



# Linnéuniversitetet

Kalmar Växjö

## Violent discourses within the Far Right

A case study on discursive strategies used by the Nordic Resistance Movement



Author: Malin Lööf  
Supervisor: Christopher High  
Examiner: Ludwig Gelot  
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## Abstract

The purpose of this study is to contribute to a greater knowledge and understanding of violent discourses within the Far Right community with emphasizes on online violent content. The study has, by analyzing the narrative, identified four discursive strategies used by the Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR) in order to legitimize violence. By studying three texts in the time span of fifteen years published by the organization, the ambition is to identify a change in the discourse of violence.

Today's society is greatly influenced by the presence of the Internet. The rise of populist political parties in European and American countries etc. has lead to discussions regarding the cause of this phenomenon. A reoccurring debate is if the Internet is to blame for this, since it is accessible for most people, with non-or little legislative control regarding credibility. What can be stated for a fact, however, is that these forces are once again gaining more support and power. Due to this, finding explanations for this turn of event, which is updated to the society that we live in now is of importance. In order to understand this phenomenon the study has examined the Far Right organization the Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR). In the empirical part of the thesis four themes of violent discourses were identified; the enemies, the threat, family politics and women's role in society and community-building processes. The four discursive strategies identified are in accordance to the chosen methodological framework, namely, critical discourse analysis. Aforementioned discursive strategies and analysis questions which, framed the empirical material, were analysed through the lenses of Norman Fairclough's theory *three-dimensional conception of discourse*. In the discourses, amongst other things, it could be identified that the discourses had indeed become more violent.

*Keywords: Violent extremism, Far Right extremism, Radicalization, the Nordic Resistance Movement, Promotion of Violence, the Internet, Critical Discourse Analysis*

## List of abbreviations

NMR – Nordic Resistance Movement

UN – United Nations

EU – European Union

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

RAN - Radicalization Awareness Network

RFSL - The (Swedish) National Association for Gay, Bisexual, Transpersonal and Queer Rights

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## 1. Introduction

The phenomenon of the growing support of European radical parties and forces has been on the agenda for quite some time and is an ever-current topic. This thesis research objective is to examine the change of violent discourses in radicalized Far Right organizations. In 2013, Cecilia Malmström, EU Commissioner for Home Affairs stated in a speech during the HLG Conference of the Radicalization Awareness Network (RAN);

It is time for the EU as a whole to recognize that violent extremism represents nowadays the biggest threat to EU citizens' security... It may manifest itself in different forms, be it right wing or left wing extremism, separatism or religiously motivated extremism, but it is always characterized by bloodshed and the scars it leaves on society (Cecilia Malmström, 2013)

A growing polarization in Europe is not only a threat, it has already resulted in amongst other things, hate crimes, xenophobia, and closed communities which are a breeding ground for radicalization (Lenos et al. 2017, p. 1). It is therefore important to develop a wider understanding of this process due to its threat to democracy, national and international security and safety (Pisoui and Ahmed 2016, p. 24- 25). According to a report published by the European Union on the topic of radicalization in Europe, it says that the phenomenon of radicalization and extremism is evolving at an alarming speed. It is now a multinational matter, which crosses borders and is, therefore, also an issue of multinational security. How many people that are radicalized in Europe today is not known but there is, however, known of growing right-winged extremism in all European countries. These right-winged extreme groups are promoting anti-democratic, fascist and racist ideologies, which are fuelling violent extremism all over the European continent (European Commission 2018). In the Swedish context, the government has expressed concerns about extremism and its uprising trend. In a report published in 2014, the report states that extremist movements and organizations such as white supremacist movements are a threat to the fundamental functions of the Swedish democracy. This became more evident in October 2015 when the terrorist 'threat level' was classed high (as of before it was classed low) by the Swedish military force (Justitiedepartementet 2014, p.13).

Radicalization research has been featured in many different areas of social sciences (e.g. Borum 2011; Beck and Ritter 1992; Pels and Ruyter 2012; Sadiq and Raissa 2015; Porta and Haupt 2012) and therefore draws on a number of different paradigms. However there

is a general consensus that more research, in general, is needed, and specifically in the area of understanding the processes, causes and mechanism of radicalization as well as research about correlations between organized hate crimes and racist and ultranationalist forums on the internet (e.g. Pisoui and Ahmed 2016 p.24-25; Baruch et al. 2018, Rasismforskning.uu.se 2018). The issue of radicalization online has especially been of interest on the agenda in recent years and has been funded by institutions such as the European Union (e.g. European Commission 2018; European Commission 2015, SAFIRE reports 2015; Baruch et al. 2018) and the United Nations (UNHCR reports 2017; United Nations General Assembly 2015). The research provided from these investments has resulted in a lot of clarification within this area. Even though researchers have begun to explore the online aspect of radicalization, this is still a relatively new field, which requires to be explored and developed further since there are still research gaps to fill (Pisoui and Ahmed 2016, p.1-3 Baruch et al. 2018, Rasismforskning.uu.se 2018). Important gaps in the research remain, for example, a 2017 UNHCR report states;

(...) research evidence is very limited or lacking in a number of other important topics such as (...) the intersections between online participation in extremist groups and offline violent radicalization and actions (...) More quantitative and qualitative studies are also needed to explore the offline consequences of online extremism (UNHCR reports 2017, p. 48)

Uppsala University's Centre for Multidisciplinary Studies on Racism also recognizes the existing research gaps;

Violent racism threatens individual citizens and democratic society as a whole. However, the huge knowledge gaps in this area make this project both timely and necessary (Rasismforskning.uu.se 2018)

In my own personal experience of the Swedish and European debate, a vast amount of reporting of extremists and populist up rise has caught my attention. News regarding this topic is covering the headlines recurrently, it can simply not be avoided that right-winged extremism is a topic of discussion, which divides people, politicians, and opinion makers. Just to mention a few examples in the Swedish context that has been a hot topic of debate the last couple of years are i.e.; The presence of the right-wing extremist Swedish news magazine 'Nya Tider' at the annual book convention in Gothenburg in 2017 (Lenas 2017). In the summer of 2018 NMR

received a permit to participate in the Almedalen Week 2018. Almedalen Week is an annual political event taking place at Almedalen park on the Swedish island Gotland. The event created headlines, not the least because of their placement next to RFSL youths facilities. Why this caught attention is due to the leader of NMR, Simon Lindberg's past record. Lindberg was in 2007 sentenced three months prison for a hatred attack against an RFSL party. NMR's presences resulted in a withdrawal from RFSL youths participation in the Almedalen Week, this to show protest against their allowance to participate but also because they felt like their safety was threatened (Carlsson and Orrenius 2018). Further discussions and debates were contiguously held in the media by numerous of commentators, debaters, journalist etc. discussing if events such as those mentioned above are evidence of a social development where democratic institutions have opened up for neo-Nazi, fascist and racist movements and further if there has been a shift in the acceptance level for such organizations to act freely in the social sphere (Sjöstedt 2018; Holmberg 2017).

The noun 'radicalization' and 'violent radicalization' will be referred to multiple times in this study. It is therefore relevant to define the word as it can be interpreted in several ways. Most people have their own definition of radicalization, but really, when is someone radical? It is also important to remember that the definition of the word also differs from various academic fields, hence, it is in relevance to define the words and concepts which the thesis is going to use. For the purpose of this thesis I will use the definition of radicalization provided by Dr. Asta Maskaliūnaitė;

Radicalization will be defined as a process by which a person adopts belief systems which justify the use of violence to effect social change and comes to actively support as well as employ violent means for political purposes (Dr. Asta Maskaliūnaitė 2015)

Furthermore 'Violent radicalization' is building upon the definition about radicalization defined above, but is adding the action of harm, i.e. when a radicalized individual or groups engage in violent actions, this can be both emotional and physical (UNESCO reports 2017, p. 11).

Additionally, since 'discursive strategies' is core of the thesis it is therefore also relevant to clearly define the term. In order to form 'objects' one need discursive strategies. It exists numerous of different discursive strategies i.e. blaming, demonizing, excluding, dividing are

just to mention a few (Fairclough 2010, p.5-6). By using discursive strategies one is able to create imagery truths about the world, by e.g. excluding parts of history you teach people one sort of truth and image of the world we live in. Why discursive practices are important to understand is because they transform into reality, which is often further practiced and implemented in real life. Due to this, discursive strategies are tools, which can be used order to achieve identity, power and hierarchy both to the public but also within groups. Discursive strategies are amongst other things mechanisms that are legitimizing violence which is what this study is examining (ibid p.480).

