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Terror's Motor

How Shame and Humiliation Turn the Spiral of Violence

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16 October 2016

[R]ecognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, (...)

– 1st sentence of the Preamble to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

Abstract

In this thesis I examine the role of shame and humiliation as root causes of violence. I focus on violent far-right and Islamic extremism, but in order to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon, even gang violence and criminality are investigated. Through an ethnographic approach with thick description, the thesis attempts to capture insights, experiences and knowledge in the form of personal narratives of a variety of people – police officers, youths, researchers, psychologists, ex-cons and social workers. The investigation explores shame and humiliation as pivotal factors for violent behaviour. The concept of retributive justice, prevalent in many prisons around the world and in popular understandings of morality, is shown to be counter-productive. This has far-reaching implications for both the penal system and approaches to preventing radicalisation. As an alternative, I argue for an approach of fostering human dignity as the most effective strategy for the prevention of violence and radicalisation. Inspired by Immanuel Kant's essay "Perpetual Peace", I call this the perpetual dignity approach.

Keywords

shame, humiliation, perpetual dignity, human rights, terrorism, radicalisation, extremism, violence, punishment

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An Introduction

After the slick presentation by Sweden's National Coordinator for Protecting Democracy against Violent Extremism, all conference delegates split up in groups. Both the air-conditioning and interior design of the fancy conference hall are a little too cold to feel relaxed. Already after some minutes our eager small group has deviated from the actual questions which we are supposed to discuss. A businesswoman with a sporty haircut and a charity pin on her blazer argues that Mona Sahlin's support for returning IS fighters is legitimate. She, just like Mona, supports the idea that they should get psychological assistance and help in order to find a job upon their return. Before she can finish her reasoning, she is interrupted by a woman in her fifties sitting next to me. In furious, broken Swedish she tells the increasingly dismayed group how IS has driven her out of her home country. They have killed members of her family and continue to terrorise those who are left. Her cheeks turn red from anger. "And you want to reward them with a job when they come back?", she asks in an agitated voice. After flashing the bewildered businesswoman a glance, the Yazidi woman turns on her heels and storms out of the room.

This thesis, as well as the research which it is based upon, investigates the phenomenon of shame and violence, and tries to shed light on some of the consequences of punishment, scaremongering and populism. It focuses to a great extent on the perspectives of the offenders, their experiences and struggles. Insights and knowledge are captured through the personal narratives of a variety of people – police officers, youths, researchers, psychologists, ex-cons and social workers. The common thread which connects these otherwise very different people is an engagement with violent extremism.

As this would exceed the extent of this thesis, very little attention is given to the victims in the following chapters – those whose house was burned down with Nazi hate, those who were beaten up because of the colour of their skin or those who lost family through IS terror. What happens if a person's grief about the murder of a family member is fused with the knowledge that the perpetrator gets to talk about his father issues and polish up his education in a neat rehabilitation clinic, instead of suffering in a dark dungeon? How could anyone possibly cope with this feeling of deep injustice?

"By committing crime, a man places himself, of his own accord, outside the chain of eternal obligations which bind every human being to every other one. Punishment alone can weld him back again [...]", writes French philosopher and activist Simone Weil. "Just as the musician awakens the sense of beauty in us by sounds, so the penal system should know how to awaken the sense of justice in the criminal by the infliction of pain, or even, if need be, of death" (1949, 19-20).

Respecting the Yazidi woman's pain in the account above would mean granting her retribution by punishing returning IS fighters severely for their atrocities. This however, would further radicalise them and fuel the spiral of violence (as investigated in the following chapters), leading to more pain

and an even greater need for revengeful punishment. Thus, the choice seems to fall between perceived justice for the woman or preventing further acts of revenge. James Gilligan, one of the scholars whom this thesis is based upon, remains silent about this dilemma. In our one-hour Skype conversation I ask Evelin Lindner about this; she is a psychologist and founding president of Human Dignity and Humiliation Studies. "Of course", she says. "Saying that the same person who killed your family should get a job in reward turns *you* into the humiliator." I nod in agreement. Evelin continues. "You have to find a way how to explain why you believe in dignity and human rights."

She had started our conversation with exactly that question. Why do you believe in human rights? I was to act as a therapist defending a girl who was raped and is now at risk of becoming a victim of honour killing.

"So why do you think the girl must live?" Evelin asked.

"Because I believe in human rights", I answered quick as a shot.

"Imagine you say that to the girl's mother. She *must* kill her in order to save the family's honour. She feels humiliated by you, not respecting her culture. What do you tell her?"

"I tell her that *all* human beings, despite culture, are born free and equal in dignity and rights." I was starting to realise how little convincing my argument must sound in the ears of the humiliated mother.

"How do you make her believe that? She says 'No, it's not universal, it's Western imperialism, it's a crusade, coming from Christianity.'"

"But it's for everyones best!"

"Why?"

"Humans have a sacredness in them and human rights work because they're applicable to everyone, it is ... *so hard!*" I exclaim and we laugh at each other through our computer screens.

"Yes. Every family is sacred and the girl agrees that she has to die", was Evelin's closing statement as mother and the end of my career as a human rights-advocating therapist.

Half an hour later we are back to the same dilemma. "You would need to explain it in a much better way. You cannot simply say these two sentences, it doesn't convince anybody." I could not agree more and wish I would have shone with a more sophisticated line of argument. "You need to develop a strategy to communicate it in a dignified way to the Yazidi woman, to the mother who wants to kill her daughter, to young immigrant men who might feel humiliated by you – a way which doesn't demonise them." She gives me a serious look over the frames of her square glasses. "Otherwise, *you* humiliate them and won't get out of the cycle of humiliation at the metalevel. Therefore your thesis is quite important. You have to speak to the mother and to those who already believe in human rights. If you use language that only speaks to one side, you humiliate the other side." I swallow and feel how this woman, whose work I truly admire, softly but firmly places a heavy weight on my shoulders.

The Perpetual Dignity Approach

How can we bear to safeguard the dignity of those who shame and humiliate us? Names of inspiring non-violence activists and peace heroes might come to mind. Some of them find the strength through religious inspiration to respect and love those who harm them. For example Martin Luther King preached about this strategy, using Jesus' command to love the enemy.

If you hate your enemies, you have no way to redeem and to transform your enemies. But if you love your enemies, you will discover that at the very root of love is the power of redemption. You just keep loving people and keep loving them, even though they're mistreating you. Here's the person who is a neighbor, and this person is doing something wrong to you and all of that. Just keep being friendly to that person. Keep loving them. Don't do anything to embarrass them. Just keep loving them, and they can't stand it too long. Oh, they react in many ways in the beginning. They react with bitterness because they're mad because you love them like that. They react with guilt feelings and sometimes they'll hate you a little more at that transition period, but just keep loving them. And by the power of your love they will break down under the load (1957, 321-322).

But what about all those of us who are not King, Gandhi or Mandela? In a world with ostensibly approaching wars, terrorism and political tensions, how could we possibly adhere to a paradigm promoting equal respect and dignity for everyone, instead of investing staggering amounts of money in the build-up of arms, armies, counter-terrorism and other "security measures"? The simple reason is: because we have no choice. The means we want to use instinctively do not lead to the results we want to achieve.

In his essay "Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch" Immanuel Kant (1795) devises a program aimed at lasting peace. He argues that we are unavoidably side by side with others, which makes it imperative to leave the violent state of nature and enter into a civilised condition with our neighbours (12). Humankind's reason reveals to us that it is our duty to work for perpetual peace. "Reason", Kant writes, "condemns War as a mode of Right, and, on the contrary, makes the state of Peace an immediate duty" (19). Not "real moral goodness", but human beings' selfish inclinations will drive people to seek peace, as this will guarantee their own security and survival. The great barrier to peace is not the human evil nature, but their failure to stick to reason in the face of war. (*ibid.*, 29-31).

Kant wrote his essay on perpetual peace more than 200 years ago, which makes it necessary to note that major variables have changed. However, something which lies at the basic understanding of this thesis is Kant's cosmopolitan reasoning that the world's interconnectedness has led to a universal community, and that not only the cessation of hostilities, but genuine peace can be achieved through human reasoning. Incorporating these anticipations with my own research on dignity and that of Evelin Lindner and James Gilligan, among others, this thesis advocates what I call the perpetual dignity approach.

”But the social relations between the various Peoples of the world, in narrower or wider circles, have now advanced everywhere so far that a violation of Right in one place of the earth, is felt all over it.” Hence, argues Kant, ”the idea of a Cosmo-political Right of the whole Human Race, is no fantastic or overstrained mode of representing Right” but a necessity (*ibid.*, 24). We do not live in a time anymore where a people accepts oppression as the status quo. Individuals do not systematically accept humiliation any longer as a legitimate tool of the rich, strong and powerful. Instead, they want to claim what human rights promise them. Lindner describes the world today as one interconnected village. ”You have the African saying ’It needs a village to raise a child.’ Before, there were different villages, each raising children who then went to war with each other. The strongest crushed the enemy and had peace for a while. Today, we are just one village, so we have to learn how to live together in this one village. You cannot hope that this crushing of the enemy will be productive, it’s always counterproductive.”

She argues that we live in a transient time where there is no good solution for solving the great dilemma. On the one hand, human rights ideals promise everyone to be part of the one human family and entitled to equal human dignity; on the other hand the global economic system can not fulfil these promises. ”There is no way at the moment everybody can live a dignifying life on this planet. The system is not geared towards that. It’s only the rhetorics which are geared towards that. And this makes it worse because people expect something that doesn’t come. As a consequence, there is humiliation and shame if you can’t escape from the humiliation of living in misery.” She argues that the old world script of ranked honour, domination of the strongest and revenge as means of restoring honour is not working anymore – our global interconnectedness has made it counter-productive, even suicidal. However, the new script of equal dignity and respect for all is not working yet, as the conceptions are not manifested in the global system yet. Evelin Lindner paints this situation with the Titanic. ”On the first floor there are the rich in their blue and pink cabins.” Her hands shape the belly of a ship. ”The poor ones live downstairs. When they try to come up, the rich put up barriers between them so they can’t come up. And all of them forget that the whole ship is sinking.”

The rosy mood with which we started our conversation has subsided. ”Will we ever get there?” I wonder slightly disheartened, looking at Evelin, with her characteristic thick braid hanging over her shoulder. In the background of her desk I can see a landscape painting with fir trees. ”The only thing you can do is to invite everyone in. ’Look, we are all stuck.’ It’s already better and less counter-productive to treat people with therapy than punishment, but there is no solution at the moment. So let us all together try to find a way how to make this Titanic not sink. How can we make it possible that humankind can survive on this planet? It would be a dignifying way to acknowledge that also your position is not the solution. Your promises are hollow.”

By choosing to write down these lines I hereby want to do this. But even though this thesis is written in a time when the perpetual dignity approach is neither intuitive, nor easy and popular, and

might not even be fully implementable yet, it tries to be a voice alternate to our heated, polarised mainstream rhetorics.

Methodological and Ethical Considerations

Princeton anthropology professor John Borneman writes, "modern anthropology is different from the other human sciences because it takes the intimate experiences of fieldwork to be a primary source of knowledge", making a disinterested description and "passive harvesting of facts" near impossible (2009, x-xi). My chosen approach incorporates semi-structured in-depth interviews, observations and secondary sources. I have attempted to express these insights in nuanced yet lively prose, in the belief that academic precision does not stand in contradiction to accessibility and vividness – but with the awareness that this form deviates from mainstream academic accounts. The "thick description" approach applied in this thesis can be traced back to 1949, to the work of Gilbert Ryle, a metaphysical philosopher at the University of Oxford (Ponterotta 2006, 538-539).

A thick description ... does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another. Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes the significance of an experience, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard (Denzin, 1989, p. 83 in *ibid.*).

This approach empowers the reader to retrace the researcher's interpretations of her experiences, to assess the findings' credibility and to possibly come to her or his own conclusions. Extracting, capturing and interpreting life stories is a tricky issue from both a power and a prerogative perspective. Therefore, the interviewees were, and perceived that they were, in control of content, time and place of the encounters. All interviews were based on informed consent, consisting of three key components: communication of information, comprehension of information, and voluntary participation (AAA Executive Board 2004).

The participants were introduced to the topic, offered the possibility to remain anonymous and informed that they can interrupt the interview or refuse to answer at any time. All conversations were recorded and later transcribed word by word. All but the interviews with Evelin Lindner, Tim Watson and Felix Unogwu were conducted in Swedish and then translated by myself. Those who wished to read the text before the final version received a draft, all others will receive the thesis after its defence.

Finally, I join in the wish of John Borneman that reading these chapters will "awaken an appreciation for the subjective quality of experiential encounters (personal, tied to a particular time and place); for curiosity in difference itself (...); and for a kind of storytelling that contributes both

to the documentary function of the ethnographic encounter and to its theoretical potential” (2009, xi).

1. A Cycling Policeman and Vivalla’s IS Fighters

Vivalla, a suburb of Örebro. When typing in the district’s name on Google, a variety of headlines pop up about deep conflict and death threats, radicalisation, murder, and a proposal to close down the local school to give students a better start somewhere else. This is where 22-year-old Samir grew up. When he was younger, Samir sometimes went to the mosque with his family. In his twenties, the frequency of his visits increased to five times a day. ”He was a happy and humorous guy”, says his former football trainer and chairman of the local club. ”And he was very tall. I think no one took him seriously. I used to joke, ’You’re so long, we can’t make any use of you on the football field’” (Nordenskiöld ”IS-krigarna”, 2016). One morning, when his football team is gathering up to travel to a tournament, Samir does not show up. He and some other young men are on their way to Syria. When his mother Zahra finds out about this, she is in complete shock. She manages to go to the police station, where the local policeman calls the airport Arlanda. However, he is incapable of doing something which could prevent Samir’s journey. Back then, it was not illegal to join a terrorist group for training abroad. One day, Samir and some of the other young men all of the sudden return home to Vivalla. Nobody in the football team asks any questions (*loc.cit.*).

However, parents and police are worried that the young men will return to Syria. In a prevention effort, a collaboration between different state agencies is started in order to provide jobs. Samir gets a job at the city. ”He seemed a bit lost. We could offer him caretaker work – cutting grass, taking care of garbage and flowerbeds. This was maybe not what he had imagined, but it was the only thing we could offer him”, says his former employer. As time goes by, Samir is more and more often on sick leave. Fredrik Malm, the local policeman, encourages Samir that life is more than cleaning up leaves. ”I understand that this is not what you wanted, but it is a start and it will boost your CV!” The last time Fredrik Malm sees Samir, he is standing in front of Vivalla Center, wearing his workers uniform with the suburbs logo on his chest. Shortly after, Samir returns to Syria (*loc.cit.*).

In their prevention work the police visits families at home and tries to find out how they can help. In conversations with worried parents, they often hear ”’if he just had a job or would study!’ But many of them did have a job!” says Fredrik Malm. ”I think what we missed”, he reflects, ”is why he even went [to Syria] in the first place and then why he came back. Who was he when he came back? Who was he in his group of friends – someone who leaves Sweden to fight and but fails and comes back? Well, a failure and disgrace! And what does he have to do instead? Rake leaves in his local area – which must’ve been incredibly shameful for him. If you put yourself in his shoes, what is left for saving yourself, your face, your self-image? Yes, travelling back – exactly what he

did” (*loc.cit.*). Frederik Malm seems to have come to a crucial insight about the powerful role of shame.

The first time I try to call Fredrik for an interview, his answering machine replies. ”Hej! You have come to Fredrik Malm. Commune-, local- and area-policeman.” As he can not answer the phone right now he tells me to either leave a message or to send him a text. Some days later I call again and a light-hearted voice greets me. I am worried that my phone connection is particularly bad today, which makes the policeman wonder if I have not paid my phone bill. We both laugh and I get a sense that Fredrik has a special way of breaking the ice and building relationships with people.

