



THEME REPORT: WHAT IS THE BACKGROUND OF RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS IN NORWAY?

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Summary

This report is based on background information about 109 right-wing extremists that PST was concerned were in the process of becoming radicalised in 2018. Our analysis shows there was increased radicalisation to right-wing extremism in 2015. The flow of asylum seekers is a major factor of mobilization for the extreme right-wing movement. The extent of immigration will likely have an impact on radicalisation to right-wing extremism in Norway also in the time ahead.

The age range among persons who are radicalised to right-wing extremism today is wider than it was in the 1990s. Persons of a higher age are radicalised to a greater degree than before, especially to anti-immigration and anti-Islam right-wing extremism. This separates right-wing extremism from extreme Islamist groups.

There is a high prevalence of vulnerability factors among the right-wing extremists in the sample, especially linked to mental illnesses/developmental disorders, adjustment problems, and drugs/alcohol. These vulnerabilities are also typical among persons in extreme Islamist groups in Norway, cf. PST's theme report of 2016 on the background of extreme Islamists. Furthermore, a high proportion of the right-wing extremists in the sample have themselves been subjected to acts of violence.

More than half of the right-wing extremists in this analysis are unemployed. A weak labour market attachment is a tendency also among extreme Islamists in Norway. It is a striking finding that so many persons in extremist groups do not take part in an arena that usually has positive health effects.

An entire 83 per cent of those included in the analysis are registered in the National Database of Criminal Cases for having committed crime. Many have also committed violence-related criminal offences. A high proportion of violence-related crime, including politically/racially motivated violence, indicates there is a violence potential within the extreme right-wing movement in Norway. This could increase in case a mobilizing cause were to arise.

The majority of the persons in the sample live in southeast Norway. Only a minority live in the capital, which could suggest there is a slightly poorer breeding ground for extreme right-wing views in big cities than in rural areas. However, a much higher share of extreme Islamists live in Oslo.

Physical activism and Internet activism are important extreme right-wing activities. Activism can take place in arenas where extremists can give vent to their frustration, thus potentially reducing the need to commit politically motivated violence. On the other hand, this type of activism could contribute to making available right-wing extremism and thus have an inspirational effect.

For persons who are drawn to extremist groups, the ideological aspect is often secondary. The social relations are often the main causes as to why a person becomes radicalised.

Many actors play a key role in preventing radicalisation. Good preventive structures across government services are therefore important, as well as to focus on early prevention. The findings of this report indicate that many right-wing extremists have problems relating to mental health, adjustment, unemployment, and crime. Therefore, the health care service, schools, the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration, the Norwegian Correctional Service, and the police are key actors in our efforts to prevent radicalisation to extremism.

Background

We have taken a closer look at the socio-economic characteristics of right-wing extremists in Norway. This type of background knowledge is important to identify potential risk groups and possible motivations and driving forces to the extreme right-wing movement. This is important in the preparation of our threat assessments, and also in our efforts to prevent radicalisation¹ to violent extremism².

We carried out a similar analysis on extreme Islamists in Norway in 2016.

This report is based on what we consider is a representative sample of persons within extreme right-wing groups that we are currently concerned are accepting or willing to commit violence in order to achieve political or ideological goals. The sample is influenced by PST's focus and priorities. Furthermore, there are challenges in terms of hidden statistics and misinterpretations of the findings. To the extent possible, this has been taken into account at the end of the report under Assessments: The impact of the findings on the threat picture.

Expressions of right-wing extremism

Right-wing extremism is expressed in many ways and includes a broad spectre of groupings and ideologies. Two main categories are used. First, a neo-Nazi form of right-wing extremism, which focuses on biological hierarchy and is based on the belief that one race is superior to another. Second, an anti-Islam/anti-immigration form of right-wing extremism, which does not focus on race but rather on culture, a key assumption being that the European/Nordic/Norwegian culture and national identity are threatened by an external enemy, often Islam. Both forms contain clear elements of conspiratorial ideas, and there is no sharp dividing line between the two categories.

