

# Fear and Loathing in the Welfare State:

Affective and semantic meaning-making in *Generation Identitær*

Josefine Wærnsberg Kjær

GNVM03, VT 2021

Department of Gender Studies

Lund University

Supervisor: Diana Mulinari



**LUNDS**  
UNIVERSITET

## **Abstract**

This thesis investigates affective and semantic meaning-making in online audiovisual propaganda published by the Danish nationalist youth organization, Generation Identitær. Specifically, the study uses the notion of affective investments and relations in order to account for the ways in which the organization's propaganda operates. It follows a feminist and postcolonial tradition and centers the ways in which bodies and spaces are conjunctively (re)produced, and how belonging to space is signaled by the organization. The study draws on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the effort to situate and deconstruct the various performances and figures appearing in the propaganda, mapping out semantic slides and affective imageries. By showing how affective identification is distributed in the videos, the analysis illuminates the ways in which white subjects are repeatedly allowed spatial, emotional and temporal reach at the expense of racialized bodies. Consequently, some lives come to be perceived as threatening figures of death, necessitating and legitimizing different forms of violence against said lives.

**Keywords:** Affect; Generation Identitær; propaganda; right-wing extremism; space-making; xenophobia.

# Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>4</b>
1.1 Aim and Research Questions	5
1.2 Background	6
<b>2. Theoretical framework</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 Navigating Affect	10
2.2 Racialization and Whiteness	12
2.3 Globalization and National Space	13
<b>3. Method, Methodology, and Material</b>	<b>15</b>
3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis	15
3.2 Methodology	17
3.3 Material	19
3.4 Positionality and Ethics	21
<b>4. Analysis</b>	<b>24</b>
4.1 Transitory Spaces	24
4.2 Something about Bodies	28
4.3 Nation as Family	31
4.4 Caring Colonizers	35
<b>5. Conclusions</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>54</b>

# 1. Introduction

In late 2017, a right-wing youth organization launched its arrival in Denmark with a series of what they themselves called activist happenings in Copenhagen. The organization, called Generation Identitær (hereafter GI), constituted the official Danish fraction of a broader pan-European group, which originated in 2012 in France as *Génération Identitaire*. The newly started national branch in Denmark claimed that the Danish people (along with other European peoples) were threatened to the point of extinction at the hands of non-Western migrants. The organization has since gained attention due to its streamlined video productions of right-wing street activism and activist happenings. While the group claims to be culturally relativist, the imageries of the videos often play on sharp distinctions between who does and does not belong in the nation-state. Incompatible differences between Western and non-Western “cultures” seem to be the central reasoning presented by the group.

Europe has a troubled past and present with its perceived Others<sup>1</sup>. Xenophobic discourses in Europe have since 1945 formally shifted focus from the preservation of the white race to a narrative of protecting national history and cultural heritage from disappearing. As described by Etienne Balibar (1991), racism has in Europe since tended towards a “racism without races” (Balibar 1991: 21). However, both “biological” and “cultural” racism fix immutable difference in the Other with reference to heritage (Fekete 2006). In Denmark, much like in the rest of Europe, Islamophobic and anti-immigration sentiments have been on the rise, drawing upon deeply rooted racist and Orientalist representations of Europe's perceived Others (see Siim & Borchorst 2010; Danbolt 2017; Jensen 2018; Jørgensen 2020). Especially non-Western migrants are framed as a threat to national values, cultural homogeneity, and social coherence (Fekete 2004). Within the Danish assimilationist regime, non-Western migrants and their descendants “are being asked to 'become European' at the same time as it is tacitly assumed that this is something they can never really achieve” (Fekete 2006: 9). In this landscape, an organization as GI masks their orientations as preference in lifestyle and masks determinism as intellectual work.

Taking into account that studies of white ethnonationalism show members' framing of themselves as marginalized and precarious (Keskinen 2013; Ekman 2018; Elgenius & Rydgren 2019; Wilson 2020), this study explores how hate ideology is acted upon by a well-educated

---

<sup>1</sup> As pointed out by Diana Mulinari and Anders Neergaard (2012), to act surprised when faced with racism also entails embodying white innocence and privileges.

middle-class, or, by a seemingly privileged group. As part of a youth organization, members of GI are required to be 30 years of age or younger; the organization seemingly attracts the relatively affluent, young, and educated middle class (Richards 2019). This has also prompted the antagonistic nicknaming of them as *Nazi hipsters*. Manifestations of racism represent both continuity and rupture, and as new possibilities for racist practices develop and occur, so must the active resistance to it. The analysis rests on the assumption that if rights and value of being are distributed unequally across different assemblages of spatialities and embodiments, one must ask how such representation operates and circulates - and in what ways subjects are classified and disciplined as a result hereof.

## 1.1 Aim and Research Questions

In the last decades, a number of relevant research has contributed with valuable insights into the narratives operating in ethno-nationalist groups and organizations in Scandinavia (Keskinen 2013; Askanius 2019; Elgenius & Rydgren 2019). Within such collectives, emotional investments to ideological causes and political goals are essential to their working. Professor of sociology Kathleen Blee (1998) asserts that conceptualizations of feelings remain an important aspect of the dynamics of social movements. Specifically, emotions are relational rather than individual and should be seen as a key mechanism within the construction of collective identities and boundaries (Blee 1998; Latif et al. 2018). Political projects create affective identifications, and it is well-documented how racist collectives often invest in fear and hate under the rhetorics of love and unity in their mobilization (Back 2002b; Ahmed 2004: 42-61; Mulinari 2016). Affect works “in conjunction with representational economies, within which bodies interpretate, swirl together, and transmit affects and effects to each other.” (Puar 2017: 205). The question of representation and transmittal of affect and meaning not only relates to the perceptions of and through embodiment but also to the creation of spaces. Control of which bodies are allowed into which spaces, with whom, and under what conditions remain a core concern for ethnonationalist agendas and exclusionary politics. Belonging is thereby both material and affective: how a given space is experienced relies on the affective environments created (Marotta & Cummings 2019). With these conceptualizations in mind, the research seeks to answer the following questions:

*Which affective states are used and communicated in GI's audiovisual propaganda? In what ways do GI signal spatial and bodily belonging in these videos? What kind of figures and boundaries of in- and exclusion are (re)produced?*

The thesis focuses on semantic and affective relations and assemblages in the propaganda videos produced and published on YouTube by the Danish Generation Identitær. The concept of affect is used as a way of understanding how subjects become invested in structures such as racism. Ideologies create what Raymond Williams have called “structures of feeling” which are “as firm and definite as ‘structure’ suggests, yet it operates in the most delicate and least tangible parts of our activity” (Raymond Williams 1961: 64, quoted in Matthews 2001: 179). Such constant and emergent tangibilities also work in and through digital spheres (McDuffie & Ames 2021). This research treats GI's audiovisual propaganda as a significant communication tactic of political theatre, inviting its viewers into affectively intense ideological spaces. The considerations to bodies in spaces are used as an entry point to map out the violent semantic and affective slides presented in the propaganda videos produced by the organization. Specifically, the attention to space is inspired by Fatima El-Tayeb's (2012) mention of urban spaces and cities in Europe being militarized to act as arenas for Islamophobic and xenophobic activisms. How belonging or lack hereof is symbolized in the videos asserts something about the underlying premises guiding the group's agenda and how they (re)produce boundaries of in- and exclusion. This thesis sets out to deconstruct and counter GI's representations - of objects, bodies, and spaces - which actively stigmatize and dehumanize the bodies marked as Other by the organization.

## 1.2 Background

Generation Identitær is a distinct organization on the exceedingly differentiated extreme right. Journalistic work and recent scholarship has given insights into the structures and ideology of the organization, which gained a foothold in several European countries in the second half of the 2010s. While a count of its memberships is not available to the public, the group currently has national divisions in 12 European countries<sup>2</sup> (Nissen 2020). Notably, the organization has been

---

<sup>2</sup> However, in the spring of 2021, the French government banned the French Génération Identitaire due to its encouragement of discrimination and violence (Dalsbro 2021).

particularly effective in its rebranding of conservative politics and extreme right-wing positions (Blum 2017; Richards 2019). This has been done through successful mixing of symbolism and contemporary culture, and the organization has pronounced itself married to the project of metapolitics. In line with this, GI evades classic categorization. While it describes itself as a movement, scholars are discussing a proper descriptive categorization of the phenomenon. Andrea Schneiker (2019) argues that the informal structure, state independence, and branches in European countries mimic a transnational non-governmental organization (NGO). Similarly, scholars also discuss the group's kind of ideology. Imogen Richards (2019) asserts that the organization is at best proto- or quasi-fascist in its propaganda, but that it would prove counterproductive to name it fascist directly and proposes instead to categorize the organization as neo-fascist. The organization does have traits that draw upon fascist ideology, but it also differs from fascism in other essential aspects. While an exhaustive debate on the definitions of fascism is beyond the scope of this thesis, the following part will offer a summary of the central tenets of GI ideology for the reader to make their own judgment.

GI politically describes itself as part of the *New Right* - a term that young right-wing intellectuals in Europe began using after WW2 in an attempt to reinvent and rebrand right-wing politics (Blum 2017). The organization draws upon Renaud Camus' notion of a forthcoming *Great Replacement* of (white) European peoples. According to this conspiracy, white Europeans are in the process of being “replaced,” and the cultural Marxist elite is to be blamed since they are distanced from the realities and needs of “the people,” ultimately demise through lax immigration policies (Nissen 2020). Imogen Richards (2019) has argued that the Great Replacement theory is reminiscent of the neo-Nazi conspiracy of “White Genocide”: both are founded upon the notion of an international economic elite seeking to eradicate the racial purity of white people. Such “demographic fever dreams,” where the majority is imagined to be facing a demographic doom, are not unusual on the right-wing today (Gökarıksel et al. 2019). They take their departure in interpretations of demographic data, anxiously pointing to a future of ruin necessitating radical intervention. GI is also heavily inspired by French right-wing intellectual Alain de Benoist when arguing that while all people are equal, it is impossible for them to co-exist peacefully. In line with this, the organization is an opponent to globalization<sup>3</sup>, and

---

<sup>3</sup> However, the group is also advocating for international trade (between European and non-European countries) and remains strategically dependent upon capitalist media, commodification, and consumerism in the promotion of its worldviews (Richards 2019).

instead proposes a return to a heritage-based and collective identity (Nissen 2020). They claim that migrants from the Global South are currently the ones benefiting from globalization, while white Europeans are not. More specifically, the organization identifies the Muslim and migrant Other as a threat to European safety, economy, culture, and demography (ibid.). The problem of the Great Replacement, they claim, is best resolved through the forced mass deportation of non-Western migrants in Europe, which the group has dubbed *remigration*. This will secure true *ethnopluralism*, where each *ethnocultural* identity is separated by existing nation-state borders and where the rights of Europeans will not be undermined by the presence of non-Western migrants. This conceptualization of ethnopluralism has been described as the fantasy of “a global apartheid” (Minkenberg 2000: 180). According to the organization, the separation of peoples and the avoidance of the Great Replacement will cause the coming of (and return to) a European Golden Age (Nissen 2020).

The organization appears to be cautious in its admission of members: the national branches have strict membership processes, where applicants’ backgrounds are checked to avoid any undesired association (Dalland 2019). The structures of GI appear to be hierarchical, and existing members climb the ranks within the organization over time as they prove their dedication. Interviews with members and leaders of GI (ibid.) indicate national variations and minor differences in political priorities, but also demonstrate how the organization's common terminology is employed in every national branch. Despite the strict structure, GI often claims to speak on behalf of the silent majority unsatisfied with the leftist elite. Framing itself as a grassroots mobilization from below, the group appropriate left-wing tactics such as occupations, banner drops, and civil disobedience (Nissen 2020). The organization scorns academics and Marxists but simultaneously frames its own politics as an intellectual movement (Blum 2017). Notably, the organization also seeks to rhetorically transcend the right-left spectrum by appealing to “the people” united by common heritage (Richards 2019).