”I can put myself in his situation. Imagine I tell my friends that I am starting a business in the Bahamas and will become successful. But three months later I come back and they see me picking up trash in the centre. ’Hey, what happened to you!? You’re a fake, a joke, now we can ridicule you!’ This is what Samir’s mother described, that he did not want to go out anymore and felt bad. We didn’t realise this and didn’t get the signs about it either. The problem was that these guys [who travelled to Syria] did not have any social security net. Parents might not have a say anymore. There is a distance and despise between them and society, such as the police and the social services.” Fredrik Malm says that these young men grew up before the community officer reform¹. This was an attempt to decrease the distance between police and local communities, where the police’s work should be rather preventive than reactive and thus be adapted to the local context (Thunholm ”Närpolisreformen”, n.d.).

”We had neither district, nor community police officers, so the only contact these guys had with the police was when they had done something wrong and felt harassed by the police. It was hard to build relationships with them. All the time there was this suspicion and a distance, polarisation and averseness of ’you against us’”. Fredrik Malm experienced a suspicion about the social services, which he thinks may originate from parents, who come from contexts where they are used to taking care of social problems by themselves. Often, there is a fear of authorities. ”They see allowances on the one end or foster care on the other end. There is no middle way. Voluntary interventions are rejected and eventually the situation *can* actually get that bad that a child ends up in foster care. Had they allowed earlier interventions, an alternative would have been possible. So there can definitely be a mistrust towards society. Instead, friends with the same ideas become the security net, where no nuanced image exists any more. You get confirmed that you need to travel back and will find solutions to why you feel bad.” Fredrik pauses.

During their upbringing, children start to develop ”social maps”, which are circular, rather than linear: Initially, these map are results of experiences. However, as a child moves into adolescence and adulthood, the map becomes self-sustaining – either life-sustaining, fostering the ”spark of divinity” or life-taking, which drives ”the human spirit into darkness” and violence (Graham qtd. in

¹ Närpolisreformen

Gilligan 1997, 110). While Graham and Gruen, whose work will be discussed later on, call the decisive factor for violence disconnectedness (being abandoned and rejected, rather than accepted and nurtured), Gilligan advocates shame as the primary or ultimate cause of all violence (1997, 110-111).

For many decades, the American psychiatrist has been conducting research in prisons and prison mental hospitals, investigating violence and its causes. In the quest for finding out why the prisoners committed killings or other types of violence, a certain motive kept on reoccurring: The desire for respect. The fear which the perpetrators caused and observed in their victims, was perceived as a type of replacement form of respect, often the only kind they were capable of achieving (Gilligan 2003, 1151). Restoring respect was a way to cope with the underlying feelings of shame and humiliation, which every single one of these offenders were tormented by. Shameful incidents can have occurred throughout their childhood (mobbing, rejection, insults, abuse), or on a collective or national level, which is experienced when the culture or religion at the heart of their collective identity is being subject to contempt or subjugation (*ibid.* 1152-1153). Especially for men growing up in strong patriarchal societies with images of hyper-masculinity, it becomes shameful if they can not live up to these unreachable norms (1997, 261-267).

Gilligan uses the term shame generically, ranging from feelings of being ridiculed, teased, disrespected, dishonoured, despised over the feeling of being inferior, worthless, or a failure – basically the whole scale of narcissistic injuries (2003, 1152-1153). He summarises ”when self-love is sufficiently diminished, one feels shame” (2000b, 47). This is the beginning of my struggle with the question of definition. In my Skype interview with Evelin Lindner, I ask her for clarification. She tells me ”What you are now encountering is a kind of historic moment where the research in academia is embedded into large-scale historical changes and the definitions are kind of different in different historical periods.” This does not sound as if it is going to make my search any easier.

Often shame and humiliation are seen as a continuum, where humiliation is considered the most intense form of shame. However, all scholars which this thesis refers to use different terms to describe basically the same phenomenon. Thus, it will become clear that clear cut definitional lines are lacking in both the academic understanding and this thesis. According to Lindner, humiliation is externally imposed on a person, shame is considered something a person does to herself. Thus, shame and humiliation are distinguished whether the perpetrator is external or the self.

At the core of humiliation lies a downward push to subjugation (Lindner 2008, 165) – something which has been implemented throughout humanity’s history. Lindner has further developed this into a more elaborate conceptualisation. She distinguishes between two fundamentally different ideas of humiliation: The first one, which she calls the ”normative universe of ranked worthiness, of ranked honour” ranks people into higher and lesser beings. This system prevailed nearly globally until the 1750s and is still in place in many honour societies. Lindner opposes this system with the

”normative universe of unranked worthiness, or equal dignity”, which prevails in societies permeated by human rights ideals. These two systems are irreconcilable, because it is impossible to rank people’s honour at the same time as to keep equality in dignity. Including humiliation as legitimate tool contradicts the idea of equal dignity for all (2007a, 41-43).

According to Lindner, the term ”humiliation” is usually used with at least three meanings. Firstly, referring to an *act*, secondly to a *feeling*, and thirdly to a *process* (2008, 165).

Humiliation means the enforced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away their pride, honour or dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed, against your will (or in some cases with your consent, for example in cases of religious self-humiliation or in sado-masochism) and often in a deeply hurtful way, in a situation that is greatly inferior to what you feel entitled to. Humiliation entails demeaning treatment that transgresses established expectations. It may involve acts of force, including violent force. At its heart is the idea of pinning down, putting down or holding to the ground. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of humiliation as a process is that the victim is forced into passivity, acted upon, made helpless (*ibid.*, 169).

Everyone experiences some level of shame during a lifetime. Nevertheless, most people never turn violent. So how does Gilligan’s thesis make sense? He regards violence as a disease rather than a moral evil. All kinds of pathologies are caused by multiple biological, social and psychological determinants, which can be divided into protective factors and risk factors. When it comes to violence, feelings of shame and humiliation are the one psychological variable which is necessary, but not sufficient to cause violence. According to Gilligan, every branch of behavioural sciences confirms this hypothesis, for example forensic psychiatry, experimental, social and clinical psychology, anthropology, criminology and even the FBI (2015, 148).

Thus, if a person has enough protective factors in form of other sources for self-esteem, or a ”social security network”, as Fredrik Malm calls it, she becomes more resilient to violence. In line with this, Aaron Antonovsky has coined the term salutogenesis, and the ’sense of coherence’, explaining how humans cope with stress and maintain their health (1979). At the same time, risk factors increase the impact of shame, for example the absence of means to maintain and strengthen one’s feelings of self-worth by education, a respected job, high income or belonging to a social class or ethnic group which is respected. Gilligan found in his work that almost none of the violent criminals had any protective factors. Even in cases where some protective factors might prevail, violence can occur if the risk factors are so strong that they overpower them (Gilligan 2015, 149). If Samir upon his return had found a ”respectable” job or enrolled and succeed in school, he would have been better equipped to cope with the humiliation of supposedly failing as an IS warrior.

I ask Fredrik Malm how people can take themselves out of feelings of worthlessness, shame and inferiority. ”Many lower others into a state of powerlessness. Then I am not the one who is lowest any longer. If I am cruel to another person, I do not need to feel bad myself.” This can be a first step towards violent jihad. Fredrik tells me about one young man he knew, a heavy criminal and the

family's black sheep. "Once, he got into a phase of openness and wanted to get engaged, work with the youth – which is a natural process, just like all who quit drug abuse want to hold lectures in schools. It is help to self-help." I grin as I think of the man I had interviewed, who had spent 15 months in an isolation cell, and who told me that he soon wants to start lecturing in schools. "But the problem," says Fredrik, "was that this guy did not want to study in order to get a formal education. He thought that he had talent and could talk to the youth, because of his own experiences – which is true, but he was not done in his personal process. After a while he started to attend the mosque much more often, which is of course not wrong as such. But I experienced that he isolated himself again – from being a criminal, to opening up, back to his bubble of isolation." Previously, they had greeted each other when they met on the streets, but eventually the young man would not even look at the policeman when he passed him at a one meter's distance. "I did not understand back then", reflects Fredrik, "but today I think that he was in some process where contacts with people like me would break his bubble, this polarised thinking of us and them. One day he left to join IS. Since then he has not come back and I don't know whether he is alive or not." The policeman sighs and I can feel his genuine concern floating through my mobile phone.

Different programmes are implemented by the police and social authorities in attempts to prevent radicalisation. "The most important thing is to work closely to the people", says Fredrik Malm. One focus area in Vivalla are parents, who can attend "Connect", a Canadian programme to improve the relationship between children and parents. The Health and Human Services Department² conducted a study which demonstrates the effectivity of the parents support programme. Children's problem behaviour decreased and parents felt less stress, demonstrated less depressive symptoms and could better cope with their children's negative behaviour ("Kartläggning Föräldrarstöd" 2016, 20). "The problem with this is however", explains Fredrik, "that it is a Canadian approach with Western ideas for bringing up children. Therefore, we need to consider what upbringing and relations between parents and children look like in other cultures." A more explicit focus on the prevention of radicalisation has the Austrian model of "Mothers School", which will be launched during autumn. Furthermore, an additional meeting place between parents and different parts of society is created in an open kindergarten. Fredrik Malm tells me that the contact to parents is good while they have small children and attend maternal and paediatric health facilities. "But we loose touch with the parents once the children enter school, so this is where we are trying to continue our work."

I ask how the police adapts their work to the local situation and Fredrik tells me that when looking at society as a cake, the police is only a small slice of it – "small but meaningful!" What he considers crucial is trying to become a part of the community and to engage in questions which occupy the people of Vivalla. For that, he spends a lot of time outside of the police station, which is a chance for many spontaneous encounters, often outside office hours. Fredrik does not mind this. "I have even started to ride to work by bicycle", he says and laughs warmly. Otherwise, it is impossible to speak about issues, which the police considers important, such as travels to Syria,

² Socialstyrelsen

radicalisation and extremism, says Fredrik. "You can not dive down from the clouds, start talking about these issues and expect people to open themselves up to you. First, I need to get involved with down-to-earth problems and take them seriously. Otherwise, there can not be any dialogue." If there is no trust in the other side, we are not willing to listen to their arguments either, according to Barbara Misztal. Arguments are instead perceived as a "cynical power game" in order to trick us into their system, which is disadvantageous for ourselves (Rothstein 2005, 210).

When engaging with different ethnic associations, Fredrik experiences that honour can play a different role than in ethnic Swedish contexts. "Hierarchies and the fear of losing face can make it hard to get to the core of the problem. Instead of questioning oneself, others are blamed, like the police, politicians, the school or housing company. Sometimes, I want to go deeper, but it's impossible. There can be a refusal to accept that a problem exists when two men are dead and that you as a parent have a responsibility. But recognising this would mean climbing down from your position of power and lose face – it doesn't work." I wonder how Fredrik reacts to these kind of situations and he replies that he probably would have gotten angry some years ago. Today, though, he knows the mechanisms behind it and can be more laid back. "A part of my role as commune policeman is that I've lowered my guards for criticism and am prepared for crap which is not mine. In these situations it is all about listening to the complaints, confirming 'I understand that you are disappointed', encouraging people that things will work out and that this is not the end of the world." The way he speaks with this friendly, positive voice is assuring and I can tell that he is used to giving comfort to worried souls. Respect and trust appear to be the underlying key values to this policeman's work.

2. Je ne suis pas Charlie

Freud (1930, 102) advanced the standpoint that "the tendency to aggression is an innate, independent, instinctual disposition in man." The psychologist and psychoanalyst Arno Gruen (1988, 2007ab) challenges this hypothesis by arguing that the source of all evil can be found in a human being's self-hatred, which stems from early childhood. When an infant learns that the love it needs comes at a price – the submission to its parent's will – the infant's autonomous self is surrendered. This subjugation to power and self-betrayal leads to the creation of a false self, while "own needs must be hated in order not to threaten the relationship to one's parents", says 91-old Arno Gruen in a TV-interview ("Kulturzeit-Gespräch", 2015). The reporter in matching lime-green blazer, T-shirt and earrings cannot conceal her slight disbelief when she asks "And through this, a child turns violent and to terrorism?" The old man wearing round, horn-rimmed spectacles answers that when a child's pain is not recognised by its parents, the child learns to renounce and hate its own pain, leading to self-hate. "These are the children who later on inflict pain on others, as they disavow their own pain." A consequence of this is the lack of empathy towards their victims, according to Gruen, a common characteristic of all terrorists. "If you look at IS. They pretend to

fight for an ideology or religion.” However, their hatred towards the living, he continues, has already existed before they even started to think in terms of ideology. We are being mocked that it is all about religion or ideology, when ideology is simply used as a smokescreen for hate. Arno Gruen’s German is saturated with a subtle American accent, proof of many years in the United States, to which he fled with his family from the Nazis.

The suspicious news reporter asks about the assassins of Paris – no need to explain that her question refers to the Charlie Hebdo shooting, as the gruesome November Paris attacks would only take place eight months after this interview. She says, ”It is known that the brothers grew up as orphans. You see the cause in their childhood. But is this truly enough to explain violent shooting and killing?” Her scepticism leaves Arno Gruen cold. ”It depends on how strong these early injuries to the self are”, he says. ”In this case, the parents died very early but prevented their children from assimilating to the French culture. These children were lost. (...) Never masters over their own existence, never able to decide over their own destiny. They believe that they can gain control over their life by ruling over other lives through humiliation and killing.” Here it comes once again, I think, the reoccurring motive of injuries to the narcissistic self leading to violence in an attempt to restore a sense of self-worth.

In the case of Charlie Hebdo, I think a further investigation necessary, away from the very micro level of the offenders. One and a half years after the attacks, the public storm of emotions and reactive measures have slowly subsided and a more nuanced view might be possible. Why exactly Charlie Hebdo? What was it in their provocative cartoons that triggered the cruel act of killing one dozen people?

The day after the attack, Philippe Val, former director and editor-in-chief for the magazine, gives an interview to the BBC. Dressed in black and imbued in deep grief over the loss of many colleagues and friends, he says that the satirical magazine is ”run by people devoid of hate, of prejudice, respectful of others but who use all the resources of their freedom of expression to ridicule what is ridiculous, to criticise religions when they are ridiculous” (”Charlie Hebdo”, 2015).

I am struggling to perceive Philippe Val’s message as credible, without in any way whatsoever defending the detestable act of terrorism, which took place at the editorial office. I feel that it is important to state this very clearly. Since Charlie Hebdo was uplifted as a token of freedom of opinion, speech and press, anyone who does not happily join into the chorus that they, as well, are Charlie arouses a certain suspicion of possibly sympathising with terrorists (see e.g. Neil ”Prophet Muhammad”, 2015).

”Criticising religions when they are ridiculous” takes its form for example in a cartoon depicting Prophet Muhammad as a porn star, completely naked except for a turban, bottom and genitals stretched towards the reader. I can not think of a more humiliating, disgracing and vulgar way to

depict the one who is not to be depicted; the most important figure of the second largest religion in the world. Another cartoon shows a woman who is stripped naked from her burka, which is sticking out of her bottom. Being "respectful" and "devoid of prejudice" is expressed in a way, which is not understandable to me. I look at pictures with black people drawn as monkeys or slaves and a cover page showing two men walking arm in arm, holding a leash with a naked black woman on her knees as their dog. I might not "get" the humour in it, might not have read the articles which can explain the deeper meaning and profound, societal criticism. However, I doubt that Muslims and black people who see these pictures have done that, and then had a good laugh at the humour. In any other context, these and countless other cartoons would fall under discrimination laws. These images are one of many rivers which fill the media stream with negative portrayals of Muslims and Islam, perpetually watering the general public, as well as shaming the large population of Muslims in France.

