The Shattering of the Romantic Dream

A qualitative study of defection processes from the White Power movement in Sweden

Linn Elofson

Supervisor: Ugo Corte
Examiner: Marcus Persson

Master's Thesis in Social Psychology
Department of Sociology, Uppsala University
Autumn 2017
Abstract

In times where acts of extremism are becoming increasingly evident an interest for the individuals who perform such acts has begun to take shape. Most people who engage in extreme organizations tend to eventually leave them, yet there is still uncertainty about why and how people manage to do so. The purpose of this study was to add to the understanding of defection processes from the White Power movement by studying how emotions and relationships contribute to such processes. Using Herbert Blumer's symbolic interactionism as my springboard, and through interviews with nine former White Power activists, the study shows that leaving a White Power organization is divided into a differentiation between why and how activists leave. While disillusionment, guilt and fear tend to be reasons why activists eventually want to leave it is through their interaction with people in the outside community, for instance their children or a police officer, they manage to leave. Meeting with people with immigrant backgrounds was also crucial for the process of leaving the White Power movement, for seven of the respondents such meetings contributed to their de-radicalization processes.

Keywords: Defection processes, the White Power movement, social emotions, social relationships
FOR MY MOTHER AND FATHER
Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the respondents included in this project for sharing your stories with me. Your participation was always the most crucial part in making this project possible and I am forever grateful towards you. My deepest thanks to my supervisor Ugo Corte for being one of few who believed in this project from the beginning and who have encouraged me throughout the master's program. I would further like to recognize the individuals who helped me get in contact with my respondents, you know who you are and I thank you for your effort. Lastly I would like to thank Phil Creswell and Jesper Ericsson for the intellectual and emotional support you have given me throughout the writing of this project.
Table of Contents

Introduction .................................................................................................................. 1
1.1 Background ........................................................................................................... 1
1.2 Purpose .................................................................................................................. 2
1.3 Disposition .......................................................................................................... 3

Previous research .................................................................................................... 4
2.1 Some conceptual clarifications .......................................................................... 4
2.2 Some introductory thoughts .............................................................................. 5
2.3 Social relationships ......................................................................................... 6
2.4 Social emotions ............................................................................................... 12
2.5 Summary .......................................................................................................... 15

Theoretical framework ............................................................................................. 18
3.1 The symbolic interactionism of Herbert Blumer .............................................. 18
3.2 Emotions and social bonds; the micro sociology of Thomas Scheff' .......... 20

Methodology ............................................................................................................. 24
4.1 The phenomenologic approach and its four methodological steps .............. 24
4.2 Sample .............................................................................................................. 25
4.3 The Biographic narrative and semi structured interview .......................... 26
4.4 Data collection proceedings .......................................................................... 28
4.5 Coding .............................................................................................................. 30
4.6 Validity and reliability .................................................................................... 31
4.7 Ethical considerations ..................................................................................... 32

Results ......................................................................................................................... 34
5.1 A presentation of the respondents ................................................................. 34
5.2 The initial contact with the White Power movement: music, friends and family .......... 35
  5.2.1 Sverige, Sverige Fosterland! ................................................................. 35
  5.2.2 Let's become friends! .............................................................................. 36
  5.2.3 A primary socialization of hate? ............................................................ 37
5.3 Engaging in the White Power movement: friends, pride and disassociation ................. 38
  5.3.1 Friends and pride ................................................................................................. 38
  5.3.2 Burning bridges- Disassociation to the outside community .............................. 40
5.4 Leaving the White Power movement: disillusionment, emotions and significant others ...... 43
  5.4.1 Who can I trust? Relationships to other White Power activists ......................... 43
  5.4.2 What have I become? Guilt, fear and shame ..................................................... 48
  5.4.3 A helping hand- Significant others and relationships to people outside the movement ...... 57
5.5 Summary of results ................................................................................................ 64

Discussion ....................................................................................................................... 67
6.1 Empirical findings in relation to the theoretical framework ....................................... 67
6.2 Empirical findings in relation to methodology ........................................................... 70
6.3 Implications for further research ............................................................................... 71

References ..................................................................................................................... 73
Appendix One .................................................................................................................. 78
Introduction

1.1 Background

During the last five years the residents of the Scandinavian countries have once again witnessed the preparations of the mobilization of large scale, militant, nationalistic movements (Lööw, 2016, x; http://skola.expo.se/vit-makt_128.html). It is happening in Finland, Denmark but also in Sweden. The 'White Power movement', consisting of a number of groups and individuals with the purpose to undermine the democratic political system has its history in long lasting wars, temporary alliances and direct confrontations with the police, anti facists and society as a whole (Fangen, 1999, 2; Lööw, 2016, x). While the Swedish society has started to withdraw and limit its resources to maintain itself White Power organizations have tried to re-establish an influence among the country's citizens, for instance by reconstructing playgrounds for children in local municipalities and by volunteering to participate in vigilance committees (Lööw, 2016, xi). The 2011 terrorist attack at Utöya, the 2013 attack by the Swedish Resistance Movement on an anti racist manifestation in Kärrtorp and the 2015 school attack in Trollhättan where students with immigrant backgrounds were murdered by a fellow classmate do however show that the White Power movement's progress comes with a tremendous cost. Such happenings do not stand apart from the history of the White Power movement but are rather described to follow a pattern that has manifested since the end of the 1980’s. It is a pattern that is repeated, over and over and is signified by an intense form of activity by demonstrations and acts of violence performed by militant autonomous groups, proceeded by periods where they seemingly disappear (https://www.svd.se/nazisterna-vaxer-sig-starka-pa-nytt). The pattern has attracted the interest of sociologists as it provokes sociologically significant questions as why people who live in liberal democracies join into radicalism and racism (Rydgren, 2007:242) but also why they leave once they have engaged (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2013:157). In this research project the processes of leaving the White Power movement have been studied by conducting interviews with nine former White Power activists. To prevent the structural forces that create terror and threatens the democratic values of societies it is crucial to understand how the individuals that constitute such forces may be helped to leave. As Blee (2007) argues, movements are not in any sense born at the macro level (2007, 120), neither do they dissolve there. Seeking to expand the understanding of how individuals may be helped to leave the White Power movement may therefore efficiently be done through the experiences of people who have travelled in and out of the movement and attend to why and how they have left.

While the bulk of the literature on radicalization and engagement processes into activism grows, the literature on defection processes from activism and specifically from the White Power movement is
still narrow. The literature that does exist tend to approach the phenomenon by looking at a multitude of factors that contribute to exits, in turn causing thin descriptions of each factor's contribution to defection. In this project two factors have been studied that are fundamental for individuals motivations to act - social relations and social emotions. What combines relationships and emotions is the idea that the two contribute to human conduct; how we do the things that we do and why we do the things that we do.

1.2 Purpose
According to micro sociologist Herbert Blumer (1969) people act as a response to their interaction with others (1969, 2). Blumer's notion was the spring board for this research project as it implies that the relationships people have to each other are fundamental for the actions they take. The possibility that the relationships of activists could stand in relation to their defection processes hence appeared to me and further made me reflect upon the potential role that emotions could play in this dynamic. Thus, the purpose of this research project was to add to the understanding of defection processes from activism and more specifically how relationships and emotions may contribute to the process of leaving the White Power movement in Sweden. Of particular interest were the relationships between activists and leaders as well as the relationships activists had to significant others outside the movement as these relationships were identified in previous research to be significant for defection (see for example Björgo, 2008, 37; Horgan, 2008, 21; Reinares, 2011, 799). Regarding emotions I stepped into this project with an open mind and chose not to ask about specific emotions. In short, the following questions worked as my point of departure:

1. How were relationships to people inside the White Power movement experienced by the respondents to have contributed to their defection processes?

2. How were relationships to people outside the White Power movement experienced by the respondents to have contributed to their defection processes?

3. How were emotions experienced by the respondents to have contributed to their defection processes?
1.3 Disposition

Chapter one provides the introductory chapter to this thesis including the background for the study which gives an overview of the White Power movement in Scandinavia and specifically in Sweden. It also presents reasons why it is of importance to study emotions and relationships within defection processes from the movement and how these two factors are related to each other. Purpose and research questions are further presented and the disposition of the project.

Chapter two is introduced by a conceptual clarification of the terms that are applied in this project: defection, disengagement, de-radicalization, activism and the White Power movement. It further provides with some introductory thoughts on the research that is reviewed. The core of chapter two consist of a literature review based on previous research of defection processes from activism and criminality. The presentation focuses on findings regarding how relationships inside and outside a social movement are experienced to contribute to such defection processes but also the part emotions may play in such a process.

Chapter three presents the theoretical framework for this study and how they are fruitfully combined. Chapter four accounts for the methodological approach used, the sample that was included, what type of interview technique that was applied and the data collection proceedings. The chapter is concluded by a discussion on validity and reliability but also on the ethical considerations that was taken into account.

Chapter five presents the core of this project, the result of the analyzed empirical material sectioned into three subchapters revolving around the respondents journeys in and out of the White Power movement. The first subchapter presents a brief overview of the respondents initial contact with the White Power movement. The second subchapter presents the respondents experiences of their engagement processes and how emotions and relationships contributed to these. The main focus of the result is found in the third subchapter where the respondents experiences of how relationships and emotions contributed to their defection processes are accounted for. The findings presented in the third subchapter is further discussed in relation to the literature presented in chapter two. A summary of the result as answers to the posed research questions concludes chapter five. Chapter six starts with a discussion of the results in relation to the theoretical framework as well as the methodological approach that was used. Finally, a discussion is made of implications for future research.
Previous research

2.1 Some conceptual clarifications

An obstacle to theoretical development and an expanded understanding of defection processes is the lack of conceptual clarity that is to be found in previous research. What indicates this is the synonymous and inconsistent use of terms as disengagement, de-radicalization and defection (Altier, Thoroughgood and Horgan, 2014, 648). Della Porta and LaFree (2012) argue that on the individual level it is important to make the distinction between the de-radicalization of attitudes and beliefs, the disengagement from violent behavior and the process of leaving violent groups. These are processes that do not necessarily correspond to each other (2012, 7). Although disengagement is a term that is frequently applied in previous literature the term is problematic since it implies a role change rather than the leaving of a group. In Ebaugh's (1988) book on role exits the author defines disengagement as “the process of withdrawing from the normative expectations associated with a role, the process whereby an individual no longer accepts as appropriate the socially defined rights and obligations that accompany a given role in society” (1988, 3). For violent groups such as the White Power movement people may experience a role change within the group, for instance due to a reduction in violent behavior. Levels of disengagement may also be the result of factors such as burnout, ending up in jail or becoming less available due to marriage or having children (Bubolz & Simi, 2015, 1592). Unlike disengagement, defection is defined by Bubolz and Simi (2015) as leaving the group entirely (2015, 1592). However, Bubolz and Simi's definition does not imply whether defection concerns psychologically leaving a group, a distinction that is necessary to attend to as it was my belief that physical and psychological exits should be understood as two processes. To describe the process of psychologically leaving a group or movement researchers have turned to the concept de-radicalization. De-radicalization is defined by Rabasa et al (2010) as “the process of changing individuals belief systems, rejecting extremist ideologies and embracing mainstream values” (2010, xiii). It involves a change in cognitions but not necessarily in behavior. For example, it is possible that a person can abandon the political or ideological orientations that are associated to a movement but still engage in violent or negative behavior. It is also possible that individuals who defect from movements keep their ideological or political orientations (Bubolz & Simi, 2015, 1593). As the purpose for this project was to study the experiences of people who had left the White Power movement, physically and psychologically, I applied the concept of defection to describe the respondents physical processes out of the movement. De-radicalization was applied to describe their psychological processes out of the movement.

Lastly, two additional clarifications are in order. It involves the terms that were applied to describe the respondents included in this project, as well as the movement they belonged to. Extremism or
extremists are terms applied in previous literature to describe either people engaged in activities such as political oppression by the use of violence or movements such as ETA, Al Qaida and various White Power movements. However, as these terms have the potential to marginalize and stigmatize individuals from a specific group (Awan, 2013, 7), which was not my intention with this project, I instead made use of the term ideological activists defined by Björgo (2011) as: “persons motivated by idealism and a strong sense of justice, responding to the suffering of others- be it fellow Muslims or other objects of identification, globally or locally” (2011, 280). Fangen further mentions that the term is useful as it refers to being active in the construction of a social movement (Fangen, 1999, 7). I further chose to describe the movement that the respondents belonged to as the White Power movement. The term is defined through Corte and Edwards (2008) as well as Simi and Futrell's (2009) writings as a social movement or mobilization of overlapping groups of 'whites' who spread racist and anti-semitic ideas and see themselves as an embattled minority at risk of extinction in the increasingly multicultural societies of Western Europe and North America (2008, 5; 2009, 15). The following review will however also include research on defection processes from additional movements such as jihadi movements, socialist movements as well as from criminal careers.

2.2 Some introductory thoughts

Two prototypical questions for social psychologists are argued by van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2010) to be why some individuals engage in social movements and why some decide to quit (2010, 157). A social movement dynamic happens when those who are engaged in collective actions perceived as components of a longer lasting action feel linked by ties of solidarity (Della Porta & Diani, 2006, 23). But leaving a movement, Fillieule (2010) points out, is indeed likely to vary as a function of what provokes it- the cost of it and the manner in which it takes place (2010, 3). While a substantial amount of research has been devoted to the engagement into social movements the processes of leaving them are less researched although most activists who join eventually leave (Horgan, 2008: 1; Dalgaard-Nielsen, 2013, 1; Carlsson, 2016, 10). Recently, however, attention has been brought to the topic and defection processes from political and religious movements have been studied (see for example Buxant & Saroglou, 2008; Alonso, 2011) and the interest has generated a scientific journal devoted to various aspects of exiting (Journal for deradicalization). The following literature review is structured as followed. The first chapter presents previous literature discussing social relations and their potential contributions to defection processes. The chapter further presents previous literature concerning activists relationships to significant others outside their movements and how these may influence defection. The concluding chapter presents previous literature on social emotions, both positive and negative, and their
potential contributions to defection processes from activism but also from criminal careers. A summary of the literature concludes the chapter.

2.3 Social relationships
One of the most recurrent words within the literature on defection processes from activism I argue to be 'relationships'. Social relations are the bonds maintained between individuals applied to work as an orientation towards others (Weaver & McNeill, 2015, 95). Relationships have been described as absolutely critical for individual's motivations to defect from underground movements as they may contribute to activists wills to leave but also provide them with options to engage in different roles outside the movement (see for example Barelle, 2015; Horgan et. al, 2016). Following below is a review of literature that has included relationships in researching defection processes from activism.

Relationships between activists
One reason for wanting to leave activism is argued to be the realization that what one expected or dreamed of when initially engaging in a social movement did not correspond to reality (Björgo, 2011, 277). Some who join activism do so because they are attracted to the idea of comradeship with others, a sense of collective identity that often is propagated and idealized in social movements (Daalgard-Nielsen, 2013, 7). The corresponding reality could however be disappointing as disloyalty and disagreements may arise and the pictured comradeship may not turn out they way it was initially believed to. In the literature such events are conceptualized as disillusionment with other activists (Barelle, 2015, 133). Horgan (2008) defines disillusionment as disappointment which may arise from an incongruence between a persons initial fantasies that shaped an involvement and the actual experiences with the reality of participating (2008, 21). Carlsson (2016) further adds to Horgan's definition by stating that disillusionment regards the experiences of an individual. The reason for becoming disillusioned is not necessarily a result of other peoples actions but may instead be the result of a persons assessment towards those actions (2016, 54). In Horgan's chapter on individual defection from terrorism disillusionment is argued to be of relevance to defection processes as it suggests why activist may want to leave social movements. In particular Horgan states that disillusionment with other activists could arise from disagreements in actions and from an experienced disloyalty (2008, 21).

Disagreements between activists over what actions are appropriate for a movement to engage in was in previous research expressed to arise from two factors: when activists perceive others as prioritizing partying over activism and when disagreements arise over the strategic behavior
appropriate for an organization to engage in (Björgo, 2008; Björgo & Carlsson, 2005; Jacobsson, 2010; Van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010). Björgo (2008) write that disagreements in actions between activists often is experienced by activists with a primary interest in producing political propaganda and discussing ideology. In his study of right wing extremists in Scandinavia Björgo found that some activists became frustrated when perceiving others as rowdy, alcohol consuming skinheads who only joined into drunken or senseless fights with immigrants or anti-racists (2008, 37). Similar findings are reported in Van der Valk and Wagenaar's (2010) study of defection processes from White Power movements where the authors write that a frequently mentioned factor that led to misgivings about participation was other activists frequent drug use. Such experiences could often lead to activists feeling as if the movement represented hypocrisy since using drugs goes against the White Power group ideal of living a sober life away from drugs (2010, 48).

Van der Walk and Wagenaar further write that activists who experienced disagreements when evaluating others strategic behavior may feel as if they loose their belief in group credibility (2010, 49). This is narrated by Jacobson (2010) in his report on dropouts from islamic extremist groups. Jacobson found that former al-Qaeda activists had experienced a disturbance over fellow activists attacks on civilian targets. Killing innocent people were seen to be incompatible with the perceived original goals of al-Qaeda (2010, 9). Björgo and Carlsson (2005) made similar findings in an interview study with former White Power activists and write;

> "Activists may feel that there are too many violence-prone, extremist people joining the group, doing wild things they themselves cannot accept or do not want to get associated with”

(2005, 27).

Experiencing that violence eventually reached a level where activists no longer felt comfortable in participating was found to be the case for former activists associated with the Norwegian Front. After several of their friends were involved in bombings the activists in Björgo and Carlsson's study decided that it was time for them to leave (2005, 27).

A lack in loyalty among activists has also been argued to cause disillusionment, or disappointment, as activists eventually tend to perceive other activists as traitors (Björgo, 2008, 37; Demant et. al, 2008, 114; van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010, 49). While activists tend to be loyal to a movement as a whole some experience that their closest friends eventually stab them in the back. Betrayal may happen due to a fear for infiltration which in turn may produce a strong sense of paranoia causing
accusations and call outs as traitors (Björgo, 2008, 37). An example is illustrated by Björgo and Carlsson (2005) who write that a former White Power activist reported that he was accused by other activists of being homosexual (2005, 28). If paranoia breaks out even long-standing activists run a risk of losing their trust in the movement (Demant et. al 2008, 114) and the result may be that people who were once perceived as friends instead become enemies (van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010, 49). Activists who join a social movement to make new friends may thus become disillusioned from the perception that other activist behaviors change in a negative way (Linden & Klandermans, 2007, 198).

