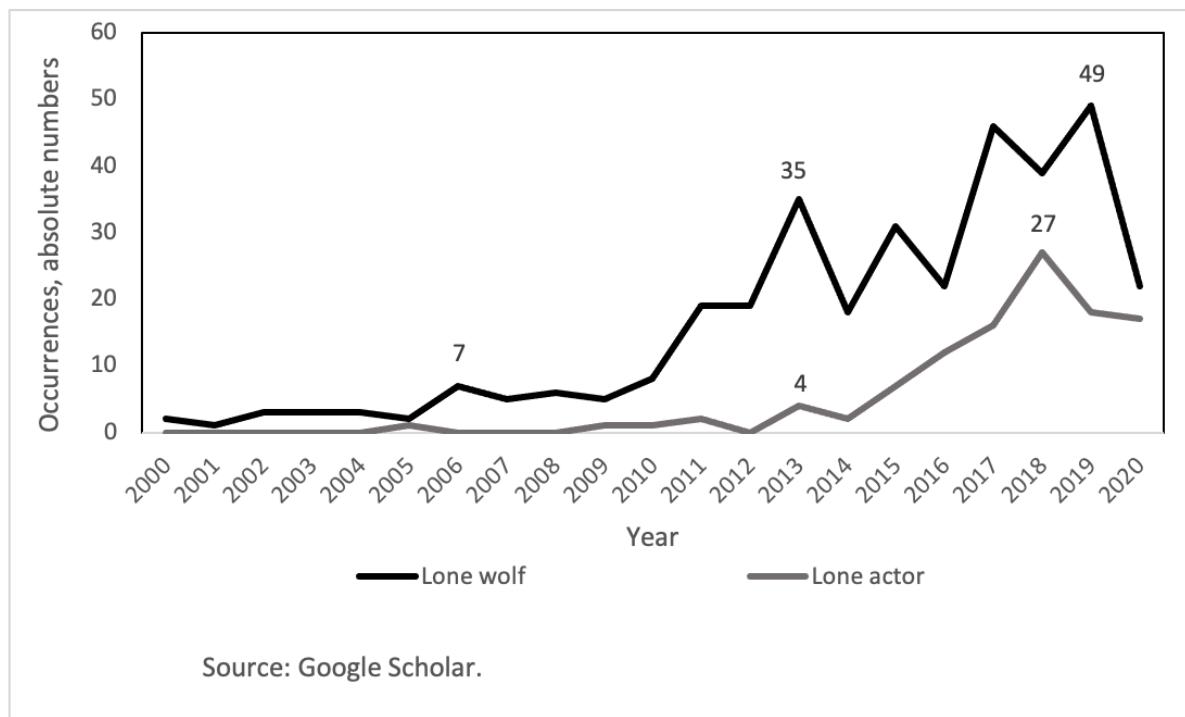
Finally, we briefly looked at the publications where the terms "lone wolf" and "lone actor" occurred most frequently. See Figures 6 and 7 below, respectively.

Figure 6. Top Five Scientific Journals Ranked by Number of Articles that Use "Lone Wolf"* as a Term, Years 2000–2020 [16]
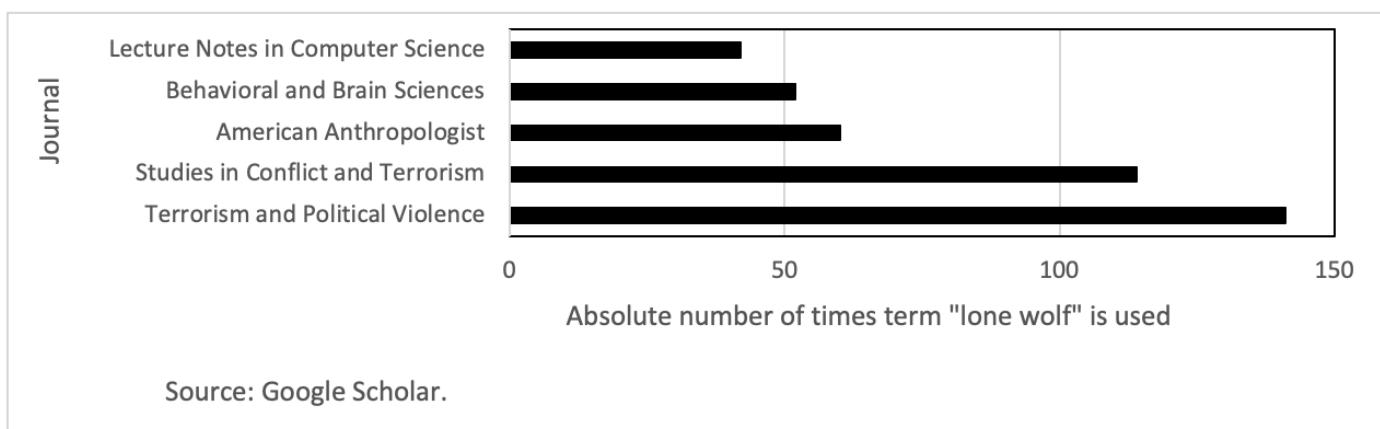
Not surprisingly, the flagship journal for terrorism research *Terrorism and Political Violence* is situated at the top. This is followed by *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*. We can note some subsequent deviation between "lone wolf" and "lone actor", with the *American Anthropologist* taking the third place for "lone

wolf" while for "lone actor" the third place is taken by the *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management* – a journal oriented toward professionals and scholars whose work focuses on operational aspects. Beyond this deviation, the take home message here is that terrorism planned and perpetrated by single individuals is of broad academic interest.

Figure 7. Top Five Scientific Journals Ranked by Number of Articles that use "Lone Actor"* as a Term, Years 2000–2020 [17]
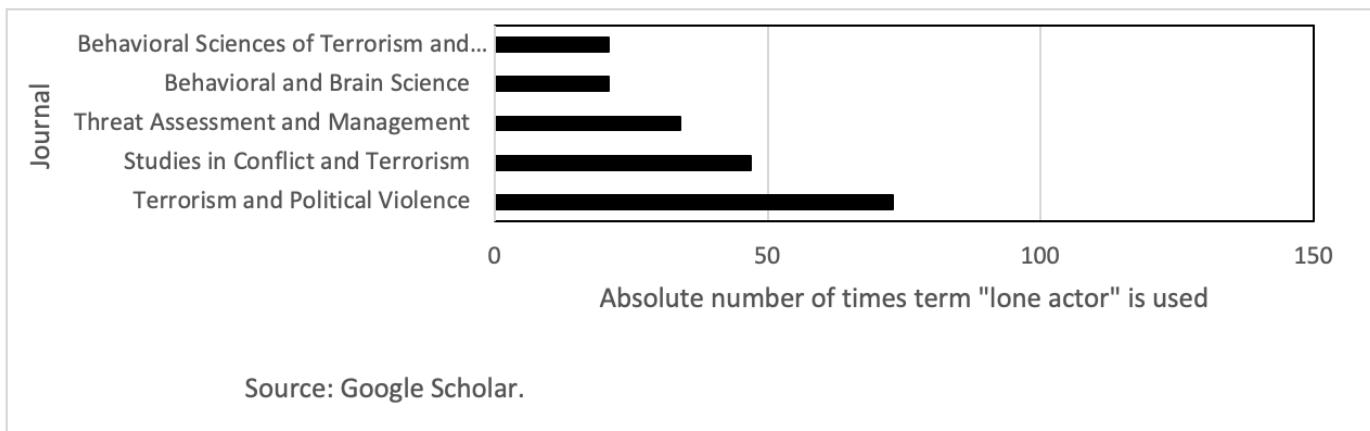
We now briefly discuss the use of the two terms in a more comparative manner. Contrasted with "lone wolf", "lone actor" has seen far less use as a search term in English language literature. Both terms, however, are frequently used in academic texts. It is important to note that for "lone actor", most of this use is not related to research on terrorism or related topics. Using only "lone actor" as a search query in Google Scholar returns just over 96,000 publications, ranging from drama to film science and economics. We therefore specified that the texts must either include the word "terror" or "violence" as well. This resulted in 1,931 publications. Based on this we can see that "lone actor" has been used relatively infrequently until recently, but that it is used more frequently now. A similar search query specification for "lone wolf" where we added that the text must either include "terror" or "violence", did not result in any substantial changes in the number of publications.

It is also clear that "lone wolf" is used as a popular cultural term. This has been noted and identified as a major issue in the academic debate. The findings presented here indicate that this popular cultural anchoring can have some upsides. That is, "lone wolf" comes across as culturally well-defined term that people have a shared understanding of. Much of its popular use refers to terrorists who operate all by themselves. Relatedly, the most prominent pop cultural examples that are not directly related to terrorism include the Japanese manga *Lone Wolf and Cub*. It is about a warrior on a quest for vengeance against his former feudal overlord. Another pop culture example is *MechAssault 2: Lone Wolf* – a video game from 2004 where the player controls a bipedal war machine. In the academic literature the term is used almost exclusively in connection with terrorism. Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact that the term is metaphorically and normatively ambiguous. Such ambiguity can create obvious problems and unnecessary antagonism when communicating with the wider public, for instance if members of an audience see "lone wolf" as a term that valorizes the perpetrator, thereby (wrongfully) deducing something about the researchers' motives from this.

The increasing use of the term "lone actor" within the scholarly field of terrorism research indicates that it is well on its way to becoming an established, academic term. The data nevertheless indicate that using "lone actor" instead of "lone wolf" has some potential costs. Its appeal lies in its neutrality. This neutrality can also be a hurdle for outsiders – both academics and others – that are not steeped in the internal debates within the field of terrorism studies that have played out in the last decade.

Solo Terrorist – An Alternative with Very Limited Acceptance

We did a similar exercise with the term "solo terrorist", another term that has been proposed to replace "lone wolf". Amongst others, its use has been advocated for by one of the co-authors of this piece (Tore Bjørgo). Compared to "lone wolf", it has seen very few uses as a regular search term on Google and appears to be non-existent in the general English language literature which has been digitized. There are two scientific publications that use the term in their title/abstract. One is the book by Hemmingby and Bjørgo from 2015 titled "The Dynamics of a Terrorist Targeting Process: Anders B. Breivik and the July 22 attacks in Norway". [18] The other is an article from 2011 by Kendall Coffey, titled "The Lone Wolf-Solo Terrorism and the Challenge of Preventative Prosecution".[19]

Between 2005 and 2020, the term "solo terrorist" appears in 162 scientific texts. Half of these were from 2018. In the years before and after 2018 it has seen very limited use. The first publication available via Google Scholar that employs the term is James McHugh's and Fadi Deek's "An Incentive System for Reducing Malware Attacks" from 2005.[20] This is followed by Magnus Ranstorp's and Magnus Normark's 2009 anthology titled "Unconventional Weapons and International Terrorism: Challenges and new Approaches". [21] The lack of use does not impugn directly on the merit of the term, but it is unlikely that it will supersede the others.

Conclusion

The growing number of attacks both planned and perpetrated by seemingly isolated individuals has generated public and academic debates about how to best understand and define such perpetrators. Much of this debate centers around the term "lone wolf". Here we have highlighted three overarching problems raised in debates about using "lone wolf" to characterize these perpetrators – one normative, one conceptual and one pertaining to classification. "Lone actor" and "solo terrorist" have been proposed as solutions to the first two problems that derive from the metaphorical basis of the term. Our subsequent analysis detailed the overarching trends in the use of these terms among the broader public, in popular culture and in academic publications. In addition to uncovering general tendencies, the data presented allow us to shed some new light on the terminology-centered critique.

The data indicate that "lone wolf" has seen some more frequent use by the public during the preceding decade, but the frequency of usage has nevertheless remained relatively stable over a nearly twenty-year period. In popular culture, the data tell a clearer story: the term "lone wolf" has seen a sharp increase in recent years. In comparison, use of the term "lone actor" has not been adopted by the general public. This should probably come as no surprise since it is a relatively new term. Finally, the patterns from academic publications tell a remarkably clear story. There was an explosive growth in the use of "lone wolf" in academic texts in 2013 and use levels have subsequently remained high. Within the last seven years, "lone actor" has risen in popularity and is now set to outcompete "lone wolf" within academic terrorism studies. The results further indicate that our assumption about the impact of the July 22 terrorist attacks within academia were correct. While many other factors play into these developments, this event has played an important role in the rapid increase.