The thesis begins with a review of existing literature, including some background to the research topic followed by a description of the identified research gap and objective. Thereafter the research questions are presented and followed by a description of the chosen analytical and methodological frameworks, which ends with a presentation of the analysis questions who framed the production of the empirical material. This is followed by a critical discussion about how the empirical material was produced. Furthermore, the empirical findings and analysis are presented, closing with a discussion about the findings. The study ends with a conclusion and recommendations for further research.

## 2. Literature review

Total war, Holocaust, ethnic cleansing and scapegoating of 'the Others' have marked the past hundred years of Western 'civilization' (Hainsworth 2000, p.2)

Previous citation is the opening line of Paul Hainsworth's book *The politics of the Extreme Right, From the Margins to the Mainstream* (2000). Extreme right opinions and actions have been and still are a huge part of European society and have evidently left a scar on the history of the 20th century. However, this is not a phenomenon that only belongs to the past. According to Hainsworth, factors like rapid socio-economic change, failing mainstream politicians and intensified campaigning around e.g. immigration, national security and unemployment has all contributed to the rise of right-winged forces to gain support in post-industrial democracies in Europe and North America (Hainsworth 2000, p.4) Although it is important to remember that the neo-Nazi movements and organizations we witness today are usually not equivalent to how they have looked and acted in the past (ibid p.2). Violent extremism has in recent years been an attentive problem within the European and North American frame. In Sweden there are three recognized violent extremist groups, Islamic extremism, the autonomous left, and, the right-winged extremism (Alm 2014, p. 29). Violent extremist environments are changing and developing constantly. Objectives and intentions are changing within and between the groups. As of lately, we've witnessed a growing trend of cooperation between Far Right extremist groups over national borders. Due to this, it is always important to advance in order to gain a greater understanding of this topic and to be aware of the progress and development. Since, it is, as stated previously, a threat to both the democratic society, as well as the citizens of the free world (Alm 2014, p. 18; Justitiedepartementet 2014, p.13) Further knowledge on this topic is therefore relevant to develop. Ultimately my research would be able to contribute to a greater understanding of Far Right extremist's use of online violence. The results of this study would indicate how organizations likewise NMR have changed their extremist environment and settings, which could be helpful for further research within the field of promotion of violence on online forums and social media. By investigating the promotion of violence within NMR's discourse this study aims to gain a greater understanding on how representations of the narrative are framed within violent extremist groups. How this is framed through discursive strategies of violence is revealing how violence online and further potentially offline are created and reproduced. Since the Far Right is promoting anti-democratic ideals with a fascist and racist core it is of relevance to investigate

this further since it is harming both the democratic state but also its citizens. According to Hainsworth, it is also of great importance to notice Far Right extremist groups development since it indicates a response to the contemporary society we live in. Drawing on this notion, by developing a greater understanding within this field it would additionally result in a greater understanding of our contemporary society. Furthermore, Hainsworth does in accordance to the e.g. UNHCR, Uppsala University and RAND Europe also argues that the extreme right today is a complex construction which requires constantly updated research (Hainsworth 2000, p.2; Rasismforskning.uu.se 2018; UNHCR reports 2017; von Behr et al. 2013). By recognizing how Far Right organizations are operating in today's society it will increase the knowledge about expressions of racism and therefore how it should be approached in order to diminish the problem. On the matter of problematizing discourses of violence within radicalized organizations, the results could impact political interventions, which are working against these destructive forces (e.g. Bjurwald 2017; DN.se 2018; Lenas 2017).

## **2.1 Radicalization in a Far Right context**

There is a lot of existing academic research about radical Far Right movements and normalization in general, specifically in the European context. However, in Swedish mainstream media, there seems to exist a division in two on the understanding of how the discourse of right-winged movements has changed and evolved over the last couple of years. On one hand, there is an existing general consensus that in the last couples of years a normalization process has resulted in a more laid-back attitude and acceptance of right-winged forces and neo-Nazi's which has created a higher public acceptance to their violence. But, on the other hand, a general perception in media is also that the situation is the other way around; that public Far Right movements are nowadays less violent and vocal compared to before as they then have a greater chance of attracting recruits if they normalize and publically 'tone down' their authorial violent ideology (e.g. Aftonbladet.se 2016; Hallandsposten 2018; The Guardian 2017).

In the academic field, the concept of radicalization and factors contributing to the process of radicalization has both been explored on micro- and macro levels by economics as well as in regards of ideological and social factors by social scientists (Marret et al. 2017; Rasismforskning.uu.se 2018) although few studies have examined the linkages between extreme right- winged discourses and how it has changed over the last year. A study that is partly touching on this topic, however, is the book *Analyzing Fascist Discourse: European*

*Fascism in Talk and Text* (2013) by Ruth Wodak and John E. Richardson, which has given a great contribution to the research within this field. The book examines amongst other things how the definition of fascism has emerged and evolved over the last 80 years in Europe. Something specifically interesting related to the topic of my thesis is their work on how post-war neo-fascist and Nazi's in Austria have written and spread propaganda about the use of metaphors of Hitler's speeches as a way of changing the public perception of the metaphors used, and, by this, rationalizing his opinions and speeches. This propaganda these organizations were spreading was for instance denial of the Holocaust (Wodak & Richardson 2013, p. 4). Furthermore, Wodak and Richardson contributed to an interesting understanding of how neo-Nazi organizations have succeeded to some extent to use racial populism from the mainstream to succeed in recruiting members regarding modern migration into Europe and North America. In a case study, they examined the UK based neo-Nazi organization Combat 18. This specific case will be considered when analyzing the research in this thesis, as the organization has the same sort of dynamics as the Nordic Resistance Movement but within a British context (Wodak and Richardson 2013 in Sakki and Pettersson 2015).

In research carried out by Inari Sakki and Katarina Pettersson, anti-immigration political parties and organizations have been proven to attract voters who feel disoriented by the already well established 'mainstream' political parties. What the authors identified in their study is a common shift of rhetoric used in the right winged politics in all Nordic countries. If these right-winged political parties and organizations used to be nationalistic historically, they are now more often a matter of a transnational scope where 'us' and 'them' as social constructs are created by the discourse. This is useful to keep in mind when asserting the thesis and is part of what will be investigated (Sakki and Pettersson 2015, p. 156). In the book *Elite discourse and racism* (1993) the author, Teun A. Van Dijk, claims in his research that most discourses in the western context have one specific commonality, namely their rhetorical strategy. In research that has studied both European and North American discourses, he found two main strategies that were reoccurring. Either the 'outsiders' that is ethnic or religious minorities or/ and the 'insiders', often described as the elite or opponents who are betrayers of the insiders and bear hidden agendas. This often includes multicultural agendas, something that is betraying and threatening the 'survival' of their sort of people (the white/ European race) (Van Dijk 1993, p. 17-21; 249-250).

## **2.2 Online promotion of violence within Far Right movements**

As the previous chapters stated, not a lot of research has been published on the issue of how radical violence is translated online. Yet, in a report published by UNESCO, the report states that the role of the Internet is an essential part to understand extremism of today. Specifically the processes of recruitment, broadcasting and spreading of violent content. The digital era has been booming the last 20 years and has resulted in a new form of reproduction of hate and violence (UNESCO reports 2017, p.7). In a study made in the Netherlands regarding the change of form of activists since the Internet's boom, it was confirmed that online actions seem to attract people who previously have not taken part in street activism. This can be seen as evidence to that online forums are a gateway for people to take part in activism that they would have not normally done if it were not based on the Internet. The Internet is, therefore, an effective recruitment tool for extremist groups such as neo-Nazi organizations (Daniels 2008, p.145). This notion of online activism is supported by a set of fifteen case studies on the topic of online radicalization, published in a report by RAND Europe (von Behr et al. 2013). What the report found were amongst some things that the Internet can be a breeding ground for individuals to become radicalized. The Internet also creates opportunities for 'lone-actors' to find like-minded individuals, resulting in opportunities to grow stronger together. The Internet is also a place where people can connect without meeting physically, this means that organizations and movements can spread faster and easier for a broader audience within a bigger geographical area (von Behr et al. 2013, p.16-21 and Kaplan 2003, p.149).

