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Anders Breivik's manifesto: Measuring Violence Indicator in Anti-Islamic Extremist Discourse

Manifesto Anders Breivik: Mengukur Petunjuk Keganasan dalam Wacana Ekstremis Anti-Islam

Mariet Rosnaida Cabrera Cusi* and Abdelaziz Berghout**

Abstract

On July 22, 2011, Anders Breivik had massacred 75 people in a bomb attack and mass shooting out of his hatred towards Islam and Muslims, his actions shocked Norway and the world. He left behind a manifesto '2083, A European Declaration of Independence' which clearly indicates his imagination about Islam and Muslims and the reasons that let him to commit this mass murder. Breivik is studied extensively in the academia through the lenses of Islamophobia and terrorism; there are few studies done on the levels of violence in anti-Islamic discourse. This study uses Richard A. Nielsen's methodology which measures numerically to which extent Muslim clerics support for violent jihad and ideology in their writings. Such algorithmic approaches that evaluate extremist Muslim discourse have been mainly applied in Western academia to show level of violence in it. This study is unique as the Nielsen's approach is applied to anti-Islamic extremist discourse. It takes Breivik's manifesto as a field of analysis. First, it takes as a baseline the five topics (along its exclusive and its frequent keywords) in Jihadi corpus calculated by Professor Nielsen. Second, main key-terms of Breivik's anti-Islamic position are measured to see the level of violence according to Nielsen's methodology. After this, both key terms are compared. Results show that Breivik's anti-Islamic position contains more violence

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indicator than the jihadist position. This research will be the first to apply algorithmic approach and it will demonstrate that using extremism measure tools developed by the Western academic can be applied to anti-Islamic extremist discourse. In conclusion, if extremism measure tools are applied fairly on both Islamist thought and anti-Islamic discourse, it will not only show that both streams of discourse contain levels of violence, but anti-Muslim discourse accommodates higher levels of violence as well. This research will open the way for Muslim academics to apply algorithmic methods to counter anti-Islamic discourse.

Keywords: Anders Breivik, Anti-Muslim Discourse, Jihad Score, Violence Indicator.

Abstrak

Pada 22 Julai 2011, Anders Breivik telah membunuh 75 orang dalam serangan bom dan menembak beramai-ramai kerana kebenciannya terhadap Islam dan umat Islam, tindakannya mengejutkan Norway dan dunia. Dia meninggalkan manifesto '2083, A European Declaration of Independence' yang jelas menunjukkan imajinasinya tentang Islam dan umat Islam dan sebab-sebab yang membolehkannya melakukan pembunuhan beramai-ramai ini. Breivik dikaji secara meluas di kalangan akademik melalui lensa Islamofobia dan keganasan; Terdapat beberapa kajian yang dilakukan mengenai tahap keganasan dalam istilah-istilah utama anti-Islam. Kajian ini menggunakan metodologi Richard A. Nielsen yang digunakan untuk mengukur sokongan ulama Islam terhadap jihad dan ideologi ganas dalam tulisan mereka. Pendekatan algoritma sedemikian yang menilai wacana Muslim ekstremis telah digunakan terutamanya dalam akademik Barat untuk menunjukkan tahap keganasan di dalamnya. Kajian ini unik kerana pendekatan Nielsen digunakan untuk wacana ekstremis anti-Islam. Ia mengambil manifesto Breivik sebagai bidang analisis. Pertama, ia mengambil sebagai garis dasar lima topik (bersama kata kunci eksklusif dan kerapnya) dalam korpus Jihadi yang dikira oleh profesor Nielsen. Kedua, istilah utama kedudukan anti-Islam Breivik diukur untuk melihat tahap keganasan mengikut metodologi Nielsen. Selepas ini, kedua-dua istilah utama dibandingkan. Keputusan akan menunjukkan bahawa kedudukan anti-Islam Breivik mengandungi lebih banyak petunjuk keganasan daripada kedudukan jihad. Penyelidikan ini akan menjadi yang pertama menggunakan pendekatan algoritma dan ia akan

menunjukkan bahawa menggunakan alat ukuran ekstremisme yang dibangunkan oleh ahli akademik Barat boleh digunakan untuk wacana pelampau anti-Islam. Kesimpulannya, jika alat pengukur ekstremisme diterapkan secara adil pada kedua-dua pemikiran Islam dan wacana anti-Islam, ia bukan sahaja menunjukkan bahawa kedua-dua aliran wacana mengandungi tahap keganasan, tetapi wacana anti-Muslim menampung tahap keganasan yang lebih tinggi juga. Penyelidikan ini akan membuka jalan kepada ahli akademik Islam untuk mengaplikasikan kaedah algoritma untuk menentang wacana anti-Islam.

Kata kunci: Anders Breivik, Wacana Anti-Muslim, Jihad Score, Penunjuk Keganasan.

Introduction

On July 22, 2011, Anders Breivik had massacred 75 people in a bomb attack and mass shooting out of his hatred towards Islam and Muslims, his actions shocked Norway and the world. He left behind a manifesto '2083, A European Declaration of Independence' which clearly indicates his imagination about Islam and Muslims and the reasons that let him to commit this mass murder. As the literature shows, Breivik and his manifesto has been extensively studied from Islamophobia, psychology and terrorist studies perspective. Attempts to measure numerically levels of violence in discourses have recently emerged with advances in statistics and Natural Language Processing (NLP) tools. For example, Professor Richard Nielsen from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has measured numerically the extent Muslim clerics support for violent jihad and ideology in their writings.

This research paper aims to shed light the levels of violence in Breivik's anti-Islamic position. The first part of the article surveys literature of Breivik's background, his mental health assessment, ideologies and the anti-Islamic movements he networked. The second part explains the methodology. First, R. Nielsen extracts five topics and their exclusive key terms from Jihadi texts available in online forums and sets them as the basis of measurement for jihadi and non-jihadi text. Second, texts from 101 Muslim clerics are collected and their key terms are compared to the first set. Then, the probability that a text is jihadi or

non-jihadi is calculated using the Jihadi formula (variation of Naive Bayes formula).