Among European countries, France is especially devout in banning religion from the public. The *laïcité* principle, a strict form of secularism, bans for example full-faced veils in public places, makes a nativity play in a public school unthinkable and bans all "conspicuous" religious symbols from public institutions, such as headscarfs, kippas or crosses (P. "Why the French", 2014). Nobody shall be deranged by being exposed to anyone else's religion. The fact that a magazine might derange the emotions of 1.6 billion Muslims is not important enough to be taken into consideration. We have *laïcité* after all! A feeling is creeping up on me that something might be skewed in these discussions about our precious Western tolerance.

Even without being black or Muslim, the one word which I find suitable to summarise these cartoons is humiliation. This is what Lindner calls the "nuclear bomb of the emotions" (2008, 169). Feelings of undue humiliation can be kept inside, in case there are no means to channel them out, leading to apathy, depression or drug abuse. If, however, the person's emotions are channelled outwards, a different outcome emerges: In order to restore a sense of worthiness and self-respect a person can explode in desperate rage and hot retaliation, destructive on others and the self, where rational thinking and a self-interest of survival is switched off. This can lead to murder or suicide. The other option, which Lindner sees, is that the person organises a larger-scale humiliation on others. Hitler, for example, threw large parts of Europe into destruction in an attempt to remedy Germany's national humiliation – within the ethical and moral framework of ranked honour. He encouraged the Germans to feel ashamed over WWI's defeat and spread fear of future humiliations which will arise through a global reign of the world's Jews. Challenging the German people to abandon their humiliated role as underlings and to claim their rights to the supposed Aryan master race became the "remedy" for German humiliated souls (2007a, 28 and 44).

During the seven-hour standoff between French security forces and the killers at the Charlie Hebdo office, a journalist talked to Cherif, one of the brothers, on the phone.

CHERIF. We are not killers. We are *defenders of the prophet*, we don't kill women. We kill no one. We defend the prophet. If someone *offends* the prophet then there is no problem, we can kill him. We don't kill women. We are not like you. You are the ones killing women and children in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. This isn't us. We have an *honor code* in Islam.

INTERVIEWER. But you just sought revenge here, you killed 12 people.

CHERIF. Yes, because we sought *revenge*. You just said it well. You said it yourself, we sought revenge (Saliba 2015).³

Following the attacks, Muslims reported that they felt restricted to show their Muslim identities in public spaces and struggled to be accepted as a part of French society. The violent image which mass media paints of Islam, the discrimination of Muslims on labour and housing market, and in the educational and health care system (Andre, Mansouri and Lobo 2015) can not leave people unaffected. According to Gilligan, shame, which causes violence, means a feeling of inferiority, which is a relative concept. The first principle in preventing violence is thus to stop the causes – humiliating and shaming people on the micro-level, as well as the macro-level of hierarchical social and economic systems. Subjugating one group of people under another in terms of relative power or wealth is what Gilligan calls *the* recipe for increasing violence. This explains for example the reason why the murder rate is highest in countries with the largest income gap between rich and poor. In positive terms, it means ensuring everyone's self-worth through access to education, employment, income and power would be the most effective means to combat violence and terrorism (220, 1803).

However, this idea that shame and humiliation could be a root (not a justification!) for violence seemed nearly a taboo during the fierce discussions following the attacks. French-Algerian journalist Nabila Ramdani defends this clearly unpopular position. A fervent TV-discussion plays out between her, the deputy conservative party leader Michael Portillo and BBC show presenter Andrew Neil, among others ("Prophet Muhammad", 2015).

ANDREW. [*An elderly man in a suit, whose hair has started to withdraw.*] It was a magnificent, a brave act for Charlie Hebdo to repeat exactly what had killed their colleagues a week ago. [*Depicting Prophet Muhammad on the cover again.*] Didn't they have to send a signal to the terrorist that they wouldn't be cowed?

NABILA. [*A younger woman with chin-long, hair and sharp, dark eyebrows. Her English is embedded in a soft French accent.*] Well, I think it's a very simplistic way of looking at things. This idea that you can take revenge on terrorists by re-offending them and – [*Host Andrew interrupts her in the middle of the sentence.*]

ANDREW. They're not taking revenge, they're just saying even though we lost our colleagues in this barbarous act we're not gonna be cowed by you.

³ Italics by the author

NABILA. But surely the best way to move from such horror is not to fall into more inciting violence, offending people, but to move towards reconciliation – *[Andrew interrupts her again.]*

ANDREW. In what way does that cover incite violence? *[He takes off his frameless glasses and leans towards her.]*

NABILA. In many ways. The very definition to inciting racial hatred is when you cause harm or offence to a person – *[With a quiet but persistent voice Andrew cuts her off again.]*

ANDREW. In what way does it offend? It's a cartoon of someone who's meant to be Muhammad. It is a rather endearing little cartoon. (...) *[In a voice of incomprehension]* In what way is that racist or offensive?

NABILA. With all due respect, Andrew. It is not for a white middle class, entitled, comfortable man like you sitting in the cozy studios of the BBC – *[This time Nabila is not pausing as he interrupts her, so both of them talk at the same time, getting more intense.]*

ANDREW. *[Sounds provoked.]* Just answer the question! Just answer the question without being offensive!

NABILA. *[Is trying to finish her sentence]*... to say what is offensive to those communities or not –

ANDREW. *[interrupting her]* So you can be offensive but they can't be!

NABILA. No! What I'm saying is that you have to look at it from the receiving end, people who are on the other end. *[For the first time she can finish her sentence.]*

ANDREW. *[Persistent]* So I'm asking you in what way is it offensive.

NABILA. It is offensive because they see it as an insult to one of the most revered figures in their faith. These are people who hold onto... *[In the middle of Nabila's sentence Andrew turns away to ask comic Shazia Mirza what she thinks. Master suppression technique number one, according to Berit Ås: Making a person invisible.]*

SHAZIA. I know a lot of people that are not offended. Obviously we won't hear from these people. But you know, it's fashionable to be offended. (...)

ANDREW. So the people in this country are going around trying to be offended?

SHAZIA. They are trying really hard. (...)

NABILA. *[Tries once more to make her point.]* You have to look at it at the perspective of young, disenfranchised Muslims who hold their faith very sacred and you have to see it from their perspective – *[Andrew cuts her off.]*

ANDREW. What evidence do you have that they are offended?

NABILA. Bah!? *[The bewilderment about posing such an obvious question is written in her face.]* Because people have said so!

ANDREW. *[sharp]* Who?

NABILA. French people I know, people from the banlieues. Disenfranchised young people... *[No need to write any more that he cuts her off again]*

ANDREW. When did you last speak with people from the banlieues? *[It is starting to sound like an interrogation.]*

NABILA. *[Sounds provoked]* I come from the banli-

ANDREW. No! But when did you last speak to them? *[They both stare at each other.]*

NABILA. I speak to them everyday, I'm a reporter!

ANDREW. Did you speak to them today?

NABILA. Yes absolutely. But it's very evident that people are offended!

ANDREW. *[Sounds sarcastic.]* Alright. *[Master suppression technique number two, according to Berit Ås: Ridiculing a person and not taking her seriously.]*

A serious irritation is burning up inside of me. As much as I am annoyed at the rudeness of this BBC host, I am irritated about the way Nabila Ramdani is treated: As a terrorism-sympathising Muslim while she is in fact the only one in the round who does not advocate for more or less populist reactive baiting.

[Andrew addresses himself to Michael Portillo. What does he think? Michael, a middle-aged man with dark blond hair, is leaning back in the couch, arms folded.]

MICHAEL. I am outraged. I am outraged by Nabila. I really am. *[He speaks in a grave voice and has the body language of a man who is used to being listened to.]* (...) We are all appalled that these people were murdered in Paris and I think really what would be very suitable would be a period of silence.

NABILA. Would not a blank page be more suitable?

MICHAEL. No! *[Sounds decisive.]* Not for people to go around saying that they were offended. For people either to be silent or to continue to talk about the horror of people being murdered in the name of the prophet.

[Diane Abbott, a Labour Party politician, joins the conversation. She speaks in a high voice with a slight lisp and sounds as if she is lecturing a kindergarten class.]

DIANE. (...) Those people came and slaughtered twelve people in cold blood. I don't think that Charlie Hebdo could have done anything other than come out this week with a representation like that. Anything else would say that you can terrorise us.

The discussion continues with five angry grown-ups talking across each other. Nabila says that there is no absolute freedom of speech, as it comes with boundaries of the law. She is critical about publishing deeply offensive articles and says that this can in some way cause violence. "That's an outrageous thing to say!" exclaims Michael. The lisping woman is equally aghast. "To say that these cartoons (...) legitimise slaughtering! (...) You really must stop making the links between these cartoons and the slaughter."

I can not help but slap my forehead and groan with frustration. Somehow these humiliating cartoons about minorities and immigrants have succeeded in becoming the epitomes of freedom and human rights of our liberal Western culture. I do want to be part of a culture which with all legal, non-violent means defends tolerance, openness and the freedom of words. Again, criticising humiliating cartoons can not in any case whatsoever be equated with defending the cruel attacks on the magazine and its producers. But what does President Hollande want to say when he uplifts the

victims of the Charlie Hebdo attack as "our heroes" ("Charlie Hebdo" 2015)? I do not think that I want to be Charlie if this means being irresponsible and inconsiderate; if this means that my freedom of speech goes at the expense of my neighbour's dignity. I am well-aware of the implications which censorship brings along – this is not what I am arguing for. I simply expect people to have a healthy dose of respect and some common sense. It is time to finally fully move to the paradigm of new Realpolitik of dignity:

Brave heroism and sacrifice in the old world of honorable Realpolitik meant standing up *against* your enemies, it meant accepting to be part of a hierarchically organized ingroup, united in patriotic love for your ingroup, pitted against threatening outgroups. Brave heroism and sacrifice in the new Realpolitik of dignity means standing up united in humanizing love *for* a vision of one united family of humankind, where everybody deserves to be respected as equal in dignity, a world without enemies and outgroups, a world of neighbors who together find a way to live together even if they do not love each other (Lindner 2007b, 33).

3. The Abyss That Can Swallow All

In a newspaper article I read that Andreas Ring sees the greatest danger for violent extremism in social exclusion. I look at his photo and think that if a person who has never been to Sweden would imagine what a Swedish man looks like, she would probably imagine Andreas. Blue-eyes, blond eye-lashes and well-coiffed light hair. As a police man he has worked for ten years with issues related to violent extremism and has now started his own business in order to work against the radicalisation of young people. When I call him he is in the car on his way to a meeting, but a brief interview works well. I ask what exactly it is, that makes exclusion so dangerous. "Social exclusion is about a subjective feeling, which can express itself in different ways, for example in frustration or the perception of being mortified or not being cared about", says Andreas. "This position can often be a driving force to violence."

"Do you think that shame plays a role in social exclusion?" I ask him. Andreas is wondering about the definition of shame. I sigh internally as I am starting to realise that this will be a reoccurring theme for my investigation. I have sent an e-mail to James Gilligan and asked for some clarifications. Among other things, I was asking him if not all negative experiences whatsoever would fit into the category of shame by using the term so generically as he does. If so, I was wondering, how is this theory relevant? A lot of time and effort went into this email to wrap up my questions in politeness and to pose them as respectfully as possible. I desperately wonder if I have succeeded. The absence of his reply might be interpreted as a no.

"Shame in the sense of embarrassment does not fit into this context. It's more that many radicalised people are angry and feel like they were unjustly superseded. But maybe that is shame", Andreas reflects. I have to focus hard in order to understand him. A hands-free phone with lots of background noise and someone who is speaking in a heavy Skåne accent is not the easiest of all

combinations for my German ears. In one sentence I summarise Lindner, Gilligan, Gruen and Kruglanski who in different ways and vocabularies come to the conclusion that humiliation fosters violence. Andreas agrees and tells me that within the police, there is a lot of discussion about the signals they send, about uniforms, the way they appear etc. "But in my experience, much more important than all of that is what attitude you have as a police officer. Being modest, curious, listening to people – these things overshadow everything else." Evelin Lindner would call this respect, I say to myself. Andreas sees that this awareness is increasing within the police. "It's not about dancing after everyone's pipe. You need clear rules. But you still have to show respect. When you arrest someone, that person should be able to say 'He's a correct police man!'"

"I would like to end by really looking at the person who might now watch this videoclip," says Evelin Lindner and glances directly at me, who is staring at the Youtube window on my computer. "I would really like to communicate to you that I respect you. I deeply feel that you are a human being that deserves dignity, that also deserves dignified and dignifying circumstances of life. I have a deep sense of love for our human family and you are included." In an inviting gesture she stretches out both arms towards the camera. Her hands seem to paint the words she speaks. "I come from a position of humility – non-arrogance, of inviting everybody to join hands. I'm not somebody who wants to dictate something, I want to invite you. Please feel invited." She looks at the interviewer sitting next to her in the red couch and the two women smile warmly at each other, in seemingly deep understanding ("World Dignity University", 2011).

One of the recognitions of Evelin Lindner's pioneering research about humiliation as a conflict-generating factor was her nomination for the Nobel Peace Prize. On her website she writes humbly "Please know that Evelin's nomination for the 2015 Nobel Peace Prize is *your* nomination! As you know, our dignity work is based on the African *Ubuntu* philosophy of 'I am because of you!' and YOUR dignity work is crucial for bringing more dignity into this world!" ("Nobel Peace Prize", 2015). The more I learn about Evelin Lindner the more I am impressed by her affection, kindness and humbleness, which radiates from her person. She truly seems to live what she teaches.

Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." Initially, writes Lindner, only the *rights* were emphasised – in terms of political rights. Now, *dignity* is increasingly gaining importance. Human rights have come to refer to an expanding field, where beyond political and civil rights, even economic, social and cultural rights are included (2008, 161). Before ideas such as the global village have arisen, humankind lived in a fragmented world of usually hierarchically organised villages. In general, it was male elites who dominated both family and state in a "strong-man" fashion, whilst underlings, including the vast majority of women, were subordinated in lowly positions. (Ury in Lindner 2008, 166). Being lowered was accepted by both the superior and the inferior. Lindner argues that it was honour, which described and fortified everyone's position within the hierarchy, keeping the structures in place.

Through the human rights revolution, a new normative framework was introduced. Today, the old system of "ranked honour" strongly prevails only in three realms, according to Lindner: in certain segments of society, such as street gangs; in some parts of the world where for example honour killings are still considered legitimate; and in elites' interactions at the macro-level, among foreign policy makers, diplomats or military personnel (2007b). In general, the collapse of ancient hierarchies provided both ruler and underling with equal dignity and shared humility. The underling is no longer in a position of acquiescence to the prevailing power structures, but is given the right to feel humiliated (2002, 2). The power elites, on the other hand, have lost the right to feel humiliated when their superiority is declining and they are prompted to humbling themselves (2008, 167).

According to Lindner, the topic of humiliation has become important in the new world and gained unprecedented significance. In modern contexts where generally equal dignity prevails, individual experiences of humiliation become more intense (2008, 167). This might explain the fervent debate in Sweden about begging EU-migrants, which peaked during the past one and a half years. In the general public discourse the conviction was often heard that begging is humiliating and inhumane – therefore it should be forbidden. That the beggars indeed experience feelings of humiliation was confirmed by a large-scale Scandinavian study, where the majority of beggars agreed fully or partially with the statement "It is humiliating for a decent person to beg." Almost all would prefer to have a regular job over begging or other street work (Djuve, 2015). Instead of letting people beg, so the argument, other measures should take place to improve the situation in the EU-migrants' home countries. Here, the spotlight is on the humiliated EU-migrants whose well-being we are concerned about. However, the situation could be interpreted differently. Seeing EU-citizens at our their feet is nothing the common Stockholmer appreciated – not because it is a bother being asked for a small amount of money. Seeing other people in a way which we consider unworthy and against our human rights, turns into a humiliation for *us*. Witnessing another European sit in the cold while we pass them with two full shopping bags turns into a hurtful clash in our human rights understanding, which normally our everyday life is embedded in so safely.

The development and expansion of the human rights framework has lead to an increasing number of people with feelings of humiliation, argues Lindner. As a result of this, millions of people understand that they do not need to accept lowliness, but have the right to feel humiliated and be angry about it (2008, 167). She analyses three ways in which humiliation becomes more salient for the underlings. Firstly, the changed view that the rulers are oppressors, instead of benevolent patrons, makes the underlings feel ashamed. What previously was "domestic chastisement" is now "domestic violence", where a beaten wife is encouraged to feel violated and abused, instead of accepting her submission silently (2007b, 29). Secondly, among the underlings, a feeling of inferiority compared to their former masters may prevail, which can be experienced as shameful. Thirdly, having served and bowed down to one's master obediently can make the underling ashamed. This clutter of shameful and humiliating feelings, combined with a human rights context

lead to what Helen Block Lewis calls "humiliated fury" (1971 in Lindner 2007a, 20) and Lindner the "nuclear bomb of emotions" (2007a, 20).

Feelings of undue humiliation can easily lead to destructiveness, rage and retaliation, which already was discussed as the "Hitler-path". Only in the most perfect way, feelings of humiliation can be translated into constructive forces for social change, writes Lindner, which becomes a success for human rights empowerment (2007b, 40). Mandela is discussed as the wise prime example for the positive transformation of humiliating experiences into constructive forces – something which can only take place in the framework of equal dignity. Mandela resisted to feel ashamed by his opponents' humiliation and kept a sense of self-worth. If he had simply replaced the white supremacy with black supremacy or returned to the system of apartheid, no reconciliation could have taken place (2008, 170). Instead, he facilitated a new social system of respect for everyone's dignity, including the humiliator's. Mandela refrained from "hysterical rhetoric" and respectfully, but firmly stood up against his enemies while refusing to insult or disrespect them – humiliation had no space in his social order. Also Gandhi's approach *satyagraha* (non-violent action), consists of *satya* (truth-love) and *agraha* (firmness/force). Both, Gandhi and Mandela show that pacifism does not mean the exclusion of force. The crucial feature is to combine force with respect. "Respectful firmness", argues Lindner, "is indeed the only way to stop sectarian extremists, who are in the business of turning spirals of humiliation into an abyss that can swallow all" (2007b, 44-45). Both policemen, Fredrik and Andreas, seem to have understood this.

Thus, the closest we can come to a panacea for avoiding destructiveness, is the promotion of equal dignity for all. This refers to a "horizontal ranking of human worth and value", not sameness. Functional hierarchies are needed and embedded in equal dignity, they give room for difference and diversity (2007a, 16). Lindner has coined the term *egalization*, which refers to equal dignity as stipulated in the Human Rights Convention, but is not to be confused with equality, egalitarianism or equity. The only way to humanise globalisation is by interweaving it with egalization, which includes building human rights-based institutions, which no longer humiliate their citizens (Margalit in 2007b, 42).

4. The Criminals' Return

On a Monday night, I send Jacob Fraiman a text message if I could meet him for an interview. Some seconds later my phone vibrates with his incoming reply. "Sure! Do you want to come tomorrow at 10?" The next day I am sitting on the commuter train to Södertälje, clueless about what is going to expect me. KRIS' – Criminals' return into society – target group is according to their website ex-criminals and addicts who want to start a new, drug-free life of honesty, comradeship and solidarity. Knowing that this is the motto according to which Jacob lives his life, is reassuring. So far I have only seen pictures of him and judging from that he does not look like someone you

want to mess with. Even though KRIS does not explicitly work with violent extremism, I consider it useful to learn more about different ways into destructive milieus and the situation in Swedish prisons.

I arrive at the large yellow villa, where the association is located. Unsure how to get to their office, I enter through the café entrance. Right besides the door, Jacob is directly looking at me from a poster. "Livestory – Listen to Jacob Fraiman who has lived a life of social exclusion, criminality, addiction and imprisonment. After having served his last sentence, he came to a rehabilitation clinic in Södertälje where he has built up a completely new life." What an interesting introduction, I think while climbing up the old, creaking stairs. I enter the room, which I identify as KRIS' office and am warmly welcomed by Jacob, and three other people sitting on the brown leather couch. Even though the furniture reveals that KRIS must have moved in her newly, the small room has a cozy atmosphere with its wooden floor, desk and large sitting area.

I come just in time for the morning gathering. Out of a small, light-blue book, Ann reads the daily reflection. She is the new intern at KRIS. The text speaks about every human being's spirituality and reminds me of a biblical reading. Jacob introduces me to the rules. Everyone can share, but nobody has to. We are not allowed to interrupt each other and have to leave what is said uncommented. Bobban, a guy my age in a sporty Adidas jacket is tired this morning and skips his turn. After listening to the profound thoughts of Jimmi, who works as democracy co-ordinator, it is my turn. Just as everyone before me, I introduce myself with, "Hello. My name is Jana." "Hello Jana", choruses the small group. Amazed I realise that this is not something people only say in AA meetings in the movies. While I am sharing my belief that even the modern human being has a place of spirituality in her that is easily forgotten but wants to be filled, I am thinking how typical it is for me to end up in these unexpected situations. My forecast for this day was to talk to Jacob for half an hour, hop on the train and travel back to Stockholm. Never would I have imagined that by the end of the day I would have participated in a spiritual morning reflection, interviewed five people, eaten lunch with them at a China buffet and participated in a whole day of KRIS activities.

After the reflection time I get to start with my interview. I introduce the topics I want to talk about and when I come to "shame" and "respect" the discussion starts. "So many people don't get that thing with respect", Jacob bursts out and everyone starts to laugh in some sort of secret understanding. Ann joins in, "People believe they get respect. But they don't respect you. They fear you!" "Exactly!" Bobban has taken off his hood and seems to have woken up. His blue eyes sparkle attentively under his baseball cap. "Real respect is only something you can get through good deeds." I haven't asked one single question yet and am already having a feeling that these people know more than any scholar in her library.

The group agrees that their problems, which eventually lead to violence and addiction were rooted in their childhood. "At home you should learn your values and boundaries, instead of having absent

parents, that do not make you feel loved.” Jimmi tells me how he witnessed domestic violence as a child, without ever being beaten himself. ”You don’t always need to get beaten up to get marks”, he says in his low, smoky voice. Ann leans back in the couch. With her black blazer, white jeans and neat, light brown ponytail she forms quite a contrast to the strong, wildly tattooed men that come and go at KRIS. ”The last thing you want to do is to repeat your own childhood for your children. If you were shamed and diminished – maybe not beaten up, but you have these bloody feelings of shame from home – then you treat your children the same way. Sad, but true. In order to assert oneself or to blot out all these feelings from oneself. Those who were beaten as kids are the ones who beat their own kids, wife or husband.” I ask if this has to do with restoring respect. ”Exactly!” Ann exclaims. ”You *believe* that you do that by pushing down, humiliating and ridiculing others. But however hard you try, it just has the opposite effect.”

Bobban tells us how he grew up with violence, drugs and misery. ”At least that’s what it looked like to others. For me it was normal, my everyday life. When I was younger, I had to live with the shame that came from my parents’ decisions. Eventually, this shame grew stronger and stronger. At that point it became easy to start with all these things that the other family members did.” Bobban started to drink when he was eleven. ”When you’re so young you blame yourself for everything – because you’re not enough, not visible, don’t get the love you want and need. So I turned off my feelings. It was like pushing on a button.” In these situations he became aggressive and took his feelings out on others. If there was no reason to start a brawl, he found one and fights became normality. ”Did you feel that this gave you respect?” I ask Bobban. He pulls out a box of snuff and rolls it around in his hands. ”That’s what I thought. I wanted respect from other people, wanted to be seen. These confirmation needs were there all the time. Everything that my family could not confirm, I needed from others.” With a ”plopp” he opens the small box and pops a snuff under his upper lip.

Despite all, Bobban says, he never had any self-harming behaviour. Ann shakes her head slightly, ”This is much more common among us women. I’ve been there. I turned all feelings inwards, against myself. Probably the most common reason why young girls cut themselves is because they have such bloody enormous shame within them. I didn’t cut myself, but I got eating disorders, had bad relationships and drank, to kill all the shame and guilt.”

Jacob comes back in. He had left the room to welcome two visitors who had just gotten out of prison – two men with short-shaved hair whose T-shirts are stretched tightly over their strong chests and a little more generous bellies, revealing colourfully decorated arms. ”What was the question?” asks Jacob in order to join the conversation again and we all hesitate. How to summarise that we had just dismantled three life stories and investigated the pieces on shame and respect?

I decide to ask another question. Jacob had been involved in violent gangs and I want to know more about the role which respect plays in these groups. His left hand is covered by the word ”Trust” in

squiggly lettering, on his right it says "Loyalty". Jacob gives me a crash-course through the Swedish gang world. He talks about unimaginable amounts of money, people's value in kronor, sub-organisations, membership fees, and how childhood friends become arch enemies because they have different gang colours. No names, no closer details. I wonder how freely he can talk nowadays without having the past come back to haunt him.

There are a lot of rules, he says, for example after having left a gang you need to wait four years until you can join another one. Heroin is a taboo. You cannot flirt with anyone else's partner, not even when he's in jail. "If you do that, you can be excluded from the gang. You can lose body parts. They cut off a friend's ear with nail scissors because he had been with another brother's chick. Then they just threw him in a trench." Jacob starts to laugh when he looks at my face. My eyeballs must look as if they are about to pop out of my head. "That's mortification, disrespect for them, you know! These people have been mobbed half of their lives, they have so much hate in them. There is really a lot of violence within gangs, but it's not only physical. It can be subtle threats as well, like just wearing a T-shirt to show your marks when you go demand your money." My eyes wander to the unnatural recess on Jacob's forehead, almost hidden under his short, black hair.

Ann clears her throat. "May I just... I am lucky that I don't have any gang experience. But from what you say, Jacob, I feel that very little is actually about respect. It's all a matter of *disrespect!* Not about what you should do to earn someone's respect, but this and that is disrespectful. It seems like they're just looking for someone who disrespects them!" Jacob laughs.

"How should we treat and help people who are in destructive contexts?" I wonder. Jimmi joins in again and replies quick as a shot "with an open mind!" The other three nod in agreement. Bobban consents, "You should absolutely not be judging, no matter what the other person has done. At my work in a closed institution for criminal youths, their crimes go against *all* my principles. But I have to let go of that. Treat everyone equally, respectfully and have faith that they can change."

Ann gets up to open the window and birdsong fills the room. The orange curtains start to flutter gently in the wind. She has worked as a prison guard and tells me how challenging encounters with inmates can be. "Especially as a woman. I've met disgusting people, really, but it was not my job to judge them. I constantly had to train myself to keep up this basic respect, which is hard when people treat you with complete disrespect. But you can never forget the humanness. You have to keep your professionalism and politeness." I ask how she managed that and Ann tells me that as soon as she put on her uniform and took the keychain, she was completely in her professional role. "Then it is work – and work only. Never take something personally, never get stuck. It's really, really hard! And of course, some people don't manage to do it." I wonder if I would be one of them and realise how impressed I am by Ann.

"I know. I've been locked up and harassed", says Jacob and laughs, as if to attenuate what he said. He believes that just locking up people does not work. "Lock in someone, throw away the keys and scream pedophile or rapist! It doesn't work. You need to work with people." According to him, the most effective approach is the Twelve-Step Program, which originates from Alcoholics Anonymous and has been adapted to a variety of different contexts. The somewhat spiritual program accompanies its participants from step one "admit powerlessness" over "surrender", "ask God", "make amends to those you have hurt", to the final step to "help others".

Jacob confirms Gilligan, who advocates a radical idea. Gilligan considers the overwhelming evidence that "prisons are not only ineffective at preventing violence, they stimulate at least as much if not more violence than they prevent, both within the prisons and jails, and after their inmates are released back into the community" (164, 1996). He argues that prisons are not reformable, as they are from the very beginning based on so many false assumptions, such as punishment reducing violence. Therefore, the only way would be to demolish them and their punitive thinking and replace them with a new paradigm for violence prevention. Violent perpetrators should be treated and educated based on psychoanalytical insights and principles, instead of punishing them through retributive justice, "the commonest euphemism for revenge" (2015, 146).

Jacob's practical experiences seem to go well in line with Gilligan's research. Jacob thinks the best way would be to convict people to care, "vård", he says in his Skåne accent. "After all, it's called 'kriminalvården'." Gilligan imagines these kind of institutions as locked residential colleges with a therapeutical community. In these human development centres, those who suffered from emotional, physical and cognitive abuse and inflicted their pain on others, can develop a healthy maturation in for example love, care, empathy and responsibility. Furthermore, they will develop a sense of remorse and guilt over their wrongdoings. They can attain knowledge and skills to take care of themselves, which restores their feelings of self-esteem, self-respect and self-worth in front of themselves and others (2015, 147).

Education is considered one of the most powerful tools in preventing violence, writes Gilligan. It is a way of reducing the major gap between rich and poor and tackles the problem at its root. If all the prisons in the whole world were demolished and replaced with humane and home-like schools and universities, that are locked but have full access to psychiatric, medical and substance-abuse treatment – then we can prevent violence, believes Gilligan. Today's moral and legal approach needs to be replaced with an approach of preventive medicine and public health (Gilligan 2015, 150-151). "This would be the first significant reform of our failed criminal justice system since the modern prison was first invented in the late eighteenth century" (*ibid.*, 147). That's how easy it could be, according to James Gilligan.

”The programmes are also much better than work. Folding and licking envelopes – very meaningful”, Jacob jokes ironically. ”If they could at least work off their debts at Kronofogden⁴, but they took away that option a while ago. So now they work for 11 kronor per day or whatever it is. Of course some people don’t want to work!” Jacob describes how this leads to frustration and hate. He thinks the penal system should contain the possibility to get rewards if you work hard, for example in form of extended prison leave.

Someone is knocking at the door again. Jacob calls ”come in” and jumps up from his office chair. This man is full of energy in everything he does. I hear a happy elongated ”Heeej!” and see Jacob hug a tall man with a white beard and the most colourful tattoos I have ever seen. On each of his fingers I can see letters forming the word love. ”Do you want coffee?” The man whom everyone calls Doc leaves the room again to get some coffee and Jacob continues, ”I think it should be compulsory to do one of the programmes in prison. Today they are just voluntary. I hated Twelve-Step at the beginning. I didn’t want to listen. But just by being in the room and hearing them talk about this crap all day long, some of it eventually made it into my skull.” He laughs again and plays with what looks like a silver rosary to me, which he wears around his ink-decorated neck.

”How could the system have helped you better, Bobban?” I ask. He tells me how on his first day of school in third grade he came into the classroom and all kids were screaming ”You have to sit over there!”, pointing to a chair right next to the teacher. ”This makes you feel quite different and excluded.” Later on, he got the diagnosis ADHD. ”They put me into a special class with fewer students and pumped me up with medicin. There, I was alienated again. None of my friends was taking any medicines. I did. I had three contact teachers at school.” All these ways how the grown-up world was trying to help Bobban just enforced his feeling of exclusion, shame and differentness. He agrees with me that methods should not point out single students.

At school he never heard that he was good at anything – just turning the knife in his wound of unsatisfied confirmation needs. Bad behaviour was the mean with which he came closest to covering these needs. Ann nods, ”Negative attention is attention after all.” Instead of shaming him with special treatment in front of all the other children, Bobban thinks that they should have worked with questions related to his self-esteem and identity. ”Martial art or dance. Create a challenge for me which I could tackle. A challenge was exactly what I was looking for, I just didn’t know where.” So instead, fights with kids from other suburbs became a challenge. ”Hmm...” He says in his low voice and hesitates. ”I haven’t really reflected about my childhood like this.” I am deeply impressed by Bobban’s journey. He has fought through all these struggles, which were put in his way during his upbringing and is today helping youngsters who are where he himself was once.