When delving a bit further into these data, two findings bear highlighting. First, our data suggest that the arguments in favor of using "lone actor" instead of "lone wolf" can also be held against it. While limiting problems of normative and conceptual associations, the "lone actor" term's lack of culturally ascribed meaning can also present a barrier to greater public use and for academics outside the field of terrorism studies. For one thing, "lone actor" is used in many other scientific domains to indicate all sorts of actors – not specifically individual perpetrators of political violence. Second, due to the abstract nature of the term, "lone actor" is unlikely to remain associated with terrorism in other research fields. While it is useful to be aware of these possible drawbacks linked to the use of the term "lone actor", the advantage of moving away from the loaded term "lone wolf" for analytical purposes seems more clear-cut. In communication intended for a non-specialist audience, some of these issues can also be (partly) counteracted by consistently using the

full term "lone actor terrorist" rather than the shorthand "lone actor".

We see similar struggles over other terms and definitions for issues that are sources of political controversy. Some are resolved in favor of the "culturally dominant" term, whereas others tip in favor of specialized terminology – or jargon – proposed by a given academic sub-discipline. A comparison can be made with use of the term "Islamophobia". Some argue it should be replaced by two distinct terms: "anti-Islamic" and "anti-Muslim" – for similar normative, terminological, and methodological reasons.[22] Nevertheless, the current consensus seems to be a continued use of the term "Islamophobia" precisely because it has become widely established and is easily understandable. Within the subdiscipline of terrorism studies, the opposite seems to be the case: the term "lone wolf" is gradually replaced by the term "lone actor".

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Notes

[1] On right-wing perpetrators, see Ravndal, J. A., Lygren, S., Jupskås, A. R., & Bjørgo, T. (2020). RTV Trend Report 2020. *C-REX Research Report (*Oslo: C-REX-Center for Research on Extremism/University of Oslo, 6-7; on Islamist perpetrators, see figure 3 in Nesser, P., Stenersen, A., & Oftedal, E. (2016). "Jihadi Terrorism in Europe: The IS-Effect," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *10*(6), pp. 3-24.

[2] Hereafter referred to as July 22.

[3] Jacob Aasland Ravndal, Sofia Lygren, Anders Ravik Jupskås and Tore Bjørgo, op. cit.

[4] For a discussion about metaphors and their use in political rhetoric, see Daniel Heradstveit & Tore Bjørgo (1992) *Politisk kommunikasjon* (Oslo: Tano, 2nd. ed.), chapter 5; Paul Ricoeur (1978). *The Rule of Metaphor: Multi-disciplinary Studies of the Creation of Meaning in Language*. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul.

[5] For the case of Anders Behring Breivik, see e.g., Berntzen, L. E., & Sandberg, S. (2014). "The Collective Nature of Lone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the Anti-Islamic Social Movement," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *26*(5), 759-779; generally, see Spaaij, R., & Hamm, M. S. (2015). "Key Issues and Research Agendas in Lone Wolf Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *38*(3), 167-178; see also the pioneering work and scathing critique by Schuurman, B., Lindekilde, L., Malthaner, S., O'Connor, F., Gill, P., & Bouhana, N. (2019). "End of the Lone Wolf: The Typology that Should Not Have Been," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, *42*(8), pp. 771-778.

[6] Lars Erik Berntzen and Sveinung Sandberg, op. cit.

[7] As points of reference (but otherwise not comparable): "lone wolf" is in the same search word popularity range as "leech" and somewhat more popular than "pinecone", whereas "black cat" is about three times as popular.

[8] Numbers represent averaged search interest per month within each year, relative to the single month with the highest level of interest for the entire time span.

[9] For one of the first systematic overviews, see e.g., Nesser, P. (2012). "Research Note: Single Actor Terrorism: Scope, Characteristics and Explanations," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, *6*(6), pp. 61-73; Bart Schuurman et al., op. cit.

[10] As of February 2021; 2019 was the last year available from Google Ngram.

[11] Tongue-in-cheek comparisons: the frequency with which "cloudberry" is used remains relatively constant over time, whereas "lone actor" begins its ascent in the 2010s. Curiously, use of the term "lone wolf" begins to trail "black cat" from the 1940s onwards.

[12] Using the search string "lone wolf" AND "Breivik" OR "22 July" OR "July 22" OR "ABB" on Google Scholar to identify academic publications with co-mentions of lone wolf and Breivik returned a total of 3.050 results up until the end of the year 2020.

[13] Nesser, Petter. *Islamist Terrorism in Europe* (pp. 243 ff). Oxford: Oxford University Press. Kindle Edition.

[14] *Based on search string: "lone wolf" AND terror OR violence. ** Based on search string: "lone actor" AND terror OR violence.

[15] *Based on search string: "lone wolf" AND terror OR violence. **Based on search string: "lone actor" AND terror OR violence.

[16] *Based on search string: "lone wolf" AND terror OR violence.

[17] *Based on search string: "lone actor" AND terror OR violence.

[18] Hemmingby, C., & Bjørgo, T. (2015). *The Dynamics of a Terrorist Targeting Process: Anders B. Breivik and the 22 July Attacks in Norway*. New York: Palgrave Pivot.

[19] Coffey, K. (2011). The Lone Wolf-Solo Terrorism and the Challenge of Preventative Prosecution. *Fiu L. Rev.*, *7*, 1.

[20] McHugh, James A. & Deek, Fadi P. (2005). "An Incentive System for Reducing Malware Attacks," *Communications of the ACM*, *48*(6), pp. 94-99.

[21] Ranstorp, M. & Normark, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Unconventional Weapons and International Terrorism: Challenges and New Approaches*. London: Routledge.

[22] For a brief synopsis on Islamophobia and alternative proposals, see Berntzen, L.E., & Rambøl, A.H. (2020) "What is Islamophobia?" in Anders R.J., and Eviane, L., (Eds.), *Knowing What's (Far) Right. A Compendium*. University of Oslo: Center for Research on Extremism Report, 2020, pp. 24-27.

Terrorism Studies: A Glimpse at the Current State of Research (2020/2021)

by Alex P. Schmid, James J.F. Forest, and Timothy Lowe

Abstract

This Research Note summarizes the responses to a survey. Researchers were asked how they assess the current state of research in the field of Terrorism Studies. While there was only very limited consensus to be found in the answers to most of the questions, the individual insights and suggestions provided by the respondents nevertheless made the exercise worthwhile. This Research Note is the first of two, providing a snapshot of the responses to questions about Terrorism Studies, while the second will address the same respondents' views on the current state of research in the field of Counter-Terrorism Studies.

Keywords: terrorism studies, research, literature

Introduction

Keeping up with the literature on terrorism and counter-terrorism is a challenge, as the number of publications – monographs, chapters in edited volumes, articles, academic theses, government publications, think tank reports, conference papers, mass and social media stories, manifestos and propaganda, grey literature, etc. – by far exceeds what any individual scholar can absorb. The online marketplace *Amazon.com*, for instance, lists over 40,000 books on terrorism; most of these were published after 2001. The research community's website *Academia.edu* provides access to more than 270,000 papers on terrorism. While many of these writings are just desktop products – authors reading a few dozen papers written by others and, based on these, writing one more that incorporates their own opinion – there are thousands of studies based on genuine research, primary sources, fieldwork or empirical data analysis. In the twenty years since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, hundreds of serious researchers and professionals in academia and government have added to our knowledge of the phenomenon of terrorism. The field of Terrorism Studies is anything but stagnating – a claim made in 2014 by Marc Sageman [1] but contested by others.[2]

The present Research Note is based on a questionnaire sent in late 2020/early 2021 to more than 200 scholars in the field of Terrorism and Counter-terrorism Studies. It is the first of two Research Notes, with this one addressing the current state of Terrorism Studies and the next one, in a subsequent issue of *Perspectives on Terrorism,* addressing the current state of Counter-terrorism Studies. The response rate to our questionnaire was about 20 percent. Several respondents did not answer all questions of the survey instrument. Nevertheless, the 47 sets of answers (6 anonymous, 41 with names) we received can offer at least a glimpse of the current state of research in the field of Terrorism Studies.

Demographics of Respondents

Of the 47 respondents to this survey, 36 are men and 11 are women. 21 are from the Anglosphere (United States, Canada, the United Kingdom or Australia). 16 respondents are from continental Europe (4 of them from [South] Eastern Europe), 5 from Asia, 3 from the Near East and 2 from (North) Africa. Most of them are either current or former academics, and some have close ties to governments (e.g., via think tanks or national defence universities).

In terms of academic disciplines, a majority of the respondents indicated a background in either Political Science, International Relations or Security Studies. A few have a background in Sociology or History, while two revealed a background in Psychology. Roughly a third (15) of respondents began researching terrorism before 9/11. Not unexpectedly, these disciplinary affiliations were to some extent reflected in their responses

about which academic disciplines contribute most to Terrorism Studies: 78.7% thought that Political Science and International Relations were the biggest contributors, followed by (Social) Psychology (40.4%), Sociology (27.7%), History (25.5%), Criminology (10.6%) and Conflict Studies (8.5%), with the remaining fields, according to our respondents, contributing less than these (based on question A.4, n=47) **"What academic discipline(s) contribute(s) most to Terrorism Studies?"**).

The second question asked in the survey was (A.2, n=47) **"What is your (own or preferred) approach to the study of terrorism?"** In their answers, the following approaches/methods were mentioned more than twice:

Qualitative analysis (21.3%), Empirical (14.9%), Historicization (10.6%), Multi-disciplinary (10.6%), Quantitative analysis (8.5%), Primary interviews (6.4%), Contextualization (6.4%) and Comparative analysis (6.4%).

Several other approaches were mentioned less frequently, including "Literature review", "Mixed-method approaches", "Hermeneutical", "Comparing terrorism with counter-terrorism approaches", "Studying online behavior" and "Field research".

One researcher offered, as an aside to this question, this advice:

> "Studying terrorism involves analyzing the history of terrorism; the root causes of terrorism; the psychology of terrorism; how terrorist groups organize and their modus operandi; radicalization; recruitment; funding, weaponry; targeting selection; ideologies and motivations; logistics; leaders, managers, and members; and attack patterns."

We also asked researchers: "**Do you maintain a database of your own on terrorist incidents, groups, or some other aspect of terrorism?**" (A.5, n=47). Over half (53.2%) of those who answered this question did so in the affirmative – a positive sign in terms of the development of the field of Terrorism Studies.

Definition of Terrorism

To determine whether researchers have the same object in mind when talking about "terrorism", the first question we asked was **"What is your (own or preferred) definition of terrorism?"** (A.1, n=46). Lamentably, but not unexpectedly, there was only very limited agreement. Almost all agreed that the definition had to include "violence" or "force" and a large majority agreed that the definition had to include "political". Beyond that, less than half of the respondents could agree on further elements of a definition, as the following list makes clear[3]:

1.	Violence or force as element of definition:	91.1%
2.	Political as element:	82.2%
3.	Civilians, non-combatants as victims:	48.9%
4.	Targeted, target, emphasized:	46.7%
5.	Threat, fear, or intimidation emphasized:	46.7%
6.	Non-state *group*, movement or organization as perpetrator:	37.8%
7.	Emphasis on non-state *individuals* as perpetrators:	35.6%
8.	Ideology, ideological:	33.3%
9.	Indirect action or targeting emphasized:	28.9%
10.	State or sub-state actor as perpetrator included:	22.2%
11.	Deliberate, planned, calculated or organized action:	20.0%
12.	Extra-normal, in breach of accepted (moral or legal) rules:	20.0%
13.	Coercion:	20.0%
14.	Propaganda:	20.0%
15.	Random, indiscriminate character:	15.6%
16.	Symbolic character:	15.6%

17.	Government or state as victim:	15.6%
18.	Criminal, illegal nature:	15.6%
19.	Psychological character emphasized:	15.6%
20.	Method of combat, strategy, tactic:	11.1%
21.	Clandestine, covert nature:	11.1%
22.	Anxiety-inspiring:	11.1%
23.	Economic harm emphasized:	11.1%

Surprisingly, other elements, including the "innocence of victims" or "unexpectedness of an attack" received only single mentions.

