

Dissecting Myths of a Great Replacement

A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Christchurch Terror Attack
Manifesto

by

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Abstract

This paper analyses the manifesto “The Great Replacement – Towards a New Society We March Ever Forwards”, written by Brenton Tarrant, who carried out the anti-Muslim terror attack in Christchurch, New Zealand the 15th of March 2019. It employs Norman Fairclough’s three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis along with Sara Ahmed’s writings of imagined communities as collective and emotional bodies. The paper reveals how the manifesto idealizes a “hard” “European” nation as a transnational, racial, cultural and political homogenous white, nation. It visualizes how the author of the manifesto, is constructed as a hero and martyr throughout the text. This paper discusses how the manifesto draws on online “chan” culture discourse and employs so-called “shitposting” tactics. It shows how the manifesto produces discourses that construct the perceived “Other” as a dehumanized and killable subject. This paper argues that the narratives of The Great Replacement manifesto have social implications, as seen with the synagogue attack the 27th of April in Poway, California, USA, which cloned the methods and language of the Christchurch terror attack. The paper implies that the struggle in the manifesto of whether the “European” community should be a “soft” or “hard” nation, is prevalent in the political landscape of several Global North countries.

Keywords: Brenton Tarrant, The Great Replacement, Terrorism, 8chan, Critical Discourse Analysis, Imagined Communities, Far-right, New Right, Identitarianism, Racism

Table of Contents

Introduction ...	... 01
Research Question ...	... 03
I: Background and Relevant Research	... 04
The Transnational Far Right ...	... 04
From Race to Identity ...	... 05
Race Myths Stretching from the Streets to Parliament ...	... 06
Online Hate for Fun ...	... 08
II: Methodology ...	... 09
Critical Discourse Analysis ...	... 09
Power, Ideology and Hegemony ...	... 11
The Three-Dimensional Model of Fairclough ...	... 12
Research Material and Strategy of Analysis ...	... 14
Ethical Considerations ...	... 17
III: Analysis ...	... 19
Textual Analysis ...	... 19
<i>“Our lands will never be their lands”</i> ...	... 19
<i>“Just a ordinary White man”</i> ...	... 22
Discursive Practice ...	... 24
IV: Social Practice ...	... 27
V: Conclusion ...	... 30
Bibliography ...	... 32
Literature ...	... 32
Digital Links ...	... 32
Appendix Titles ...	... 36

Dedication

To the victims of the horrendous terror attack in Christchurch the 15th of March, may you rest in power:

“Mucaad Ibrahim, Haji-Daoud Nabi, Husna Ahmed, Lilik Abdul Hamid, Sayyad Milne, Muhammad Ata Elayyan, Amjad Hamid, Ansi Alibava, Ali Mah’d Abdullah Elmadani, Naeem Rashid, Talha Naeem, Khalid Mustafa, Hamza Mustafa, Linda Armstrong, Farhaj Ahsan, Syed Jahandad Ali, Hafiz Musa Patel, Tariq Omar, Junaid Ismail, Hussein Moustafa, Zeeshan Raza, Ghulam Hussain, Karam Bibi, Hussein Al-Umari, Kamel Mohd Kamal Darwish, Maheboob Khokhar, Muhammad Suhail Shahid, Abdelfattah Qassem, Arif Mohamedali Vora, Ramiz Arif Bhai Vora, Haroon Mahmood, Syed Areeb Ahmed, Mohsen Al-Harbi, Ahmed Gamal Eldin, Mohamed Abdel Ghany, Abdukadir Elmi, Osama Adnan Yousef Abukwaik, Muse Nur Awale, Mounir Guirgis Soliman, Muhammad Abdus Samad, Ashraf Ali, Matiullah Safi, Ashraf El-Moursy Ragheb, Ashraf al-Masri, Mohamad Moosid Mohamedhosen, Dr. Mojammel Hoq, Ozair Kadir, Muhammad Haziq Mohd-Tarmizi, Mohammed Imran Khan.” (The Guardian, 2019; Al-Jazeera, 2019)

Introduction

Friday the 15th of March 2019, a 28-year old white supremacist attacked two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, during the Friday Prayer. 51 persons have been died as a result of the terrorist attack. As this paper is written, the alleged perpetrator Brenton Tarrant is undergoing a mental health investigation and is expected to appear in court in June this year, charged with 50 counts of murder and 39 counts of attempted murder. (Hollingsworth, 2019)

Just before the attack was carried out, Brenton Tarrant went on the anonymous image board website 8chan, and wrote a post on one of the more active boards on the website “/pol/” (“/politically incorrect”), a community for online neo-Nazis (Evans, 2019):

“Well lads, it’s time to stop shitposting and time to make a real life effort post.