Ann has been quiet and says pensively ”Hearing you, Bobban, is as if I hear my own son in ten years. ADHD, special treatment in the classroom, help from the social services after he started to

⁴ Swedish Enforcement Authority

turn violent and first police reports. His mum being away for many years because she was boozing.” She looks at Bobban’s kind, boyish face and their blue eyes meet. ”I know that my behaviour has really hurt my son. Walking around with this constant anger, shame and worry about his drinking mother. I really do blame myself. I do.” Ann looks down at her silver fingernails. Getting special treatment at school is obviously shameful for kids, she says. Now her son is in a smaller class, which is good because they form a group and community together. ”He’s not sitting in a corner of the classroom anymore, with his back to the others.” Also, they realised that he is very talented in English. Today, Ann’s son works with English books for the 9th grade, even though he is only a 7th grader. ”He is so proud of this. He feels a lot better since I am sober. Everything is so much better.” This Sunday, Ann has her one year anniversary as total abstainer. ”I will celebrate properly with my son!” I want to jump out of the couch to give this strong woman a hug.

Somehow this group of very diverse people gave me a feeling of acceptance and warm welcome the moment I stepped through their door. Hearing Jimmi, Ann, Bobban and Jacob share the lowest lows of their lives with me so openly, makes me reluctant to write about this, despite their absolute permission to write down everything they told me and to use their real names. I feel like I am babbling secrets.

5. You’re No Loser, You’re a Warrior

”If you have a stable life, friends, a partner, things go well at school and at home, and you have never been a victim of indignity or robbery – it will be hard to recruit you.” says Robert Örell. ”But if you are going through a tough time and have the need to find meaning behind it, extremist groups can offer you that.” We sit on green plastic chairs in a corner of Fryshuset’s café. The high ceiling and plain furniture give the large room an industrial feel. Some floors up, Exit has its office, where Robert works as director. Exit helps young people who want to leave nationalistic/racist/nazi oriented groups and movements. Besides Exit, he is also involved in EU projects and other international initiatives against violent extremism. Robert tells me that even though there are ideological differences, between right-wing extremism, islamic extremism and gangs, there are similarities in their group dynamics. They are sectarian, closed, controlling, justify violence against others, have a black and white thinking and distance themselves from society. I notice that he often expresses his thoughts in form of ”I think”, ”as I perceive it”, ”in my experience”. No absolutes – despite thirteen years of working with extremism – or maybe exactly therefore.

Within these groups, a very strict codex prevails about right and wrong, Robert tells me. He must be in his mid-thirties. His bright-blue sports jacket matches his eyes. ”If you are mortified, amends have to be made. ’You can not appear weak, because you are strong! So if someone beats you, you have to punch him back. Make a statement. You are not an offer. You are a warrior!’” I can exactly

imagine the way this message is hammered into hurt young men's heads. "It is the duty of the group to revenge for offences on a group member".

The ideology is based on the thinking of being the elite, the exclusively selected. Not only being good enough, but being better, was something which had attracted Robert as a teenager. He had a hard time at school and had to repeat a year. "This was so shameful that I changed school. There things didn't go any better – a further shameful failure. This was among the reasons why I started to find myself a new identity. So yes, shame was definitely extremely central in my journey." White power groups promised him the possibility of change, a future and a boost of self-esteem. "It was great to transfer all negative feelings onto others. Then it was them who were the bad ones and who deserved violence. I got my revenge and felt better." A group of teenagers in XXL-basket ball tricots passes by our table, laughing and talking loudly, with an air that there is nobody else in the world but them. I ask if violence can restore one's self-esteem. Robert's glance follows the teenage group while he says that it is a fake kind of self-esteem which is established, in form of respect, power and control. "In truth it is completely lacking a fundament."

When someone slams the microwave door shut right behind me, I get a fright and realise that the café has become crowded. Lunchtime is approaching. "Did you feel shame after leaving the white power milieu?", I ask Robert. "I did for a long time and many who leave feel a heavy shame. 'What the heck! What have I done, how did I behave!'" Now, he has come to peace with his past, sees the causes which had lead him into the destructive environment and which function it fulfilled for his emotions. "It was a way to survive with a broken self-esteem", he says. But most importantly, it is through these experiences that he can help others out of extremist groups today.

Exit's approach is effective in coping with a shameful past and destructive milieu. The "clients", as Robert calls them, meet someone with similar experiences, who understands them, they are not being judged and they work with informal dialogue, which gives them a feeling of equality (see more in Christensen 2015). I am sure Evelin Lindner would be delighted about these principles, which are in line with her vision of a world where everybody deserves to be respected as equal in dignity.

6. Flat Broke for Dignity

"Hello Jana!" A pixelated Tim Watson waves cheerfully into the Skype camera. He has exchanged his business suit with a summery, striped polo shirt. In the background I see a shelf groaning with the weight of too many books. One week earlier, I had met Tim at a meeting of the European Council's Radicalisation Awareness Network in Vienna, where he was leading a session on Integrative Complexity-Thinking (IC-Thinking), an approach to encourage thinking patterns away from 'black and white' or 'them and us' towards a critical grey-scale thinking. He told me about his

work as educational child psychologist, working with forced adoptions, abuse, neglect and foster care. "Children in need, you could say."

"The whole concept of toxic shame is a key part of what dictates people and really impacts their behaviour", says Tim. His British accent sounds delicious and makes me think of the costume drama *Downton Abbey*. "I think healthy guilt is when you recognise something isn't right and move on – being able to separate yourself from the behaviour. This is really important." The problem with unhealthy shame, he continues, is that you personalise it, do not learn from it and can not move on. "It wraps you up as a person."

Guilt and shame have different effects on an individual. Gilligan writes that often, morality is being seen as if it was one single moral system, usually that of the speaker. In the next step it usually is declared as universally valid, postulating that everyone knows what is right and what is wrong. This moralism encourages violence, because like this, violent punishment can be morally justified. Gilligan argues that there is no such thing as one morality. There are two: guilt-ethics and shame-ethics (2015, 139-141).

The *shame-ethics* system is the one which murderers and other criminals adhere to and which is prevalent in Mafia's honour society. This system justifies violence. Here the worst evil, according to Gilligan, is shame and humiliation (loosing face, disrespect, dishonour), and the highest good is honour and pride. Violence increases pride, as violent behaviour demonstrates courage and supremacy over one's enemy. Instead of leading to guilt and remorse, violence is revenged with violence from the victim, gang, family or penal system. Shame-ethics can also be found in honour killings, where men feel morally obliged to restore the family's honour by killing a female family member who had sex outside of marriage (e.g. was raped) (*loc. cit.*).

In stark contrast to this stand *guilt-ethics*. Here, pride is a sin – the deadliest of all seven in Christianity's guilt-ethic. What is to be strived for in this moral system is humility (unselfishness and self-humiliation). Already for St Augustine, it was pride that leads to guilt and sin, while humility leads towards innocence and goodness. Gilligan writes, "Whereas guilt motivates the inhibition of active independent aggressive drives and wishes to hurt others, either by actively assaulting them, or by abandoning and neglecting those in need, shame motivates the inhibition of the opposite set of drives and wishes: namely, passive dependent libidinal needs and wishes to be loved and taken care of by others" (*loc. cit.*).

I ask Tim whether he sees a relation between shame and violence. "Very much so", he replies and raises his eyebrows. "One of the main stands people use is 'I just can't deal with this myself so I'm gonna direct these feelings on others.' That's the sort of feelings which would be too overwhelming to put up with by yourself." He works with strengthening children's resilience against violence and sees that the model he uses works well. I wonder where he sees the reason that all these models and

approaches are not implemented more comprehensively, despite the fact that they evidently show great effectivity in increasing tolerance and working against radicalisation. Tim leans back in his chair and folds his arms behind the head. "The difficulty, Jana, is that people don't have the time and money to commit to that."

One trillion dollars were spent by the United States since 9/11 against "al-Qaeda and ILIS, dirty bombs and lone wolves, bioterror and cyberterror". Steven Brill dares to ask the question in *The Atlantic* (2016) whether this made us any safer. On 10 September 2001, FBI officials stated that the most imminent terrorism threat currently emanates from animal-rights activists. Since that day, the overall FBI budget has tripled, with around half of the new resources aiming at "prevention". Airport security has been upgraded, cockpit doors fortified, incoming containers in ports are being screened, antidotes and playbooks for a large variety of chemical and biological attacks are accumulated, cameras installed, Joint Terrorism Task Forces and Border Patrol expanded, just to mention a few of the heightened security measures against terrorism. "A favorite September 12 mantra in the anti-terror community is: 'The terrorists have to be right only once—but we have to be right 100 percent of the time.'" Brill writes, "We can't be right 100 percent of the time." He argues that the United States are now indeed better equipped against large-scale terrorist attacks in line with 9/11. However, they are a very long way from having adjusted to the new normal, where deterrence does not work anymore for protection. Despite one trillion dollars pumped into a security apparatus U.S. citizens are still not safe (*The Lancet* "Is America any safer?", 2016).

In the perpetual peace approach, the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) could be seen as a global attempt to get to the very root of the problem, instead of investing in malfunctioning security. They are described as "a set of goals to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all" – in other words, they aim at perpetuating human dignity in different ways.

In order to achieve the SDGs concerning "agriculture and food security; health; education; clean water and sanitation; access to modern energy; telecommunications and transport infrastructure; ecosystems; and emergency response and humanitarian work (SDGs 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14 and 15)", including effective measures for climate change mitigation and adaptation, 46-54 per cent of the world's military spending during 2015 would be sufficient to cover these costs. Just looking at SDG number four – to provide universal primary and secondary education of adequate quality by 2030 – additionally \$239 billion a year in spending is required. This correlates to 3.2 per cent of the world's military spending of last year. Even if only one per cent of the military spendings was allocated, making no tangible difference militarily, major progress could be made to achieve universal education (SIPRI 2016). What a paradox world where schools and organisations are restricted to implement educational programmes against the roots of the problem while enormous sums of money are spent on counterterrorism – even though for example the chance to die in a bathtub is far greater than to die through terror in the U.S., with a one-in-a-million chance. There,

the likelihood to die from a terrorist attack is around one in 2.5 million ("Learning to live with it" 2016).

7. Songs of Hate

My purple bicycle rattles like an old tractor while I ride over Gamla Stan's cobble stones towards Expo's office. It is late May and the tourist invasion has not reached its peak yet. In one month Stora Nygatan, where the office is located, will be flooded with visitors from all over the world. I ring the door bell, which opens with a buzz and enter the cool building. My sandals echo on the stone steps while I rush up to the first floor, where another doorbell needs to be rung, this time with video surveillance. I wonder what kind of people have shown up at this door, making these security measures necessary. In the longest of many online discussions, a whole of 180 pages Flashback hate are dedicated to Expo, which according to a Flashback user "has the same purpose as the Stasi in East-Germany". According to another displeased user, "Jews and their followers sit there and register me and other racists."

A tall, young man, with dark brown hair and a stubby beard welcomes me. Jonathan Lemman offers me some coffee and takes me on a tour through the office, where people behind their Apple computers greet me happily. We sit down in a light meeting room on a big, round table, so white that I barely dare to put my coffee mug on it. Expo was originally a newspaper only, founded as an answer to violent extremism from far-right. Today, Expo consists of different branches of lectures and trainings, research and local initiatives to foster tolerance. Jonathan works with mapping and analysing far-right groups. He monitors their activities by talking to people, and looking at verdicts, print material and other open sources, such as the groups' social media.

"When you look at old newspapers from the twenties and thirties, post-war propaganda, neo-nazism during the eighties and nineties, and today's intolerant forces, you find a lot of similar arguments. Populist vulgar debates about an elite stealing from the people, blaming minorities, describing one's political opponents as traitors to the nation – most of that is still the same", Jonathan tells me. He leans back in his chair, rolls up the sleeves of his jeans shirt and crosses his arms over his chest. There are many different ways to become a Nazi, "or nationalist or national socialist, as they often call themselves." Some have their Nazism directly from home through parents or siblings. Others might have racist thoughts from home, but have parents who do not think that one should become a Nazi. "If you then get confirmation through friends or your partner it's easy to end up in these milieus," says Jonathan. "In some cases the ideas come first and then the social context, in other cases it's vice versa. However, a commonality between many is that they have a very bad self-esteem and very little confidence in themselves".

My thoughts wander off to the man in the White Power scene, whom I had met in a shabby pub on a Tuesday night. He had agreed to talk to me, as long as I would not use his name. Without hesitation I agreed to the deal. The only thing I knew about him was his nickname anyways. Through another person I came in touch with him and asked via sms if we could meet. His replies could be described as a slightly rude affirmation. One-word text messages are not something I am used to. Expecting a rebellious teenager, I was surprised to meet a handsome man in his thirties, who from the moment we met gave me the feeling that I was annoying him. It took me a while to realise that his apparent rudeness and sparing of words was a fire blanket under which he covered awkwardness and insecurity. We sat down right opposite each other in a small booth. I could see the first soft wrinkles around his blue eyes. The blond fluff on his head indicated that it must have been some days since he last shaved his head. As soon as we left the initial, stodgy smalltalk, which social norms oblige us to do, and moved into his realms of knowledge, he started to talk. I could not help the feeling that he wanted to impress with his vast knowledge. During the nearly two hours which we spent conversing, he looked me straight into the eyes one single time. Otherwise, his glance would never fasten on mine, reddening as soon as our eyes met by accident.

”Once you are a member in these groups, when you’re in their system, and you show respect to others, suddenly, respect and confirmation comes back to you. This can even be in form of comments under a post on social media”, Jonathan draws my attention back to the light room in Gamla stan. ”Being respected is an important factor for them, especially for those individuals who are in a certain risk group, for example those who were mobbed or isolated. For those who have a higher status within the group it is in my experience not really about respect. They rather want to be feared, and feel respected in this way.” Once again I am surprised how often Gilligan’s research findings are confirmed by people who have never heard of him. The discussion at KRIS still echoes in my head, which came to the same conclusion.

As in all hierarchical organisations, behavioural codes are important, for example in which order and way group members are to greet one another. Jonathan tells me how elders are more respected within far-right groups than in society as a whole. Well, that is not too hard, I think. In a study where people ranked the social positions of different age groups, elders in Sweden were ranked to the lowest place in the whole world, according to Dagens Nyheter (Letmark ”Svenskar ser ner på äldre”, 2015). ”They also play an important role in meeting young people who are new to the group and who might have doubts” says Jonathan and takes a sip of his coffee. ”When they meet an older person, who has lived this life and is happy, they become more secure. Hearing young people talk, you can really feel this respect.”

I ask Jonathan about the role which shame plays in these groups. He sees that individual stories of humiliation are important. ”Being a victim to indignity or assault is often associated with shame, even though it is not the victim’s fault. It can feel shameful to talk about the incident. However, if you turn this into something political, it becomes something bigger and noble – moving away from

one's own shame to the larger picture. Then it becomes all about Sweden, our people, our race. You yourself turn into a fighter against the genocide on white people, with people coming here and mixing races, ousting Swedes from the job and housing market. So you have to struggle for restoring Sweden's pride and dignity."