According to the UNESCO report, Radicalized individuals often seek fundamental meaning and origin and are therefore often attracted to follow radicalized ideologies. In the context of the Internet, propaganda by radical groups with violent content and-/or identity is represented and easier to find than when the Internet was not around. The term 'identity fusion' is referring to the process of when an individuals identity is surpassed by the group identity. This results in an over trust in the narrative and discourse that the extremist group is proposing. This is, according to the report an effective and often used strategy to radicalize individuals (UNESCO reports 2017, p.17). In various reports, it is recognized that extreme Far Right groups in many western countries are using the Internets often guaranteed freedom of speech to mobilize and to post and spread hate and violence. These groups have also shown to be using social media to create an acceptable public image and by then be able to recruit members more widely than what was possible before. Why social media has become a platform that is allowing the propaganda to more widely spread is due to its way of publishing untruthful and offending,

racist and hateful discourses as there is no, or, little legislative rules and control over the credibility (ibid 2017, p.23).

An article by Jeffrey Kaplan published in 2003 was one of the first articles published about white supremacist movements and organization using the Internet as a platform to grow. What Kaplan found was that while these groups often have relatively few members, the attention they get on the Internet and mainstream media is not proportional, which creates a sense that these groups are bigger than they actually are. This is evidently because these groups have embraced the platform and are using the Internet as a primary platform for their activities. Furthermore, Kaplan also argues, likewise the RAND report, that this is a perfect platform for groups that have this sort of formation as they, therefore, can recruit members that before have been lone-actors. This may be one of the more dangerous parts of the Internet according to Kaplan. Further, the study identified how the organizations that were studied seemed to actively try to create a joint identity for its members and supporters (Kaplan 2003, p.149-150). Lastly, Kaplan argues that the core of this phenomenon is the desire for social acceptance. In ‘reality’ people who proclaim racist (and other radical opinions) are socially and legally punished. The Internet, therefore, serves these groups a safe haven where members and supporters undisturbed can share their worldview with each other. Lastly Kaplan reflects about the future where he claims that these groups in all probability will not become serious political contestants (ibid p. 155). If Kaplan were right or wrong about the future is arguable.

A more recent study on radicalized discourses online was carried out on the case study of stormfront.org which is a white supremacist Internet forum. The results indicate that their discourse has changed considerably compared to traditional hate text and propaganda. What the authors found in their research is that stormfront.org is not directly promoting violence, which otherwise is typical for white supremacist movements. What the reader will find is a lot subtler racism, using a quasi-scientific discourse. By changing the tone and making the racist rhetoric sound more ‘scientific’ than hate based it is, according to the authors, widening the potential recruitment of people and supporters. According to Meddaugh and Kay, this is typical for how the Far Right discourse has changed as they have started to mobilize on the Internet (Meddaugh and Kay 2009, p. 252-254).

### **2.3 Research gap and objective**

This thesis research objective is to explore the change of discourses of violence in a Far Right context. Since it exists a division regarding if radical groups are becoming more vocal (Kaplan 2003; UNESCO reports 2017; von Behr et al. 2013) or more subtle (e.g. Meddaugh and Kay 2009; Sakki and Pettersson 2015) in today's society I found that it is existing a research gap. Today's society is very much influenced by the Internet, not the least in the political context. Earlier research within this field has mostly investigated why and how individuals get radicalized. Not as much has been studied on the topic on what those who are actually spreading radicalized propaganda are impacting more broadly, and foremost, what these impacts are resulting in. From what I know there has not been a study which has analyzed the change of violent discourse of a radical organization in order to see if there has been an increase or decrease of the violent discourses the last fifteen years. However, I am aware that fifteen years can in some fields be a too short period of time to detect a change, but due to the influence of the internet has changed drastically since 2003, I argue that it is enough time to detect a change. By examining the discursive strategies the Far Right is using this will result in a broader understanding of how organizations such as NMR are working in order to legitimize act of violence in the organization.

### **2.4 Research questions**

In order to reach to the research objective the study will answer the following research questions;

- *What different sort of violent discourses were found in text 1, 2 and 3?*
- *How is NMR constructing their identity in relation to the discourse?*
- *Has the representations and stories of the narratives changed?*
- *Can NMR's discourses of violence be further understood by applying Norman Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse?*

### **3. The chosen analytical and methodological frameworks**

The thesis will be written as a qualitative critical discourse analysis (CDA). Why a critical discourse analysis is chosen as a methodological framework for this thesis it because CDA emphasizes specifically discourses related to socio-cultural and ideological factors, which is what this thesis is conducting (Bryman 2016, p. 540, 526). In discourse analysis, the theory and method are combined. Social constructivist theories is the core of discourse analysis, therefore the study will be carried out with premises and approaches that are included in these theories (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000, p.10,11) A CDA is power-related and asks questions like ‘who, why, when and to what effect does the actor use the language and for what reason?’ (Bryman 2016, p. 540, 526). What is also common for CDA is that the starting point is within the power of language. Ideas, ideologies, and discourses etc. put words for what is possible to think and thereby also do. One that is doing a CDA wants to prove that an idea or sentence that may seem completely puzzling and given, is in fact historically specified and a product of human interpretation. Although discourse analysis is investigating texts, the human practice has an important role in the concept of the discourse and it is therefore interesting what the text is resulting practically in reality (Esaiasson et al 2017, p.214, 215).

According to Patricia E. O’Connor (1995) investigating the discourse of violence in texts is contributing to the understanding of how reality, for example; a violent act, a society or a group etc. is constructed (O’Connor 1995, p.309). In accordance to this, discourses are therefore shaping human behavior (ibid p.317). Aforementioned way of looking at the world is assuming that language itself is a contributor to actions (ibid p.310). Also, thus discourses of violence are not physical, some may argue that it is not violence. However, it has been proven that words of violence have been part of pieces of evidence and explanations in sentences for people committing violent crimes. One example is the Far Right terrorist Anders Behring Breivik’s massacre which killed 77 persons in Oslo July 22nd, 2011. Later it was discovered that Behring Breivik had both been active in Far Right online forums where he spread hatred and expressed violence as well as publishing his own manifesto, just hours before the massacre (Röstlund et al. 2011). One can even argue that words and texts are preconditions into violence since it is needed in order to formulate thoughts of action. Discourse analysis is, therefore, a way to understand someone else's mind. Further, when a thought is put into text or words, it is no longer just a thought, it is an object, which can be used and interpreted in different ways. Language often provokes violence; it can both be direct and obvious, or subtle, which creates unequal societies, which are further creating institutional violence.

Following citation is how Norman Fairclough describes what discourses are and what impact it can have on the world;

Discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they also projective, imaginaries, representing a possible world which are different from the actual worlds, and tied into projects to change the world in particular directions (Fairclough 2003, p.124)

Furthermore, CDA is concerned about how power is exercised through language. Particularly how language helps to create 'truths' and can, therefore, also, be used as a power tool. CDA can be used in various ways and has been developed by different scholars in different ways. Norman Fairclough has created an interdisciplinary approach to the CDA, which, according to Winther Jørgensen and Phillips is the most developed CDA theory. The relationship between language and ideology is the core of the theory in Fairclough's theory (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000, p. 66). By combining social theory with the discourse analysis, CDA makes it possible to look at, and understand how the change in language also changes cultural norms and society as a whole. Due to this, the chosen theoretical and analytical framework will be the *Three-dimensional conception of discourse*. Below the three dimensions will be described briefly (Fairclough 1992, p.73).

The first dimension - '*Discourse as Text*' is including the discourse itself. It is the communicative event and focuses on how the discourse is articulated to the receivers. Examples of this are movies, articles, interviews and political speeches (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000 p. 73). The first dimension's purpose is to analyze the communication. Questions that could be asked to the text to find the answer is for example: what does the discourse want to say and express and what attitude towards the subject that is talked about does the sender have (Fairclough 1992 p.72,73)?

The second dimension – '*Discursive practice*' is aiming to understand what the text is trying to create and the process by means to which the content is produced and later received. This is relevant because of the way one talks/send out its message regarding a subject can change the opinion of the receiver. This is also taking the social institutions where the discourse is presented into account. For example, in a working place, you usually have a working culture with its own norms and unwritten rules. How you talk with your colleges may probably differ

from how you talk to your children etc. This is important to consider when carrying out a CDA, what does the sender want to communicate to its recipients, and what relationship does it have to them? It is the specific context one is analyzing and specifically what power structure that is present in each specific case (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000, p. 73-76).