The third part shows the results. Five main anti-Islamic topics and their exclusive key terms were extracted from Breivik's manifesto. Despite that the key terms are specific to their topic, the 5 topics illustrated in the word cloud form showed that Breivik's statements are not isolated but interconnected. Breivik's topic proportions are also compared to Jihadi topic proportions in Nielsen's findings and shows that Breivik anti-Islamic discourse contains higher levels of violence than the jihadist position. To strengthen this position, top ten Jihadi and anti-Islamic key terms from each topic were compared, showing that despite both discussing about jihad, the word itself is ambiguous in the jihadi ideology.

The final section discusses that if extremism measure tools are applied fairly in both Islamic thought and anti-Islamic discourse, it will not only show that both streams of discourse contain levels of violence, but anti-Muslim discourse accommodates higher levels of violence as well. The research opens the way for academic to use statistical methods to counter other extremist discourses and ideologies.

Background

Who is Anders Breivik?

According to Hemmingby & Bjørgo, Breivik is considered one of the 'most deadly solo terrorist' known in modern times.¹ Lone wolf terrorist perform terror attacks alone, lack social networks and do not belong to any organized group.² Much has been written about Breivik's terror attack on 22 July 2011 that shocked the peaceful Norwegian society. On the day of the attack, Anders Breivik first detonated a car in the Government District, Oslo at 3.25 p.m. which killed 8 people, destroyed government documents and broke windows glasses.³ In the meantime, Breivik drove a car to the island of Utøya where the Worker's

¹ Cato Hemmingby and Tore Bjørgo, *The Dynamics of a Terrorist Targeting Process* (England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 2.

² Lars Erik Berntzen and Sveinung Sandberg, "The Collective Nature of Lone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the Anti-Islamic Social Movement," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no.5 (2014): 760.

³ Hemmingby & Bjørgo, *Dynamics Terrorist*, 64.

Youth League of the Labour Party were having an annual summer camp. Breivik arrived to the island at 5: 21 p.m. and passed the security by wearing a fake police ID and uniform; when he first shoot the security personnel, the 564 youths scattered around and for 75 minutes Breivik massacred 69 youths including minors.⁴ Before he conducted his terror attack, he sent his compendium of more 1500 pages long via email to a long list of users under the pen name Andrew Berwick. His manifesto “2083, A European Declaration of Independence” explains his motivations behind his mass murder and his hate for Muslims.

In the core of academia, Breivik has been studied from the lenses of many disciplines. Scholars and mainstream media have given special attention to Breivik’s mental state. As soon as it was clarified that the terrorist was not a Muslim and brown, mainstream media debated extensively Breivik’s mental sanity by covering his life story. During Breivik’s trial, the Norwegian court appointed two psychiatry experts to determine whether Breivik was legally sane. The experts came to the conclusion that Breivik ‘was psychotic’⁵ and that he was suffering from schizophrenia⁶. Families of the victims, survivors and public opinion subsequently did not agree with the experts’ report as they did not want the murderer to go unpunished.⁷ According to the Norwegian law code, a convict diagnosed with mental illness are not legally bind for punishment and are only sent for treatment⁸. Under these circumstances, the public outcry forced the court to appoint other set of experts to asses again Breivik’s sanity. The second team of psychiatrist concluded that Breivik was sane but had symptoms of “narcissistic personality disorder” and “pseudologia fantastica”⁹. Debates on Breivik’s mental state included whether his fanaticism could be considered a form of madness. Taylor argued that the fact that Breivik did not work within an organization, shows that his views were extreme even within the framework of

⁴ Ibid, 66-69.

⁵ Ingrid Melle, “The Breivik case and what psychiatrists can learn from it,” *World Psychiatry*, 12, no. 1(2013), 17.

⁶ Simon Wessely, Anders Breivik, the public, and psychiatry, *Lancet* (London, England), 379, no. 9826 (2012): 1563.

⁷ Wessely, Breivik Public, 1563.

⁸ Melle, Breivik case, 17.

⁹ Ibid, 19.

terrorist ideology.¹⁰ Despite that not all radicals become terrorists and not every terrorist is a radical, Breivik is an exception to this rule, he is a radical and his extreme fanaticism is a form of madness.¹¹ For Fahy, however, terrorists are mentally healthy and sane.¹² Breivik's meticulous preparation over the years for his terror attack showed that he was aware of his actions. Breivik's fanaticism are a reflection of his narcissism and "xenophobic and racist views"¹³ yet he shouldn't be considered mad as it exempts him from his legal actions for his terror attack.¹⁴

From a sociological point, Breivik's personal history and views could be understood by looking at the socio-political changes in Europe.¹⁵ Sandberg explains that Breivik started to get involved in search of alternative narratives when he saw the Muslim community failed integrating in the Norwegian society and that Muslim immigrants would overtake Europe and Islamize it, making the indigenous population a minority (*dhimmi*)¹⁶. Whoever, most of his life count in his manifesto contain exaggerated and inaccurate information¹⁷. Breivik writes in his manifesto that it was his Pakistani friend Arsalan who was part of gang group, that made him more aware of his own religious heritage when he was invited repeatedly to embrace Islam.¹⁸ Breivik recorded that his friendship with Arsalan broke when Breivik was beaten in front of Arsalan.¹⁹ Dropping from high school, he decided to join political parties

¹⁰ Max Taylor, "Do cases like that of Anders Breivik show that fanaticism is a form of madness? Yes," *BMJ* 345, no. e4612 (2012): 1.

¹¹ Taylor, Cases Breivik, 1-2.

¹² Tom Fahy, "Do cases like that of Anders Breivik show that fanaticism is a form of madness? No," *BMJ*, 345, no. e4647 (2012): 2.

¹³ Fahy, Cases Breivik, 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 2.

¹⁵ Sveinung Sandberg, "Are self-narratives strategic or determined, unified or fragmented? Reading Breivik's Manifesto in light of narrative criminology," *Acta Sociologica* 56, no. 1 (2013): 70.

¹⁶ Sandberg, self-Narrative Breivik, 72.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 73.

¹⁸ Andrew Berwick, *2083: A European Declaration of Independence* (London: 2011): 1389. The following citations of the manifesto will use the real name "Breivik" rather than his pen name. The pages reflect the PDF format as the manifesto was not edited to include page numbers.