One of the definitions highlighted specifically was that of Bruce Hoffman (Georgetown University), the editor-in-chief of *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*:

> *Terrorism is ineluctably political in aims and motives, violent – or, equally important, threatens violence, designed to have far-reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target, conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command or conspiratorial cell structure (whose members wear no uniform or identifying insignia), and perpetrated by a subnational group or non-state entity.*[4]

Several respondents explicitly referred to the Academic Consensus Definitions developed by Schmid in 1983 [5], 1988 and 2011 (quoted by 6 of the 46 respondents to this question), two versions of which are reproduced here:

> 1988: *Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby – in contrast to assassination – the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators.*[6]

> 2011: *Terrorism refers, on the one hand, to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties… (continues).*[7]

Also mentioned was the unequivocal and concise definition proposed by Boaz Ganor:

> *The deliberate use of violence against civilians in order to attain political, ideological and religious aims.*[8]

Given the popular usage of START's Global Terrorism Database (GTD), the most comprehensive publicly available database on acts of terrorism, covering the period 1970 to the present, reference was also made to this GTD definition of terrorism from the University of Maryland:

> *The threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation.*[9]

Beyond referring to these definitions, many respondents offered their own definition or listed a number of elements that should form part of a definition. Some respondents stressed that certain types of violence used by governments against civilians should also be covered by a definition of terrorism.

The lack of greater consensus about the definition of terrorism and its demarcation from other forms of violence – political, criminal or other, by state or non-state actors – remains problematic. The proposed "solution" to substitute "(violent) extremism" for "terrorism" in political and also academic discourse has not improved the situation. Many governments (e.g., China, Egypt, Russia, Turkey) have used the vague concept of "extremism"

to broaden their 'catch net', eager to brand and criminalize even constitutionally guaranteed and non-violent forms of oppositional behavior as "extremist". The politicization of the terms 'extremism' and 'terrorism' and their careless use in social and mass media discourse also remains an ongoing problem troubling its academic utilization.

Influential Studies in the Field of Terrorism Studies

One of the questions we asked was **"*If someone new to the field of Terrorism Studies asked you to recommend just one book that would provide the strongest introduction to the field, what would you suggest?*"** (A.3, n=47)

The work most often mentioned was Bruce Hoffman's *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1st ed. 1996, 2nd ed. 2006, 3rd ed. 2017). 14 respondents to this question mentioned one or another edition of Hoffman's seminal volume. The second most stated volume (cited by 7 respondents) was Alex Schmid's (Ed.) *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research* (New York and London: Routledge, 2011/2013). Two respondents mentioned Andrew Silke (Ed.), *Handbook of Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism* and another two Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman, *Political Terrorism. A Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases and Literature* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publ. 1984) and Louise Richardson's *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy, Containing the Threat (New York: Random House, 2006).*

All other works received only single mentions (e.g., E. Chenoweth, R. English, A. Gofas, and S.N. Kalyvas (Eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Terrorism.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019) or James Forest, *The Terrorism Lectures* (Orange County, Cal.: Nortia Press, 2012, 2nd ed. 2015), Martha Crenshaw (Ed.), *Terrorism in Context* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), Walter Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism.* (New York: Little, Brown,1977), Randall Law's *Terrorism: A History.* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009); Gerard Chailand and Arnaud Blin (Eds.) *Historie du Terrorism: De l'Antiquité à Al Qaida.* (Paris: Bayard, 2004)/ *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007); Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues.* 6th edition (Los Angeles: Sage, 2018).

When we asked, **"*Whose recent work in the field of Terrorism Studies is, in your view, breaking new ground?*"** (A.6, n= 47) there was no consensus at all. Only eight names were mentioned more than once – and three times the answer was: 'none'. One old hand among the respondents cautioned: "From a perspective of 40 years, nothing is entirely new."

Those mentioned more than once for "breaking new ground" included Paul Gill (4 mentions), Thomas Hegghammer (3), Bart Schuurman (3), Alex Schmid (3), Emily Corner (2), Michael Kenney (2), and Brian J. Phillips (2). Other researchers were mentioned only by a single respondent: Max Abrahms, Kathleen Belew, Laurence Bindner, Colin Clark, Maura Conway, Martha Crensaw, Bruce Hoffman, John Horgan, Brian Jackson, James Piazza, and Andrew Silke.

In some cases, respondents added the title of a book or article to the name of a researcher they mentioned. Yet most of the titles were mentioned only once (not counting those who were referring to their own work):

-Arie Perliger, *American Zealots: Inside Right-Wing Domestic Terrorism.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2020.

-Michael Kenney, *The Islamic State in Britain: Radicalisation and Resilience in an Activist Network.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Julie Chernov Hwang. *Why Terrorists Quit: The Disengagement of Indonesian Jihadists.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018.

-Audrey Kurth Cronin, *Power to the People: How Open Technological Innovation is Arming Tomorrow's Terrorists.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

- Jacob N. Shapiro. *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

- Mona Kanwal Sheikh and Mark Juergensmeyer (Eds.), *Entering Religious Minds: The Social Study of Worldviews.* London: Routledge, 2019.

-John G. Horgan. *Walking Away from Terrorism: Accounts of Disengagement from Radical and Extremist Movements.* London: Routledge, 2009.

-Elizabeth Carter, *The Extreme Right in Western Europe: Success or Failure.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

- Bart Schuurman, Lasse Lindekilde, Stefan Malthaner, Francis O'Connor, Paul Gill & Noémie Bouhana (2019), 'End of the Lone Wolf: The Typology that Should Not Have Been', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 42:8, 771-778.

- Bart Schuurman (2020): 'Research on Terrorism, 2007–2016: A Review of Data, Methods, and Authorship.' *Terrorism and Political Violence,* 32(5), 1011-1026.

- Brian J. Phillips (2017, September): 'Do 90 Percent of Terrorist Groups Last Less than a Year? Updating the Conventional Wisdom'. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(6), 1255-1265.

- Thomas Hegghammer (Ed.) *Jihadi Culture: The Art and Social Practices of Militant Islamists.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

- Thomas Hegghammer, *The Caravan: Abdallah Azzam and the Rise of Global Jihad.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

- Daniel Milton, 'Pulling back the curtain. An inside look at the Islamic State's Media Organization', *Sentinel*, Combating Terrorism Center at West Point, August 2018.

-Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos, "Boko Haram: un cas d'école de l'échec de l'islam politique au Nigéria", *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, online publication, 28 April 2020.

-Adam Dolnik (Ed.) *Conducting Terrorism Field Research: A Guide* (Contemporary Terrorism Studies). London: Routledge, 2013.

- on the journalism side: investigative work done by Wassim Nasr (France 24).

In another question (A.7, n=45) we asked: **"*Where do you see real progress/achievements in the field of Terrorism Studies?*"** Again, there was a minimal consensus. The highest score (14.9%) went to 'Primary data usage', followed by 'Cyber, digital or related online research' (12.8%). 5 mentions went to 'Understanding radicalization', 4 respondents opted for 'Growth of 'interdisciplinary work' and 3 referred to 'Understanding right-wing extremism'. There were also references to 'Greater methodological rigor', to 'much more empirical and data-driven studies', 'increased recognition of hybrid ideologies', 'Critical perspectives to the study of terrorism', and 'Studies of organizational structure and leadership'. 'Better international cooperation between researchers', the 'growth of peer-reviewed journals', and 'The rising level of academic education in several universities throughout the globe', were also mentioned.

One respondent noted:

"The increasing number of researchers speaking the language(s) of the people/groups that they study, contributing to a better understanding of the narratives, discourses and ideas fomented by the groups, without having to rely on secondary sources or translations."

Another respondent pointed out that:

"The revolutionary use of the Internet and Information Technology, in the past two decades, has provided much more inter-connectivity, collaboration, quantitative data and scholarly communities in Terrorism Studies. For example, the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) has provided a rich source of

data sets on Terrorism Studies. In addition, access to Government, academic, and journalistic data and information (where suitably credible) has enriched the corpus of Terrorism Studies source material. Powerful Internet search engines have introduced useful elements of serendipity."

The reverse question **"*What are the greatest weaknesses/shortcomings in the field of Terrorism Studies?*"** (A.9, n=46) again produced very diverse answers. These answers most frequently were referring to:

Underdeveloped or inappropriate research methodologies (14.9%)

Understanding violent behavior (12.8%)

No consensus on the definition of terrorism (10.6%)

Western-oriented research focus (8.5%)

Lack of holistic understanding of the field (8.5%)

Understanding the links between ideas and actions (ideology and tactics) (6.4%)

Lack of interaction/exposure with 'terrorists' or 'militants' (6.4%)

Biased and unsupported research or dogma (6.4%)

Understanding differences between terrorism and violent extremism (4.3%)

Lack of historical awareness/historical amnesia (4.3%)

Failure to scrutinize primary material effectively (4.3%)

Lack of research into the impact of terrorism (victim studies) (4.3%)

Prioritizing government policy questions over academic-led research questions (4.3%).

Other answers provided by even fewer of the respondents included: "Bias towards associating violence with religion", "Events-driven research", "Lack of research into the impacts of terrorism, especially when it comes to victim studies", "Lack of theory on terrorism", and "The use of the term 'terrorist organization'."

Here is a selection of some more open-ended responses to this question:

"There are still lots of different definitions being (sometimes loosely) applied, not only of terrorism but the many specific issues or sub-topics that fall within this. This can lead to comparing apples with oranges, and potentially misleading/ superficial conclusions. Political correctness can also be a problem. Another issue that we've seen quite a lot in relation to the pandemic has been a tendency toward tunnel vision. There has been a lot of one-sided, imbalanced analysis (including in peer-reviewed journals) that really doesn't do this topic justice."

"Hyperfocus often on the terrorist of the day rather than the wider phenomena (so the obsession with Jihadism for example)."

"Topics with relevance to politics are privileged over others (when it comes to funding, employment)."

"Terrorism research is often events-driven (in contrast, long-term / historical aspects are neglected)."

"There is not sufficient cooperation between researchers from different disciplines (though this is slowly increasing)."

"Issues of Counter-Terrorism (re-active approaches) are gaining more attention than Terrorism Prevention (pro-active approaches)."

One respondent to this question criticized members of the so-called Critical Terrorism Studies school,

"…who denigrate the work in the field as done by 'terrorologists'". This respondent also pointed to "…

the failure of critical terrorism folks to take any of the work outside of their small niche area seriously or accept that it is done sincerely."

Yet another respondent noted:

> "Too little attention is paid to analyzing the root causes of terrorism. There is no consensual definition of terrorism, especially on the role of terrorists' targeting the armed military. Since terrorists do target the military (and law enforcement), ignoring this component degrades the current definitions and limits the accuracy of terrorist incident databases that exclude such attacks."

Gaps in our Knowledge

We also asked (A.8, n=46) **"*What are, in your view, the least understood factors contributing to the emergence/ persistence of individual terrorists or terrorist groups?*"** Again, there were many single answer suggestions like "The role of religion" and "The role of grievances." Among the slightly more frequently mentioned issues, these stood out:

Terrorist motivations (10.6%)

The role of ideology (10.6%)

The role of state sponsorship (10.6%)

Ideological ecosystems and links between violent and non-violent activism (10.6%)

Radicalization (10.6%)

The role of the internet (6.4%)

Terrorist beliefs, rationale and motivations (6.4%)

Non-Western worldviews and attitudes towards terrorism (6.4%)

Personal attributes, interest and connections (4.3%)

Root causes of terrorism (4.3%)

Generational divides (4.3%).

Another question asked was **"*What type of Terrorism Studies are, in your view, neglected/shunned for political, religious or other reasons?*"** (A.10, n= 47).

Here the single mentions dominated again. Responses included: "The effectiveness of counter-terrorism strategies", "Socio-economic factors behind terrorism", "Links between non-violent activism and terrorism", "Terrorist groups as governing parties (Afghan Taliban, Hezbollah, Hamas)" and "The infiltration of political Islam into political parties/organizations in the West".

The most frequent responses to this question were:

State sponsorship of terrorism and state terrorism (27.7%)

Right-wing terrorism (14.9%)

Left-wing terrorism (12.8%)

Role of religious beliefs (10.6%)

Study of relationship between terrorism and non-Islamic religions (4.3%).