I will carry out and attack against the invaders, and will even live stream the attack via facebook” [...]

“It’s been a long ride and despite all your rampant faggotry, fecklessness and degeneracy, you are all top blokes and the best bunch of cobbers a man could ask for.

I have provided links to my my writings below, please do your party by spreading my message, making memes and shitposting as you usually do.

If I don’t survive the attack, goodbye, godbless and I will see you all in Valhalla!” (Evans, 2019)

The aim of many /pol/-users, known as *anons*, an abbreviation for “anonymous” (users), is to radicalize other anons to execute “real-life effort posting”, with other words acts of violence in the physical world (Evans, 2019). The terrorist act was, as written in the New York Times the same day “*A Mass Murder of, and for, the Internet*” (Roose, 2019).

Brenton Tarrant served /pol/-anons with several links, among them a link to a Facebook-livestream, where viewers could follow the act from a GoPro-camera that he had attached to his forehead, creating a view reminding of a first-person-shooter video game. During Tarrant’s car drive toward the massacre, viewers would along with him listen to the *meme-fied* song “Remove Kebab”. The song

originates as a propaganda music video created to tribute war criminal Radovan Karadžić, and has in recent years been used as a far-right internet culture symbol. Several fascist symbols, such as “14 words” was painted several places on Tarrant’s weapons referring to the “*Fourteen words*” written by the jailed Nazi bank robber David Lane: “*We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children*” (Evans, 2019).

Tarrant also uploaded a link to his 74-pages-long manifesto titled “*The Great Replacement – Towards a New Society We March Ever Forwards*”, referring to a contemporarily wide-spread far right conspiracy theory on how “native Europeans”, understood as “the white race”, are being replaced by non-European immigrants and descendants. The manifesto is filled with narratives romanticizing violence and imaginations of future ethnic civil wars in Western countries (Tarrant, 2019).

The manifesto confronts its reader with several internet culture references, “sarcastically” formulated claims called “shitposts”, and a cocktail of far-right narratives and fantasies. Just as the first sentence in the 8chan-post written by Brenton Tarrant stating that “*it’s time to stop shitposting and time to make a real life effort post*”, the manifesto encourages racial violence, whether it be in online spaces or in the physical world. One and a half month later, the 27th of April during the last day of the Jewish holiday Passover, 19-year-old white supremacist John Earnest, enters a synagogue in Poway in California, USA, and murders the 60-year-old Jewish woman Lori Kaye and injures three other worshippers. Cloning the acts of Brenton Tarrant, John Earnest made a post on the 8chan board /pol/ prior to the attack, linking to a live stream of the attack and a manifesto that discusses The Great Replacement conspiracy theory (Evans, 2019). In the antisemitic manifesto, John Earnest writes about Brenton Tarrant as one of the main reasons for carrying out his attack:

“If you told me even 6 months ago that I would do this I would have been surprised. [...] ...keep up the memes of Brenton Tarrant. Tarrant was a catalyst for me personally. He showed me that it could be done. And that it needed to be done.” (Earnest, 2019, pp. 5-6)

The Christchurch terror attack – in physical and online sense - is one of the most impactful mass-shootings committed by a white supremacist since the terrorist acts conducted by Anders Behring Breivik in Norway, that had a death toll of 69 persons. The communicative content of Brenton Tarrant draws on a far-right internet culture that has grown more influential since Breivik’s attack. The Great

Replacement manifesto draws on a conspiracy theory that was written and published in 2012, a year after the acts of Anders Behring Breivik, which has since been popularized by far-right political parties and movements throughout Europe and the United States. Already, the Christchurch attack has inspired another white supremacist to influence and clone the violent ideas and methods.

Through Critical Discourse Analysis, this paper will attempt to analyze how the manifesto *The Great Replacement*, written and published by Brenton Tarrant, draws on several far-right narratives and far-right online culture references, to construct fantasies of a white race being under attack.

Research Question

This paper draws on Sara Ahmed's idea of nations as emotional bodies and leans on Benedict Anderson's conceptualization of 'Imagined Communities'. It analyzes the manifesto *The Great Replacement*, through Fairclough's three-dimensional model on Critical Discourse Analysis with the following research question:

How does the manifesto 'The Great Replacement – Towards a New Society We March Ever Forwards' construct an idealized white imagined community?