Neither the notion of a conservative revolution nor that of a “pure nation” is new. However, adding to the academic-sounding terminology and the appropriation of left-wing strategies, the group has also efficiently made use of pop-cultural references and hybrid symbolism in its aesthetic mobilization on social media (Kølvraa & Forchtner 2019). The group often draws upon actual historical events to create modern mythical narratives, usually correlated to historical armed conflicts between European powers and Muslim Powers from North Africa

and the Middle East (Richards 2019). It has also been noted that the group seems to be mainly attracting young men, and usually, it is other men who are conceptualized as the threat (ibid.). The white man tends to be portrayed as both the ideal and as threatened. In an analysis of the GI's masculinity constructions, Alice Blum (2017) found that the play on heroic imagery and militance extends to the spheres of intellectual activism. As such, members may live up to masculine militance ideals by doing theoretical writing and publishing (Blum 2017). Also, in accordance with the heroic war references, members of the organization are offered combat training. At their transnational training camp in France, called the Summer University, all members wear the same clothes to signal order and uniformity (Nissen 2020). Despite this, the organization continuously stresses its principle of non-violence<sup>4</sup> and that the combat training solely is for self-defense. This notion of being under siege creates a sense of self-sacrifice in defense of European borders, and has been noted to portray themselves as courageously going against the grain in their rejecting multiculturalism, political correctness, and feminism (Blum 2017).

## 2. Theoretical framework

This section situates the research in the field of affect theories, while discussing the epistemological uses of affect by introducing frameworks of understanding presented by feminist and postcolonial scholar Sara Ahmed, who is renowned for her contributions to queer theory and critical race and whiteness studies. Following this theoretical introduction, the section discusses phenomenological understandings of race in order to show how race and whiteness come to be in the world, materially and affectively. Finally, the connections between nations, territories and space-making are presented with descriptions of how rights of movement and settlement are distributed unequally on both a local and global scale.

---

<sup>4</sup> Documentation of violent actions carried out by the group does exist. This includes the notorious *Defend Europe Mission* in 2017, where activists sought to block an NGO ship rescuing refugees in the Mediterranean Sea. Another example is the documentary *Generation Hate* by Al Jazeera (2018), showing recordings of French GI leaders and activists harming a young Arab-speaking woman outside of a nightclub and boasting of earlier physical altercations.

## 2.1 Navigating Affect

Studies of affect span across a wide variety of academic disciplines and orientations. In the social sciences, what has been dubbed *the affective turn* of the 1990s is broadly perceived as a reaction to *the linguistic term*. The latter was accused of omitting bodily and material aspects in the analysis of the social and lived (Hemmings 2005; Gregg & Siegworth 2010). Paying homage to phenomenological and psychoanalytic scholars, affect has poetically been described as a force that marks the belonging of bodies in a world of encounters (Gregg & Siegworth 2010: 2). Theories of affect also build on a critique of the assumption that knowledge is always linguistically mediated. Instead, bodily states may reveal the influence of the social in other ways, and an analysis of affect therefore centers embodied knowledge and affective connections. Affect theories, therefore, allow for this centering of embodied knowledge - challenging the Cartesian dualism of mind and body, the delinking of the private and the public, and the objectivist separation of knower and known. Importantly, these critiques have deep roots in postcolonial and feminist scholarship (Hemmings 2005).

Some theorizations of affect stress bodily reactions before the pre-conscious or pre-discursive. However, in response to this, poststructuralism allows us to think of affect as always already social - affect is never completely our own (Butler 2009: 87), but is always occurring in a specific context. Just like the subject comes to existence through the social and the performative, our emotional responses should (at least to a certain extent) be recognized as shaped by such contexts. Affect thereby grants valuable analytical entryways into the cultural entanglements of discourse, performativity, embodiment, and representation, all of which affect work with, in, and through. In this vein, “affect cannot be neatly and surgically separated from discourse and representations” (Wetherell 2013: 357). To deem something pre-discursive, then, may in fact work to obscure the ways in which affect also becomes mobilized in political mediation. Adding to this, Clare Hemmings (2005) warns that the celebration of affect solely through the potential of challenging unequal power structures overlooks the critical ways in which affect also works to reproduce and maintain sexed and racial power relations (Hemmings 2005: 550f).

With these considerations in mind, the concept of affect in this dissertation relies on Sara Ahmed's conceptualization and framework. This framework takes its departure in the discursive and performative perspectives on affect and feelings and shows the ways in which affective

responses become culturally situated. Affect is here used as a tool to understand how individual and collective bodies take shape and create boundaries through the contact they have with objects and Others (Ahmed 2004: 1). Rather than being reactions to a world set in place, affects create surfaces and boundaries. Feelings and affects are therefore not to be perceived as inherent to the subject but rather relational and moving between bodies and objects (Ahmed 2004). Within this framework, *objects* may be constitutive of a number of things - physical items, values, practices, capacities, styles, aspirations, or habits (Ahmed 2007, 2010).

Ahmed draws upon psychoanalysis and Marxism in her conceptualization of affect. Affect operates through emotional transfers and attachments between signs and objects, and what is repeated in social life accumulates affective value (Ahmed 2004). As such, subjects may react with excitement or dread when a specific object is nearby; distinct objects and bodies are expected to affect others in different ways through their (imagined or actual) closeness or proximity (Ahmed 2010). Feelings and attributes may become stuck to certain bodies through the way past and present events, associations, and spaces are understood. Ahmed used the notion of *stickiness* to describe this process. Stickiness explains how signs are repeated and accumulate affective value, depending on the contact histories that have already been impressed upon the signs. Certain signs metonymically slide and stick to other signs and to certain bodies within *affective economies*. In these affective economies, affect is circulated through signifiers of difference and aligns bodies with space through intensities of attachments (Ahmed 2004). The stickiness is not inherent to the object but shows how a sign may have 'traveled' and how it may work in conjunction with other signs - some objects become more sticky than others through such repetitions. When a sign or object becomes sticky, it may produce new meanings or block possible movements related to meaning-making through violent metonymic slides (Ahmed 2004). Slides may also happen between economies. Through the collision between affective and moral economies, feelings become part of constructing what is "good" and what is "bad" (Ahmed 2010).

Bodies become shaped by *impressions* in histories of contact with other objects (Ahmed 2004). These impressions (bodily, affective and semiotic) shape the *orientation* of the subject, which in turn may reproduce them as well as deviate from them. Since bodies are oriented in space, spaces may also take shape from the social which occupies it. In this way, spaces acquire their shapes through the bodies which inhabit them (Ahmed 2006, 2007). Therefore, some spaces

may become oriented towards certain bodies by accumulating *points of extensions* for some rather than others (Ahmed 2007). Some bodies become seen as belonging; Others are noticed and/or deemed foreign because the space in question is not seen as aligning with their bodies (Ahmed 2000, 2007). This begs questions of how belonging is signaled and granted, and how certain embodiments come to represent certain spaces (and vice versa).

## 2.2 Racialization and Whiteness

In this thesis, I examine the notion of race (as opposed to, for example, ethnicity, national heritage, or immigration background) for two reasons. First, it relates to the acknowledgment of the history of race in Denmark and how racial hierarchization is still a reality; it is in this way relevant to any race critical or postcolonial analysis in Scandinavia (Andreassen & Rabo 2014). The second reason for using race is due to the terminology of the object of the study. As an organization, GI does not make use of the word race, however, the continuous reference to non-Western migrants and descendants group people together in the same category, seemingly only connected by assumed non-Westernness, i.e. non-whiteness. This is further highlighted as descendants of non-Western migrants become problematized due to heritage. The Other is recognized through categorization of physical appearance associated with geographic origin (non-Western), making it an issue of race, even if the language used seeks to obscure this.

Sara Ahmed's ontology recognizes that race is not inherent or biological but rather socially produced and assigned to bodies (Ahmed 2006: 109-156; 2007). However, in the words of Kimberlé Crenshaw, “to say that a category such as race or gender is socially constructed is not to say that that category has no significance in our world” (Crenshaw 1991: 1296). Race operates as a “subjectivist account” through the social and performative - body language, affect, interactions, and proximities often indicate racial consciousness (Alcoff 1999: 17f). Race is historically malleable, culturally contextual, and produced through learned perceptual practice. IT operates as a visual economy as recognition involves differentiation (Ahmed 2000: 24). Racial identification reopens histories of identification, which constitute the boundaries of a subject's identity (Ahmed 2000: 127). Racial lines are historically informed but are reproduced in the now and structure identifications and bodily habits. As such, physiology may be inherited, but so are proximities and orientations towards objects. These are the results of the actions

becoming embedded historically over time (Ahmed 2007). Since our proximities and orientations are inherited, it shapes what is close to us when we arrive into the world, which in turn also shapes our tendencies (Ahmed 2006). In these ways, race becomes material and lived (see Gravlee 2009). As opposed to racialized categories (which whiteness is dependent upon to exist), whiteness most often remains “invisible and unmarked, as the absent centre” (Ahmed 2007: 157) through the unfinished history of colonialism.

European colonization and Imperialism from the 16th century and onward were grounded upon racialized differentiation, producing and broadly circulating racial representation of difference and white legitimacy (Hall 1997). Fixations of the Other both underline and obscure the past histories of association and active emotional labor that has gone and goes into the production of racial stereotypes (Ahmed 2004). Ahmed (2000) draws on Marxist theory of commodity fetishism to describe this process of *stranger fetishism*: As the Other come to embody difference, she is cut off from the historical processes of her production and the terms of her arrival (Ahmed 2000). These processes also reveal that the Other is not such a stranger after all and that local impressions and global structures have facilitated any encounter with one's Other (ibid.). As part of this concept, the object or figure of hate should not be seen as containing the hate that is projected upon it. Instead, the affect circulates, sticks, and is distributed within affective economies, where these repetitions confirm difference and reproduce boundaries (Ahmed 2004). Ahmed (2004) proposes that we interpret white fears through narratives of entitlement and fears of displacement. The imagined Other becomes threatening in her proximity through the fantasy of replacement. Importantly, the Othered must be close enough to be recognized as an Other.

## 2.3 Globalization and National Space

Mobility and space have proved to be essential issues when discussing colonialism, nation-states, and globalization. Not only did colonialism depend on mass-scale movement and migration in its quest to seize territory, but mechanisms for restricting the mobility of colonial subjects became a topic of great interest during colonialism (Bakewell 2008; Tyler 2018). Colonial legacy, or neocolonialism, keeps the Global South legally, politically, and economically subjected to the institutions of the Global North (Achieme 2019). Today, the Global North's massive efforts to

inhibit postcolonial mobility and South-to-North migration are evident. To maintain apartness between white bodies and racialized Others, the global economy of fear births the political and affective economy of rejecting, stopping, detaining, and deporting certain bodies (Ahmed 2007). Ahmed (2004) proposes that one looks to the figure of the terrorist to understand the fears of not being able to “tell the difference” in the visual economy that accelerated after 9/11 and the infamous War on Terror<sup>5</sup>. Affective economies have successfully stuck together any mention of Islam with notions of a threatening anti-Western antagonism. Accordingly, any sign of Islam may indicate militarism, and any Muslim or brown body may be a terrorist body. Since the terrorist is assumed to hide their identity and imagined to mix clandestinely with civilian victims, a violent semantic slide happens between the figure of the international terrorist and the figure of the asylum-seeker from the Middle East and North Africa (Ahmed 2004: 79f). The strengthening of Fortress Europe has entailed visa restrictions, the building of costly barriers, forced detention, and many people have lost their lives as they have been forced to resort to unsafe migration practices. Sovereignty doctrine, nationalism, and liberal democratic theory sanctify this politics of exclusion and violence and the extensive differentiation in access to specific spaces (Achiume 2019). With this evident dependence on spatial formations, globalization may also be grasped through its constructions, imaginings, and regulations of spaces (Ahmed 2000: 189).

Migration scholar Nandita Sharma (2015) argues that the project of the nation-state was always racialized since ideas of race and nation are so intimately connected. Today, racism can be seen as a primary technology of statecraft and borders in Europe (Tyler 2018). Nationalism racializes body-politics, partly by coupling the notions of unique identity and the right to space through a sovereign history (Sharma 2015). The semantics of kinship relations regarding race, nation, territory, and family are exceptionally close-knit (Hill Collins 1998), further evident in European and Western paternal justifications of colonial settlement and control. The myth of sovereignty is built upon notions of likeness, where a national community has come together due to this similarity. However, Ahmed proposes that we conceptualize likeness as an effect of proximity rather than its result (2006: 123).