Other answers in response to this question included:

"One example that has not received much attention is the connection between terrorism and migration. There appears to be some reluctance to openly discuss this given the political sensitivities involved."

"The role of Islam within Islamist terrorism is also something that is generally tip-toed around."

Another respondent suggested:

"The political leanings of many in the field will create a blind spot for left-wing or environmental terrorism. There is also a tendency to lump anti-government or complex and even anarchic movements with REMVE [Right-Wing Movements and Violent Extremists], which is a categorical error but often done for political motives. There is a surge of researchers doing good work already in REMVE, which is what people feel like was neglected due to the rise in jihadi studies, but is probably ok in terms of attention."

Yet another respondent wrote:

"1) The link between non-violent activism and terrorism – researchers often impose an artificial firewall between them; 2) The role played by ideology, especially the content, structure and usage of ideology in terrorism; 3) State terrorism, especially historical state and state-sponsored terrorism involving countries in the West (e.g., Italy, Spain, U.S.)."

Other suggestions included these:

"The study of State Terrorism requires much further attention. The power of the State, vested interests, and the difficulty of [obtaining] reliable source material, primary data as well as the potential safety risks to researchers, makes the subject difficult to research."

"The ethics of terrorism (why the cause can find a certain legitimacy into certain ears and how there is a framework of legitimacy which exists within these groups)."

"Comparison, differences and influences between Far-Right Terrorism & Islamist Terrorism."

We also encouraged researchers to: ***"Please give your opinion about the most pressing challenge in the field of Terrorism Studies"*** (A.11, n= 46), There were few identical answers, and single mentions were frequent. These referred to issues like: "Research freedom", "Inaccessibility of primary source data", "Accepting legitimate grievances of 'terrorists'", "Dehumanization of 'extremists' and 'terrorists'", and "Models of radicalization".

Even the more frequently mentioned issues showed very limited common ground:

Finding a common definition of terrorism (10.6%)

Lack of follow-up research and detailed' long-term' research" (8.5%)

Right-wing terrorism (6.4%)

Lack of scrutiny of counter-terrorism policy outcomes" (6.4%)

Links between terrorism and organized crime" (4.3%)

Influence of technology/internet (4.3%)

Recidivism, disengagement and demobilization issues (4.3%).

One respondent referred to

"…the role ideology plays in radicalization. All too often, radicalization is approached through a psychological lens and turns the issue of political action into a health issue."

Meanwhile, another researcher responded that:

"The major counter argument on terrorism, its definition, and conceptualization is the excluding of states as terrorist actors. Unless the phenomenon is not analytical scrutinized through the lens of human security, its definitions, conceptualization, and given rules/laws will remain contested and contentious."

One researcher noted:

"Analyzing the root causes of terrorism is neglected. The last full-scale book about this subject was published in 2005, based on a 2003 workshop."

And another respondent warned:

"In the digital age, with its many advantages, information overload and the pursuit of many false narratives around terrorism can act as a conduit to unscrupulous theories, and, more worryingly, acts of terrorism."

Research Desiderata

The dream of every researcher is to do research without strings attached, whether these are financial, political or based on time limits. We, therefore, asked, ***"If you were given sufficient time, money and opportunity: which aspect/topic of terrorism would you wish to explore in depth?"*** (A.12, n=44). Again, there were many research desiderata with only a single mentioning. These included topics and themes such as:

Comparing Western and non-Western scholarship

Globalisation, modernisation and their connection with terrorism

Generational divides within extremist movements

Single-issue terrorism

Strategies of terrorism and violent extremism

Terrorism's "Fifth Wave"

Evolution of terrorism (incl. emerging threats)

Theories of violence.

More than one single answer from respondents referred to the following topics/aspects:

Deradicalization, disengagement and resilience (8.5%)

Research involving direct interaction with 'terrorists' and 'extremists' (8.5%)

Precursors of terrorism/root causes/stages of violence (8.5%)

Research related to ideologies and motivations of terrorists/groups (8.5%)

Investigations into counter-terrorist measures (6.4%)

Research related to research tools and literature databases (6.4%)

Role of online propaganda in radicalization (4.3%).

Conclusion

What surprised us most – next to the low response rate (and partly connected to it) – was the low level of consensus emerging from the answers we received from researchers.

Obviously, given the modest response rate, our questions did not generate much enthusiasm. Maybe we asked the wrong questions. To prepare for this eventuality, we had also asked: **"If you had drafted this questionnaire to assess the current state of research in the field of Terrorism Studies: which question would you have included (and what would be your answer to that question?)"** (A.13, n=40). Even here the response rate was limited: not everyone who filled in the questionnaire offered their own question, and less than ten percent of those who did came up with similar suggestions. These were,

> Responses related to research methodologies (8.5%)
>
> Responses related to terrorism prevention (6.4%)
>
> Responses related to research impact (6.4%)
>
> Responses related to research engagement (4.3%)
>
> Responses related to primary exposure with 'terrorists'/terrorist groups' (4.3%).

The following topics or themes were only mentioned by a single researcher each:

> Response related to emerging threats
>
> Response related to changes since 9/11
>
> Response related to research funding
>
> Response related to research gaps
>
> Response related to freedom of information requests
>
> Response related to key challenges
>
> Response related to improvements in the academic field.

In addition to the questions and answers discussed above, we added the suggestion **"If there is anything additional you would like to share about the current situation in the field of Terrorism Studies, please do so below"**.

21 respondents provided further comment. Here are two of the more notable ones:

> "The Terrorism Research community should adhere to Open-Science standards (e.g., publishing research open-access, making research data accessible for other researchers, wherever possible, pre-register studies to enable replication)".

> "Terrorism Studies as an academic subject has been enduring for over half a century. Its inherent interest to academics, Government, and some security services, provides a detached analysis of the classic human condition – why do human beings want to commit acts of terror against other human beings?"

One researcher suggested that "This kind of survey should be conducted annually." We agree. However, given the modest response rate to our questionnaire [10], we were puzzled by another response:

> "It is an immensely collaborative field with helpful and pleasant researchers who study a difficult and fraught subject with a humor that makes it work."

The August 2021 issue of *Perspectives on Terrorism* will contain the responses to the second part of our questionnaire which deals with the current state of research in the field of counter-terrorism.

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Notes

[1] Cf. Marc Sageman, 'The Stagnation in Terrorism Research', *Terrorism and Political Violence,* Vol. 26 (2014)

[2] Alex P. Schmid, 'Comments on Marc Sageman's Polemic 'The Stagnation of Terrorism Research', *Terrorism and Political Violence*, Vol. 26 (2014), pp. 587-595. One of the respondents to our questionnaire remarked: "The field has made great advances in recent years, and Marc Sageman's critique of a few years ago was completely unjustified."

[3] Each response included one or more 'definitional elements'. These were identified and added. The percentage tally refers to the frequency of responses relative to the overall number of respondents for the question.

[4] Bruce Hoffman, *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 43.

[5] Alex P. Schmid. Political Terrorism. *A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases and Literature* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publ., 1984), p. 111.

[6] Alex P. Schmid and Albert J. Jongman. *Political Terrorism: A New Guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Data Bases, Theories, and Literature* (Amsterdam: Transaction Books, 1988), p. 28.

[7] Alex P. Schmid (Ed.). *Handbook of Terrorism Research* (London, Routledge, 2011), pp. 86-87. Also reproduced at URL: http://www.terrorismanalysts.com/pt/index.php/pot/article/view/schmid-terrorism-definition/html

[8] Boaz Ganor. *Defining Terrorism: Is one Man's Terrorist another Man's Freedom Fighter*? ICT Papers, 1998; cit. Alex P. Schmid, "Terrorism - The Definitional Problem," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law*, 36:2 (2004), p. 375. https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/214078705.pdf.

[9] National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), University of Maryland. (2019). The Global Terrorism Database (GTD). URL: https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd.

[10] The questionnaire was sent out twice which, however, only slightly increased the response rate, despite the fact that a reward for participation was offered, a free PDF. copy of Alex P. Schmid (Ed.) *Handbook of Terrorism Prevention and Preparedness* (The Hague: ICCT Press, 2021. 1,250+ pp.).

Counterterrorism Bookshelf: 21 Books on Terrorism & Counter-Terrorism-Related Subjects

Reviewed by Joshua Sinai

So many books are published on terrorism- and counterterrorism-related subjects that it is difficult to catch up on a large backlog of monographs and volumes received for review. In order to deal with this backlog, this column consists of capsule reviews and tables of contents of 21 recently published books. The books are arranged topically.

Terrorism – General

Caron E. Gentry, ***Disordered Violence: How Gender, Race and Heteronormativity Structure Terrorism*** (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 216 pp., US $ 110.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4744-2480-6.

This book's objective is to demonstrate how primarily Western counter-terrorism, at government and academic levels, views terrorism "along lines of long-standing pre-existing cultural biases; how this leads to a seemingly stark binary between the good counter-terrorist and the bad terrorist; thus, how terrorism is drawn not as a political struggle but as a moral one" (p. 3). By 'securitizing' terrorism and not viewing it as a 'moral' challenge, the author criticizes this 'instrumentalized' response by "white men in the Global North" as perpetuating the maintenance of their "power hierarchies" in society (pp. 3-5). In another critique, in the chapter on "Misogynistic Terrorism," the author criticizes the academics she links to 'Orthodox Terrorism Studies' for intentionally ignoring the violence by 'white' terrorists against women, citing as her examples the anti-female sentiments by Dylan Roof and Elliot Rodger. In this reviewer's opinion, this is patently false. This reviewer has published several articles about their attacks, and other academics have written about the threats posed by Incel, the misogynistic extremist movement. Joan Smith has published an excellent book on this subject in "Home Grown: How Domestic Violence Turns Men into Terrorists" (Riverrun, 2019), which was previously reviewed in this journal (October 2019, Vol. 13, No. 5). Finally, whether intentionally or not, the author does not discuss the misogynistic violence by numerous 'non-white' Islamist terrorists in the U.S., such as Tamerlan Tsarnaev, Omar Mateen, and others, as well as the misogynistic genocide committed by Islamist groups such as ISIS and Boko Haram. In conclusion, the author is correct that a definition of terrorism needs to "be built on the notion that terrorism itself can be approached objectively," but her criticism that the current definition "is formed by an epistemic bias that upholds the dominant global system" (pp. 199-200) is not the solution required to improve the academic study of terrorism and counterterrorism. The author is Professor in the School of International Relations at the University of St Andrews.

Table of Contents: Introduction: Welcome to the Grey; The Structural Significance of Terrorism; Intersecting Terrorism Studies; Strange Bedfellows: What Happens When We Ask the Other Question?; Ir/rationality: Radicalisation, 'Black Extremism' and Prevent Tragedies; What Does Not Get Counted: Misogynistic Terrorism; Conclusion: Disordered Violence.

Terrorism – Psychology

Sagit Yehoshua, ***Terrorist Minds: From Social-Psychological Profiling to Assessing the Risk*** (Hackensack, NJ: World Scientific Scientific Publ., 2020), 316 pp., US $ 128.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-9-8112-1017-4.

This is an important and conceptually innovative application of the social-psychological profiling of a representative sample of 18 incarcerated Palestinian terrorists in Israeli prisons in order to develop risk assessment tools to understand how certain individuals decide to join terrorist groups. Most of the field research for the book was carried out between 2004 and 2006, with the cooperation of the Intelligence Department of the Israeli prison system. The 18 incarcerated Palestinian prisoners occupied leadership positions within their terrorist organizations, such as Fatah, Hamas, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), and they agreed to be part of the research as long as their identities were anonymized. Following the author's overview of the

three Palestinian terrorist groups, and an extensive discussion of profiling terrorists, including the social-psychological/socio-economic components in profiling, the author attempts to find out whether such terrorists exhibit psychopathic and criminal personalities. Due to these terrorist groups nationalistic motivations, the author finds that "it is difficult to establish a personality profile, even a criminal personality, among terrorist leaders in prisons since they do not generally have criminal personalities" (p. 181). Dr. Yehoshua finds that "they are very responsible for their actions and their surroundings and invest a great deal of themselves in order to promote their aspirations and their goals, and in order to provide for the organization members for whom they are responsible" (p. 181). One may ask, however, whether such findings would apply to the current cohort of lone actor Palestinian terrorists, many of whom are reportedly highly troubled individuals who turn to terrorist-type attacks against Israeli targets (whether civilian or military) in order to redeem themselves and become martyrs, as opposed to the leadership echelons of these organizations who expect to continue to hold privileged leadership positions while they are incarcerated in Israeli prisons. This book's excellent discussion of the theories and concepts involved in profiling terrorists, including those who are incarcerated, is a major contribution to the academic discipline on these issues. The author is an Israeli criminologist specializing in psychological profiling and risk assessment of terrorists.