Time of radicalisation

Defining a specific time of radicalisation is difficult. Radicalisation is seldom a linear process, but is rather a dynamic process where many factors are at play. Nevertheless, we have tried to define a time of radicalisation for all persons included in the sample.

The time of radicalisation varies between 1990 and 2017. A small proportion of the persons were radicalised in the second half of the 1990s. The number slightly levels out in the 2000s, but increases considerably in the period between 2011 and 2017³. It is important to note that the distribution indicates the point of time at which a person who is active in the extreme right-wing movement today, became radicalised. Many of those who were active in the 1990s have now left the extreme right-wing movement and/or PST has not received more recent information about them, in which case they no longer exist in our records.

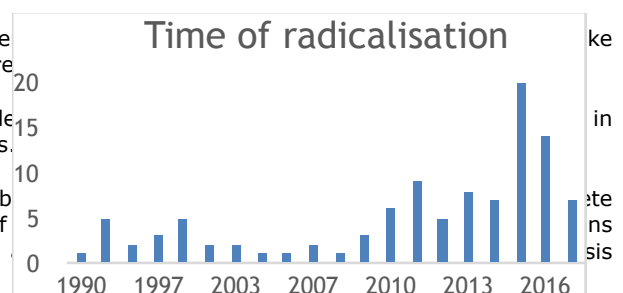
The majority of those who are active today, 70 per cent, became radicalised between 2010 and 2017. The number reached its peak in 2015 and then slightly decreased in 2017.

2011 and 2015 stand out as years where many persons became radicalised. The increase in 2011 could be related to the 22 July 2011 terror attacks which resulted in that PST, and our

¹ For the purpose of this report, radicalisation is a process where persons become active in violent acts in order to achieve political, ideological or religious goals.

² For the purpose of this report, extremism is accepting violence to achieve political, ideological or religious goals.

³ Important reasons as to why fewer persons in the sample became radicalised after five years (the 5 year rule) if they support/accept violence to achieve a political/ideological goal, must be an active right-wing extremist today.



society in general, focused more on right-wing extremism. The increase can therefore probably be attributed to a larger amount of reporting to our service, but could also be due to the terror attack inspiring some people to express more clearly their extreme right-wing views. Moreover, the large increase in the number of asylum seekers to Norway, reaching its peak in 2015, has likely radicalised even more people, resulting in that our service has registered more persons in our records.

Characteristics of the extreme right-wing movement in Norway and its members

Large majority of men

There is a vast majority of men in the sample. 86 per cent are men, 14 per cent are women. Men are over-represented in both main categories of right-wing extremism.

The fact that there is a majority of men in extreme right-wing groups is something we have also seen in extreme Islamist groups. Masculinity is often idealized and promoted within the extreme wing movement. The movement is also characterized by strong feminism and idealization of traditional gender roles. Men's dominance and control, especially within neo-Nazi right-wing extremism, possibly make these groups less appealing to women.



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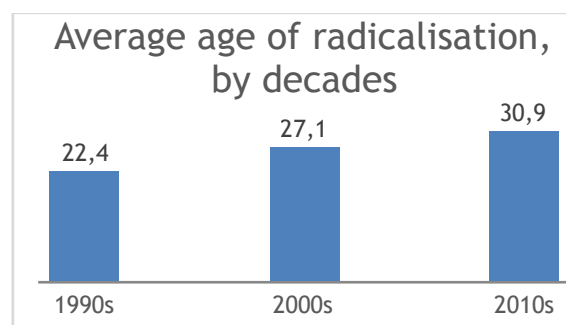
There are more women (in percentage) in the sample belonging to the anti-immigration/anti-Islam right-wing extremism than to the neo-Nazi right-wing extremism. The women in the anti-Islam groups are older, on average, than the women in the neo-Nazi groups, and they also have slightly more important roles. This could suggest that the women have different motivations for becoming members of extreme right-wing groups.

Age of right-wing extremists at time of radicalisation

There is a wide age range among the persons in the sample as regards their time of radicalisation; the age range varies between 15 and 63 years. Although the majority of the persons are in the age group 40 years or younger, some also became radicalised after the age of 40.