To be able to present an answer for the research question, this paper will analyze and discuss the following sub research questions:

- How does the manifesto construct communities and identities of "Europe" and "European people" in relation to "non-European immigrants" and "descendants of non-European immigrants"?
- How does the manifesto construct its author Brenton Tarrant?
- How is "shitposting" employed throughout the manifesto?

I: Background and Relevant Research

This paper analyzes The Great Replacement manifesto, composed by the white supremacist Brenton Tarrant, to understand how the manifesto constructs an idealized white imagined community. In order to establish a vocabulary for the content of the manifesto, but also to connect its content to larger political and societal practice, this chapter will conceptualize essential contemporary far right narratives and ideas. The following chapter discusses the origin of some of these concepts and how they are spread among parliamentary, activist and online movements.

The Transnational Far Right

In the book “Trouble on the Far Right – Contemporary Right-Wing Strategies and Practices in Europe” (Fielitz & Laloire, 2016), Fielitz and Laloire define *far-right* as a “*political space whose actors base their ideology and action on the notion of inequality among human beings, combining the supremacy of a particular nation, ‘race’ or ‘civilization’ with ambitions for an authoritarian transformation of values and styles of government*” (Fielitz & Laloire, pp. 17-18). The concept far-right is used as an umbrella term that describes actors and behaviors spanning from groups and individuals that function within the structures of representative democracy, the radical right, as well of those which refute principles, rules and systems of democracy, arguing for revolutionary change, the extreme right (Fielitz & Laloire, p. 18). The book that this definition stems from, was born out of an article-series published on the academic blog sicherheitspolitik-blog.de, where twenty-five international practitioners and scholars, produced academic pieces discussing far-right developments in Europe.

Far-right actors are moving beyond national political change and are increasingly mobilizing transnationally. Therefore, discourses, ideological theories, strategies and practices move beyond national borders. This is apparent both among parliamentary actors, as seen with several far-right party groups in the European Parliament, as well among so-called “pan-European” activist groups such as Generation Identity. Fielitz and Laloire argue that it is important to understand the development of the far-right in an international context, as far-right discourses, strategies and

mobilization increasingly is exchanged beyond national borders, regardless of geographical distance (Fielitz & Laloire, p. 18).

From Race to Identity

To understand concepts such as “the Great Replacement”, which is a central idea in the manifesto analyzed in this paper, and what connotations the far right ascribes to the idea of preserving “European identity”, the following paragraphs will describe how the “New Right” has had an influence in reconceptualizing far right ideas in Europe. The French ethno-nationalistic think-tank “GRECE” (“Groupement de recherche et d’études pour la civilisation”) was established in 1968, and reinvented far-right ideas, to challenge and be politically relevant in the post 68’ Western world (Leman, 2014). GRECE became an essential actor in the construction of the intellectual “New Right” (“Nouvelle Droite”) that would substitute the emphasis on “race” with an emphasis on “identity”, as the primary concept that defines communities, societies and civilizations. The New Right would appropriate the thoughts of Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, and would claim the concept of “metapolitics” – a strategy for revolutionaries to change people’s fundamental values, vocabulary and perceptions of the world to claim the cultural hegemony, in order to take political power (Bromley, 2018, p. 15).

Viewing themselves as “Right Gramscians”, the New Right claim to be in a cultural and political war against Islam, the Left, liberalism, feminism and so-called cultural Marxism (Bromley, 2018, p. 15). The New Right argue that Europe and the “Western world” has been betrayed by a left, liberal and globalized political establishment, that has implemented politics that allows the West to be “flooded” and colonized by ethnically and culturally “incompatible” population groups from the Global South. They view their political mission as a vital defense of European identity; against an extinction of the ethnic population, a cultural and demographic decline (Bromley, 2018, p. 15). The idea of this extinction was in 2012 reconceptualized in a book and has since become probably the most essential narrative idea among the far right, namely “The Great Replacement” (“Le Grand Emplacement”). The book was written by the Frenchman Renaud Camus, warning for a possible “global substitutionism” (“remplacisme global”), where the “native” European population would be replaced by non-European populations. Camus claims that the European political establishment in the

capitalist society treats peoples as trade goods and are actively adopting policy that make possible for African populations to colonize Europe and Arab population to Islamize Europe (Finnsiö, 2019).