**Relationships to leader figures**

Further empirical findings suggest that disillusionment also may arise between activists and leader figures of a movement. Barelle (2015) argues that this was the most cited reason why the White Power activists in her study had left their organizations (2015, 135). Researchers have found that disillusionment with leaders tend to arise when activists start to experience that leaders do not live up to their roles. Such a vision may arise as leaders are seen to abandon other activists or when disagreements over goal orientations occur.

Demant et. al (2008) notice that within the process of getting people involved with activism leaders tend to play a vital role (2008, 114). Many are pictured as courageous and selfless with a willingness to act instead of talk (Daalgard Nielsen, 2013, 7). While some leaders live up to the standards and values propagated as central to a movement some do not. Those who do not may go from being considered as someone who is good at propagating to someone who proclaims empty slogans that they do not live up to (Demant et. al, 2008, 114). Viewing leaders from a new perspective tend to be experienced particularly by newer members if they perceive that a leader is prone to run away and leave others behind as fights break out (Björgo & Carlsson, 2005, 28). Being left behind when violence occur may instigate a questioning of the leaders physical strength and courage (Demant et. al, 2013, 133). Disillusionment with leaders may further arise in situations where activists encounter trouble and turn to their leaders for support but are denied help. This is narrated in Bubolz and Simi's (2015) interview study with former white supremacists. The authors describe how disillusionment occurred to one respondent when he asked his leader to help him out of legal issues. As the leader told him that he would not receive help and announced him as politically dead to the movement he decided it was time to leave. When a request of support is rejected by a leader, Bubolz and Simi write, experiences of a discrepancy between the reality of dishonesty and the promise of loyalty could arise (2015, 1598).
Disillusionment with leaders may further arise due to experienced differences in goal orientations between activists and leaders. Klandermans and Lindén (2007) found that activists who had a primary interest in sharing ideology with others tended to leave when they perceived that leaders could not live up to their roles, for example by obtaining unprofessional attitudes and by showing of a lack of administrative capacities. The experiences were perceived as if it was greed and not ideas that drove the leaders commitment in the movement (2007, 194). Some leaders may want to bring movements towards a direction that activists oppose as fruitful or that does not correspond to an organizations political positioning. In her study of the Red Brigades Della Porta (2008) writes that reason why activists chose to leave the organization was partially due to disagreements with leaders over what directions seemed appropriate for the Red Brigades. Partially it was due to conflicts over the expression of different strategies to deal with difficulties within the organization (2008, 78). Between the separatist groups the common element was accusations made to the leaders of engaging in militarism which was seen as a detachment from the political attitudes proclaimed. Activists also expressed that they believed that leaders did not understand the current social transformation that took place and that they would not disconnect from the basic ideas of the organization. Among the organizational developments that was found to be the hardest for activists to justify were the vendettas and murderers ordered by their leaders on other activists from their own groups (2008, 79).

A further example of disillusionment with leaders caused by disagreements over actions is provided by Jacobsson (2010) who writes that a former al-Qaeda activist reported to have had his differences with bin Laden over the jihadist movements direction. Keeping a sole focus on the United States as the 'head of the snake' he believed would hurt the efforts to overthrow the apostate Arab regimes. He claimed to have made a request to bin Laden to stop the attacks on the US as he feared the political climate it would cause between the Arab world and the US. After the September 11 attacks the activist decided to leave al-Qaeda thinking that the US government would respond by a counter attack (2010, 9). Similar findings are reported by Reinares (2011) in his interview study with former activists of ETA. By far, Reinares writes, the majority of the study's respondents decided to leave ETA due to disagreements over group campaigns ordered by leaders (2011, 788). For instance former activists remembered how issued assassinations or kidnappings were perceived to be mistakes or shortcomings of their leaders. Getting ordered to kill may seem acceptable as long as the purpose is considered as convincing and an established trust in a leader exists. If orders start to contradict with the strategic view and only come of as barbaric a questioning of who is in charge may lead to initiating ideas of 'cutting loose' (2011, 791). Such experiences did in Reinares study show to be more common among activists who had been involved with ETA for a longer period of
time than among its newer members (2011, 788). If the individual risk or costs of participation become too high compared to the attraction of the goals of the movement, or if an activist feels as if goals simply are not achieved, movements may become unattractive to stay engaged in. Although it is difficult to assess social movements effectiveness, van Stelekenburg and Klandermans (2007) argue, many of them never do reach their goals. Most activists who participate are argued to be aware of this but many reason that if no one participates nothing will happen. Still, van Stekelenburg and Klandermans continue, some success must sooner or later be achieved before the movement becomes too unattractive and loses its urgency to the activists involved (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007, 70).

**Relationships to people in the outside community**

Previous research has thus found that the relationships activist have to each other as well as to leader figures may create a sense of disillusionment which in turn may contribute to a will to leave a movement. But bonds to the outside community, Carlsson write, have also shown to be vital for activists who want to leave since they may provide with a 'where' to go (Carlsson, 2016, 67).

Literature has in particular described that a desire to engage with a partner and have children as well as finding new friends or colleagues is crucial for a successful defection process (Björgo & Carlsson, 2005, 29; Reinares, 2011, 799). For instance, Björgo and Carlsson (2005) found that circumstances leading to new responsibilities was a strong incentive that influenced defection both from racist youth groups and the extreme right. The forming of a family do for some come with an urge for the freedom of a 'normal' life and often results in quitting. Since family means establishing loyalty towards a partner and child a rearrangement in priorities become crucial. If a movement demands full loyalty from an activist a fundamental conflict between family and movement could arise. By then activists tend to prioritize loyalty towards the family over loyalty towards their movements since family provide for a 'normal' life (2005, 29). A shift in priorities is exemplified by Reinares (2011) who writes that fatherhood catalyzed a decision among former ETA activists to defect. As one of the respondents in Reinares study remembers, the moment when he realized that he had to pull out was when his son was born;

“Then I've got this wife and a family that I've got to help support. I have got to do the work for them, and I say: That's it, I'm out of here.”

(2011, 799)

The work that goes into holding on to strong relationships, especially with new girlfriends, Reinares
writes, would more often that not be a circumstance that lead ETA activists to initiate doubts about being part of their movement (2011, 797).

Furthermore, previous literature states that relationships between activists and friends or colleagues outside a social movement may be of significance for a successful defection process. Van der Valk and Wagenaar (2010) found that a helping hand from old comrades or new friends as well as co-workers may matter since activists usually live in a narrow world. Attending different events and getting to know more people from outside the circle could result in building new friendships outside the movement, providing an activist with new roles to engage in. Sometimes new friends do not only contribute to an alternative network but may also stimulate the defection process, van der Walk and Wagenaar write. Making friends with people from minority backgrounds could for instance help an activist who have experienced initial doubts to arrive at different insights than previous ones. The contradiction of stereotypes or judgements may be an eye opener for activists who come to the realization that not all foreigners belong to a homogenous group of people consisting of criminals (2010, 55). In Horgan et. al's (2016) interview study with a former right wing extremist the authors found that befriending people from minority groups could trigger doubts about belonging to an extreme movement. As their respondent described, once she ended up in jail she was approached by 'non-white' inmates who acted friendly, offered her cigarettes and even concealed information about her case from other inmates. Making conversation with fellow inmates meant having her beliefs questioned and renegotiated. At a certain point she no longer felt comfortable defending the commitment she had previously experienced to the right-wing ideology (2016, 9). Ilardi (2013) highlight similar findings in his interview study with former radicals. Defected jihadist activists re-tell how initiating contact and befriending people from outside the muslim world resulted in their questioning of the jihadist beliefs that all non muslims are destined to die. Going along with jihadism did not only mean having to accepting the death of a friend but also accepting that they could be the ones who had to execute their murderers (2013, 732). Previous literature also suggests that friends or colleagues outside a movement could contribute to establishing more practical life circumstances for an activist, working as tools to defect (Carlsson, 2016, 68). Demant et. al (2008) found that being helped out by friends and colleagues with getting an apartment and a driver license could make a significant impact on activists who want to leave as it provides with conventional resources that may ease the emancipation from a movement that a person has no resources outside of (2008, 143). The role of social support while thinking about leaving and while actually leaving, Barelle (2014) writes, can never be overestimated (2014, 84).
The above chapter presented previous literature that regards the role of relationships within defection processes. What many of these studies overlook, however, is the crucial component of emotions in the dynamics of individuals as interaction tend to be emotional. In the next chapter a review will follow of previous literature that regards the role of emotions in defection processes.

2.4 Social emotions

Collins (2004) states that until recently the topic of emotions has been treated as a specialized enclave that has been cut out of the general issues of sociology. Emotions could of course have been brought into sociological theories but historically it is central to few of them (2004, 103). Over the past decades, however, emotions have gained in importance for research in social psychology (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2010, 171). For instance, emotions influences on violence, protests and gender have been acknowledged (see for example Goodwin, Jasper & Polletta, 2001) and the topic has become an integrated part in the fields of social movements. As van Stekelenbrug and Klandermans (2010) recognize “a fundamental process that is employed in the context of social movements today is that of emotions” (2010, 158).

But why are emotions important in studying defection processes from the White Power movement? As Fields, Copp and Kleinman (2006) argue: emotions motivate behavior and shape agency (2006, 155). It is my suggestion that emotions may contribute to activists defection processes from social movements, maybe because they feel ashamed of being associated with people within a movement or because associating with people from another movement may cause them more pride. Studying individuals from the White Power movement, a movement that frequently uses violence as a method to enforce political standpoints also makes the integration of emotions important as violence is an emotional action in itself with emotional consequences.

The following sub chapter is a review of some of the literature that has regarded the role of emotions within defection processes. It is divided into two sections, one section reviews literature that includes positive emotions in defection processes and the last section reviews literature that includes negative emotions in defection processes. As I did not encounter with much previous literature concerning emotions and defection processes from activism I have also turned to literature on defection processes from crime. Of course, literature on leaving activism behind will be integrated in the review but such studies are so far few and would not have been sufficient for this chapter alone. The small amount of previous literature thus stresses the importance to explicitly involve emotions in the study of defection from activism. As I have searched for literature I have chosen not to include literature on leaving cults due to this projects limited time range.
Positive emotions

In an interview study with former substance abusers Farrall and Calverley (2014) write that crime and emotions are closely associated with each other. The association, they write, becomes evident as soon as one is exposed to crime related discussions. Words as remorse or shame may typically be uttered by offenders over their actions and shame and guilt are described to be intrinsic to criminality and the related processes accompanying it (2014, 99). When people defect from a criminal career their lives have the potential to change and together with the change new positive emotional experiences such as pride and self-worth may arise. In Farrall and Calverley's study positive emotions were related to the relationships that ex offenders had with significant others. Getting married or becoming a parent as well as rebuilding previously fractured relationships were reported to have contributed to positive emotional experiences. For example, re-engaging with family members opened the door to what Farrall and Calverley denotes as 'pleasurable' emotions. Such emotions, the authors write, emerged as their respondents involved in recreational activities with their children or bought them presents (2014, 100). Re-engaging with family is further described to allow for trust to be rebuilt into the relationships which in turn may result in that previous offenders construct a self-image of being reliable which could generate self-worth and happiness (2014, 101). Being met by trust and praise from family members, Farrall and Calverley continue, may lead an ex-offender to perceive increased self-esteem which is argued to having been a desired emotion among their respondents. The authors continue by writing that relationships with friends and colleagues tend to create positive emotions among people who are about to defect from a criminal career. Being offered advice or being helped out with practicalities as getting a drivers license or register for housing could turn out to be an emotional boost since receiving positive feedback may provide with pride and a sense of good reputation (2014, 102). Similarly, spending time with colleagues who share conventional goals and values and who use socially acceptable ways of achieving such goals could contributed to a re-socialization into the normalized society (2014, 103).

While describing emotions as self-worth, pride or self-esteem Farrall and Calverley also discuss 'positive' or 'pleasurable' emotions. Finding something pleasurable or positive, I argue, should not be understood as emotions in themselves but rather as emotional states preceded by emotions as pride.

Negative emotions

A similar problem is encountered when turning to previous literature discussing negative emotions
within defection processes from activism. Becoming exhausted or suffer from emotional breakdowns are frequently described as 'emotions' that contribute to exits. In Kate Barelle's (2015) study emotional breakdowns are argued to be a recurrent theme among activists which may lead them towards leaving their movements. This was particularly prevalent among the respondents in Barelle's study who had belonged to movements that used violence for internal discipline or among activists who had experienced physical hardships (2015, 136). Similarly Björgeo and Carlsson (2005) write that a common emotion among activists is exhaustion from not being able to live with the pressure emerging from activism. Living an activist life style with struggles against enemies and uncertainty is described as conditions only a few people can continue to engage in. Exposure to violent attacks and experiences of intense hatred toward enemies as well as social isolation from people within the normal community are described to take a toll on activists as time passes by (2005, 29). A particularly strong incentive to leave, Daalgard-Nielsen (2013) writes, is when emotional exhaustion coincide with the perception that the movement is not making any progress (2013, 10).

'Exhaustion' and 'emotional breakdowns' are words frequently used in previous literature to describe negative emotions contributions to defection processes (Barelle, 2015, 136; Björgo & Carlsson, 2005, 29; Daalgard-Nielsen, 2013, 10). As with words as 'pleasure' or 'positive' it is my belief that these are terms that say little about emotions but rather work as an expression for feeling ashamed or scared. More fruitful findings on negative emotions contribution to defection processes are found in literature turning to shame and guilt. Unfortunately the two emotions are often used as synonymous to each other although there are theoretical differences between them. A distinction will be made in the results chapter (see page 60).

It has been argued, not the least among criminologists researching life course transitions, that offenders sooner or later begin to reconsider and regret previous offenses they have committed (Le-Bell et. al, 2008, 136). For instance, fearing the uncertainty that a criminal act could bring upsetting implications to loved ones are described to generated both shame and guilt. An example is provided by Farrall and Calverley (2014) in their study of defection processes from substance abuse. The authors report how one of their respondent described that having the police kick in the door to his grand mothers house multiple times, due to his substance abuse, generated such intense feelings of shame and guilt that it became an incentive for him to quit (2014, 105). Guilt has further been argued to emerge as individuals reflect upon hateful or violent acts they have exposed seemingly innocent people to. Bubolz and Simi (2015) write that former activists of the extreme right reported to have experienced guilt when propagating for hating 'non-whites' or other 'racial' enemies, but also
for having distributed hate propaganda and ideological information that served to recruit new sympa-
thizers from the general public to join the movement (2015, 1599). Similar findings are presented
by Horgan et. al (2016) who found that feelings of guilt over almost having killed a person had con-
tributed to a former white power activist's defection process. In one interview the activist states:

“And I finally realized that I was guilty and I... you know, the, the person that was
robbed could have been killed. One of us could have been killed. And I took part
in it”
(2016, 8).

These findings are supported by Kimmel (2007) in his interview study with former White Power
activists in Scandinavia. Kimmel connects maturity to feelings of guilt and writes that as the activ-
ists grew older they started to experience that guilt intensified. The feeling was connected to having
physically abused others but also over the violence that their activist friends had committed towards
innocent people (2007, 216). Shaming processes influencing defection from crime has further been
connected to the concept of stigmatization. In his book Crime, shame and reintegration Braithwaite
(1989) writes that it is common that offenders experience shame when they commit offenses and
that shame may lead to a sense of stigmatization (1989, 13). If stigmatization is experienced offend-
ers may start to perceive themselves as having become societal pariahs which in turn may shape
their self images negatively and contribute to a will to leave the criminal career behind (1989, 55).
Farrall and Calverley's (2014) study exemplifies Braithwaite's findings as the authors suggest that
arrests or encounters with the police or court may lead to feelings of stigmatization. To the respond-
ents included in Farrall and Calverley's study feelings of humiliation and anger was reported as the
respondents perceived their neighbors as judging them as dangerous or criminals when they stepped
outside their front door. Not being able to live with a stigmatized role and negative self-image eventu-
ally resulted in that one of their respondents started to stay away from certain areas and eventually
left criminality behind (2014, 107).

2.5 Summary
The literature presented above highlights the interconnection of emotions and relationships and their
potential shaping and contribution to defection processes from activism or criminal careers. Litera-
ture argue that relationships between activists engaged in social movements may contribute to why
they eventually choose to leave. Becoming disappointed in other activists or leaders is one example.
Such disappointments may arise from disagreements in actions, from an experienced disloyalty and
from differences in goal orientations (Björgo, 2008: 37; Horgan, 2008, 21; Della Porta, 2008, 78;
Klandermans & Linden, 2007, 194). The review also highlights that relationships between activists and significant others outside a movement may work as a resource for activists who wants to leave. Engaging with a partner, having children or meeting new friends or colleagues may create new responsibilities and help activists to arrive at different insights than they previously have (Björgo, 2008, 40; Reinares, 2011, 799). The role of emotions is further argued in previous literature to contribute to defection processes, both from activism but also from criminal careers. While shame may lead offenders to perceive themselves as societal pariahs in front of their neighbours, guilt may emerge over the idea that ones activism has affected loved ones (Braithwaite, 1989, 12). Living a life characterized by violence is also argued to cause emotional burnout among activists (Barelle, 2015, 136; Farrall & Calverley, 2014, 105; Kimmel, 2017, 216). Shame and guilt were the only emotions found to be attended to in previous literature which explains the lack of integration of other emotions in this review.

However, there are limitations to the literature on defection processes from activism. Since many studies have researched a multitude of factors instead of exploring a few the discussion of each factors potential contribution to defection lacks in depth. One example is the tendency to apply umbrella terms as emotional breakdowns or burnout when discussing negative emotions contributions to defection processes, in turn ignoring the underlying emotional processes that may cause burn-out. Further, while the literature on defection processes from activism grows at a steady pace there are few studies that have devoted their entire attention to the White Power movement (for researchers that have, see for example Barelle, 2015; Björgo & Horgan, 2008; Simi & Futrell, 2010). The studies that do exist are argued by Blee (2007) to analyse the movement from a distance resulting in studies that are 'externalist': analysing economic, social or cultural environments that nurture organized racism or White Power activism rather than the dynamics of the movement itself (2007, 120). It is also argued that many studies that focus on the White Power movement rely on publicly available data such as newsletters or internet sites. While such data are valuable for understanding how a group present itself to the public it does not accurately reflect the experiences of the activists themselves (2007, 121). However, key contributions to the field such as American Swastika (2010) written by Simi and Futrell, where the authors utilize a qualitative mixed methods approach by conducting 89 interviews as well as engaged in participant observations with White Power activists, pave the road for future researchers.