The third dimension – '*Social practice*' is explaining which 'arena' the discourse is shown. The third dimension is further linking the discourse to other social practices, this to broadens the understanding and depth of the analysis. This means that the second dimension is reinterpreted in the third dimension. Examples of this are norms and traditions within the organization e.g. understanding of patriarchal power structure and authority leadership will further be discussed in the analysis. Important to note is that social practice is intersectional and is always created by either the first or second dimension, or in a combination of both (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000, p. 73-76)

Why the theory and method of CDA by Fairclough is suited to my study is due to the fact that the study is exploring the discourses within NMR both based on how they are articulated through text, but also how the organization are creating their discursive practices using different discursive strategies. Due to the study's intention to investigate the change of the organizations discourses I will use primary sources to my research. When analyzing the data and research an abductive approach will be used. Why abduction has been chosen is due to the interest of providing a greater understanding of this particular case study to the broader context of radicalization research, and, how people, which in this case is the radical right, is forming their worldview. By applying already established theories and structures it will contribute to a greater understanding of the processes that are appearing in the specific case study. Also, by applying theories to the study the abduction will help to guide the study in the right direction, i.e. it will also serve as a framework (Bryman 2016, p. 394).

The material that was analyzed was chosen is according to CDA praxis, i.e. when choosing data to analyze, the most important thing to keep in mind is what will be important in the construction of the object. Due to this, the chosen material was the most suitable in order to reach the thesis research objective (Bryman 2016, p. 540, 526).

The thesis will be qualitative as it will go into depth and analyze already existing material. Because the research aims to answer the questions of how the violent radicalization discourse

has changed form in specifically the Swedish context, I, therefore, have chosen the case study of the Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR). Why qualitative research has been chosen instead of a quantitative is the hoped outcome of the research. The thesis aims to provide a greater understanding, with emphasis on a descriptive outcome, this, because it will provide a greater depth to the study and will therefore not only go on the surface of the social dynamics and power-relations it is investigating (Bryman 2016, p. 394). As stated before, since CDA argues that discourses create and reproduce power inequalities between and within social groups, the effects can arguably have ideological effects. Why CDA is critical is because it is seen as its task to clarify the role of discursive practices in maintaining social order, including social relations which are resulting in uneven power relationships within the communication processes and further, in the society. CDA shall therefore always aim to expose the role that the discursive practice plays in order to maintain and create inequality within or between social groups (Winther Jørgensen and Philips 2000, p.69). Meaning is not focused on the individual when carrying out a CDA, but is assuming that social or intersubjective opinions are created in the interaction between actors and/or individuals. Due to this, it is important to point out that whether the ideas are 'true' (if they describe the truth correctly) is not what is interesting to find out, this because one assumes that all ideas have social effects and nothing can therefore ever show the truth in its right meaning. Furthermore, since this study wants to know if ideas in a certain context have changed over time, CDA is suitable because it will make it possible to compare the identified discourses with each other (Esaiasson et al. 2017, p. 212, 213). The reason the Nordic Resistance Movement (NMR) is suitable for this case study is its background, which is quite a generic neo-Nazi organization in the European context and can, therefore, be compared to other resembling organizations (Expo.se 2018). This gives the thesis a greater cause than just creating an understanding of this case, as the findings in this research will be applicable to other cases.

### **3.1 Analysis questions**

Since Fairclough's three-dimensional model was chosen as the theoretical framework for the discourse analysis I have chosen to break down the research questions into analysis questions based on the model represented earlier in the chapter. In order to create and further analyze the empirical material the narrative of the texts were analyzed. A narrative could be described as of how to create a story by actively choosing how and what to include in it in order to create a description of the world we live in. What is deliberately included and what is not? Analyzing the narrative is a common tool when looking further into how violent

extremist groups are legitimizing violent actions. This is the reason why the narrative was chosen as an approach (Esaiasson et al. 2017, p. 217-222). Following are the analysis questions which were used in order to understand and produce the empirical material;

- *What is the narrative's main theme?*
- *Who are the main characters, the protagonists and the antagonists and who are excluded from the narrative?*
- *How does the relationship look like between the actors?*
- *What is described or assumed to be the motive and reason for the story of the narrative?*
- *How is the narrative described as, when did the story begin and what areas and historic times are highlighted and what is excluded?*

#### **4. Material, Limitations and delimitation**

The material that was analyzed is written and published in Swedish, when citations in the thesis were needed it was, therefore, translated by me. Due to the fact that the study is analyzing the text citations in the empirical chapter will be used more frequently than in other forms of studies, this is to reduce the chances of presenting misleading results. The remaining sources used, besides three manifestos found at nordfront.se is mainly collected from three databases, OneSearch, DIVA portal, and Google Scholar. Further, the study has been delimited to only examine right-winged radicalization and not all types of radicalization, this is due to both time limitations and to the sake of not generalizing the phenomenon too much. If the thesis is more focused, the research will be more reliable and academic.

The study is going to be of an ‘idea central- type’, with other words, what is relevant to find out is how the meaning of the narrative has shifted over time. I’ve chosen a narrow approach when picking the material to analyze. Because the study is enquiring an in-depth analysis it requires a very detailed reading. This makes it unrealistic to review all relevant texts, this due to both time and word limits. However, I am aware of the dangers of using a too narrow source of material. It can either result in generalizations, which could make the study lack in relevance and legitimacy. To avoid these ‘traps’ the chosen material is, therefore, three documents that represent the most comprehensive thoughts within NMR’s organization. In the book *Metodpraktikan* (2017) when choosing the material to analyze it is recommended that one shall, when narrowing down one's sources, choose the material which is the most ‘typical’ for the actor that is being analyzed. Manifestos are arguably just that, that is why these three texts were chosen. By analyzing three texts that are presenting a summary of the core ideas this increases the study’s relevance and trustworthiness (Esaiasson et al. 2017, p. 225, 226).

An important note to highlight is that only one of the three texts that will be studied is an official manifesto. *A Free North* (2003) and *The Government of the Future* (2010) are not titled to be manifestos. The only official manifesto NMR has ever published is *Our Way* (2015). However, in a personal email exchange with Martin Saxlind, the current Chief Editor of Nordfront, Saxlind states that the article *A Free North* can be seen as the first manifesto published by NMR and that the following article. *The Government of the Future* published in 2010 can be seen as the second one which was followed by the official manifesto, *Our Way* (Martin Saxlind 2018 in an email referring to the articles *A Free North* (2003), *The Government of the Future* (2010) and *Our Way* (2015)).

See email below:

Ang. partiprogrammet "vår väg" och eventuella tidigare partiprogram Inkorgen x

---

 **Malin Lööf** ons 24 okt. 2018 13:58  
Hej! Mitt namn är Malin och har nyligen läst och tagit del av ert partiprogram "vår väg", jag är intresserad i hur er politik och vision eventuellt har ändrats

---

 **redaktionen@nordfront.se** sön 28 okt. 2018 10:25  
till mig   
Hej,  
  
2003 hade vi ett kortare "manifest" som hette "Ett fritt Norden" och som jag tror delades ut som flygblad på gatan:  
  
<https://www.nordfront.se/ett-fritt-norden.smr>  
  
2010 skrev Svenska motståndsrörelsens dåvarande ledare Klas Lund en längre artikel som innehöll en del tankar om ett framtida statsskick:  
  
<http://web.archive.org/web/20170808112210/https://www.nordfront.se/framtidens-styre.smr>  
  
I grund och botten är det ungefär samma idéer som "Vår väg" bygger vidare på, det är inte så mycket som ändrats annat än att "Vår väg" är en mycket mer omfattande och detaljerad beskrivning av vårt idealsamhälle än de tidigare uttalandena. "Vår väg" är också det enda partiprogrammet organisationen har haft och den skriften släpptes kort efter vi bildat vårt parti, vilket var runt 2015 om jag minns rätt.  
  