The average age of radicalisation is different in the two main categories of right-wing extremism. The average age is lowest among supporters of neo-Nazi right-wing extremism: 27 years (median 27). For the anti-immigration/anti-Islam extremists the average age of radicalisation is 40 (median 41). For those with a foot in both categories, the average age of radicalisation is 31 (median 27). Thus, persons who are radicalised to the anti-Islam groups are older than those who are radicalised to the neo-Nazi groups and those with a foot in both camps.

When looking at the decade when the persons became radicalised (1990s, 2000s and 2010s), those who became radicalised in the 1990s were at a younger age when they became radicalised than those who became radicalised in the 2000s and 2010s. The average age of radicalisation is 22,4 years for the 1990s, 27,1 years for the 2000s, and 30,9 years for the 2010s. Therefore, this analysis indicates that persons who are radicalised to right-wing extremism today are, on



average, of a higher age than before. In the 1990s, right-wing extremism was first and foremost a phenomenon among the young. Although there are still many young persons who become radicalised today, older persons are also drawn to the extreme right-wing groups, particularly – as mentioned before – to the anti-immigration/anti-Islam groups.

Where in Norway do right-wing extremists live?

The majority (67 per cent) of the right-wing extremists in the sample live in southeast Norway. The rest live elsewhere across the country. This pattern is relatively equally distributed among the two forms of right-wing extremism. The fact that so many persons in the sample live in southeast Norway could be related to the population density, but could also be related to sampling bias.

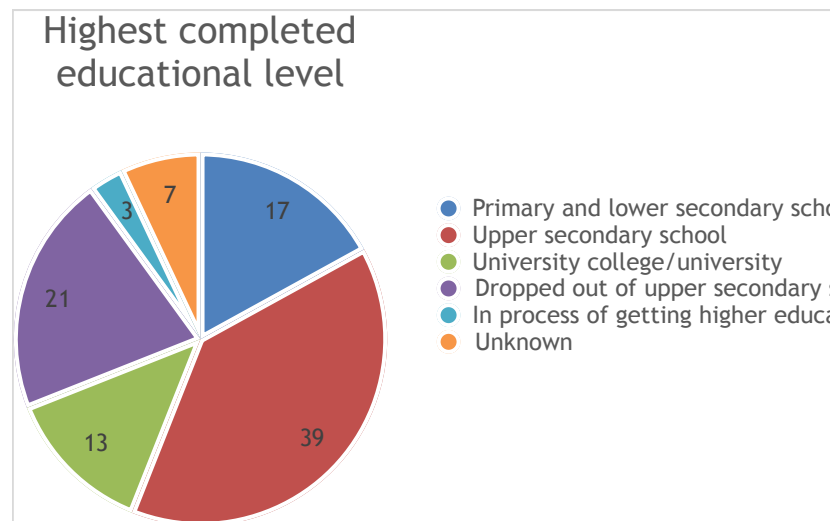
Relatively few of the right-wing extremists live in the big cities. For example, only 7 per cent live in Oslo. It could therefore seem that right-wing extremism is not a typical big city phenomenon. There is probably no simple explanation for this. Still, it is interesting that in the rest of the population people who live in densely populated areas (more than 100 000) are more positive to immigration and immigrants and have more contact with immigrants than those who live in rural areas⁴.

Educational level

The majority of the sample have a low educational level (primary and secondary school and upper secondary school as the highest completed educational level). The data indicate that 17 per cent have completed primary school and secondary school, 21 per cent have dropped out of upper secondary school, 39 per cent have completed upper secondary school, 3 per cent are in the process of getting higher education, and 13 per cent have completed higher education (university/university college)⁵. This is a slightly lower educational level than in the rest of the population⁶. There is a higher proportion of persons in the sample with primary and lower secondary school as their highest educational level, a slightly lower number of persons who have completed upper secondary school, and relatively fewer with a high educational level.

If adjusting for age (30 years and older), 39 per cent of the sample have primary and lower secondary school as their highest completed educational level. 37 per cent have upper secondary school as their highest completed educational level, and 19 per cent have completed higher education or have started higher education (university/university college).