Table of Contents: Preface; Introduction; Literature Review; Methodology; Sociological Influence Factors; Personality Profile; Mindset; Leadership Profile; Imprisonment; Analysis of the Social-Psychological Profile; Assessing the Risk; Conclusion – From Profiling to Assessing the Risk Limitations; Appendices.

Counterterrorism - Military

Andreas Krieg and Jean-Marc Rickli, *Surrogate Warfare: The Transformation of War in the Twentieth Century* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019), 244 pp., US $ 104.95 [Hardcover], US $ 34.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-2661-6679-0.

This is a conceptually innovative and important account of how wars involving state and non-state actor adversaries are increasingly being waged by the outsourcing of their strategic, operational and tactical responsibilities of warfare to human and technological surrogates, as explained in the book's back cover, "to minimize the costs of war." This phenomenon ranges from states' arming their proxy groups, using weaponized drones to attack terrorists and insurgents, to employing cyber-based propaganda to counter extremist narratives. Even insurgents employ surrogates in their warfare, such as using some of their adherents to post their extremist videos on the Internet or calling on their adherents to carry out 'lone actor' attacks on their behalf in the foreign countries where they live but which are 'closed' to the terrorist groups. Regarding the use of digital technologies as surrogates, the authors observe that they "can be a powerful surrogate, complementing psychological and information operations of both state and nonstate actors" (p. 98). Andreas Krieg is Assistant Professor at the School of Security Studies at King's College London. Jean-Marc Rickli is head of global risk and resilience at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and a Research Fellow at King's College London.

Table of Contents: Introduction; The History of Surrogate Warfare; The Context of Neotrinitarian War; Conceptualizing Surrogate Warfare; Externalizing the Burden of War to the Machine; Patron-Surrogate Relations and the Problem of Control and Autonomy; Toward a Just Surrogate War; Iran's Externalization of Strategic Defense through Surrogate Warfare; Conclusion.

Michael P. Noonan, *Irregular Soldiers and Rebellious States: Small-Scale U.S. Interventions Abroad* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 206 pp., US $ 90.00 [Hardcover], US $ 40.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-4422-7130-2.

This book is an excellent and comprehensive primer on the components involved in small-scale military interventions by the United States in overseas conflicts to support friendly governments to defend themselves from insurgent-type rebellions. In U.S. military doctrine, the author explains, such intervention is termed as foreign internal defense (FID), and it also involves offensive military operations in the form of unconventional operations and activities, termed unconventional warfare (UW). Both FID and UW also involve "many actors,

such as people from the intelligence community (IC) or development personnel" (p. 3). Cumulatively, the author points out, these types of operations in such "small-scale" interventions are referred to as "indirect approaches" (p. 3). To examine the author's thesis, numerous cases of small-scale and not so small interventions by the U.S. military over the years are discussed, such as Vietnam, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The concluding chapter presents the author's findings and recommendations to improve U.S. military performance in small-scale interventions, such as to "accept that results will vary over time" (p. 152), to be flexible in the overall strategy, and to incorporate "information and cyber capabilities for indirect interventions" (p. 158). The author, a retired U.S. Army military officer, is a Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, in Philadelphia, PA.

Table of Contents: Prologue: Irregular Soldiers and Rebellious States; Uses of Force, the American Ways of War, and a Disordered World; Indirect Strategy, Advisors, and the American Military Profession; Defensive Indirect Interventions - Foreign Internal Defense; Offensive Indirect Interventions - Unconventional Warfare; Irregular Soldiers and Rebellious States - Past, Present, Future; Appendix A: U.S. "Irregular" & "Traditional" Operations Abroad, 1798-2018; Appendix B: Combatant Command Authorities and U.S. Special Operations Command as a Unified Combatant Command.

Jim Storr, ***The Hall of Mirrors: War and Warfare in the Twentieth Century*** (Warwick, England, UK: Helion & Company/Havertown, PA: Casemate, 2018), 312 pp., US $ 39.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-9123-9085-4.

This is one of the most insightful books on military warfare (the conduct of war) this reviewer has read. The conduct of war, the author explains, "is largely the result of strategy. Their *conduct* is largely a matter of campaigns and tactics, informed in places by strategic decisions. Military organisations and technology also figure" (p. xii). This framework is applied to analyzing the course and outcome of numerous wars, whether initiated for defensive or offensive reasons, such as the First and Second World Wars, the Arab-Israeli Wars, as well as the American involvement in Vietnam. The conduct of counterinsurgency and counterterrorism is also discussed, with the author observing that "For the government, military success occurs when the insurgent can no longer take recourse to violence. That is unlikely to be clear-cut. The insurgents will typically just drift away, COIN [Counterinsurgency – JS] forces erode support, deny success, prevent recruitment, reduce the insurgents' freedom of action, interdict operations, capture arms and kill or capture insurgents" (p. 212). In another valuable insight, the author writes that at the strategic, operational, and tactical levels of warfare, "A campaign that decides a war is strategically decisive. A battle that decides a campaign is operationally decisive. An action that decides a battle or engagement is tactically decisive" (p. 256). Overall, the author notes, a strategically decisive victory in war "is something which resolves or settles the military goals of the war" (p. 257). The book's narrative is illustrated by numerous figures. This book is highly recommended as an indispensable guide for understanding the components of effective warfare and how these have played out in significant wars in the modern era. The author is a former British Army officer who has taught at several military academies in the United Kingdom and Norway.

Table of Contents: Introduction; The Dawn of the Century; The Great War; Douglas Haig, Master of Manoeuvre Warfare; Four Years of Warfare; Who Is Afraid of Virginia Woolf?; The Proper Application of Overwhelming Force; 'If You Do Not Destroy Them …'; Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat; The New World Order; 99 Red Balloons; March and Fight; The Evolutionary Niche; 'It Is Clearly Illegal …'; Business in Great Waters; The Hall of Mirrors; Appendices: I Army Formations; II Post-War Tanks and Infantry Fighting Vehicles.

Matthias Strohn (Ed.), ***Winning Wars: The Enduring Nature and Changing Character of Victory from Antiquity to the 21st Century*** (Philadelphia, PA: Casemate, 2020), 336 pp., US $ 65.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-9527-1500-6.

The contributors to this important edited volume examine the issue of measures of effectiveness in warfare in terms of winning or losing wars in sixteen case studies. For counterterrorism analysts, the chapter by Aaron Edwards on "The Provisional IRA and the Elusive Concept of 'Winning' since 1969" is of special interest, with the author finding that "there remains no academic consensus on the question of who won and who lost

the war" (p. 239). In the volume's concluding chapter, Andrew Sharpe finds that "It is possible to win, in war, providing clear and achievable goals are set. Whether those goals are micro-tactical (seize and hold the bridge at Ponte Grande) or grand-strategic (force unconditional surrender upon the Axis powers) the setting and subsequent achievement of those goals does amount to a win." (p. 292). Although much of the book's focus is about winning in conventional wars, the insights about the components in measuring effectiveness in such warfare also apply to assessing effectiveness in counterterrorism. The volume's editor is Head of Historical Analysis at the Centre for Historical Analysis and Conflict Research (CHACR), in Camberley, England.

Table of Contents: Introduction – Sir Hew Strachan; 'Winning' in Classical Antiquity and the Roman Conception of Victory; The European Concept of 'Winning' in the Middle Ages; The Early Modern Period in Europe, 1500–1715; From the Age of Reason to the European Nation State, 1750–1850; 'Winning' in World War I, 1914–1919; 'Winning' in the World Wars. The British Conceptions of the War-Time Leaders Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, 1914–1945; 'Winning' in the Cold War and the Nuclear Age, 1945–1990; Western Strategic Goals and 'Winning' in Iraq and Afghanistan since 2001; A Hollow Victory? Assad's Regime and 'Winning' the Conflict in Syria since 2001; The Impact of History, Politics and Religion: Three Contrasting Conceptions of 'Winning' in Iran since 1979; The Chinese Concept of 'Winning'; A Decisive British Victory? The Confrontation with Indonesia, 1963–1966; The Ambiguity of Victory: The Spectrum of 'Winning' in African History; The Provisional IRA and the Elusive Concept of 'Winning' since 1969; Russian Views of 'Winning': 'Velikaya Pobeda', 'pobedonosnaya voina'; 'Winning the Peace': The Peacebuilding Paradigm and its Implications for Peacekeepers in the 21st Century; Conclusion: So, What is 'Winning'?

Daniel Whittingham and Stuart Mitchell, *Counterinsurgency: Theory and Practice* (Philadelphia, PA: Casemate, 2021), 192 pp., US $ 29.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-6120-0948-3.

This is an excellent account of the components of effectiveness in counterinsurgency campaigns. The objective of counterinsurgency, the authors explain, is to "defeat an insurgency either locally, regionally or internationally. This may rely on a combination of political, military, legal, psychological, social, civic or economic means" (p. xxii). Notable counterinsurgency campaigns are discussed, such as Britain's campaigns in pre-independence Israel's Mandatory Palestine (1944-48), Malaya (1948-60), Kenya (1952-60), and Northern Ireland (1969-1997). The French counterinsurgency campaign in Algeria (1954-62) is considered one of the last counterinsurgencies by a European colonial power, with the Algerian insurgents succeeding in winning their independence from France. Several counterinsurgency campaigns by the United States are also discussed, such as Vietnam (1954-75), which the authors contend "was essentially unwinnable and should never have been fought at all" (p. 36), Iraq (2003-present), and Afghanistan (late 2001-present). The accounts of these campaigns are accompanied by a valuable discussion of the evolution of counterinsurgency doctrines in the British and American militaries. Mr. Mitchell is Senior Lecturer at the Department of War Studies, Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, and Mr. Whittingham is Lecturer in the History of Warfare and Conflict at the Department of History, University of Birmingham.

Table of Contents: Introduction; Timeline; The Roots of Counterinsurgency; Counterinsurgency, 1945-2000; A British Way in Counterinsurgency? 1945-2000; Modern Counterinsurgency: Iraq and Afghanistan 2001-14; Conclusion.

Counterterrorism – Intelligence

Jonathan M. Acuff, et al., *Introduction to Intelligence: Institutions, Operations, and Analysis* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE/CQ Press, 2021), 440 pp., US $ 85.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5443-7467-3.

This textbook is an excellent, comprehensive, and detailed overview of the world of intelligence in all its dimensions: the history of intelligence, significant intelligence agencies worldwide, how intelligence analyses and operations are conducted, covert action, counterintelligence, and emerging global threats. Regarding the utilization of intelligence to counter terrorism, Jonathan M. Acuff, one of the textbook's authors, observes that intelligence analysts need to be aware of the new wave of terrorism, which is defined by religious beliefs, and is led by al Qaida and the Islamic State; that it is characterized by the prevalence of small cells or lone wolves; that certain groups are intent on acquiring weapons of mass destruction; and that the United States, in particular,

is threatened by domestic groups, particularly far-right-wing types (including QAnon), and that a domestic anti-terrorism statute is required to counter them. As a textbook, the chapters include informative side boxes, tables, figures, and photos to illustrate the text, and they conclude with sections on key concepts and additional readings. The textbook is highly recommended for introductory survey courses in intelligence.

Table of Contents: Introduction; Intelligence History; Intelligence and Security Institutions: Organizations and Processes; Comparative Intelligence Systems; Intelligence Operations; Counterintelligence; Covert Action; Cyberspace Operations and the Information Environment; Intelligence Regulation and Governance; Inter-Agency Communications; Intelligence Analysis; Analytic Methods; The Ethics of Intelligence; Threats to the United States and Its Interests.