Race Myths Stretching from the Streets to Parliament

The idea of the Great Replacement has since become popularized by several major European political actors. August 13th, 2017, Geert Wilders, party leader for the far-right party PVV, shared a video from the antimuslim Voice of Europe on Twitter and wrote; *“Our population is being replaced. No more”* (Wilders, 2017). By the end of 2018, Al Jazeera exposed how the Identitarian far right youth group Generation Identity, in France have close ties to Marine Le Pen’s French party Rassemblement National (Al-Jazeera, 2018). The pan-European youth group subscribe to the idea of the Great Replacement and that Europe is invaded by Muslim people whose identity makes them “unfit” of living in the continent. The group has in several European countries executed provocative manifestations, among them when 73 protesters occupied a mosque in Poitiers in the Western part of France in 2012, as a part of Generation Identity’s “declaration of war” on multiculturalism and call for a referendum on Muslim immigration. The United Kingdom branch of the far-right youth group describes on their website, how they work with activism on the streets and digital content with a “metapolitical” strategy;

“Instead of contesting for people’s votes via electioneering, we contest for people’s minds via on-the-street activism. We engage in a culture and information war, constantly aiming to feed our ideas into the political bloodstream in order to shift what we call the ‘Overton window’, that is the window of what speech is considered acceptable” (Generation Identity United Kingdom and Ireland, 2018)

In Italy, the myth of a Great Replacement is being spread from the government, primarily by Lega’s Matteo Salvini, the country’s deputy Prime Minister. Salvini, has posed the idea of assembling a new far right group in the European Parliament, along with anti-Muslim Alternative Für Deutschland, the nationalist True Finns, far right Danish People’s Party, Geert Wilders PVV and Rassemblement National (Horowitz, 2019). He has at several times expressed that the Italian people are victims of an “ethnic substitution” and “ethnic cleansing”, that he states has been “coordinated by Europe” (Finnsiö, 2019). After visiting a migrant center in 2017 he wrote; *“I am increasingly convinced that*

there is an ongoing attempt of ethnic replacement of one people with another people. This is not emergency migration, but organized migration that aims at replacing the Italian people with other people, Italian workers with other workers” (Reynolds, 2018).

The idea of the Great Replacement has not only been articulated by politically established actors, and activist groups with ties to political power, in the European continent. The American “Alternative Right” (or “Alt-Right”) paraphrases and develops Camus’ idea of a global substitutionism, calling it the “white genocide”, arguing that the majority white population is victim of a genocide due to “mass migration”. The movement includes several far-right opinion formers, spanning from figures such as Richard Spencer to former key advisers for U.S. President Donald Trump, Steve Bannon and Stephen Miller (Illing, 2017). The group is known for its white supremacist ideals and militant manifestations, among them the “Unite the Right” rally in Charlottesville, Virginia. There, the 20-year-old white supremacist James Alex Fields Jr., drove a car into a crowd that was demonstrating against the far-right group, murdering 32-year-old Heather Heyer and injuring several more (Bromley, 2018, pp. 15-16). The evening before the Unite the Right rally, members of the Alt-Right held a torchlit march, yelling the antisemitic phrase *“Jews will not replace us”* along with a *“blood and soil”* Nazi-chants (Steadman, 2019). The event was commented by President Trump, who did not mention the white supremacist group who had organized the manifestation; *“People were there protesting the taking down of the monument of [Confederate army commander] Robert E. Lee – everybody knows that”* (Steadman, 2019), and did not problematize the violent ideas or methods of the Alt-Right, claiming that there were *“some very fine people on both sides”* of the event (Steadman, 2019).

The Alt-Right grew out of two political internet movements; racist online “reactionaries” and the antifeminist and misogynist online network called the “Manosphere” (Wendling, 2018). It was during the so-called “Gamergate Controversy” in 2014, an online harassment campaign against women and gamers who advocate for inclusion in the gaming community, that these racist and misogynist groups integrated (Dewey, 2014). This was done through production of misogynist propaganda videos, mixed with offensive image macros or “memes”, concealed with being “humorous” content as well as threats of violence and murders – most of it coordinated on the anonymous image board website 4chan (Wendling, 2018, p. 54).

Online Hate for Fun

The website 4chan was created in 2003 and is referred to as an “image board”, since its foundation was inspired by Japanese discussion boards on anime and manga. The image board has since 2003 not changed its early 00’s webpage looks and is in many ways a homepage for the production of humorous memes that have gone viral throughout the years. The site is used by its anonymous users, “anons”, as a space for all kinds of discussions, such as computer gaming, weapons, LGBT politics and much more. One of the biggest “boards” on 4chan, dominated the racist and misogynist groups that integrated into the Alt-Right, is “/pol/” standing for “Politically Incorrect” (Wendling, 2018, p. 51). After several doxxing-attacks - posting sensitive data that reveals the identity and contact information of people, primarily women – orchestrated on 4chan, the Gamergate movement were thrown out of the forum. Its moderators, while rarely removing offensive content, decided to delete content breaking the rules of the website (4chan, n.d.).