In general, there is a relation between educational level and views on immigration. Those with a low educational level are often more sceptical of immigration than those with a high



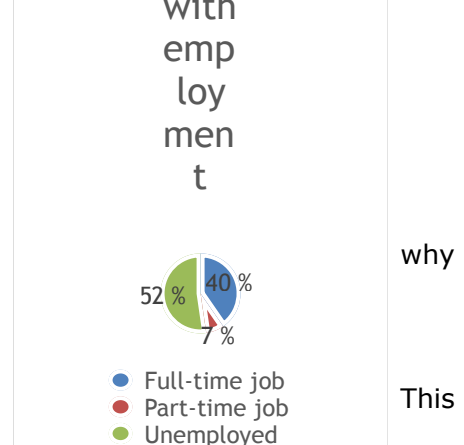
⁴ Blom, Svein 2017: *Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration*, Reports 2017/38, Statistics Norway.

⁵ 7 per cent of the persons in the sample are persons with unknown educational level.

⁶ Statistics Norway.

educational level⁷. This could be a possible explanation as to neo-Nazi and anti-immigration/anti-Islam groups attract people with a low educational level.

Still, 16 per cent have a high educational level or have started higher education at university/university college. This proves that today's right-wing extremism also appeals to persons with a high educational level. They are relatively equally distributed among the two main categories of right-wing extremism.



Labour market attachment

More than half of the persons in the sample (52 per cent) are unemployed. The remaining 41 per cent have full-time jobs, whereas 7 per cent have part-time jobs. This is a smaller proportion of employed persons than in rest of the population⁸. Most of the persons in the sample (96 per cent) are currently between 20 and 66 years old and must therefore be considered to be of working age. Compared with the rest of the population, the right-wing extremists in this sample have a much lower degree of employment.

The persons in the sample who have a job, primarily work in the building and construction industry and in various types of service professions (restaurants/bars, shops, cleaning businesses).

Most of the persons in the sample have, however, had a job at one point or other in their life. When looking exclusively at persons who are now 25 years old or older, only 7 per cent are registered with no work history.

Of those with no job at the moment the proportion is highest among members of the anti-immigration/anti-Islam extreme right-wing groups. 70 per cent of them are currently not registered with any employment. The proportion of neo-Nazi right-wing extremists without employment is 44 per cent, and the proportion of those with a foot in both camps is 57 per cent.

Work generally has good health effects. It guarantees an individual's personal finances, provides structure in a person's everyday life, creates a sense of belonging, and increases self-esteem⁹. The fact that so many of the right-wing extremists in this sample are unemployed indicates a form of marginalisation. As today's working life to an increasing extent also requires some sort of formal education, this could result in that these persons to an even larger degree are left out of the labour market.

Family status

The family status of the majority of the persons in the sample is «unmarried»; 72 per cent. When looking exclusively at persons at the age of 40 or older, 59 per cent are unmarried, 19 per cent are married, whereas 22 per cent are separated or divorced.

The average marriage age in Norway is slightly less than 40 years for men and around 35 years for women. People generally marry later in life than before. The proportion of the

⁷ Blom, Svein 2017: *Attitudes towards immigrants and immigration*, Reports 2017/38, Statistics Norway.

⁸ Statistics Norway.

⁹ The Norwegian Directorate of Health.

population that prefers cohabitation to marriage is on the increase and is most common among young people. Compared with the rest of the population, however, a higher proportion of the right-wing extremists in the sample are unmarried.

56 per cent of the right-wing extremists in the sample have children. When looking exclusively at persons above the age of 45, 71 per cent have children, whereas 29 per cent have no children. In the rest of the population the proportion of men over 45 without children is 23 per cent. Thus, there is a slightly higher proportion of men over 45 without children in the sample than in the rest of the population.

The fact that such a high proportion of persons in the sample in their 40's and older are neither married nor have children could be a potential vulnerability factor. Children, family and traditional gender roles are often important in the extreme right-wing movement. Being single and/or without children could feel difficult.