Mvh  
Martin

(M. Saxlind 2018 personal communication 28 October)

Limitations to the thesis are amongst other things that it is only examining radicalization in the Swedish context, using NMR as a case study. The research would be of greater depth if it had examined other extremist right-winged groups but due to language-barriers (I only know Swedish and English) it would be hard to examine an e.g. German or French right-winged organization. Also due to time constraints, the thesis is 'only' examining the Swedish context. If the research time would have been longer the thesis would have been able to examine more cases which could be compared to each other, which would make the study be of greater depth. Furthermore, it is impossible to erase all subjectivity when carrying out research, even though that is the ultimate for the outcome of the work. Nonetheless, with the help of the analytical tools, I will put my best effort to be as unbiased as possible. Due to the importance of subjectivity, the thesis will be as transparent with the research process and sources as possible, as it is my intention to create a high-quality critical discourse analysis that will contribute the research within this field. Further, it is important to point out that when creating a discourse analysis, it is impossible to be completely unbiased since the purpose of discourse analysis is to interpret texts, the results will be therefore be affected by the person carrying out the analysis and his or her own experiences and worldview (Esaiasson et al. 2017, p. 228).

The research in this thesis is only drawn on sources and data that is already publically published material. Due to this, no ethical considerations when handling and collecting the data are needed to be taken into account when asserting this work. Although, because the thesis is examining a neo-Nazi organization which often uses e.g. stereotypes, racist, violent and other problematic languages the thesis could be problematic and disturbing to some people. However, since the objective of the thesis is to examine the discourse it would be impossible not to include it in the thesis and since the thesis is supposed to contribute to the research of radicalization it is important to recognize this problem. It could therefore potentially harm people as it is examining a sensitive topic and a case study which is using a rhetoric language where groups and individuals are exposed negatively.

#### **4.1 Interpretation and presentation of empirical material**

Interpretation of discourses is about understanding the text in relation to the question that is asked to the text in order to understand its meaning and purpose. This study will both look for what in the book *Metodpraktikan* (2017) is called the 'latent' and 'manifest' messages. Manifest messages are the messages that are easy to detect and literal in the text. Latent messages are messages that are not literal and, therefore, requires analytical tools to interpret the hidden meanings. In order to discover the latent messages one, therefore, has to make assumptions since it is not literally written in the text. To make assumptions as correct and trustworthy as possible the author must use the questions defined for the study, and to systematically ask them to the text. All questions should be asked to all the material that is analyzed in order to create an academically trustworthy study (Esaiasson et al. 2017, p.226-229). The purpose of the analysis is to find out, arrange and identify themes in something that may appear as complex and messy. By whom the text was produced will also be taken into consideration when analyzing the text. For example, due to NMR's political standing, it is not very likely that the organization would write something that is promoting, for example, leftist ideas etc. even though you possibly could take some parts of their texts and interpret it as of that. In other words, you have to take the whole picture into consideration. In the study, I am aware that meanings of words can shift depending on the context, especially emotionally charged words. In cases where more than one way of interpretation is possible the options will be tested on the rest of the material and further the one that seems to fit in the wider context will be the chosen interpretation (ibid p.230-232).

The presentation of the empirical material will be through summaries of the original text, citations and argumentative conclusions. The argumentative conclusions have been chosen to be part of the empirical presentation since they explain and highlight the considerations made during the interpretation of the texts. In order to make the study as comprehensible and clear for the reader as possible, the report will follow the identified discursive strategies (ibid p. 233).

## **5. Mapping of the Nordic Resistance Movement's Discourse of Violence**

In this part of the thesis the empirical material will be presented and interpreted. In the following chapters both discourses of direct physical violence are identified, as well as discourses of violence, which are more subtle. By analyzing discourses from three texts I will be looking at what may be one explanation of the mechanisms, which makes NMR member acts violently (O'Connor 1995, p.310). In order to understand the context of NMR as an organization a very brief history of the organization;

NMR was founded in 1997 by some of the most radical parts of Sweden's racist and fascist elite, today NMR is the biggest neo-Nazi organization in Sweden and are active in all Nordic countries (Expo.se 2018). Following are some scandals carried out by NMR the last couple of years;

- In March of 2008 a member of NMR are arrested from the police after have found a large number of explosives at the home of the man (Jakobsson 2009)
- 12th of November 2016 NMR demonstrated under the slogan "Stop the Invasion of Strangers" in Stockholm (Tullgren 2016)
- 10th of September 2016 a 28-year-old man dies after being beaten by members of the Finnish Resistance Movement, a sister organization to NMR (expo.se 2018)
- In the late 2016/ early 2017 three members of NMR were convicted of three different bombings in the Gothenburg area. All of the three men were sentenced to prison later that year (Hansen Siilin and Rogsten, 2018)
- In April 2017 the Jewish Association in Umeå closed down after numerous cases of threats and harassments carried out by the NMR (Expo.se 2018)
- 1st of may 2018 NMR were given demonstration permit to demonstrate in Ludvika and Boden (Sjöstedt 2018)

The following chapters will provide a glimpse into the reality and world of NMR's members and followers, revealing that violence is a big part of their community and identity.

### **5.1 The enemies**

In the texts, the main antagonist conflict identified is the relationship between the in-group and the out-group. The word 'strangers' and 'racial strangers' are reoccurring terms used in all of

the text. However, it is not always clear who the strangers are. By describing people as strangers a broad generalization is done, everyone who is not Swedish in the way that the narrative is including in the story of the Swedish people is then strangers. Strangers are used as a self-evident term throughout the entire text where the meaning is taken for granted. What can be understood by this, is that it exists a joint consensus regarding the meaning of the word within NMR, and therefore there is no need to explain it to the receivers of the message (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000, p. 55-56). When deconstructing the meaning in the specific context it can be explained through Fairclough's second dimension, the discursive practice. If we look at NMR as a social institution with its own norms, unwritten rules and ways of talking this reveals that the discourse of the word 'strangers' is such a big part of the institution that everyone involved in the group has a reference to what the word means and includes. It consists of a consensus of the word among the authors and the readers (ibid p. 73). What is clear however is that at the same time, the term is associated with negatively charged words such as human trafficking, drugs, and high crime rates, implying that these are products and consequences of the allowance of 'strangers'. The so-called 'strangers' in addition then lose their identity when they become generalized, this can be interpreted as a form of discursive discrimination. By diminishing individuals' personal identity and instead attribute a group certain characteristics this can be a part of a dehumanizing process. In neither of the texts 'strangers' are talked about as individuals, they are either talked of as a group and sometimes not even as if they were humans. Further, these 'strangers' are described as a risk/ threat for 'the people', this is also vague, who are the people and who are the strangers? Due to no actual reference to who neither the 'strangers' nor 'the people' are it is hard to know specifically what NMR are referring to. However, by describing some as 'our people' and the rest as 'strangers', this further evidences that there is a notion that the 'strangers' are not seen as fully as human beings as the in-group (ibid p. 55-56).

When asserting the three texts I found that racist discourses about 'strangers' were present in all of them, but, there is however a more violent development regarding this topic. Following are examples of statements concerning strangers' found in the text from 2003, 2010 2015;

2003:

The introduction of illegal substances increases (...) Even trafficking of humans, which has never been seen on our latitudes before, is now present (Nordfront.se 2003)

This, as stated above is a way of equating problematic phenomenon in society with their enemies, indicating that these problems did not exist and would not exist if the in-group were the only ones present. These are examples of racialization, an idea that the social relations and attributes of people are created by cultural and biological characteristics. Racialization is here used to collectively blame a group of people i.e. the ‘strangers’, for the problematic parts of the society (SOU 2015, p. 97) even though in reality, human trafficking has been around for hundreds of years in Sweden, the problem is framed to be a product of migration of 'strangers' (Nyberg 2018; Lindqvist 2015; Brink 2017). Further, discussions which describe the perceived reality of the Swedish contemporary society is held;

Strangers, without common interests with our people, is now running Sweden (...) The border guard, once a matter of obviousness for each state, has been removed. Our country is now wide open without protection, and strangers enter without control (Nordfront.se 2003)

(...) our country is now wide open without protection, and strangers enter without control” (Nordfront.se 2003)

All non-assimilable strangers must be sent home. The ethnic and cultural integrity of the Nordic people must be protected. This is an absolute necessity for creating a stable and harmonious society (Nordfront.se 2003)

The previous citations all show political reasons that are hidden behind arguments that ‘strangers’ are a threat. This type of dynamics found in discourses are called a ‘culturalizing’ of power according to Nira Yval- Davis. In accordance to Yval-Davis’s theory I interpret that there is an underlying meaning that the ‘strangers’ are bad since they don’t have a common interest with ‘our people’. This is not only a distinguishing and a way to create distance between ‘us’ (the in-group) and ‘them’ (the out-group), it is also implied that these foreign interests are hurtful (Yval- Davis on Eduards 2007, p.56,57).