The banned users of 4chan went on to the “cousin” of 4chan, 8chan. 8chan, mirroring the design and structure of 4chan, is a less moderated website regularly hosting neo-Nazi content on its /pol/-board. Not many things are forbidden on 8chan. Their website states that *“In the interest of free speech, only content that violates the Digital Millennium Copyright Act or other United States laws is deleted”* (8chan, n.d.). Despite this, there have been many cases of illegal content that has been uploaded, the most usual being hate speech, which is rarely modified or deleted.

User identities are anonymized 8chan. Through producing and distributing “memes” – signs that are ascribed cultural and political meaning, users encourage and perform online “trolling” and “shitposting” (Evans, 2019). Shitposting is a term that describes content meant to derail conversations on social media. In the context of /pol/, shitposts are often offensive and filled with aggressive connotations, to provoke “normies” – people who are not aware of or reject the ideas that are wide spread on /pol/. The behavior and jargon on these forums, is by the anons themselves described as “sarcastic” and humorous remarks, stemming from “nihilistic” world views, while repeatedly inciting to misogynist and racist hate and violence (Wendling, 2018, pp. 49-59).

II: Methodology

This chapter describes the methodological and theoretical framework that is used in the analysis. The methodology chapter draws on citations, methodological and theoretical positions that the author of this paper has been a part of producing in the fifth semester project at Roskilde University (Alekcic, Barrett, Egressy, Shakir, 2018, pp. 8-21) The chapter will conceptualize terms such as “discourse” and “power” and how Fairclough’s three-dimensional model Critical Discourse Analysis will be employed. Before moving forward with a methodological discussion on CDA, comes a description of the paper’s understanding of discourse, leaning on Jørgensen and Phillips conceptualization of “Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method”.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse is the idea that *“language is structured according to different patterns that people’s utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life”* (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 1). Articulated in a shorter way, discourse is the usage of language in social context. Several discourses can be present in relation to their social contexts, such as misogynist discourses on gender, discourses on race or immigration (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011).

Jørgensen and Phillips state that there is not a particular consensus regarding one conceptualization on discourse, but develop the statement just presented as *“a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)”* (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 1). People’s ways of understanding and speaking about the world and identities and relations in the world effect the creation and change of discourses (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 1). People’s understandings and ascribing’s of meaning is done through a ‘system’ of language. With other words, people’s understandings of the social world, its objects and social relations between people exist, but their meaning is defined through discourse. Additionally, discourse does not only construct social realities and meaning, discourse is also effected by social dimensions, and is therefore seen as in a dialectical relation with social dimensions.

The understanding of discourse analysis that this paper is focused on, and which will be described in the following section is Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis. It keeps discourse distinct from other social dimensions and focuses textual, spoken and semiological systems (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 18).

There are five commonalities described by Phillips and Jørgensen, on how the different approaches to CDA function, and are connected to the interpretation of discourse as something that functions ideologically, how language is examined within social contexts, connected to socio-cultural processes and as well as the critical features of CDA systems (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, pp. 60-64). The research of this paper functions with the interpretation of discourse as that which is both constituted and constitutive. With other words, discourse is a social practice that both constitutes the social world while being constituted by social practices; it helps (re)shape social structures within social worlds, while it is a reflection of them. In the context of this bachelor thesis, discourse then benefits elaborations of social structures in digital and "real life" sense, while also being reflective of these. This paper interprets discourse as a form of action, where people(-s) are able to mobilize change in the digital as well as "real life" world. Below follows a walkthrough of the five common features of Critical Discourse Analysis:

The practices through which texts are produced and consumed, discursive practice, is seen as a constitutive of the social practice. It has an effect to the formation of social identities, relations and social world systems (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 61). At the same time, there are parts of the social world that are not automatically discursive, and therefore operate differently from discourse, and then demand other methodological instruments to be analyzed (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 61).