More than half of the persons in the sample (irrespective of age) do, however, have children. They have a caring role, and it is therefore interesting whether the children will inherit the extreme right-wing views of their parents in the long run. Although there are many examples to prove that such views are inherited, there are also examples of children having disassociated themselves completely from such views.

Vulnerability factors

Mental illnesses, adjustment problems, drug/alcohol abuse

One third of the sample, 33 per cent, have or have had some form of mental illness or developmental disorder of varying degree of seriousness¹⁰. These are typically cases of anxiety, depression and personality disorders, but there are also cases of lighter mental illnesses. The proportion of the sample with mental illnesses/developmental disorders is higher among right-wing extremists than among extreme Islamists¹¹. Also, the proportion of persons in the sample with mental illnesses is higher than in the rest of the population¹².

Slightly less than half of the persons in the sample, 46 per cent, have had various forms of adjustment problems, problems that are mainly linked to bullying, loneliness, small social network, rootlessness, low self-esteem, failing care persons and child welfare services, crime, and psychiatry. Some persons in the sample have also had a difficult childhood. In the population in general, many are having adjustment problems. For instance, every five Norwegian person feels lonely and many are being bullied on a regular basis¹³.

42 per cent of the persons in the sample are having drug abuse problems¹⁴. There are variations as to the type of drugs and degree of abuse. 33 per cent are registered in the National Database of Criminal Cases for having violated the narcotics regulations. In the population in general, alcohol abuse is the most frequent type of drug abuse illness in Norway. The use of illegal drugs, especially cannabis, is relatively common. The proportion of drug-

¹⁰ There are probably hidden statistics related to this variable.

¹¹ The proportion of extreme Islamists with mental illnesses was 21 per cent.

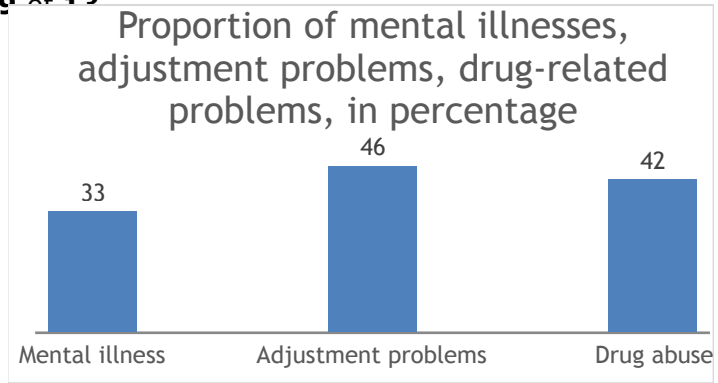
¹² It is assumed that 20 per cent of the adult population will have some form of mental illness in the course of a year (the Norwegian Institute of Public Health).

¹³ The Norwegian Directorate of Health.

¹⁴ There is no distinction here between legal and illegal drugs. Alcohol, steroids, pills, and narcotics are considered drugs.

related illnesses among the right-wing extremists seems to be much higher than what is normal in the population.

There is often a connection between drugs, adjustment problems, and mental illness. Vulnerability factors relating to adjustment and drug-related problems are also relatively common

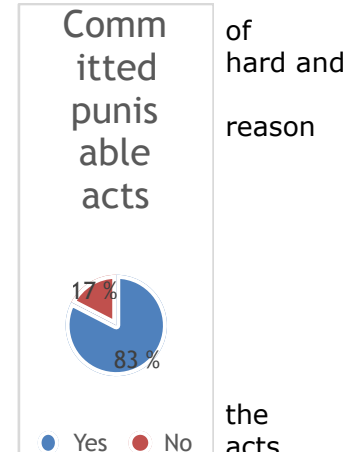


within extreme Islamist groups. Surveys indicate that few people become members of extremist groups solely for ideological reasons. For a lot of persons the social relations are important driving forces into these groups; they are taken care of and accepted for who they are. Surveys also show that radicalisation often really begins when a person is being socialised into these groups; not until then does the person begin acquiring extreme right-wing views. The social and relational dimension is therefore an important motivation for being drawn to extremist groups¹⁵. Therefore, coincidence, social relations, and acquaintances may have an influence on which persons are or are not drawn to extremist groups.