When some bodies come to be seen as representative of the nation, those who embody this image are allowed to identify with the collective body and take up more space symbolically,

---

<sup>5</sup> The figure of the terrorist acts strongly in Danish culture, strengthened through popular narratives of the Danish invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq in the 2000s and the drawings of the Prophet Muhammed in 2005.

bodily, and socially (Ahmed 2004). In Ahmed's (2007) words, spaces acquire tendencies and orientations through the bodies inhabiting them. As such, some spaces may become orientated around whiteness, accumulating points of extensions for white bodies at the expense of racialized bodies. White bodies feel comfortable and move freely in these spaces, while the racialized Other appear 'out of place', associated with geographic distance, which then acts to re-confirm the assumed whiteness of a given (national) space (Ahmed 2000, 2006). This becomes related to the hierarchization of mobility since whiteness comes to assume the bodily privilege of movement, hiding the epistemic functions and effects of whiteness in its passing (Alcoff 1999). Racialized bodies are not afforded the same points of extensions under postcoloniality, whose presence becomes noticed and enquired about in these spaces (Ahmed 2007). Racialized Others are routinely exposed to such *stopping devices* - which act subtly and spectacularly, locally and structurally - part of the affective and political economy of policing black and brown bodies (see Rosière & Jones 2012; Yuval-Davis et al. 2019), referred to by Ahmed as *the stopping economy* (Ahmed 2007). This notion is useful when seeking to understand how racialized bodies become interrupted in their movements, both in everyday encounters and on a structural and global level.

### 3. Method, Methodology, and Material

This section will introduce the applied method of discourse analysis, including how the method was applied. Following this, a methodological discussion will outline how and why the method and theoretical framework are compatible and complementary. The section will then describe and make sense of the choice of material used for the analysis. In the final segment, the research is situated, and ethical aspects of the study are reflected upon.

#### 3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

This dissertation makes use of the methodological framework *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA), and to a great extent, follows the methodology of the critical discourse scholar Norman Fairclough. CDA is the critical approach to studying language and semiotics as a way of understanding the reproduction and resistance to unequal power distribution. Discourse is not

only recognized as representing subjects, objects, and relations but also as constructing and constituting them (Fairclough 1992). Discourse is, in this way, a social practice that is both constitutive of and constituted by other social processes and acts in dialectic relations with various other social dimensions (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999: 77). As such, imaginings and semantic assemblages have real and material effects on how objects and subjects become arranged. CDA recognizes how social life is constituted by practices in particular times and places, where the material and the symbolic act through and in relation to one another (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999: 21). The method seeks to illuminate discursive struggles and changes in power relations, but also how such struggles and changes may affect or transform broader structures of meaning-making and practice in society (Fairclough 1992: 36). Discourses may act creatively and may inform practices that support their reproduction.

CDA is traditionally tied to the analysis of language, linguistics, and verbal performances. However, the method may also be applied to other types of semiotic production. Authors of CDA encourage a transdisciplinary approach in order to broaden the method's potential and capacity in different fields (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). This makes it possible to treat other social phenomena and semiotic practices than language as “text.” Such objects must, however, be seen as products of processes of prior discourse and meaning-making (Fairclough 1992), and the method thereby becomes attentive to the situatedness of the subjects who (re)produce a specific discourse. Who produces the text or object, embedded in what power relations and under which circumstances, thereby becomes an integral analytical point within CDA. Apart from the production of any text itself, CDA centers on the discursive practice (the consumption of the text), which draws on existing discourses and signs in different shapes or forms (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999). The focus on what a text is actually conveying requires close attention to metaphors, including conceptual metaphors, parables, metonymies, and keywords, as well as lexical identifications and oppositions (Boréus & Brylla 2000). An analysis of verbal performances or written text may draw on more grammar-focused tools; however, the data used in this dissertation is mainly audiovisual and without many words, and the analysis, therefore, emphasizes semiotic constructions and relations.

Adding to the spheres of production and the discursive practice, CDA also pays attention to current entanglement or possible social consequences of discursive meaning-making. This opens up the relevance of CDA to the study of broader structural inequality and how such

structures become reproduced (and challenged) through specific social practices and relations. Such an analysis may reveal semantic slides and assemblages that were denied or hidden; it asks what is made possible through such semiosis and for whom. This also relates to the dialectic-relational view within CDA that representations and meaning-making may be situated on a local (micro) level but often reflect (and is made possible by) broader social practices at the structural (macro) level (Chouliaraki & Fairclough 1999). Discursive practices and meaning-making are thereby (often opaquely) connected to social and cultural processes, structures, and relations.

### 3.2 Methodology

This analysis does not seek to apply affect theory to CDA, but to unite affect and discourse analysis. The two are already connected through discourse as a medium that allows the expressions and impressions of emotions and affects (Hong 2015). In line with CDA, social life works through and in the discursive and creates relations between bodies, performativities, and the semiotic. It may therefore be argued that the two are not separable at all (Wetherell 2014). Accordingly, and as discussed above, how assemblages become stuck together discursively and affectively have material and 'real' effects. In agreement with this importance of material and lived consequences, CDA stresses the importance of discursive representation and consequential positioning of bodies.

CDA and the framework of affect introduced here are theoretically compatible for a number of reasons. First, CDA (and especially Fairclough's framework) stresses the ways in which norms may change over time and that new discourses and relations may develop. As such, the performative nature of communication and representation is recognized. Norms, bodily horizons, and orientations are created through the repetition of performativities, which in turn obscure the labor that goes behind the establishment of such norms and boundaries (Ahmed 2006). Affect, too, is always social, and it generates its objects and repeat existing associations resulting from various "contact histories" (Ahmed 2004). This relates to the second point of compatibility. Fairclough's model acknowledges the influence of historically sedimented power structures, which in Ahmed's (2006; 2007) terms is what acts 'behind' the subject and its arrival. Mapping out the premises and situatedness of knowledge production remains essential for both.

Third, Fairclough's approach does not perceive people as passive recipients of ideology (Jørgensen & Phillips 1999). This stance resonates with Ahmed's (2006) argument that directions and orientations are (re)produced and invested in continuously but are not deterministic. Social relations and bodily habits are acquired through repetition of acts, but it is also possible to stray away from the lines that have been followed before or to become oriented towards and around new objects (Ahmed 2006). Importantly, this allows for a middle-range theory of agency (Wetherell 2014), where the subject is neither completely restricted by structures but also never free from them.

For the analysis presented in this paper, the use of CDA has meant a focus on discursively mediated affect and meaning-making contributions to affective and political economies, and has also entailed attention to how videos as a social object make use of or appeal to affect. Due to the nature of the data, analytical attention has been paid to the message presented in the videos, but also specifically the framing of the message. Practically, the process has required attention to a number of different aspects. These included pointers to the mood of the video, such as choices and changes in music, speed, and colors. The analytical work was anchored in specific attention to bodies: which bodies are shown, and which are by implication not? Which performances are highlighted and how? How are bodies being constructed in relation to the space they occupy, or maybe rather, how is the space being constructed through the representation of bodies?

This study can also be seen to cover the three dimensions of the text: the production, the consumption, and the social praxis. The material is contextualized in the sections on Background and Material, and sometimes even in the analytical work through referral to political and affective histories and assemblages, which have made the meaning-making possible. The second discursive practice field of production and consumption is laid out in the Analysis. The third dimension of social practice, of course, involves the Conclusions, but may also be spotted in the writings on Positionality and Ethics and the broader motivation to do this study, which ultimately is to offer a critical perspective on the Identitarian ideology and organizations.

### 3.3 Material

This thesis makes use of YouTube videos produced and published by GI because ideology and relations of power may be shaped, contributed to, and legitimized through art, stylization, and leverage (Staal 2019). At the time of this study, the Danish GI have uploaded 67 videos through their YouTube page. The page has been exhibiting a stable flow of uploads from year to year, annually publishing between 10 to 20 videos since 2017. The videos vary in style and imagery: 41 videos show different kinds of street activism, while the remaining 26 consists of interviews, speeches, compilation videos, and self-promotional material that seek to recruit people into the organization. The titles and content speak on various topics that become interrelated, or stuck together, through their presentation: Islam, multiculturalism, integration, terrorism, refugees and migrants, gender and reproduction, Danish culture and welfare, and the reinforcement of Fortress Europe. In this study, the videos of activism remain the focus. Political videos distributed online can work as ideological tools for mobilization, activism, and recruitment (Kølvraa & Stage 2016). This may be an unforeseen or unplanned side effect of videos distributed online, but in the case of GI, mobilization and recruitment appear to be an intended priority. Broadly, the videos of street activism draw on shared imagery and frames. They show activists' bodies moving through and in public spheres, spreading their message. All videos end with the yellow lambda logo on a black background and the words "Bliv Aktiv" [Become Active] accompanied by the official webpage name. The videos also have a cool, streamlined editing in common: the visual style includes added brightness and cool lighting, accompanied by upbeat electronic music.

Interestingly, the instrumental beats sound neutral but have been shown to belong to a genre dubbed *fashwave* (a contraction of fascism and synth-wave): A futuristic synth-pop genre where the song titles are the only thing that gives away their right-wing allegiance (Redox 2020).

Specifically, I have chosen four different videos displaying GI's street activism: *Identitær flyeraktion i S-tog og metro* [Identitarian flyer-action in S-train and Metro] (2018); *Stop den store udskiftning! - Aktion på Nørrebro* [Stop the great replacement! - Action in Nørrebro] (2019); *Giv dit barn en tryk fremtid - få et barn til* [Give your child a secure future - have another child] (2019); and *Beskyt vores kulturarv - Nej til Black Lives Matter hærværk* [Protect our cultural legacy - No to Black Lives Matter vandalism] (2020). All videos in this study are less than a minute long. The videos relate to different topics that the organization orientates itself towards in its activist and ideological work. Hence, they are chosen due to their representation of a range of

themes that the group is engaged in, and they cover several of the organization's active years. Various other videos published by the group also represent rich material for analysis, and have reluctantly been discarded due to the limited scope of this paper.

Virtual ethnographers have noted that the online is not only embedded in the cultural and social contexts from which it emerges. Rather, there exists an interconnectedness between the online and offline spheres (Fay 2007; Beddows 2008; Hallett and Barber 2014; Askanius 2019), or, one might say that the online performativity constructs identity rather than simply representing or mirroring it (Campbell 2006). GI's distribution of online material and videos entails accessibility for creators and viewers: it allows for a far and broad reach (even by a relatively small collective with limited funds), and it offers the opportunity of impressing spatially distant subjects (Back 2002a). Importantly, the online media itself has become part of GI's activist praxis. Not only do the members mediatize, stage, or portray activism, but they also shape new possibilities of what activism might socially and practically constitute (Knudsen & Stage 2012; see also Blum 2017). The nature of the material is also interesting in the sense that words are not spoken in the videos: there is no direct verbal "hate speech" but instead communication relies heavily on symbolism and openness to creative interpretation and metonymic slides. On the one hand, the group draws on strategies from an international organization's toolbox of rhetorics, threats and symbolism; on the other, the material addresses the Danish public, reflected in its use of and reference to (not exclusively, but to a large extent) national imageries.

The audiovisual material by GI can be considered to fall within the category of propaganda because the videos (in a heavily edited, altered, or regulated way) privilege the organization's political agenda. In other words, the organization's online distribution and circulation of imagery actively seek to mobilize and legitimize specific orientations of power. Authors Christoffer Kølvrå and Jan Ifversen (2017) argue that the study of propaganda has always related to affect and that one must grasp its effects through the affective enjoyment it supports rather than convincing argumentation. The conceptualizations of feelings remain a crucial aspect of the dynamics of social movements and collective identities, and the videos by GI strongly encourage affective identification. Propaganda invites its subjects to invest in idealized imaginaries oriented towards utopian horizons (Kølvrå & Ifversen 2017). As Ahmed (2010) argues, shared horizons include specific orientations and the circulation of objects that

accumulate positive affective value. They also involve identifying what or whom's presence may delay or jeopardize the realization of the idealized future in question. As such, propaganda material may present us with insights into an ideological project's affective economies and Othering.