The limited focus given to the White Power movement has resulted in gaps in the understanding of why and how people leave it. The contributions made by this research project to previous literature
is twofold. First, it adds to an expansion of the understanding of what relationships, inside and outside the White Power movement, may contribute to defection. It also adds to the understanding of how they contribute. Second, it adds to an expansion of the understanding of what emotions may contribute to leaving the White Power movement and how they may do so. The close-up or 'internalist' focus of the study, the accounting of former activists own experiences, provide with an expansion of the understanding of the workings of the movement; the beliefs and motivations of activists themselves (Blee, 2007, 122). In the next chapter the theoretical framework that was applied in the study will be presented and discussed.
Theoretical framework

For this project I have chosen to include the theoretical works of two of the most important theorists on the subjects of relationships and emotions. These are Herber Blumer, who's ideas emanate from the ideas of George Herbert Mead, and Thomas Scheff. The choice of theories sprung out of the posed research questions that was introduced at the beginning of this project. Blumer's theory regards the interaction between individuals and supposes that interaction shapes conduct as people posit selves. Through these ideas, discussed at length below, Blumer's theory supported an analysis of the empirical material that concerned relationships and their shaping of the respondents defection processes. One weakness in Blumer's theory, however, is that he overlooks the role of emotions within interaction and the process of human conduct. Since this project emanated from the positioning that emotions emerge from interaction and motivate people to act, a further theory was applied that could support a discussion of the empirical material concerning emotions and how emotions potentially contributed to the respondents defection processes. Scheff's theory of pride, shame and social bonds was considered fruitful as these were the emotions that were mainly discussed in previous research. It later turned out that these were some of the emotions that the respondents in this project also repeated in their stories. As Scheff’s approach to emotions is understood as interactionistic it thus expands Blumer's theory by adding the crucial element of emotions to the understanding of human action.

3.1 The symbolic interactionism of Herbert Blumer

The theoretical framework that has guided this research project from the very beginning is the label of a distinct approach to the study of human group life and human conduct called symbolic interactionism. In particular, it is the interactionist idea that human actions stem from social interaction that has guided the construction of the corner stone of the project, namely the research questions. The interactionist perspective has further worked as a guide in selecting the additional theories that will be presented below. The theories have later been used as the lens through which the empirical material has been interpreted and analyzed.

The symbolic interactionist framework concerns the micro-levels fundamental in social psychological analysis, how people create and maintain society through repeated and meaningful face to face interactions. As opposed to addressing the impact that social institutions have on individuals SI rather regards interpretations of subjective viewpoints and how people understand their surrounding life worlds based on their own perspectives (Carter & Fuller, 2015, 1). Scholars who have contributed to its foundation include both G. H. Mead and C. H. Cooley. For this project I will rely on Her-
bert Blumer's formulations of Mead's ideas into a cohesive theory. Blumer (1969) describes the nature of symbolic interactionism as resting in the analysis of the premises that a person act towards a thing depending on the meaning that the thing has for them. A thing is all a person can notice in her life world; physical objects, categories such as friends or enemies, the activities of others, situations etcetera. The very corner stone of human behavior are the meanings an individual ascribe things and Blumer suggests that the emphasis on meaning often is neglected within sociology. He continues by stating that meaning emerges out of social interaction but that meanings also are handled and modified through our interpretations of our meanings as we deal with them (Blumer, 1969, 2). The forming of meanings, then, are dependent on the process of interpretation.

Blumer's ontological positioning of symbolic interactionism is that human society and human conduct is made up by human groups, social interaction, objects, human beings as actors, their actions as well as the interconnection of those actions. What makes SI a distinct micro-level perspective is the common view that human groups and society exists out of action (1969, 6). A society can only emerge out of the result of the interlinked activities that its members dedicate themselves to. It is these activities that create organization or structure, and the group life that constitutes such structures is dependent on its interacting members. Blumer considers activities as responsive in the way that people act in regards to how they interpret that other people act. He points out that although this is a recognized definition of society, social interaction is usually treated as not having any real significance in its own right (1969, 7). Interactionists do as an opposite recognize interaction as vitally important in its own right as it forms human conduct. The actions of others influence a person in her plans to act, for example by preventing it or revising it. Individuals therefore fit their own activities in line with each other and it is because of this, Blumer continues, the actions of others become vital elements that need to be take into account as we study individuals (1969, 8). To fully understand this ontological position it is necessary to mention that one of the core features in Mead's ideas was the human ability of role taking. To be able to fit ones activity in line with another persons activity one must necessarily take the role of the other person (1969, 8).

It should now be clear that symbolic interactionists consider humans as active organisms that respond to others, make indications to others and interprets those indications. To do this Mead believed a person has to possess a self or, put in other words, be an object of his own actions. Blumer interpret Mead's thoughts by stating that a person, through his self, can recognize himself as belonging to social categories, moods etcetera. As I recognize myself as a woman I become an object to myself, I act towards myself and guide myself in my own actions towards the people I meet. The notions I have of myself are constructed from my interaction with people in my surroundings since
they define me as a person to myself (1969, 12). I step outside my own role and see myself from the outside by placing myself in the position of the other and by viewing myself through that position. Blumer describes the role taking process as the core premise in a person forming his object of himself. “It follows that we see ourselves through the way in which others see or define us” (1969, 13). The concept of self gradually grows in importance to the SI framework since it was seen by Mead, probably as an extension of Adam Smith's ideas, to enable a person's interaction with himself. This may be recognized by the ideas of being angry at oneself or having to remind oneself to do something. Self-interaction is in this sense something people do as they go through with life, constantly making indications to themselves (1969, 14). Such a positioning suggests that people must confront their worlds and interpret them in order to act. Put in other words- we construct and guide our ways of acting as opposed to passively responding to factors that play on us. Viewing people as directing their actions through their indications of themselves Blumer describes to stand in sharp contrast with the dominating views of human action within the social sciences. “We must, however, recognize that the activity of human beings consists of meeting a flow of situations in which they have to act and that their actions are built on the basis of what they note, how they assist and interpret what they note, and what kind of projected lines of action they map out.” (1969, 16).

3.2 Emotions and social bonds; the micro sociology of Thomas Scheff
Seemingly scattered across a palette of thoughts is Thomas Scheff's (1990) theory on social bonds and emotions. His micro-level analysis on pride and shame and their influence on relationships, or social bonds, as well as conformity made the theory relevant as a lens through which the empirical material generated in this project could be discussed.

Scheff's theory takes of in his discussion of the social bond. The most crucial human motive there is, is argued by Scheff to be the maintaining of the social bonds people have to each other. Similar to Durkheim's ideas on solidarity Scheff argues that secure social bonds are what holds societies together. They may be characterized by closeness and distance but ultimately it is a balance between the both. This balance is denoted by Scheff as differentiation. Two types of differentiations are mentioned- optimal differentiation and under differentiation. Optimal differentiation is what defines a social bond described as intact. The idea suggests that there is an experienced balance between the needs of the individual and the needs of the group to which the individual belongs. When this is the case the individuals who share bonds are able to maintain the bonds even though they are different from each other. Similar to Meads ideas on role taking Scheff argues that social bonds characterized by optimal differentiation involves a certain degree of closeness between the members as it requires
the knowledge of the others point of view. At the same time optimal differentiation is argued to involve distance as the members have to accept each others independence (Scheff, 1990, 4).

Under-differentiated bonds, on the other hand, are the social bonds of people who define loyalty in terms of conformity. As an example Scheff mentions the group who sees loyalty as steaming from the similarities rather than the differences in its members. When the bonds are characterized by under-differentiation the interactants within a group experience betrayal by the member who does not conform to its directions but rather develops his own. In such a group, Scheff writes, the individual members are seen as engulfed. The opposite to this alternative is the group where the individual is all and the group is nothing, where the bonds are so loose that the individual members become isolated from each other (1990, 4). Maintaining intact social bonds are therefore a process described to involve both knowledge and the acceptance of disagreement and agreement. The amount of differentiation that goes into a bond is seen to generate the scale of both rigidity and adaptiveness of the individual to the group. If the member experience too little distance from the others an overconformity may be the result just as too much distance may result in underconformity. A balance is therefore necessary to maintain coherence (1990, 7).

Scheff further suggests that a normal bond involves both a reciprocal ratification (or mutual confirmation) between its 'owners' but also that the owners are seen as legitimate participators in creating the bond. The ratification of an owners legitimacy must both be felt and expressed by the other. If it is not the bond may become threatened as the 'owners' may feel rejected or excluded. It is at this proposition Scheff reveals the core argument of his theory stating that when a social bond becomes threatened intense feelings are generated as a response. To understand how emotions and social bonds interlink Scheff turns to the Goffmanian ideas of effective social encounters and writes that for a social bond to stay intact a sense of attunement must exist between its owners. The attunement suggests a mutual understanding both emotionally and mentally. Attunement does not necessarily evolve around agreement, it may occur both in conflict and cooperation, rather it is described as empathic intersubjectivity: mind reading or, I would argue, role taking. Conflict between individuals belonging to a group is described by Scheff as constructive as long as the owners of the bonds are attuned with each other. When they are not attuned conflict is seen as destructive. As long as the owners of a bond are attuned and the bond is intact, however, the owners see each others as persons similar to themselves and conflict serves the purpose of mutual adjustment and change, even though it may happen during states of anger (1990, 7).
As a basic premise Scheff proposes that all humans require social bonds. Due to the rise of the industrial societies and individualism, however, the sense of community once felt was severed. This caused a lack in a previous web of secure social bonds between people and Scheff argues that because of that the modern man struggle to achieve the minimum of the bonds he requires. As a defense against the loss of secure bonds Scheff proposes a defense system institutionalized by society; “the denial and repression of the emotions that are associated with social bonds- pride and shame” (1990, 12). The two emotions have according to Scheff one function in regards to the bond; they work as bodily signals describing the state of a persons bond both to self and other (1990, 15). However, Scheff sees pride and shame as deeply repressed and denied in modern societies as they are linked to the anomic that emerges out of threatened bonds (1990, 18).

Scheff continues by stating that the relationships that people in certain societies have to each other may be physically intact but based on threatened bonds. The phenomenon may result in that some individuals chose to accept relationships that do not live up to their basic needs but are still considered as tolerable since they are seen as better than loneliness. It is during these circumstances, Scheff argues, that nationalism may arise, providing people with pseudobonds instead of intact bonds. Pseudobonds furnish only the idea of community without creating attunement. Individuals belonging to groups based on pseudobonds are therefore described to give up significant parts of themselves as they become engulfed; their individual points of views (1990, 14). Drawing from the work of Shibutani (1955), Scheff suggests that a person who eventually wants to convert from communal bonds do so because they have become too insecure with the members of the group and more secure with the bonds with members of another group (1990, 24).

Emanating from Goffman (1967) and Lewis (1971) work on shame, and more specifically the relationship between embarrassment and deference, Scheff describes a deference emotion system that occurs both between and within interactants. The system, he suggests, works as an enforcer for individuals to conform to norms that are exterior to themselves through informal rewards: pride, and by punishment: shame (1990, 71). When people conform they expect rewards, when they do not they are likely to be punished. But even when no obvious sanctions are there to enforce our actions, Scheff continues, conformity usually occurs. Drawing from Goffman's ideas on anticipated embarrassment and its role in social encounters Scheff proposes his invisible system of informal sanctions. When actors present themselves to others they pose a risk of rejection or acceptance. Varying in intensity and obviousness rejections could result in the experience of shame and acceptance in the rewarding experience of pride (1990, 74). Social sanctions are thus a subtle system made up by the degree and type of deference as well as by pride and shame. To Scheff this system is what leads
individual to experience social influence as constraining. The perceptions and thoughts a person has of her expectations are seen only as the skeleton for social control, it is the pleasure of pride and the punishment of shame, Scheff writes, that makes it so compelling. As suggested Scheff acknowledges that formal punishments and rewards seldom occurs but are rather seen as rare. Even when individuals are alone the deference emotion system is described to function since people are able to imagine its effects (1990, 75). If real or imagined rejection is experienced by interactant/s and their emerging emotions are not acknowledged by each other a chain reaction of anger and shame may occur between them. Such a reaction, Scheff continues, may last only for a few seconds but could also result in bitter hatred that lasts for a lifetime (1990, 76).
Methodology

The following chapter is a presentation of the method that was used for this research project. It is divided into subchapters that presents the different components that together have formed the project. An explanation and motivation is made of the phenomenological approach followed by a discussion of the sample included in the study. The interview technique that was applied is further presented and discussed as well as the proceedings for the data collection. Further, the coding process performed in line with an Interpretive phenomenological analysis is explained and the chapter is concluded by a discussion on the implications of validity and reliability for qualitative studies as well as the ethical considerations that has accompanied this project.

4.1 The phenomenological approach and its four methodological steps

The methodological approach used for this research project is based upon the phenomenology developed by Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger and later sociologist Alfred Schütz. Working in accordance with phenomenology was motivated through the research questions focus on the experiences of social relations and social emotions contributions to defection processes from the White Power movement. As Giorgi (1997) argues, “phenomenology in its most comprehensive sense refers to the totality of lived experiences that belong to a single person” (1997, 236). The scientific explanation put forward in this project is therefore grounded in the subjective meanings of the respondents and as with the phenomenological focus the respondents perspectives were considered as central to the analysis of the material produced (Aspers, 2009, 1). Schütz (1932) phenomenology suggests that a researcher should have as her starting point an actors life world and natural attitude which is taken for granted by the actor itself (1932, 98). The material a researcher accesses through interacting with an actor is therefore the mental content of the actors natural attitudes. To understand an actor the researcher must grasp the actors meaning structures. These are described by Aspers (2009) as the intertwining of constituted meanings which come in structures and attain meaning in relations to other meanings (2009, 3). Schütz makes the distinction between first and second order constructs and writes “The thought objects constructed by the social scientist, in order to grasp this social reality, have to be founded upon the thought objects constructed by the common-sense thinking of men, living their daily life within their social world. The constructs of the social sciences are constructs of the second degree, that is, constructs of the constructs made by the actors on the social scene” (Schütz 1962, 59). The researcher does, in other words, develop theoretical constructions to describe a phenomenon through the theories that her respondents have of themselves and their experiences. The reaching of second order constructs is described by Gallagher and Zahavi (2012) as consisting of four methodological steps. The first step regards the researchers avoidance of speculative hypothesis about the reality by bracketing her acceptance of
natural attitudes (2012, 23). The procedure of epoché aims at neutralizing an attitude, allowing the researcher to put her direct focus onto reality as it is given and how it appears in experience. What is excluded through the epoché is the naivety of taking the world for granted and while doing so ignoring a contribution of other peoples consciousnesses (2012, 24). The second methodological step towards second order constructs is the phenomenological reduction aiming to analyze the “correlational interdependence between specific structures of subjectivity and specific modes of appearance or givenness” (2012, 25). In addition to the epoché and phenomenological reduction the eidetic variation works as a methodological instrument to the phenomenological toolbox.
Eidetic variation regards drawing out the essentials and invariant characteristics of a respondents experiences. Here the researcher uses her imagination to peel of what is considered as unessential properties of certain things. For example, If I examine a bed I might apprehend features that are superfluous to what constitutes the essential building blocks of the bed, as a duvet or a pillow.
Examining the bed through the eidetic variation suggests that I am searching for the what-ness of the bed, the properties that belong to it per se and if changed would make the bed cease being a bed. These qualities are the eidos of the bed, its essence (2012, 27). The fourth methodological step to phenomenology is the intersubjective corroboration which concerns the sharing and comparison with others the researchers phenomenological descriptions (2012, 28).

4.2 Sample
I first started to search for people to interview for this research project during the month of October, 2016. Of course, much qualitative research is based on a form of negotiation with potential respondents but recruiting former White Power activists takes on particular characteristic as there may be suspicion directed towards strangers, including scholars (Blee, 2007, 125). Having enough time to scout for respondents was therefore crucial. I started of by reaching out to organizations that work with individuals with former criminal careers and former activists, for instance EXIT Fryshuset and KRIS (Kriminellas revansch i samhället). When I did not receive an answer or a no as response from the above mentioned organizations I contacted acquaintances who I knew had friends that used to be, or were activists within the autonomous left (as rightist and leftist activists tend to be familiar with each other). I also went online and searched for television or newspaper interviews with former activists who I contacted through Facebook or by email. I further contacted paper magazines as Expo to ask for help with getting me into contact with ex activists. Since there is considerable variation between the degrees of which activists are integrated into nationalist organizations I wanted to target people who were fully integrated into the movement and had lost their ties to the 'outside' community. It was my pre-understanding that the defection processes of fully integrated activists are life changing unlike hang arounds who also engage in a life outside the
movement. As Björgo (2008) notice, when the process of becoming engaged in a white power movement progress it becomes increasingly difficult, sometimes impossible, for activists to leave (2008, 33). Emanating from the understanding that activists differ in their engagement I searched for people who had been part of the nationalist movement for a longer period of time with a minimum of two years and who also had been a violently active part of their organizations by directing physical violence towards political opponents or people outside the movement. With the exception of my female respondent who had not been violently active but who none the less had been a part of the nationalist movement for many years all of my respondents met my criteria.

Through my association with individuals integrated in the autonomous left, with the help from Expo and by contacting former activists whose interviews I had found in newspaper magazines I eventually got in contact with seven former White Power activists. Two of my respondents later on referred me to two further individuals creating a total of nine individuals, eight men and one female. The uneven distribution between male and female is due to the fact that my respondents were the ones who were willing to participate. I initially wanted to target an equal amount of men and women in order to interpret potential differences between the sexes. It turned out that few women who have defected from the White Power movement have done so publicly. I therefore managed to locate only two women whereof only one responded to my request. The male respondents first initiated contact with the White Power movement at young ages ranging between eleven and seventeen years old. All of the male respondents had left the nationalist movement at the age of 40. Unlike the male respondents the female respondent initiated contact with the White Power movement at an older age of thirty one and left the movement at the age of thirty six. All of the respondents were born in small towns or urban areas scattered across Sweden. Six of the individuals included have come forward and publicly spoken to the media about their defection processes. As of today the same six individuals are working with lecturing about their journeys or work with preventing extremism or the alienation of marginalized individuals. The other three work within the fields of construction, foreign policy and art.