Victims of violence

An entire 41 per cent of those included in this analysis have themselves been subjected to violence¹⁶. Most of them have been the aggrieved party in one single case of violence, whereas some have been the aggrieved party in several cases of violence. The degree of seriousness in the cases varies. Most of them have been subjected to less serious violence (physical assault), especially in the context of social nightlife and/or attacks from adversaries, often left-wing extremists. The cases involving serious violence are fewer, but involve for instance violence in close relations, bodily harm, and sexualised violence.

The fact that so many persons in the sample have been the victims of violence, is interesting. Being subjected to violence is generally very hard and could therefore be a vulnerability factor and contribute to reduced confidence in fellow human beings and in society in general. There is to believe that there are hidden statistics in this context.



Crime

Punishable acts

A high proportion of the right-wing extremists in the sample have committed punishable acts. An entire 83 per cent are registered in National Database of Criminal Cases for having committed unlawful acts. Thus, only 17 per cent are not registered as having committed crime. Some have committed a small number of punishable acts, whereas others are registered as having committed a large number of unlawful acts. A broad spectre of crime and degrees of seriousness are represented.

¹⁵ Fangen, Kathrine 2001: *En bok om nynazister («A book on neo-Nazis»)*, Universitetsforlaget, og Bjørge, Tore, Gjeldsvik, Ingvild Magnæs 2015: *Norwegian research on the prevention of radicalisation and violent extremism – A status of knowledge*, PHS (the Norwegian Police University College).

¹⁶ Status as the aggrieved party in violence cases in the National Database of Criminal Cases.

There is a diversity in age for first-time offenders registered in the National Database of Criminal Cases. A little less than 70 per cent were under the age of 25 the first time they were registered as having committed a criminal offence.

The fact that so many of the right-wing extremists in the sample have committed crime suggests that many have had no respect for the laws and rules of society, which indicates adjustment problems. Thus, extreme right-wing groups seem to attract persons with a criminal history, especially persons who have committed crime at a young age. This is also the case for extreme Islamist groups in Norway. A little less than 70 per cent of the persons were registered as having committed crime before becoming radicalised.

Violence-related acts

From an extremism perspective, violence, threats, violations of the Firearms Act, and hate speech are types of crime that are of particular interest. These offences are violence-related and may thus indicate a lower threshold for committing politically motivated violence.

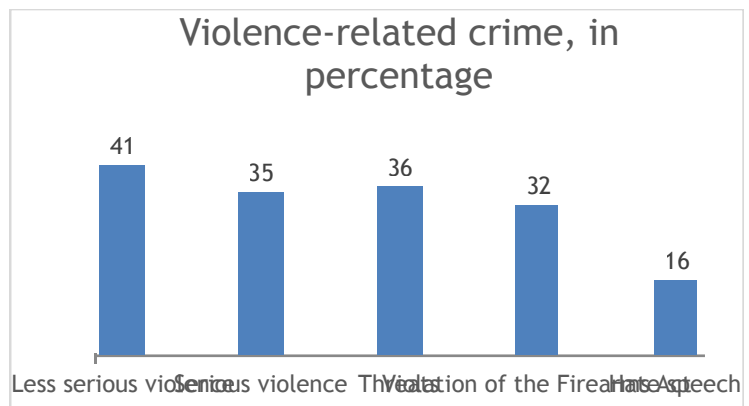
41 per cent of the sample have committed less serious acts of violence, and 35 per cent have committed serious violence¹⁷. 36 per cent are registered in the National Database of Criminal Cases for having made threats, 32 per cent have been reported to the police for violating the Firearms Act, and 16 per cent have been reported for hate speech.

The high number of these offences suggests that extreme right-wing groups attract persons with a history of violence, and indicates a lack of respect for the integrity of their fellow human beings and regulations relating to the use of firearms. Hate speech, in the sense of criminal law, is regulated by a relatively new legal authority and there are therefore probably hidden statistics in this context.