Huw Dylan, David V. Gioe and Michael S. Goodman, *The CIA and the Pursuit of Security: History, Documents and Contexts* (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 456 pp., US $ 125.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4744-2884-2.

This is an important and authoritative documentary history of the Central Intelligence Agency's most significant operations and activities since its inception in 1947. It is a compilation of 25 declassified documents, with each document introduced by the authors' commentary for a contextual understanding of how it fit into the CIA's operations in response to that period's events. Of special interest to counterterrorism are the documents on watching the rise of Ayatollah Khomeini, the CIA and 9/11, and the CIA's role in the rendition, detention, and interrogation of al Qaida-affiliated terrorists. This compilation is a valuable primary reference resource for analysts on intelligence issues. Dr. Huw Dylan is a Lecturer in Intelligence and International Security at the Department of War Studies, King's College London. Dr. David Gioe is Associate Professor of History at the United States Military Academy at West Point. Michael S. Goodman is Professor of Intelligence and International Affairs in the Department of War Studies, King's College London and Visiting Professor at the Norwegian Defence Intelligence School.

Table of Contents: Foreword by Michael Morell; List of documents; Introduction; Intelligence for an American Century: Creating the CIA; The Berlin Tunnel: A 'Gangster Act'; The development of CIA covert action; The CIA and the USSR: The Challenge of Understanding the Soviet Threat; Anglo-American Intelligence Liaison and the Outbreak of the Korean War; CIA and the Bomber and Missile Gap; The CIA and Cuba: The Bay of Pigs and the Cuban Missile Crisis; The CIA in Vietnam; The CIA and Arms Control; Counter-Intelligence and Yuri Nosenko; 1975: The Year of the 'Intelligence Wars'; Watching Khomeini; The CIA and the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan; Martial Law in Poland; Able Archer and the NATO War Scare; The Soviet Leadership and Kremlinology in the 1980s; The CIA and the Persian Gulf War of 1991; Aldrich Ames; The System was Blinking Red: The Peace Dividend and the Road to 9/11; Reckoning and Redemption: The 9/11 Commission, the Director of National Intelligence, and CIA at War; Iraq and WMD; The Terrorist Hunters Become Political Quarry: The CIA and Rendition, Detention and Interrogation; Innovation at CIA: From Sputnik to Silicon Valley and VENONA to Vault 7; Entering the Electoral Fray: CIA and Russian Meddling in the 2016 Election; Flying Blind? CIA and the Trump Administration.

Roger Z. George, *Intelligence in the National Security Enterprise: An Introduction* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2020), 344 pp., US $ 149.95 [Hardcover], US $ 49.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-6261-6743-8.

This excellent textbook discusses the range of roles and functions of the intelligence community in contributing to U.S. foreign policy in what is termed the U.S. national security enterprise (NSE). Organized around key roles and functions, the chapters define intelligence and its various dimensions, the intelligence community's roles in the NSE's structure and decision-making processes, intelligence analytic methods (such as strategic intelligence, warning intelligence, etc.), how the intelligence community supports policy makers (such as via the President's Daily Brief), the mission of covert action, and the relationship between intelligence and civil liberties. The subject of the intelligence community's tracking of terrorism is covered in a section on al Qaida's 2001 attack, with the author's observation that the CIA was well aware of al Qaida's major plots at a strategic level, but that its "plans to go after [bin Laden – JS] were largely squelched by a Clinton administration worried about the uncertainty of the intelligence and possible blowback that such operations might have" (p. 164). As a textbook, the chapters include numerous side boxes, and figures, with a listing of suggested useful documents

and further readings. The author is a retired CIA analyst and professor at several universities.

Table of Contents: How to Use This Book; What Is Intelligence?; What Is the National Security Enterprise?; What Is the Intelligence Community?; From Intelligence Cycle to Policy Support; Strategic Intelligence; The Challenges of Warning; Intelligence Support as Policy Enabler; Covert Action as Policy Support; The Challenges of the Intelligence-Policy Relationship; Intelligence and American Democracy; Glossary: Intelligence Terms.

John A Gentry and Joseph S. Gordon, ***Strategic Warning Intelligence: History, Challenges, and Prospects*** (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2019), 296 pp., US $ 110.95 [Hardcover], US $ 36.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-6261-6655-4.

As the authors explain, the book's objective is to discuss "the development of the strategic warning function, outline the capabilities of important warning analytic methods, explain why strategic warning analysis is so hard, discuss the special challenges warning has in dealing with senior decision-makers, assess the state of warning generally in the world, evaluate why the United States in recent years largely abandoned strategic warning in favor of a focus on current intelligence, and recommend warning-related structural and procedural improvements in the US intelligence community (IC)" (p. 1). The authors add that "'warning' refers to strategic warning, not 'tactical' warning, which refers generally to notifications of an immediately impending military threat" (p. 1). Regarding the role of strategic warning in countering terrorism, the authors note that with terrorist attacks presenting 'tactical' threats, not 'strategic' threats' to a country's stability, nevertheless they are now being viewed by national leaders as important national security threats, resulting in the 'blurring' of boundaries between "strategic and tactical intelligence" (p. 187) and making it virtually impossible to use a standard I&W [Indications & Warning – JS] method to identify new (or 'emerging') terrorist groups or new operating areas or practices; traditional police methods evidently often work better"(p. 187). This has introduced tactical warning into intelligence analysis, with 'targeters' employing big data and link analysis techniques to attempt to "connect the dots" about potentially imminent terrorist attacks. This book's discussion of strategic warning issues, especially how these apply to countering terrorism, make it an important resource for understanding the role of the intelligence community and its analytic methods in effectively addressing the terrorism challenges facing governments. John Gentry, a former CIA analyst, is an Adjunct Professor in security studies at Georgetown University and Columbia University. Joseph Gordon is the Colin Powell Chair for Intelligence Analysis at National Intelligence University, in Washington, DC.

Table of Contents: Preface; Introduction; Concepts of Strategic Warning Intelligence; Four Classic Warning Cases; Types of Government Warning Institutions; The Evolution of U.S., British, Dutch, and NATO Warning Institutions; Warning Methodological Issues; The "Indications and Warning" Analytic Method; Other Warning Analytic Techniques; Cognitive, Psychological, and Character Issues; Producers of Warning Intelligence beyond Formal Intelligence Communities; Dealing with Senior Intelligence Consumers; Institutional Issues; The Future of Strategic Warning Intelligence.

Kjetil Anders Hatlebrekke, ***The Problem of Secret Intelligence*** (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2021), 272 pp., US $ 110.00 [Hardcover], US $ [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-4744-8183-0.

The author argues that "the essence of intelligence reflects the core principles of critical rationalism, since good intelligence makes uncertain estimates less certain" (p. 2). Good intelligence, the author adds, "challenges the belief that mysteries can be understood using classic inductive intelligence analysis". He accordingly contests that mysteries only "involve contingent relationships between a limited set of causes and effects." Mysteries should hence be understood as infinitely complex" (p. 6). One result of the faulty use of an inductive approach, the author argues, led to the 9/11 intelligence debacle, in which the CIA collection strategy had "targeted bin Laden and al Qaeda in Afghanistan, and consequently not the danger emerging on US soil" (p. 164) where the attacks took place. Although some of the author's writing is overly theoretical, and the deductive approach (the opposite of induction) is not discussed, this book is an interesting critique of how the inductive approach is employed by intelligence agencies in countering terrorism. The author is Associate Professor at the Norwegian Defence Intelligence School and has served as an intelligence officer in the Norwegian Armed Forces.

Mark M. Lowenthal, *Intelligence: From Secrets to Policy* [Eighth Edition] (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE/CQ Press, 2020), 616 pp., US $ 85.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5443-2506-4.

The role and function of intelligence is to support policy making. Therefore, this textbook's focus is, as the author explains, "on the relationship between intelligence, in all of its aspects, and policy making" in government (p. 2). The author adds that the objective of intelligence agencies is fourfold: "to avoid strategic surprise; to provide long-term expertise; to support the policy process; and to maintain the secrecy of information needs, and methods" (p. 2). The book's chapter 12 on "The Intelligence Agenda: Transnational Issues," discusses threat fields such as cyberspace, terrorism, WMD proliferation, narcotics, economic threats, demographic threats, and health and environmental threats. Regarding the terrorism threat, the author explains how intelligence analysts examine "chatter": the pattern of "communications and movements of known or suspected terrorists" that might indicate the potential for an attack (p. 359). He also discusses the use of various intelligence tools to track terrorists, such as human intelligence (HUMINT), signals intelligence (SIGINT), open-source intelligence (OSINT), measurement and signatures intelligence (MASINT), and geospatial intelligence (GEOSINT). Measuring effectiveness in countering terrorism is also covered, with the author observing that one of the limitations in measuring success is that "Unlike conventional wars, there are no battle fronts moving one way or another" and that "Nor is it clear that the absence of another attack entirely means success" because some groups, such as al Qaida, employ "long planning cycles" in their attack planning (p. 363). As a textbook, each chapter includes an overview, side boxes, figures, tables, and concludes with key terms, and suggestions for further reading. This textbook is an indispensable resource on the study of intelligence in all its dimensions. The author is a former high-level official in the CIA and a veteran expert on intelligence issues in the private sector and academia.

Katherine Hibbs Pherson and Randolph H. Pherson, **Critical Thinking for Strategic Intelligence** [Third Edition] (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE/CQ Press, 2021), 468 pp., US $ 45.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5443-7426-0.

The textbook is organized around twenty key questions in conducting intelligence-related research and analysis and presenting the findings to the various government "customers." For the counterterrorism analytic community, many of the intelligence analytic tools discussed in the volume are especially useful. These include a Quadrant Crunching Matrix on the 2008 Mumbai attack that outlines four possible outlines in terms of wreaking havoc, maximum chaos, making a statement, and deadly deception (p. 99), a political instability risk assessment model (p. 101), a coup vulnerability methodology (p. 103), and the case study on Iraq's aluminum tubes, which were suspected of being part of the country's WMD program (pp. 393-402). As a textbook, each chapter includes side bars, figures, tables, key takeaways, and questions that relate to one of the six case studies listed at the end of the volume. This textbook is an indispensable comprehensive resource for literally everything one needs to know about conducting intelligence research, analysis, and presentation on these issues. The husband-and-wife authors were high-level CIA managers in the analytic branch and currently run Pherson Associates, LLC/Globalytica, LLC, an educational firm on intelligence analytic studies.

Randolph H. Pherson and Richards J. Heuer Jr., ***Structured Analytic Techniques for Intelligence Analysis*** [Third Edition] (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE/CQ Press, 2021), 384 pp., US $ 85.00 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-5063-6893-3.

The spiral handbook covers sixty-six structured analytic techniques to conduct intelligence analysis. The handbook's eleven tabs separate the techniques into categories, such as the role of structured techniques, choosing the right technique, diagnostic techniques, foresight techniques, decision support techniques, and how structured analytic techniques are likely to be used in the year 2030. For each family of techniques, the authors provide an overarching description of that category, followed by a brief summary of each technique covered in the chapter. The analytic techniques include mind maps and concept maps, Venn analysis, network analysis, analysis of competing hypotheses, alternative futures analysis, multiple scenarios generation, SWOT analysis, critical path analysis, and decision trees. Many of these analytic techniques are used in counterterrorism campaigns to analyze how terrorist groups operate and plan attacks, making this handbook an indispensable resource for intelligence analysts, whether in government or academia. Randolph Pherson is co-owner of Pherson Associates, LLC/Globalytica, LLC. Richards J. Heuer Jr., who died in August 2018, was a retired high-level CIA analyst and developer of numerous intelligence analytic techniques.

Michael Warner, ***The Rise and Fall of Intelligence: An International Security History*** (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2014), 304 pp., US $ 89.95 [Hardcover], US $ 29.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-6261-6046-0.

This is an interesting and detailed account of the history of intelligence from ancient times to the modern period. Regarding the use of intelligence in countering terrorism, the seventh chapter, on "The Shadow War," covers the period from the 1990s to around 2013. The mid-1990s, in particular, the author points out, represented a new phase with the intelligence agencies "turning scarce resources toward a resurgent terrorist threat" (p. 281), including the employment of "new digital means of collection" (p. 302), especially in cyberspace. At the time of the book's publication, the author was a historian for the U.S. Department of Defense and a former historian at the CIA and the Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

Counterterrorism – Al Qaida

Peter De Werd, *US Intelligence and Al Qaeda: Analysis by Contrasting Narratives* (Edinburgh, Scotland, UK: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 304 pp., US $ 110.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-4744-7806-9.