Closely connected to this is also the idea of martyrdom and a very deep respect for those who sacrificed their lives. Horst Wessel for example, says Jonathan and finishes his coffee. Horst Wessel was a Nazi party activist who died fighting the Communists. "He is an important martyr and is still popular on T-shirt prints. Wessel wrote the unofficial national anthem of Nazi Germany, which was sang by Nordiska motståndsrörelsen in Borlänge the other week, with different lyrics." "I don't think I know this song," I say hesitantly. After thirteen years of school in Germany I feel like I should know about this. Jonathan starts to sing the Horst Wessel song on a na-na-na text. His dark voice resounds from the high ceiling and fills the room. Apologetically I shake my head. Despite his efforts I do not recognise the song. Back home, on a quick check on Wikipedia (leading yes – to a Wikipedia reference in a Master's thesis), I realise why:

With the end of the Nazi regime in May 1945, "The Horst Wessel Song" was banned. The lyrics and tune are now illegal in Germany, with some limited exceptions. In early 2011, this resulted in a Lower Saxony State Police investigation of Amazon.com and Apple Inc. for offering the song for sale on their websites. Both Apple and Amazon complied with the government's request, and deleted the song from their offerings ("The Horst Wessel Song").

Jonathan tells me about Robert Jay Mathews, another inspiring person for today's far-right wing groups. Mathews was the leader of The Order, an American neo-Nazi terrorist group in the eighties and involved in the 1984 murder of radio talk show host Alan Berg. When reading up on Alan Berg I get an image of an aggressive radio host, "humiliating callers with abusive and belittling insults" (Crook 1999, 126). He had enraged The Order with his liberal views and "angry ramblings on gun control, racism and Christianity" (*ibid*). Once again, humiliation in its fatal form.

For women, shame takes on a different form, according to Jonathan. Women who choose to "miscegenate" are seen as a disgrace for the people. She does not have the right to use her body as she wants to, because her body belongs to the race. A different narrative of shame is women's insecurity and fear of being abused, raped or robbed. This is a rather strong theme in Nazi propaganda, which becomes visible in their music. Jonathan gives me some examples which I can listen to at home. When I play "Frågor till far", I expect aggressive heavy metal sounds and angry screaming. Instead, the song sounds like a hybrid between a festive medieval tune and Lars Winnerbäck, actually quite pleasing to the ear. I have a hard time imagining a gang of violent Nazis around the campfire with a guitar like Boy Scouts. The singsongy melody is stuck in my head long after I have listened to it. Fortunately, my brain refused to remember a single word of the text.

Minns du den tid som jag själv aldrig sett,
då folket var lyckligt, då folket var ett

Så säg mig nu, pappa, hur känns det idag,
när du sitter i slagget av det som finns kvar?
När du växte upp, säg mig hur var det då,
var en flicka någonting som man fritt gav sig på?
Gick du på gatan och lyssnade smått,
utan att höra ett ord du förstått?
Var du nånsin tvungen att ensam gå hem
sen du rånats och slagits av främmande män?

”Extreme right-wing groups boast with the way how well they treat women. ’Women are the key to the survival of the race! The rest of society treats them like crap and leaves them to the immigrants, but we take care of them!’ – very traditional gender roles”, says Jonathan. Calling the gender roles in Nordiska motståndsrörelsen ”traditional” seems to be an understatement when reading on their website. Paulina Forslund, a writer at Nordfront, finds it annoying to be called a feminist. ”I would dare to be so barefaced and claim that I can be as far away from a feminist ideal as possible. I spend 99% of my time taking care of my eight children and the house, cook, clean and work out a hectic life puzzle” (”Nordfront”, 2015). Even though she feels that taking care of a home and a family is more than enough, she thinks that the situation requires her to not only sit and watch, but to get more involved in the movement – despite being a woman. I wonder how well she will succeed in her struggle and, had it been for another purpose, would have wished her the best of luck. According to Jonathan, many women get disappointed when they realise that men treat them badly within the group and how dependant they are on the men. This insight can be the first step in the defection process.

My glance sweeps out of the high windows to the grand house on the other side of the street. As this part of town was rebuilt in the first half of the 17th century after a fire, the houses differs from the cramped small houses in other parts of Stockholm’s old town. ”What is most important in preventive efforts?” I ask Jonathan. He thinks that we should not let these local groups operate undisturbed, but work actively against them. Furthermore, it is important to reach out to young people in time, help them to become secure in themselves and their identity, and provide them with a safe community. ”Their problems will not disappear if you take care of them once. You need to get engaged in their lives. We have to build relationships and that needs time”, he says. Vivalla’s cykling policeman comes to my mind. ”You need to show that you are willing to build a relationship no matter what, showing ’You are good enough, just as you are.’ Once you have established trust, you can move on to a dialogue which really is open and where more difficult questions can be discussed – respecting the target group’s integrity.”

8. A Second Chance for Double Losers

After the attack on Vårväderstorget in Gothenburg, where masked men opened fire on a restaurant, the police spoke about gang conflicts and drug dealing – rational motives, ”as usual” (Hagberg

”Varifrån”, 2015). However, according to political scientist Bo Rothstein, more complex conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, it is young men who commit these crimes. Secondly, these young men which commit different kinds of crimes are or perceive to be suffering from lacking respect of their surrounding, which appears to be a strong driving force for all sort of asocial behaviour, inclusive heavy criminality (”Invandrapojkarna”, 2015). A third variable, which Rothstein considers, is an educational system where since the mid 1990s a large group of boys has been left behind in their study performance. Within this group, boys with immigrant background (where either both parents or they themselves are born abroad) are especially concerned. As girls with immigrant background perform well, sometimes even better than ethnic Swedish boys, this can not be labelled an immigration problem, argues Rothstein (*loc.cit.*). Sex and country of origin are according to him crucial in investigating the roots of violence, but are of course not the only factors, as for example the level of education of parents and the individual institution play a major role as well.

Once those boys leave school with a low level of education, they struggle to enter the labour market with its increasing demand for competence. The intersectionality between poor education and often a low level of social competence through experiences of failure at school make this group of men, according to Rothstein, largely unemployable. This, entails a further step on the losing end: The risk of not finding a life partner.

According to both national and international research, in heterosexual relationships women generally reject men with a lower level of education and/or social status job than themselves. At the same time, men do not seek women of a higher education and social status on the labour market as their partners (”Invandrapojkarna”, 2015). Men between the age of 25 to 45 who have an academic education have a probability of 73 percent to live in a household with a child. For men in the same age-group with blue-collar jobs, this number decreases to 50 percent and for those who are unemployed to only 23 percent. However, the study does not reveal whether the group of single, unemployed men was initially rejected, after their unemployment or if they chose actively not to have a family. Besides the fact, that women on average chose men who are three years older, for women no correlation between the level of employment and the likelihood of children can be found – it is at a constant of approximately 75 percent (*loc. cit.*). Thus, those men who lose on the labour market are statistically also losing on the ”partner market”, while women are largely unaffected by this phenomenon.

Rothstein argues that in general young men are more prone to violence and crime than young women. The responsibility and empathy of caring for a child, living up to a partners’ expectations and taking care of one’s work are factors which ”civilise young men’s behaviour”, he argues. Thus, by lacking family and employment, both of which are highly valued in our society, these men are once again disentitled of society’s acknowledgement and respect they so desperately need. Instead,

they often feel excluded and frustrated (Rothstein 2010). Rothstein concludes that it is therefore not surprising that these "double losers" easily become prone to criminality and/or extremism (2015).

"Young men wake up one day, decide to give up everything they have here and go somewhere to fight. When you talk to them, in my experience, it is the shame that they have not been productive in this society. 'I do not have a job the way my friends do. I do not have an apartment the way my friends do. I am shy to meet people. I am a failure.'", says Felix Unogwu through a surprisingly good Skype connection from Lund. "The only way to redeem yourself of that shame is to do something much bigger." He knows what he is talking about. Felix has been working with young people and extremism for the past 14 years. When he was living in the United States, he was responsible for 22 countries, working with young people at the verge of being radicalised, those that already were radicalised or those engaged in active conflict, he tells me.

"The first thing that many of the young guys who travel abroad to join IS do is take pictures of themselves wearing automatic weapons and put them on Facebook. That is to let you know 'In your face! I am not as weak as you think!'" says Felix in his soft English, dyed with a Nigerian accent. "So shame is actually both a push and a pull factor."

Currently, he is employed at Open Skåne, an organisation which works for a cohesive society and against radicalisation, trying to immunise young people in Malmö. I wonder what his work looks like more concretely. "Actually it's not too complex", he says and smiles into the camera. "When you meet these young people, the first thing you want to do is have sessions where you just sit down and listen to them. To their aggressions, anger, disappointment. By active listening I show interest. It creates a form of trust – but that takes a long time. That is a conversation where you are not challenging them. You're just showing them 'I am interested in you. I am not trying to shame you.'" I am delighted to hear how much Felix talks about the importance of shame, even though I have not mentioned the theoretical background to my research yet. Introducing the interviewees too deeply into the topic might skew their answers, as this means putting the shame-violence-glasses on them, which I already wear.

I want to delve a little deeper and ask him which role shame plays in the de-radicalisation process. "I think what shame does is that you make them run away and feel guilty about what they have done. Most people are not getting involved in this because they want to do it. Radicalisation is an outlet for something bigger – grievances, pressure, disappointment. So the moment you begin to shame them, they feel that you are part of the society, ignorant and stupid. 'Nobody listens to me anyway, nobody cares about me anyway.' So trying to shame them is not an option. You wanna make them feel included, respected, heard." "Exactly!" I exclaim and can not hold myself back anymore. I explain Felix more about my investigations about shame, respect, radicalisation and violence. He looks at me over his black, square glasses and nods in agreement.

The Yazidi woman's right to justice still follows me and I ask Felix what he thinks about punishing returnees. What shall we do with those who did commit atrocities? "Mhmmmm", he says in a low, understanding voice. "They are the most difficult ones. Very very difficult." He was involved in the public debate about the issue how to treat returning fighters. In a newspaper article he opted for a second chance for those who were brainwashed ("Hjärntvättade bör få en chans" Dagens Samhälle, 2015). When trying to find the article online, the first result that comes up is a reply to Felix, written on a "Viking warrior blogg" dedicated to looking at the "fatherland and its ruling elite with critical eyes". The author argues that these jihadists should not have been granted residence permit here in the first place (ignorant of the fact that many of the Swedish jihadists never applied for residence permits, as they were born here). In any case, they are not the responsibility of the Swedish people and tax payers. The only responsibility from the Swedish side is that by the traitors to the nation who have pursued insane politics of mass immigration, the writer argues with many full stops and an exclamation mark. Some agitated readers rage in the comment section.

"In Sweden the discussion around this issue was very, very tough" Felix tells me. "I got a lot of criticism for my thinking." But what he is concerned about is the youth and finding a way how to reintegrate them, he says. "You reintegrate them or you keep them locked up forever. Because if you lock them up for a while, they come back being even worse than they were before." "But what about punishing them for their atrocities?" I ask, realising that it sounds as if I am pleading for harsh prison sentences. "Punishment – how do you define punishment? It's tough. How do I punish a nine year old child who was forced to commit very horrendous crimes. I don't know how to do that." I understand that Felix speaks about his previous work experiences with child soldiers and feel like I just came out as this horrible person who wants to punish child soldiers. "No, I mean what about, say, a 17-year old who decides to travel to Syria to kill?" "Well in my opinion they should be forced to go through a process of reintegration, similar to what they had in South Africa, with the truth and reconciliation processes. The person has to tell the absolute truth about what happened to you, how were you recruited, where were you trained – all this kinda information that is useful to the government. In return you get free treatment to integrate you back into society. It becomes a give and take." Again, I nod in agreement. "Just like so many of the people I have talked to, I hear Felix say "Punishment does not work. It only makes them harder."

9. Solitary Confinement's Epiphany

Jacob has set up another interview for me with Emanuel Ivanovitch. He is a strong man with shaved hair and a dark stubbly beard. We sit down in the meeting room next door to KRIS' office. A caring soul has put an embroidered table runner and candles on the long wooden table. I ask Emanuel to introduce himself briefly and he tells me that he is Syrian, born in Södertälje. He grew up in a loving family. "Loving but hard. Because what you love you hold firmly. There were certain demands connected to that love." Emanuel was diagnosed with ADHD, which became a struggle for

him. Back then, teachers did not know how to handle this, he says. "I was observed and kept an eye on – something which is not good for young children." Emanuel says that he was placed in 20-25 different schools, but nothing could help him. As a 12-year-old he started to abuse drugs. First hash behind the small kiosk, then heavier drugs and finally cocaine. "All this lead me straight into criminality. A criminal's way either ends in death, darkness or prison. For me it was prison." He was sentenced to six years, an unusually heavy punishment for someone who was convicted for the first time. I wonder what he had done, but sense that I would be crossing a line if I asked. Apparently, he does not want to talk about it. Then again, the worst thing that could happen is that he does not want to answer the question. I sigh internally, give in to my ethical objections and put my curiosity to rest.

Instead, I ask "How did the guards treat the inmates?" "There were lots of fights between inmates and employees", Emanuel tells me. Half covered under the white T-shirt, I see some tattoos on his beefy upper arms, among them I believe to spot a picture of mother Mary. "I have to tell you the truth. Unfortunately, the prison and probation service doesn't work in Sweden. A sentenced man continues to be a sentenced man in their eyes. They can't see that people can change. They only see the darkness in people, only the sentence." Apologetically, he says that he does of course not want to judge all of them.

"I believe that God has given something fantastic to us humans – a free will. Man can do exactly as he wants. What prison does is take this freedom from you, the free will which God has given to you. There is someone bigger who has given you something. And then this normal person comes and takes it away from you." Emanuel tells me how hard it was going through his time in prison – a suffering, he says. His dark, serious eyes look straight at mine. During his time in isolation he hit rock botten and gave up. "But in there I met something fantastic. In there, Jesus found me. The one that people talk about. Emanuel speaks in a low and quiet, but firm voice. "For the first time in my life I encountered something invisible, something you can not touch." This encounter was his watershed moment and gave him new hope, peace and security. However, when he came out, he was not prepared for his new life. "I had not received any help from them after I came out of 15 months in the isolation cell."

I must have misunderstood something here, I think – either the amount of time or the meaning of "isolation cell". "Were you by yourself for 15 months?" I ask awkwardly, waiting for my misunderstanding to dissolve. Emanuel nods. "Yes, 15 months before I could get out. Yes." I still believe in a misunderstanding and ask how much contact he had during this time. Emanuel does not really seem to understand my question – he had no contact with anyone. "Not even the guards?" I call out. I am aghast as he tells me that they would open his door three times a day for breakfast, lunch and dinner. Then he was locked in again. My brain still refuses to take in this information and I ask again "Otherwise you were by yourself during 15 months?" He says that he was. "Not even talking on the phone?" He was allowed to do that, "but not when you want. When they want."

Never in my life I would have guessed that this was possible in Sweden, which has on a global comparison very humane prison standards.

Indeed – ”Not many countries are practicing [the isolation of prisoners as it is done in Sweden],” says George Tugushi, one of seven members of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT). ”When you see how widely it is applied on a very large number of prisoners, then I would say [Sweden] represents a country which has a very special practice.” In May 2015, CPT investigated Swedish penal institutions in order to see how much has changed since their last report in 2009. Besides many positive points, George Tugushi expresses harsh criticism. ”Despite our 20 years ongoing dialogue, there are no real signs of progress when it comes to widespread imposition of restrictions which in our opinion are not really justified. I have to tell the committee has been quite patient but patience has limits sometimes” (Khakuei ”Svensk Isolering”, 2016).

According to Kriminalvårds 2015 report, the decisions for isolation increased with nearly 2 700 decisions between 2013 and 2015. On the report’s cover page it says in yellow, capital letters ”We break the vicious circle”, which in this moment, I find rather cynical. An increase can also be found in the average number of isolation days per decision, rising from 19 to 26 (Kriminalvården 2015, 83). The most common reason for isolation was order and security reasons, followed by risk for life and health or serious vandalism, and body inspection. Considering what Emanuel claims – having spent 15 months in isolation – is extremely rare, according to statistics. 65% percent of isolation lasted 24 hours or less (*ibid.*, 84).