Politically or racially motivated violence

13 per cent of the sample have committed an act considered in this analysis to be a politically and/or racially motivated act of violence. These acts vary in scale and degree of seriousness.

All persons in the sample who have committed a politically and/or racially motivated act of violence are men. They became radicalised in the 1990s and from the 2010s. All were under the age of 30 when they became radicalised, half of them were under the age of 20. Many of them have had adjustment problems and drug-related problems, but only a few have known mental illnesses. They were all under the age of 30 when being registered for the first time in the National Database of Criminal Cases for having committed a criminal offence, nearly half of them were under 18. A little less than half of them have been the aggrieved party in cases of violence. They have a low educational level, half of them have completed primary and lower secondary school, and half of them have upper secondary school as their highest completed educational level. At present, none of them have completed higher education.



¹⁷For the purpose of this report, less serious violence is defined as physical assault. Serious violence is defined as bodily harm, homicide, attempted homicide, and assaulting a police officer/public servant.

Arenas for activism

Both the physical space and the Internet are important arenas for expressing extreme right-wing views. The persons included in this analysis are using both arenas, often in combination. Both arenas are essential from a radicalisation perspective.

More than half of the persons in the sample are primarily engaged in physical activism, «on the streets»¹⁸. They are mainly persons from the neo-Nazi extreme right-wing movement. The supporters of anti-immigration/anti-Islam right-wing extremism are more present on the Internet than the neo-Nazis. Blogging, websites and social media are actively used. These sites often have a strong Islamophobic and ultra-nationalist focus. They function largely as «echo chambers» in that the statements are rarely challenged. Many in the anti-immigration/anti-Islam category of right-wing extremism often combine the Internet with physical activism, often in the form of rallies, protests, and meetings with fellow partisans.

The Internet has become an increasingly important arena for extremists, where they can engage in their ideological fellowship and recruit and radicalise new supporters and train dedicated activists¹⁹. The Internet has also made extremist mind-sets available and could thus make extremism more widespread²⁰. Although the Internet is considered an important arena for expressing extreme right-wing views, persons engaged in online activism are not necessarily capable of mobilising in the real world. In general, many people today engage in politics exclusively by expressing their political views on the Internet and in social media but do not step out in the «real world»²¹.

Resourcefulness - radicalisers and radicalised persons

In this analysis, we have made a distinction between the radicalisers²² and the radicalised. 37 per cent of the sample are considered to be radicalisers. There are no huge differences in the profiles of these main categories.

However, there are some differences: the radicalisers are slightly less vulnerable than the radicalised. There is a slightly lower prevalence among the radicalisers of mental illnesses, adjustment problems, and drug abuse. A lower proportion of the radicalisers are registered in the National Database of Criminal Cases for having committed criminal acts. They also have a slightly higher educational level, and a higher proportion of them are employed. This indicates that the radicalisers, in general, stand out by being slightly more resourceful than those assessed to be «merely» radicalised.

¹⁸ For the purpose of this report, physical activism is when a person physically carries out right-wing extremist activities, including taking part in protests, handing out of propaganda, participating at social gatherings for right-wing extremists etc.

¹⁹ Nesser, Petter, Lia, Brynjar, Stenersen, Anne og Ravndal, Jacob Aasland 2013: *Om radikalisering og voldelig ekstremisme på internett* («On radicalisation and violent extremism on the Internet»), in Sunde, Inger Marie 2013: *Preventing radicalisation and violent extremism on the Internet*, Report by PHS (the Norwegian Police University College).

²⁰ Strømmen, Øyvind 2011: *Det sorte nettet. Om høyreekstremisme, kontrajihadisme og terror i Europa* («The Dark Net. On right-wing extremism, counter-Jihadism, and terrorism in Europe»), Cappelen Damm.

²¹ Haanshus, Birgitte og Jupskås, Anders Ravik 2017: *Høyreklikk! En analyse av ytre høyre på sosiale medier i Norge* («The right click! An analysis of the far right in Norway on social media»), Universitetsforlaget.