This book attempts to demonstrate "how theoretical components from critical discourse analysis and securitization theory substantiate a reflexivist methodology and method for analyzing complex intelligence problems: analysis by contrasting narratives (ACN)" (p. 1) The author adds that "Narratives associated with entities involved in complex intelligence are identified, their development over time is analysed, and the multi-consequentiality of discursive and non-discursive events within and beyond narratives is studied" (p. 1). This ACN approach, together with a narrative analysis framework (NAF) and a narrative tracing (NT) methodology, are used to focus "on multi-consequentiality of statements and actions" by al Qaida from 1994 to early 2001 as they are interpreted by the three narratives of al Qaida (macro level); institutional terrorism narrative, such as by intelligence agencies (macro); and by a critical terrorism narrative, such as by news correspondents (micro) (p. 46). The author hopes that the ACN framework, while 'differing' from the structured analytic techniques (SATs), which are commonly used in the intelligence community, will help to democratize intelligence analytic techniques by "encouraging wider reflexivism among professionals" (p. 210). Despite such over-use of Critical Terrorism Studies' jargon throughout the book, some of the sections are interesting, such as the accounts of al Qaida's narratives and activities during this period, two schematic overviews of text selection and analysis, and several figures of how the three different narratives affected 'securitization efforts.' The author concludes that "Reflexivist and critical approaches can provide interesting perspectives on the future of intelligence" (p. 215). The author is Assistant Professor in Intelligence and Security at the Netherlands Defence Academy.

Table of Contents: ACN: Theory, Methodology, Method, and Object of Research; Al Qaeda Narrative; US Institutional Terrorism Narrative on Bin Laden and Al Qaeda; Critical Terrorism Narrative; Conclusion.

Nahed Artoul Zehr, *The War against al-Qaeda: Religion, Policy, and Counter-narratives* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2017), 232 pp., US $ 89.95 [Hardcover], US $ 32.95 [Paperback], ISBN: 978-1-6261-6428-4.

This is an interesting and informed discussion of the need by the United States and its allies to complement the military campaign to counter Islamist groups, such as al Qaida, with an effective theology-based counter-narratives approach. A primarily military campaign, the author argues, whether in the form of counterinsurgency or counterterrorism, is limited in its effectiveness, as it has not "produced sustainable levels of progress or success in Iraq and Afghanistan" (p. 7). This needs to be complemented with a theology-focused counter-narratives approach that will be more effective at marginalizing al Qaida's appeal by addressing the needs of the various Muslim communities around the world that the group's religious narrative appeals to. To discuss these issues, significant al Qaida ideologues are highlighted, such as Muhammad abd-al-Salam Faraj, Abdullah Yusuf Azzam, and Usama bin Laden, as well as leading moderate Muslim authorities on countering al Qaida's ideology. The author is executive director of the Faith and Culture Center in Nashville, Tennessee.

Table of Contents: Introduction: A Different Kind of War; Foundations: A Just War Analysis of the War against al-Qaeda; Traditions: The Moral Constrains of War in Islam; Narratives: Al-Qaeda's Dual Nature; Tactics: Al-Suri and al-Qaeda's Model of War; Counter-narratives: Moderate Muslim Voices and a Debate within the Tradition; Conclusion: Operationalizing Counter-narratives in the War against al-Qaeda.

India, Pakistan and Kashmir

Myra Macdonald, *White as the Shroud: India, Pakistan and War on the Frontiers of Kashmir* (London, England, UK: Hurst & Company, 2020), 224 pp., US $ 34.95 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-7873-8398-2.

This is a fascinating, detailed and authoritative first-hand account by a veteran British journalist of the military conflict between India and Pakistan over the disputed Siachen Glacier region in northern Kashmir. With the

conflict erupting in April 1984 when Indian troops gained control of the Siachen Glacier, a cease-fire went into effect in 2003, with the two sides still remaining in a protracted stand-off. The author concludes that "In the short-run, perhaps the best that can be achieved are renegotiated ceasefires, with protocols to ensure these are respected. But, as recent history has demonstrated all understandings on ceasefires eventually break down, either because of distrust between national capitals, or because the terrain is ripe for miscalculation between armies pressed up against each other on the frontiers" (p. 216). The author, a former correspondent for Reuters, specializes in South Asian politics and security.

Table of Contents: Preface; Ladakh; The Nubra Valley; Siachen; the Jawan; Borders; The Border Wars; Pakistan; Drifting into War; Flying over Siachen; capturing a Post; Pakistan Counterattacks; Stalemate; The Kargil war; Defeat at Kargil; Last Visit to Siachen; Epilogue.

The Middle East

Asaad Alsaleh, *Historical Dictionary of the Syrian Civil War* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 440 pp., US $ 150.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-5381-2077-4.

Following the editor's detailed chronology of the events of the Syrian civil war from its outbreak in January 2011 to February 2021, a 29-page introduction provides an overview of this civil war, covering topics such as the legacy of Syria's long-term leader Hafiz al-Assad, an assessment of his son, Bashar al-Assad's rule, the origins of the civil war, the nature of the opposition groups (including the jihadi groups), and postwar Syria. The more than 300-page historical dictionary includes more than 200 cross-referenced entries, which are arranged alphabetically. An almost 60-page bibliography, which is arranged topically, provides a comprehensive listing of books and articles on Syria and the civil war. Assad Alsaleh, a Syrian American academic, is Professor of Middle East Studies at Indiana University in Bloomington.

Table of Contents: Editor's Foreword; Reader's Note; Acronyms and Abbreviations; Map; Chronology; Introduction; The Dictionary; Bibliography.

Aomar Boum and Mohamed Daadaoui, *Historical Dictionary of the Arab Uprisings* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020), 464 pp., US $ 95.00 [Hardcover], ISBN: 978-1-5381-1999-0.

Following a detailed chronology of the Arab Uprising's origins in June 2010 until April 2019, a 17-page introduction provides an overview and evolution of the uprising, the involvement of the international community, the rise of "secular" Islamists, the spread of refugees, and an assessment of future trends. An almost 210-page historical dictionary includes more than 500 cross-referenced entries on the uprising's terms, people and events. A 160-page bibliography, which is arranged topically, covers thematic and theoretical perspectives of the uprising and the literature on how the uprising played out in the Middle East and North Africa. Admar Boum is an Associate Professor and chair of political science and history at Oklahoma City University.

Table of Contents: Editor's Foreword; Preface; Map; Acronyms and Abbreviations; Chronology; Introduction; The Dictionary; Glossary; Bibliography.

About the Reviewer: **Joshua Sinai**, *Ph.D., is the Book Reviews Editor of 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. He can be reached at:* Joshua.sinai@comcast.net.

Ronald Crelinsten. *Terrorism, Democracy, and Human Rights. A Communication Model.* Abingdon, Oxon, UK, and New York, NY: Routledge, 2021. 331 pp., US $ 160.00 [Hardcover], US $ 44.95 [Paperback], $ 40.45 [E-book]; ISBN: 978-0-3678-6087-5.

Reviewed by Alex P. Schmid

Ronald Crelinsten, the Canadian author of this book, has written on terrorism and other forms of political violence since the mid-1970s, and his latest book presents his insights gained from a lifetime of research and teaching. It is an ambitious book, seeking to provide "…a kind of 'unified field theory' of terrorism and counter-terrorism, where terrorism constitutes but one kind of security threat to democratic life and individual freedom" (p. 306). The author has been one of the first to conceptualise terrorism as a "form of violent communication or coercive persuasion" (p. 23). He defines terrorism as "the combined use and threat of violence, planned in secret and usually executed without warning, that is directed against one set of targets (the direct victims) to coerce compliance or to compel allegiance from a second set of targets (targets of demands) and to intimidate or to impress a wider audience (target of terror or target of attention)" (p. 24) – a definition which is close to the 1988 academic consensus definition.

Unlike most other authors, Dr. Crelinsten expands his communication model to the terrorists' government adversaries, noting that "….terrorism and counterterrorism are forms of communication that interact and co-evolve over time" (p. 12). He sees this "terrorism-counter-terrorism nexus" as interactions between the controller (the state) and controlled (those who are governed, including terrorists) and shows surprising (and at times uncomfortable parallels) between the controlling state and terrorist non-state actors: "…the legitimacy and power of the state tends to cloak any overt forms of violence in different guises: arrest instead of abduction, preventive detention instead of hostage-taking, bail instead of extortion, deterrence instead of terrorism, imprisonment instead of forcible confinement, capital punishment instead of murder" (p. 44). However, he also makes clear that it is "the rule of law and the legitimacy it bestows upon the actions of the controller that distinguishes official violence from that of the controlled" (p. 158). Meanwhile, he also admits that there are "grey zones"—e. g., when states use torture, or when the controlled become controllers (that is, when terrorists and/or insurgents manage to take state power, as happened with several authoritarian post-colonial regimes).

The whole volume is a great mapping exercise to expand and refine the basic controller-controlled parallel model. The author illustrates various types of interactions on state and international system levels to demonstrate how terrorism is linked to wider social, political, economic, religious and cultural contexts, and how counter-terrorism (with its military, criminal justice, social, economic, environmental and political domains) is similarly embedded. In the opening sentence of the volume the author tells the reader that "This is a book about everything and how everything is related to everything else" (p. 1). This is both the strength and the weakness of the volume. The reader is confronted with ever more complex models (28 in total) and their discussion becomes at times formalistic. However, the author does his best to expose the reader to the maze of connections he and others discovered, which he does in a lucid style, with illuminating quotes from authorities, including non-Anglo-Saxon ones like Fernand Braudel, Michel Foucault and Thomas Piketty.

Crelinsten addresses the impact of globalization, polarization, commodification, digitalization, securitization, militarization, and more on terrorism and counter-terrorism in an effort to portray the complexities of the modern world. The framework he presents is meant to provide the reader with a tool for "maintaining situational awareness" (p. 309). For many readers, this volume—which truly sketches "the big picture"—will be an eyeopener. For those in the field of (counter-)terrorism studies, it offers an original new template for further explorations. While a "unified field theory" of terrorism and counterterrorism remains elusive, Crelinsten's innovative book nevertheless points in the right direction. The author was a Professor of Criminology at the University of Ottawa and is currently an Associate Fellow at the University of Victoria, Canada.

About the Reviewer: **Alex P. Schmid** *is Editor-in-Chief of Perspectives on Terrorism*

Bibliography: Economic Aspects of Terrorism

Compiled and selected by Judith Tinnes

Abstract

This bibliography contains journal articles, book chapters, books, edited volumes, theses, grey literature, bibliographies and other resources on economic aspects of terrorism (such as eco-terrorism, economic grievances and unemployment as root causes of terrorism, the economic impact of terrorist attacks, or financial costs of CT-measures). Literature on terrorist financing has been excluded as it will be covered separately. The bibliography focuses on recent publications (up to May 2021) and should not be considered as exhaustive. The literature has been retrieved by manually browsing more than 200 core and periphery sources in the field of Terrorism Studies. Additionally, full-text and reference retrieval systems have been employed to broaden the search.

Keywords: bibliography, resources, literature, terrorism, economic aspects, eco-terrorism, grievances, poverty, unemployment, economic impact, financial costs, attacks, CT-measures

NB: All websites were last visited on 22.05.2021. - See also Note for the Reader at the end of this literature list.

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Note

Whenever retrievable, URLs for freely available versions of subscription-based publications have been provided. Thanks to the Open Access movement, self-archiving of publications in institutional repositories, on professional networking sites, or author homepages for free public use (so-called Green Open Access) has become more common. Please note, that the content of Green Open Access documents is not necessarily identical to the officially published versions (e.g., in case of preprints); it might therefore not have passed through all editorial phases publishers employ to ensure quality control (peer review, copy and layout editing etc.). In some cases, articles may only be cited after obtaining permission by the author(s).