4.3 The Biographic narrative and semi structured interview
Defecting from political violence is a social psychological process. In order to account for such a process it is necessary that researchers come in direct contact with people who have experiences of leaving a social movement (Barelle, 2014, 30). As I wanted to account for the subjective experiences of former activists I had to turn to people who could offer a rich, detailed and first person account of such experiences. Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) write that interviews could be the best means of accessing such accounts since they bring out stories, thoughts and feelings
about a phenomenon. Unlike focus groups or participant observations the interview is consonant with an intimate focus on one person's experience which made the method relevant as a tool to answering the study's research questions as they concerned former activists lived experiences. To collect as rich data as possible without compromising the respondents opportunities to speak freely, reflectively and develop their ideas and express their concerns at length (2009, 56) Wengraf's (2001) combined biographic narrative and semi-structured method was used. The method consists of two initial narrative sessions followed by one semi-structured session. During the first narrative session the respondents were asked to give narrative-based personal accounts that were of relevance to their times as activists. Narrative session number two consisted of extracting more story from the topics that were raised by the respondent in the initial narration (2001, 119). The purpose of these two sessions was to keep my pre-existing knowledge as a researcher from “driving” the data collection towards a theoretical perspective in order to enhance the degree of phenomenological descriptions (Fergusson, Burgess & Hollywood, 2010, 864). The concluding, semi-structured session was designed with questions arising from the theoretical and practical concerns of the project (Wengraf, 2001, 144). Put in other words, while I wanted to target the phenomenological descriptions of my respondents I also wanted to combine these descriptions with the empirical and theoretical perspectives of emotions and relationships. However, only using a semi structure could have resulted in that my pre-existing knowledge restricted my respondents stories by not letting them speak freely but only answer empirically driven questions.

While interviews are well suited to explore and explain the social reality of peoples exits from social movements the method comes with concerns that needs to be critically reflected upon. Qualitative studies are not prone for generalization to the extent that quantitative studies are. By using in depth interviews a researcher is able to present profound findings related to the specific sample, thanks to the richness of data. Data based on one single study should however not be considered an indication of more general phenomena (Carlsson, 2016, 47). Interviews are further accompanied by the risk that respondents wants to present themselves and their life worlds in one way rather than the other, both to the interviewer but also to the people who are reading about them in the publication (Wengraf, 2001, 117). However, due to ethical concerns that will be discussed at length in a separate subchapter the decision was made to anonymize the respondents in such a way that their stories could not be linked to them as individuals. To anonymize the respondents, I argue, reduces the risks of self-preservation or exaggerated self presentations. Carlsson (2016) further points to the concern that when asking a person to tell a story about his life, he speaks in the present about his past. The life as the respondent experienced it in the past does not necessarily have to be identical with how he speaks about it afterwards since he in some sense has changed during his
defection process (2016, 48). Considering these reflections I do none the less argue in line with Järvinen (2004) that life simply never disappears out the life history and leaves the researcher with empty stories (2004, 64). Instead a researcher must consider and be aware of how people speak about parts of their lives and through these considerations use the stories as scientific data.

4.4 Data collection proceedings

During the month of February the preparatory material for the interviews were completed. A literature review was outlined and studied and from the outline three initial questions for the first narrative session was developed and twenty seven questions for the third, semi structured subsession was developed. Since the stories of the respondents varied during the first narrative session the range of follow up questions for the second narrative session varied in accordance with their initial stories. Interviews were conducted during the months of February and March. With the permission from the respondents all interviews were recorded. Using the data and previous literature I once again sat down in March to expand the third, semi structured session of the interview guide with questions regarding emotions. Follow up interviews were conducted throughout March.

As all of my respondents lived outside of Stockholm or Uppsala I used Skype as my platform for conducting interviews. Deakin and Wakefield (2014) rightly points out that online methods have become a tool for researchers with restricted funds to reach people outside traveling distance (2014, 607). It allowed for a greater flexibility for my respondents since I had told them in advance to set aside at least two full hours for conversation. A majority of the respondents were in full-time employment and could therefore choose to talk to me late during the evening or when they found themselves having some spare time over at work. Using Skype also encouraged the respondents who were not used to talking about their processes and may have been reluctant to speak to me face to face to participate online (2014, 608). When having to relive a process as intense as my respondents processes I reasoned that it was important that they would feel comfortable and secure in their surroundings. Being at home or in their offices created an environment where they could speak freely without having to be concerned that others would eavesdrop on our conversation.

During the first narrative session my respondents were asked to freely tell me about their initial contact with the nationalist movement, their experiences of events and happenings while they were activists and their experiences of leaving. Integrating stories about initial contact as well as happenings and events during the activist time frame was motivated through previous research that suggests that leaving activism may be logically linked to prior phases of a person's involvement and
engagement (Horgan et. al, 2016, 3). An example of this, I argue, is illustrated in the literature review which points to disillusionment with other members as influencing a will to leave. Walking away from activism can according to Horgan et. al therefore not be understood as an isolated incident from the onset and continuation of the activist career (2016, 4). As the first narrative session came to an end which was indicated by the respondents that they had nothing left to say I reviewed the notes I had taken during their narratives and went through the second session by asking follow up questions related to their initial stories.

The questions integrated in the semi structured interview session concerned the respondents experiences of relationships and emotions as they were White Power activists and during the time they were leaving. Questions regarding social relations were constructed as I read through previous literature (for the full interview guide, see Appendix One). For instance I found that initiating a relationship with a romantic partner was described to result in that activists experienced a clash in loyalty between partner and movement which for some had contributed to defection. From this empirical finding I constructed the question “Could you tell me about your experiences of being a partner and an activist at the same time?”. Previous research also described that friends outside the White Power movement may influence defection for various reasons. From this I constructed questions as “Did you have any friends outside the movement during the time you were active?”, “Did you talk to them about your activism?” “Did you talk to them about wanting to leave?”. As I went along structuring my literature review into themes I also structured the questions on relationships in a similar manner. Since previous research on emotions and defection from the White Power movement or social movements is limited I had access to less material to develop such questions. Based on this I made the decision to derive questions concerning emotions as my respondents narrated their stories in the first narrative session. Using their initial narrations I could ask them to elaborate on emotions during the second narrative session. For example, as my respondents spoke about particular experiences such as violence or the dynamics with a partner in the first session I used the second session to ask them to tell me more about how such actions or relationships had made them feel. One question did for example read “You previously mentioned the time you and your friends abused a disabled man. How did that make you feel?” . Using this method did however result in that only a few of my respondents elaborated on their experienced feelings. As many of them told me at one point or another, being a part of the White Power movement means constantly having to suppress or neglect emotions since emotions are seen as a weakness within a dominantly male culture. It is possible that the respondents seldom reflected upon their feelings during or after their times as activists and therefore had troubles accounting for such experiences. It is also possible that having to re-live a period of time characterized by
emotional suppression resulted in the perception of being thrown back into a mentality of not wanting to speak about emotions. The outcome made me decide that I had to approach emotions in the same manner as I had approached relationships to accumulate more data. I decided to conduct follow up interviews in line with the third, semi structured session. With the exception of one respondent who did not respond to my request of conducting yet another interview session the other individuals included in this project agreed to talk to me again.

Constructing questions on emotions I partially emanated from my literature review on emotions influences on defection from criminality and social movements. For instance I found that literature described that activists had experienced certain situations, for instance propagating hateful messages or having the police questioning loved ones, as generating various emotions that eventually contributed to a will to leave. From this empirical finding I created the question “Could you tell me about a situation that you experienced as particularly emotional and that affected you as a private person?”. I partially re listened to all my taped interviews from the first and second narrative sessions to target passages I believed could be further elaborated on through an emotional lens. For example I found that many of my respondents had used the company with their friends from the organization as a means of not having to reflect upon their feelings. From this empirical finding I created the question “How did your feelings affect you when you were by yourself?”.

Taken together the interviews ranged between two and four hours. I transcribed all the interviews word by word using the InqScribe software which is a tool for averaging the speed of a conversation. The transcribed empirical material was coded using an interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA) where categories and themes were identified. As the analysis of the material was completed I emailed my respondents drafts as I had initially promised them. This step I considered as crucial in order to let them validate my findings by judging the accuracy of my analysis. I also wanted to make sure that they felt comfortable with the material not compromising with their integrity or anonymity.

4.5 Coding

Working according to a phenomenological methodology I coded my material using an interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA). The phenomenological aspects of IPA concerns the exploring of peoples experiences in a Husserlian sense by going back to the things 'in themselves'. Since I was interested in the major happening that is individuals leaving a part of their previous lives behind IPA was suiting due to its “concerns with experiences that has a large significance in peoples lives” (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009, 2). IPA further suited the sample size of the project since the
approach required detailed analysis of the material which made it a time consuming process. An additional motivation for using IPA was the homogeneous nature of the sample and as Smith and Shinebourne (2012) notes “the aim of the approach is to finding similarities and differences between respondents” (2012, 75). Coding and writing up the material was a process inspired by Smith and Shinebourne's description of the distinct stages of IPA. I initially became immersed in the material by closely reading through each transcribed interview highlighting and commenting on potential significance in relations to the posed research questions. Using the highlights and comments I proceeded by constructing themes aiming at a slightly higher level of abstraction although still grounded in the detail of the respondents account. I moved on by looking for connections between the themes that emerged and grouped them together based on conceptual similarities and provided a label for each domain (2012, 77). The domains and themes identified were:

- Initial contact: music, family and friends
- Engagement: A desire to make friends, disassociation with people outside, pride
- Defection: Relationships w people inside, Emotions, relationships w people outside

4.6 Validity and reliability
Throughout this chapter I have touched upon validity and reliability by discussing the methodological steps of phenomenology as well as accounting for my sample and data collection proceedings. It is none the less my belief that a more adequate discussion of the implications of reliability and validity is required because of its methodological consequences. Validity and reliability are words often associated with quantitative research projects and regards accuracy and measurements. But as Beck (1994) points out “one cannot assume reliability and validity to have the same meaning in the two paradigms of logical empiricism and the phenomenological framework” (1994, 254). Giorgi describes that validity within a phenomenological framework is achieved if the description of a phenomenon captures its true, intuited essence. Because of the methodological step of eidetic variation Giorgi (1988) argues that no additional judges are needed to evaluate the empiricism. Instead it is the readers of phenomenological research that are appointed the role of evaluators of the researchers essential intuition. Reliability is further argued to be achieved when the researcher can apply her essential descriptions consistently. To make a strong claim of scientific knowledge researchers also need to take precautions when attempting to arrive at descriptions that portray accuracy (1988, 84). In a more traditional sense validity and reliability within qualitative research refers to credibility (Trost, 2012, 63). To produce reliable results I used a standardized proceeding of posing the same questions to my respondents during the semi structured
interview session and during the first narrative session. Validity was achieved through the careful construction of questions which I presented both to my advisor but also to friends in order to make sure that others apprehended the questions in the way I meant them to. Validity was further secured through the readings of the material by my respondents where they could make pointers about me misunderstanding them.

Lastly, in a situation where the researcher collects data by interview she contributes to the conversation by directing it towards the focus of the study but also by giving off indications through facial expressions, tone of voice, nods etcetera. Due to the potential effects that my presence could have had upon my respondents I worked hard to limit my influence upon the material by approaching the respondents with an open attitude. The phenomenological approach and its key features encourages a placing within brackets of the researchers own experiences to keep her from letting preconceptions and pre-understandings influence her understanding of the phenomenon that is studied. I therefore sought to take a step back from my own attitudes towards politics, violence and ideology as I interviewed the respondent. My goal was always to approach each respondent with the same amount of interest and respect, independent of their previous backgrounds and life stories.

4.7 Ethical considerations

The ethical considerations of this project were partially inspired by four requirements proposed by the Swedish science council's publication “Ethical principles within the human sciences and social scientific research”. These are the information requirement, the requirement of consent, the confidentiality requirement and the utilisation requirement (Vetenskapsrådet, 1999, 6). I have partially also considered Resnik's (1998) ethical aims based on his identified goals of science. These consist of epistemic goals- the advancement of human knowledge, as well as practical goals as solving problems that can promote human health etcetera (1998, 35).

Since I first started to think about this project in the beginning of 2016 a major concern for me was ethical considerations. A majority of the respondents included in this project have due to their defections undergone life threats and still do while others have been severely abused by former friends of their organizations. Knowing that defections from the White Power movement had the potential to cause such circumstances it was important for me to approach my respondents with a clear idea on how I could handle their confidentiality in a serious manner. I therefore offered each of them to change their real names and told them that I would present them by pseudonym, gender, age, their previous organizations and their present field of work. I have also changed the names of
where they were born and grew up, places they figured as activists and within what areas they live today. I further changed none essential details in their stories that potentially could connect them or anyone else to certain events. One of the most important ethical considerations regarding their anonymity for me was to let all of them read through the material concerning their specific story before submitting my project. These criterions were presented to them before conducting the interviews as I presented the purpose of the project. I also asked each of them if they had other suggestions or concerns that they wanted me to take into account. None of them did.

As I went along conducting the interviews I came to realize that the sharing of my respondents stories created an emotional impact on them. This manifested through tears of sadness when reflecting upon how they had treated their loved ones as activists, laughs of joy when expressing the love they had felt when their children were born but also through an apprehended anxiety over not being able to relate to their previous lifestyles and actions. As I noticed that a certain conversational topic created negative emotions I expressed my empathy by asking them if they felt comfortable with proceeding or if they wanted to take a break to collect their thoughts. By the end of each conversation I told my respondents to get in contact with me if they no longer wanted to participate with their stories or if they had any other questions. I also let them know before the interview that I was happy to answer them if they wanted to know anything about me, but none of them had questions unrelated to the project. Letting them know about myself was a way for me to neutralize the power exertion that might be experienced by an interviewee in an interview situation. Since they would let me know about their lives I wanted to make them feel comfortable by knowing that I would do the same for them. I further let my respondents know that with the exception from my advisor I was the only one who would have access to the transcribed interviews.
Results

This chapter presents the empirical material that was gathered through interviews with nine former White Power activists. The chapter starts off with a presentation of the respondents and their former organizations and is followed by a sectioning into four sub chapters. The first sub chapter presents some of the respondents stories on getting involved with the White Power movement. The second sub chapter regards their engagement processes within the movement and the third sub chapter presents the heart of this project, the respondents stories on leaving their organizations and the White Power movement at large. The last sub chapter summarizes the results by highlighting key findings and additions made by this study to the findings presented in the literature review. As I have previously accounted for, the choice to include the respondents involvement- and engagement processes was based on the suggestion by previous research that engaging and leaving may be processes logically linked to each other (Horgan et. al, 2016, 3).

5.1 A presentation of the respondents

Nine respondents were included in this study, eight men and one woman. During the time of the interviews their ages ranged between twenty-seven years old and forty-two years old. When they first engaged in the movement the respondents were between twelve years of age and thirty-one years of age. When they left they were between eighteen years old and forty years old. All of the respondents, except from the respondent I have given the pseudonym Emma, were members of a White Power organization or political party. All of them had also adopted National Socialist ideas but they did not fully identify with everything that is associated with the ideology since the Second World War. Instead many of them were also inspired by other ideologies (Cf. Fangen, 1999, 7). The organizations the respondents belonged to were partly the Neo-nazi organizations Riksfronten, Nationalsocialistisk Front, Eskilstunas Nationalsocialister and Nordiska Mötståndsrörelsen, described as one of the most active White Power organizations of Sweden today (http://skola.expo.se/svenska-motstandsrorelsen_110.html). Other respondents were part of the informal Neo-nazi networks Vitt ariskt motstånd and Göteborgs fria nationalister as well as the Neo-nazi political party Svenskarnas Parti. During their times as activists all of the respondents, except Emma, frequently used violence directed towards political opponents, fellow White Power activists and random by passers. Six of them are convicted for such felonies. All of them live very different lives today but many report that they still feel guilt, partially over the physical violence they have committed towards others and partially towards their loved ones that were affected by their activism. As a direct result of leaving the movement three of the respondents have reported to still live under threats from White Power activists engaged in their previous organizations. Because of that their names are changed, parts of their stories are modified and their places of residency are
changed. These are their stories.

5.2 The initial contact with the White Power movement; music, friends and family

Getting involved in the White Power movement did for eight of the nine respondents happen at an early age in their lives. Only Emma, the female respondent, got involved in the movement at an older age of thirty one. When I asked the respondents to narrate their stories about their initial contact with the White Power movement stories about music, family and friends were told. Some of these stories will be presented below.

5.2.1 Sverige, Sverige Fosterland!

Jonas was born in south east Sweden in a small municipality with only 3000 inhabitants outside the town of Kalmar. His parents divorced as he was young and Jonas was raised by his mom and stepfather and rarely spoke to his biological father. Growing up Jonas only encountered with 'whites' since his municipality lacked of immigrant residents. He described himself as the 'lonely kid' who never had any friends to hang out with. Instead he engaged in writing poetry and listening to music. One day, as Jonas was twelve years old and bicycled home from school he noticed a shiny object laying in a ditch beside the roadway. He jumped of his bike to reach for the object and noticed that it was a cd record that someone had abandoned in the ditch. He recalled that he had stumbled upon the Swedish viking rock band Ultima Thule and that listening to the lyrics made him feel as if he started to develop a new form of identity, one anchored in national socialism.

“They band sang about vikings and the motherland of Sweden and how I should be proud over being Swedish. Their lyrical messages fortified the self esteem that I lacked from having been bullied and so I started to sink deep into nationalism.”

Jonas described that he bought a Swedish flag that he hung over his bed and that he sang along with the lyrics about power to the Swedish ancestors and gods. Soon after Jonas approached a boy belonging to the local clique of skinheads as he believed that the boy shared his interest for Ultima Thule's music. They started to talk about viking rock and the lyrical messages articulated in the songs and they agreed with each other in thinking that the music was good. Jonas was invited by the boy to join him to hang out and listen to music after school and during the weekends and they developed a friendship. Jonas felt pride over having found a friend who wanted to spend time with him and that shared his interest in the music. His new friend was someone who Jonas believed that others considered as cool and popular because he was dressed in bomber jackets and boots and had many friends. He described that his new friend introduced Jonas to other skinheads that he started to
associate with on a regular basis and within a few months he considered himself as fully integrated within the skinhead subculture in Kalmar. At the age of sixteen Jonas was released from a youth home after having been convicted for abusing another boy from his municipality. Shortly thereafter he was invited to a briefing that was held by a friend and former member of his skinhead crew who had joined Nationalsocialistisk Front (National Socialist Front). Since Jonas had started to sympathize with the ideals of national socialism through the music and later on developed the ideals through the interaction with his new friends, he was interested in knowing more about Nationalsocialistisk Front. He remembers how the skinhead subculture at that time had started to cross into something more political and ideological, as did Jonas.

5.2.2 Let's become friends!

Friends with connections to the White Power movement was further found to be experienced by respondents as their initial contact with the movement. Emma was born in central Sweden in the town of Västerås. As a child she was brought up and lived with her mom and dad that she had a good relationship to. Something that differentiates Emma from the rest of the respondents is that Emma's initial contact with the White Power movement did not happen until Emma was a grown up. Her story begins at the age of thirty one when Emma was employed at a new job and met with Natalie, a co-worker that Emma became close friends with. During the autumn of 2009 Emma got invited by Natalie to attend a concert performed by the Swedish punk band Dia Psalma. Emma was told by Natalie that they would go to the concert together with Natalie's old friend Jessica and Emma felt excited to finally get to meet one of Natalie's friends. As they arrived to Jessica's house for drinks Emma was surprised to find that Jessica had wine bottles in her book shelf with labels picturing Hitler, Mussolini and Goering. Emma recalled that she asked Jessica why she had pictures of people who were responsible for the deaths of millions of people in her home. As a response Jessica approached Emma and picked out a book from her shelf which she handed Emma.

“She told me to read the book and that things are not how they teach it at school. 'Those books are part of the jewish conspiracy', she told me. When I got back home I went online to order the book since I wanted to know what they knew that I didn't.”

Emma described that she was intrigued by getting to know what her new friends knew that she did not. Reading “Der holocaust auf dem Prufstand- Augenzeugenberichte versus Naturgesteze”, a book denying the Holocaust, sparked an interest within Emma for the national socialist ideology. She started to attend skinhead concerts regularly that Natalie and Jessica invited her to and one year later she met with the lead singer of a White Power band who she initiated a relationship with.
that moment her network was experienced to have increased dramatically but only with people from the White Power movement. Due to the interaction with other activists her ideas and values gradually became more and more characterized by nationalism. However, Emma described that she never became an official member of any political party or organization but that she sympathized with both Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen (the Swedish resistance movement) and Svenskarnas Parti (the Swedish political party), something that differentiates her story from the other respondents.

5.2.3 A primary socialization of hate?
Adam was born in Linköping and grew up with his mother and stepfather. His relationship to his father did early on suffer from his fathers absence and Adam described that he never was able to obtain a good relationship to his stepfather. His stepfather who abused alcohol and hit Adam raised Adam in a racist and hateful mentality, a mentality which later on was adopted by Adams mother. Adam's parents never let him play with children with immigrant backgrounds due to their racism, even though they lived in an area with a high population of immigrants. The racist ideals proclaimed at home Adam described to have affected his everyday life to the extent that he eventually started to internalize them himself. As he grew up he was often considered as the new kid at school due to his family's many moves. He had troubles making new friends and was often harassed by other children. His experienced loneliness caused him the desire to make friends and one day when Adam encountered with kids from the local skinhead crew he approached them.

"From my experiences from back home I knew what it was that these kids stood for. Their ideals, way of speaking and their world view was something that I could relate to. That knowledge became a way for me to approach them and so I walked up next to them and said something racist to the immigrant kids next to us. From that moment I was in”.

After a few years engaged in the skinhead subculture Adam became institutionalized at a youth home for abusing his teacher. During the weekends he went to the local town of Borlänge to find people in his own age to interact with. Adam described Borlänge at that time as the head quarters of the national socialistic ideology and specifically the Neo-nazi organization Riksfronten (the National Front). Having been raised in a racist mentality and indoctrinated in the skinhead subculture Adam was familiar with the language spoken by the activists from Riksfronten and did therefore decide to approach them. He started to spend every weekend away from the youth home with people engaged in the national socialistic ideology and although Adams conviction had nothing to do with politics he became known among other activists as the political prisoner, a term
coined for people who are institutionalized for committing political crimes. As he was released from the youth home and moved to the town of Arvika he became an organized member of a local section of Riksfronten.

Summary
Stories about music, family and friends were narrated by the respondents as they described their initial contact with the White Power movement. Common for most of the respondents, however, was that music, family or friends were factors experienced to have introduced them to people within the skinhead subculture who in turn were described to have introduced them to people within the White Power movement. The connection indicates that although music, family and friends were considered by the respondents as their initial contact with the movement the interaction with skinheads mattered too. As one of the respondents, Tony, suggests: involving with skinheads could be understood to work as a gatekeeper into the White Power movement. A further matter of interest is that another five respondents, beyond the two who explicitly mentioned music as their initial contact with the movement, talked about music when describing their stories on getting involved in the White Power movement (Cf. Kimmel, 2007, 213). Their stories indicate that White Power music may work as an effective factor that contributes to individuals involvement in the movement. As Kimmel also puts it “One must not underestimate the power of White Power music on young prepubescent boys decisions to “go Nazi” (Kimmel, 2007, 210). Furthermore, as I listened to the respondents stories about their initial contact with the movement their stories did at first come off as uncomplicated processes influenced and characterized by few factors. However, as the respondents stories proceeded they progressively became more complex.

5.3 Engaging in the White Power movement: friends, pride and disassociation
The next chapter will account for some of the respondents experiences of engaging in the movement. Their stories will touch upon desires to make friends, but also on the emotion of pride and a sense of disassociation to the outside community.

5.3.1 Friends and pride
To understand why the respondents chose to engage and stay engaged in the White Power movement one has to understand that a majority of them experienced a lack of social bonds to others. As they grew up many of them did therefore desired to make friends (Cf. Scheff, 1990, 12). We move back to Adams story and the incident in the school yard where Adam first got in contact with the skinheads at his school. Before that Adam had felt like the small, new kid at school who never had any friends and was bullied by others. He described to have desired to find something to
belong to as he believed that belonging would make him feel less lonely and exposed (Cf. Scheff, 1990, 14). His contact with the skinhead group provided him with the chance he had always desired to make friends. They became the sanctuary to where he could go when his stepfather got drunk and abused him and his mother. They also came to his rescue when other children bullied him. Adam expressed that engaging with his new friends made him feel as if he had found a new identity based on the belonging of the group. When he became a member of Riksfronten he experienced that it was his pro violent behavior that previously had gotten him into fights with his classmates and teachers that instantly got him appreciated by other activists. The appreciation made the White Power movement appear to Adam as the only place where he fitted in and felt at home.

“To me it was always the feeling of community that was the most important thing.”

Emerging out of the social bonds that Adam had established to people within the White Power movement came feelings of pride- pride over belonging (Cf. Scheff, 1990, 71). He remembers how ordinary activities as walking down town with his group of friends worked as an ego boost as people took detours to avoid them (Cf. Kimmel, 2007, 211). The role transition from feeling like the small, scared kid who was bullied to feeling like the person others feared was experienced by Adam as a revenge on his stepfather and the children who had teased him. Violence also became a source through which pride emerged from for Adam. He described that he loved getting into violent situations and that he felt as if he was entitled to exercise violence on others since he had been exposed to it by his father when he was a child. Violence became joyful to Adam as he realized that he could abuse others without being abused himself.

“I enjoyed it immensely, beating up others without getting beaten up myself”.

Fighting and hanging out with his new friends eventually became Adam's entire life.

When Michael was young he became one of few skinheads in the suburb of Gothenburg where he lived. He described how dressing in a bomber jacket and high boots was a cultural statement at first but when he at the age of fourteen received a phone call from a member of Nationell Samling (the National Assembly) inviting him to a briefing Michael felt special and intrigued to hear what they would say. At the meeting he encountered with older skinheads who approached him and embraced him into their group. Michael described that making new friends felt comforting at the time since they provided him with a sense of security that he had lacked. His parents had divorced as he was a child and Michael experienced that he never got along with his parents, he also never had a solid
group of friends. He started to couch surf at his new friends houses and eventually formed the nationalist organization Göteborgs Fria Nationalister (the Free nationalists of Gothenburg). One of the things that attracted Michael in forming GFN was the strong sense of community between the activists and he described the organization as a bunch of close friends who engaged in recreational activities and politics. When I asked Michael what activities he enjoyed the most as an activist he answers fighting. Big fights against political opponents as Antifascistisk aktion (Anti-facist action) and Revolutionära Fronten (the Revolutionary Front) generated pride within Michael since he received attention from his friends for being a good fighter.

“People started to look up to me and yeah.. it became a status thing. They started to listen to me and treat me with respect.”

Getting noticed by other activists after a fight made Michael feel proud as he experienced that he was good at something and that others noticed him and appreciated him for it. Bottoming in insecurities with himself violence was initially about showing off and making others fear him. However, as he engaged in more fights the violence became an activity that he came to appreciate as it generated pride. The rougher violence he used the more he experienced that his friends noticed him.

5.3.2 Burning bridges- Disassociation to the outside community
One year after Emma's visit to the Dia Psalma concert she became involved with the lead singer of a White Power band. She took it upon her to help her new boyfriend with the organization of his bands tour schedule. Becoming the key person to handle the interaction with promoters and fans all over the world resulted in that Emma's list of friends on Facebook grew rapidly. She got connected to people engaged in Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen and Svenskarnas Parti and as she made new friends within the White Power movement Emma became less interested in hanging out with her old friends as they did not share her political beliefs. Planing and attending her boyfriends gigs eventually became so time-consuming that Emma decided to quit her job. She described the process of becoming disassociated to people in the normalized society as the world outside the movement shrunk without her noticing it.

“My old friends slowly disappeared as I established new relationships with people.. people with a lot of opinions.”

One day Emma received a phone call from her childhood friend who cried at the other end of the
line. Emma's friend told Emma that she had noticed Emma's updated list of newly added friends on Facebook only to find people covered in Swastikas, hailing in their profile pictures. Emma's friend told Emma that it hurt her to watch her best friend turn into a White Power activist and that she was unable to be friends with someone who sympathized with nationalism. Being labelled a White Power activist by her former friends is something that Emma experienced to have made her sink deeper into the assigned role as an activist. Believing that others saw her as a White Power activist without being open to listen to her ideas and thoughts she recalls to have made her accept her new role as an activist since she did not feel strong enough to oppose it. When she eventually decided to leave the movement, after many years, she had no friends left in the normalized society. One by one she had watched them disappear which recurrently made her doubt if she could ever manage to leave. Where and to whom would she go?

Engaging in the White Power movement at an early age Adam experienced that he never got the chance to establish relationships to people outside of the movement. Becoming a baby skin at the age of twelve he spent all his awake time with other skinheads and activists. Adam described that he distanced himself from people outside the movement because he felt as if people within the normalized society interfered with his activism. For instance he recalls that his biological step father contacted Adam when Adam was fourteen. Adams dad told him that he wanted to work on rebuilding their relationship. As he came to see Adam during the weekends at the youth home Adam seldom wanted anything to do with him. He told his dad that he did not want him to come and visit Adam since he did not want his dad to interfere in his life. His relationships to his siblings also weakened since Adam most of the time hung out with his friends within the movement and rarely slept at home. Still, Adam sometimes made feeble efforts to manage school and keep up with the things that he believed the normalized society required of him. However he constantly ended up telling himself that the normal society was not for him. He had found the only place where he believed that he could get accepted and although he eventually reached a point where he started to think about leaving he hesitated for many years.

“I eventually came to realize that the idealized brotherhood was false but at the same time I didn't have anything else. I didn't have a single soul outside the White Power movement and so even though I knew how fragile everything was I chose to stay since... yeah... I lacked other alternatives.”

Throughout his engagement in the movement Adam felt that he had hurt people with his activism to the extent that no one on the outside wanted to associate with him. Trying to leave and engage in
something different was an opportunity that Adam experienced was lost as he had burnt the bridges to the few people he had once known within the normal society.

**Summary**

When I asked the respondents to tell me their stories on engaging in the White Power movement they narrated stories on finding new friends, how experiences of belonging generated pride, that pride was felt over being considered as capable fighters and that engaging contributed to a disassociation with people outside the movement. While the establishment of social bonds to other activists and the feeling of pride tend to be expressed as reasons why the respondents engaged in the White Power movement their experiences of becoming disassociated to people outside of the movement may be understood as how they stayed engaged. By distancing themselves from people within the normalized society the respondents decreased their options to engage in something outside the movement. In this sense the community of White Power activists is, as Fangen suggests, tight and tender (Fangen, 1999, 14). The construction of disassociation to people in the normal society may witness about what Kaplan proposes as a counter community, that activists place their community in relation to the surrounding society and by doing this they point to the protest that they express towards their surrounding world (Kaplan, 1995, 4). The finding corresponds to Carlsson's finding and Carlsson suggests that relationships to family and friends could work as a resource through which activists who wants to leave actually can manage do so (Carlsson, 2016, 67). The political purpose was also mentioned as some of the respondents talked about their engagement processes, but to a much lesser extent. Instead, the political purpose was mentioned as a way for them to manage the guilt they felt after having committed various crimes. Justifying beatings and offenses by convincing themselves that violence served a higher, political purpose was experienced by some as liberating.

Accounting for the respondents experiences of their initial contact and engagement with the White Power movement shows that becoming integrated into the movement resulted in that their stories became more complex as their canvas of relationships and emotions expanded. While their initial contact with the White Power movement was experienced to have happened through the interaction with music, family or friends their stories on engaging and staying engaged exhibited processes including pride, a desire to make friends and disassociation. The next chapter will show that leaving the movement was an even more complex process for the respondents. Although presented as linear processes it should be noted that none of the respondents defections were. All of them experienced a sense of bouncing back and forwards between doubts, sometimes for many years before leaving. The results section will be concluded by the main focus of this project, leaving the White Power
movement.

5.4 Leaving the White Power movement; disillusionment, emotions and significant others
In order to understand the respondents experiences of leaving the White Power movement one has to understand their experiences of engaging in it as the processes are logically linked to each other. The previous chapters did therefore account for three of the respondents experiences of engaging in the White Power movement (Cf. Horgan et. al, 2016, 3). The structure of the following chapter consists of a sectioning into three subchapters. The first and third subchapter present findings related to the first two research questions regarding the contribution of relationships to the respondents defection processes. The second subchapter relates to the third research question regarding social emotions contribution to the respondents defection processes. I have chosen to divide the chapters on relationships due to the finding that relationships to people within the White Power movement tend to have contributed to the respondents wills to leave it. As did emotions. Relationships to significant others or people outside the movement were on the other hand experienced as a means through which the respondents actually could leave, either physically or psychologically. The chapters will therefore follow the chronological order told by the respondents themselves. Each sub chapter will be concluded by a summary of the findings and the findings will further be discussed in relations to the research presented in the literature review.

5.4.1 Who can I trust? Relationships to other White Power activists
In the literature review previous research was presented suggesting that disillusionment is a common factor that may contribute to leaving activism behind. It should be noted that none of the respondents in this project mentioned one reason for wanting to defect. Rather, their processes were multidimensional. Disappointment with other activists and leaders was however something that all nine respondents described to have experienced.

While being asked to share his story on leaving the White Power movement respondent Jimie starts off by telling me that his defection process was about psychologically leaving the movement rather than physically leaving his organization. When he was eighteen Jimie was convicted for the preparations of an armed robbery. He served two years in prison, was released and became convicted once again for abusing an officer. As Jimie served time a majority of the members of his organization Vitt ariskt motstånd (the White aryan resistance) went to prison for felonies and as a result the organization dissolved. As VAM got broken up Jimie's physical engagement in the White Power movement came to an end. His physical defection did not, however, change his beliefs in the social bonds he had previously established to other activists within the movement. He still
considered himself as part of the aryan brotherhood and believed in the solidarity between its members. But as Jimie went back to prison his perceptions of his friends within the White Power movement started to change. Few of his friends ever wrote Jimie a letter or gave him a phone call once he went to prison. His beliefs in the loyalty idealized by the movement slowly started to crumble.

“The support that I had expected from others.. it never came, it didn't exist.
I expected that people would maintain their respect towards me and ask me
how I was and if I needed anything.. but that respect disappeared straight away.”

After Jimie got released from prison there were few who offered him financial support even though he struggled to pay his bills and buy food. Still, he experienced that other activists wanted to be seen with him since political prisoners are considered as martyrs or heroes within the White Power movement. The treatment Jimie received by his friends after going to prison made him feel as if the friends he once had and had taken pride in could not be trusted.

“They weren't my friends. In this movement it is only about selfishness and
there is an immense lack of loyalty. Brotherhood and loyalty sounds nice in theory
but when it really came down to reality none of it was real.”

Experiencing other activists as turning their backs on Jimie as he went to prison was linked to the expectation of loyalty idealized by Jimie during his engagement. The perceptions of disloyalty further contradicted the emotion of pride that Jimie had felt over being a part of the brotherhood. When the support he expected from others did not come Jimie started to experience disillusionment. Becoming disappointment with other activists was further narrated by Tony, one of the respondents who's initial contact with the White Power movement happened through a friend. Engaging in the movement did for Tony initially concern a need to find new, loyal friends who Tony could trust and who had Tony's back. The need steamed from Tony's previous experiences of having felt abandoned by his old friends for substance abuse. When being asked about his journey out of the White Power movement Tony described that a perceived disloyalty between activists eventually made him disappointed to the point where he wanted to leave. Tony, who was the founder of an organization established in the town of Piteå was best friends with Alexander. Together with Tony Alexander helped to maintained and uphold the organization founded by Tony. From time to time Tony collaborated with activists from Nationalsocialistisk Front (the National socialist Front) but he never wanted to see his organization become a fraction of NSF. Positing the role as the founder of
his organization Tony did not want to become dependent upon other organizations. Instead he dreamed of incorporating organizations into his own organization to create one national White Power organization that he could be the leader of.

“The problem was that my so called friend Alexander was jealous of the attention I got as the leader, he wanted it for himself. One day I found out that he had gone behind my back and told members of NSF that I had approved my organization to become a fraction of their party... I had never done that”.

Tony described that once Alexander had incorporated NSF behind his back Tony began to experience intense feelings of disappointment. He recalled how the disappointment made him question the entire White Power movement and by the time he was ready to leave he felt as if the movement was characterized only by double standards where people proclaimed one thing but did the other. The 'one for all' mentality that Tony had desired and considered a reason for joining was demolished.

“That mentality was bullshit because it turned out to be false so many times and with different things. When it really came down to it and you had to face real life situations people showed me their true colors.”

A further story about disillusionment with other activists was told by Michael, the respondent who expressed enjoyment over fights with political opponents as it caused him pride to be recognized by his friends. Becoming a part of the White Power movement and GFN was for Michael about the belonging to a core group of friends. The loyalty proclaimed by activists was key for Michael and he often opposed the recruitment of new activists into his organization since he feared that more people would weaken the social bonds between the members of GFN and create disloyalty. During his engagement in GFN Michael was convicted for an offense and was sentenced to prison for one year. After getting released Michael spent two weeks out of prison and was sentenced for another offense. Michael described that he was innocent of committing the offense and that a fellow friend and activist belonging to his organization was responsible. Michael denied any involvement in the crime to the police as he expected that his friend would step forward and take the punishment, but his friend never did. Due to the common belief that activists within the movement should show loyalty towards others Michael never accused his friend of the crime and took on his prison sentence.
“He'd never been convicted for anything and I had just been released after serving a year. If he had confessed his sentence wouldn't have been as long as the one I got. Sure, it pissed me off but mostly I was so disappointed.”

Michael described that as he went back to prison he physically left GFN by resigning from all contact with other activists, but he did not leave the White Power movement psychologically. Similar to Jimie's story Michael experienced that leaving GFN was his physical step out of the movement. Dissolving his values and beliefs, however, was not something that happened over night. We will continue to follow Michaels story in the following sub chapters.

Disagreements over actions was further found to be experienced by the respondents as a factor causing disappointment with other activists and leader figures. Philip is one of this projects respondents who was a member of Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen. As I asked Philip to tell me about his story on leaving the White Power movement he starts off with an incident from 2006 that made him question the severe use of violence used by activists within Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen. After attending a White Power demonstration in Stockholm Philip and a bunch of activists from Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen commutered back to their local facilities. As the group was about to enter an underground train Philip realized that counter demonstrators from Anti-fascist action and the Revolutionary Front sat on the train. Hundreds of White Power activists surrounded the anti racist activists screaming “kill them! kill them!” . Philip who otherwise enjoyed fighting experienced unease thinking that the violence would become excessive and get out of hand. He recalled how a handful of anti racists were brutally beaten up and hospitalized during the fight, among them one activist who got his teeth hit out by a White Power activists beating him a shield. As Philip's best friend who were also integrated in NMR eventually decided to leave the organization Philip felt as if his situation was not tenable anymore.

“I realized things weren't tenable anymore, everyday was characterized by conflict. I started to disagree more and more with the people managing the organization over how things were to be handled. At that point I left.”

Summary and discussion
Having activists turning their backs on each other in real life situations, being deceived by a good friend within the movement and having to take the blame for a fellow activist were situations that a
majority of the respondents described to have experienced during their engagements in the White Power movement. As such events unfolded the respondents were disappointed over the perceived disloyalty between activists in their organizations. The phenomenon is described in the literature review as disillusionment with other activists. Becoming disillusioned, or disappointed with other activists was something that all respondents mentioned as they spoke about their defection processes. The finding adds support to Horgan et. al (2016) study where the authors suggest that disillusionment is linked to the engagement phase, the idealization and belief in loyalty among people in a movement (2016, 3). It also adds support to previous literature suggesting that a common reason why activists eventually want to leave their organizations is due to perceptions that their expectations of their new friends did not correspond to reality (Barelle, 2015, 133; Björgo, 2008, 37; Björgo, 2011, 277; Carlsson, 2016, 54; Daalgard-Nielsen, 2013, 7; Jacobsson, 2010, 9; Van der Val & Wagenaar, 2010, 48). A majority of the respondents in this study expressed that they engaged in the movement for the sake of friendships. As van Stekelenburg and Klandermans argue, the joining of a social movement in order to make new friends may cause disillusionment if activists start to perceive others as changing their behaviors in a negative way (van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007, 198).

Becoming disappointed with other activists over disagreements on what actions are appropriate to fulfill the political purpose of the organization was also mentioned, but to a much lesser extent. Philip, who's story was just narrated, expressed that he eventually started to consider violence-prone activists as counterproductive in fulfilling the goals of Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen. His story is similar to findings made by Björgo and Carlsson in their study of racist youth groups. However, as Philip connects violence to counterproductivity in fulfilling the political purposes of Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen the activists in Björgo and Carlssons study rather speak about violence in moral terms, as actions they did not want to get associated with (Björgo & Carlsson, 2005, 27). Philip further considered activists within NMR as lazy and unmotivated and described that he felt as if he had to push them forward, eventually resulting in a loss of group credibility. The finding is identical to van der Walk and Wagenaar who found that White Power activists expressed frustration and disagreement when evaluating other activists strategic behavior (van der Walk & Wagenaar, 2010, 49). Surprisingly, Philip was the only respondent who mentioned disappointment in the leaders of his organization. While Philip wanted NMR to change its recruitment process from passively handing out flyers to actively recruiting by-passers by talking to them, the leaders of the organization were experienced as wanting to stick to old routines. That only one respondent in this project mentioned disillusionment with leader figures contrasts Barelle's study of White Power activists where she found that disappointments with a leader was the most common reason for
wanting to leave the movement (Barelle, 2015, 135). One explanation to why the results in this project contrast with Barelle's study is that there might be a difference in the hierarchical compositions between organizations in different countries. Many of the respondents in this project never mentioned leader figures and two of them said that their organizations did not have leaders but rather that older members took the important decisions.

5.4.2 What have I become? The emotions of guilt, fear and shame
Calverley and Farrall write that leaving a criminal career behind is as much about changes in feelings as it is about anything else (Farrall & Calverley, 2014, 104). One of the empirical findings that was derived from this project is that the respondents described their actions as activists as eventually creating feelings of guilt and fear. Three of them also mentioned that they experienced shame. Since none of the respondents mentioned positive emotions as contributing to their defection processes but instead linked happiness etcetera to happenings as becoming a parent, positive emotions are integrated throughout the chapter on relationships with significant others.

Guilt
Eight of nine respondents mentioned guilt as they narrated their stories on leaving the White Power movement. In particular it was found that guilt was felt as an effect from the use of violence, from propagating for national socialism and that ones activism affected loved ones in a negative way. When Adam was involved in Riksfronten he was still in high school. One day an activist friend of Adam's approached a fellow classmate to pick a fight for no apparent reason. As a response the classmate slapped Adam's friend across the face. A bunch of activists instantly jumped their classmate and started to beat him up. Although Adam thought the slap was called for since his friend had picked a fight for no good reason, Adam felt obliged to join into the beating of his classmate.

“I knew when I attacked him that what I did was wrong. My friend totally deserved that bitchslap and honestly, after that beating I constantly had a guilty conscience towards my classmate.”

Feeling guilty over the use of violence was frequently mentioned by Adam as he talked about why he eventually wanted to leave the movement. People who Adam got into fights with during the weekends he often had to face at school as the week began. As he grew older the beating of others started to result in anxiety due to a bad conscience.
“What eventually made me feel as if I had to leave wasn’t ideology or the organization as such but the actions, the things we did, the violence that started to give me a bad conscience.”

Propagating for social nationalism was further found to be described as generating guilt. Surprisingly many of the respondents mentioned that they believed in the holocaust as activists but that they could not admit to it due to the movements denial of it. The respondents who did admit to the holocaust as activists felt guilty from pretending that they supported it. Believing that the holocaust had happened and feeling sick from the events that took place there Tony openly praised it in order to maintain his role as a rough and hard-nosed activist. He told other activists that he loved the events that took place during the holocaust since it showed what the national socialistic ideology made people capable of. He recalled that his activist friends watched tapes from concentration camps and laugh as they saw pictures of dead bodies and abused children. Although it sickened Tony to watch the films he never mentioned to his friends how he felt but instead joined them in laughing.

“It's like you are torn between two selves, a personal self and your image and those two could never overlap. I constantly felt as if the devil and angel inside of me were joining into a heavy battle”.

Feeling as if he was torn between a social and personal self was described by Tony to eventually accumulate so much guilt that it result in emotional exhaustion causing him to doubt his engagement in the movement. He described that his personal self constantly felt unease over proclaiming for the holocaust, in particular the abusing of children and elderly, even though he thought such acts were immoral.

Experiencing guilt that one's activism has affected loved ones in a negative way was further expressed by the respondents. One night as Chris's little brother, who suffered from Aspergers syndrome, was on his way home from the movie theaters he was attacked and brutally beaten up by a group of anti racists. The individuals attacking Chris's brother wanted to target Chris and revenge him for being a White Power activist. Chris recalled that the abuse hurt him as his brother had no part in Chris's activism. To Chris it was unfair that his brother had to suffer for the actions that Chris had done and Chris described that he rather would have taken on the beating himself. Due to the physical injuries Chris's brother was not discharged from the hospital for two days and the
psychological trauma that the beating caused his brother made him scared to leave his apartment. Chris described how feeling guilty towards his brother made him question why the incident had happened. He reached the conclusion that it was because of him and the choices he had made to become a member of a White Power organization and associate with White Power activists.

“I went through it in my head, why had they beaten him? I realized that it was because of the decisions I’d made, everything I’d gone through. That's when the roughest period of my life began, when I realized that I had to leave everything behind.”

The above stories narrated by Adam, Tony and Chris are similar to stories narrated by another five respondents. This suggests that guilt is an emotion that was connected to the respondents immediate actions and experiences as activists. But as the respondents kept narrating their stories it became apparent that the same eight respondents also continued to experience guilt years after having left the movement and that some of them feel guilty still today. The respondents who still experience guilt connected it to their memories of having beaten others and the uncertainty of not knowing how their victims were affected by the abuses. Jonas exemplified this by telling me that he still feels guilty over not knowing if individuals he beaten up are scared to stay outdoors by themselves and hence are incapable of living a normal life. In order to cope with their guilt six respondents described that they work against extremism or marginalization today. One of the respondents, Chris, further described that he is attending therapy. Guilt is thus the most frequently mentioned emotion by the respondents when narrating their stories on leaving the White Power movement. However, it was not the only emotion mentioned. As the respondents kept on telling me about their stories on leaving the White Power movement it became apparent that fear was present among many of them. Two such stories will be presented in the next chapter.

Fear
One key finding that was generated through this project and that further adds to the literature review on emotions and defection processes from the White Power movement is that the emotion of fear tend to have contributed to the respondents defection processes. Fear was described to have emerged from the paranoia over becoming attacked by political opponents or victims but also over injuring others.

One day as Eric was on his way down town he noticed a bunch of anti racist activists further down the street. As Eric crossed the road to avoid a confrontation with the group the members spotted him
and started to follow Eric. All of a sudden anti racists came from every direction and surrounded Eric. He described how he was hit by an intense feeling of hopelessness as the group jumped him, after that everything went dark. As he woke up Eric was laying in the streets covered in his own blood, nursed by chocked civilians asking him if he was okay. By-passers in the streets had come to Eric's rescue and fought of the activists who attacked him. While Eric told me about the incident he expressed certainty over the idea that the by-passers who stopped the beating saved his life that day. After having experienced multiple attacks from political opponents Eric eventually started to feel as if he had made too many enemies. Fearing the possibility that political opponents would break into his house during the night or throw incendiary bombs through his windows made him sleep worse. He started to equip himself by carrying glass bottles or hot cups of coffee that he could throw in the faces of potential attackers.

“Spending all my awaken time not knowing if I would become attacked was extremely hard. I always had to be prepared and eventually that fear became too intense to deal with. It's an immensely stressful situation to be in.”

The accumulation of such experiences eventually made Eric feel as if he had to leave town. He decided that the only place where he could feel safe and where the chances of becoming attacked was the smallest was at his mothers. As Eric moved back in with his mother he started to fade out his associations to the individuals involved in GFN, eventually resulting in a complete distancing from the White Power movement.

Fear was further expressed by one of the respondents to emerge from the idea of potentially bringing serious harm to others. Early throughout his engagement Adam had become attracted to the idea of playing with weapons. As he grew older with the movement his fascination for weapons increased and Adam decided to integrate weapons in committing activist related crimes such as robberies. Through his connections with other White Power activists Adam became involved in the preparations of a robbery against the home defense's stockpile of weapons. The robbery would supply Adam and his friends with weapons that could be used for executing bank robberies, in turn generating the money and weapons necessary for the armed revolution proclaimed by the White Power movement. As the day of the robbery approached Adam's perceptions of going through with the bust started to change. As Adam went over the plan in his head he realized that it had the potential to escalate into a situation where he had to shoot at the guards of the stockpile.
"What settled the deal for me was the fear of having to take someone else's life. It wasn't something I was prepared to do and I suffered from extreme anxiety when thinking about that possibility. One day I reached the conclusion that I couldn't go through with it, it wasn't worth it and so I started to stay away."

The emotion of fear was mentioned by four of the respondents as they narrated their stories on leaving the White Power movement. Fearing an attack from political opponents or individuals that one had previously fought with was experienced by Michael, Tony, Adam and Eric. The fear of injuring others was narrated by Adam. Such fears stood in relations to the respondents interactions with people outside the movement, most often activists from the autonomous left. This may be understood as that fear mainly connects to the respondents relationships outside of the White Power movement. However, as Tony narrated his story he mentioned how activists within the movement frequently fought each other and stated that he during his engagement fought with as many White Power activists as he did with people on the outside. Fearing the potential that fellow White Power activists would attack him eventually caused Tony the notion that he was not safe anywhere, the least within his own organization.

**Shame**

The last emotion to be discussed in the chapter regarding emotions and defection is the emotion of shame. A practical concern for this project was the respondents tendencies to talk about shame and guilt synonymously or use words as “pinsamt” (embarrassing) that could indicate either of the two emotions. The synonymous use suggests that the experiences of shame and guilt were problematic for the respondents to separate. As this was the case for respondents in this research project it may help to understand why previous research tend to speak about shame and guilt synonymously. The distinction might seem too problematic to make or researchers might not attend to their theoretical differences. As it is my belief that shame and guilt are distinctive concepts that differ theoretically I have chosen to emanate from Micheva's definitions of the two. In this project guilt is considered as enhancing interpersonal relationships. It shifts an individuals focus to a certain action or behavior that is apart from the self. Shame, on the other hand, is argued to be an emotion that is more private. It encourages a shift in individuals focus from their own behaviors to their selves (Mischeva, 2008, 78).

Experiences of shame were expressed by the respondents over three distinct factors. Partially over the actions taken by other activists, partially over being labelled a White Power activist by people outside the movement and partially over having people outside the movement turning their backs on
the respondents due to their actions as activists. Emma, who's boyfriend played in a White Power band started to attend her boyfriends gigs and eventually became the tour manager of the band. As the band was traveling to the US to play a concert Emma had arranged for accommodations with the family that promoted the concert. When Emma and her boyfriend arrived to the family's house they were greeted by large swastika flags covering the kitchen table. Later during the evening she witnessed how people at the concert dressed up as members of Ku Klux Klan. As Emma arrived back home after the visit in the US she felt as if she was ready to leave the White Power movement.

“I don't know how to express this in a nice way, but I personally think that most of the people I have met within the movement are full blooded idiots. They are retards who haven't succeeded with anything in life.”

Being greeted with swastika flags and witnessing people dressing up as members of the KKK were situations that Emma felt as if she no longer could stand for being a part of. As Emma left the US she felt as if her engagement in the movement had gone too far, she was repelled by and could no longer relate to the exaggerated nationalistic spirit among the people she knew and was acquainted to. While Emma had started of her involvement in the movement by attending concerts her engagement had mainly evolved around online activism. She described that she had avoided to engage in 'real life' activism as demonstrations since she felt uncomfortable with being connected to people attending White Power events.

“I never attended any demonstrations or stuff like that, I stayed away from that. For me that would have been like crossing a line. I just didn't want to be seen like that because that would have meant that I stood for everything that they did, which I didn't.”

Emma described that what attracted her to the nationalist movement in the first place was her belief that immigration is a structural problem, but she believed that the problem was to be solved through debate and political measurements. During her time in the movement Emma never agreed with ideas proclaiming the right to target individuals due to their cultural heritage or that violence is an accepted method to enforce political messages. Her experienced disagreements with the movement kept Emma from attending demonstrations since she did not share all of the opinions proclaimed by people engaged in it. As Emma thought about becoming labelled a Neo-nazi by people in the normalized society she felt unease as she did not want to be related to racist ideas and beliefs.
Being ashamed over the actions taken by other activists and over being labelled a White Power activist by people outside the movement were experiences narrated by Emma. Shame was further expressed by respondents over having people outside the movement turning their backs on them. One such story was narrated by Adam. One of the toughest events to go through as an activist, Adam told me, started out at a house party at a friend’s house. One of the activists in Adam’s organization showed up at the party badly bruised and clearly upset. He told Adam that he had been beaten up by kids belonging to an immigrant gang due to his connections to Riksfronten. Adam’s friend gathered the White Power activists at the party and told them that he knew where the gang had gone and that he wanted revenge. Together they went to the apartment that Adam’s friend had pointed out and started to kick in the door. As the door bent Adam heard the sound of a police car approaching. He ran down the stairs and out to the court yard. As Adam looked up at the apartment him and his friends had tried to break into he realized that the people inside of it was a family and not a gang. The family had gathered on the balcony and held on to each other as they looked terrified. As Adam stood there, puzzled from the realization that it was not an immigrant gang but a family, he recognized the little sister in the family.

“I froze as I realized that the little sister in the family was my classmate. I felt sick as I thought about what a disgusting fucking situation it was, so embarrassing, so stupid. I had been a part of that, scaring her and her entire family, I felt so ashamed.”

Adam had managed to run away from the police and did not get in trouble for the incident. However, his classmate who had always acted nice and including towards him, even though she knew he was an activist, turned her back on Adam. Having people outside the movement acting nice towards Adam was rare and after the incident at the apartment his classmate began to exclude him and approach him with resentment. One reason why Adam highlighted the situation as shameful instead of expressing guilt, I argue, was because the event encouraged a shift in Adam’s focus from his behavior to his self (Misheva, 2008, 78). Breaking in to his classmate’s house made Adam recognize himself and his actions through the eyes of his friend, or put in other words, Adam became an object of his own action (Cf. Blumer, 1969, 12).

Summary and discussion

Guilt, fear and shame are the emotions that were mentioned by eight of the respondents as they talked about their engagements in the White Power movement. These are also the emotions that were mentioned as they talked about reasons for wanting to leave. Guilt, the emotion mentioned by most of the respondents, was expressed to have emerged from attacking activists from the
autonomous left, classmates and random by-passers. The finding is similar to Bubolz and Simi's study of White Power activists where the authors write that guilt tend to emerge from violent acts (Bubolz & Simi, 2015, 1599). However, none of the respondents in this project mentioned that they used to beat people up due to their ethnicity. This contrasts Bubolz and Simi's finding that White Power activists tend to experience guilt as a result of committing violence against blacks or immigrants (Bubolz & Simi, 2015, 1599). One reason why none of the respondents in this project mentioned that they attacked immigrants may be that the act is strongly stigmatized in Sweden. A further reason may be that the respondents primarily engaged in the movement to make new friends and not because they were concerned about immigration and immigrants. This suggestion relates to the respondents experiences presented in the chapter on engagements into the movement. While all of the respondents described that they were attracted to the idea of belonging to a community few mentioned the political and ideological purposes of the movement as a reason to engage. Activists who mainly engage in the movement to make new friends may thus care less, or not at all, about politics and violence.

Propagating for national socialism was further found to have generated guilt among the respondents (Cf. Bubolz & Simi, 2015, 1599), in particular the denial or idealization of the holocaust. The open idealization of the holocaust in order to present oneself in a manner that corresponds to the expected activist role was experienced by the respondents to have generated guilt as it conflicted with personal values and beliefs. Among the respondents who denied the holocaust guilt tend to have emerged from the presentation of self as conspiratorial or illiterate. Similar to Kimmel's findings (Kimmel, 2007, 216) guilt was further connected to a maturity process as the respondents expressed intense feelings of guilt over their activism years after having left the movement.