Even as GI's videos invite the viewer into imagined spaces (of idealized futures and activist nows), they also purport to document events and reactions to a threat perceived to be real. However, by situating the propaganda, one is reminded that this political imagery is created by *somebody* - and that one should remain cautious of imagery that claims transparency through merely “documenting” current events. Mapping out the situatedness of knowledge production becomes specifically urgent when the propagandist seeks to obscure their own position by “simply telling it as it is.” As pointed out by feminist scholars (Haraway 1988; Harding 1992), ideals of neutrality and objectivity have often favored interpretations developed by white and male subjects. This tradition builds on a false division between subject and object of study (the Other), where the subject seeks to escape partiality and embodiment.

### 3.4 Positionality and Ethics

The notion that knowledge cannot be separated from its production is the foundation of *feminist standpoint theory* (Smith 1974; Hill Collins 1986). Standpoint theory emerged from critical theory, formulated by the Others who had constituted white men's research objects for centuries while being measured to “objective” standards set by the white male subject. These “Others” include decolonial and postcolonial writers and activists who challenge Imperialist representations and philosophies and insist on the right not to be known or gazed upon by the oppressor; other “Others” are constituted by a wide variety of feminist writers and activists, who have questioned the naturalization of difference in and through different kinds of representation. Postcolonial and feminist thought questions established systems of classification and representation. Importantly, ontology and epistemology are never separate, which ultimately points to questions of the consequences of “writing the body out of theory” (Hemmings 2005: 548). Indeed, the embodied and affective perspective can also be observed in conjunction with a postcolonial and feminist reclaiming and transformation of the attributes we have been ascribed in Cartesian terms of dualism: the bodily, the affected, the primitive, the feminized (Ahmed

2004: 2-4), the one who may pollute the “objectivity” of the research through her very presence (Haraway 1988). On the one hand, standpoint theory seeks to dismantle universalism by highlighting power relations in the production of knowledge, but on the other hand, the epistemological position does not propose relativism either. Situated knowledge production instead reaches towards a strong objectivity - by showing the cards on one's hand (one's investments, attachments and epistemological considerations) the research allows for a more transparent and honest knowledge production (Harding 1992). The uses of standpoint theory have been discussed vigorously in the feminist academic disciplines. It has historically been considered a tool of accumulating different perspectives and formulating collective experiences (Hill Collins 2004), granting marginalized groups epistemic advantage (Narayan 2004). This disruption in traditional epistemic authority comes from the notion that marginalized people know more about their own context, as well as their oppressor's context, due to the constant need for adaption and “fluency” in both settings; a double vision of sorts (ibid.). However, standpoint theory has also inspired broader approaches of situating oneself in relation to research, practicing reflexivity throughout the process, acknowledging power relations in one's research, and remaining accountable for one's (re)production of knowledge and representations. By situating oneself and one's knowledge production, it becomes possible to convey knowledge from a more reliable point of view; by acknowledging one's own political and affective investments in the research, it is an option to confront (rather than transcend) the inevitable relations of power between subject and object.

I was first made aware of GI in 2017 in activist circles in Copenhagen as the organization had established itself in a Danish context. At the time, GI had announced its presence through stickers in public spaces in the city. The stickers had messages such as “ude godt, hjemme bedst - remigration nu!” [there's no place like home - remigration now!]; “sikre grænser - sikker fremtid” [secured borders - secured future]; and “byg Fort Europa” [build Fortress Europe]. The stickers on benches, bus stops, and signs in urban Copenhagen neighborhoods constituted a thinly veiled threat towards the residents of the “multicultural” city. These stickers had mystifying effects since they went to show their success in seemingly unmitigated permeation of “our” spaces, through “our” aesthetic signaling. A sticker war took on, and it soon became a topic when and where one last saw a GI sticker, as if it was surprising that hardcore nationalists were among us and probably had been all along. Frustratingly, we could not “see” the threat:

notably, in the sense that “they” blended right into Copenhagen, a city with many points of extensions for the young, white, affluent hipster; but also in the sense that there were rarely any bodily encounters between “us” and “them”. GI was elusive in that the activists orchestrated and recorded their propaganda material early in the mornings to avoid confrontations. The stickers quite literally demonstrated the whereabouts and closeness of a threatening subject, who seemed to exercise a great amount of mobility and anonymity, moving effortlessly through the city. At its worst, the sticker story is one of territorial pride, misplacement of attention and resources, and fear of the Other's threatening proximity. At its best, the story underlines the discursive and performative struggle over the right to define space and how the urban and national space is continuously imagined, felt, and reconstructed through objects and Others. Such a negotiation encompasses and acts across spatial formations - the body, the home, the neighborhood, the city, the nation, and the globe (Ahmed 2000: 101).

As part of this dissertation, I did not reach out to GI, neither to ask for consent to use their online material on YouTube nor to notify them that I was conducting my research. I did not ask them to elaborate on their ideology to me personally because I did not deem that method productive for the specific analysis. No individuals in the group have been singled out from the material in relation to name or appearance - the activists in the videos are at most described in terms of skin color (white) and gender (male or female), even if some of the individuals in the videos engage in public debate and are publicly known. I did not put the organization or its activists in a position of choice or shared ownership of the analysis, because I do not deem the organization to be the community that I am ethically accountable to. Quite to the contrary, I am accountable to the migrant communities that the organization antagonizes in its propaganda. Another ethical aspect has been related to my possible contribution to exposure and spreading of the group's ideology through this research. This exposure may play in favor of the group's agenda (Blee 1998; Askanius 2019), where the rule for GI's strategy seems to be that any publicity is good publicity (see Dalland 2019). However, the group is still becoming more well-known, and "Not naming a problem in the hope that it will go away often means the problem just remains unnamed" (Ahmed 2017: 34). My work does not seek to reinscribe the organization's representations but rather to challenge them and connect their activities to questions of power and entitlement. My project strives towards an emancipatory research (Lynch 1999) by offering a postcolonial and affect-oriented perspective, seeking to disturb naturalization

of subordination and normalization of white supremacy. Through critical reading, it becomes possible to express other affective understandings and perspectives of the material and possibly shape future understandings (Hemmings 2012).

At times, I grappled with internalization of traditional standards of objectivity, but have made a conscious choice not to reproduce the neglect of emotions in research. Instead, I have sought to use the notion of affect to exercise a (constant re)situating of myself as a researcher. I have used my own affective attachment and reactions as an entry point in my research. Sometimes homely environments appeared in GI's videos and photos, as the organization directly antagonizes areas where me, my friends and my community dwell. I also experienced affective reactions during the process of covering, categorizing, and examining the material, which proved to be a tiresome exposure to the group's ideology. In these processes, I reacted affectively to the prospects of the Identitarian Other's proximity, physically in my neighborhood, with misrepresentations and threats of annihilation of my community. Their presence gambles *my* utopian horizons and hopes for the future. This has also led me to see never-ending chains of hated Others. The irony is there, even if it is not funny. At the same time, I have also experienced affective enjoyment in the reading of and recognition in postcolonial perspectives. Such work has continuously reminded me that it is possible to recognize insecurity as an aspect of being alive (Butler 2009: 50) without acknowledging the premises of the ontology of insecurity (Ahmed 2004: 76) which racist politics work upon.

## 4. Analysis

This part presents analyses of the four chosen videos. Links to the videos can be found both in the footnotes and in the Appendix of used material attached. Every analytical section begins with a description of the videos as well.

### 4.1 Transitory Spaces

Video: *Identitær flyeraktion i S-tog og Metro* [Identitarian flyer-action in S-train and Metro]<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGZd85Enn4c>

*This video follows a group of five activists distributing material in the subway and trains in Copenhagen. First, the activists are filmed from behind as they walk towards Nørreport Station, down the escalator, and into a subway car. The group moves together through the wagons as they hang up signs that read "RYK TÆTTERE SAMMEN - DER KOMMER FLERE MIGRANTER" [MOVE CLOSER TOGETHER - MORE MIGRANTS ARE COMING]. The activists are filmed from the front and are shown smiling as they hang up their signs. They get off the subway and walk down a flight of stairs before boarding an S-train, part of Copenhagen's local railway system. Here, more civilians are sitting than on the metro, and the activists continue hanging up signs before the video fades out.*

The object distributed in the video by GI activists - the flyer - is urging someone to move closer together due to the arrival of migrants. The used term “migrant” is vague since migratory mobility encompasses enormous differences in experience (related to social, political, and economic realities both locally and globally). The “migrant” figure becomes obscured due to its multiplicity and anonymity but also takes shape in a visual economy, where one might try to identify the migrant. Here, it becomes important to note the broader existing semantic associations in relation to a presumed Danish national identity founded upon the notion of white Scandinavian nativism (Norocel et al. 2020; Jensen 2018). In a visual economy of recognition and differentiation, the migrant figure in Denmark often is imagined to be racialized. This kind of identification and Othering works across past and present time, and makes it possible to decide which bodies are (and will be) at home and which are by implication not (Ahmed 2000: 54). In this way, GI takes part in “a differentiation that is never 'over', as it awaits for others who have not yet arrived, a waiting that justifies the repetition of violence against the bodies of the other others.” (Ahmed 2004: 47). In this case, the broad category of “migrant” becomes sticky - the term sticks to any body who might exhibit bodily signs and performativities that are not seen as aligned with Danishness and whiteness but are instead imagined to stem from somewhere “far away.”

On the other hand, the addressee of the flyer can be assumed to be the one who has not migrated. It is then the space of the one “at home” that is being permeated by the migrant. The wording on the flyer also asserts clear welfare chauvinism. As already mentioned, the

organization generally identifies migrants as an economic threat to the welfare state (Nissen 2020). Welfare chauvinism comes from the notion of private property rights exerted over welfare provisions (Norocel et al. 2020). However, in relation to an imagined homogenous white nativism, the Scandinavian welfare state often operates through narratives of transparency, a quietly acquired "woman-friendliness" (Borchorst & Siim 2002), and positioned as untouched by the histories of exploitation of the Global South (Jensen 2018: 26). Simultaneously, welfare chauvinism attributes the strain on the welfare state provisions to the arrival of migrants instead of a result of the steady neo-liberalization of the state (Jensen 2018: 173-185). This narrative of migrants' "welfare tourism" (which assumes that everyone wants to come *here* due to *our* welfare) also relies on the notion of a caring nation-state, whose generosity will be its downfall. In the video, the strain on the Danish infrastructure becomes exemplified through the use of public transportation, where Danes will have to make compromises in their access to the welfare state's infrastructure as arriving migrants exhaust the system.

As has been established, how a space is framed has an impact on how bodies become orientated towards said space. Public transportation can already constitute "intense spaces of transitory sociality" (Ahmed 2004: 215). Such everyday spaces often involve various embodied encounters, and these encounters may draw on or reproduce broader power relations. Both in its message and scenery, the video plays on the familiar spatial negotiation for intimate spheres on public transportation. The message of "moving closer together" addressing the white body implies both a retraction away from one object and the move towards another. The reason for "moving closer together" is located in the body of the Other, whose proximity is deemed threatening. The distancing from the migrant body may be an affective attribute of both disgust and fear, but either way, the migrant figure becomes a very "unhappy object" (Ahmed 2010). The turn away from this object also involves the reorientation towards the object of love (Ahmed 2004: 69), seeking protection and safety by moving closer together with the national (white) collective. In the words of Ahmed, the white body "comes to matter" by reducing Other bodies to "matter out of place" (Ahmed 2000: 52). The video narrates the description of an influx of unwanted migrant bodies into a local circuit that must be protected. The figure of the migrant on the train comes to represent limitations to white bodies' mobility and extensions into space. The mobility of the migrant comes to be seen as a hindrance and threat to the frictionless movement of the circuit, the commute, the everyday life. It is what already is which comes to be valued and

protected through the construction of a (future) threat to this norm (Ahmed 2004). The construction of the future threat obscures the realities of sparsely occupied seats shown in the video; it also hides away the Danish (neo)colonial histories of exploitation that have made the economic aspects of the Danish welfare state and infrastructure possible. Adding to this, it is highly unrealistic that migrants are not “already there” on the morning commute that day. However, the imagined migrants “taking up” space remains a mirage, a fear projected onto the future. The excessive use of flyers in the narrow spaces seems to stand in for the figure it warns the viewer of. The activists are, in fact, the ones that take the space of the isles of the trains that morning, asserting their right to mobility and exercising their assumed right to extend into said space(s).