Emanuel tells me that his room was eight square meters, quite small. ”If you would see me on film, the way I sat in there, how I went through it day by day. I was tired often. My head wasn’t tired, but my body. Human beings are not supposed to live in solitude. You had to scream out loud every now and then. It is horrible, a very hard punishment. It is...” He pauses and looks at his strong hands, which he has folded on the table. ”There are no words to describe it. It breaks your heart.”

The damaging psychological effects of long-term solitary confinement have been attested by a number of researchers (e.g. Grassian, 1983; Grassian and Friedman, 1986; Haney, 2003, 2006; Jackson, 2001 qtd. in Arrigo and Bullock 2007, 627). Many detainees give accounts of disturbingly violent fantasies on how they revenge for their captivity. Common is also paranoia and a belief that they are being persecuted. Grassian states, ”The use of solitary confinement carries major psychiatric risks” (qtd. in Arrigo and Bullock, 629). Isolation bereaves the inmates from social reality testing, a way to validate their perceptions of the environment through social interactions. Long-term solitary confinement can blur the lines between what is real and what is not. Long-term social adjustment, argues Haney, needs social support and social connectedness (1993, 2006 in Arrigo and Bullock, 627). Furthermore, he finds an increased risk for developing mental illness or disorders, such as clinical depression, suicidal behaviour, psychosis, self-mutilation or long-term

impulse-control disorder (2006). Especially vulnerable to mental illness are individuals with a case history of mental illness. At the same time it is exactly them who have a higher likelihood to be placed in isolation, as they are often unable to adjust to prison (*ibid.* 2003 in Arrigo and Bullock, 628).

I think of Gilligan and ask Emanuel what effect solitary confinement has. "There is nothing good in it. Locking up a person like this damages him for life. I thank my Lord that he has helped me through this. Some people don't make it, they break. Some lose their lives because they can't take it. The guards don't care what you do, if you hang yourself. You're not gonna get out anyways." I ask what the relationship between Emmanuel and the guards was like. He received his food. No conversations. No relationship. "I was treated very badly by the staff. Many have quite a heavy attitude. The way they treat a person who is already broken down... it's inhumane in there. If you say that you're going to commit suicide they say 'Don't.'. Then they close the door and let you do whatever you want."

Gilligan argues that the reason why the level of violence increased rather than decreased since the establishment of penal systems dealing with violent people, is based on a major psychological mistake: The idea that punishment inhibits, deters and prevents violence. Instead, the opposite effect arises. "Punishment is the most powerful stimulant of violence that we have yet discovered", argues Gilligan (2000a, 1803). An example with the most obvious results is that the more severely children are being punished, the more violent they turn during both child- and adulthood. Research on punitive prisons confirms this pattern. The most severe criminals were during their childhood subjected to the most severe sufferings in order to punish or discipline them. Had those acts really had an effect on preventing or deterring violence, so would these people not be in prison in the first place. This pattern applies equally within prisons. The harder the inmates are being punished, the more violent they turn, until the point that their despair and rage reaches a point of no return, where not even one's own life is of worth.

Gilligan writes, "you never meet a guilty man in prison" (2015, 138). He was struck by how poor the capacity for guilt was among the majority of criminals in prison. "In fact, the more horrific their crime, the less they had any feelings of guilt about committing it. But when I reflected on this, I realized that of course that would be true. For if they had the capacity for guilt feelings, they would not have been able to commit the violent crime in the first place; and the less their capacity for guilt feelings, the less their inhibition against committing the most extreme violence" (2015, 149). Shame and guilt are antagonistic emotions, where one's increase leads to a decrease of the other. Punishment decreases feelings of guilt, for example practiced in form of self-punishment in some religious traditions in order to relieve feelings of guilty sinfulness. At the same time, punishment increases emotions of shame, as the punisher is more powerful and dishonours you. Especially for people who have a low capacity of guilt and remorse – meaning most violent people – punishment

stimulates feelings of shame, which stimulate more violence (*ibid.*). Thus, "the most effective way to turn a non-violent person into a violent one is to send him to prison", writes Gilligan.

"Didn't you get really really angry, Emanuel?" "You can't afford to get angry. This just makes you feel worse. I always tried to be strong in all situations and get up again and again. I can't break down myself!" His voice is still as calm as it was when we talked about the weather. He does not seem like a person who would easily be unhinged. "After I'd been in isolation for a while a thought hit me: It doesn't help to lock up a person for a very long time. It doesn't work! The only thing that works is if you help someone with love and respect." I am starting to wonder if Emanuel has read Gilligan. He exemplifies how his parents yelled at him when he was young, so that he would not do certain things. He did them anyways. "But if you meet someone with love instead and say 'My son, this is not good for you.' – then it works!" He definitely must have read Gilligan. Alternatively, Gilligan's work is indeed a mirror to peoples' experiences.

I tell Emanuel about research seeing experiences of shame and humiliation as the underlying reason for violence and how hard punishment enlivens the spiral of violence. Emanuel agrees fully. Then, I wonder, how come that you sat in there for such a long time, being humiliated and disrespected, and nevertheless did not take revenge. "It was because of my faith", is his simple answer. According to studies the reactions, which isolated inmates usually display are psychosis, hate and aggressiveness, or fear and insecurity. Besides anger towards the institution, research shows that religiosity depicts a protective factor to get through the isolation without major damage (Lidberg and Wiklund 2004, 93).

I ask what he thinks would have happened if he had not become religious. "If I had not met Jesus, I would not be here today. Well, this is not a spiritual talk, but I could tell you so much about my faith. So often I was weak in my cell. Nevertheless, I chose to ignore their taunt and bullying, to refuse this way of thinking, to rise up against evil. They say that the good will overcome. That's what I believe in. I always tried to do good, even when they were harming me. It was really hard, but insightful. It's enriching to see what happens when you act this way. Your eyes will see things you can not really understand." The goodness and Christian rhetoric shines clearly through his talk and makes me smile at him.

When I am about to ask the next question I realise how much time has passed. I remember my initial assurance about a brief interview and ask Emanuel if he needs to go. He laughs, "No, no, no. We can talk." So I want to know more about his thoughts concerning the relationship between shame and violence. Emanuel replies that living in the suburbs means a certain vulnerability. People wake up to a different reality than the Swedes in the city center. "But then again, there is so little love in Stockholm. Here, we have incredibly strong love. People invite each other over and there's a different atmosphere, it's hard to explain. You can even see it in the way people act. Youngsters form groups and then brawl with other groups. Even that's love." "Ehm what?" I ask puzzled. "The

media calls them gangs. I chose not to do it, because it is about brotherhood and love. I have lived that life. If your brother is threatened, you help him. It is your brother, your love.” I ask if he talks about honour, but he shakes his head determinedly. It is not honour, it is love. If you walk with a person, you connect and fall in love with him, Emanuel explains me. ”This turns his problems into your problems. If he cries, you cry. If he laughs you laugh.”

He continues to describe the life in the suburbs filled with parties, caring neighbours and love. ”But where does violence come in then?” I interrupt after a while. Emanuel says that Sweden is such a secularised country, where Swedes only think about themselves. ”I take care of my business, you take care of yours.” He considers this mindset problematic, which leads to a hardened society and segregation. ”But there is a way to more harmony in society: You need to talk. You know that thing, how everyone sits on the bus dead silent? I find it really easy to talk to people on the bus.” We both laugh. ”There will always be people who have bad thoughts. But you need to get into conversations with them. If you don’t talk with them in love and respect, they will never change. And if I treat you like this, you will not hurt me!” I nod, my thoughts again wandering off to my theories. It is time to finish our conversation. ”It was very nice talking to you, Jana”, my hand feels very small in his, as we say goodbye. ”You’re a good listener”, he continues. ”You should interview people.”

10. Nazis at the Butterfly Museum

Erik and I sit in a small room on the upper floor of Fryshuset at the office of Exit and Passus.⁵ ”What I find interesting”, he says, ”is the common denominator. Whether you burn cars in the suburbs or run around with a Nazi flag, it is powerlessness and frustration which turn people to violence.” He has been working in violent and extremist contexts for the past ten years, with religious fundamentalists, gangs, and first and foremost right-wing extremists. In the latter group lies his own past. Actually, his real name is not Erik, but ”it’s so damn easy to find a name on Google”. I understand his preference to stay anonymous, given the fact that any kind of statement can be voraciously absorbed into the universe of Flashback and other angry sites. Jonathan Leman is just one of many whose engagement has earned him a dedicated community of net-haters and conspiracy trolls.

”Where does powerlessness and frustration come from in the first place?”, I ask. ”Let’s have a look at this!” Erik leaps to his feet and I can tell how well-trained he is. He takes a marker and starts to draw on a three-legged flip chart. He writes ”primary emotions” and under that ”fear, shame, embarrassment, disappointment”. Erik explains that we start off having different primary emotions. Those who can accept these feelings can go through them and cope with them. However, if an individual is in an environment where he is not allowed to have these feelings, because they are

⁵ According to Fryshuset’s website, Passus works with people who want to leave criminal communities, helps them to reintegrate into society and supports families whose children are on their way into delinquency.

seen as signs of weakness, then they are converted into secondary emotions. He opens the marker again with a "plopp", draws an arrow and writes "secondary emotions – hate, anger, aggression, etc." These feelings work in destructive and extremist kinds of environments, he says and sits back down on the brown couch. Erik gives me an exempel how teenage parents are waiting for their 14-year old to come home at night. He talks in a calm voice. From ten p.m. onwards they run around panicking, are scared, worried and wonder if they should call the police. At four a.m. the door opens and their child comes home. Instead of crying, showing happiness, saying how worried they were, secondary emotions take over. They use power and control instead; not violence but still a way to protect themselves from primary emotions. "It takes a lot to just stand there and cry, showing myself so vulnerable."

"The majority of the people we work with has a surplus of primary emotions, which they can't handle. Girls with self-harming behaviour. Tough guys from the suburbs. Criminals. They have feelings which they can't bear and therefore convert into hate and aggressiveness. Beating up someone gives relief the moment you do it, but as a consequence it produces anxiety. And what do you do with that? You revert to even more hate and aggression, which you have to reduce with violence. A vicious circle." According to Eriks experiences, it is crucial to create milieus with high tolerance for primary emotions – where people feel accepted and can be open with emotions they perceive as weak. I think of my visit at KRIS, where I was overwhelmed by people's openness about their failures, struggles and vulnerability. "It is okey to say 'I was sad when I saw that movie', or 'the breakup with my girlfriend is tough.' You're not from mars if you feel like that! But there is quite a serious fear in society for primary emotions. If someone says 'I am really angry!'" Erik opens his blue eyes widely and acts shocked. I laugh. "'Noooo! We have to prevent this!' . . . But maybe being angry is a healthy reaction", he says and pushes his sporty sunglasses on his head with short, ginger-blond hair. "You don't need to get into emergency psychiatry just because your girlfriend has broken up with you. Is it a healthy reaction to be depressed a whole month?" He pauses. "Yes."

The more conservative the environment, the more pressure there is to hide primary feelings, means Erik. "And it is exactly in religious and right-wing extremist groups where conservative ideas are the strongest." I am impressed. This does indeed make sense. However, I feel like we have drifted off my quest for shame, humiliation and respect. I ask if shame and humiliation could summarise those weak, primary emotions. Erik ponders and slowly shakes his head. "I think you and me use different terms. 'Shame' is actually not used in our context like this." Once again – I am back to my favourite problem.

I summarise briefly which definitions I refer to. Erik shakes his head slightly and tells me that he thinks the most important thing is that we understand what we mean when we talk to each other, as it is impossible to agree to common definitions around these terms anyways. I could not agree more. Instead of delving deeper into the vastness of definitions, Erik gets up again from the couch, turns

over the flip chart page with primary and secondary emotions and explains me the three thought patterns of radicalisation. These three make it easier to conduct violent and hateful deeds, without being plagued by bad conscience, anxiety, regret, etc. Firstly, a black and white thinking of "we and them" takes place – either you are for me or you are against me. Secondly, distance is created, with the reasoning "you do not understand anything, why should I listen to you." Thirdly, the other person is dehumanised. "The easiest way is calling 'your enemy' names, such as pigs or cockroaches. If you then make everyone look the same with uniforms and shaved hair, you can't point out individuals anymore."

I want to know more about how to work with people who have internalised these thought patterns. I have had discussions with Christian fundamentalists, where I came to the point of speechlessness. I had simply no idea what more to say. Erik says "Alright. We'll take a look at discussion techniques." My recording device tells me that we have already talked for forty-five minutes, so I ask if he's sure that he has time for this. Instead of replying, Erik tells me how he was called by a school to talk to a certain student – "about the holocaust, immigration numbers and so on. He wasn't very knowledgeable." Erik posed questions: Do you think Robert Jay Mathews is a hero or not? Do you agree with Anders Breivik's cultural marxism? Do you rely on BRÅ⁶'s statistics or are they made by the Jews? "Finally, we came to a breakpoint. Eventually his statements had become contradictory in themselves." And Erik had won the discussion. At that point, the boy looked him right into the eyes, burning with hate. "I don't give shit that you know more about this than me. You're brainwashed by the Jews. Go to hell!" Erik shrugs his broad shoulders. "Well, that's how that relationship ended. Because of me. If it had been a logical discussion, let's say about spike tires, you would have thought 'Wow, he really knows a lot about spike tires, what a smart guy!' and maybe you would've considered buying spike tires."

Through the open inclined window, we hear a gang of kids laugh and skateboards clatter from Fryshuset's skatepark. The problem with this boy was that the whole discussion was not based on facts, it was based on his emotional chaos, says Erik. He had the need to reduce anxiety, which was done by black-and-white thinking, distance and dehumanisation. "He went home, thinking 'I will not expose myself to such a humiliating situation again. I need to get better at my ideology. Next time I'll be in a discussion with a disgusting race traitor, I will win!'" And that is what Gilligan would call an experience of shame! I exclaim. "Exactly!" says Erik. "And I have reproduced and intensified his right-wing extremism."

In this phase of being shamed, he is an easy prey for extremists. Here we need to look at crisis management, says Erik and I am starting to feel an irrepressible suspicion that he knows a theory to every question I pose. Once again he starts to draw on the flip chart, explaining that when going through a crisis, a person goes through four different phases: Firstly, shock; secondly, response (anger against the culprits, need for explanations); thirdly, processing (less aggressive) and fourthly,

⁶ The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention

reorientation (take action – what Evelin Lindner calls the choice between the Mandela-path or the Hitler-path). Erik tells me about a right-wing extremist who as an eight-year-old was beaten by another boy. Nothing dangerous – some scratches on his body and pride. He told a teacher about it. Had the other boy had glasses, he might as well have said the four-eyes has beaten me. He was not a racist. But he used a word which you should not use about immigrants. So an investigation was started. Are his parents right-wing extremists? What is the boys background? In the end, he was forced to apologise to the boy who has beaten him. ”In this crisis, the boy would have needed crisis management,” Erik says. ”Allowing him to be angry for two weeks, not publicly, but talking to a grown-up about his frustration. Then he needs to let go of it. If you are not allowed to go through your healthy crisis, you will find a way to extreme milieus where you can have these opinions.” Society is not very good at crisis management, but extremists are, Erik says. I guess Gilligan would call this shame management.

I wonder what the right way would be to engage with extremists. Erik tells me that there are different phases you go through. Once you get to the phase of having built an alliance with your client, you can actually impact them to do things that are out of their comfort zone. ”Sure, we can go Thai-boxing or to the gym, but that doesn’t challenge their comfort zone. I often take clients who feel threatened and paranoid to the butterfly museum. Not one single professional criminal in there.”