Experiences of fear of becoming attacked by political opponents or other enemies, or of injuring other individuals was further mentioned by the respondents as they spoke about their engagements in the White Power movement. Shame was also mentioned by the respondents as they talked about their defection processes, but to a lesser extent than guilt and fear. Shame was experienced in the behaviors of other activists, over being labelled as a White Power activist by people outside the movement and also as people outside the movement turned their backs on the respondents due to the actions they took as activists. Opposed to guilt, shame was expressed to emerge from the respondents acknowledged selves seen through the eyes of other people and others imagined evaluations of the respondents (Cf. Blumer, 1969, 14; Mischeva, 2008, 78). This was exemplified by Emma who described that she avoided White Power demonstrations as she did not want to be considered as a person who sympathized with all that the movement stands for. Her experiences are
similar to Braitwaite's finding that offenders eventually may see themselves as societal pariahs due to their beliefs that others label them as criminals (Braitwaite, 1989, 55). Opposed to the respondents in Farrall and Calverley's study who left criminality behind due to stigmatization (2014, 107) Emma avoided demonstrations due to the risk of becoming stigmatized.

In the literature review studies were presented that indicate that emotions may contribute to defection processes from activism. Such studies are however few and among the ones that do exist few have as its main focus activists from the White power movement. Since the partial focus of this project was on emotions it was possible to expand the findings presented in the literature review. The expansion was made through the following findings. While previous studies mention shame and guilt as emotions that may contribute to defection processes the emotion of fear was neglected within the literature. In this research project four of the respondents mentioned that fear was crucial for their decisions to leave the movement. Three of the respondents described that they eventually began to experience a constant fear of becoming attacked and one respondent mentioned that he feared the possibility of badly injuring someone else. To my knowledge only Björgo and Carlsson's study briefly mentions fear as they write that exposure to violent attacks and 'uncertainty' may take a toll on activists (Björgo & Carlsson, 2005, 29). However, Björgo and Carlsson neither discusses fear explicitly, nor do they point to that activists may fear for other peoples wellbeing. Instead their findings indicate that fear is a self centered emotion emerging out of activists concerns for their own security. This project suggests that fear is an emotion that should be understood as very present in the lives of White Power activists and that it should not be underestimated in its effects on activists decisions to leave activism behind.

Further findings that add to the literature review regards the emotion of guilt. While studies in the literature review recognize guilt as an emotion directed towards people outside the movement (Bubolz and Simi, 2015, 1599; Farrall and Calverley, 2014, 105; Horgan et. al, 2016, 8; Kimmel, 2007, 216) this research project recognize that guilt also may be directed towards friends within ones organization. Two of the respondents described having experienced intense feelings of guilt as they watched their friends being beaten up by political opponents without being able to help them. The stories were narrated by Michael and Eric, the respondents who belonged to the organizations with the least number of participating activists. It may be possible that activists who belong to smaller organizations establish stronger social bonds to each other which in turn may help them to develop a stronger sense of sympathy for each other.

Lastly, the focus of this project on emotions enabled an expansion of the understanding of the
emotional states exhaustion or burnout, frequently mentioned in the literature review as reasons why activists tend to leave a movement (Barelle, 2015, 136; Björgo & Carlsson, 2005, 29; Daalgard-Nielsen 2013, 10). As the respondents narrated their stories on engaging and later on leaving the White Power movement a shift was made in their focus on emotions. The feeling of pride in belonging to the movement, over one's new friends and over being a capable fighter tend to have faded away as the respondents feelings of disappointment with other activists increased. Parallel the feelings of guilt, fear and shame tend to have accumulated over time and built up to what some of them mentioned as exhaustion or emotional burnout. Emotional burnout may therefore be understood as a parallel process of the accumulation of guilt and fear as well as a decrease in positive emotions as pride. It should not be understood as the result of the accumulation of negative emotions such as guilt and fear alone.

5.4.3 A helping hand- Significant others and relationships to people outside the movement.

In the previous two sub chapters findings are presented that relate to the respondents emotions and defection processes as well as their relationships with people inside the White Power movement and their defection processes. In the forthcoming subchapter the respondents relationships with significant others and people outside the movement will be discussed. In particular three kinds of relationships were mentioned by the respondents as they narrated their stories on leaving the movement. These were the relationship to a police officer, becoming a parent but also meeting with political opponents or immigrants. Often such relationships were experienced to work as a resource through which the respondents could take their last physical or psychological step out of the movement (Cf. Carlsson, 2016, 67). These are the concluding stories of five of the respondents as they went from activists with doubts to individuals who no longer considered themselves as engaged in the White Power movement.

Meeting with a police officer

Leaving the movement was not a straight road for Adam. Going from experiencing doubts for the first time to actually leaving the movement took him many years. As we remember from the previous sub chapters Adam's perceptions of his friends within the movement had started to change and he was tormented by guilt and fear. When Adam decided that he would not go through with the robbery against the weapon stock the final chapter in his life as an activist began. He staid away from his friends and made himself unreachable by not answering his phone or door. After a few weeks Adam began to receive threats from activists within his organization and one night as he walked outdoors Adam was attacked and beaten up by his old friends so badly that his skull cracked open. Adam was hospitalized from his injuries and questioned by the police about the attack. When Adam
did not want to speak to the police he was approached by Stefan, an officer who recognized the seriousness in Adam's situation. Stefan told Adam that he feared what the activists from his former organization could do to Adam and that Adam could be killed as he was discharged from the hospital. As an alternative Stefan offered Adam a way out of the movement on the condition that he would change his life around and become something different.

“He bought me a bus ticket that would take me to Stockholm and further on to Visby. When I reached Visby Stefan had arranged for me to meet with his relative who worked within the social services, and so I left”

When Adam arrived in Visby he felt completely alone. He experienced the loneliness as liberating since it was the first time that he stood apart from the White Power movement and could figure out, on his own, who he wanted to be. He enrolled in studies and was later offered a job at Exit Fryshuset. When I asked Adam what kept him from going back to the White Power movement he told me that there were many times where he thought about going back. The hate he had felt for himself and his actions as an activist did however motivate Adam to stay defected. The brutal beating performed by the people he had once considered as his friends further made the alternative of going back unattractive. Adam also described that he eventually began to experience that people outside the movement acted openly towards him, in turn causing him the notion that he could establish new relationships and do something different with his life. Today Adam works against the marginalization of people belonging to minority groups.

Similar to Adam's story the help from a police officer eventually also made it possible for Chris to leave the White Power movement. Contrary to Adam, however, Chris did not experience his physical defection from his organization as problematic, rather he emphasized the process of leaving the movement psychologically. Some months after his brothers beating Chris sent an email to his organization that he wanted to quit. The response he received was a simple 'okay' and he was not exposed to threats or attacks by his former friends. For the first time in his life Chris was all by himself and just as Adam Chris experienced the loneliness as liberating. As he distanced himself from his former organization Chris believed that he also emancipated himself from the movement psychologically. But as Chris spent his days away from the movement he began to realize that he still sympathized with the beliefs and values that he had internalized as a White Power activist. The realization caused him a notion that he was still engaged in the movement psychologically and that leaving his organization only had resulted in a physical distanced from the movement. Chris's story points to one of the distinctions made in this project that Della Porta and LaFree also highlight; a
persons defection process does not necessarily correspond to his de-radicalization process (Cf. Della Porta & LeFree, 2012, 7). Sympathizing with national socialism after having left his organization was experienced by Chris as keeping him engaged in the movement. He decided that he had to look for help in becoming de-radicalized, but having been engaged in the movement since he was a child Chris had no one to turn to. He reached the conclusion that the only person he thought he could trust was Arvid, a police officer who worked against extremism in Chris's municipality. They sat up a secret meeting and after that Chris and Arvid saw each other or talked on the phone on a regular basis for many years. Chris described that they talked about 'regular' things as Chris's interests and what he wanted to become in the future. For the first time in his life Chris felt as if another person took an interest in him without being concerned about ideology or activism.

“I never talked to anyone else except from Arvid. He became the person I could turn to, it was him that I trusted. He meant incredibly much to me because even though I suffered from setbacks in the process, using both alcohol and drugs, he constantly told me that he wouldn't let me go.”

In addition to the mental support that Chris received from Arvid, which Chris experienced to have helped him to become de-radicalized, Arvid also provided Chris with practical help. He sat up meetings with a psychologist and paid for it out of his own pocket. When Chris had not paid his bills Arvid helped him by getting in contact with the enforcement authority. The practical and mental support Chris received from Arvid piloted Chris towards becoming defected as it helped him to re-establish a life outside the White Power movement. Five years after their first meeting Arvid told Chris that he believed that Chris was ready to go out and lecture about his experiences. That moment marked the time frame for how long it took Chris to feel as if he had become de-radicalized and hence left the movement. Today Chris works against extremism and lectures about his own journey.

_Becoming a parent and meeting with immigrants and political opponents_
Emma described her last step out of the White Power movement as dependent on becoming a mother but also on meeting with minorities and people from different political backgrounds. As Emma came back home from the US and her boyfriends concert she had started to experience doubts about her participation in the movement, due to disillusionment and feelings of shame. A few weeks after the trip Emma found out that she was pregnant and over night she shifted her attention from engaging in online activism to engaging in her role as a mother. Emma described that she
suddenly experienced a desire to engage in discussions about babies and the forming of new relationships to other parents.

“All of a sudden I was completely disinterested in the political debates I had previously engaged in. I neither had the time nor the desire to spend my days talking about politics. All I wanted to do was talk about babies.”

Throughout her pregnancy Emma withdrew from people engaged in the movement as the discussing of politics did not appeal to her anymore. When her boyfriend decided to break up with Emma she realized that she was alone with no one else but her son. As Emma desired to share her experiences of becoming a parent and establish new relationships to people outside the movement she decided to visit an open preschool. She described to have felt nervous as she entered the preschool thinking that the parents who spent time there knew about her involvement in the movement. In particular Emma knew that one of the socialist activists that she used to debate with online spent time at the preschool and Emma felt awkward knowing that she would have to face her.

“But the only thing they greeted me with were smiles and questions on how I was. No one ever called me a fucking racist or nazi. When I came back home I cried for hours because I was so relieved.”

When Emma realized that parents at the preschool accepted her even though she had connections to the White Power movement she began to spend more time there. She made new friends among the parents and she especially became close friends with the mother she had once debated with. Emma described that making new friends who accepted her despite her previous involvement in the movement was like stepping out from a world of hate and into a world of love. As for Chris, Emma described that leaving the movement psychologically was a gradual process. Due to the financial challenges of having become a single mother Emma founded her own business where she invited parents to her house to exchange kids clothes. By then Emma was a frequent visitor at the open preschool and wanted to distance herself from her previous life and the people she knew. She therefore felt obliged to also welcome parents with immigrant backgrounds to her house, even though she felt unease over the idea of accepting clothes she believed would be torn or smell bad. As Emma was visited by women who came to her house they began to talk and exchange life stories. When I asked Emma about the experience she told me that listening to stories narrated by minority women made her realize that even thought she did not share their cultural background their similarities were greater than their differences. The realization helped Emma to become de-radicalized as it reshaped
her ideas and beliefs on immigration and immigrants. Today Emma works against extremism by lecturing about her own defection process.

Just like Emma, Tony's final step out of the White Power movement happened when Tony became a father but was also dependent upon befriending a person with a minority background. One of the empirical findings that was made throughout this project was implied by Tony as I asked him about his experiences of leaving the movement: there is one way in and another way out. When Tony eventually began to experience disillusionment with other activists as well as guilt and shame over his activism he decided that he was ready to leave. One day as Tony came home to his girlfriend he was met by the news that he was going to become a father.

“One of the most crucial factors for me leaving was becoming a dad. It was the most crucial thing. My entire life world changed... I mean it was completely foiled.”

When Tony received the news that he was going to be a father his ideas of being an activist were reinterpreted. Since Tony never had a father on his own he wanted to establish and uphold a significant relationship to his son. To do that he felt as if he had to opt out of activism since the violence posed a risk to his own security. When his son was born Tony told his friends that he did not have the time to spend away from his family. If his friends asked him to participate in activities Tony excused himself by answering that he had to take his son to the pediatrics or playground. His friends accepted that Tony had to engage in his role as a father and Tony embraced his chance to fade out the interaction with his friends within the organization. Parallel to the process of becoming a father Tony encountered with a researcher named Adar. Adar invited Tony and activists from his organization to participate in a debate on the White Power movement at the school where Adar was teaching. After the debate Adar approach Tony and praised him for being a charismatic speaker. Tony, who was used to immigrants who wanted to pick a fight with him, was puzzled that Adar praised him with compliments.

“I didn't know how to interpret Adar at that point but he told me, in front of everyone, that if I wanted to leave the movement he would help me. What he didn't know was that I'd thought about leaving for a long time. A few weeks after the debate I picked up the phone, called him and told him that I wanted to see him.”

Similar to Chris's story Tony began to secretly meet with Adar. Tony described that Adar established a trust in him since he acted with honesty towards Tony and also integrated Tony into his family.
Together they came up with a plan on how Tony could leave the movement. When I asked Tony to tell me about the plan Tony told me that he simply faded out his activism as he stepped into the role as a father. The time he spent with his son made him feel as if he did not have the time to engage in activism or see his old friends. On his spare time Tony met with Adar who, besides from talking to Tony about his values and beliefs, also helped Tony to get a side job so that Tony could replace his White Power combat clothes. After having spent some time away from his organization Tony decided to participate in a news article where he came forth about his defection. After the article was published Tony received threats from people within his organization. He handled the threats by answering that he would face anyone who wanted to fight him, causing the people who threatened him to back off. “People within this movement feed on other peoples fears” Tony told me and described that the threats eventually stopped as Tony did not show fear. A few months after the article was published Tony was offered a job at Exit Fryshuset where he began to work against extremism by lecturing about his own journey in and out of the movement.

As Jonas described his experience of leaving the White Power movement he narrated a story on forming relationships to people with immigrant backgrounds. When Jonas best friend committed suicide Jonas became depressed and sank deep into a substance abuse. By that time Jonas had been engaged in the movement for six years and was aware that people within his party, Svenskarnas parti, did not tolerate drugs. Jonas therefore decided to resign from his post within SvP and he was never exposed to attacks or received threats. When I asked Jonas why he believed that he was not threatened he told me that he had experienced a mutual respect between him and the people involved in SvP. He described that he was known as an honest person and he believed that people in SvP trusted him not to give away information about other members. Since Jonas left the movement due to his substance abuse rather than a change in his values and beliefs he still sympathized with national socialism as he resigned from SvP. Similar to Chris experiences, Jonas described that his defection process therefore was about becoming de-radicalized. When Jonas was sentenced to probation for drug offense he was assigned to a weekly schedule where he was told to enroll in exercise. Since Jonas liked to fight he decided to take boxing classes at the local boxing centre and was assigned a mentor called Ahmed. At first Jonas felt unease over having been assigned an Iranian mentor and was annoyed that Ahmed did not speak fluent Swedish. But as Jonas started to visit the center and train with Ahmed on a regular basis they began to talk. Ahmed told Jonas about his life and his family and for the first time in his life Jonas began to question his prejudice.
“I realized that Ahmed wasn't a rapist lurking in the street corners or a person who would beat up Swedish kids. He just wanted somewhere to live and treat his family in a good way. At that point my entire life world started to break down.”

Jonas relationship to Ahmed made him question his previous stereotyping since Ahmed did not fit into the stereotype. When Jonas eventually decided to quit drugs and find new friends who did not abuse he went with an old acquainted to a demonstration hosted by Nordiska Motståndsrörelsen. Jonas described that as he listened to the speeches held at the demonstration he realized that he no longer agreed with the messages that were proclaimed. His friendship with Ahmed and the people at the boxing centre made Jonas believe that Ahmed never would rape or abuse anyone because he was born in Iran. After the demonstration Jonas was asked to rejoin SvP but declined. From that point Jonas never engaged in the movement again and today he works with youths and lectures about his own defection process.

Summary and discussion
The empirical findings presented above indicates that the respondents relationships to people outside the White Power movement were crucial for their defection processes. Receiving help from a police officer, becoming a parent but also reconnecting with old friends or forming new relationships to friends or colleagues are stories that were told by the respondents when describing how they managed to leave. These findings lend support to findings presented in the literature review (Barelle, 2014, 84; Björgo & Carlsson, 2005, 29; Carlsson, 2016, 67; Reinares, 2011, 799). Getting involved with a romantic partner was further mentioned by Chris as he talked about leaving the movement. None of the other respondents mentioned a partner as they described their exits, neither did any of the respondents mention their relationships to their parents as reason for leaving. Reasons why the respondents did not experience their relationships to their parents as crucial for their defection processes may be that four of them described their relationships as strained while four of them kept their activism a secret from their parents.

The most frequently mentioned factor by the respondents as they narrated their stories on leaving the White Power movement was their meetings with people with immigrant backgrounds. As the respondents met with minorities they progressively began to experience that their stereotyping and prejudice was contradicted (Cf. van der Valk & Wagenaar, 2010, 55). These findings add support to findings made by Horgan et. al in their study of defection processes from the White Power movement. The authors describe that establishing a relationship to immigrants contributed to their respondents abandonment of her ideological beliefs as she no longer felt comfortable with defending
them (Horgan et. al, 2016, 9). As Philip, one of the respondents in this study, described the realization that his new colleagues were capable, hard workers who showed loyalty towards him and their jobs: “It was like being smacked across the face by reality” (Cf. Ilardi, 2013, 732).

In the literature review studies were presented that indicate that relationships with people outside the movement may contribute to defection from activism. These studies are however few, few has as its main focus activists from the White power movement and one study emanate from empirical material based on interviews with only one respondent. Since the partial focus of this project was on relationships and included a total of nine respondents, it was possible to expand the findings presented in the literature review regarding relationships and defection processes. The expansion was made through the following findings. Meeting with immigrants was the most frequently mentioned factor by the respondents as they narrated their stories on leaving the White Power movement. Such meetings tend to have happened in jail, on probation and at work. Being exposed to the interaction with people who contribute with different perspectives could provide activists with the opportunity to reflect upon their values and beliefs, which in turn may result in a reinterpretation of the meanings of those values and beliefs. The realization that immigrants may be hard workers who show generosity and loyalty may help an activist to reach the conclusion that immigrants is not a homogeneous group of people dedicated to committing crimes, but rather are individuals who may be more trustworthy than ones previous friends. Meeting with people with immigrant backgrounds does therefore tend to relate to a psychological defection process, de-radicalization, rather than the physical process of leaving the movement. Becoming de-radicalized did to seven of the respondents happen as a consequence of meeting with immigrants, after they decided to leave their organizations physically. For the respondents in this research project the process of becoming de-radicalized thus preceded their physical defection processes of resigning from their organizations. Receiving help from a local police officer who works against extremism was also mentioned by two of the respondents as crucial for their defection processes. While one of the respondents was helped financially to leave town and re-settle somewhere else one of the respondents received both psychological and practical help to defect.