Even as the message is dark and dire, the camera often centers on the faces of the activists, smiling. They appear calm and confident. The show of their faces allows individuality in a way that the phantasmic undifferentiated masses of faceless “migrants” are not allowed. This framing recognizes the subjecthood and agency of the GI activists, while the migrant figure is not personified or embodied but dehumanized and fetishized. In the words of Judith Butler, some are given face, while others are effaced (Butler 2009: 114). Such giving of face to the organization also creates other impressions: by not obscuring or hiding their faces, the activists appear proudly affiliated and exhibiting strong modality to the message. The show of face softens the punch because the faces help to make the activists recognizable as subjects. They might not look like what one expected (Back 2002a); they look like so many other white people in Denmark, with no immediate signaling of their allegiance to GI from their appearance. Instead, they look like “the people” and gain legitimacy through the claim of representing said people. The ease with which they blend into the crowds, the stations, and the train systems in the video acts as further evidence of the points of extensions they claim and inhabit.

Mobility is granted through urban infrastructure to the privileged few, but migrants' mobility across borders and their “inclusion” into the local circuits are undesired. By framing the sharing of space with Others through fear for the loss of assumed rights, the restraint of migrant bodies is justified. This sort of threat construction works across time: even if the “migrant” in question on the flyer is not here *yet*, the figure is constructed as highly mobile and approaching. As such, the future threat seeps into the present through past histories of contact and association, creating sticky sideways movements and ripples in the present. Such movement ties together

objects and figures, which allows for threats to appear in the now (Ahmed 2004: 66). The mere presence of perceived “migrant” (read: racialized) bodies on public transportation become an Omen and a reason for suspicion. This suspiciousness ultimately works as a stopping device in the global economy of fear, since the presence of some bodies structurally becomes scrutinized to protect those who move through uninterrogated. Simultaneously, hierarchies of deservingness in the access to the welfare state and its infrastructure are reproduced.

## 4.2 Something about Bodies

Video: *Stop den store udskiftning! - Aktion på Nørrebro* [Stop the great replacement! - Action in Nørrebro]<sup>7</sup>

*This video revolves around a banner drop in Nørrebro in Copenhagen by Identitarian activists. Initially, the video shows recordings of racialized people walking in the street, talking, or standing by the bus stop in the area by Nørrebro Station from the perspective of a hidden body camera. Eerie music is playing, and the colors appear dull and grey. The camera centers on brown and black men, women, and children, some of them wearing Islamic attires, as well as the street vendors selling items underneath the station. A few seconds into the video, six male Identitarian activists are filmed from behind as they rush towards the station. At the same time, the colors are restored in the video, and the music picks up an electronic beat. A body camera recording shows some of the activists walking to the station's platform, where they wait for the train to pass before running to the railway bridge. They fasten a banner with plastic strips while the music speeds up further. The activists are then filmed from the street, from where one can read that the yellow banner states, "STOP DEN STORE UDSKIFTNING!" [STOP THE GREAT REPLACEMENT!]. The activists lighten flares and wave from the bridge as the video fades to black.*

Nørrebro is a neighborhood in Copenhagen, often referred to or used as an example in discourses of culture and difference in Denmark. The neighborhood comprises various migrant communities to a larger extent (relatively) than the rest of the country or capital, housing migrants and

---

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgm4s70xaRg>

descendants from countries where Muslims are either the majority or a substantial minority group (Schmidt 2011). For multiculturalists, the neighborhood symbolizes vibrant conviviality and diversity<sup>8</sup>, while right-wingers usually perceive the area as potentially nesting Islamic fundamentalism and parallel societies. However, Nørrebro has historically, since its inception, been an immigrant neighborhood. The history of migration as a constant factor in the making of Nørrebro is often overlooked in public debate in favor of a whitewashed working-class perspective: “Frequently, immigrants living in Nørrebro are now [...] presented as problematic intruders, especially if they are recognizably Muslim” (Schmidt 2011: 607). Still, such problematized bodies do not have to be either immigrant or Muslim to be recognized as such in present-day Denmark and in Nørrebro. Descendants of immigrants are often seen as *like* migrants in Danish national discourse and statistics, and more often than not, a sticky conflation happens between Muslims and Arabs.

The individuals at the beginning of the described video do not appear to be aware that they are being recorded. The stylization is derived from a hidden camera, strengthening the narrative that the person filming is infiltrating a space to document something spectacular. Such narratives often assume that people show a more authentic behavior or perform more “real” actions than if they were filmed with consent. The camera angle effectively mimics surveillance in its style but also constitutes surveillance in itself - it effectively authorizes “the self-centered, isomorphic cyclopean I/Eye, the god trick, the view from nowhere” (Haraway 1988: 586), expecting and demanding transparency (while simultaneously assuming opacity) through surveillance. This infiltrating camera style can be seen as informed by a politics of verticality (Eyal Weizman 2002 in Puar 2017). Within this notion of surveillance, where one is both looking across and cutting through, one transgresses the notion of panopticon but is “able to witness the aberrant body in question within the prescribed site of deviance” (Puar 2017: 154) - in this case, the racialized and/or Muslim body in Nørrebro. The camera angle plays on notions of the existence of a separate public Danish space or domain and a private racialized one (where anti-Western sentiments and religious fundamentalism may be fostered). Nørrebro is assigned a specific orientation through the bodies which inhabit (or are imagined to inhabit) it. If one were to follow the argument of the infiltration of a parallel society or separate space of dwelling, the

---

<sup>8</sup> For an in-depth analysis of race and class in the gentrification in Nørrebro see the anthology *Bidrag til en nær bykritik* (2018) published by Bypolitisk Organisering.

liberal ideals of the home (private property and sanctuary) are erected only to be immediately suspended - the people who are assumed to dwell here are not allowed privacy. The camera angle, the uncanny feeling through to the choice in music and color, and the quick cutting between different shots seek to incite anxiety and compensate for some of the (indeed almost idyllic) images actually shown in the footage: families and friends talking and smiling, appearing to be enjoying the sun; a group of children waiting for the bus with a balloon in the shape of a unicorn; a younger woman supporting an older woman by the arm, as they cross the street. However, for the purpose of this video, it is not necessarily important what the bodies are actually doing - the pace of the video deems them indistinguishable, seemingly connecting them through racialization or Islamic affiliation (religious attires) and their numbers and presence in Nørrebro. The quick cutting between images of bodies disallows individuality and produces the vision of masses. As described by Arjun Appadurai (2006), such notion of the many often invokes associations to the lack of individualism, irrationality and uncontrollability. The narrative does not distinguish between the more classic (but equally problematic) differentiation and hierarchization of “good” or “bad” Others of the nation-state. Instead, these figures extend each other as footage of the illegalized practice of street vending is shown alongside more innocuous images. The environment of the city and the cold and grayscale tones play on notions of the urban as associated with lower classes and poverty, proximity and violence, crime and indifference, a lack of life and joy. The editing contorts the embodiments through speed but actively neglects the simultaneous presence of white bodies, which may also be observed in the video, moving through the streets. The stylization works to create an affective threat, where the urban space is aligned with the production of dangerous, dirty, and strange bodies (see Ahmed 2000: 53). Once again, some bodies are allowed to pass, while others become hypervisible, and the styling ultimately favors a narrative of a segregated racialized hub, where anti-Western sentiments may thrive.

The distinction between who is being watched and who is watching becomes even more evident as the white male activists enter the space. They are filmed from behind; the viewer is walking with them. The music picks up, and the colors return to the screen. The male and mobile subject is legitimized as safe and heroic in his penetration of the space, while the mobility and residency of the Other is deemed illegitimate (Ahmed 2000: 34). These white men, moving effectively through the space of Nørrebro, come to embody hegemonic masculine traits (such as

determination, autonomy, courage) while reifying connections between masculinity, nationality, and race<sup>9</sup>. One becomes very aware of the purportedly heroic, self-sacrificing white man, who puts himself on the railway bridge in the very heart of the danger zone to spread his message.

The activist performance - the banner drop with the message - is the central action in the video, taking up almost half of the video in its entirety. The body cam is once again utilized during the banner drop, seemingly worn by one of the activists securing the banner with plastic strips. However, these short snippets produce different impressions than the prior use in the body camera in the video, even as they recorded the same space. First, the streets are now almost empty, indicating that the footage is from different days. The various bodies shown before, assembled to a crowd, are no longer there. This appears a bit ironic since their numbers - and the associated lack of individuality and rationale - made them a threat. Second, while both uses of the body camera invite the viewer to identify with the activist(s) wearing it, they communicate and encourage very different affective states. In the first instance, the use of the body camera incited fear and anxiety due to the perceived numbers and proximity of the Other; the second use of the body camera builds onto this fear in order to demand apartness from said Other, instilling affective arousal, feelings of endurance and victory, in the spectator. The viewer is *with* the activists on the bridge. After the men have put up the banner, they light up flares and hold them high over their heads. The activists perform a victorious moment of enjoyment and transgression, proudly facing and posing for the camera that films them from the street. This joy is framed as allowed by the Identitarian ideology; following the ideology and its promise will lead to such joy (Kølvraa & Ifversen 2017). The viewer is pulled towards this happy, utopian horizon by the possibility of experiencing the affective arousal that the activists are experiencing, if not by proxy (ibid.; Kølvraa & Stage 2016).

### 4.3 Nation as Family

Video: *Giv dit barn en tryk fremtid - få et barn til* [Give your child a secure future - have another child]<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Such patriotic masculinities can be said to create distinction between who are patriots and who are terrorists (Puar 2017: xxxii).

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iIRfDfcDgbc>

*This video begins zoomed in on hands filling light pink and light blue balloons with gas from helium tanks. The balloons have the Identitarian Lambda logo on them and the text "Få et barn til!" [Have another child!]. Activists are then shown tying the balloons with ribbons and gathering them into big bouquets, separated into two colors. The sun is shining, and a group of about eight activists walks along paths in the park Søndermarken in Copenhagen. In the middle of the group, a female member present is carrying a woven basket, while the rest of the male members carry flyers and balloons. The activists are then shown handing out flyers and balloons to adults with strollers and excited children. Before the video fades to black, the balloons are filmed up close once again.*

GI's fear of a forthcoming "Great Replacement" centers around reproduction: the Other is imagined to reproduce fast and effectively, while the birthrate of white natives goes down, resulting in a racial replacement. In such a narrative, white reproduction becomes the ultimate bulwark against the Other and against national demise. The definition of what should be preserved, and the call to preserve it, is associated with some bodies rather than others (Ahmed 2004: 78). In this case, the call to preservation plays on white reproduction. The setting of the video - the natural and botanical scenery of Søndermarken - is no coincidence. Notions of cultural, national, or familial belonging often act through metaphors of territory and nature (e.g., having "roots"), naturalizing connections made between identity and space (Malkki 1992; Hill Collins 1998). This "natural' embeddedness of a people in their homeland" signals purity, order, and stability (Kølvraa & Forchtner 2019: 235), which here stand in stark contrast to the alienated and urban space, which reproduces the unhappy Other (who may even be pathologized due to "rootlessness") (Malkki 1992). Such plays on naturalness also seep into how one should "have another child," or, the imaginaries of what "natural" reproduction constitutes: heterosexuality. In this operation, the repetitive work behind (and the affective investments in) heteronormativity becomes concealed by such referral to nature (Ahmed 2004: 145). This reference to nature seeks to garner legitimacy to the cause. The fixation with and of naturalness - what nature intended; what is biologically "right" - is further underlined in this video by the centering of the pink and blue balloons, referring to traditional gender roles and norms. The activists in the video mirror this further in the sense that the female member symbolically walks in the middle, carrying a basket, while the men walk around her, holding balloons and flyers; roles appear to be delegated

according to gender. The men are oriented around her. The woman takes on the role of reproducer here: she is related to the men as kin, as mother, as compulsory heterosexual (Rich 1993), demanding protection. Even with a relatively small count of female members in GI, appropriate femininity (simultaneously modern and conservative) becomes important to the constitution of the idealized white masculinity (Blum 2017), which tends to dominate the narrative of the videos. The female activist in this video is the only woman, yet her presence is crucial. Her attendance signals the naming and banishment of homosexuality, which then permits the apparent male exclusivity and homosocial bonding within the organization (see Puar 2017). She is also important for the video's message due to the classic notion of woman as reproducer of children and nation (Yuval-Davis 1997). She is frequently within the frame throughout the video. She signals appropriate femininity, nurturing and celebratory towards the children. She is pictured engaging with the white children, generating joy by handing out balloons. According to Alice Blum (2017), GI's aversion towards emancipatory gender politics relies on the need for a stable gender identity in the effort to counter the male Other's advances towards the white woman (Blum 2017: 329). As illustrated by Cathy Cohen (1997), heteronormativity is not only constituted by sexual identifications and acts but also relies heavily on relations of race and class. Heteronormativity does not distribute privilege among heterosexuals equally but “designate which individuals were truly 'fit' for full rights and privileges of citizenship” (Cohen 1997: 453). This set of norms is shaped around the idealization of whiteness and the upper- and middle-class; nation and citizenship are implied within the heteronorm (Puar 2017: 221). Here, sexuality and intimacy ideally serve the nation and the state (Luibhéid 2015). As such, heteronormativity normalizes and privileges patriarchal forms of reproduction aligned with dominant racial and class interests.