¹⁹ Breivik, 2083 European Declaration, 1394.

that promoted stopping immigration, Islamisation of Europe and promote a mono-cultural Europe.²⁰

Looking at the wider view, Shaffer traces the appearance of anti-jihadi movements in Europe after the London bombings by jihadists in 2005.²¹ These counter-jihadi movements then exploited the cyberspace to condemn and blame Islam for the new situation of Europe.²² In Norway, the Christian Democratic Party, Human Rights Service, Norwegian Defence League (NDL, part of the English Defence League), and Stop Islamisation of Norway (SIAN, part of Stop Islamisation of Europe) form a more radical version of anti-Islamic movements.²³ Part the anti-Islamic movement also include web-pages like Document.no and Honestthinking.org critical of Islam and immigration²⁴. These radical anti-Islamic movements often base their arguments in the conspiracy theory of Eurabia that claims that Western political elites and Marxist are in a secret cooperation with Islamist (for example Muslim brotherhood).²⁵ These movements have an unified view that Muslims' introduction of sharia rules like sex segregation and halal products into Europe are signs of Islamization and that Muslims and Islam should be secularized.²⁶ Breivik cited texts and shared views from these anti-Islamic movements and websites as it is reflected in his manifesto.²⁷ After Breivik's successful business of selling fake American diplomas to raise money to plan for his terror attack, he spent from 2006-2011 surfing anti-Islamic content²⁸ and playing video games for his inspiration.²⁹

²⁰ Ibid, 1396-1400.

²¹ Ryan Shaffer, "Jihad and Counter-Jihad in Europe: Islamic Radicals, Right-Wing Extremists, and Counter-Terrorism Responses," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 28, no. 2 (2016): 385.

²² Shaffer, Jihad Counter-Hijad Europe, 385.

²³ L. E. Berntzen & S. Sandberg, "The Collective Nature of Lone Wolf Terrorism: Anders Behring Breivik and the Anti-Islamic Social Movement," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 5 (2014): 762.

²⁴ Berntzen & Sandberg, Collective Lone Wolf, 762.

²⁵ Ibid, 762.

²⁶ Ibid, 764-765.

²⁷ Ibid, 767.

²⁸ Shaffer, Jihad Counter-Hijad Europe, 386.

²⁹ Breivik, 2083 European Declaration, 1380.

Breivik was enormously persuaded also by Fjordman, a Norwegian anti-jihadist blogger (fjordman.blogspot.com).³⁰ In Breivik's manifesto, Fjordman was cited and quoted, more than 100 times. Other anti-Islamic channels and authors that Breivik constantly cited in his manifesto include Paul Beliën's The Brussels Journal, Edward S. May's Gates of Vienna, Robert Spencer's Jihad Watch, Foundation for Defense of Democracies (FDD), Secular Islam, Daniel Pipes' Middle East Forum, and Bat Ye'o's Eurabia.

Breivik's ideology and worldviews are also shared by white supremacist and fascist movements. Although Breivik does not advocate traditional notions of Nazism and fascism, he shares fascist obsession for violence, militarization, crusades.³¹ Lone wolf terrorists like Breivik often try to display an image of warrior and commando with sophisticated skills in weapons with an aim to portray themselves as the saviour of Europe.³² For example, in the last pages of Breivik's compendium, Breivik appears in a series of pictures with a commander suit with Night Templar badges, a biohazard suit injecting nicotine to a bullet and with an automatic rifle pointing towards the camera in preparation to save Europe from Islamization. For Gardell however, "Breivik firmly stands in the fascist tradition".³³ Gardell points that Breivik's fascist ideology contains elements of anti-feminism, white supremacy, cultural nationalism (for a mono-cultural Europe), and Islamophobia mixed with notions of self-sacrifice warrior.³⁴

Breivik's fear of Islamization of Europe however is combined with the fear that European man's masculinity is under threat³⁵. Breivik blames cultural Marxists and feminist for destroying gender roles. Breivik complains the suppression of male dominance, the normalization of women's sexual liberalization and the normalization of

³⁰ Katie Cohen, Fredrik johansson, Lina Kaati & Jonas CLausen Mork, "Detecting Linguistic Markers for Radical Violence in Social Media." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no.1 (2013): 249.

³¹ Ole Kristian Grimnes, "Hitler's Norwegian Legacy" in *Hitler's Scandinavian Legacy*, ed. Jill Stephenson & John Gilmour, 159-178 (London: Bloomsbury, 2013): 164-165.

³² Cohen, Detecting Linguistic Radical, 249.

³³ Mattias Gardell, "Crusader Dreams: Oslo 22/7, Islamophobia, and the Quest for a Monocultural Europe," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26 no. 1 (2013): 132.

³⁴ Gardell, Crusader Dreams, 132-133.

³⁵ Barry Richards, "What Drove Anders Breivik?," *Contexts* 13 no. 4 (2014): 45.

homosexuality.³⁶ Breivik says: “[feminist] have been waging an ideological, psychological and economic war against European men for several generations now,” “if the men of your “tribe” are too weak or demoralized to protect you, you will be enslaved and crushed by the men from other “tribes” before you can say “Vagina Monologues,” and “if you break down men’s masculinity, their willingness and ability to defend themselves and their families, you destroy the country. That’s exactly what Western women have done for the last forty years”.³⁷ Breivik also complains the reasons Norwegian women prefer Muslim men: “Yet we are the one group of men who are most demonised and attacked, whereas non-white men get treated with much greater respect,”³⁸ “Norwegian girls, especially in Muslim dominated areas, despise ethnic Norwegian boys because they consider them as weak and inferior with lack of pride.”³⁹ Breivik then equates radical feminism with Islam: “feminists in academia assert that the veil, or even the burka, represents “an alternative feminism,”⁴⁰ and “Western women may very well end up being genuinely oppressed under the boot of Islam. Radical feminism thus leads to oppression of women.”⁴¹

Shorten believes that Breivik's ideology should also be classified under counter-jihadist and Christian fundamentalism streams.⁴² Breivik not only fantasized being a foot crusader soldier, but he nominated himself on the rank of Justiciar Knight Commander for Knights Templar Europe as seen in the cover of his manifesto. Breivik's case constitute as well an expression of identity crisis in Europe.⁴³ With waves of Muslim migration into Europe, Islam has been more visible in the public space thus generating an identity crisis among the indigenous population which being manifested in the form Islamophobia and tight anti-immigration policies.⁴⁴ Far right organizations have used this

³⁶ Richards, What Drove Breivik, 45.

³⁷ Breivik, 2083 European Declaration, 343.

³⁸ Ibid, 343.

³⁹ Ibid, 1377.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 353.

⁴¹ Ibid, 355.

⁴² Richard Shorten, “Anders Breivik,” in *The Ideology of Political Reactionaries* (New York: Routledge, 2022): 199-200.

⁴³ Virginie Andre, “Merah and Breivik: A Reflection of the European Identity Crisis,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 26, no. 2 (2015): 188.

⁴⁴ Andre, Merah Breivik, 188-191.

opportunity to call for returning to their past heritage and identity.⁴⁵ Breivik in his manifesto preaches for the return to Christian values and a stronger church: "I fully support that the Church gains more or less monopoly on religion in Europe (government policies, school curriculum etc at least) in addition to granting the Church several concessions which have been taken from them the last decades". Despite Europe's pagan past before the arrival of Christianity, Breivik asserts that for a monocultural Europe in the future⁴⁶, only under Christian values unity is achieved rather than relaying cultural pagans or Odinist.⁴⁷

To legitimized his war against those who support multiculturalism and immigration, Breivik quoted in his manifesto the Bible battle verses compiled by right-wing Christian theologians like Michael Bradley and Joseph Francis Farah.⁴⁸ For example, he cites "And the one who has no sword must sell his cloak and buy one" (Luke 22:36) and "this is not a pacifist God we serve. It's God who teaches our hands to war and our fingers to fight" (Psalm 144:1) to legitimate self-defence.⁴⁹ Breivik cited 62 exact verses from the Bible that are camouflaged with modern Crusader badges to serve Breivik's agenda of building a monocultural Europe.⁵⁰ The Bible is a tool for defending a Christian Europe.⁵¹

Nevertheless, there is a gap in the literature on the usage of statistical tools to understand the levels of violence in Breivik's anti-Islamic discourse. Statistical tools have been previously used to study trends in terrorism. For example, professor Andre Python of Oxford University and now at the University of Zhejiang, shows that due to the global presence of Western mainstream media, terrorists attacks in the West have more extensive coverage resulting in the myth that the West is more vulnerable to terrorist attacks. Available evidence showed that

⁴⁵ Ibid, 196.

⁴⁶ Breivik, 2083 European Declaration, 1404.

⁴⁷ Jone Salomonsen, "Towards a New 1933? The Fascist Labor of the Extreme and Radical right," *Dialog* 60, no. 2 (2021): 203.

⁴⁸ Mattias Gardell, "Crusader Dreams: Oslo 22/7, Islamophobia, and the Quest for a Monocultural Europe," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 1 (2013): 145.

⁴⁹ Gardell, Crusader Dreams, 145.

⁵⁰ Hannah Strømme, "Christian Terror in Europe? The Bible in Anders Behring Breivik's Manifesto," *Journal of the Bible and its Reception* 4, no. 1 (2017): 154.

⁵¹ Strømme, Christian Terror, 166.

from 2002-2017, 75 % of attacks took place in the Asian continent, 15% in Africa, 7% in Europe and 3% in the Americas and Oceania.⁵² Looking closer, Iraq, Pakistan, India, Afghanistan, and the Philippines are the top 5 countries with highest number terrorist attacks(from top to bottom).⁵³ Death toll due to these attacks puts Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria, Syria, and Somalia among the top five countries(top to bottom).⁵⁴ Python concluded that Iraq (attacks: 21235, deaths: 79596) has more probability to suffer from bomb attacks than Paris.⁵⁵ Another research by Freedman measures numerically to which extent Israeli religious leaders contribute to the escalation of conflict or pacification process in the context of conflict. Freedman collects 10968 sermon pamphlets from synagogues from 250 Jew scholars from 2006-2015. Using Structural Topic Models (STM) classifier algorithm, 10 topics were identified. The first topic and its keywords highlight nationalistic concepts like land, army, state, politics; the rest of the topics deal with religious teachings.⁵⁶ In the nationalistic discourse, Jew religious leaders advice for the annexation of settlements and that the government and the army should act harder against the Palestinians.⁵⁷ With the development of sophisticated statistical models and robust algorithms, analyzing data from databases on terrorism could provide researchers new insights and predictability on terrorism and violence.⁵⁸

Methodology

This research uses Breivik's manifesto as a field of study. The method of analysis is based on Professor Richard A. Nielsen's methodology, a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) directing the MENA and Security Studies program. Professor

⁵² Andre Python, *Debunking Seven Terrorism Myths Using Statistics* (London: CRC Press, Taylor & Francis, 2020): 36.

⁵³ Python, *Debunking Terrorism Myths*, 37.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 38.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 41.

⁵⁶ Michael Freedman, "Fighting from the Pulpit: Religious Leaders and Violent Conflict in Israel," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63, no. 10 (2019) :15.

⁵⁷ Freedman, *Fighting Pulpit Religious*, 15.

⁵⁸ Fangyu Ding, Quansheng Ge, Dong Jiang, Jingying Fu, Mengmeng Ha, "Understanding the dynamics of terrorism events with multiple-discipline datasets and machine learning approach," *PLoS ONE* 12, no. 6 (2017): 9.

Nielsen in his book "Deadly Clerics, Blocked Ambition and the Paths to Jihad" numerically measures whether Muslim clerics support for violent jihad and ideology in their writings. He uses statistical tools and fieldwork at Al-Azhar University, Cairo to understand the role of social networks and level of education in the radicalization process of Muslim clerics. His book has received substantial praise in the core of Western academia. Nielsen's pioneering in studying levels of violence numerically has been nominated as 'a primer on using text data, causal inference, and data visualization'⁵⁹. Hafez has criticized the definition of 'clerics' in Nielsen's book. Clerics was defined as "individuals who produce religious content for public consumption writing on Islamic tradition."⁶⁰ Hafez has argued that the definition is broad because clerics in order to deserve the name need to master Islamic jurisprudence, classical Arabic, Islamic history, Islamic law, hadith, etc. which is time consuming.⁶¹ Nielsen's definition makes hard to argue that clerics with less academic training (for whatever reason) have less ambition.⁶² In his analysis where Nielsen assumes that clerics who did not list their academic advisors or the memorization of the Quran is because they don't have the credentials to prove, this could be explained in the wider social and political context that Muslims clerics live. According to an insider information, for example, in Pakistan, majority of Muslim scholars do not provide their information because first, they lack skills to navigate the web. While the second reason is linked to privacy concerns, most researchers would have to personally meet the clerics to collect their information of their credentials. In the context of Saudi Arabia, the informer has given an example where taking pictures of people in public spaces is prohibited, so Saudi Muslims scholars are peculiar with their information online due to government surveillance.

Nielsen's methodology involves the analysis of two datasets. First, for dataset 1, he first collects 765 Jihadi texts from online forums which was collected by al-Zubayr al-Ghazi and release under the name of the Jihadist bookbag. In order to extract topics from the Jihadi texts, Nielsen

⁵⁹ Paul Djupe, "Review of Deadly Clerics, by R. Nielsen," *Politics and Religion* 12, no. (1 (2018): 2.

⁶⁰ Richard A. Nielsen, *Deadly Clerics, Blocked Ambition and the Paths to Jihad* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 29.

⁶¹ Mohammed Hafez, "Review of Deadly Clerics, by R. Nielsen," *Perspectives in Politics* 16, no. 4 (2018): 1123.

⁶² Hafez, Review Deadly Clerics, 1124.

admits that is preferable to read the Arabic text manually, however because of the large text corpus, he attempts to reduce the dimensionality of the text by extracting the most frequent and exclusive words to the topic. Nielsen uses then the Latent Dirichlet Allocation algorithm, and FREX score developed by Roberts, Stewart and Airoldi (N.d.). The formula is the following:
$$\text{FREX} = \left(\frac{0.5}{\text{ECDF}(\beta_k / \sum_{j \in S} \beta_j)} + \frac{0.5}{\text{ECDF}(\beta_k)} \right)^{-1}$$
 where β_k is the estimated frequency of term k in each topic, $\sum_{j \in S} \beta_j$ is the total frequency of the term in corpus S (here is Jihadist bookbag), ECDF is the Empirical Cumulative Distribution Function. The first set of the formula calculates the exclusivity of the word while the second part calculates the frequency. Five topics among its top 30 words were extracted (see Figure 1).

Tawhid/Takfir	Legal Precedent	Conflicts	Operations	Mixed
excommunication	said	America	Jihadis	ten
excommunicate	son	American	martyr	had
tyrant	if	Afghanistan	Afghan	appointed
apostate	Prophet	Afghan	Jihad	big
believe	peace be upon him	United	operation	king
loyalty	peace be upon him	region	Russia	mosque
legislation	book	organization	enemy	country
come down	science	movement	Azzam	four
categorized	hadith	government	Russian	was
apostates	command	Pakistan	leader	house/stanza
ignorance	mercy	leader	martyrs	begin
Murjites	Sahih	president	martyrdom	knots
apostates	remember	dollar	Communist	five
prohibitions	theology	leadership	fighter	sir
suspicion	issue	Saudi	invasion	woman
apostate	narrated	Iraq	sword	city
make halal	do	West	kill	thousand
excommunicate	book/volume	front	battles	nights
Polytheism	Imam	politics	battle	law
Khawarij	books	East	horses	news
read	rulings	States	airplane	head
Jahmi	Ahmad	countries	Persians	wife
Most High	leave	peninsula	factions	mosque
faith	good	million	blood	hour
outright disbelief	original	Bin Laden	arms	Communist
tyrants	evidence	brothers	family	return
sovereignty	Taymiyya	center	spite	Emir
democracy	Companions	years	fighters	prison
excused	house	Crusaders	kill	where?
legislation	meaning	decision	invaders	Hajj

Figure 1. Five topics and their top 30 exclusive and frequent words found in the jihadi text. Table 5.1 from Nielsen (2017).

$$\text{Jihad Score}_i = \frac{1}{\sum_j w_{ij}} \sum_j w_{ij} \log \left(\frac{\mu_{j1}}{\mu_{j0}} \right)$$
[illegible]

⁶³ J. Grimmer, M. Roberts, B. Stewart, *Text as Data, A New Framework for Machine Learning and the Social Sciences* (USA: Princeton University Press, 2022): 208.

⁶³ J. Grimmer, M. Roberts, B. Stewart, *Text as Data, A New Framework for Machine Learning and the Social Sciences* (USA: Princeton University Press, 2022): 208.

Results

After curating Breivik's compendium, using the Latent Dirichlet Allocation statistical model, five main topics were extracted from Breivik's manifesto. Using the FREX score, exclusive and frequent words were allocated to each topic as shown in Table 1. The titles at the header were not inferred by the classifier, rather it was tagged manually from the column-of keywords.

Top Words for Five Topics in a Jihadi Corpus.

Table 1. Five Topics and their top 30 key terms in Breivik's anti-Islamic discourse.

Rank	Arms	Count	Crusades	count	Immigration	Count	Political Correctness	Count	Monocultural	Count
1	attack	565	Islam	3363	Muslim	3632	Marxism	1083	Europe	4285
2	amour	374	Christ	2473	jihad	1002	multiculturalism	462	western Europe	608
3	weapon	357	Christian	2218	Arab	729	traitor	277	Israel	358
4	end	326	military	733	immigration	491	moral	235	Bosnia	339
5	explosive	319	Knight	671	Muhammad	289	cultural Marxism	201	Serb	339
6	destroy	288	fight	540	sharia	251	feminism	200	cultural conservative	313
7	target	287	church	517	Middle East	232	radical	194	traditional	258
8	nuclear	268	Ottoman empire	395	terrorist	231	Communism	184	genocide	243
9	Weapon	221	Justiciar Knight	320	Pakistan	223	hate	140	alternative	236
10	Mass	219	Lebanon	295	Egypt	209	secular	132	Serbia	179
11	acquire	219	Dhimmi-tude	266	prophet	180	gender	69	Eurabia	171
12	warfare	214	cross	265	Iran	118	leftist	57	Vienna	163
13	murder	189	Norway	222	immigration	110	hate ideology	40	Kosovo	140
14	fertilizer	182	martyr	200	Islamist	103	Labour Party	35	Fjordman	111
15	chemical	170	Knights Templar	199	mosque	99	radical feminism	27	NATO	85
16	reactor	154	enemy	179	Saudi Arabia	97	European multiculturalism	23	reaction	78
17	supplier	150	defend	171	jihadist	87	idealist	18	Bat Yeor	65
18	assault	147	PCCTS	168	end up	79	STD	17	reverse	50
19	gas	133	oppose	148	execution	78	Rodt	15	Robert Spencer	46
20	recruit	133	sword	138	invasion	76	promiscuous	11	genetics	34
21	training	124	Catholic	134	demographic warfare	75	sexual morality	9	monocultural	33
22	ballistic	121	Christendom	116	Taqiyya	70	John Esposito	8	reprogenetics	27
23	gun	119	Islamic world	112	Brotherhood	68	destroy multiculturalism	7	ethnocentric	27
24	bumt	118	crusader	107	salafi	58	homosexuality	6	cultural heritage	22
25	bullet	117	Pope	90	Muslim population	49	eco-Marxist	4	masculine	20
26	tactic	96	Templar	86	Al Qaeda	48	Global Warming scam	3	alternative future	16
27	suicide	95	Muslim world	80	Global Islamic Ummah	38	KrF-Christian Democrats	3	traditional family	16
28	rifle	78	Vienna	75	ban	36	Feminist Front	3	segregation	15
29	nuclear Power Plant	76	Jesus	62	Muslimnation	24	eco-fanatics	1	genome	6
30	biological	74	Jesus Christ	62	Chechn	24				
	blow up	66								

While only top 30 key terms are shown for all topics due to space constraints, the first topic 'Arms' contains the highest number of key terms (76) among the other topics. The 'Arms' topic contains keywords that represents the apocalyptic nature of Breivik's military plan to stop Islamization of Europe. For example, he wrote in his manifesto: "We should implement a policy of containment of the Islamic world. [...] Perhaps the spread of nuclear weapons technology, the darkest side of globalization, will trigger a large-scale war with the Islamic world at some point"⁶⁴ and "They [Muslims] should be worn down through mockery and criticism. We should also make clear that for every Islamic terror attack we will increase these efforts, which Muslims fear more than our weapons. It's the new balance of terror".⁶⁵ Regarding the containment of multiculturalism, Breivik proposes: "A weapon of mass destruction (WMD) is a weapon that can kill large numbers of individuals and/or cause great damage to man-made structures. However, nuclear and biological weapons have the unique ability to kill large numbers of people with very small amounts of material. Efforts must be made to employ precision WMD's when fighting the cultural Marxist/multiculturalist regimes of Western Europe."⁶⁶ Breivik then provides a multi-phased plan to obtain arms from foreign suppliers: "Small nuclear devices will prove more or less impossible to obtain until perhaps in Phase 2 or 3 (2030-2070). Much will depend on how...we manage to negotiate with the Russians, Indians or Israelis."⁶⁷ Breivik then confesses that the internet has transformed arms acquisition: "I first started my armour research and acquisition phase three months ago I found out...Certain vests were indeed available but not the vests I wanted. In any case, the internet truly transformed the market for acquisition."⁶⁸ While in most cases he does not specifically cite the sources of information for arms, armour, chemical materials and fabric acquisition, most of his research phase probably was conducted in the dark web as Breivik describe his sources as 'controversial websites'.

The second largest topic, 'Crusades', contains notions of Christian religious justification for the re-founding of Crusades and Knights

⁶⁴ Breivik, 2083 European Declaration, 331.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 331.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 951.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 955.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 855.

Templar as a response when Europe is dominated by Islam and indigenous Europeans are under the status of dhimmi. Breivik then states the functions of a Knight Templar: First, "To act as a pan-European Crusader Movement for the banishment of Islam from Europe"⁶⁹ and "Any Justiciar Knight of the PCCTS is a person who fights the cultural Marxist/Multiculturalist Alliance with weapons".⁷⁰ To justify violence, Breivik argues to be using it as a "self-defence, as pre-emptive actions and as a last option. We cannot allow our politically correct elites to sell us, their people, into Muslim slavery".⁷¹ The Christian church however is reformed under Breivik's plan: "The current fanatically egalitarian, self-loathing and suicidal Church of Europe will be reformed, even if we will have to go back to our roots, to the Vulgate, the Versio Vulgata or the original pre-1611 King James Bible which represented a Christendom that propagated self defence against the infidel Muslims".⁷²

The third topic 'Immigration' refers to the influx of Muslim migration to Europe which Breivik believes it is type of demographic warfare by "allowing mass Muslim immigration and allowing and tolerating average Muslim birth-rates of 3-4"⁷³. Due to Muslim terrorist attacks (jihad) in Europe, Breivik has come to believe that all Muslims are part of the collective blame and regardless of the degree of practicing religion, all Muslims practice Taqiyya (concealing). After analyzing past Muslims scholars opinion regarding Taqiyya, Breivik mentions: "it is permissible to lie and deceive if you are at a disadvantage or vulnerable to any non-Muslim for example as long as Muslims are still a minority in Europe".⁷⁴ Within this topic, Breivik correlates 'Islam' with keywords 'jihad' and 'sharia', and 'Muslim' with keywords 'terrorist', 'Islamist', 'Salafist', 'foreign/Islamic invasion', 'Al-Qaeda', 'Arab' and 'stranger'.

The fourth topic 'Political Correctness' speaks of Breivik's criticism on feminism specially on the destruction of gender roles in Europe by the cultural Marxist. For example, Breivik condemns the female-oriented European culture: "The transformation of European culture envisioned by the cultural Marxists goes further than pursuing

⁶⁹ Ibid, 1151.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 824.

⁷¹ Ibid, 826.

⁷² Ibid, 1137.

⁷³ Ibid, 772.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 78.

gender equality. Embodied in their agenda is “matriarchal theory,” under which they purpose to transform European culture to be female dominated.”⁷⁵ Breivik blames radical feminism for the current weakness of Western civilization, both culturally and demographically.⁷⁶ Once cultural conservatives take over Europe, Breivik plants to label and ban cultural Marxism as racist, genocidal and anti-European ideology. Regarding women, Breivik plans for “the forceful ordination of women as priests and bishops. As we all know, women’s emotionally unstable nature quickly leads to the propagation of gay marriage, the ordination of gay priests, ignoring chastity, ignoring peoples duties in relation to procreation, the support for mass-Muslim immigration and even the inter-religious dialogue with the Muslim community.”⁷⁷

The fifth topic, ‘Monocultural’, are set of keywords that describe Breivik’s plans for preservation of Indigenous Europeans through reproductives, segregation of gender, stopping immigration and deporting Muslims in masse to the Muslim world. For example, regarding reproductives, Breivik states that cultural conservatives should “encourage and even directly sponsor repro-genetics programs on a private and/or state level, which facilitates reproduction clinics who focus strictly on indigenous genotypes from pure sources.”⁷⁸ As for the future European educational system, Breivik projects that “all private and government, primary, secondary and high schools should have compulsory gender segregation. Gender segregation should also be considered for colleges and universities.”⁷⁹ Once the cultural conservative government is in place, Breivik gives set of steps for the assimilation program for Muslims. Some of the steps include that Muslims should baptize to convert to Christianity, celebrate Christian holidays and attend the church, changing the name to Christian traditional name, prohibition to practicing their mother tongue, prohibition to celebrate Muslim holidays and customs like halal food, etc. He then reminds Muslims: “Failure to accept and comply with given policies will result in immediate deportation for you and your closest family.”⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Ibid, 30.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 351.

⁷⁷ Ibid, 1279.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 1153.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 1198.

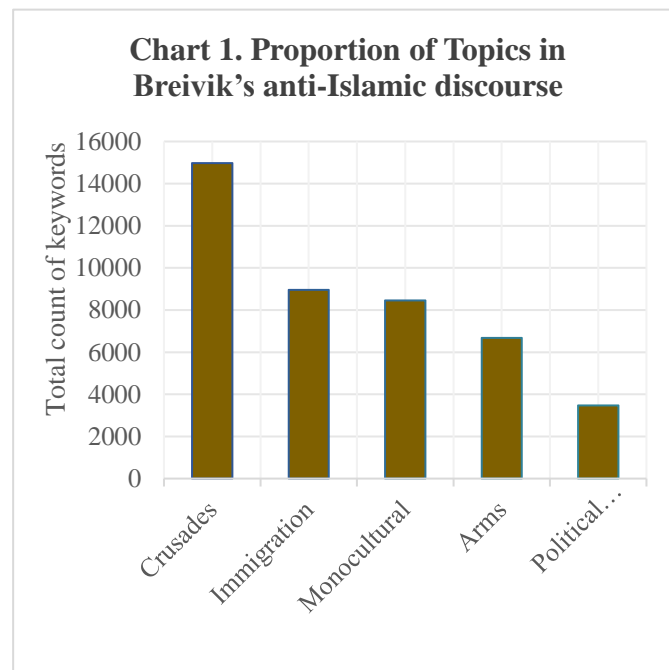
⁸⁰ Ibid, 809.

[illegible]

Figure 3. Word-cloud of 5 topics representing Breivik's anti-Islamic discourse in his manifesto.

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When looking at the proportion of the topics in Breivik's manifesto, a new trend emerges. Despite topic 'Arms' containing the largest list of key terms, it is topic 'Crusades' that has highest count of key term frequency (see Chart 1). This means that half of Breivik's anti-Islamic discourse is centred around the re-establishment of Knights Templar and Christianity for his political reactionary and military plan against the Islamization of Europe. The topics 'Immigration' and 'monocultural' share almost the same proportion of discourse in his manifesto which shows that Breivik (and those who share his ideas) view stopping Muslim immigration and their assimilation as the only viable way to achieve a monocultural Europe. Breivik's anti-Islamic topic proportion compared to the overall Jihadi topic proportion (in Nielsen's findings), even if is focused in the 'Conflicts' and 'Operations' topics specifically, shows that majority of Breivik's topics contain higher levels of violence. For example, topic 'Crusades' is primarily a violent concept, while Muslim clerics who endorse Jihadi ideology in their writings focusing in '*tawhid*' (believe)/'*takfir*' (to declare someone apostate), and 'Legal precedent' are not primarily violent (see Figure 4).



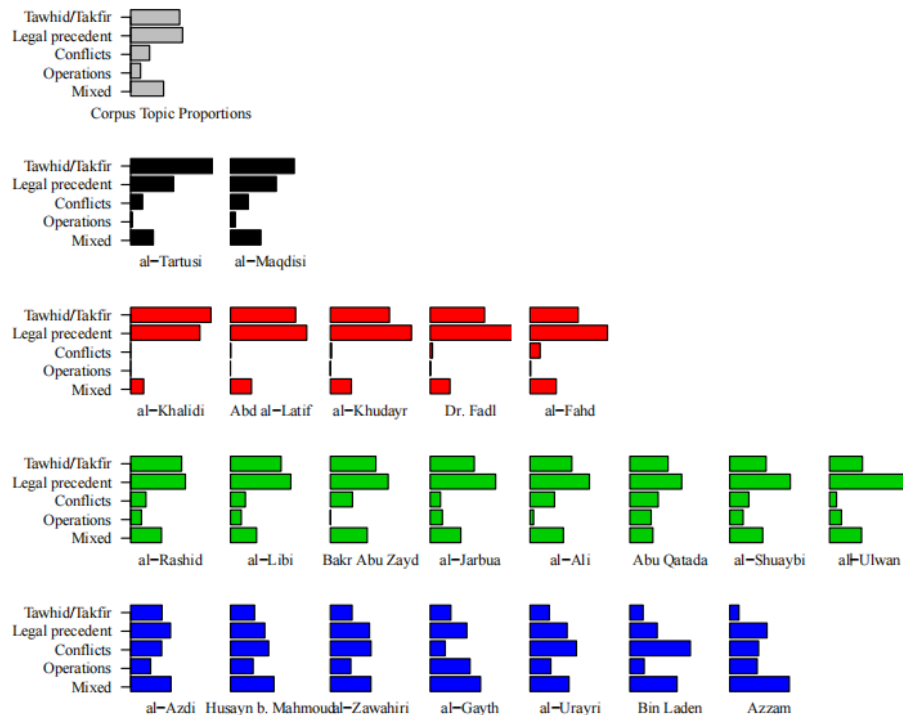


Figure 4. Overall and per author proportion of topics in Jihadi corpus. Figure 5.1 from Nielsen (2017).

In order to measure the levels of violence in Breivik's discourse, rather than developing an independent scale, Jihadi key terms in the findings of Nielsen are set as the baseline for our measurement. For the comparison, first, ten top keywords from each topic in Breivik's discourse are grouped separately. Second, both sets of keywords are graphed in a word cloud for better visualization. Keywords in green represent the overall Jihadi discourse. Keywords in red represent Breivik's anti-Islamic discourse. Figure 5 shows the word Jihad in the Jihadi word cloud, is ambiguous despite Nielsen focusing on violent jihad. It is not clear whether it refers to the imposition of sharia in Europe, or fighting foreign invasion in Afghanistan or Iraq, however there is a sense of anti-colonial struggle in response to oppression by foreign countries. Overall, the results shows that Breivik's discourse endorses more violent ideology than Jihadi ideology.

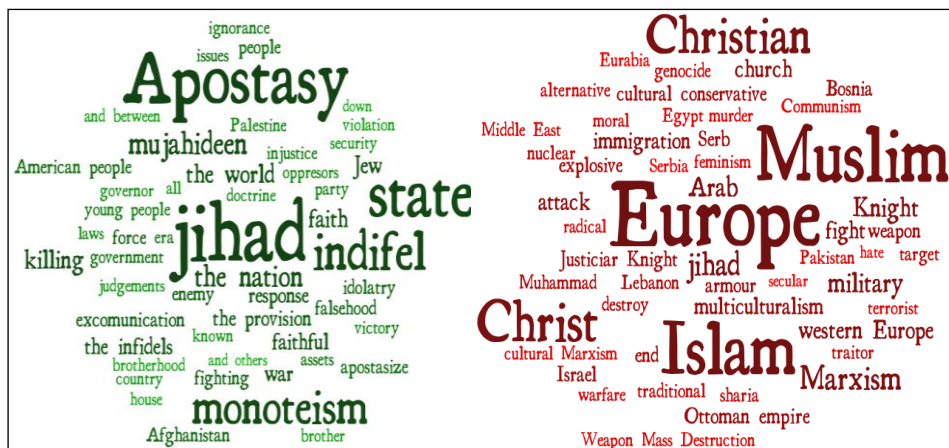


Figure 5. Comparison of Jihadi key terms (green) and anti-Islamic key terms (red).

Discussion and Conclusion

A good way to conclude this section would be within the framework of Parity Argument. The parity argument has been developed during the Enlightenment when believers and non-believers were accusing each other of irrationality.⁸¹ The framework allowed both sides to debate without rejecting entirely each other arguments on God and reason. Later, Chang defined parity argument as: if A and B have degree of comparison, then A and B are equal, or A is superior or worse than B.⁸² Recently, it was highlighted that parity argument is also referred as ‘companions in guilt’ because arguments that hold epistemic and moral normativity contain categoricity.⁸³ However there has been criticism to parity argument, specially from the Error Theory. Streumer’s (2017) concept of Error Theory which claims that if something is true, there is no reason to believe that that something is true, Zhou & Borche argued that is like a person looking at his fingers has no reason to believe that he has fingers.⁸⁴ Zhou & Borche then refuted Streumer’s argument that based on the Error Theory concept, they have no reason to believe as well in the Error Theory, which shows the self-defeating nature of the Error

⁸¹ Kay Nielsen, "Belief, Unbelief, and the Parity Reasoning," *Sophia* 27, no.3 (1988): 2.

⁸² Ruth Chang, "The Possibility of Parity," *Ethics* 112, no. 4 (2002): 660.

⁸³ Yili Zhou and Rhys Borchet, "The Perils of Rejecting the Parity Argument," *Philosophy* 28 (2023): 216.

⁸⁴ Zhou & Borchet, *Perils rejecting*, 230.

Theory. Zhou & Borche then offer the Special Property Argument to counter the Error Theory: Even if we are sceptic about X, Y, Z, but because of property Q, we believe in X because it has special property despite of having property Q.⁸⁵

Professor Nielsen's claim that the rise of global violent jihad is mainly as a result of domestic and political economy of religion, rather than a reaction to international forces is quite simplistic and places him in neo-orientalist club for framing Muslims as being inherently violent. As Scheuer, former intelligence officer at the CIA would point out that "Bin Laden has never claimed to be an Islamic scholar. In fact, Bin Laden has repeatedly denied being a scholar".⁸⁶ Scheuer's clarification would certainly exclude Bin Laden from the list of Muslims clerics in the analysis as he does not fit in the criteria. Scheuer, then concludes that the more the West intervenes in the Muslim world, the more violent Jihad grows: "While Western leaders engage in efforts to slay this phantom dragon, the foe we do face, the one that wages jihad against U.S. intervention in the Muslim world, is growing in numbers and geographical reach."⁸⁷ Despite that there are sound reasons to doubt Nielsen's conclusions, rather than placing it aside, we acknowledge that Nielsen's findings has a special property which is the statistical methodology in measuring violent ideology. Under the concept of parity argument, we accept Nielsen's standards and methodology and apply them equally to anti-Islamic violent discourse. Since our conclusions are based on Nielsen's findings, if our position is rejected, then Nielsen's findings and methodology should also be rejected. In this line of reasoning, it can be demonstrated that using extremism measure tools developed by the Western academia can be applied to anti-Islamic extremist discourse. If extremism measure tools are applied fairly in both Islamic thought and anti-Islamic discourse, it will not only show that both streams of discourse contain levels of violence, but anti-Muslim discourse accommodates higher levels of violence as well.

Breivik seems to be aware of the higher levels of violence in his discourse as he points out that followers in any religion or school of thought, will profess but not practice and "it is often easier for a Muslim

⁸⁵ Ibid, 218.

⁸⁶ Michael Scheuer, *Osama bin Laden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011):164.

⁸⁷ Scheuer, *Osama Bin Laden*, 16.

to stay at home rather than embark on jihad.”⁸⁸ Muslims in Breivik's discourse are a target of hate and are often dehumanized at the end of his manifesto.⁸⁹ Russel (1923) in his 'Interpreters' explains that nations frame in themselves the characteristic of their enemies, in the same way, we conclude that Breivik became what he always hated.

This research contributes to the literature of terrorism, political violence and Islamophobia. It opens the way for Muslim academics to apply algorithmic methods to counter anti-Islamic discourse that is prevalent in far right-wing, Eurabia conspiracies and neo-Nazi ideologies. This research in no way aims to justify Jihadi ideology rather, it aims to demonstrate that under the principle of fairness, that violent ideologies should be fairly represented under the same standards. This research however has limitations as it only takes Breivik's manifesto as the only field of study. It hopes for researchers to include in their analysis the manifesto of Brenton Tarrant and other available radical ideologies to capture ideological new trends that motivates crimes against humanity.

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⁸⁸ Breivik, 2083 European Declaration, 99.

⁸⁹ Richard Shorten, "Anders Breivik," in *The Ideology of Political Reactionaries* (New York: Routledge, 2022): 207.

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