5.5 Summary of results
The experiences that are accounted for above show that in order to understand the respondents journeys out of the White Power movement one needs to understand their processes of engaging as joining and leaving were logically linked to each other. The will to make friends, taking pride in belonging to the movement and taking pride in being appreciated by other activists as a good fighter were reasons why the respondents engaged in the movement. Their engagements eventually created
experiences of disassociation to the outside community as their bonds to significant others or people within the normalized society weakened. The disassociation resulted in that the respondents considered their options to enroll in something different than activism as having decreased. As the respondents kept engaging into the White Power movement their perceptions of their relationships and emotions began to change. Eventually feelings of disillusionment arose due to experiences of disloyalty and disagreement with other activists. Parallel to becoming disillusioned the respondents began to experience guilt over the violence they committed towards political opponents, classmates, and random by-passers in the streets and over not being able to help their friends when they were attacked by White Power opponents. A continuous feeling of fear over becoming attacked by anti-racists or previous victims as well as over hurting someone else was also mentioned by the respondents. Three of the respondents further described having experienced shame over other activists actions and over being labelled a White Power activist. The solidarity and friendships the respondents initially desired thus reshaped into relationships consisting of disagreement and disloyalty. Parallel the desired emotion of pride in belonging to a group of friends decreased as shame and disillusionment with other activists arose. Taking pride in being considered a good fighter tend to have been reinterpreted into guilt over attacking others, but also into a fear of becoming attacked. The respondents journeys in and out of the movement may thus be understood as having progressively become more complex due to the accumulation of factors that eventually caused them to leave. It is therefore a multidimensional processes that should be considered as nonlinear as activists tend to move back and forth between doubts before leaving.

A further finding is that the respondents defection processes may be understood as divided into a differentiation between why and how they left. The relationships to activists within the movement as well as feelings of guilt and fear may be understood as reasons why the respondents eventually wanted to leave. As pride and solidarity decreased experiences of disloyalty, disagreements, guilt and fear accumulated causing an imbalance between positive and negative experiences. While the imbalance contributed to the respondents wills to leave all of them stayed engaged until they were introduced to alternatives. Such alternatives were presented by people outside the movement. For instance receiving help from a police officer to leave town or becoming a parent were described to have worked as resources through which the respondents could manage to leave their organizations.

Findings that add to previous literature is that the fear of becoming attacked by political opponents, or of hurting someone else, was crucial for the respondents wills to leave the movement. To my knowledge only one previous study of defection processes from activism mentions fear but does so implicitly. It was also found that guilt was the most mentioned emotion among the respondents in
this project but unlike studies in the literature review respondents in this project also described having felt guilt when their friends were attacked without them being able to help. Such stories were narrated by the respondents who belonged to the organizations with the least number of participating activists. This may suggest that activists who belong to smaller organizations have the potential to establish stronger social bonds to each other and hence develop a stronger sense of sympathy for each other. Through the focus on emotions in this project it was further possible to expand the understanding of the concept of exhaustion or burnout, frequently mentioned in the literature as an emotion that contribute to defection processes. I argue that burnout is an emotional state based on an experienced decrease in positive emotions such as pride, and an accumulation of negative emotions such as guilt and fear. Unlike previous literature I thus argue that burnout is a parallel process rather than a pure accumulation of negative emotions. One key finding that further adds to the literature review was that meetings with immigrants were crucial for the respondents defection processes. Such meetings happened in jail, on probation or at work and tend to relate to the respondents psychological defection processes, de-radicalization, rather than their physical processes of leaving their organizations.

In order to answer the posed research questions it is my suggestion that relationships to people inside the White Power movement should be understood as having contributed to the respondents wills to leave due to experiences of disloyalty and disagreements. As did the emotions of guilt, fear and shame. Relationships to people outside the White Power movement may on the other hand be understood as having helped the respondents to physically leave by providing them with an alternative; a bus ticket out of town or an alternative role to attend to. Relationships to people outside the White Power movement, mainly with immigrants, also and most importantly contributed to the respondents de-radicalization processes experienced by the respondents as their last step out of the movement.

Leaving the White Power movement was an individual process for all of the respondents. Their stories, although surprisingly similar, also differ from each other. While some experiences were shared between the respondents others differed greatly. It is therefore my concern to highlight that defection processes, not only from the White Power world but from any kind of role or social movement should be considered as nothing else than an individual process.
Discussion

6.1 Empirical findings in relation to the theoretical framework

One of the contributions made by Blumer's symbolic interactionism to this project is its recognition that human actions stem from social interaction. This was all along the premise for this project, that the social interaction between the respondents and other activists as well as with people outside the White Power movement contributed to the respondents defection processes. As I applied the phenomenological approach of openly letting the respondents talk about their experiences there was a possibility that none of them would mention relationships as meaningful. The results, however, suggests that the interaction with people inside and outside the White Power movement were crucial to the respondents defection processes. The result indicates that Blumer's recognition of the interacting individual as vitally important in forming human conduct, as well as his criticism of the lack of that recognition, is valid.

The perspective was further helpful in expanding the understanding of disillusionment, a crucial concept within the field of defection processes that seldom tends to be elaborated on. Disillusionment tends to be a two folded process in which an individual acts towards the other in regards to the expectations he has of the other as they first engaged in interaction. If these meanings reshape through the process of interaction and thus begin to oppose the initial expectations of the other, the individual may reinterpret the meanings ascribed to the other (Cf. Blumer, 1969, 2). Furthermore, putting disillusionment into the symbolic interactionist framework could expand the understanding of why shame was experienced by some respondents over belonging to the White Power movement. As the respondents progressively began to experience activists within their organizations as disloyal the interaction and particularly the identification with other activists may have caused the respondents to reinterpret themselves as disloyal (Cf. Blumer 1969, 12). As Blumer mentions “the notions I have of myself are constructed from my interaction with people in my surroundings since they define me as a person” (1969, 13). When the meanings ascribed to other activists were reinterpreted from positive to negative by the respondents, their definitions of themselves may also have been reinterpreted from positive to negative since people partially understand who they are by comparing themselves to the people in their surroundings. The process may be understood to happens as a consequence of imagining oneself in the eyes of significant others or people outside the movement. Such an experience was described by Emma who told me that she avoided demonstrations as she did not want to become associated to other White Power activists. The theoretical discussion above may further suggest why respondents disassociated themselves from people outside the movement. By avoiding the interaction with people within the normalized society the respondents also avoided to become stigmatized due to their associations to other activists. The act of leaving the White Power
movement may thus be seen as the distancing from the interaction with other activists, which in turn may lead to a re-interpretation of self.

Although Blumer's theory enables a deeper understanding for the respondents experienced relationships to other activists and people outside the movement the theory was not sufficient to fully understand the emotional experiences related to defection. This is due to the fact that Blumer restricted himself from elaborating on the importance that emotions have for human conduct. The overlook limits Blumer's theory as human conduct necessarily also must be a result of emotions. The integration of emotions into the symbolic interactionist framework would have enabled a discussion of emotions as emerging from human interaction in turn causing people to act. The theoretical foundations for such an extension is present in Blumer's theory and later on developed by other sociologists. The lack made the contribution of Scheff's theoretical perspective necessary.

Scheff's ideas on individualism and its contribution to severed social bonds between modern men corresponds to the respondents experiences of engaging in the White Power movement. Few of the respondents ever mentioned a political or ideological purpose for joining but instead described a will to make friends. This indicates that the respondents engagement into the movement primarily was about the establishing of social social bonds to other individuals. Respondents mentioned that as they spent time with their friends they rarely engaged in activities that did not relate to activism, instead they listened to White Power music, went to White Power concerts, spoke about politics or picked fights with political opponents. Scheff points to that in relationships where the desire of community is what attracts individuals and where peoples basic needs are not met, pseudo-bonds are developed instead of intact bonds. Nationalism is according to Scheff characteristic for creating such pseudo-bonds since the imagined community is prioritized over the individual needs. Supposing that the respondents shared pseudo-bonds to other activists it seems reasonable that disillusionment eventually severed the bonds to the point where it contributed to the respondents defections. A desire of belonging to a group of people have the potential to be destroyed if the person who desired it realizes that the group consists of people who betray and disappoint. Jimie's story exemplifies the above argument as he described that brother hood and loyalty sounded nice in theory but when it came down to it none of it was real.

Furthermore, parts of Scheff's emotion deference system showed to correspond to the experiences of the respondents. Scheff suggest that people who feel rejected by others need to have their feelings acknowledged, otherwise a chain reaction of anger may occur that could severe a bond. A ma-
jority of the respondents described that they never expressed their feelings when other activists betrayed them. Speaking about feelings was generally seen as something that activists do not do. In turn, this may explain why many of the respondents mentioned having felt disdain against activists in their former organizations but it may also explain why so many of them described to constantly having felt angry. Since the respondents never received the opportunity to have their feelings acknowledged and discussed by activists who hurt them, disillusionment may have arisen as the opportunity to become attuned with each other was not given.

Scheff's idea on emotions as signaling the status of a persons social bonds further corresponds to the experiences of the respondents. As the respondents engaged with the movement they described to have experienced pride in their new friends, or their new social bonds. Eventually the bonds became threatened due to disillusionment and the respondents expressed that their association to other activists became shameful or embarrassing. I would however argue that Scheff's theory, in the light of the results of this project, makes a limited contribution to the understanding of the difference between shame and guilt. It also never mentions fear. This is because Scheff only briefly mentions shame as an umbrella concept for similar emotions as guilt and he never elaborates on the possible differences between them. The results chapter in this project does however highlight that although the respondents mention shame and guilt synonymously at points they often make distinctions between them. Shame was especially used to describe a feeling emerging from situations where they experienced a lack of control over what they believed that others thought of them, for example being seen as a White Power activist by people outside the movement. Guilt on the other hand was usually expressed over actions the respondents had consciously conducted, for example abusing political opponents, and was rarely expressed to have made an impact on their self images. What else is troublesome with Scheff's theory when comparing it to the respondents experiences is his deference emotion system. If the system works to enforce individuals to conform to norms through shame and pride then why did not all of the respondents stop conforming to the White Power movement as they began to experience that their feelings of pride faded away? All of the respondents described that they chose to stay engaged for many years even though they experienced disillusionment, guilt and fear. In other words, they kept conforming to the White Power movement even though their pride in being a part of it had decreased. One explanation is that they kept conforming, unrewarded, as they lacked other alternatives. Wanting to leave is therefore not equal to being able to leave unless an activist has an alternative that may provide pride. Conforming to the normalized society became possible when the respondents established relationships outside the movement which in turn provided them with a shift in conformity from the White Power movement to the nor-
malized society. This suggests that conforming is as much about guilt and shame as it is about opportunity.

6.2 Empirical findings in relation to methodology

The methodological approach applied in this research project was phenomenology where interviews were conducted and analyzed using an interpretive phenomenological analysis. The approach enabled a focus on the respondents own experiences which were interpreted by me; a second order construction based on first order constructs. Nine interviews were conducted and transcribed word by word which generated a total amount of approximately 16 hours of material to analyze and write up. Applying IPA to the material created the possibility to find similarities without overlooking the individual stories which was helpful as the respondents stories turned out to be surprisingly similar to each other. It was further helpful as the methodology aims to target phenomenon related to major life events, in this case leaving a movement, unlike for instance life history interviews that aims at the entire life story.

Using interviews as a means to gather material also suffered from weaknesses. As I have discussed under ethical considerations conducting interviews generated situations where the respondents were forced to make concrete formulations about a process that was both complex and emotional for them. Asking them to speak about something that is both complex and emotional may in turn have limited their capacity or will to verbally express their stories since they may be hard to make sense of but also sensitive to talk to strangers about. In particular this became apparent as the respondents were asked to elaborate on violent situations they took part in that they today could not relate to having been a part of. For instance situations where they themselves were hurt or where others were hurt tended to be hard for them to talk about. A possibility was therefore that the respondents may have left out certain events that may be crucial to their processes, in order to avoid being confronted by them. The avoidance of talking about particular events due to an experienced awkwardness is ascribed to the method of interviewing but also to the sample itself as it represents a stigmatized population.

A potentially fruitful combination for this kind of research project would therefore have been a combination of a quantitative and qualitative approach by supporting verbal experiences with statistical data. Letting the respondents answer closed ended questions directed to capture their attitudes on emotions instead of using an interview guide may have helped them to elaborate on emotions as it does not include having to openly talk about it with a stranger. It would also have helped to reveal statistically consistent patterns among their stories but this was essentially not the purpose of this project.
6.3 Implications for further research

This study has sought to expand the understanding of defection processes from the White Power movement in Sweden. A social psychological focus was applied to approach the phenomenon through the analyzation of how relationships and emotions contributed to these processes. Although small and modest in character and by no means aiming at generalization this study suggests that there tend to be particular relationships and emotions that contribute to leaving the White Power movement. It may even suggest that relationships and emotions are two of the most crucial contributors to leaving the movement. In order to understand how emotions and relationships may influence activists defection processes researchers necessarily need to aim at depth rather than width. In other words, the broad focus that is common in previous studies where researchers tend to include a range of factors tend to say little about each factors contribution to leaving a movement. It is also my belief that it is necessary to acknowledge that social movements vary tremendously in character and that researchers therefore need to brace themselves from generalizing findings on defection processes from one social movement to the other. It is therefore urgent to conduct research that explicitly deals with the White Power movement as it is considered to have the capability to seriously harm parts of our societal foundations (BRÅ & SÄPO, 2009).

The focus of this study, emotions and relationships is of course due to the academic orientation of this projects author. However, it is my belief that factors such as age and gender, typically studied in the fields of criminology, could be fruitfully combined with social psychological research on defection processes. It should also be noted that since few studies have included enough respondents when researching defection processes statistical analyses of the phenomenon a rare. While lived experiences expressed through interviews is one way to conduct research statistics is a whole other. Quantitative studies may therefor bring different perspectives to a field that right now may be understood as consistent in its findings. It should also be noted that much research made on the White Power movement include stories by men. What was found in this project is that while there are similarities between the male and female respondents there are also significant and interesting differences. One difference, for instance, was that Emma engaged as she was an adult. Another difference was that Emma never used violence as she was an activist. Attending to the potential differences between men and women's stories or aiming at an explicit focus on women's defection processes from the White Power movement is therefore desirable as there are many women involved in the movement in one way or another.
References


Barelle, K. 2015. Pro-integration: disengagement from and life after extremism. Behavioral sciences of terrorism and political aggression, 7 (2)


Deakin, H. Wakefield, K. 2013. Skype interviewing: reflections of two PhD researchers. *Qualitative Research, (14) 5*


Fangen, Katrine. 1999. *Pride and Power- A sociological Interpretation of the Norweigan Radical Nationalist Underground Movement*. Department of Sociology and Human Geography University of Oslo


Fillieule, O. 2010. Some elements of an Interactionistic Approach to Political Disengagement. *Social movements studies*, 9 (1)


Ilardi, G. 2013. Interviews with Canadian radicals. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 36 (9)


Klandermans, B. Linden, A. 2007. Revolutionaries, wanderers, converts and compliants. Life histories of extreme right activists. *Journal of contemporary Ethnography*, 36 (2)


Reinares, F. 2011. Exit from terrorism: A qualitative empirical study of disengagement and deradicalization among members of ETA. *Terrorism and Political violence, 23* (5)


van der Valk, I. Wagenaar, W. 2010. The extreme right: entry and exit. Anne Frank House / Leiden University. Amsterdam

van Stekelenburg, J. Klandermans, B. 2013. The social psychology of protest. *Current Sociology Review, 61* (5-6)


Weaver, B. McNeill, F. 2015. Lifelines: desistance, social relations and reciprocity. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 42 (1)


https://www.svd.se/nazisterna-vaxer-sig-starka-pa-nytt

http://skola.expo.se/vit-makt_128.html

---

**Appendix One: Interview guide**

Kan du berätta om din första kontakt med vitmaktvärlden?
Kan du berätta om erfarenheter och händelser du var med om när du var aktiv? Vilka aktiviteter tyckte du mest om? Vilka tyckte du mindre om?
Berätta om dina erfarenheter av att lämna.
Kan du berätta om dina erfarenheter av andra aktivister?
Höll du vanligtvis med om hur de betedde sig?
Delade du deras ideologiska övertygelser och ideer?
Höll du med andra aktivister om vilken riktning som var bästa för er organisation?
Hade ni någon ledarfigur?
Hur upplevde du honom när du först kom i kontakt med organisationen?
Hur tyckte du att han levde upp till sin roll som ledare efter du vart med ett tag?
Ändrades din bild av honom under tiden du var med?
Hur upplevde du honom när du var i fas med att lämna?
Kan du berätta om relationen till dina föräldrar innan du blev involverad i vitmaktvärlden?
Pratade du och dina föräldrar om ditt ‘medlemskap’ under tiden du var aktiv?
Pratade du med dina föräldrar om att du ville lämna?
Hur upplevde du att de hanterade situationen när du var i fas med att lämna?
Hade du en flickvän under tiden du var aktiv? Kan du berätta om henne? (Också aktiv?)
Är ni fortfarande tillsammans idag? Om nej; har du en ny flickvän idag?
Hur träffades du och din nya flickvän?
Pratade ni om din involvering med organisationen?
Hur tror du att hon upplevde att du var aktivist?
Hade du en flickvän under tiden du var aktiv?
Pratade du med dina föräldrar om att du ville lämna?
Hur upplevde du att de hanterade situationen när du var i fas med att lämna?
Hade du andra vänner eller kollegor utanför organisationen samtidigt som du var aktivist?
Om ja; pratade ni om att du var aktivist? Hur upplevde dem det?
Pratade du med vänner eller kollegor om att vilja lämna?
Upplever du att de supportade din vilja att lämna? Hur?
Upplever du att de supportade dig när du faktiskt var i fas med att lämna? Hur?
Vilka känslor var vanligast att du upplevde som aktivist? Både positiva och negativa?
Kan du berätta om någon situation du upplevde som var starkt emotionell?
Fanns det någon gång du upplevde att du inte kunde hantera en situation du befann dig i?
Hur påverkade känslorna dig när du kom hem sen och var ensam?
Kan du berätta om någon gång när du kände att saker gick käprätt åt helvete?
Vad upplever du var det mest emotionellt jobbiga eller påfrestande med att vara aktivist?
Vad var det mest emotionellt positiva med att lämna det bakom dig?