For GI activists, the heteronormative nuclear family is assumed to provide protection against perversity but also racial mixing: whiteness becomes something one passes on to one's children (Norocel et al. 2020; Ahmed 2007). The camera dwells on white children eager to receive balloons; a white child sitting in a stroller is shown. The white children represent the future of the nation, and as an endangered and innocent figure, the child's wellbeing becomes a question of national and social responsibility (Ahmed 2000: 35). As such, different notions of good versus bad childhood emerge in GI's representational economy. In the preceding video, racialized children and kinship networks in Nørrebro were framed as a menace. In this video,

white reproduction and nuclear family norms appear sacred. The fantasy of white heteronormativity - of white bodies that must be orientated towards other white bodies to sustain whiteness - produces Othered relations, practices, and bodies as *end points*: they come to be associated with death, while heterosexual whiteness is associated with life (Ahmed 2006: 197). A range of deviant and unhappy figures are thereby produced in the shadow of the nuclear family ideal delineated by the organization in the video. These account for sexualities and intimacies produced by non-heterosexual acts and identifications (such as queers and sex workers pathologized and/or deemed non-reproductive), but also racialized or racially mixed heterosexual intimacies. If one compares the joyful performativity of the white female activist in Søndermarken to the representation of the women situated in Nørrebro, two very different figures also emerge. The white female activist is given face, compared to the anonymous women of Nørrebro. In her analysis of Swedish parental constructions, Kajsa Widegren (2016) notes how the white gaze can be used to idealize white skin in image production and reproduce racial stereotypes. Non-white bodies are deemed less civilized and less qualified for modern or appropriate parenthood, connecting gender to nationality and race: "images manage tensions around who should - and can - be involved in the transcorporeal permeability of reproduction" (Widegren 2016: 89). Western discourses of the figure of the veiled woman often build upon and reproduce Orientalist narratives, where she is treated as a victim of her own culture (Bahramitash 2005; Kahf 2011; Hasan 2012). However, the veiled woman is also constructed as an accomplice in the reproduction of failed modernity: "When in doubt, blame mothers." (Robin Morgan 1989: 16, cited in Puar 2017: 56). On the contrary, Western women are rarely seen as victims of their own culture (Petzen 2012). As one can see, the white female activist in Søndermarken is depicted as in control of her culture. The white woman's fertility is affectively connected to celebratory joy, while the latter's fertility is villainized, even parasitical, as she is depicted causing demise rather than life. The Great Replacement theory relies on the fantasy of the Other's excessive reproductive force, and it creates racialized and sexually perverse figures.

## 4.4 Caring Colonizers

Video: *Beskyt vores kulturarv - Nej til Black Lives Matter hærværk* [Protect our cultural legacy - No to Black Lives Matter vandalism]<sup>11</sup>

*This video begins with a view of Copenhagen from a bird's eye view before showing two activists wearing yellow cleaning gloves scrubbing a pillar. The top of the pillar is filmed from beneath, revealing the statue of King Christian IV. The next shot shows the word RACIST written across the pillar, being removed with what appears to be water and soap by the persons wearing the yellow gloves. Afterward, the city of Hundested in Northern Zealand is shown from bird's eye view before zooming in on two other activists scrubbing a bust of polar explorer Knud Rasmussen, which has been covered in red paint. The men are smiling as they clean the bust. Then, the statue of Greenland missionary Hans Egede in Copenhagen is filmed. The word DECOLONIZE has been written in red paint across the pillar that the statue is standing upon. Again, two male activists with yellow gloves are cleaning the statue to remove the words. The video fades to black.*

The manifold symbols and objects of this video must first be contextualized. The “vandalism” [*hærværk*] referred to and treated in the video concerns the red paint and wordings on the statues. The markings were made in the summer of 2020, as renewed attention was given to decolonial struggles through the contemporary Black civil rights movement, loosely referred to as Black Lives Matter. The brutal murders of black civilians by police in the US triggered renewed Western attention to local and national decolonial struggles. In a Danish context, this created public debate and sedimented mainly around three issues: the national amnesia around Danish colonial rule and the slave trade in the US Virgin Islands, contemporary treatment of racialized minorities in Denmark, and the continued neglect of Greenlandic decolonization and sovereignty.

The three statues of the video are in remembrance of three different men in Danish history. Both institutionally and in popular culture, the actions of these men are often conveyed through narratives of progress. Christian IV (1577-1648) is a king often praised for his architectural endeavors in the Dutch Renaissance style in and around Copenhagen, constituting part of popular Danish iconography. However, and maybe less known to the public, Christian IV

---

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOMkJAch2ZM>

also sponsored the first colonial-Imperial expedition to Sri Lanka in 1618 (Jensen 2018: 38). The mission failed but made possible the Danish colonization of Tharangambadi in India in 1620 (Jensen 2015: 449). The second statue covered in paint portrays polar explorer and anthropologist Knud Rasmussen (1879-1933). He is frequently described in Denmark as loved by both the Danish and Greenlandic people and often noted for his establishment of the Thule Trading Post in 1910 (Jensen 2018: 90), working as a base for the so-called Thule Expeditions in Greenland. Knud Rasmussen was a front figure of the Danish colonial institution and today known as the founder of “eskimology,” today referred to as Greenlandic and Arctic studies. His association and legacy in the establishment of the Thule Trading Post has been further problematized after his passing. In the 1950s, the Thule Trading Post (read: colony) became a US military base, known as the Thule Air Base. This resulted in the forced displacement of the local Inughuit population, who were involuntarily resettled in Qaanaaq. Moreover, “[to] prevent any Inughuit from returning, their former dwellings at Thule are burnt” (Jensen 2018: 92). To add insult to injury, Denmark covertly gave the US the right to deposit nuclear arms at Thule during the Cold War, which directly contradicted Denmark's own ban on nuclear weapons on Danish territory, while making Greenland an obvious target in the case of a war (Jensen 2018: 91). The third statue in GI's video shows missionary Hans Egede (1686-1758). He arrived and settled in Greenland in 1721, and he established and ran the colonial administration. His Lutheran approach of teaching the Inuit the word of Jesus in the local language often overshadows more insidious descriptions of his acts and colonial reign. A statue resembling the one of Hans Egede in Copenhagen also overlooks the capital Nuuk in Greenland, which was incidentally also vandalized the very same summer.

Returning to the video itself, it begins with a picturesque bird eye's view of the rich and old inner city of Copenhagen, assembled around the dome of The Marble Church (Marmorkirken) next to the castle of the royal family (Amalienborg). The slow pace, cool undertones, light electronic music, and the outskirts of the city merging with the sky on the horizon give the impression of a certain peacefulness to the city. It is a romantic depiction of Copenhagen, showing it from its very “best” side with the old architecture, in a part of town that mainly hosts office spaces and high-end retail. A sharp distinction happens here between the urban space considered progressive and valuable versus the degenerate urban space. They are

constructed as separate and contrasting spheres, where the first must be protected from the second.

In this video, the act of cleaning is clearly centered repeatedly. The men are wearing bright yellow rubber gloves, drawing further attention to the performance. Traditionally, reproductive labor such as cleaning has been intertwined with notions of care and nurture, and has been devalued due to its feminized status. The caregiver is regularly imagined to receive pleasure through the enactment of care, which has been problematized by feminist scholars (e.g., Hartman 1979; Hartsock 2004; Federici 2012). Adding to this, the idea of this labor of love disguises the material realities of social reproductive labor, such as the migration patterns relating to it and the historical and contemporary racialization of a labor force that is invisible, devalued, and feminized (e.g. Roberts 1997; Piper 2009). The stickiness between reproductive labor and care becomes reproduced in the video. One gets the impression that the activists are not expecting a financial return for this labor; instead, they appear to be benevolent and joyful volunteers. The statues become happy objects, blocking negative affect and meaning-making. The activists collectively orientate themselves and invest labor and affect in the hardened and weighty structure of the nation-state; the act of cleaning the statues is a declaration of care for and engagement in the nation. According to Ahmed (2004), such investments in the nation as a loved object not only cover the hatefulness of a given political message but also can never be returned by the nation. The failure of the nation to return the love to the subject becomes projected onto the presence of Others. Because of this "[t]he reliance on the other as the origin of injury *becomes an ongoing investment in the failure of that return.*" (Ahmed 2004: 131, cursive in original). With this in mind, it becomes interesting to note that the decolonial vandalizers are framed as childish, fanatic, primitive, or irrational in their approach, in accordance with colonialist dogmas of an Other out of control. Indeed, the caretaking enacted seeks to pathologize political correctness as hysteria and destructive self-hate (Danbolt 2017), seemingly turning beloved nostalgic objects into matters of racism. In the meantime, the GI activists are the rational and sensible ones - the proper national subjects - that do not seek to soil historically significant surfaces but to clean them, maintain them, invest in them. The ideal of the caring and responsible Danish citizen subject is not incidental but fits very well into the contemporary understanding of Denmark as a colonial power. Post-1945, Denmark has strategically sought to frame itself as a benevolent and, at worst misguided, but ultimately well-meaning nation (Jensen

2018). The activists tap into this national affective economy of exceptionalism. These implications can be read as an active attempt to embody a white innocence (Gloria Wekker 2016 in Jensen 2018). However, the joy of throwing oneself by the feet of the nation (or, its colonial administrators and its state-sanctioned orderliness) alludes to a certain colonial nostalgia.

Denmark, but especially Copenhagen, gained its wealth from profits from its tropical colonies, which were only sold when they no longer proved profitable to the Imperial center (Jensen 2018: 76). The old part of the city pictured in the video hosts many castles, elaborate architecture, factories, and extensive warehouses, mostly erected by royalty or by wealthy men, who profited off the labor of the enslaved people in the sugar colonies in the Virgin Islands in the 18th century. The video shows the old buildings, both historical and ahistorical, at one and the same time; the colonial center is fetishized, cut off from its modes of production, while the Imperial peripheries and its peoples remain unseen. On the topic of institutional polishing, Ahmed has written: “The labor removes the very traces of labor.”<sup>2</sup> (Ahmed 2017: 102). Indeed, the GI activists seek to keep a blockage in place, which the vandalizers were disrupting. The video guides to show what must be kept intact, much like how the space of the public transportation system came to metaphorically stand in for a privileged norm that had to be protected. It is the white bodies - activists as well as statues and institutions - that are worthy of conservation; other parts are not deemed worthy. This concerns the histories of exploitation and the continued colonization, which the “vandals” were attempting to foreground. It additionally vertebrates historically, when one thinks of the opaque legacy of colonial subjects, through the example of the burnt down Inughuit homes in Thule, which were not deemed spaces worthy of preservation. This phenomenon called “whitewashing” of colonial legacy (Jensen 2019) is enacted figuratively and becomes literal in the video through the act of cleaning and polishing. The past and present colonies remain peripheral to the Imperial center, but they nonetheless also constitute Danish identity through their placements far away (Jensen 2018). Surely, the Identitarian ethnopurist philosophy that “natives” have a right to their own territory should theoretically pertain to the case of decolonization of Greenland. However, this is not the message which the video supports. Rather, it is confirming an orientation towards glorifying Denmark as a colonial master at the expense of erasing Others’ histories, rooted in nostalgic representations of past colonial greatness. The statues are national legacies in the form of objects that symbolize

or consolidate them. The activists wash away the shame, not in order to reclaim it (see Ahmed 2004: 101-121), but in order to deny any ugliness associated with it<sup>12</sup>.