11. IS’ Crown Recruiter

Nobody wants to shut down religious institutions (..) but we’re not gonna have a choice.

– Trump about closing down mosques (in Rachel ”Donald Trump”, 2015).

I want surveillance of these people.

– Trump about Muslims (*loc.cit.*).

Hey, I watched when the World Trade Center came tumbling down. And I watched in Jersey City, New Jersey, where thousands and thousands of people were cheering as that building was coming down. Thousands of people were cheering.

– Trump at a campaign rally in Birmingham, Alabama on November 19, 2015 (*loc.cit.*).

Donald J. Trump is calling for a total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country representatives can figure out what the hell is going on.

– Trump reading his own December 7 statement on preventing Muslim immigration and tourism. He demands a ”total and complete shutdown” of Muslims entering the United States, including Muslim-American citizens currently being abroad (*loc.cit.*).

*A life of humiliation no, I am not content with it.
But love of death in glory is an aspiration.
For no, by God, I do not fear the fate of death.
For the slave has no place in the material world.
And indeed death is in the path of Jihad,
Verily God's favour is bestowed on whomsoever He wills.
Oh path of jihad, arise!*

– 'I am not content with a life of humiliation', an ISIS Nasheed, meaning an anthem used by jihadists as motivational songs (El-Badawy, Comerford and Welby 2015, 17-18).

After Islamist terror attacks we can usually see two sorts of reactions from politicians: The one, expressing true sorrow, condemning the violence and emphasising the importance of staying together and not scapegoating Muslims; The other, expressing shock, and seizing the moment to appeal for more security, more watchfulness and possibly harder immigration laws. After the massacre at the nightclub in Orlando, Donald Trump takes time by the forelock and repeats his call for banning Muslim immigration to the United States. "The only reason why the killer with his parents was in America in the first place was because we allowed his family to come here" (Martin "Donald Trump", 2016).

Omar Mateen, the 29-year old man whose life ended along with his 49 victims at the nightclub, was born in New York to Afghan parents. Humiliation seemed to be a central theme throughout Mateen's life. According to the Washington Post, he was "brutally bullied", because he was overweight, of Afghan descent and a Muslim. Already as a young student he was separated from his class because of poor performance and grave behavioural problems. Struggles and failures in education was something which would continue throughout his life (Sullivan and Wan, 2016).

The man with the yellow hair and a small American flag pinned to his expensive suit, continues his speech that we can "not continue to allow thousand upon thousand of people [to come to the United States], many of whom have the same thought process as the savage killer. Many of the principles of radical Islam are incompatible with Western values and institutions." The listening crowd cheers hysterically.

Just before he leaves the stage, which is decorated with two huge American flags, pointing with his finger like a primary school teacher he roars, "Remember this: Radical Islam is anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-American." Talking about "radical Islam" Trump suggests that terrorists are people who take their religion too seriously. Why then would young men who are preparing to fight in Syria buy books such as "Islam for dummies"? A classified briefing note on radicalisation by MI5's behavioural science unit revealed that "far from being religious zealots, a large number of those involved in terrorism do not practise their faith regularly. Many lack religious literacy and could be

regarded as religious novices.” The analysts concluded that “a well-established religious identity actually protects against violent radicalisation” (Hasan ”What the Jihadists”, 2014).

If religion can apparently not be blamed, what factors can help to explain why young (mostly) men turn to violent extremists? Donald J. Trump and all those others whose approach to terrorism consists of fear-based discriminatory responses certainly play their part in this. They claim that it is about making a choice between homeland security or supporting an inclusive, open society. It is the other way around. We need a tolerant, inclusive society for a safe homeland.

Old Realpolitik was based on the assumption of a fragmented world, where counter-terrorism and security was understood in terms of keeping the enemy out or in ”secure submission”, writes Evelin Lindner. As discussed previously, she argues that we are in a time of transition, from the old paradigm of ranked honour to the new paradigm of equal dignity and human rights, where shaming the 3.3 million Muslim Americans is not an acceptable tool. In today’s world of increasing global interdependence, the old approach is becoming more and more counter-productive and self-destructive, according to Lindner (2007b, 46). ”Every action becomes a boomerang”, where deterrence of enemies in form of violence and humiliation no longer pacifies and humbles the underlings, but can turn the oppressed into enraged terrorists. And this very crucial realisation has not hit Trump yet. He has not arrived at the new Realpolitik yet, which deals with global human security, that is not safeguarded by fighting *against*, but by fighting *for* a vision. It is not the security dilemma, which is the key anymore, it is feelings of humiliation (2007b, 46).

I am struck by how closely Kruglanski’s quest of significance model goes in line with Lindner and fits into the shame-respect vocabulary of Gilligan. Kruglanski argues that the feeling of significance is a universal human motivation. However, significance can be lost in many ways, for example by personal failure, discrimination, disparagement and humiliation. Humiliation impacts the individual’s sense of significance not only when being exposed on a personal level, but also if one’s group is humiliated or victimised. In other words – what Trump does in his Muslim-baiting campaign is working on smashing the healthy sense of significance of America’s Muslims by inciting hate crimes and islamophobia. Just as Gilligan argues that shame is the necessary but not sufficient condition for violence, so is the loss of significance not enough to turn a person to violence or radicalisation. Kruglanski argues that this is only one factor of many. Additionally, the individual needs to identify violent extremism as an effective method for restoring one’s significance. For most people violence will never be a means.

However, some believe that acts of terror and violence can restore their sense of significance. Indeed, the common motivation underlying these acts is the desire ”to matter, to be respected, to be somebody in one’s own eyes and in the eyes of others” (Kruglanski ”Joining the Islamic State” 2014). The more cruel the terrorist attacks, the more they are covered by international media and enter history books; and the more supporters celebrate the perpetrator as hero and

martyr (Kruglanski and Dugas 2014, 424-425). Even in cases where the attack is conducted by a self-radicalised "lone-wolf", the common response by politicians is to declare war against the terrorist organisations. After the Orlando shooting, Clinton called for "defeating international terror groups", Sanders wrote "That despicable and barbaric organization must be destroyed," and Obama said "We have to go after these terrorist organizations and hit them hard" (Gessen "Terrorism" 2016).

However, in many of those lone-wolf attacks, the terrorist organisation has never even heard of the attacker, who has pledged his allegiance to them. Thus, declaring war is exactly what the terrorist strives for. His longing to matter is confirmed by politicians and national leaders. "We imbue the terrorist with awesome power: he becomes an individual suddenly capable of declaring war on an entire nation or nations—and having the declaration accepted. Last year, most of the leaders of the free world marched in formation through the streets of Paris in response to a terrorist attack. Imagine one day looking, to all the world, like a loser, and probably feeling like one—and the next day, making prime ministers link hands, or presidential candidates declare resolve" (*ibid.*). The national response to school shootings is mourning, writes Gessen. But the purpose of terrorism is to spread fear, which is why we do not see a President in tears after terrorist attacks. Instead, a strong statesman responds with what the general public wants – war rhetorics. But it is grief, not revenge what we need to focus on in order to avoid creating the image the terrorist wants to project of himself (*ibid.*).

In what way does IS' take up this quest for significance, or longing for respect? The report "Inside the Jihadi mind" investigates salafi-jihadi ideology by scrutinising IS propaganda – its objectives, group identity and values. In every one of these system of ideas, categories of shame and humiliation can be found, such as ending the humiliation of Muslims, disgracing the enemy, receiving honour and fighting against one's role as underdog (El-Badawy, Comerford and Welby 2015, 11).

68% of the IS propaganda is related to themes around honour and solidarity. Three sub-themes are singled out: Firstly, honour, for both the individual and the *ummah*, which is ultimately given by God as a reward for their struggle. Secondly, advocacy for the oppressed (referring to all Muslims), which has a very noble appeal and at the same time strengthens the group by linking the local fighters to the global jihad. Thirdly, martyrdom, a concept intrinsically tied to honour, where being martyred "fi sabilillah" (while on the path of God) is regarded as the ultimate honour (*ibid.*, 16).

In the investigation for objectives, 29% of the propaganda focused on ending the humiliation of Islam by the far enemy (America, Europe, Israel, Russia, etc.). Both, economic exploitation and foreign policy are perceived to inflict humiliation on the *ummah* worldwide. Three quarters of respondents in Morocco, Indonesia, Pakistan and Egypt found it important in 2007 to "stand up to America and affirm the dignity of the Islamic people". The propaganda depicts a wide-spread belief

that a conspiracy against the Muslim world is taking place. A perceived state of disgrace is important as it is seen as a direct attack against the faith itself. Opposed to this stands the desire to restore the formerly great Islamic world, which is presented in a romanticisation of the glorious past. Furthermore, the propaganda had a clear connection between the ideological aim of ending humiliation and oppression and a consequent humiliation and retaliation of the enemy (*ibid.*, 31). IS truly offers an all-inclusive package to quick-fix a broken sense of significance and humiliated mind.

Summary and Concluding Remarks

The previous chapters investigated the correlation between shame, humiliation and violent extremism. Multiple voices from a variety of backgrounds were heard who were or are in extremist milieus or whose work is closely related to those.

This thesis is based upon and confirms research which sees experiences of shame and humiliation as the crucial underlying cause of violence. Respect and recognition – something every human being strives for – are perceived to be lost if a person is humiliated. A way to restore this broken sense of self-worth is violence, as the fear which the perpetrators cause and observe in their victims is understood as a type of replacement form of respect. In this sense, violence is regarded as a disease rather than a moral evil. All kinds of pathologies are caused by multiple biological, social and psychological determinants, which can be divided into protective factors and risk factors. When it comes to violence, feelings of shame and humiliation are the one psychological variable which is necessary, but not sufficient to cause violence. Thus, if a person has enough protective factors in form of other sources for self-esteem she becomes more resilient to violence. Equally, risk factors increase the impact of shame, for example the absence of means to maintain and strengthen one's feelings of self-worth by education, a respected job, high income or by belonging to a social class or ethnic group which is respected.

In previous times, lowering and humiliating those who stood below in the social hierarchy was a widely accepted tool to maintain order. Hurt honour could be restored with violence and enemies were destroyed through war. However, since the human rights revolution, which started to emerge around 250 years ago, this script has become counter-productive and self-destructive, according to Lindner. In today's context, shame and humiliation are not socially acceptable means of the ruler anymore, as every human being's dignity ought to be inviolable. If in this context a person is humiliated, it turns into what Lindner calls the "nuclear bomb of emotions". In today's interconnected world, humiliating enemies does not lead to their defeat. Instead, it perpetuates the spiral of violence. Thus, the closest thing we have to a panacea for avoiding destructiveness and violence, is the promotion of equal dignity for every human being. Inspired by Kant's "Perpetual

Peace” and by incorporating my own research with that of Evelin Lindner and James Gilligan, among others, I call this the perpetual dignity approach.

These insights about the consequences of shame and hurt dignity have vast implications. They can be applied onto the context of schools, for example to Ann’s son. Bearing the shame of having a drinking mother and a diagnosis, he struggled at school and started to turn violent. Consequently, he received special treatment – in front of the eyes of his classmates, which increased his shame and only made things worse. Bobban had similar experiences. All attempts by the grown-up world to help him enforced his feeling of exclusion, shame and differentness. The interviewees witnessed how being pointed out in class was a humiliation, which they attempted to overcome, and restore their feeling of self-worth through violent behaviour.

Combatting Islamic terrorism is a further field where shame plays a crucial role. A reappearing theme which emerged during the interviews was that young (mostly) men felt a shame of being insufficient and insignificant which they perceived could be restored by joining IS. Furthermore, fear-based, discriminatory responses to terror, scaremongering and scapegoating shame all other people, who happen to belong to the same religion as the attacker, as Nabila emphasised. Instead of drastically increasing homeland security and military spendings, it would be more effective from a counter-terrorism perspective to invest in efforts to create an open, inclusive society, where even those who do not belong to the majority feel that they have a dignified place. Moreover, the role of shame ought to be considered in the political responses after attacks, as discussed by Masha Gessen. She argued that usually, a self-radicalised lone-wolf terrorist is not seen as one disturbed person, as it is the case with a white, young male attacker. Instead of reacting with mourning and grief, the self-radicalised attacker is rewarded with global attention and declarations of war – exactly what he is longing for in order to restore his feeling of self-worth. Within moments he has turned from a humiliated loser to someone who matters.

Interviewees with insights and experiences from Nazi groups witnessed how effective these groups are at crisis management, in many cases better than society, according to Erik. There, people who are in a difficult life situation can find meaning, order and respect. Individual stories of humiliating experiences are turned into noble struggles of restoring Sweden’s pride. Shame also plays a special role for women in these milieus. As their bodies ”belong to the race”, those who choose to ”miscegenate” are seen as a disgrace for the Swedish people.

Furthermore, shame is a key parameter in the penal system. The idea that punishment inhibits and deters violence is fundamentally flawed. According to Gilligan, punishment is the most powerful stimulant of violence that we have yet discovered. Punishment decreases feelings of guilt and at the same time increases emotions of shame, as the punisher is more powerful and dishonours you. Especially for people who have a low capacity of guilt and remorse – meaning most violent people – punishment stimulates feelings of shame, which stimulate more violence. Jacob and Emanuel,

who have served their sentence in prison, believe that instead of locking up someone, it is important to work towards rehabilitation through therapeutic programmes. Also Felix supports this approach. "You reintegrate them [returning terrorists] or you keep them locked up forever. Because if you lock them up for a while they come back being even worse than they were before."

Thus, the concept of retributive justice primarily serves society's longing for revenge, while disregarding the criminal's reintegration and rehabilitation. In comparison to this approach, restorative justice does not focus on punishment, but on healing and preventing future harm. Here, crime is seen as a violation of people and relationships. It seeks to restore justice through reparation, reassurance and reconciliation between the offender and the victim. This reduces society's costs by decreasing crime, the cost of imprisonment and recidivism. (Zehr 1990, 181). One example where the philosophy of retributive justice was applied was Breivik's trial in Norway. Here, every one of the 77 victims was represented by their own lawyer, and 77 biographies and autopsy reports were heard. People were applauding, crying and listening to each other's stories. Besides the question of guilt, the victims' suffering was voiced. Breivik received the Norwegian maximum sentence of 21 years, which means fewer than four months per victim. He will spend these years in a well-furnished three-room cell with TV, laptop and exercise room.

According to The Atlantic, there is no comparative data whether restorative or retributive justice better satisfies victims (Fisher "A different justice", 2012). In the case of the Breivik trial survivors and family members expressed overwhelmingly positive reactions and relief. Bjorn Magnus Ihler, a survivor of the shooting, sees the verdict as a sign of a fundamentally civilised nation. "If he is deemed not to be dangerous any more after 21 years, then he should be released," Mr. Ihler said. "That's how it should work. That's staying true to our principles, and the best evidence that he hasn't changed our society" (Lewis and Lyall "Norway Mass Killer" 2012). As stated in the introduction, the previous chapters did not focus on the victims of violence, as it would exceed the extent of this thesis. However, this perspective is of importance in order to make the perpetual dignity approach work. Therefore, I would like to suggest further research about the implications for victims in regards to the perpetual dignity approach, which is closely connected to the concept of retributive justice.

Bearing in mind the grave consequences which humiliation has, these chapters were written in the hope that logical reasoning might lead actions, when rage and retaliation are the first, instinctive reaction. Instead of revenge we need to encounter perpetrators in a sober, dignified way. The perpetuation of human dignity might be the most fundamental approach to slow down and to eventually stop the spiral of violence.

The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy; instead of diminishing evil, it multiplies it. Through violence you may murder the liar, but you cannot murder the lie, nor establish the truth. Through violence you may murder the hater, but you do not murder hate. In fact, violence merely increases hate. Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that.

– Martin Luther King Jr. (1967, 67)

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