2010:

In the text from 2010 the term is mentioned once, in the context of what democracy has resulted in according to Lund;

(...) very few people who lived hundreds of years ago had encountered democracy if they found out that the word democracy would, for example, mean a mass invasion of racial strangers where our own people would be forced out of their own country, or that it would include the right for transsexuals to have orgie-like festivals on our streets that would lead to a general moral decline, hedonism, pornography, and violent films to overshoot the country and so on (Lund 2010)

Previous citation is in accordance with the culturalizing of power concept which is indicating that the power structure has been changed and that it is linked to cultural reasons. According to Lund, when the acceptance of the 'strangers', in this case, the transsexuals started to happen, the society worsened, compared to historically when this was not yet around (Yval- Davis on Edwards 2007, p.56-57). This can be interpreted as the motive of the story of the narrative, i.e. the reason why Sweden is not what it used to be is due to the antagonists, the 'strangers' and transsexuals which are the ones that have introduced these, according to Lund, harmful 'new' phenomenon's such as hedonism and pornography etc. This also shows that the history is romanticized within NMR, and further that parts of the history of the narrative are highlighted whilst others are excluded in order to create a picture of the past and the contemporary (SOU 2015, p. 97). This will further be discussed in chapter 5.4.

Following are selections of citations from the 2015 manifesto. When analyzing the text I found that this is, compared to the previous text more vocal and in terms of the violent discourse regarding the word 'strangers', here the word 'racial strangers' is mostly used. This is proof of a more radical racist discourse. The following four quotes are, likewise the racialization from the text in 2003 describing the story of the narrative in relation to the enemies of the narrative;

In a healthy and prosperous society, where people's community prevails and mass immigration does not exist, crime will also be reduced (NMR 2015, p.52)

In reality, so-called multiculturalism and mass immigration mean physical displacement and genocide on the people of the Nordic region (NMR 2015, p. 8)

Our racial survival and freedom is the most important aim of the political struggle for NMR. There are many threats to this, of which the

most alarming and urgent today is the mass-immigration of racial strangers to the Nordic countries. This in combination with lower birth rates among Nordic women than immigrated and the fact that even immigrant strangers sometimes have children with Nordic women and men, which makes the ethnic Nordic population decrease in relation to the non-Nordic (NMR 2015, p.8)

Mass immigration is a major burden on our welfare society, it increases the criminality and creates cultural shocks, but all of these are really only extremely small problems compared to whether our people would cease to exist. Our racial and immigration policy is not about hatred or oppression - it's about survival and what is best for our people. If the Nordic people die out, it is totally irreversible (NMR 2015, p.8)

What differs further from the other texts is a more comprehensive description of what NMR is going to do in order to deconstruct the story of the narrative;  
(NMR wants to;)

Implement a stop of all immigration from outside the Nordic countries...Strongly strengthen border controls to the Nordic countries. This is also necessary to stop crime and trafficking across the border (NMR 2015, p.9)

Establish a state institute that will work effectively by racial assessment of all people who have received Swedish citizenship after 1975 and their descendants with modern genetic profiles. Those who came before 1975 can lose citizenship if they are convicted of publicly-owned activities (NMR 2015, p.10)

Immediately begin the return of most of the racial strangers who are within the borders of the Nordic region (NMR 2015, p.10)

This further implies that the 'Swedish/ Nordic nationality' as a joint group is one identity which is not linked to things that are bad for the society. These are all examples of racism, ethnocentrism and stereotyping which is the consequences of 'group-conflicts'. When people become members of groups, so-called 'group conflicts' often occur. The reason for this is because people start to identify themselves more with the group and begin to see the reality from the group rather than as individual people. When this process happens, perceptions that

members of the group are better, smarter, more rational etc. than members of other groups are an often-reoccurring sequent of the event. When people are in-group situations, people's identity, values and perceptions change. This results in that ones self-perception is based on common ideas from the group. Due to this, a process is created in which the individuals' own value is linked to the groups. In order to validate oneself, one then begins to favor their own group; this is called 'in-group favoritism'. This results in stereotyping and discrimination against other groups, so called 'out-group discrimination' (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000, p. 102).

A way to reproduce social power is to deny racism and discrimination, this in turn to being able to reproduce racist discourses validating it by saying it is not racism since according to the message sender, discrimination does not exist and therefore it is 'only' facts or criticism (SOU 2015, p. 38). According to NMR it even seems like the other way around, that they are the ones who are discriminated;

In today's democracy, racial strangers, but also religious and sexual minorities, are more protective than other citizens (...) Ethnic northerners, especially those who fight for the survival of their people or express criticism of mass immigration, are punished harder than others (NMR 2015, p. 49)

Jewish racism has been formulated for several thousand years in Jewish religious scriptures and living patterns. (...) the Jewish people have been described as God's chosen people with a special right to possess world domination. Even non-Jews are included in the global Zionist elite of religious or selfish motives (NMR 2015, p.13-14)

In the citations above can be interpreted as a 'denial of discrimination' (SOU 2015, p. 38) Further it is discussed that the law against hate crimes (called 'hets mot folkgrupp' in Swedish) is in reality just a law that is directed against the Swedish people to protect "offended minorities" and must therefore be abolished (NMR 2015, p.49) It is also stated that there should be a law against 'treason' where a special court will be established which will be a public court, the so-called 'Nordic People's Court' (ibid p.51).

## 5.2 The threat

A reoccurring theme in the three texts is the notion and feeling of an existing threat which is either threatening the contemporary society, the survival of the organization or the survival of the 'Swedish people', whom in the discourse are described to be the ones at risk. Since the 'Swedish people' are considered at risk, these are defined as a group who are being the subject of discrimination, threat, and violence from the group 'strangers' (Nordfront.se 2003 and Lund 2010). The 'strangers' are portrayed as detached automotive atoms whos united and only interest is to destroy the 'Swedish people', however, what defines what 'Swedish' is and includes and thus therefore also excludes is still not defined (Fairclough 2003, p.164). A social space such as The Nordic Region and Sweden are in the discourses associated with positively charged words, such as 'harmony' and 'a stable society'. The 'strangers' are presented as a threat to this order;

All non-assimilable strangers must be sent home. The ethnic and cultural integrity of the Nordic people must be protected. This is an absolute necessity for creating a stable and harmonious society (Nordfront.se 2003)

Further, the following citation is an example of how immigration is presented as a threat to a functioning society;

In a healthy and prosperous society, where people's community prevails and mass immigration does not exist, crime will also be reduced (NMR 2015, p.52)

In this case, the rest of the world is portrayed as 'strangers' and has nothing to do with Sweden/ the Nordic region since it is equated and associated with destructive consequences like in the previous citations (Winther Jörgensen and Phillips 2000, p. 58): This type of response to the feeling of threat, is described and explained by Moskalenko and McCauley in their book *Friction: How Radicalization Happens to Them and Us* (2011). When someone is trying to achieve the feeling of security in a situation where one feels threatened, radicalization is a common response (Petersen in McCauley and Moskalenko 2011, p. 4). As identified in this study, NMR is feeling a threatened from what Winther Jörgensen and Philips describes as the out-group i.e the 'strangers' (Winther Jörgensen and Phillips 2000, p. 55-56). This discourse can be interpreted as a radicalized response the threat which is resulting in an extreme belief

and trust in the in-group which shall protect them from the out-group (Petersen in McCauley and Moskalenko 2011, p. 4). Followed a few citations from the three texts will be displayed;

2003:

The Swedish people are too homogenous and too Nordic to fit in with the proletarian consumers of the future, so the Swedish people need to go away (Nordfront.se 2003). (Referring to what the Swedish regime according to the NMR is trying to achieve)

A silent revolution has taken place in Sweden. A quiet conspiracy of destructive forces has taken over our country. (...) with the support of foreign interests, they have infiltrated the state, the media, businesses and the cultural life (Nordfront.se 2003)

2010:

(...) the strains we will face and the challenges we do face are extreme, this is because we are a genuine opposition to the current stance and thus, a subject to a much harder/rougher treatment of the system than other groups encounter (Lund 2010).

They want to turn the Aryan people into thoughtless proletarian slaves and destroy their civilization. Their politics is about making us weaken. These destructive politics is woven into beautiful expressions about human and democratic rights (Lund 2010)

2015:

The forces that govern our world today are the same hatred forces that, through a worldwide alliance, defeated Germany in 1945. We cannot rule out that these Zionist forces with the power of arms will attempt to stifle any attempt at national socialist uprising if they feel that we lack the ability to defend ourselves (NMR 2015, p.45)

The discourses from the three texts all reveal that the threat is generalized and usually not motivated by i.e. by a personally experienced threat. This reveals how the self-perception of the community NMR has created through their discursive strategies are a breeding ground for violence. By constructing or at least exaggerate the outer threat, the inner group has to stay together in order to survive even though it may include violence (O'Connor 1995, p.315).

### **5.3 Family politics and women's role in society**

Why this chapter was chosen to be part of the study is due to the identified oppression of women that NMR is performing in their discourses. Oppression is defined as a force practiced by for example an authority, law or physical, social and normative powers which prohibits people of being equal and/ or free (Napikoski and Johnson Lewis 2018) Women are not mentioned in the two first texts from 2003 and 2010. In the third published in 2015 they are, however, this is predominantly in the matter of women in family politics;

Strengthen the role of women in society as the highest responsibility for the family's prosperity without forcing it to force women out of the labor market (NMR 2015, p.42)

All requirements for reservation days for the father are removed so that the woman can choose to be home with the child throughout the entire period (NMR 2015, p.42)

It is not wrong in becoming a good mother to a big family instead of pursuing a career in working life. The Nordic woman must be respected - something that no other movement does today - as does the mother's status in our society (NMR 2015, p.41)

Even though NMR is literally saying that they will not force women to stay home with children, they still do promote this ideal and want to implement laws in accordance to these (NMR 2015, p.41). Which further creates a norm and social order in correspondence to this. Also, by never mentioning women if it is not in the context of family politics, it reveals that NMR is an excluding organization which is predominantly speaking to and for men. By excluding the representation of women NMR is creating an image of the world where women are to greater part excluded. Due to the exclusion in the discourse of women, this is a way of captivating women in certain roles (Esaiasson et al. 2017, p.217). This sort of discourse implies underlying oppression of women within the organization. When women are mentioned like in the following citation it is in the relationship towards men. Further, it is discussed whether women should participate in the military services. This can also be seen as a process, which distinguishes the obligations of men, and women towards the national state where, in relation to

the citations before it is more the women's role to take care of the children and not to participate in the military;

Give women basic military education for a shorter period of time, with the option of voluntarily undergoing the same military service as men (NMR 2015, p.45)

Following citation is part of the discussion held about feminism and what, according to NMR it has created in the Swedish society;

(...) advocates a (...) people and- family- hostile attitude, which has led people into wanting to divide the sexes, also it has taken homosexuality into account in order to break the so-called hetero-norm – which is, the natural structure in every healthy/sain society (NMR 2015, p.41)

The women are in all of these examples presented as passive; they are talked about, as they were objects. It is implied that women do not have a choice to decide how they want to live their lives in today's society and are rather forced into a career life, where, according to the text, they don't really want to be because it is not 'natural'. When women are assigned the role as an objective rather than a subjective she becomes a symbol for the nation and for what is good and not good. This can be identified in the discourse. When the woman is a wife and mother she is praised and should have a higher status since it is what NMR think is desirable. However, when she is not chosen that lifestyle, she is punished, either she is not a good woman or she is blamed to have chosen that lifestyle due existing to norms and forces in the society and not by her own choice (Eduards 2007, p.52) Following citation shows just that when a discussion about feminism, men and women and what bad things has come out of feminism, which is foremost hurting the women.

In the following citation, women are described as 'our women'. This further confirms that women in the discourse are objects that are not its own individuals but is owned by someone;

(...) nature created them as a complement to each other (...) are not just a threat to the community, but have also resulted that mental illness amongst our women are higher than ever before (NMR 2015 p.40)

In the citation above women are supposedly suffering mentally today because they are forced into tasks and norms which is not 'natural' for them. The term 'natural' is further discussed how a healthy family should be, due to this e.g. prohibition for homosexuals to get married is one of NMR's goals;

Raise the natural family ideal between man and woman. Prohibit homosexual couples marriages and adoption (NMR 2015, p.40)

The influential homo lobby has made homosexuality something quite normal and, in many cases, desirable in the debate in culture and the media. One example of this is that the people's so-called representatives participate in 'Pride'(NMR 2015, p.41)

By describing something as natural you further indicate that the opposition to this is unnatural. This reveals not only a discourse which misogynous but also homophobic. In conclusion, it can be confirmed that the violence has become more vocal towards women and other groups which is not men due to the fact that it is only mentioned in the text published in 2015. In the texts from 2003 and 2010 women are completely excluded from the discourses.

#### **5.4 Community-building processes**

In the three texts, a number of community-building processes were identified in the discourses. These community-building processes are usually promoting one worldview by excluding others (Winther Jørgensen and Philips 2000, p.110). In the text, I identified two main themes that were used for this purpose; The discourses about truth vs. threat, and the discourses about grievance and anger. By combining discourse analysis with psychological analysis theories, Wendy Holloway has developed a theory which is stating that psychological forces and needs within people are often the core of individuals investments in discourses (Holloway 1995 in Winther Jørgensen and Philips 2000, p.108) Why people chose to base their worldview on some specific discourses, such as that multiculturalism leads to criminality (as seen in chapter 5.1) is because, compared to other discourses which are more complex this gives a hard phenomenon to grasp an easy solution. The need for a sense of safety is so important to humans that people like to choose the discourse and which provides the feeling of safety rather than a discourse that is more nuanced and elaborate. This manifests itself differently for different people due to personal and historical reasons, this, since identities, which is stated before in the study, are created through social interaction (Winther Jørgensen and Philips 2000, p.108-109) Embarking on the theory provided by Holloway I argue that this process is one of the foundations of NMR, and is the main mechanism which has created a community for its

members. Following citations are all examples on how NMR has, by excluding some discourses and highlighted others either created a truth about the world, which is either in grievance and anger towards the society or is describing the outer threat from the society;

You may not know it yet, but you live in a system heading towards its collapse. You live in a country where everything is turned upside down. You live in the midst of a dying civilization (Nordfront.se 2003)

The Nordic region is its own cultural area with its own special people and with special conditions for its economic life. The resistance movement is fighting for an independent Nordic region (Nordfront.se 2003)

Multi-cultural societies is not a culture but an anti-culture. It is the great culture of American imperialism (Nordfront.se 2003)

Further, how people within a group is constructing their collective identity is usually based not only primary on the group itself, but, in relation to other groups. This process is a discursive practice in itself, when a group is reproducing racist discourses this has social consequences for the members' worldview. When NMR is constructing the picture of how the Nordic region once was, and how it has been destroyed by the perceived threat, it is legitimizing violence and discrimination toward the people/ groups that are represented as the reasons for the destruction. Further, in following citations NMR is highlighting parts of the Nordic history and excluding other in order to distance themselves and portray themselves and the people of the in-group as better and more developed (Winther Jørgensen and Philips 2000, p.124);

The truth is that the free society built with good laws and created by our ancestors is the result of a development of Nordic society for thousands of years. There is thus no modern invention of so-called progressive forces. On the contrary, especially the Nordic community building has acted as a protection trap against the constant efforts of progressive forces to destroy all Aryan culture and civilization (Lind 2010)

It should be added that our view of true democracy is far closer to the concept of infertility than what the system means is a

democracy today - mainly the democracy in Athens during ancient times (Lind 2010)

According to Foucault, it is impossible to ever see the truth since it can not be achieved without being affected by the discourse it is in. Due to this, the 'truth' is used as an approach for the production of the representation of statements that create images of the reality. By describing something as the truth, it is implying that there is someone/ something that is telling lies, this further portrays NMR the honest people who is trying to provide their members with the truth, this is a power tool used to convince receivers of legitimacy (Winther Jørgensen and Philips 2000, p.21). In all of the texts, it is obvious that NMR sees themselves as the people who are trying to inform the rest of the world about the 'truth'. By studying the discourses of the texts one get a glimpse into NMR 's worldview and get a sense of how they perceive the world. Again we can see the strategy of using history as a rhetoric strategy.

Referring to what, according to NMR, has to be done in order to become strong and 'free the people';

(... ) the old ideals, mindset and pattern of action that once made the breed strong; honor, hierarchy, discipline and faithfulness (Lind 2010)

But there are several kinds of freedom, and the one now prevailing today is the freedom to forget its origin, the freedom to be selfish, and the freedom to live like a pig. You live in a democrature (Nordfront.se 2003).