## 5. Conclusions

This thesis has investigated meaning-making and affective appeals in the audiovisual propaganda distributed by the Danish GI. The analysis has paid specific attention to affective economies, and semantic assemblages, focusing on how bodies and spaces are constructed in relation to each other, including how belonging or lack hereof is signaled. This is due to the fact that it becomes a political question of how feelings are attributed to different bodies, spaces, and situations. The analysis is guided by the method of Critical Discourse Analysis, a tradition that allows centering semiotic constructions and relations while also allowing discussion for the broader social consequences of unequal power distributions resulting from said constructions.

GI reproduces privileged and unprivileged categories of people. The distinctions made happen along the lines of racialization and the visual idealization of white skin and through a white gaze. These hierarchizations also work through the constructions of spaces and figures presented in the videos. Interestingly, they communicate their message without explicitly naming race but are instead reliant on the stickiness between signs and bodies and on violent semantic slides. These constructions operate across various affective specters and have different results for possibilities of rights and belonging. White figures are given face, legitimacy, access, and mobility. White bodies are portrayed as moving quickly and with agency, generating white points of extension through their movements; they extend validity only to cultural and biological reproduction that is identified as white, Danish, and heterosexual. Race, nation, and gender interact in the appearance of a white patriotic masculinity in the videos. Sometimes he is assisted by the figure he claims to protect in order to control her reproduction: the white woman. She balances between the spheres of conservatism and modernity in order to signal and embody appropriate patriotic femininity; together, they implicitly ban possibilities of homosexuality and racial mixing. Gender is thereby also to be found in the construction of the conflict with the white patriot's immediate Other: racialized and/or Muslim masculinities. This figure is

---

<sup>12</sup> Often, even if one acknowledges that it actually "was" ugly, the affective dynamic of national exceptionalism makes sure that racism is always already framed as in the past (Danbolt 2017).

pathologized and imagined to constitute a failed and perverse masculinity. Even more villainized is the figure of his female counterpart, whose reproduction is portrayed as parasitical, producing unhappy childhoods and impossible beings. Adding to this, a general rule in the material is that racialized figures - “migrants”, black and brown people, Muslims, peoples colonized and enslaved by the Danes - are dehumanized through their indistinguishability, numbers and anonymity. This is the case both when they are “shown” and when they are not. The sheer facelessness applies to the imagined migrants that had yet to arrive on the metro; it related to the quick cutting between assumed residents of Nørrebro; and people colonized by Denmark, both past and present, were present (through the act of “vandalization” of history and the demand for Greenlandic decolonization), but treated as absent (never seen nor heard). The anonymous vandalizer is also an unruly figure, treated with colonial benevolence, to be silenced with love. These different embodiments are perceived as hindering rather than easing movement through space and are made to appear anti-modern and frozen in time. The difference between the (imagined and embodied) “migrant” population and the colonized people of Greenland also pertains to how the aforementioned can never be included, while the latter’s inclusion is premised on continued colonial exploitation.

By fixating threat in the body of the Other, the proximity of the Other becomes threatening. The Othered figures are close enough to be recognized as strangers but not close enough for them to have faces. In its effort to establish this distance between white and non-white bodies, the GI propaganda function as a stopping device, affectively and politically investing in a broader stopping economy. The stopping economy operates not only spatially, but also temporarily. The propaganda excites white expansion into the past, present, and future. The members of GI present narrow definitions of what is happy, acceptable, and what can be strived towards: who can be where, with whom, and under what circumstances. These economies of movement are political and distributed unequally, allowing white bodies mobility at the expense of Othered bodies. The organization locates happiness and love in the nation-state, whiteness, colonial legacy, and heterosexual nuclear norms. Whiteness is afforded reach through its associations with happiness rather than misery, purity rather than pollution. While whiteness is associated with life, brownness becomes associated with death. Proximity to whiteness becomes the mark that indicates whether a body can be seen as a valuable life, according to the group,

while Others are diminished to figures of threat to said life or simply to figures of death, so-called end points.

What remains important here is also to underline that the racist discourses and imageries presented by GI are not unique to them. The group should not be exoticized and severed from its continuities to more hegemonic tendencies in the Danish assimilationist regime. Rather, similar constructions of figures and spaces operate in broader Danish policy-making and legislation in recent years. This pertains not only spectacles by the Danish borders such as the “Jewelry Law”, which allows Danish officials to seize asylum-seekers’ valuables upon arrival in Denmark, through the figures of the deserving or undeserving refugee (see Joormann 2020). It also pertains to violent measures inside of the state, operating both symbolically and materially, such as the currently contested enrollment of the “Ghetto Package”. This measure unequally distributes access to welfare and to housing through differentiation between people of “Western” and “non-Western” descentance. The hierarchization inherent in such bordering practices have real and felt consequences for those who are branded Other, both by the border and inside of the border. As such, this thesis is an example of the ways in which conceptualizations of space and hierarchization in access to spaces have consequences for specific groups, presented in or excluded from the narratives. GI may criticize the government for too loose immigration policy but also reiterates and provides narratives of entitlement ready for the public and for policy-makers to pick up and roll with. Accordingly, even if an institution distances itself from organizations such as GI, it can still rely on the very same racist semantics.

In its approach to welfare chauvinism, however, the group is slightly different from its precedents. GI does not appeal to its public by pointing to the neglect of the sick and elderly caused by immigrant’s exhaustion of the welfare state. Rather, GI shows young, happy agents. For this reason, the organization is seductive. What may also be alluded to here is that one should not perceive GI as resentful due to neoliberalization or the dismantling of the welfare state, but rather as orientated around glorifying and defending European values and civilization. There exists a tension smile and appear joyful, proud, and caring, as they encourage violent exclusion, strategic dehumanization, and racist harassment. The group is also appealing to the middle- and upper-class and for those with cultural capital through its use of academic language and appropriation of left-wing practices. The organization taps into a male, upper-class and white demographic, who may identify with racist sentiments, but does not identify with neo-Nazi

skinhead culture or right-wing nationalist parties like Dansk Folkeparti [Danish People's Party] or Nye Borgerlige [New Right].

Further research on the organization would entail more significant amounts of data collection, such as a comprehensive analysis of the entirety of GI's videos. This would act as a supplement to the research presented in this thesis while also being able to touch more broadly upon topics not analyzed here. These could include the organization's notions of ideal bodies and lifestyles, specific attention to views of appropriate femininity expressed by the group, or a further investigation of their antagonization of mosques. What is also needed is in-depth analyses of written statements published by the group on various online platforms. Such statements offer rich material for anyone more interested in their applied ideology, affective appeals, and possible practical and legal ramifications of their orientations and utopian horizons. Additional insights like these would contribute to a broader deconstruction and mapping of the organization's different nationalized branches.

## References

Achiume, E. Tendayi (2019). "Migration as Decolonization," *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 71, 1509-1574.

Ahmed, Sara (2000). *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-coloniality*. New York, US and London, UK: Routledge.

Ahmed, Sara (2004). *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. 2nd Edition. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Ahmed, Sara (2006). *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*. Durham and London, UK: Duke University Press.

Ahmed, Sara (2007). "A phenomenology of whiteness," *Feminist Theory*, vol. 8, no. 2, 149-168.

Ahmed, Sara (2010). "Happy Objects" in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Siegworth, 29-51. Durham and London, UK: Duke University Press.

Ahmed, Sara (2017). *Living a Feminist Life*. Durham and London, UK: Duke University Press.

Alcoff, Linda Martín (1999). "Towards a phenomenology of racial embodiment," *Radical Philosophy*, vol. 95, 15-26.

Al Jazeera (2018). "Generation Hate Part 1," *Al-Jazeera Investigative Unit*, dir. David Harrison, Lee Sorrell, James Kleinfeld and Phil Rees, 10 December 2018. Doha, QA: Al Jazeera Media Network. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=II2GbD4mrrk> [Accessed 10 March 2021]

Andreassen, Rikke and Annika Rabo (2014). "The Nordic discomfort with 'race'," *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, vol. 4, no. 1, 40-44.

Appadurai, Arjun (2006). *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger*. Durham and London, UK: Duke University Press.

Askanius, Tina (2019). "Studying the *Nordic Resistance Movement*: three urgent questions for researchers of contemporary neo-Nazis and their media practices," *Media, Culture & Society*, vol. 41, no. 6, 878-888.

Back, Les (2002a). "Aryans reading Adorno: cyber-culture and twenty-firstcentury racism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 25, no. 4, 628-651.

Back, Les (2002b). *When Hate Speaks the Language of Love*, paper presented at the Social Movement Studies Conference, London School of Economics, April 2002.

Bahramitash, Roksana (2005). "The War on Terror, Feminist Orientalism and Orientalist Feminism: Case Studies of Two North American Bestsellers," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, 221-235.

Balibar, Etienne (1991). "Is There a 'Neo-Racism'?" in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, 17-28. London, UK and New York, US: Verso Books.

Bakewell, Oliver (2008). "Keeping Them in Their Place: the ambivalent relationship between development and migration in Africa," *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 7, 1341-1358.

Beddows, Emma (2008). "The Methodological Issues Associated With Internet-Based Research," *International Journal of Emerging Technologies and Society*, vol. 6, no. 2, 124-139.

Blee, Kathleen M. (1998). "White-Knuckle Research: Emotional Dynamics in Fieldwork with Racist Activists," *Qualitative Sociology*, vol. 21, no. 4, 381-399.

Blum, Alice (2017). "Men in the Battle for the Brains: Constructions of Masculinity Within the 'Identitary Generation'" in *Gender and Far Right Politics in Europe*, ed. Michaela Köttig et al., 321-334. New York, US: Springer International Publishing.

Borchorst, Anette and Birte Siim (2002). "The women-friendly welfare states revisited," *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, vol. 10, no. 2, 90-98.

Boréus, Kristina and Charlotte Seiler Brylla (2000). "Kritisk diskursanalys" in *Textens mening och makt: metodbok i samhällsvetenskaplig text- och diskursanalys*, ed. Kristina Boréus and Göran Bergström, 305-351. Lund, SE: Studentlitteratur.

Butler, Judith (2009). *Krigens rammer - Hvornår er livet sorgbart?* Copenhagen, DK: Forlaget Arena.

Campbell, Alex (2006). "The search for authenticity: An exploration of an online skinhead newsgroup," *New Media & Society*, vol. 8, no. 2, 269-294.

Chouliaraki, Lilie and Norman Fairclough (1999). *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

Cohen, Cathy (1997). "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics?" *GLQ: Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, vol. 3, no. 4, 437-465.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé (1991). "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color," *Stanford Law Review*, vol. 23, no. 6, 1241-1299.

Dalland, Rasmus Hage (2019). *Identitær - en rejse ind i Europas nye højre*. Copenhagen, DK: Atlas.

Dalsbro, Anders (2021). "Fransk nyfascistisk gruppe forbudt," *Expo*, 4 March 2021. Available here:

<https://expo.se/2021/03/fransk-nyfascistisk-grupp-förbjuds?fbclid=IwAR0Tz6IW-YDxwRMsX8dz0a84yMNQvx5-gF4OGrqeOnEab1Wf6ip8t6DvIEU> [Accessed 16 August 2021]

Danbolt, Mathias (2017). "Retro Racism: Colonial Ignorance and Racialized Affective Consumption in Danish Public Culture," *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, vol. 7, no. 2, 105-113.

Ekman, Mattias (2018). "Anti-refugee Mobilization in Social Media: The Case of Soldiers of Odin," *Social Media + Society*, January-March 2018, 1-11.

El-Tayeb, Fatima (2012). "'Gays who cannot be properly gay': Queer Muslims in the neoliberal European city," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 19, no. 1, 79-95.