²² For the purpose of this report, a radicaliser is a person who draws others into a process of radicalisation to extremism.

Assessments: The impact of the findings on the threat picture

The increased radicalisation to right-wing extremism in 2015 demonstrates how growth in the number of asylum seekers is an important factor of mobilization for the extreme right-wing movement. The scale of immigration will likely have an impact on radicalisation to right-wing extremism in Norway also in the time ahead. For example, a new steep increase in the number of asylum seekers, with subsequent openings of reception centres, may attract more persons to extreme right-wing groups.

Persons who are radicalised to right-wing extremism today represent a broader age range than what was the case in the 1990s. Persons of a higher age are radicalised to a larger extent than before, especially to anti-Islam right-wing extremism. This is different from extreme Islamist groups, where the majority is under the age of 30. However, within both extreme Islamism and right-wing extremism, politically motivated acts of violence have primarily been carried out by young men, with a few exceptions.

There is a high prevalence of vulnerability factors among the right-wing extremists in the sample, especially linked to mental illnesses/developmental disorders, adjustment problems, and drugs. These vulnerabilities are also typical among persons in the extreme Islamist groups in Norway. We are also seeing that a high number of the right-wing extremists (41 per cent) have themselves been subjected to violence. The health care service is thus an important actor in order to detect persons who are in danger of becoming radicalised or who have already become radicalised.

More than half of the right-wing extremists are left out of the labour market. Weak labour market attachment is also a tendency within extreme Islamist groups in Norway. It is a striking finding that so many members of extremist groups are left out of an arena that generally provides many positive health effects. Unemployment and huge amounts of spare time can have a negative impact on the threat picture, as a person is given time to cultivate an extremist mind-set, which could contribute to further radicalisation. It could also create a sense of marginalisation and further intensify a person's vulnerability.

The majority of the persons in the sample live in southeast Norway. The fact that only a small number live in the capital could suggest there is a slightly poorer breeding ground for extreme right-wing views in the big cities than in rural areas. However, the analysis indicates that a much larger proportion of extreme Islamists live in Oslo.

A great many of the right-wing extremists, 83 per cent, are registered in the National Database of Criminal Cases for having committed crime. Many have also committed violence-related offences. This has a negative impact on the threat picture, as they have crossed a line in terms of using violence as a means to solve a problem. The fact that so many in extreme right-wing groups in Norway have committed violence-related crime, including politically or racially motivated violence, shows there is a violence potential in these groups. This might increase in case a mobilising cause occurs, such as another steep increase in the number of asylum seekers, an Islamist terrorist attack in Norway, or general crime committed by immigrants.

This analysis shows that both physical activism and online activism are important extreme right-wing activities. Both forms of activism may have positive and negative impacts on the threat picture. Activism, whether physical or online, can give an extremist the opportunity to vent his/her frustration. This could reduce the need to commit politically motivated violence, and thus have a positive impact on the threat picture. On the other hand, it could have an adverse effect on the threat picture, as activism contributes to making right-wing extremism available and could have an inspirational effect.

The fact that a little less than 40 per cent of the persons in the sample are assessed to be radicalisers, shows that a considerable number of persons want to attract others to extreme right-wing groups. The fact that the radicalisers are slightly more resourceful than the radicalised persons also applies to the extreme Islamist movement in Norway. This is logical, in light of their roles and positions.

For people who turn to extremist groups, the ideological aspect is often secondary. The social relations are often the main reasons as to why a person comes into contact with extremist groups. Whether a person ends up in an extreme right-wing group, extreme Islamist group or other extremist groups is often determined by coincidence. It is therefore interesting that many of the same vulnerabilities are the same among many right-wing extremists and extreme Islamists.

Many actors play a role in preventing radicalisation. Good preventative structures across government services are therefore important. The findings of this report indicate that many right-wing extremists are struggling with problems related to mental health, adjustment, unemployment, and crime. Thus, the health care service, schools, the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration, the Correctional Services, and the police are especially important actors in our efforts to prevent radicalisation to extremism.