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Recent Online Resources for the Analysis of Terrorism and Related Subjects

by Berto Jongman

Most of the clickable items included below became available online between May and June 2021. They are categorized under twelve headings (as well as sub-headings, not listed below):

      1. Non-Religious Terrorism

      2. Religious Terrorism

      3. Terrorist Strategies and Tactics

      4. Conflict, Crime and Political Violence other than Terrorism

      5. Extremism, Radicalization

      6. Counterterrorism – General

      7. Counterterrorism: Specific Operations and/or Specific Policy Measures

      8. Prevention, Preparedness and Resilience and Rehabilitation Studies

      9. State Repression, Civil War and Clandestine Warfare

      10. Intelligence Operations

      11. Cyber Operations

      12. Risk and Threat Assessments, Forecasts and Analytical Studies

      N.B. *Recent Online Resources for the Analysis of Terrorism and Related Subjects* is a regular feature in 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. For past listings, search under 'Archive' at https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/PoT

1. Non-Religious Terrorism

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***About the Compiler*: Berto Jongman** *is Associate Editor of 'Perspectives on Terrorism'. He is a former senior Military Intelligence Analyst and currently serves as an International Consultant on CBRN issues. A sociologist by training, he previously worked for Swedish and Dutch civilian research institutes. Drs. Jongman was the recipient of the Golden Candle Award for his World Conflict & Human Rights Maps, published by PIOOM. He is editor of the volume 'Contemporary Genocides' (1996) and has also contributed to various editions of 'Political Terrorism', the award-winning handbook of terrorism research edited by Alex P. Schmid.*

Announcements

Conference Monitor/Calendar of Events (June 2021 and Beyond)

Compiled by Olivia Kearney

The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), in its mission to provide a platform for academics and practitioners in the field of terrorism and counter-terrorism, compiles an online calendar, listing recent and upcoming academic and professional conferences, symposia and similar events that are directly or indirectly relevant to the readers of *Perspectives on Terrorism*. The calendar includes academic and (inter-) governmental conferences, professional expert meetings, civil society events and educational programs organised between June and August 2021 (with a few shortly thereafter). The listed events are organised by a wide variety of governmental and non-governmental institutions, including several key (counter) terrorism research centres and institutes listed in the February 2021 issue of this journal.

We encourage readers to contact the journal's Associate Editor for Conference Monitoring, Olivia Kearney, and provide her with relevant information, preferably in the same format as the items listed below. Olivia Kearney can be reached at <oliviaj.kearney@gmail.com> or via Twitter: @oliviajkearney.

June 2021

Summer Law Programme on International Criminal Law & International Legal & Comparative Approaches to Counter-Terrorism
Asser Institute, The Hague
01 – 25 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @TMCAsser

America's Role in Afghanistan: Lessons Learned and What Lies Ahead
Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD), United States
2 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @FDD

Governance of Religion and Violent Radicalisation in Eastern Europe
GREASE, Bulgaria
2 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @projectGREASE

Out of the Frying Pan: Abu Shekau's Death and Implications for Boko Haram and Security in North-East Nigeria
Handa Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (CSTPV), United Kingdom
2 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @CSTPV

Webinar on the Far Right in Georgia
Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), Oslo
2 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @CrexUiO

Winning the Peace: Armed Groups & Security Sector Challenges
Brookings Institute, United States
3 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @BrookingsInst

Overcoming Racialization in the Field
Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), Oslo
8 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@CrexUiO</u>

20 Ans Après Le 11-Septembre, La Fin de La Guerre Contre Le Terrorisme?
Egmont Royal Institute for International Relations, Belgium
9 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@EgmontInstitute</u>

(Counter-) Terrorism in Africa: Reflections for a New Decade
South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), South Africa
9 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@SAIIA_info</u>

Online Seminar: Counterintelligence and Cyber Technology
United States Institute of Peace, United States
9 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@USIP</u>

Peace and Conflict Diplomacy in a Turbulent World
The Institute of World Politics, Washington, DC
9 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@theIWP</u>

Peace and Conflict Diplomacy in a Turbulent World
United States Institute of Peace, United States
10 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@USIP</u>

Religion and the Far Right
AVERT Research Network & TSAS, Australia
10 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@AvertResNet</u>

Changing Landscapes in the EU Area of Freedom, Security and Justice
EUCTER, United Kingdom
14 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@Eucter</u>

Lone Actors in Digital Environments in Violent Extremism and Terrorism
Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN), Belgium
14 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@RANEurope</u>

Juggling Threats from All Sides: Germany's Complex Terrorist Picture
International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR), Singapore
15 June, *online*
Website: <u>visit</u> | Twitter: <u>@rsis_ntu</u>

Seminar on Extremism
Norwegian Institute for the Prevention of Radicalisation and Violent Extremism (Plattform), Norway
15 June, *Kristiansand*
Website: visit | Twitter: N/A

Terrorism in a Changing Landscape
EUCTER, United Kingdom
15 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @Eucter

2021 Bratislava Forum
Globsec, Slovakia
15 -17 June, *Bratislava*
Website: visit | Twitter: @GLOBSEC

Countering Domestic Terrorism: A Conversation with John Cohen, DHS CT Coordinator
GWPOE, United States
16 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @gwupoe

Secularism & Islam in France
Wilson Center, United States
16 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @thewilsoncenter

Part V of the Handbook of Terrorism Prevention & Preparedness
International Centre for Counter-Terrorism (ICCT), Netherlands
17 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @ICCT_TheHague

Experiences in Dealing with Foreign Terrorist Fighters and Violent Extremist or Terrorist Offenders: Questions and Needs for the Future
Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN), Belgium
17-18 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @RANEurope

Supporting Young Victims and Survivors of Terrorism
Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN), Belgium
18 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @RANEurope

Terrorism and Social Media Conference 2021
Swansea University, United Kingdom
21-25 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @SwanseaUni

Terrorist Attacks, Cultural Incidents and the Vote for Radical Parties: Analysing Text from Twitter
Hoover Institution, United States
22 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @HooverInst

Regional Responses to Terrorist and Violent Extremist Activity Online
Tech Against Terrorism
24 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @techvsterrorism

Summer School: Concepts and Methods for Research on Far-Right Politics
Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), Oslo
28 June – 2 July, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @CrexUiO

Biological Terrorism, is Europe Better Prepared Now?
European Corporate Security Association, Belgium
29 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: N/A

The 20th Jan Tinbergen European Peace Science Conference
European Peace Scientists
29 June – 1 July, London, United Kingdom
Website: visit | Twitter: @NEPS01

Prisons and Terrorism
Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)
30 June, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @Rusi_Terrorism

July 2021

Linda M. Reynolds Terrorism Studies Scholarship: Application Deadline
John Jay Center on Terrorism, New York, United States
1 July, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @JohnJayCollege

Webinar on the Far Right in India
Center for Research on Extremism (C-REX), Oslo
7 July, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @CrexUiO

Executive Program in Counter-Terrorism
International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), Israel
11-30 July, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @ICT_org

August & Beyond 2021

Online Summer Programme: Preventing, Detecting and Responding to Violent Extremism
Institute for Security and Global Affairs (ISGA), The Hague
16-18 August, *online*
Website: visit | Twitter: @ISGA_Hague

Global Jihad 20 Years After 9/11
Danish Institute for International Studies, Denmark
13 September, *Copenhagen*
Website: visit | Twitter: @diisdk

Battlefields of the Future: Trends of Conflict and Warfare in the 21ˢᵗ Century
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Stockholm
9-11 November, *Sweden*
Website: visit | Twitter: @SIPRIorg

Governing Through Crisis – Conflict, Crises and the Politics of Cyberspace
The Hague Program for Cyber Norms, The Hague
9-11 November, *Netherlands*
Website: visit | Twitter: @HagueCyberNorms

About the Compiler: **Olivia Kearney** *is an Associate Editor of Perspectives on Terrorism as well as a member of the Editorial Board for the ICTR Journal. She is the Community Building Officer for Project CRAAFT led by RUSI Europe. Before that, she worked as a Project Assistant for the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (ICCT) after having obtained a Master's degree in Crime and Criminal Justice at Leiden University.*

Free Online Publication: *Handbook of Terrorism Prevention and Preparedness.* The Hague: ICCT Press, 2021 (pp. 1,250+) DOI 10.19165/2020.6.01; ISBN 9789090339771

Edited by Alex P. Schmid

> N.B. As part of our journal's ongoing commitment to enhancing the field of research on terrorism and counter-terrrorism, we occasionally highlight new publications that are both free to all readers (open source) and uniquely valuable to the field.

We are pleased to announce the release of the *Handbook of Terrorism Prevention and Preparedness,* edited by Alex P. Schmid, which can now be freely accessed at the following website:
https://icct.nl/handbook-of-terrorism-prevention-and-preparedness/

The editor of the *Handbook* is a former Officer-in-Charge of the Terrorism Prevention Branch of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, and is currently a Research Fellow at the International Centre for Counter-Terrorism – The Hague (the Netherlands), the publisher of this volume.

This new *Handbook* contains 35 chapters (six by the editor himself) which address:

- Up-Stream Prevention: reducing the risk of the formation of a terrorist group or organisation;

- Mid-Stream Prevention: reducing the risk of such a group or organisation being able to prepare a terrorist campaign;

- Down-Stream Prevention: reducing the risk of execution of individual terrorist operations by foiling and pre-empting these.

The *Handbook* also addresses the issue of **preparedness**: the taking of pro-active and pre-emptive measures to reduce risks and threats and, if that turns out to be insufficient, reduce the negative impact of terrorist attacks through a set of planned precautionary measures aimed at strengthening governmental readiness and societal resilience.

Structure of the *Handbook*:

Introduction and Conceptual Issues

Part I: Lessons for Terrorism Prevention from Related Fields

Part II: Prevention of Radicalisation

Part III: Prevention of Preparatory Acts

Part IV: Prevention of, and Preparedness for, Terrorist Attacks

Part V: Preparedness and Consequence Management

Conclusions and Bibliography

Authors: The *Handbook* is a collaborative effort of 39 contributors, including seasoned academics and counterterrorism practitioners, who share their insights and experiences freely with anyone interested in prevention and preparedness in the face of terrorism and violent extremism.

Availability: Readers of *Perspectives on Terrorism* can download individual chapters (Adobe PDF versions) at the URL indicated above. A free copy of the entire *Handbook* will also be available in the near future at that same address.

About *Perspectives on Terrorism*

Perspectives on Terrorism (PoT) is a joint publication of the Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI), headquartered in Vienna, Austria, and the Institute of Security and Global Affairs (ISGA) of Leiden University, Campus The Hague. Now in its 15th year, PoT is published six times annually as a free, independent, scholarly peer-reviewed online journal available at the URL: https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/perspectives-on-terrorism.

Perspectives on Terrorism has recently been ranked by Google Scholars again as No. 3 in 'Terrorism Studies' (as well as No. 5 in "Military Studies"). PoT has over 9,400 subscribers and many more occasional readers. Our journal seeks to provide a platform for established scholars as well as academics and professionals entering the interdisciplinary fields of (Counter-)Terrorism, Political Violence and Conflict Studies.

The editors invite researchers and readers to:

- present their perspectives on the prevention of, and response to, terrorism and related forms of violent conflict;

- submit to the journal accounts of evidence-based, empirical scientific research and analyses on terrorism;

- use the journal as a forum for debate and commentary on issues related to the above.

Perspectives on Terrorism has sometimes been characterised as 'non-traditional' in that it dispenses with some of the rigidities associated with commercial print journals. Topical articles can be published at short notice and reach, through the Internet, a much larger audience than subscription-fee based paper journals. Our online journal also offers contributors a higher degree of flexibility in terms of content, style and length of articles – but without compromising professional scholarly standards. The journal's Research Notes, Special Correspondence, Op-Eds and other content are reviewed by members of the Editorial Team, while its Articles are peer-reviewed (double-blind) by outside academic experts and professionals. Due to the hundreds of submissions we receive every year, only the most promising and original ones can be sent for external peer-review.

While aiming to be policy-relevant, PoT does not support any partisan policies regarding (counter-) terrorism and waging conflicts. Impartiality, objectivity and accuracy are guiding principles that we require contributors to adhere to. They are responsible for the content of their contributions and retain the copyright of their publication.

The Editorial Team of *Perspectives on Terrorism* consists of: