The multiplicity and coherence of us

Feeling community in response to terror

Simon Stattin

Abstract

This thesis sets out to investigate the affective dynamics of doing community in response to terror by taking as a site of inquiry the attack in Stockholm, Sweden, in 2017. It studies how emotive expressions of multicultural openness could operate at the same time as heightened security measures were perceived as legitimate. By departing from the literature on responses to terrorism, it explores a hashtag, #openstockholm, and a 'Love Manifestation' through the theoretical lens of assemblages. In doing so, the thesis shows how these sites made use of a set of heterogeneous entities in order to produce strong affective expressions. Urban traits, such as the adaptability to crises, the high density of the city, and the square as a site for togetherness, were used in the assemblages in order to produce positive affective expressions. However, by drawing on xenophobic forces as an Other, together with calls for affective unity, a nationalistic boundary for the felt community were produced. In relation to the previous literature, the thesis contributes by making visible how the national community is produced affectively through both symbolic and non-symbolic aspects. Furthermore, it points to how such dynamics can be produced without an orchestrating sovereign.

Key words: assemblages, terrorism, affects, #openstockholm, responses, Sweden, nationalism, community
Words: 19129

Table of contents

1   Feeling the 7th of April 2017

In a rather schizophrenic way, it appears that the more globalized the world becomes, the firmer the nation holds its grip on societal imaginaries. Nationalist movements are on the rise all over the world at the same time as the fluidity of late modernity seems to disrupt and question all forms of previous belongings. In times of terror, these dynamics often seem to be especially prominent. In a dialectical manner, terrorists often seem to be perceived as carriers and expressions of globalization, something that is answered with a surge for that which is conceived of as recognizable. The nationalist response to terror often appears to be about hate or fear, where a highly intensified rhetoric frequently follows the rupture of violence. Borders are often reified, and racialized and sexualized notions of oppression come to the fore as effects of measures to secure the polity. In this way, the socio-cultural homogeneity and territorial boundedness of the nation seem to re-emerge as a way of handling the feelings of volatility and uncertainty that terror acts bring with it. (See Hardt & Negri 2003:45, Baker & Bartelson 2009:2).

On the 7th of April 2017, Rakhmat Akilov stole a truck and drove it into the crowd of people on the highly-stocked street of Drottninggatan in Stockholm, Sweden. The truck drove down the pedestrian street and finally stopped when rammed into the warehouse Åhlens, in the city center of Stockholm. Except for the traumatizing effect of such an act on broader layers of society, five people were killed, and twelve were hurt badly in the deed. (MSB 2018:5). A range of different reactions followed the attack. While the police urged people to move away from the city center, the subway closed down. People were stuck in their workplaces, while others started walking home. At the same time, rumors circulated about additional terrorist acts, shootings in different areas of the city, which thereby created a lack of certainty where safety from violence was to be sought. (MSB 2018:98).

The days after the attack, the Social Democrats, Sweden's largest political party, held their annual congress where there were calls for 10 000 more police officers. Furthermore, a law that would criminalize membership in terror organizations was proposed, which would require changes to the Swedish constitution. Ideas about ways of supervising and expelling undocumented immigrants, such as tagging mechanisms and the possibility to keep asylum seekers in custody, were also circulated among the top political segment of Sweden. (E.g. Besara 2017, DN 2017c Nordlund 2017, Habul 2017c). In this way, the terror attack in Stockholm seems to have been followed by usual nationalistic responses to terror that tries to evade fear, a seeming loss of security, and create certainty out of uncertainty.

However, at the same time that panic where reported spreading through the city, other affective reactions were also visible. When the city closed down, and the subway stopped running, people helped each other through the hashtag #openstockholm. Expressions of humor and gratitude were here visible, news reports indicate that people felt in other ways, joyful emotive circulations. Additionally, two days after the attack, a Love Manifestation took place, where compassionate emotive expressions were in circulation. Rather than just a site for mourning this manifestation seemed to be filled with more affirmative feelings, love, and a felt connection between people. An affective mood seems to have been experienced according to news reports. The gathering of people on the square of Sergels Torg appears to have created a feeling of togetherness.

Both of these sites indicate a positive affective swirling that seems to disturb the usual ways of feeling terror. Furthermore, they were often connected to formulations, and calls for, a multicultural and open society. Rather than feeling afraid, angry or hateful, these affective expressions do not easily function to legitimize bordering practices and heightened security measures that, as pointed to above, nevertheless were in circulation.

In the aftermath of the terror attack on Drottninggatan, it thus seems to have been two, or more, very different affective logics operating at the same time. These dynamics were moreover not operating in isolation. Instead, the boundaries between these different affective and communal expressions are troubled by how they often seem to have worked in tandem. As an example, the following quote point to how politicians, who attended the love manifestation, at the same time took measures for the seclusion of the nation.

> Gustav Fridolin [one of the leaders of the Green party] came to the manifestation – to show his condolences, I guess. Then he went home and thought that tagging technics on undocumented migrants would be a good idea. […] Anna Kinberg Batra [the leader of the right-wing moderates] was also there to show her support. Then she said that everyone who had received a rejection on their asylum request needed to be thrown out of the country and that if this system had worked, four people would still be alive. Soft manifestation, hard rhetoric. (Besara 2017)

In the midst of terror, the dynamics of globalization coupled with heightened calls for nationalistic imaginaries here seem to be mirrored by equally contradictory affective reactions to the event of terror. This Janus face of community seems to have been evident not only in the aggregated totality of responses but also, as the quote above indicates, in the same bodies, at the same time.

This accentuates two sets of questions. Firstly, how can the individual reactions be understood? How are expressions of openness, love, humor, and gratitude produced in the midst of a terror attack? Secondly, how can these operate in a community where security measures that reaffirms borders also appear legitimate? How is the community constituted in order to make this double-natured response possible? In this thesis, the act of terror that was carried out on the 7th of April, 2017, is thus taken as an entry point to make visible how

affective and societal responses to terrorism might look like. The critical task that is here undertaken consists of highlighting dynamics that reproduced a nationalistic logic of sameness and boundedness. Furthermore, it intends to entangle how these responses often incorporated a high degree of disorder that consisted of a range of heterogeneous elements. This latter aspect can thus function to point to sites and practices that can evade the often-problematic aspects of responding to terrorism. Formulated a bit more clearly, the guiding question of this thesis could thereby be posed as such: How can the different affective expressions be understood and how can they operate together with a nationalistic logic that reaffirms borders?

When it comes to terror attacks, the case of Stockholm seems to be both a usual and unusual example and could thus be used productively in understanding these dynamics. The act of terror in Stockholm followed a wave of attacks in European cities such as Paris, Brussels, Niece, and Berlin. Furthermore, the sites that were pointed to above, the hashtag #openstockholm and the Love Manifestation, were not the first of its kind in following such deeds (Efendic´ 2017). However, the case of Stockholm has some aspects to it that seem to make these concurrent expressions of openness and seclusion particularly evident. Sweden had to a high degree been spared from terrorism. With the exception of a failed suicide bomber attempt on a street close to Drottninggatan a couple of years before, there had been no cases of acts of terror committed under the heading of religious fundamentalism. (TT 2017b). The event of terror in Stockholm could thereby be productive in making visible both other ways of feeling the act of terror and with which ease it became understood through the series of other terrorist acts. It thus offers an interesting site for understanding to what extent societies have learned how to 'do responses' to terror.

1.1   Disposition

In order to answer the research question, the text proceeds as follows. This section is succeeded by a research design that functions as a framework for the analysis. The first part of the research design consists of a description of the previous literature that this text aims to contribute to. This is also coupled with a more in-depth exposition into some of the themes in the literature that are of particular relevance for the case here investigated. This part is also supplemented with a mapping of spaces that appear important for the research question and that have not been investigated before.

Thereafter, a research design is sketched that departs from the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari. This function as a charting of an ontological departure that offers particularly relevant resources in order to make sense of the heterogeneity that is visible in the responses. Some specific concepts are here pointed to, which are of particular value for the analysis of the research question at hand, the notions of *affect* and *assemblage.* The description of the ontological foundation and the conceptual tools is then followed by a presentation of, and

discussion on, the empirical material that is being used in mapping the sites that were pointed to in the introduction. This is also coupled with a reflection on the limitations of this empirical focus and the thesis in its entirety.

With this research design articulated, the thesis thereafter proceeds into the analysis. This consists of two parts that each cover one empirical site. The analysis starts with the hashtag #openstockholm and is followed by the Love Manifestation. Both of these sites take emotional expressions as the point of entry and unpacks the dynamics that produce, as well as uses, these affects. For each segment, this is also coupled with a reflection on how community is formulated and felt in relation to these different sites.

Finally, a summation of the results and how the different themes work in tandem is provided in the last section of the thesis. After this, a reflection on how this thesis contributes to the existing literature is provided. This is also supplemented with some reflections on potential ways forward that could further enhance our knowledge of communities in response to terrorism. Lastly, this concluding section closes with an answer to the research question.

2   A note on research design

This chapter provides a framework for the analysis, it consists of inquiries into ontology, methodology, theory, and what the empirical material consists of. It collapses distinct boundaries and borrows freely from other disciplines than just IR, thus making use of political science's eclectic nature. In doing so, it provides a somewhat weird mixture of different aspects that together function as a research design. As noted above, it starts by providing a description of the previous literature on responses to terror and describes some of the relevant themes for this thesis. Thereafter, two concepts are explored, affects and assemblages, that is situated in the previous literature on responses, as well as related to the theme of community. Finally, it concludes by some reflections on the material and the sites that are at the center of the analysis. This, it is argued, gives a comprehensive anti-foundational foundation to stand on when moving into the next section of the text, the analysis.

2.1   The politics of response

Rather than being about the event itself, the emphasis of this text is on the responses to terrorism. It is affective expressions and communal formulations that are visible in relation to the act of terror that here is the prime focus. The question of how the expressions of openness could be so salient at the same time as security measures were imposed that reaffirmed borders, thus directs the attention of this thesis to a particular body of literature, the politics of response.

This literature has primarily focused on the London bombings in 2005 (Closs-Stephens & Vaughan-Williams 2009, Salerno 2017), but there are adjacent analyses that have investigated, for instance, the responses to the terror attack on 9/11 (Butler 2004, Derrida 2003, Edkins 2002, Lundborg 2012, Solomon 2012), the Mumbai attacks in 2008 (Svensson 2013) and more recently the attack in Norway, 2011 (Tellidis and Gloom 2018).

The literature uses an understanding of terrorist attacks as nothing that is a pre-given, and stable category. How to act and respond to terrorism is understood as something that needs to be continuously re-investigated time and again in order to see how the understanding of terror informs how certain policy rationales become legitimized. (see Derrida 2003:86, 89, Svensson 2013). In this way, the act of terror is understood as an event that breaks with the everyday life of societies. It is a dislocation of meaning that is often met with responses that formalize the event and gives it particular understandings. The response literature points to how these understandings often are reductive in that they foreclose the

political aspect of terrorism, its complex dynamics, and thus legitimizes particular forms of policy rationales. Following this, the starting point of this literature is to study the possibility conditions of responses, how the event is produced and ordered through structures of power. The approach raises questions of how the initial confusion that is often visible in the immediate aftermath of attacks, the hardship with which the attack is made sense of, quickly becomes signified as a unified and coherent whole. (Closs-Stephens & Vaughan-Williams 2009:5–7). In the case of the London attacks, this literature thereby investigates "how the bombings have been framed in a broader context and how such framings have served to legitimize and/or obscure certain policies and political activity" (Closs-Stephens & Vaughan-Williams 2009:2). Furthermore, except for highlighting the structures of power that these responses build on, the approach also makes visible other ways of being in relation to terror. It draws other genealogies and investigates what is made unheard in the production of an event of terror. In this way, the theme of response with its de-familiarizing approach also opens up the ability to point to other ways of responding to terrorism.

There is a broad range of different dynamics that have been investigated under the thematic boundaries of responses to terrorism, some of which are of more relevance than others for the text here at hand. In order to situate the analysis in the previous literature on a narrower level, the text now turns to two overarching themes that have been investigated. Firstly, relating to the question of how the diverting expressions of openness and seclusion could work in tandem, some scholars have written about doing community in response to terror. More specifically, these have inquired into the dynamics around calls for unity, and the othering processes that function to establish distinct borders for such expressions of unity. Secondly, other scholars have investigated the emotional responses to terror, this literature thus offers resources in understanding the individual affective expressions.

2.1.1 Community, unity and the Other

In *Persistence of Nationalism* (2013) and in her chapter in *The politics of response* (2009), Angharad Closs-Stephens investigates communal expressions in response to terror. She highlights how such articulations both harbors a specific reading of the event of terror, and how it can function to legitimize heightened security measures such as the ones pointed to in the introduction of this text. Closs-Stephens points to how calls for unity are one such recurrent response to acts of terror that inscribe a specific understanding of what the community that has been attacked is. The logic of such expressions is often built around loss, the unity is no longer there, which invokes a threat to the whole of the community. Closs-Stephens (2009:62) notes that this follows a nationalistic imaginary in that it involves an understanding of community as necessarily building on a common trait. Unity is an imperative to close down difference, it builds on a foundational principle of commonality, the nationalistic ideal of sameness. Closs-Stephens points to how this logic often is enduring even in those responses that actively

tries to escape from a nationalistic imaginary. For instance, she points to a poster campaign that advocated urban cosmopolitanism in the aftermath of the London attack. While celebrating multicultural difference, the call for unity that was evident in this campaign functioned to erase all difference that could operate to critically investigate the established community. The logic deploys a cosmopolitan language that celebrates different identities, but at the same time, invokes sameness through the call for unity. Difference is only considered acceptable if ordered under this principle, which implies that a more fundamental difference is considered to be a threat. (Closs-Stephens 2009:61–63, 68–69).

Closely related to Closs-Stephens' analysis is Vivienne Jabri's (2009:51–53) text on the dynamics between the global city and the state. In analyzing security measures in the aftermath of the terror in London, she argues that the state tried to contain the difference that the global city harbors. This was actively done through the invitation of representatives from community organizations, 'Islamic leaders', to government deliberations as a way of creating resilience for future attacks. Just as the discursive construction that calls for unity is, this locates terror as an outcome of difference, which legitimizes state interventions in the city, which tries to fixate the fluidity of identities that the globalized city harbors.

Frequently, calls for unity also implies that othering processes are deployed in the production of the boundaries of the unity. As Closs-Stephens writes, "[c]ommonality can only be produced through exclusion, after all, and in order to determine what 'we' are, it will be necessary to establish who is not the same." (2009:67). For instance, the unity that was propelled in prime minister Tony Blair's speeches in the aftermath of the London attack, built on a binary logic that was invoked between the terrorists and the British people. This resulted in a dynamic whereby the only subject positions that were possible to take in the discourse were either the British subject or the terrorist supporter. Although the terrorists were born and raised in Great Britain, there were recurrent examples of how they were depicted as coming from the outside of the political community. They were described as untypical and foreign through a discursive invocation of spatial difference. (Bulley 2009:82–84, 92, Closs-Stephens 2013:62–63). Here, the boundedness of the nationalistic imaginary is thereby invoked. It functions by localizing the threat as always stemming from the outside, thus producing the internal community as better and superior.

This logic also operates in more direct ways over the political community. Madeleine Fagan points to how security measures, such as the heightened use of CCTV, were used to look for that which was outside the norm. This thereby invokes racialized and gendered notions of the terrorists, that function to render particular bodies suspicious. A set of characteristics became marked as defining who is to be perceived as Other, whereas bodies that fall outside of the norm of British whiteness were seen as potential threats. This form of othering process thus resolves in both a reduction of difference and an externalization of it. It collapses the multiple differences that every subjectivity harbor into coherent traits that becomes the basis for distinguishing between 'us' and 'them'. The use of CCTV functioned to visualize people as manifest characteristics with stable identities, constantly imposing the question of 'friend or foe?'. (Fagan 2009:185–

186, see also Closs-Stephens 2009:69)[1]. The effect of this logic was not least visible in the response that led to the shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes, an innocent civilian, by UK anti-terrorist forces. Vaughan-Williams points to how this was rendered possible as the "sovereign power attempts to reproduce and secure the spatial and temporal borders of political community" (2009:104). Here, the rendering of the terrorist as a couple of characteristics, stereotypical racial notions that are made suspicious, function as racial profiling that legitimizes internal bordering practices. In relation to such production of bodies as the ethnic/racial Others, Vivienne Jabri points to the paradoxical nature of these practices, in how they can produce exactly that which it tries to combat. (Jabri 2009:46–47).

To summarize these themes, one can note that responses often establish an Other that is not as progressive and civilized as the 'we'. The community is conceived as a coherent whole that renders invisible those bodies that are marked by otherness in the production of the unity, whether it is a unity of heterogeneity or homogeneity. (Closs-Stephens 2013: 62–65, 78–80).

Following the impetus to also highlight sites that are more fruitful ways of being in relation to terrorism, Ioannis Tellidis and Anna Gloom investigates street artists' responses to the Norway attack in 2011. They point to how this offers an everyday logic that resists the nationalistic imaginary of sameness, and the tendency to close down difference. The street is, at least theoretically, open for everyone, and the art can thus enable dissenting and marginalized expressions to be heard. The street offers a site where such voices can express experiences that evade the tendency of being unified into one narrative of the act of terror. (Tellidis & Gloom 2018:6–10). Furthermore, the street art offered a site for critiquing illiberal policies, thus escaping the logic of unity that Closs-Stephens points to.

In accordance with the analysis of street art, both Jabri (2009:56–57) and Closs-Stephens (2013:89–110) argue, in similar ways, that the city offers a site for resistance to illiberal security measures. Jabri argues that the city always interrupts the containment that the state's practices function to establish. Similarly, Closs-Stephens connects an urban ethics of indifference with Jean-Luc Nancy's understanding of the city as a site that always interrupts identity formations through encounters that produce different subject positions. The city is in this way a space for multiplicity due to the high density of strangers living close-by. Furthermore, urban communities are not assumed in advance with a unifying principle that distinguishes between 'us' and 'them'. (Closs-Stephens 2013:96).

As noted, this literature provides fruitful tools for understanding the dynamics of terrorism, but it also seems to be aspects that have not been fully mapped yet. The case here researched could potentially offer a contribution to the theme of community, due to how this aspect is only understood on a symbolic level. Closs-Stephens' analysis of Blair's utterances and the poster campaign is about

---

[1] See Butler (2004) on a more comprehensive analysis of how alterity was overridden and overlooked in favor of difference-as-characteristics in the aftermath of 9/11.

discursive formations that operate on a purely symbolic level. In similarity, Jabri's analysis of how identities are fixated in governing practices, are also symbolic injunctions into the urban logic. Their research contributes heavily to the text here at hand in offering complex symbolic constructions that reaffirm the logic of the nation, but they only take into consideration representational practices. In this way, the literature often builds on an anthropocentric understanding that only acknowledges the materiality of the political when it is mediated through the symbolic. From this point of view, materiality only has significance when it becomes symbolized, constructed in language, and filled with meaning. (see Barad 2003:802). Although they collapse the distinction between material and ideational elements, in praxis, the analyzes often tend to overlook the importance of the former. (see Aradau et al. 2015:61). This seems to be an important aspect in the following analysis, considering that the newspapers reported about a certain air, or atmosphere, that spread between bodies at the Love Manifestation. To make sense of such a site appear to necessitate a broadened perspective that can take in such aspects as the bodily matter of subjectivity.

Tellidis and Gloom elude this critique by investigating street art as a space rather than only a counter-hegemonic discourse. However, the case of Norway diverges from a big part of the previous literature's focus on illiberal dynamics that are at play in the aftermath of terror. The terrorist was not read through racial notions of the Other, which thereby meant that the attack did not easily play into xenophobic narratives. Instead, the terrorist was mostly framed as a 'lone lunatic', and multiculturalism as a way of doing community was not challenged in the public discourse (Kolås 2017:529–230). This means that calls for bordering practices did not circulate in the general public, as was the case in the aftermath of the terror attack in Stockholm.

Furthermore, in investigating how community is facilitated in response to terror, the literature takes injunctions by the state as the starting point. Such responses build on a unitary sovereign that operates on the community, which renders invisible more amorphous ways in which unity is produced. While Closs-Stephens (2015, 2016) has mapped such political forces in other sites, it has not been investigated in relation to responses to terror.

On a more thematic level, it can be noted that when Vivienne Jabri and Angharad Closs-Stephens points to sites for more fruitful ways of doing community, they both move away from meaning and the symbolic. The city is understood as both a way to think, but also do, community differently, with its materiality and actions implicated. Claiming that the city harbors indifference involves an understanding of the urban fabric as, at least partly, constituting this form of community. The dynamics that they point to are that of how different entities depart from the same logic, as in the case of Closs-Stephens' analysis, and how one logic intervenes and overrides, contains, the other, as in Jabri's analysis.

The problem of this lies in the fact that the readings reproduce an anthropocentric notion of togetherness. By taking the city as a way of thinking, imagining, community differently, the non-symbolic aspects that need to be in place in order for this more ethical way of togetherness are rendered invisible. We are thus left with unfruitful ways out of the nationalistic call for unity. There

seems to be a need to understand how the urban really operates in the wake of terror, how the urban diverts from the nationalistic community in its response to terror and not only in the everyday.

2.1.2 Feelings and the politics of affects

The role of emotions and affects in legitimizing governing practices have also been investigated. Chris Rumford understands the London bombings as a cultural trauma that marks and changes subjectivities in an irrevocable way. However, such trauma is nothing that is pre-given, it cannot be understood as an immanent property of the event itself. Instead, cultural trauma is a way to "manage social responses by putting them in some explanatory perspective or coherent narrative." (Rumford 2009:168). According to Rumford, we live in a postemotional era, whereas emotions are manipulated and cynically used. Rumford writes that an emotional response "would involve immediate outrage and anger; criticisms of the government perhaps […]" (2009:170). Instead, the postemotional response operates by drawing on 'dead emotions'. Through reference points to emotionally charged events of the past, the cultural trauma is loaded with emotive heaviness. Rumford's explanation of why particular policy rationales become legitimate is that the articulated reference points often involves a position of victimhood. By positing the community as a victim, otherwise not acceptable measures become legitimated. Building on this reasoning, Rumford argues against common notions of terror attacks as invocations of fear or anger. Instead, he proposes wonder as the prime emotional response to terror. Wonder is, according to Rumford, a more suiting emotion to explain how certain narratives can be inscribed and put to order the cultural trauma into coherence. (Rumford 2009:165, 168, 176–177).

Another way to approach the question of how certain policies are felt as legitimate is with the notion of desire. In analyzing the aftermath of 9/11, Ty Solomon uses a Lacanian understanding of the subject to explain why the discourse around the war on terror had such a strong resonance. Rather than speaking of signified emotions, Solomon uses the concept of affect as something that is pre-individual and outside of the symbolic order. "[B]eing a subject involves a kind of unmediated affective experience that is diminished once the body is socialized into language." (Solomon 2012:914). This creates a lack of completeness in the subjects which it tries to fulfill through different forms of identifications. In this way, such discourses that promise a solution, or fulfillment to what is experienced as lost, will gain traction and be desired.

In the aftermath of 9/11, affects were captured into denoting a wounded and injured nation that lacked a former fullness. By understanding this as correlating to the lacking subject, Solomon provides an explanation of why this narrative resonated with the broader public. It legitimated the rationality of the 'war on terror' and the imperative to act out in redemption as a way of retaining the safety and fullness of the nation. (Solomon 2012:926–927).

Just as with the themes of unity and otherness, there seem to be some missing pieces in these investigations of the affective and emotive explanations of why

particular policy rationales become legitimate. Starting with Rumford's argument that the public's reaction should be understood as one of wonder rather than fear, this seems to close down the political aspect of emotions just when starting to analyze it. It functions to inscribe a sort of foundational principle for how the public reacts to terror attacks, thus rendering other ways of being in relation to terror invisible. Furthermore, the conceptualization of wonder as the primary affective reaction seems to render the public passive in a way that appears contrary to the indications of affective reactions that were seen in the aftermath of the attack on Drottninggatan.

By using the pre-signified notion of affect, Solomon avoids this critique. However, although understanding affects as a non-symbolic aspect, his analysis, just as Rumford's, is only concerned with how affects come to matter in relation to discursive practices. This is definitely an important factor to investigate, but it does not provide answers to, for instance, the relationship between affects and the urban fabric (see Coward 2012). In this way, it also operates on an anthropocentric foundation that renders the multiplicity of responses invisible. The logic that Solomon investigate is an important aspect to map that will be part of the analysis of this text as well, but it cannot make sense of those sites that troubled the heightened security rationales.

In relation to both the theme of community and affects, the following thesis thus sets out to contribute with primarily two things. First, to widen the perspective and show how responses can be produced in more decentered ways, how the governing of affects function more directly than just through discursive invocations, thus highlighting aspects that are not only symbolic. This is also closely connected to the widened scope of showing how responses from the public emerge, which do not necessarily build on state interventions. Second, to show how particular communal forms of doing togetherness operates affectively, thus combining the role of feelings with the theme of community.

2.2   Two theoretical tools

This section offers a discussion of the analytical tools that are deployed in order to provide an answer to the thesis's guiding question. The concepts that are sought need to harbor an ontological understanding that can make sense of non-symbolic aspects, both things, materiality, and affects. At the same time, the approach needs to harbor the critical potential that the previous literature contributes to, thus taking in discursive power. The answer to these needs is, as mentioned above, sought in the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, and their particular understanding of affect and the concept of assemblage.

2.2.1   Affect and life's vitality

Through the affective turn, the concept of affect has become a popular notion. The uses of the concept depart from a diverse group of theoretical backgrounds, with a set of different understandings and conceptualizations attached to it.[2] Here, the concept is understood as the "margin of maneuverability" (Massumi 2015:3). It denotes the ability of bodies (both human and non-human, organic and non-organic) to form connections with other bodies. From this perspective, affects precedes subject formations, it is not something that an individual subject necessarily harbors, but rather something that is located relationally, an in-betweenness that subjectivities emerge from. As Brian Massumi writes, "affect is autonomous to the degree to which it escapes confinement in the particular body whose vitality, or potential for interaction, it is." (2002:35). Affects are a body's capacities rather than something intrinsic to the body. It can be understood as potentials that are dependent on what other bodies and entities that it can form connections with, which explains the relationality of the concept. (Tampio 2014:5). From this perspective, emotive expressions are understood as partial expressions of affects, it is a personal experience of it. In other words, it could be understood as the psychological capture of how the body has been affected, while affects are always something more. (Massumi 2015:5–7, Hickey-Moody 2013:80–81). This means that expressions of emotions can be used as sites of inquiries to understand how connections of entities are ordered.

The connection between emotive expressions as a sign of affect, and affect as the ability to form connections, have been theorized in a number of different ways. For Ross (2013:33–34), shared identities build on affective affinities, a form of connection that describes a recurrent relation between such different entities as bodies, thoughts, things and so on. For instance, from the perspective of affect, to feel pride when seeing a particular national flag, indicates the potentiality of a body to form a connection in relation to that flag, and by extension, considering the meaning of a flag, the nation.

However, affects do not only work in this formal and fixed way. The capability to form connections, to affect and be affected, is also transmitted contagiously and move more freely, without a clear direction. A feeling in the air, or the mood in a room, are indications of this, of "affective encounters that cannot be tracked back to the feelings or emotions of *an* individual" (Closs-Stephens 2016:185, see also Anderson 2014, Shaw 2013). Furthermore, this contagious aspect does not solemnly work through the *cogito*, affects are also transmitted on a sub-, or pre-conscious level (Thrift 2008:186–187). What is of importance for the investigation here at hand is that affects are pre-individual, and that they can be more or less captured in particular formations. A feeling towards a particular symbol or object, or a less defined experience of a mood, circulating at a particular moment and site, can both denote a felt community. This depends on how such affects are produced, and what entities that they operate along, or get stuck to. (Closs-Stephens 2016). An important part of understanding how a

---

[2] For an overarching review, see Thrift 2008:175–182 or Gregg & Seighworth 2009:5–9.

community becomes established is thus how affects are formed and captured into particular formations.

Affects indicate a potentiality, and by investigating what the potentiality in the aftermath is, it becomes possible to map both that which follows a nationalistic imaginary of relating to terror, as well as make visible what ways out if it that is possible. To relate this to Rumford's analysis and discussion around fear and wonder in the aftermath of terror, affect seems better situated to provide answers to the particular case that is here investigated. Although fear and wonder often seem to be spreading in the aftermath of terror, this particular case, the attack in Stockholm, seems to be one of multiplicity of emotive responses. To use the concept of affect as a pre-signified notion of emotion opens up critical resources. It makes visible the many different expressions of emotive responses that often are prevalent in the aftermath of terror. (See Ross 2013:68). Furthermore, from this perspective, the different affective expressions that seem to have been visible after the act of terror on the 7th of April, 2017, are not just different ways of feeling the terror. It also indicates different ways of forming connections, thereby implying different forms of doing community in relation to terror.

The task of an analysis of affects could in relation to this be understood as the tracing of "how affects emerge from and express specific relational configurations, while also themselves becoming elements within those formations." (Anderson 2014:11). This means that, for instance, linguistic signs, discourses in newspapers, are both expressions of affects, just as they have an affective dimension in themselves. They both create movements and binds together different bodies and entities. In the following analysis, emotive signs will thus be used as a site of inquiry. This means that language of emotions and other forms of emotive signs offer an analytical departure. The point is to show how affects are made knowable and ordered through power. For instance, power operates by cutting off other flows of affect, other potentials of feeling and forming connections. Assemblages are here of importance in that they operate on, orders, and produces particular affective expressions. The text now turns to this concept in order to make visible how affects relate to other elements.

2.2.2 Assemblages and the ordering of affects

An assemblage is a relation of exteriority between heterogeneous elements that are ordered together. In spite of this heterogeneity, it displays consistency, a unified whole. In the following analysis, assemblage will be used as a conceptual tool to understand how affects are ordered, both in attaching different bodies into forms of togetherness, and ordered into denoting particular feelings. Assemblages registers and signifies affects into feelings and emotive expressions. Affects thereby precedes this heterogeneous totality but are ordered within them. They are produced and governed through the ways in which the assemblage's entities work together. (Hickey-Moody 2013:83). This implies that the conceptual tool offers a way to critically investigate how the responses to terror produce affects and forms of doing community. In highlighting the way in which particular assemblages

produce and orders affects, it becomes possible to make visible how the contradictory reactions could operate in tandem. Due to the many uses of this concept that have been circulating recently, the following section starts off with a discussion on different understandings of the assemblage. This function to draw boundaries for the particular definition that is used here. Thereafter, this thesis's specific use of the term is presented more in-depth. Here, the analytical tool is also related to the theme of community.

Within the social sciences, assemblage has become an increasingly popular concept in recent years, with a broad spectrum of different uses, and understandings, attached to it. Particularly, with the 'material turn', the concept has gained traction. (see Acuto & Curtis 2014 for examples in IR.). However, as Tom Lundborg and Nick Vaughan-Williams (2015) argues, even though this recent turn has raised valid points in highlighting that which is outside of the symbolic, they often neglect the materiality that was already in the writings of the foundational texts of poststructuralist thought. Lundborg and Vaughan-Williams argue that 'the material turn' often does the same thing as that which it criticizes, although switching side. That is, they overemphasize materiality and downplays ideational factors. On point with this critique, the assemblage is often operationalized as a complex web of different materialities, an understanding that thereby tends to essentialize the different parts that it consists of. It seems that the concept often has been understood merely as a way of investigating a more intrinsic conception of causality, understanding the material objects that go into an assemblage as absolute and stable entities. What the researchers writing under the heading of the material turn often do is to consider the assemblage's content as objects in-itself. Deleuze and Guattari on the other hand, explicitly states that "[t]he form of content is reducible not to a thing but to a complex state of things as a formation of power" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:66).

Jane Bennett's conceptualization could exemplify another common tendency in much of the literature on assemblages. She situates it as a heterogeneous totality with agential power. An agency that is decentered and "distributed across an ontological heterogeneous field, rather than being a capacity localized in a human body or in a collective produced (only) by human efforts." (Bennett 2010:23). While this is an important injunction in destabilizing anthropocentric notions of the political, it opens up the concept of the assemblage to denote pretty much anything. Agency should be conceived as an important aspect of assemblages, but it is not a sufficient definition. Considering the definition of affect above, everything has agency. Everything can be affected as well as affect, even though this agency is actualized relationally. (See Buchanan 2015).

Uses of the assemblage that departs from Manuel DeLanda's (2006) understanding on the other hand, often start with the concrete, the different entities of the heterogeneous totality, and investigates how these are ordered together. A reading closer to Deleuze and Guattari notes that the assemblage does not function in a machinic sense, it is not the aggregation of its different entities. It does not emerge from its various parts but appears fully functional. Deleuze and Guattari rather start from the abstract and investigates what the formation of authority is, how the assemblage is ordered. (Buchanan 2015:388, 2017:224). This

is a crucial aspect of the concept in order not to lose its critical potential, and one of the reasons for using affective expressions as the starting point in the following analysis.

The following argument thus points to the need for a specific understanding of the concept, one that stays closer to Deleuze and Guattari's own descriptions than any of these. This, it is argued, is a fruitful way of both highlighting the non-symbolic aspects of doing community, as well as avoid the tendency to essentialize and limit the critical potential that a poststructuralist framework offers. The assemblage is composed in line with two axes. The first one is, as Ian Buchanan explains, a "productive intersection" (Buchanan 2015:390) between a form of expression and a form of content. The form of expression involves such things as words, ideas, affects, and discursive elements, while the form of content is bodies, actions, and things. The form of content and form of expression are in a reciprocal relation, while although not being the product of each other. According to this definition, both the form of content and form of expression have developed independently. The assemblage thus consists of both discursive and non-discursive elements such as ideas, affects, and materiality. It is an association of different parts that together form a whole. It is in this way, a multiplicity that displays consistency.

The other axis of the concept is what Deleuze and Guattari call deterritorialization and reterritorialization. "Every assemblage is basically territorial. The first concrete rule for assemblages is to discover what territoriality they envelop" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:503, see also Bonta & Protevi 2004:54–55, Puar 2013:384–385). In this way, an assemblage could be described as a delimited field, both on the level of form of content and form of expression. Through 'border-making', bodies of things, ideas, affects, actions, and so forth, are brought together to form the territory of the assemblage. (Shaw 2014:91). In relation to affects, this means that the territoriality denotes what the limits for the assemblage is, whom it can affect, what forms of community that it operates on. However, as deterritorialization and reterritorialization imply, this is not a stable aspect of the assemblage. The changing nature of the concept relates to the virtual aspect of Deleuze and Guattari's philosophy. The assemblage is at the same time, an object and a process, and its functionality is not constant. It harbors an ability to become-other, to form new connections and thus order affects in other ways. (Shaw 2014:88).[3]

This definition of the notion thus evades the tendency only to analyze what occurs on a symbolic level. Just as Bennett's understanding of the concept, assemblages "cross the alleged nature/culture divide" (Bonta & Protevi 2004:54). By understanding the assemblage as an intersection that produces affects, it is possible to point to the role of non-symbolic aspects, thus destabilizing anthropocentric notions of the political. At the same time, it avoids the

---

[3] This implies that this definition of the assemblage is not as stable as conceptualizations of the Foucauldian term 'apparatus' or 'dispositif' (see Aradau et al. 2015, Anderson 2014). While these also produce and diminishes a body's affects, assemblages emphasize disorder, rather than the dispositif's focus on order. (Legg 2011:131).

overemphasis of the materiality that other definitions of the assemblage tend to fall into, due to the conceptualization of it as a process.

What is to be considered part of the assemblage cannot be defined before-hand other than that it is the entities that form a totality and produces particular affects. As Deleuze and Guattari so adequately put it: "We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do" (1987:257). For instance, the assemblage's discursive elements can be expressions from a particular site, as well as the narration of that site. Both of these have a part in constituting the coherence of the heterogeneous totality. This implies that the assemblage's delimitations cannot fully be established other than on an analytical level, which will be touched upon in the next section.

Lastly, before moving on, the concept of assemblage should also be connected to the theme of community. As noted, affects denotes the ability to form connections. Assemblages give affects more or less elusive boundaries, more or less delimited territoriality for affects to circulate. In this way, an assemblage structure affects in a particular way that can both produce nationalistic feelings, as well as disturb such connections with other attachments that resonates with a more urban way of togetherness. (see Farías & Höhne 2016) The particular formulation of affect that Solomon analyzes, one that posits lack in the midst of desire is, just as Closs-Stephens analysis of formulations of loss notes, a common theme in nationalistic imaginaries. This could be understood as one particular form of assemblage, an assemblage that has registered affects as something lacking, a feeling of loss, that the state partly produces and partly uses in the legitimization of heightened security measures. The difference in relation to Solomon's investigation is that this thesis' theoretical departure does not understand lack as an ontological element of the subject, but rather something that is produced (Braidotti 2006b:201). The focus on lack can thus describe one, or one aspect of, a particular assemblage. However, the more open-ended notion of this concept is needed to make visible how the multiplicity of responses were possible.

The definition of the assemblage that is proposed here seems to answer satisfactory to the question of how we can understand the affective expressions that were visible in the aftermath of the attack on Drottninggatan. The methodological approach deployed in the following investigation takes affective expressions as point of departure and studies how these are made possible through the composition of specific assemblages. To analyze how such a productive intersection orders affects into particular emotive expressions means to make visible how its different components operate together. It is about mapping affects, materiality, and ideas. It is about making visible how the form of content and form of expression work together to produce specific affective expressions. By relating this to the assemblage's different components, together with its territoriality, it becomes possible to understand whether the different sites produce feelings that are bounded along the borderlines of the nation. This also means that more elusive ways in which the assemblage orders affects, in line with the urban way of doing community, can be highlighted. This, it is argued, provides an answer to both the question of how we can understand the individual emotive utterances, as well as

provide some thoughts on how they can function to build the legitimacy for a particular communal form.

2.3   Material, sites, and delimitations

This text now turns to a discussion on the assemblages' delimitations, the empirical material, and a reflection on the sites that are of interest for the text here at hand. In order to undermine the coherency that this thesis tries to show off, the cracks and shortcomings of the research design are also pointed to, that is, the limitations that an investigation of this kind harbors.

Firstly, the assemblage's delimitations need to be touched upon. In the following analysis, the hashtag #openstockholm and the Love Manifestation is considered assemblages. In order to understand what affects these produced, the material that is presented below will be analyzed. Due to affects excessive character, it is possible and even likely, that these assemblages can produce other affects as well. Although not exhaustively mapping everything that the assemblages can do, the following material is, however, argued to sufficiently answer to the research question.

To make visible both the affects that were produced and to understand the assemblage's different entities, the thesis turns to a heterogeneous set of empirical sources. In understanding both of the sites, newspapers are one such source. It appears to be fitting and important due to primarily two reasons. First and foremost, the news material has a reproductive quality to it. As noted in the theory section, affects are contagious, and to see an affective reaction in the news or on TV often has some sort of proliferous effect. In describing the emotional expressions, it functions to order broader layers of society by narrowing down ways of relating to the different sites, and by extension, the deed. Secondly, it is a source that at times are the only, or best, option. Another way of getting to how these sites were experienced would be through interviews, but the answers would be mediated by more time, and it thus appears to be preferable to choose news reports.

The news material that is used in the analysis is gathered from the four largest newspapers in Sweden, *Aftonbladet, Dagens Nyheter, Expressen,* and *Svenska Dagbladet*. Every article between the 7th and 15th of April 2017 that concerns terror and Drottninggatan have been taken into consideration. Thereafter, all articles that were published about the two sites, until the 1st of February 2019 have been taken into concern in the analysis. All of these newspapers have a national audience, which necessarily has an impact on the analysis. The newspapers have an imperative to create news with national-spanning relevance, which makes it less surprising that what happens in Stockholm is also narrated as a Swedish event in these papers. This means that the newspapers could be argued to be predisposed to order affects in a way that builds a nationalistic feeling. However, this should not be problematic for the research here at hand. In studying the newspapers with national reach, the assemblages' possibilities are highlighted. It makes visible how

something that happens to a few can be understood as being relevant for a whole nation. However, by taking in other newspapers, sites of resistance to such logics could have been pointed to, something that is thereby partly missed in the following analysis.

In order to fully capture the complexity of these sites, some other sources are also needed. In relation to the hashtag #openstockholm, tweets are also part of the analysis. Just as noted in relation to newspapers, social media function to spread affects contagiously. (Ross 2013:28–32). Due to the magnitude of this empirical source, previous literature by Eriksson (2018) and Al-Saqaf (2017) constitutes part of the material that is being analyzed. These two researchers have both mapped the use of #openstockholm, and they provide a more comprehensive overlook of the messages that circulated under the heading of the hashtag.[4] The investigation here at hand departs from their mapping of the tweets but reads it from a slightly different perspective. Al-Saqaf (2017) is primarily interested in providing a mapping of what different tweets that circulated and how the digital infrastructure of Twitter function to connect people in the aftermath of terror. Eriksson's (2018) investigation lies closer to the text here at hand. However, she analyzes the negotiation of cultural trauma, and neither investigates how the hashtag intervened in affective life, nor how it connects to the governing practices that circulated following the attack. Furthermore, she is not interested in how the site is a response in the sense of producing expressions of doing community in relation to the event of terror.

The Love Manifestation was initiated on Facebook, and the description of the event from this site is thus analyzed in order to understand the framing of it. What is missing in this analysis is the full speeches that were held at this site. These have not been able to reach, and the analysis is thus dependent on news reports in order to understand the role of these speeches in producing particular affects.

Although the empirical sources consist of mainly texts, the approach pays close attention to non-discursive elements of these responses, as well as the discursive constructions. This indicates a sort of flat ontology that does not discriminate between linguistic or non-linguistic aspects of the responses. In this way, the empirical material is considered both a register and a constructive force of reality. From the perspective of Deleuze and Guattari's theoretical foundation, there are no useful analytical gains in too strictly distinguishing between the symbolic and the non-symbolic. The point is, in relation to the previous literature, to involve the non-symbolic, even if it is not possible to draw an exact boundary between the two of them.

Some things should also be noted in relation to the sites here under investigation. Although being outside of the scope of this thesis, it should be noted that there are other sites that have an important part to play in understanding the heightened security measures that circulated in the aftermath of the terror

---

[4] Due to the fact that Al-Saqaf only provides a preliminary presentation of his material and not any peer-reviewed research, it is only the material that he quotes directly, rather than the analysis, that is being used in the analysis.

attack. For instance, in the following inquiry, the figure of the terrorist will only be touched upon briefly. It is, however, worth noting that the discourse around the terrorist seems to be important in understanding how undocumented immigrants often became the focus of the heightened security measures. Even though there were spaces for understanding the terrorist through his living conditions (e.g. Aschberg 2017), or through the regime of his home country, Uzbekistan (e.g. Hansson 2017a, Hansson 2017b,), the discourse came to focus on him having been rejected asylum. (e.g. Habul 2017a, Habul 2017b, Lund et al. 2017.).

Furthermore, there are also other highly affective sites that could have been part of this investigation. Due to the unusual geography of Stockholm, consisting of a number of islands, processions of people were formed on the bridges leading out of the city in the immediate aftermath of the attack. This was reported as a highly affective site that also troubled expressions of fear, hatred, and wonder (e.g. Wiman 2017). However, this event rather quickly disappeared from the public eye and has thus not been considered as a site of enough importance in the following investigation.

Before moving on to the analysis, some considerations of limitations in relation to the totality of this research design should also be noted. The claim of this thesis is not that it is the order of affects at the particular sites here under investigation that in themselves explain the heightened security measures that were pointed to at the start of this text. As pointed to in the introduction, the processes of globalization and nationalist movements on the rise were evident all over the world, as well as in Sweden, before the terror attack. What this thesis does claim, however, is that the ordering of affects that is visible in the analysis have a part in explaining how so contradictory expressions could work in tandem. Furthermore, this thesis sits at the table of the response-literature. The dynamics of the nation and nationalism are not the prime focus, even though nationalistic elements are taken into consideration. This means that what the nation can do in response to terror is not exhaustively investigated here. The same cautious remark should also be noted in relation to the reflection of what constitutes urban aspects of doing communities. Although taking in an urban literature to stimulate the reflection on doing community in times of terror, the question of what it is that can be understood as a truly urban response is not a clearly delimited category. Just as with the case of the nation, the course here taken highlights aspects from the different literatures and reflects on how these operate in the different assemblages. With these remarks postulated, the text now turns to the analysis.

3   Two productive intersections

The following analysis departs from the research question concerning how we can make sense of the affective expressions that seem to be about openness at the same time as bordering practices were put into place. In order to make this dynamic apprehensible, the following section is ordered into two parts. The first part investigates the hashtag #openstockholm, and the second section then turns the focus to the Love Manifestation.

3.1   #Openstockholm

The hashtag #openstockholm showed up on Twitter in the immediacy of the terror attack. When the subway closed down, and the police urged the public to move away from the city center, the hashtag initially functioned as a way of connecting people. The early uses of the hashtag are filled with examples of civilians offering rides to people who were stuck in the city, while others opened up their homes and offered shelter in pending of the subway to start running again. Although the information and knowledge about what had just happened were scant, other than that some form of attack had occurred, strangers helped each other in this way. (E.g. Lund 2017, Olsén 2017, Lindberg 2017a, Thulin 2017, see also Al-Saqaf 2017 and Eriksson 2018). The hashtag was started by a student in Stockholm, seeing that people were already offering each other help and the hashtag thus functioned to connect these acts. Only on the first day, the hashtag was used 3822 times in Swedish and English and attracted a great deal of attention in the news. (Eriksson 2018:8). It borrowed its form from such hashtags as #ikwilhelpen and #portesouvertes that was used in Brussels and Paris after acts of terror there (Jörnmark 2017a, Eriksson 2018:3). In this way, the hashtag could be understood as an assemblage that is recurrent.[5] Furthermore, it is a set of different entities that work in accordance to both produce particular affects as well as order these in specific formulations.

The hashtag is an intricate assemblage in that it produces affects that it incorporates in order to produce new and other affects. This motivates the structure of the following analysis that is divided into two overarching sections. The initial uses of the hashtag are the focus of the first part, while the dynamics around xenophobic expressions are at the center of the second part. Each of these

---

[5] In the vocabulary that Ben Anderson uses, #openstockholm could be described as a *version* of a recurrent apparatus (Anderson 2014:51).

sections highlights some affective expressions at a time and tries to make these graspable by deploying the concept of the assemblage. This is also continuously interwoven with a reflection on the assemblage's relation to urban and nationalistic ways of doing community. Finally, a concluding consideration of how the different dynamics work in tandem is provided, together with a note on how we can understand this in the retrospect of the bordering practices that was pointed to in the introduction.

3.1.1 Improvisation, humor, and adaptability

As pointed to in the introduction, what is of particular interest with this assemblage is that it functioned to destabilize the event of terror as a site of fear and hatred. For instance, many tweets offered help in a sort of humorous tone with offers of drinking beer, eating cupcakes, watching cat videos, and playing video games. "I've got 1 or 2 beds, if stuck in Knivsta. Chips, dip and Xbox. Call me [phone number]. #openstockholm", or "[g]ot 2 rooms but only 3 beers. Slussen/Mosebacke. #openstockholm #coldone. Scrap that. Only 1 beer left. #openstockholm" (quoted in Eriksson 2018:10). This seems to be an indicator of one of the assemblage's affects. The tweets indicate how the hashtag can disturb the seriousness of the terror attack. It disrupts the signification of affects as 'fear' or 'wonder' and offers other forms of doing togetherness in the midst of the attack. To form connections with #openstockholm thus offers other affects that can spread contagiously and disturb the univocal seriousness of the event. Other affective expressions indicate how such disruptive encounters were not only a possibility but how they also took place.

> Big thanks to [name] who took a big detour to drive last Friday. I wouldn't have come home without you, priceless friend. (Expressen 2017).

> Marcus describes it as an extreme relief, as he does not feel at home in Stockholm. - And I've probably never met a guy that I connected with in that way. He opened his home for us. (Fjeldstad 2017)

The gratitude, relief, and friendship that are expressed here seem to be produced in the encounters between people that are made possible through the hashtag. As Anderson writes, "[f]eelings are expressions of a body's 'charge of affect' and, as such, always both a reflection of how encounters happen and enacted in encounters." (2014:80). Considering that this affective reaction is enabled by the hashtag, this not only indicates the affects of the individual bodies but also of the #openstockholm-assemblage.

The affects that are indicated by relief, gratitude, and friendship are produced by forms of expression such as thoughts, linguistic, and ideational entities about helping. Acts of kindness that the first quote, about playing videogames and drinking beer, indicate. As Buchanan notes, such forms of expression are formed independently of, but are at the same time in reciprocal relation with, the form of

content. (Buchanan 2017:222). This becomes clear when reflecting on what the form of content that the assemblage makes use of. One such thing is Twitter's digital infrastructure that enables the connection between people. The acts of opening up homes and giving rides are not dependent on this form of content but are in a reciprocal relation with it that produces the affects. This infrastructure enables bodies to be brought together in the assemblage. The humorous quotes seem to be an indicator of how people who are marked by the deed, feeling insecure, stuck, or in other ways harmed by the attack, can come in contact with bodies that are in other modes and have other affective potentials. To feel 'relief' in the quote above indicates how such altering of affective reaction has taken place, an affect produced by the intersection of the digital infrastructure that connects people, and the form of expressions that are the offers of help.

In this way, the digital infrastructure is an important aspect of the border-making that produces the assemblage's territoriality (Shaw 2014:91). The social media offers a decentered way of spreading a message which makes the form of content's territoriality elusive. Whoever wants to join in on the hashtag can do it and be part of altering the form of expression of the assemblage. This opens up the possibility for everyone to use the hashtag, as well as the possibility to be heard by anybody, something that additionally marks the vagueness of its territoriality.

The hashtag's digital presence has, in Deleuze and Guattari's vocabulary, a rhizomatic structure. After a couple of hours, it had spread in such a way that it was impossible to track back to its starting point, the student who initiated it. (Al-Saqaf 2017:5:24). This means that it lacks a center, which creates an openness for what different uses the hashtag can take. This seems to be important for the expressions of humorous lightness that the quotes about pizza and tv-games indicate. The form of content that is its digital infrastructure, where messages can spread without an established meaning to it, have an effect on the assemblage's territoriality when it comes to the form of expression. The limits to what can be said are also elusive. The humorous feeling must be understood as, not produced by the assemblage's digital infrastructure, but enabled to work in accordance with it to produce, for instance, affective expressions of gratitude.

Other forms of content also seem to be of importance in the assemblage. While the appreciation that was expressed with the hashtag is possible through the hashtag's digital infrastructure, the encounters that took place, the actual meetings, seem to be possible due to the high density of the urban fabric (see Coward 2012). Just as Closs-Stephens notes, the city is a place for encounters between strangers, a logic that also operated in this assemblage. The people offering help and the people who were helped did not know each other, and the meetings took place without identity being pre-established. This specificity of the urban setting also opens up the possibility of improvisation. The hashtag echoes what Nigel Thrift notes in relation to cities, how they often are good at "bounce back from catastrophe remarkably quickly." Thrift argues that this is because "[w]estern cities are continuously modulated by repair and maintenance" (Thrift 2008:199). As pointed to in the theoretical section on the assemblage, the city offers different connections, which indicate that improvisation is always an option

of the city. When the subway closed down, the rhythms of the city were redirected, and the density of the city opens the possibility of offering each other shelter. To think of #openstockholm as an assemblage makes this relation visible. It is the reciprocal relation between forms of content, the density of the city and the digital infrastructure, and forms of expressions, acts of helpfulness and offers of rides and shelter, that are needed to produce this particular response. Without the materiality of the city as a closeness, it would not have been possible. This could also be related to the assemblage's territoriality on the level of form of content. Although the territoriality of the city appears to be more fixated than that of the hashtag's movement on Twitter, it still lacks the clearly delimited boundaries of the nation. The city does not have defined borders but is constantly changing. In the case of #openstockholm, this is particularly evident in how rides were offered to different locations in and around Stockholm. Of course, rides were not given to wherever, but in relation to the nation as a way of doing community, the boundedness of the city here seems to be less stable.

It can also be noted that the affective expressions that have been pointed to in this section are not directed at one thing. It is a multiplicity of different affective connections that resonates with the urban logic of doing togetherness. Rather than feeling attached to a totality, they are indications of gratitude between individuals.

3.1.2 A xenophobic enemy image

The emotive expressions that have been pointed to so far are nevertheless only part of what affects that #openstockholm produced and ordered. While first being mainly about opening up homes and giving each other rides, the hashtag also came to harbor other expressions. As Eriksson (2018:8) highlights, these were often formulations of appreciation towards the acts of kindness. "So proud of my people. ❤️ #OpenStockholm" (Jubileejulia 2017) or "[s]o proud to be swedish and to see the way we act when our open society is under attack. #united #openstockholm @polisen_riks ❤️" (MiaKleregard 2017). The assemblage here seems to be a fruitful tool in making sense of the hashtag, due to the fact that it is a process with the ability to become-other. The cited tweets indicate that the affects that it produced in the initial use are ordered into its form of expression and thus constitute part of what produces new affects, proudness in the two quotes above.

By focusing on the forms of expression that are the ideas and discursive aspects of this process, more nationalistic ways of doing community become visible. What is of importance in these quotes is the fact that these feelings seem to be produced in relation to the invocation of identity. The tweets are often about Sweden and 'my people', rather than only an appreciation of the actual acts of opening up homes and alike. (E.g. Yanatweets 2017, EmmaRydner 2017 and Debraruh 2017) This could be understood as a territorialization of the form of expression. It gives boundaries to whom the acts of giving lift and housing are ascribed to, producing an identity of the acts of offering help, situating an 'us' as

being in a particular way. In short, the affects are directed at one entity, the national community.

To understand this dynamic, it must be noted that xenophobic expressions were also recurrently seen on Twitter in the aftermath of the terror attack. These expressions also became part of the hashtag. Utterances of hatred against Muslims were paralleled with critique against the hashtag. Often, these tweets were formulated as accusations of naiveté in the messages circulating under the heading of the hashtag. #Openstockholm was often used together with other hashtags, such as #closestockholm and #openstockholmsyndrome. What appears interesting is that the xenophobic tweets that became part of the assemblage were not foremost articulated against the initial reaction of the hashtag, the offers of shelter and rides, but rather against the appreciative articulations. (Eriksson 2018:8).

As Closs-Stephens (2009:67) notes, expressions of who 'we' are, often build on an Other that function to establish the boundaries for the identity. This dynamic is also visible in the appreciative tweets, which often were uttered in negation of the xenophobic expressions, thus posing it as a sort of enemy image of the community (see Eriksson 2018:11). Tweets stated such things as: "The racist trolls are puking their hatred and #openstockholm shows we are a caring, open society. We are Swedes and we are not afraid #Sweden" (quote in Al-Saqaf 2017:11:01).

Although not operating with the same force as the production of the racialized Other, it can be noted how this discursive dynamic follows a somewhat similar logic. It is a dislocation of some affective expressions to the outside of the community, which function to give limits to the territoriality of the assemblage's form of expression. The dynamics between xenophobic and appreciative expressions seem to indicate that the subject positions that were possible to take within the #openstockholm-assemblage followed the same binary logic as the nationalistic imaginary. It was inscribed in a way that very much echoes, for instance, the response visible in Blair's speeches (Bulley 2009:82–84), reducing possible positions to take into either a Swedish, loving, openness or xenophobic racism.

The affects that the quote above touches upon, about how 'we are a caring society' and 'not afraid', thus seems to be produced in an intricate way. The assemblage of #openstockholm both makes use of the form of content that is the coordinative acts that consisted of the dynamics highlighted above, thus producing the 'caring society'. But it also uses the dichotomous relation to the xenophobic enemy image that gave the formulation of identity its distinct borders, its territoriality. This latter aspect is indicated by the negation, to be 'not afraid' in the quote above, which function as a border-making in that it defines the limits of expressions that the community is characterized by.

This dynamic was also recurrent in the news around the hashtag, not least with the affective expression of love. Although this is a recurrent element that will be touched upon in the next section of this thesis, it played an important part in the hashtag-assemblage as well. Love appears to have often been produced in the submerging of the xenophobic enemy image with the terrorist, both reduced to an

Other through a binary invocation. It was recurrent with quotes that claimed that 'the racists' do

> exactly what the terrorists want them to do. They chose fear instead of love. […] But outside of my mailbox, the warmth, the care of each other, and the engagement flow. Through the hashtag #openstockholm on Twitter, thousands of Stockholmers are opening up their homes, their offices and their hearts for stranded fellows. (Olsén 2017).

> The terror is about creating fear and conflict. But the Swedes answered by opening up their homes, their offices and cars for strangers. We answered the naked hatred with love of each other. (Norberg 2017).

These quotes seem to indicate how the terrorist-other and the xenophobic-other became the same entity, a diffuse enemy image that as a threat function to produce love. The assemblage of #openstockholm in this way functioned to create affective unity through the erasing of this difference.

Before concluding and moving on to the other assemblage of this thesis, some things about the changing shape of this particular definition of the assemblage could be noted. As pointed to, the assemblage is a process and an object at the same time. This is one of the analytical gains of this particular definition. The virtual aspect of the assemblage opens up analytical space for understanding how an entity is not pre-given and stable. Such dynamics would not be graspable with conceptualizations of the assemblage that reads the entities of its constitution as stable. Neither would it be able to grasp from the understanding of the assemblage as an aggregation of relations of exteriority. The virtual aspect function to highlight how an assemblage is a vibrant matter, often formed through power. For instance, the discursive power that operates to pose who is included and who is excluded in the community that it legitimizes. The open territoriality in the initial uses makes it possible to understand how other bodies came to be defining in what the hashtag stands to denote. Just as it made it possible to disrupt the event of terror as one of producing only fear or wonder, it also made it possible to harbor bodies that could articulate xenophobic expressions.

With these different aspects laid out, it can now be concluded how #openstockholm ordered affects. The initial reaction of opening up homes and giving lift functioned together with the binary relation to xenophobic forces and the terrorist, to both produce a feeling of a loving and caring society, while at the same time giving this community a clearly delimited border. While the feelings at first were directed at a plurality of different entities, bodies, they were soon ordered into a coherent nationalistic logic. In this way, that which was productive in disturbing a univocal way of feeling terror also became part of producing the love of the bounded community. Such nationalistic feelings could, in turn, function to legitimize measures that reaffirm the borders of the nation. To further highlighting how this duality is a possibility of the hashtag, a final quote concerning the hashtag can be taken into consideration.

The Stockholmers should be praised for their calm, compassionate efforts last Friday. Extremely fast, the solidarity that everyone evidently carries within them became evident. It is the instinct that makes us human, it is what should form the basis for how we organize the whole country - politically, economically and socially. […] There is no other conclusion we can draw from this then that Sweden is a safe country to live in. (Linderborg 2017)

One should here note how the reaction of some individuals, it was only a few people who offered help through #openstockholm, have formed the basis for the Swedish identity. The expressions of 'calm' and 'compassionate' have a national-territorial delimitation, and while the #openstockholm-assemblage from the start had a rather open territoriality, quite much in line with the city of Stockholm, it has now reterritorialized along the borderlines of Sweden, it produces a feeling of 'a safe country to live in'. In parasitizing on the characteristics of the urban and the digital infrastructure (see Van Loon 1999), what is produced is thus a Swedish unity that is not only discursively inscribed, but also felt.

3.2   A manifestation of love

After being done with the hashtag-assemblage, the text now turns to the second site of interest, the Love Manifestation, an event that was very prevalent in the news reports in the aftermath of the terror attack. The site is particularly interesting from the viewpoint of this thesis in that it is one of the most explicit expressions of who 'we' are in relation to the deed. It is also an interesting site due to how recurrent affective expressions were in the news covering it. The manifestation was, just as with the case of #openstockholm, initiated by a civilian. The event was spread on Facebook and soon got traction, which resulted in thousands of people showing up to take part in the manifestation on Sergels Torg, a square right next to where the terrorist attack ended. The event went on for approximately one hour and involved such things as a silent minute as a tribute to the victims, speeches by politicians and civilians, and music performances by artists (Carling 2017, Westin 2017). It was preceded and followed by other Love Manifestations (see Rydhagen 2014, By 2017) and could, just as #openstockholm, in this way be understood as a recurrent assemblage.

  In similarity with the hashtag, this assemblage produced and ordered affects in different ways, but as the name indicates, love was perhaps the most recurrent affective expression. It appears that this assemblage is in different ways both more and less stable than that of the hashtag. For instance, it seems much more deliberately have intervened in the affective life of its participants. The manifestation was to a great extent a call for love, and as such, a diminishing force on bodies' affects (see Anderson 2014:34, 41–42) At the same time, the gathering of people seems to have offered a site for less structured affects to circulate. This motivates the arrangement of the following analysis. This introductory section is coupled with an exploration of the overall framing of the Love Manifestation, more precisely the forms of expression that are the ideas that

the description of the event harbors. These dynamics seem to, partly, operate on all of the following affective expressions and are thus posited as an introduction.

After this, the analysis moves into the dynamics of the actual site where the manifestation took place, pointing to more ambiguous signs of affects. This is then followed by a focus on one particular aspect of the manifestation that was highly recurrent in the news reports around the event, the police. Both of these sections follow a similar structure as that of the hashtag-assemblage, where different affective expressions are investigated one, or a few, at a time. When motivated, this is also supplemented with a reflection on the theme of community.

When considering the description of the event on Facebook, it becomes apparent how salient the logic that Closs-Stephens investigates in relation to the theme of community is. This is visible already in the name of the event, "Love manifestation on Sergels Torg – Stockholm stands united!" (Facebook 2017).[6] This unity seems to, in many ways, necessitates a particular order of entities.

> When the dark falls over us, it is more important than ever that we respond with light and warmth, in order to fight off evil. Today's tragic event will never strike wedges between us, regardless of motives and performers. […] Love and care! No political points, nothing but naked humanity. Bring candles and positive messages and hold each other's hands when we show the world who we are and what our values are. On Sunday at 2 p.m. we stand united. […] We know far too little about the event to speculate about it. But we know that we are Stockholm, united against everyone who tries to scare us. Love! (Facebook 2017).

What becomes evident in this quote is the fact that this unity functions as a sort of governing practice on both an ideational and an affective level. A set of particular values seems to be implicit in how the site is a manifestation of '*our* values', implying univocal coherence through the inscription of 'we' as one. The call not to assume any perpetrators seems to be a call for multicultural openness, but considering that a set of values is presumed, it seems to be an openness towards a form of quantitative plurality, rather than actual difference. More of the same, but with other linguistic signs (see Braidotti 2006a:46, 56). Just as Closs-Stephens (2013:68–69) points to, this is a form of openness that only holds as long as the subjects conform to sameness. It is a unity that has to be committed to, and that is always inscribed through the production of Others, that specific bodies need to assure that they do not belong to.[7] Through this logic, affects are also governed, to take part in this event implies to feel 'love and care', bodies thereby need to reassure affectively that they belong to the unity, that they do not feel in other ways.

---

[6] This form of calls for unity was also excessively present in the media the day after the Love Manifestation (e,g, DN 2017b, Carling 2017).

[7] This could thus be considered an explanation of the occurrence of articles such as, "[w]e Muslims must condemn terrorism - Imam: Whoever believes Islam advocates tolerance should protest loudly" (Virk 2017), which showed up after the attack. The multicultural openness that renders all subjectivities as the same fails to acknowledge how, for instance, Muslim subjects are rendered suspicious.

Just as the analysis of the hashtag-assemblage has highlighted, love circulated with a particular baggage. This was evident in relation to the manifestation as well. The discursive element of 'non-racist' constitutes an important aspect of producing this site. This is not least visible in how the sign of 'Love Manifestation' has denoted sites that are articulated against xenophobic forces both before and after this particular event (see Rydhagen 2014, By 2017). Once again, it can be noted how the unity that is called for sets limits to how to feel, at the same time that it builds a nationalistic affection. This is abundantly clear in the news covering the manifestation.

> Racism. They say that they cherish our country, call themselves Sweden-friends. Then a terror attack happens. The victims are honored by lots of people who, on their own initiative, bring flowers, tears, and candles. […] In short, they ['the racists'] have done everything they can to excite the hatred they had hoped would appear after a terrorist attack like the one last Friday. But instead, they have been met with numbing grief and determination. In short, the right-wing extremists have not liked what they have seen. […] In fact, Sweden is not something that the 'Sweden-friends' appreciate. (Sokolnicki 2017).

There seem to be some interesting similarities with the previous literature's focus on othering processes here, which was not as evident in relation to #openstockholm and thus worth noting. Just as with the hashtag, the quote indicates an externalization that, although not being an Other in the sense which Bulley (2009) highlights, still operates with a similar logic. The enemy image of the 'Sweden-friends' is produced as outside of the national entity of Sweden, they do not truly appreciate Sweden. What is of interest here, that was not highlighted in the hashtag-assemblage, is how it builds on a dialectical logic. This does not only imply a negation in the assemblage's form of content, but it also builds an ideational structure of a more true, fuller, Sweden. The superiority of Sweden emerges through the externalization of the right-wing extremists. It is a discursive construction that produces Sweden as something greater through the hierarchical ordering.

In summary, these forms of expression do two things. First, it produces affects as love. Second, in doing so, it functions as a border-making that gives a territoriality to the assemblage, which diminishes the affective possibilities of bodies that come into contact with the Love Manifestation.[8] However, affects are always something more than just signified emotions, and assemblages are not controlled from a center such as an initiator. When the text now proceeds into the dynamics of this manifestation, cracks in the governing of affects will also become visible.

---

[8] See Anderson (2014) on a more elaborated discussion on how such an inscription of affects, as 'object-targets' function.

3.2.1 The agora and its nebulous affects

After having pointed to the framing of the manifestation, the attention of this thesis now moves into the physical space of Sergels Torg in order to investigate how affects operate there. These affects do not seem to be as ordered as the description of the event and the news indicates but appear to circulate rather freely. The text now turns to some of the indicators of affects more excessive character, and what the relation between love and these unordered movements are.

> A woman standing in front of me in the crowd clung her hands up in the air, as if she were grabbing something. […] Perhaps it was the love she took in, because if it ever has been possible to touch it, it was in the air over Sergels Torg this afternoon. (Friberg 2017)

The quote seems to indicate how the assemblage produced a highly affective site that is partly intervened with expressions of love, but it also expresses how it evades such univocal signification of affects. Just as this quote indicates, expressions of how it was a particular atmosphere, mood, or air at Sergels Torg this day, were recurrent in the newspapers (e.g. Thulin 2017, Hansen 2017). These expressions seem to be more diffuse and nebulous than what words might be able to capture. In contrast to love, this experience is not as univocally produced, it is not necessarily about experiencing an encounter, but rather an experience of a more amorphous character. (See Closs-Stephens 2015:100, Shaw 2014:89). The quote above tries to describe something while at the same time indicating that there is uncertainty in this description, the 'perhaps'. The raising of arms into the air is not easily rendered as an act of love. As noted, the assemblage directs affects, and thus diminishes the ways one can affect and be affected to some extent, which the 'perhaps it was love she took in' echoes. The affective site must, however, also be understood as produced through the silent minute in honor of the victims, and that it took place right next to where the attack had happened. In this way, different ways to feel seems to be possible. The territoriality of the form of expression could, in this way, be understood as slightly more elusive than the framing of the event indicates. It seems to be an affective experience "that is irreducible to a series of interacting, component parts." (Anderson 2014:143). That is, the feeling experienced at the site, seems to be produced by the entities of the assemblage, but the felt experience exceeds every such entity. Once again, it must be noted that it is the intersection of the assemblage's different entities that produces the experience.

Another trace of the site's more amorphous character of affects appears to be the flowers that were in circulation. A flower is, of course, not to be understood as an affective expression in itself, but to hand, someone or something, a flower,

should be understood as a trace of having been affected.[9] The flowers are seen everywhere at this site, people holding them, bouquets laying on the stairs next to Sergels Torg, on the decorative lions that stand along Drottninggatan, and around a photograph of a child who died in the attack. "There were so many flowers stuck in the high fences that it looked like a wall of roses, gerberas and lilies in white, yellow, orange and all possible shades of pink and red." (Svensson 2017). In this way, the flowers seem to be tied to a plurality of different objects. Considering that affective expressions are signs of connections, this means that there is a multiplicity in how affects are ordered at the site. The flowers seem to be a sign of how affects, to some extent, here lacks directionality. (see Anderson 2014:140).

These indicators of affects more nebulous character can be made graspable when considering the assemblage's form of content that works in reciprocal relation with the forms of expression that have been pointed to. Sergels Torg, the *agora*, with its materiality, seems to be of importance here. The manifestation is not possible without this urban entity and the possibility of gathering large amounts of people that it provides. Just as in the case of #openstockholm, it also builds on a high density of people living nearby that can easily attend to the manifestation. The assemblage's territoriality on the form of content is in this respect the square, which however are open for different people. The square can be attended by different bodies with different affective charges. This means that one particular feeling can be contravened in the encounter with a body with another emotional charge. Of course, the form of expression that is the framing of the event still sets limits on what bodies that will attend the event. However, considering the fact that affect denotes a body's ability to form connections, this form of content plays a crucial role in the transformation of affects. It brings bodies together, which enable the circulation of affects. It provides a space for affects to spread contagiously, and not only through symbolic transmissions, which makes it a, potentially, more open space for how to feel in response to terror.

> - I saw the woman walk up to a police officer and give him a hug, and then I just felt the tears come. It was so nice that that appreciation was shown in the midst of all fear and sorrow. And then it continued, a stream of people hugging the police and leaving flowers. (Yoldas 2017)

The experience of other bodies' emotive connections disturbs the experience of fear and sorrow, and other affective expressions are transmitted. Once again, it should be noted that the assemblage both produces and orders affects. The affects that are indicated by the hug are produced in the intersection of the form of content that is the agora together with the form of expression that is the above-highlighted description, the speeches, and so forth. By once again noting the

---

[9] The circulation of such a symbol has also been theorized as a sign of affect by Sara Ahmed (2004:45). See also Solomon (2017) for an example of how this theorization can contribute to the study of political movements within IR research.

processual character of the assemblage, it can be graspable how this, in turn, produces new affects. To see others' affective reactions produces a feeling in the person narrating the moment in the text. In a similar way, the act of hugging is imitated by the same act. (Thrift 2008:186–187) To hug the police thus becomes a recurrent element, a form of content, in the intersection that is this particular assemblage.

That it is the police that became the focus of recurrent affective expressions seems to be an important aspect, considering the calls for more police officers that was pointed to in the introduction. The thesis now turns to the role of this aspect in the assemblage.

3.2.2 Becoming-police

The police were highly celebrated in the aftermath of the terror attack. To some extent, it seems to have been impossible to critique how they performed their job (e.g. Jörnmark 2017c, Schulman 2017 Sokolnicki 2017b).[10] Although other welfare features were celebrated as well (e.g. Aftonbladet 2017a), there were no extra 400 million SEK given to these areas, as with the case of the police (Canoilas et al. 2017). This celebration was evident even among the ones who are usually the target of law enforcement. "- We have received several positive reactions from those we usually work to prosecute. A person who is truly influential in criminal contexts stepped forward at an arrest and said that we are doing a really good job." (TT 2017a).

In the case of the manifestation-assemblage, the celebration is also abundantly clear. Consider, for instance, how right next to "the sea of flowers stood a police car with the windshield covered with roses" (Svensson 2017). The affects that the analysis above showed were in circulation at the manifestation appear to some extent have stuck to the police. Considering quotes about how the police after the terror was perceived as "more integrated with society than perhaps ever; part of the 'us'" (Fahl 2017), this resonates well with Ross' (2013:133) description of how affective affinities can create identities. The form of content and form of expression that together produces an elusive affective atmosphere enables affects to spread contagiously and stuck to the police. Considering that it is a celebration of the police, the form of expressions that was pointed to in the introduction also seems to have an important part to play. The encouragement to feel love function to produce these positive expressions.

However, the police could also be understood as a form of content and form of expression that the assemblage makes use of in producing affects. The assemblage

---

[10] The leader of the second-largest party, the Moderate Party, Anna Kinberg Batra, wanted to question the police chief about why the terrorist was in the country while having been denied asylum, but she simultaneously applauded the police in a number of tweets (e.g. Kinberg Batra 2017, 2017b). She was also instantaneously critiqued for even being close to criticizing the police. (E.g. Eriksson 2017a, Lindberg 2017b)

lacks a center, which means that affects can both stuck to, as well as be produced by its entities.

> It was crowded, but not crowded in the usual annoying way. Wherever you went, you were met by people's warm eyes. Empathy in its most beautiful form. Plural. Police officers from near and far had traveled to the capital to support, monitor, investigate, and be present in general. There were police cars covered in flowers everywhere. The initial fear was quickly transmitted to something completely different. (Hansen 2017)

Here, the circulation of affects is first described. There is 'empathy', 'warm eyes', affects that are not produced in an encounter between two entities, but rather 'plural'. People being close, it is 'crowded' in a way which can transfer affects outside of signification, through touching, looking. Then the police officers' bodies are described as being all over the place, they are the eyes of the state with its investigating function. The ordering of their bodies thus functions to penetrate the body of the people in how they are present in the midst of the crowd. What is worth noting is also the fact that just as in the quote above, about people hugging the police, the description of the police is subsequently connected to the transformation of affects. This implies how affects were not only stuck to the police but how they were also a product of the police's presence.

The form of content that is the police officers' bodies thus seem to be an important aspect to take into consideration in understanding how affects could be produced. This must, however, be coupled with an understanding of the form of expression, ideas, and meaning, that the police bring with it. The understanding of lack and promises of fulfillment that Solomon uses in his analysis of how certain governing practices become legitimated could here be used. However, from the perspective of this definition of the assemblage, such aspects are a particular form of expression, a meaning that the assemblage harbors. For instance, this is visible in how the police are there to monitor the manifestation. In this way, the police could also be understood as an inscription of a lack of security. The fact that they monitor could indicate that there is a potential threat. Another example of how such lack is ordered into the assemblage is how the initiator of the manifestation described how the event was a way of retaining something that was lost, "[w]e are going back out on the streets to take back our city" (Boström 2017). This also seems to fit neatly into the narrative of loss that Closs-Stephens points to as a common logic in nationalistic imaginaries (2009:62). At the same time, the police appear to offer a solution, a fulfillment to this lack, which resonates with Solomon's (2012) investigation.

> [...] Marie Peltola at the police's security group is one of them. Shortly after the silent minute, something happened that made a strong impression on her. A crying older man came up to her and put his hands on her cheeks. - He was incredibly sad about what had happened, quite inconsolable. At the same time, he was happy and grateful that the police had come to the site so quickly, Marie says. (Aftonbladet 2017b)

This seems to be an example of this. The silent minute could be understood as an inscription of something being lost, to which the police appear to offer a promise of fulfillment. When affects are directed at the police in this way, it seems that a nationalistic form of community becomes legitimized. Furthermore, except for echoing the nationalistic logic of loss, the police also operate along the borders of the nation. When the police are felt like part of the 'us', it also becomes graspable how the bordering practices directed at undocumented immigrants become legitimized, after all, it is something that the police are supposed to carry out.

In conclusion to this segment about the police, it can be noted that the processual character of this definition of the assemblage is important in that it can explain how an amorphous atmosphere of affects was produced that stuck to the police officers. It makes it graspable how the hugging of a police officer could contagiously spread to create an affective affinity. At the same time, the assemblage can make apprehensible how the police also brought a form of content and form of expression with it, which further produced affects that reverberated with the territoriality of the nation. Solomon's Lacanian perspective can, in this way, only partly make sense of what goes on at this site. The focus on the representational aspect misses the importance of the bodily matters of the police officers, their placement in the midst of the crowd of people, how the cars are spread around the square. Without these bodies being there, it would not have been possible to hug the police officers or give them flowers. Considering how recurrent images and reports of this were in the news, this seems like an important aspect to make apprehensible.

The police are not an indicator of a nationalistic feeling per se. The Love Manifestation-assemblage orders the affective capacity of the bodies and materials at hand in a way that love is produced and directed in this particular way. The communal connection to the police can have an affective charge filled with hatred and anger, nothing which is pre-given, especially considering that the police actually failed to stop the terrorist. However, the ordering of entities produces the connection as love. Furthermore, the communal form that this assemblage produces loving affections for is not orchestrated by a single sovereign figure, the description of the event was not one of celebrating the police. The problem of the symbolic and its anthropocentric foundation is in this way that it underrates how the nationalistic imaginary of community operates. While the logic of multicultural unity can be analyzed in order to make visible how nationalism operates in expressions of community that actively tries to escape from it, it cannot fully capture how the manifestation-assemblage operated. The ordering of affects needs to be taken into consideration to make visible how the police came to be so loved in the aftermath of the terror. A feeling that easily can be understood to build the legitimacy for security measures such as calls for more police officers to track down undocumented immigrants (Fahl 2017). The point is not that this love of the police univocally stems from the love manifestation, but rather that this assemblage is one way in which affects got tied to the police in the aftermath of the terror. It is a response that orders affects in a particular way that legitimizes particular governing practices.

Lastly, the thesis here at hand now turns to a quote from one year after the event to see how the love that was produced in this assemblage is ordered together with the hashtag.

> We all remember the dramatic scenes: the police, the covered bodies, the weeping witnesses, the endless processions of marching commuters on Stockholm's bridges. But we also remember the police car that was buried in flowers. We remember the hashtag #openstockholm. We remember the countless stories of people who set up, helped, gave a handle. Nothing big. Nothing heroic. 'Just' protection or a ride, lodging for the night, a cup of coffee, a hug, some comforting words.
>
> That day, Stockholm was not just a city of sorrow and horror but also a very humane city. […] It is also something to keep in mind a day like this. The police, the ambulance staff, the emergency services, the health service met gratitude and trust during and after the terrorist attack. We showed them faith. It should be like that more often. (DN 2017a)

What becomes apparent in this quote is how the logic of the nation and the urban way of doing community can affectively cooperate. An image of the 'us' emerges in the connection between the improvisation of the city and the assuring safety of the police. 'We' have moved into an affective relation with the improvisation of the city and are thus open-hearted and helping. But 'we' also consist of the fatherly hand of the police, that rests reassuringly on our shoulder.

4   Conclusion

> This is how it should be done: Lodge yourself on a stratum, experiment with the
> opportunities it offers, find an advantageous place on it, find potential movements of
> deterritorialization, possible lines of flight, experience them, produce flow
> conjunctions here and there, try out continuums of intensities segment by segment,
> have a small plot of new land at all times. (Deleuze and Guattari 1987:161)

Then, what are the implications of these different dynamics? This text has shown
how we can understand how Sweden could be felt like an open nation, at the same
time that heightened security measures that reaffirmed borders were perceived as
legitimate. This investigation has been an inquiry into the heterogeneity of two
assemblages that were formed as responses to the terror attack on Drottninggatan.
By departing from the imperative of the response-literature to unpack and
defamiliarize with that which is taken for granted, this thesis has indulged in the
multiplicity of these responses. By examining the particular case of the attack in
Stockholm, the analysis has not only been able to grasp the multiplicity of the
responses, but it has also been able to be multiple in mapping them. The
materiality of the city and the space it provides for circulations of affect to occur
has been graspable, at the same time as the open nature of the event has been
possible to chart. In this way, the text has also provided an example of how an
understanding of assemblages that both takes in materiality, while still
withholding the critical potential of poststructuralist thought, could be used in
further IR research. The text now proceeds by a short summary of the analysis'
two parts that function as an extensive answer to the research question of this
thesis. The implication of the analysis is then situated in the previous literature,
and the theoretical contribution is laid out. This is then followed by a reflection on
spaces that could be of interest for future research. Lastly, a more shorthanded
answer to the research question is provided.

   In analyzing the affects produced and ordered by the #openstockholm-
assemblage, it has been evident how this both incorporated urban as well as
nationalistic elements. The analysis has shown how the assemblage produced
affects, signified as gratitude and humor, through the reciprocal relation between
the forms of content, the digital infrastructure and the high density of the urban
fabric, and forms of expression, such as offers of rides and shelter. By making use
of the city's adaptability and resilience, as well as the rhizomatic structure of the
movement of hashtags on Twitter, defiance against fear, trauma, and victimhood,
were possible. Furthermore, in line with an urban way of doing community, these
affects were not directed at one thing, but rather a multiplicity of different entities.

However, the assemblage also used these affects to invoke identity and an image of who 'we' are, along the lines of a nationalistic imaginary. A territoriality was produced through a binary invocation that set limits both to what feelings which were experienced, and which bodies that such affects were ascribed to. Appreciation was often articulated in opposition to a xenophobic enemy image, and this came to be a large part of what the forms of expression that the assemblage consisted of. Love for the bounded community of Sweden was produced by the submerging between these xenophobic forces and the terrorist, thus creating a feeling of a 'caring society'. The tweets indicating the dichotomous relation between xenophobic expressions and the loving Sweden used the acts of opening up homes and giving shelter to produce a community in response to terror with clear borders. In this way, what initially was a way of evading a nationalistic logic, was soon parasitized on and used in order to enable expressions of openness at the same time that those feelings had a national delimitation. This thereby explains how bordering practices and the seclusion of the political community could feel legitimate. The diverting affective expressions that were initially seen under the heading of the hashtag could thus be used in order to legitimize a nationalistic imaginary of doing community.

The analysis of the Love Manifestation has offered other crucial aspects in understanding how the different affective expressions were produced and ordered. By highlighting how the discursive elements ordered the manifestation in a similar relation as that of #openstockholm, it has been possible to grasp how love functioned as a way to govern the affective life in response to terror. However, the inquiry into the site of Sergels Torg also shows how affects were circulating more freely. By de-familiarizing with affective attachments, it has been shown how bodies connected in unexpected ways. The ontological departure made visible how the square as a place for togetherness operated to enable contagious affects. The focus on non-symbolic aspects and the ordering of such entities enabled an understanding of how these movements, however, got stuck to the police. While the previous literature has shown how lack function to legitimize heightened security measures, this particular site shows the precise opposite. At the square, it was the abundance of police officers and their bodily matter that seemed to have been a pre-condition for the production of the affective attachment. The analysis has shown how affects are both produced and directed through the ordering of entities, such as the materiality of bodies, as well as their ideational aspects. Furthermore, the analysis has made it understandable how the love that this assemblage produced functioned to connect the national community, producing a positive feeling to circulate. Lastly, the thesis has also highlighted how the assemblage operated more directly to legitimize the police as the unit for handling terrorist attacks.

Of course, the affective attachments that have been highlighted at both of these sites were not produced out of nowhere. For instance, people who attended the manifestation, at least to some extent, resonated with the description of the event. Affects are always already there, but what the analysis shows is how the sites amplified a particular affective structure that resonates with such heightened security measures as, for instance, the calls for more police officers.

In relation to the previous literature, it can be concluded that this thesis has contributed with primarily two things. Firstly, the thesis has pointed to ways of making the significance of non-symbolic aspects for responses to terrorism graspable. Although discursive elements have been of importance, to understand sites as #openstockholm and the Love Manifestation only through the symbolic would be impossible. It is the ordered entities, with the form of content and expression in reciprocal relation to each other that function to describe how the legitimacy of heightened security measures becomes facilitated. For instance, to understand how the love of the police could be produced only through the meaning that was ascribed to them would neglect the political significance of more nebulous affective signs that the newspapers recurrently reported on. By using a particular understanding of the assemblage that stays close to Deleuze and Guattari's original formulations, it has been possible to show how these non-symbolic aspects are neither outside of power. Stressing how, for instance, #openstockholm cut some flows of affects off by ordering entities in a particular way and thereby inscribing a nationalistic logic, the poststructuralist incentive to highlight structures of power has not been neglected. Furthermore, by widening the perspective, the analysis has been able to show how these responses often functioned without a clear governing center. The assemblages that have been investigated lack an authority that governs and structure the sites. It appears as if the dynamics pointed to by the previous literature are thus not only inscribed univocally from above.

Secondly, the analysis has related the production and ordering of affects to the theme of community. By focusing on how affects are produced and what they stick to, the analysis has shown how communities are felt, desired, rather than just ordered discursively. By highlighting the territoriality of the assemblages, it has become possible to show how they produced and ordered affects along the borders of Sweden. In doing this, it has also been possible to further trouble the distinction between urban and national forms of community in times of terror. In relation to Closs-Stephens' proposal of the urban as a way of doing community outside of a nationalistic imaginary, this thesis has shown how the latter is often capable of incorporating the former. In relation to Jabri's analysis, the thesis has shown that the nationalistic imaginary not only contains the global city but that it also parasites on the specific urban traits. In this way, it is not only a discursive inscription but a re-arrangement of entities.

These two assemblages should also be related to the specificity of Sweden. Considering that these dynamics are recurrent elements that have been visible after other acts of terror, this might say something about the way in which communities have learned to 'do responses'. Although not being used to acts of terror, Sweden seemed to in many ways have been prepared for it. While the previous literature pointed to terror acts as injunctions of wonder, the study of #openstockholm shows how other affective expressions, humorous utterances, for instance, showed up only hours after the attack had happened. In a similar manner, the force in which affects were operated on and governed with calls for love, appear to indicate an analogous preparedness. It seems as if there was a consciousness of the racialized notions of oppression that often operate in times of

terror. These, in turn, seemed to motivate calls to feel community in particular ways. As the analysis showed, such affective boundedness that these calls operated along, nevertheless built the legitimacy for bordering practices.

However, the particular definition of the assemblage that has been used in this text has also been productive in pointing to sites that trouble the ordered coherence of the investigated responses. The possibility of the assemblage to become-other, its processual and virtual aspect, points to the fact that there are always movements that trouble the ordered totality. The *agora*, the high density of the city, or the digital infrastructure of Twitter, is in this sense important. They enable forms of togetherness that are unfixed and temporary, where the flows of affects are more multidirectional and unorganized, open for new connections.

The fact that the initial reaction of the hashtag #openstockholm was possible both through the urban density, as well as its digital infrastructure points to the need for further research on similar sites. This could potentially show possible ways of how to evade a nationalistic imaginary of doing community in relation to terror. More mundane sites of the city could here be of interest to investigate in order to see how terror attacks are made understandable. Furthermore, the digital spaces that are open and decentered also appear as a site of interest to investigate. Lastly, the fact that the police were such a recurrent aspect in the news calls for a more in-depth investigation into what the police's affects are. An analysis of the police-assemblage in response to terror could offer fruitful knowledge of how to relate to governing functions without reproducing a nationalistic logic.

Lastly then, how can strong emotional expressions of openness be visible at the same time as bordering practices were perceived as increasingly legitimate? The answer to the research question that has guided this text lies in relationality. It is the productive intersection of different entities that generate affects and orders them along with the nationalistic logics of boundedness and sameness. The urban can provide adaptability that, through such things as the high density of the city, can disturb univocal ways of relating to terror. However, affects can always be operated on and rendered together with a nationalistic imaginary. In this way, the excess of affect can still be ordered, through calls for affective unity, or through dialectical and binary logics.

This thesis has used assemblages to show how the production of affects stems from a multiplicity of different entities that work together to produce the affective coherence of 'us'. Furthermore, it has taken the quote at the beginning of this section as a guiding direction. It has lodged itself on the stratum of two different sites, and investigated, experimented, with what the heterogeneous entities of the assemblages are. Making itself a small plot of land at all times, it has been able to show how each assemblage works differently. By focusing on one set of affects at a time, it has been able to point to how different entities work together to produce both aspects that divert from the usual ways of feeling terror, as well as how such sites become incorporated in a nationalistic logic. However, it has in this process been able to point to sites of other ways of feeling community. Whether it is spaces for improvisations or for affects to circulate more freely, it offers a multiplicity of becomings.

5   References

Acuto, Michele and Curtis, Simon. 2014. *Reassembling International Theory: Assemblage Thinking and International Theory*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. New York: Routledge.

Anderson, Ben. 2014 *Encountering Affect. Capacities, Apparatuses, Conditions.* New York: Routledge

Aradau, Claudia, Coward, Martin, Herschinger, Eva, Thomas, Owen D. and Voelkner, Nadine. 2015. Discourse/materiality. In Claudia Aradau, Jef Huysmans, Andrew Neal and Nadine Voelkner (eds). *Critical Security Methods*. New York: Routledge.

Barad, Karen. 2003. Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. 28 (3):801–831.

Bennett, Jane. 2010. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Bonta, Mark and Protevi, John. 2004. *Deleuze and Geophilosophy: A Guide and Glossery.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Braidotti, Rosi. 2006a. *Transpositions: On Nomadic Ethics*. Cambridge: Polity.

Braidotti, Rosi. 2006b. Posthuman, All Too Human: Towards a New Process Ontology. *Theory, Culture & Society*. 23 (7–8):197–208.

Buchanan, Ian. 2012. Becoming Mountain. *Revista de Filosofia Aurora.* 29 (46):215–230.

Buchanan, Ian. 2013. The Little Hans Assemblage. *Visual Arts Research*. 39 (1):9–17.

Buchanan, Ian. 2015. Assemblage theory and its discontents. *Deleuze Studies* 9 (3):382–392.

Bulley, Dan. 2009. 'Foreign' terror? Resisting/responding to the London bombings. In Angharad Closs-Stephens and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.). *Terrorism and the Politics of Response.* New York: Routledge. 81–95.

Butler, Judith. 2004. *Precarious Life. The Powers of Mourning and Violence.* London: Verso.

Closs-Stephens, Angharad and Vaughan-Williams, Nick. 2009. Introduction: London, time, terror. In Angharad Closs-Stephens and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.). *Terrorism and the Politics of Response.* New York: Routledge. 1–16.

Closs-Stephens, Angharad. 2013. *The Persistence of Nationalism: From imagined communities to urban encounters*. New York: Routledge.

Closs Stephens, Angharad. 2015. Urban Atmospheres: Feeling Like a City? *International Political Sociology*. 9 (1):99–101.

Closs-Stephens, Angharad. 2016. The affective atmospheres of nationalism. *cultural geographies.* 23 (2):181–198.

Coward, Martin. 2012. Between us in the city: materiality, subjectivity, and community in the era of global urbanization. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space.* 30: 468–481.

DeLanda, Manuel. 2006. *A New Philosophy of Society.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Derrida, Jacques. 2003. Autoimmunity: Real and Symbolic Suicides – A dialogue with Jacques Derrida. In Giovanni Borradori (ed.). *Philosophy in a Time of Terror. Dialogues with Jürgen Habermas and Jacques Derrida.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Felix. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Fagan, Madeleine. 2009. The ontopolitics of response: difference, alterity and the face. In Angharad Closs-Stephens and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.). *Terrorism and the Politics of Response.* New York: Routledge. 178–189.

Farías, Ignacio and Höhne, Stefan. 2016. Humans as Vectors and Intensities: Becoming Urban in Berlin and New York City. In Hélène Frichot, Catharina Gabrielsson and Jonathan Metzger. *Deleuze and the City.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Edkins, Jenny. 2002. Forget Trauma? Responses to September 11. *International Relations.* 16 (2):243–256.

Eriksson, Moa. 2018. Pizza, beer and kittens: Negotiating Cultural Trauma Discourses on Twitter in the Wake of the 2017 Stockholm Attack. *New media & society.* 20 (11):1–17.

Gregg, Melissa and Seighworth, Gregory J. 2010. An Inventory of Shimmers. In Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seighworth (eds.). *The Affect Theory Reader.* Durham: Duke University Press. 1–26.

Hardt, Michael and Negri, Antonio. [2000] 2003. *Imperiet.* Göteborg: Glänta Förlag. [Original: *Empire*]

Hickey-Moody, Anna. 2013. Affect as Method: Feelings, Aesthetics and Affective Pedagogy. In Rebecca Coleman and Jessica Ringrose (eds.). *Deleuze and Research Methodologies.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Jabri, Vivienne. 2009. Security, Multiculturalism and the Cosmopolis. In Angharad Closs-Stephens and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.). *Terrorism and the Politics of Response.* New York: Routledge. 44–59.

Kolås, Åshild. 2017. How critical is the event? Multicultural Norway after 22 July 2011. *Social Identities.* 23 (5):518–532.

Lundborg, Tom. 2012. *Politics of the Event.* New York: Routledge

Lundborg, Tom and Vaughan-Williams, Nick. 2015. New Materialisms, discourse analysis, and International Relations: a radical intertextual approach. *Review of International Studies.* 41:3-25.

Massumi, Brian. 2002. *Parables of the Virtual.* London: Duke University Press.

Massumi, Brian. 2015. *Politics of Affect.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Puar, Jasbir K. 2013. 'I Would rather be a cyborg than a goddess': Intersectionality, Assemblage, and Affective Politics. *Meritum.* 8 (2):343–370.

Ross, Andrew A. G. 2013. *Mixed Emotions: Beyond Fear and Hatred in International Conflict.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rumford, Chris. 2009. Finding meaning in meaningless times: emotional responses to terror threats in London. In Angharad Closs-Stephens and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.). *Terrorism and the Politics of Response.* New York: Routledge. 164–177

Salerno, Daniele. 2017. The politics of response to terror: the reshaping of community and immunity in the aftermath of 7 July 2005 London bombings. *Social Semiotics.* 27 (1):81–106.

Shaw, Robert. 2014. Beyond night-time economy: Affective atmospheres of the urban night. *Geoforum.* 51:87–95.

Solomon, Ty. 2012. 'I wasn't angry, because I couldn't believe it was happening': Affect and discourse in responses to 9/11. *Review of International Studies.* 38 (4):907–928.

Solomon, Ty. 2017. Ontological security, circulations of affect, and the Arab Spring. *Journal of International Relations and Development.* 1–39.

Svensson, Ted. 2013. At the Threshold of Order: Responses to the Mumbai Attacks. *Global Society.* 27 (3):283–298.

Thrift, Nigel. 2008. *Non-Representational Theory. Space, politics, affect.* New York: Routledge.

Tampio, Nicholas. 2014. Entering Deleuze's Political Vision. *Deleuze Studies.* 8 (1):1–22.

Tellidis, Ioannis and Glomm, Anna. Street art as everyday counterterrorism? The Norwegian art community's reaction to the 22 July 2011 attacks. *Cooperation and Conflict.* 1–20.

Van Loon, Joost. 1999. Parasite Politics: On the Significance of Symbiosis and Assemblage in Theorizing Community Formations. In Chris Pierson and Simon Tormey (eds.). *Politics at the Edge: The PSA Yearbook 1999.* London: Macmillan Press LTD. 241–253.

Vaughan-Williams, Nick. 2009. The shooting of Jean Charles de Menezes: new border politics? In Angharad Closs-Stephens and Nick Vaughan-Williams (eds.). *Terrorism and the Politics of Response.* New York: Routledge. 96–111.

5.1   Source material

Aftonbladet 2017a. Tvingades säga stopp till medarbetare efter terrorlarm. *Aftonbladet.* 11 April.

Aftonbladet 2017b. "Han var otröstlig" - Polisen Marie om sorgen på Drottninggatan: Vi gråter ihop. *Aftonbladet.* 11 April.

Al-Saqaf, Walid. 2017. How was twitter used April 7 in Stockholm? [online]. *Youtube.* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RzS9WqIak-o (Accessed 7 May, 2019).

Besara, Nisha. 2017. Fridolin tänkte att en fotboja på personer som har fått avvisningsbeslut - ...nog är en bra sak. *Expressen*. 19 April.

Boström, Towe. 2017. Tusentals samlades för att visa kärlek. *Expressen*. 9 April.

By, Ulrika. 2017. Falun stod upp mot nazisternas marsch. *Dagens Nyheter*. 2 May.

Canoilas, Viviana, Carlsson Tenitskaja, Alexandra and Svensson, Adam. 2019. Två år efter attentaten på Drottninggatan – extremistmiljöerna växer. *Dagens Nyheter*. 7 April.

Carling, Maria. 2017. Tusentals slöt upp för att krossa rädsla med kärlek. *Svenska Dagbladet*. 10 april.

Debraruh. 2017. Agree. The #Swedish people are amazing people. #openstockholm [Tweet]. 8 April. https://twitter.com/hashtag/openstockholm?f=live (Accessed: 15 August 2019)

DN. 2017a. Ledare: När vi bevisade att vi inte är oss själva nog. *Dagens Nyheter*. 7 April.

DN. 2017b. STOCKHOLM STÅR ENAT. *Dagens Nyheter*. 10 april.

DN, 2017c. Skärpt terrorlag snabbutreds - krav på fler åtgärder. *Dagens Nyheter*. 13 April.

Efendic´, Negra. Högerextrema frustrerade över kärlek efter attentatet. *Svenska Dagbladet*. 10 April.

EmmaRydner. 2017. The core of Swedish society – trust and openness – remains untouched by terror. #openstockholm [Tweet]. 8 April. https://twitter.com/EmmaRydner/status/850778629323845632 (Accessed: 15 August 2019)

Expressen. 2017. Dagens sms. *Expressen*. 11 April.

Eriksson, Göran. 2017a. Göran Eriksson: Borgfreden efter terrorn är redan över. *Svenska Dagbladet*, 12 April.

Facebook 2017. Kärleksmanifestation på Sergels Torg – Stockholm står enat! [Facebook] https://www.facebook.com/events/1013853625413027/ (Accessed: 15 August 2019)

Fahl, Hanna. 2017. Polis, polis, gullegris! *Dagens Nyheter*. 23 April.

Fjeldstad, Oda. 2017. Vittnet Marcus, 24, fick en sovplats hos Lucas. *Expressen*. 8 April.

Friberg, Anna. 2017. STOCKHOLM SLÖT SAMMAN. *Expressen*. 10 April.

Habul, Kenan. 2017a. AKB: Det ska vara skillnad på ja och nej. *Aftonbladet*. 10 april.

Habul, Kenan. 2017b. AKB: Det ska vara skillnad på ja och nej. *Aftonbladet*. 10 april.

Habul, Kenan. 2017c. EXTRA EXTRA 'Det gör mig frustrerad' - Statsministern på kongressen: De som får avslag ska hem. *Aftonbladet*, 10 april.

Hansen, Paul. 2017. Hur går vi vidare? Tillsammans. *Dagens Nyheter*. 17 April.

Hansson, Wolfgang. 2017a. Exporterar terrorism - Därför har den senaste tidens dåd Uzbekistan som gemensam nämnare. *Aftonbladet*. 9 April.

Hansson, Wolfgang 2017b. Ett land gjort för terroristvärvning. *Aftonbladet*. 12 April.

Hilton, Johan. 2017. ... men varför måste det ena utesluta det andra? *Dagens Nyheter*. 27 June.

Jubileejulia. 2017. So proud of my people. ❤️ #OpenStockholm [Twitter] https://twitter.com/jubileejulia/status/850814051408105472?s=20 (Accessed: 15 August 2019)

Jörnmark, Dennis. 2017a. Jennys hashtag hjälpte stockholmarna att organisera sig. *Aftonbladet*. 8 April.

Jörnmark, Dennis. 2017b. Poliserna hyllas - och kramas - Allmänheten visar sin tacksamhet: Otroligt värmande. *Aftonbladet*. 10 April.

Kinberg Batra, Anna. 2017. Bra om Sveriges duktiga poliser kan få fler kollegor på sikt. Men bättre löner och möjligheter att göra sitt viktiga jobb behövs redan nu. [Twitter]. 11 April. https://twitter.com/KinbergBatra/status/851720486467903489 (Accessed: 11 May 2019).

Kinberg Batra, Anna. 2017b. Sveriges duktiga poliser behöver vårt stöd, bra med blommor men även bättre betalt behövs. Hela alliansen vill nu satsa på högre polislöner. [Twitter]. 13 April. https://twitter.com/KinbergBatra/status/852433555154141184 (Accessed: 11 May 2019).

Lindberg, Anders. 2017a. 'Vårt svar på hat bör vara mer kärlek' - Attentatet i Stockholm. *Aftonbladet.* 9 April.

Lindberg 2017b. Moderaterna får skärpa sig " -Terrordådet *Aftonbladet*, 12 april

Linderborg, Åsa. Sverige är ett tryggt land att leva i. *Aftonbladet*. 9 April.

MiaKleregard. 2017. So proud to be swedish and to see the way we act when our open society is under attack. #united #openstockholm @polisen_riks ❤️ 8 April [Tweet] https://twitter.com/MiaKleregard/status/850765746959503360?s=20 (Accessed: 15 August 2019)

MSB 2018. *Utvärdering av hanteringen av attentatet i Stockholm 7 april 2017*. Report/*The Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency*.

Nordlund, Linda. 2017. Linda Nordlund: Rätt att överväga fotboja och förvar. *Svenska Dagbladet*. 11 April.

Olsén, Sofia Olsson. 2017. Nu väljer vi vilka vi är. *Aftonbladet*. 8 April.

Rydhagen, Maria. 2014. Eskilstunabornas kärleksmanifestation. *Expressen*. 27 December.

Schulman, Alex. 2017. GE HONOM EN MEDALJ. *Expressen*. 9 April.

Sokolnicki, Amanda. 2017. Extremister gillar inte vad de ser. *Dagens Nyheter*. 13 april.

Sokolnicki, Amanda. 2017b. Vi är skyldiga poliserna ett stort tack. *Dagens Nyheter.* 10 April.

Svensson, Britta. 2017. KÄRLEKEN & BLOMMORNA. *Expressen*. 9 April.

Thulin, Claes. 2017. Stockholm visade upp sin bästa sida. *Aftonbladet*. 15 April.

Tronarp, Gustaf. 2017. 'HAN VILLE ANSLUTA SIG TILL IS'. *Aftonbladet*. 13 April.

TT. 2017a. Tungt kriminella hyllar polisen. *Svenska Dagbladet*. 12 April.

TT. 2017b. Terrordåd i Sverige genom tiderna. *Aftonbladet.* 14 April.

Virk, Kashif. 2017. Vi muslimer måste fördöma terrorism - Imam: Den som anser att islam förespråkar tolerans bör protestera högt. *Aftonbladet*. 10 juni.

Wiman, Björn. 2017. Vi vill inte ha hatet. Det är hatet som vill ha oss. *Dagens Nyheter*. 8 April.

Yoldas, Atilla. 2017. Folkets hyllning. *Expressen*. 9 April.

Yanatweets. 2017. 3. Shows how solidarity is a core Swedish value: everyone's right to shelter/food & everyone's responsible to make it happen. #OpenStockholm [Tweet] 8 April. (https://twitter.com/yanatweets/status/850799828091027456?s=20 (Accessed: 15 August 2019)