Development and democracy and the need to deal with it are discussed in terms of a imagined freedom and that Sweden really is a 'demokratur' this term has no theoretical base nor academic translation technically the word is democracy and dictatorship put together. The term is used to referring to the perception that Sweden, according to NMR is a dictatorship that is claiming it is a democracy.

## **5.5 Closing discussion**

Based on the thesis's theoretical framework, this study has been able to identify the following discourses; The antagonist conflict identified, where the 'us' and 'them' process is present in the relation between NMR which is the in-group, and the out-group, which are most often described as 'strangers', 'racial strangers' or immigrants. In the second discourse, the threat from the out-groups is constructed in order to legitimize physical and psychological violence in order

to achieve what NMR describes as peace and safety. The third discourse identified is about women and family politics, where the construction of masculinity and femininity in regards to social roles are created in foremost the duties to the nation. The discourse reveals a social practice within NMR, which is built on a patriarchal power structure, which is promoting gender violence in the sense of oppression and social expectations on gender roles. The fourth discourse identified were the community-building processes found in the texts where NMR is creating a joint identity for its members and followers in order to be able to legitimize violence against the opposition. As Saxlind stated in chapter 4 the three texts relates to one another as they build on each other. According to Fairclough, this is an important part to take into account when carrying out a CDA. When a text is moving to another text meanings are changing, adding and deleted. Due to this fact it is of great interest to analyze the development in the three texts as one can, therefore, identify what the senders believe is of importance and interest in the texts, and how this has changed over time. This will reveal the movement of meaning (Fairclough 2010, p.73). If we compare the first text *A Free North*, nordfront.se (2003) the discourse is violent primary in the way that the 'strangers' are described as non-assimilable and will be sent 'home'. A similar discourse of language is identified in the second text *The Government of the Future*, Lind (2010) as seen in chapter 5.1. However, what was identified is that *Our Way*, NMR (2015) is much more vocal compared to the other two texts. For example is the term 'racial strangers' used, which is a term not present in neither the text from 2003 nor 2010. Furthermore, discursive racism is present when stating that 'mass immigration' is threatening the racial survival, here, race is used more openly than in the first two texts where it is not mentioned literally like it is in 2015. Further, a descriptive presentation of violence is expressed when describing a plan to expel and withdrawal all that received citizenships issued in Sweden since 1975. In which the ones who cannot prove that they are ethnic Swedish or closely related, will be expelled from the country. An institution will be set up to determine and examine if they are. The perception of the world is always historically and culturally specific and is therefore always changing, by looking at the discursive change in the discourses, it is revealing what has constructed the sense of identity and 'truth' within the community NMR has created (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000, p.12). Further, due to the fact that discourses are communicative messages, the process of becoming more violent towards 'strangers' can therefore be looked upon as a process within the organization. This radicalization process may have started in 2003 and has evolved from the meanings formulated thereof. The text published in 2003, 'strangers' are clearly negatively described and associated with hurtful and bad things. By then looking further into the text published twelve years later, there is evidently a more

violent discourse used when talking about ‘strangers’ which then, are described as ‘racial strangers’. Winther Jørgensen and Phillips describe this as the connection between knowledge and social processes which leads to social practices. Since knowledge and truths according to social constructivism is created only within social interaction, I argue that this is in accordance to the what NMR has accomplished to create. NMR has accomplished to create a truth about the world we live in for its receivers. People following and supporting the organization has a sense of knowledge about the world that has been constructed from the discursive practice from the organization. This has created common truths within the group (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000, p.108-109). This displays how Fairclough’s three dimensions are interrelated to each other and why it is applicable in this case study. Further, if we add in the crime rates NMR has been convicted of the last years as presented in chapter 5.1 we trace a corresponding curve. Based on the theory’s assumption that social practice is always the product of peoples learned behavior and knowledge and that this is created through social interaction this serves as an explanation to how NMR has been able to create violent social practices by using a violent discourse and meaning building (Winther Jørgensen and Phillips 2000, p.11-12).

## 6. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate if the discourse of violence has changed the last fifteen years within NMR. The study was based on critical discourse analysis theories, emphasizing on Norman Fairclough's approach to CDA. With the directions provided by the chosen methodological and analytical frameworks, and, further, research and- analysis questions the study identified four discursive strategies whom all include different discourses of violence. These strategies are interpreted as components in the discourses which are legitimizing violence for the members of the organization. By comparing three texts in the time span of fifteen years the study was able to identify the development of a more vocal and violent discourse, which can be seen as evidence that NMR has indeed, become more violent. Further, it was determined that NMR has constructed a community for their members in the discourses by distancing themselves in relation to other groups in the society. It was also established that the common enemy for the members is the so-called 'strangers', these strangers seem to be of importance for the community-building processes since it is creating an in-group and out-group. This makes it possible for the construction of identity for NMR's members. When you are not part of the enemy (the out-group), you can be a part of the in-group which is fighting against a common interest i.e. in this case, the 'strangers'.

The study could, through comparisons of the three text determine that there has been a change in the story of the narrative. Although, since the three texts are based upon each other there is a clear red thread in all of the texts. However, in the way, some discourses have been further developed, added and forgotten the study could trace the development of the organization. For example has the representation and story of women and family politics only been mentioned in the last text from 2015, further, parts which seemed important in the earlier text from 2003 are not as present in the last two ones. For example the discourse about the outer threat. In 2003 a majority of the text is built on the fear of the external threat, whether it may be due to the 'destruction of the racial survival' increased criminality, infiltrated foreign interests, mass-consumption culture etc. This repetitive way of talking about the outer threats are not found to the same extent in the other two texts from 2010 and 2015.

The study chose to combine its theory and methodology as recommended by Winther Jørgensen and Philips. Fairclough's theory in combination with the methodological framework made it possible for the study to both investigate the discourses and meaning behind them, as well as putting the discourse on a bigger scale. Through the glasses of Fairclough's theory, the

thesis made it possible to understand how violent discourses that NMR is using is not only words on a paper. The discourses are communicative and reveal not only NMR's ideological standing, but, maybe most importantly, since it has not already been explored to the same extent, the culture and identity within the organization. Embarking on Fairclough's theory and CDA praxis I argue that the construction of the enemies and the threat are core in the identity and community-building processes, which NMR has achieved in the last twenty years.

## **7. Summary and recommendations for further research**

In this study, the purpose was to find out if the Far Right has become more violent in the last fifteen years. This study has identified four different discursive strategies. Some strategies legitimize violence; others are used to distance themselves from others in order to reach their objective whilst other strategies perform power, which is used in acting out violence. In conclusion, the study was able to determine a change in the discourse by identifying four discursive strategies used by the organization; the enemies, the threat, women's role in the society and community-building processes. The study proved that the Far Right has indeed become more violent. The political ideology is the same in all three texts but the discourse of violence is not. This implies that the organization has changed due to something else, a potential explanation for the development are their usage and mobilization on the Internet. On the Internet it is easier than ever before to reach out to a large scale of people, this has made it possible for the organization to grow bigger. However, it has also made it easier in spreading violence since there is, as stated before, no or little legislative rules on the credibility. By understanding that the Far Right has become more violent in the last couple of years this reveals something about our contemporary society and that it is not the same as it was just a few years ago. Since radicalization within the Far Right is not a new phenomenon in the European context, old research tends to be used in order to understand the events that are taking place today. What we should not forget is that the world we live in now is not the same as it was in for example the 1940s. It is therefore relevant and of the highest importance that the research we carry out in order to understand radicalization of today is taking in to account the mechanisms groups and people are using today. My research has, based on this, contributed to updated research which can reveal that the Far Right has changed their construction even in 'just' the last fifteen years, this shows that constantly updated research is necessary since these organizations change formation quickly.

Further research based on this topic could be to investigate the absence of legislative regulations on the Internet and what consequences this has on the spread of 'fake news' and violent discourses. Additionally, a corresponsive curve was identified between the increased online discourses of violence in relation to offline violence. This, however, was not the research objective and would need further research in order to ensure. In this research gap my suggestion is that further research would contribute to a great understanding within this field. In my study, I have recognized that there has been an increase in discourses of violence online. By further comparing online violence with offline violence, through comparing i.e. increasing/

decreasing number of members, numbers of demonstrations, numbers of convictions of members etc. would prove whether the increased violent discourses have consequences offline.

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