Elgenius, Gabriella & Jens Rydgren (2019). "Frames of nostalgia and belonging: the resurgence of ethno-nationalism in Sweden," *European Societies*, vol. 21, no. 4, 583-602.

Fairclough, Norman (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Fay, Michaela (2007). "Mobile Subjects, Mobile Methods: Doing Virtual Ethnography in a Feminist Online Network," *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, vol. 8, no. 3, art. 14.

Federici, Silvia (2012). *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. Oakland, CA: PM Press.

Fekete, Liz (2004). "Anti-Muslim racism and the European security state," *Race & Class*, vol 46, no. 1, 3-29.

Fekete, Liz (2006). "Enlightened Fundamentalism? Immigration, feminism and the Right," *Race & Class*, vol. 28, no. 2, 1-22.

Gravlee, Clarence C. (2009). "How Race Becomes Biology: Embodiment of Social Inequality," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, vol. 139, 47-57.

Gregg, Melissa and Gregory J. Siegworth (2010). "An Inventory of Shimmers" in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Siegworth, 1-25. Durham and London, UK: Duke University Press.

Gökarıksel, Banu, Christopher Neubert, and Sara Smith (2019). "Demographic Fever Dreams: Fragile Masculinity and Population Politics in the Rise of the Global Right," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 44, no. 3, 561-587.

Hall, Stuart (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. Thousand Oaks, US: Sage Publications.

Hallett, Ronald E. and Kristen Barber (2014). "Ethnographic Research in a Cyber Era," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, vol. 43, no. 3, 306-330.

Haraway, Donna (1988). "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspectives," *Feminist Studies*, vol. 14, no. 3, 575-599.

Harding, Sandra (1992). "After the Neutrality Ideal: Science, Politics, and 'Strong Objectivity'," *Social Research*, vol. 59, no. 3, 567-587.

Hartman, Heidi I. (1979). "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism," *Capital and Class*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1-33.

Hartsock, Nancy M. (2004). "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism" in *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*, ed. Sandra Harding, 35-53. New York, US and London, UK: Routledge.

Hasan, Md. Mahmudul (2012). "Feminism as Islamophobia: A review of misogyny charges against Islam," *Intellectual Discourse*, vol. 20, no. 1, 55-78.

Hemmings, Clare (2005). "Invoking affect: Cultural theory and the ontological turn," *Cultural Studies*, vol. 19, no. 5, 548-567.

Hemmings, Clare (2012). "Affective solidarity: Feminist reflexivity and political transformation," *Feminist Theory*, vol. 13, no. 2, 147-161.

Hill Collins, Patricia (1986). "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought," *Social Problems*, vol. 33, no. 6, S14-S32.

Hill Collins, Patricia (1998). "It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race, and Nation," *Hypatia*, vol. 13, no. 3, 62-82.

Hill Collins, Patricia (2004). "Comment on Hekman's 'Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited': Where's the Power?" in *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*, ed. Sandra Harding, 247-254. New York, US and London, UK: Routledge.

Hong, Sun-ha (2015). "Affecting in Discourse: Communicating uncertainly and communicating uncertainty," *Subjectivity*, vol. 8, 201-223.

Jensen, Lars (2015). "Postcolonial Denmark: Beyond the Rot of Colonialism?" *Postcolonial Studies*, vol. 18, no. 4, 440-452.

Jensen, Lars (2018). *Postcolonial Denmark. Nation Narration in a Crisis Ridden Europe*. New York, US and London, UK: Routledge.

Jensen, Lars (2019). "Commemoration, Nation Narration, and Colonial Historiography in Postcolonial Denmark," *Scandinavian Studies*, vol. 91, no. 1-2, 13-30.

Joormann, Martin (2020). "Social class, economic capital and the Swedish, German and Danish asylum system" in *Refugees and the Violence of Welfare Bureaucracies in Northern Europe*, ed. Dalia Abdelhady, Nina Gren, and Martin Joormann, 31-49. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Jørgensen, Martin Bak (2020). "Representations of the refugee crisis in Denmark: deterrence policies and refugee strategies" in *Refugees and the Violence of Welfare Bureaucracies in Northern Europe*, ed. Dalia Abdelhady, Nina Gren and Martin Joormann, 67-84. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Jørgensen, Marie Winther and Louise Phillips (1999). *Diskursanalyse som teori og metode*. Roskilde, DK: Roskilde Universitetsforlag.

Kahf, Mohja (2011). "The Pity Committee and the Careful Reader: How Not to Buy Stereotypes of Muslim Women" in *Arab and Arab American Feminisms: Gender, Violence, and Belonging*, ed. Rabab Abdulhadi, Evelyn Asultany and Nadine Naber, 111-123. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Keskinen, Suvi (2013). "Antifeminism and white identity politics: Political antagonisms in radical right-wing populist and anti-immigration rhetoric in Finland," *Nordic Journal of Migration Journal*, vol. 3, no. 4, 225-232.

Knudsen, Britta Timm and Carsten Stage (2012). "Contagious bodies. An investigation of affective and discursive strategies in contemporary online activism," *Emotion, Space and Society*, vol. 5, 148-155.

Kølvraa, Christoffer and Bernhard Forchtner (2019). "Cultural imaginaries of the extreme right: an introduction," *Patterns of Prejudice*, vol. 53, no. 3, 227-235.

Kølvraa, Christoffer and Jan Ifversen (2017). "The attraction of ideology: discourse, desire and the body," *Journal of Political Ideologies*, vol. 22, no. 2, 182-196.

Kølvraa, Christoffer and Carsten Stage (2016). "Street Protests and Affects on YouTube: Investigating DIY Videos of Violent Street Protests as an Archive of Affect and Event Desire," *Culture Unbound*, vol. 8, 122-143.

Latif, Mehr, Kathleen Blee, Matthew DeMichele and Pete Simi (2018). "How Emotional Dynamics Maintain and Destroy White Supremacist Groups," *Humanity & Society*, vol. 42, no. 4, 1-22.

Luibhéid, Eithne (2015). "Sexualities, Intimacies, and the Citizen/Migrant Distinction" in *Citizenship and its others*, ed. Bridget Anderson and Vanessa Hughes, 126-144. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan

Lynch, Kathleen (1999). "Equality Studies, the Academy and the Role of Research in Emancipatory Social Change," *The Economic and Social Review*, vol. 30, no. 1, 41-69.

Malkki, Liisa (1992). "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees," *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 7, no. 1, 24-44.

Marotta, Steve and Austin Cummings (2018) "Planning affectively: Power, affect, and images of the future," *Planning Theory*, vol. 18, no. 2, 191-213.

Matthews, Sean (2001). "Change and Theory in Raymond Williams's Structure of Feeling," *Pretexts: literary and cultural studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 179-194.

McDuffie, Kristi and Melissa Ames (2021). "Archiving affect and activism: Hashtag feminism and structures of feeling in Women's March tweets," *First Monday*, vol. 26, no. 1, n.p.

Minkenberg, Michael (2000). "The Renewal of the Radical Right: Between Modernity and Anti-Modernity," *Government and Opposition*, vol. 35, no. 2, 170-188.

Mulinari, Diana (2016). "Gender equality under threat? Exploring the paradoxes of an ethno-nationalist political party" in *Challenging the myth of gender equality in Sweden*, ed. Lena Martinsson, Gabriele Griffin and Katarina Giritli Nygren, 137-162. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.

Mulinari, Diana and Anders Neergaard (2012). "Violence, Racism, and the Political Arena: A Scandinavian Dilemma," *NORA - Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, vol. 20, no. 1, 12-18.

Narayan, Uma (2004). "The Project of Feminist Epistemology: Perspectives from a Nonwestern Feminist" in *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*, ed. Sandra Harding, 213-224. New York, US and London, UK: Routledge.

Nissen, Anita (2020). "The Trans-European Mobilization of Generation Identity" in *Nostalgia and Hope: Intersections between Politics of Culture, Welfare, and Migration in Europe*, ed. Ov Cristian Norocel et al., 85-100. Cham, CH: Springer Publishing.

Norocel, Ov Cristian, Tuija Saresma, Tuuli Lähdesmäki, and Maria Ruotsalainen (2020). "Discursive Constructions of White Nordic Masculinities in Right-wing Populist Media," *Men and Masculinities*, vol. 23, no. 3-4, 425-446.

Piper, Nicola (2009). "The Gendered Political Economy of Migration," *IMDS Working Paper Series*, no. 17, 15-36.

Petzen, Jennifer (2012). "Contesting Europe: A call for an anti-modern sexual politics," *European Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 19, no. 1, 97-114.

Puar, Jasbir K. ([2007]2017). *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times. Tenth Anniversary Expanded Edition*. Durham and London, UK: Duke University Press.

Redox (2020). "Fashwave: Generation Identitærs nyfascistiske soundtrack," *Researchkollektivet Redox*, 3 May. Available at:

<https://redox.dk/nyheder/fashwave-generation-identitaers-nyfascistiske-soundtrack/> [Accessed 16 March 2021]

Rich (1993). "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, Michèle Aina Barale, and David M. Halperin, 227-254. New York, US and London, UK: Routledge.

Richards, Imogen (2019). "A Philosophical and Historical Analysis of 'Generation Identity': Fascism, Online Media, and the European New Right," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1-20.

Roberts, Dorothy E. (1997). "Spiritual and Menial Housework," *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism*, vol. 9, 51-80.

Rosière, Stephane and Reece Jones (2012). "Teichopolitics: Re-considering Globalisation Through the Role of Walls and Fences," *Geopolitics*, vol. 17, no. 1, 217-234.

Schmidt, Garbi (2011). "'Grounded' politics: Manifesting Muslim identity as a political factor and localized identity in Copenhagen," *Ethnicities*, vol. 12, no. 5, 603-622.

Schneiker, Andrea (2019). "The New Defenders of Human Rights? How Radical Right-Wing TNGO's are Using the Human Rights Discourse to Promote their Ideas," *Global Society*, vol. 33, no. 2, 149-162.

Sharma, Nandita (2015). "Racism" in *Citizenship and its Others*, ed. Bridget Anderson and Vanessa Hughes, 98-118. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Siim, Birte and Anette Borchorst (2016). "The Multicultural Challenge to the Danish Welfare State: Tensions between Gender Equality and Diversity," in *Changing Relations of Welfare:*

*Family, Gender and Migration in Britain and Scandinavia*, ed. Janet Fink and Åsa Lundqvist, 133-154. New York, US and London, UK: Routledge.

Smith, Dorothy E. (1974). "Women's Perspectives as a Radical Critique of Sociology," *Social Inquiry*, vol. 44, no. 1, 7-13

Tyler, Imogen (2018). "The hieroglyphs of the border: racial stigma in neoliberal Europe," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, no. 41, vol. 10, 1783-1801.

Wetherell, Margaret (2013). "Affect and discourse - What's the problem? From affect as excess to affective/discursive practice," *Subjectivity*, vol. 6, no. 4, 349-368.

Widegren, Kajsa (2016). "Emotionally charged: parental leave and gender equality, at the surface of the skin" in *Challenging the myth of gender equality in Sweden*, ed. Lena Martinsson, Gabriele Griffin and Katarina Giritli Nygren, 69-92. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.

Wilson, Chris (2020). "Nostalgia, Entitlement and Victimhood: The Synergy of White Genocide and Misogyny," *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 1-16.

Yuval-Davis, Nira (1997). *Gender and Nation*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Yuval-Davis, Nira, Georgie Wemyss and Kathryn Cassidy (2019). *Bordering*. Hoboken, US: Wiley.

## Appendix

*Identitær flyeraktion i S-tog og Metro* [Identitarian flyer-action in S-train and Metro] (2018) Jan 18

Available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GGZd85Enn4c>

*Stop den store udskiftning! - Aktion på Nørrebro* [Stop the great replacement! - Action in Nørrebro] (2019) Jun 7

Available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lgm4s70xaRg>

*Giv dit barn en tryk fremtid - få et barn til* [Give your child a secure future - have another child] (2019) Feb 2019

Available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iIRfDfcDgbc>

*Beskyt vores kulturarv - Nej til Black Lives Matter hærværk* [Protect our cultural legacy - No to Black Lives Matter vandalism] (2020) Jul 22

Available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOMkJAch2ZM>