Cultural reproduction and social change is partially enabled by everyday life discursive practices, which makes the structuralizes cultural and social processes as linguistic-discursive. Critical Discourse Analysis has a focus on linguistic-discursive aspects of social and cultural occurrences in "late modernity" (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 61). In this paper, discourse is understood and used as an idea that includes written language as well as images. Where it is applicable focus will be given to visual semiotics in the same way as with analyzing the connection between language and images,

discussing images as if they were texts. Images, whether they be visual or metaphorical, will be treated and “read” and analyzed as texts (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011).

As described earlier, this paper aligns itself with Phillips and Jørgensen’s understandings of discourse as being in a dialectical relationship with other social dimensions, as discourse constitutes and is constituted by social practices and is in a constant interplay with historically situated social structures; Along with social dimensions, discursive dimensions constitute understandings of the world (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 62).

Phillips and Jørgensen state how the third common feature is that CDA participates in specific linguistic textual analysis of language use in social communication (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 62), detaching it from other theories on discourse as discursive psychology, where linguistic approaches are not emphasized (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011). The fourth commonality claims that discursive practices contribute to creating and reproducing (unequal) power relations between social groups, such as on the basis of gender, sexuality, race, nationality, religion, age, physical and psychological capabilities. The fifth commonality points out how the *critical* emphasis in Critical Discourse Analysis, as a method dedicated to social change, taking the side of oppressed social groups, to reveal how discursive practice maintains unequal power relations, with the aim of struggling for radical social change (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 64).

Power, Ideology and Hegemony

It has previously been written how this paper understands discourse within a dialectical relationship with social aspects, (re-)shapes, is shaped and reflects social structures. Therefore, discourse contributes to the maintenance and reproduction of current social structures, helps develop it, as it institutes society and culture, with discursive practices constructing identities, relations and representations. This leads to discursive practices of representation having effects ideologically, which has the consequence that it contributes to the production and reproduction of unequal power dynamics between social groups (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Power indicates to relations of difference and the effects of these differences in social communities and networks, which constitute societies. Thus, discourse, as it is connected to power, offers the tools to constitute differences in societal power, which may be founded through ideology. Ideologies are

regularly disguised with discourses as ‘conceptual analogies and metaphors (Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

Discourse, then, operates ideologically, and because of this, CDA is occupied with ideology, revealing power relations through exposing ideologies, as ideologies often are inaccurate constructions of society (Meyer and Wodak, 2009; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). So, as CDA is interested with ideology, this paper is as well has a critical focus on the ideology and is aligned with Norman Fairclough’s understanding of the concept. He states that ideologies are specific constructions of meanings and practices, which both represent and construct power relations of domination in societies, and thereby aid to producing and reproducing relations of power within social dynamics and structures in society. This process is enacted by interactions, which is communicated through identities, which are (ideologically) established within power dynamics (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011: Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

Fairclough views this as connected to discursive practice, emphasizing hegemony in his approach to Critical Discourse Analysis. While hegemony is seen as a negotiated process, Fairclough perceives discursive practices as something that can be understood as part of a hegemonic struggle, since hegemony makes possible to analyze and understand how discursive practice is interconnected to more comprehensive social practices, which involves power relations (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011) Critical Discourse Analysis emphasizes its focus on how discursive practices construct identities, relations and representation in connection to power relations, and how these dynamics maintain inequalities between social groups. In the context of this, this paper draws on Fairclough’s emphasis on CDA as a method to research connections of struggles over power between “*discursive practices, events and texts and broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes*” (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 63).

The Three-Dimensional Model of Fairclough

As this paper draws on Fairclough’s works on Critical Discourse Analysis, this section of the chapter describes Fairclough’s interdisciplinary approach to discourse analysis, and how textual analysis is combined with an analysis of discursive and social practices in the analyzed data. Fairclough is critical toward analytical tools that solely employ linguistic approached in discourse analysis, as they

risk focusing only on the textual content, without including a macro-scaled discussion of how discourses interrelate to social relations, identities and power structures. This paper leans on Fairclough's understanding of the importance of focusing on the relationship between text, social- and cultural practices and structures, throughout the analysis (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011).

The CDA-approach provided by Fairclough makes possible for an analytical framework, with interconnected concepts within a three-dimensional model, focusing on the following traditions; “*detailed textual analysis within the field of linguistics*” (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011, p. 65); “*macro-sociological analysis of social practice*” (ibid); and “*micro-sociological interpretative traditions within society*” (ibid). This approach employs a detailed textual analysis to understand the functions of discursive processes in texts linguistically. It utilizes a macro-sociological analysis of social practice and recognizes how social practices are formed by power relations and social structures. The micro-sociological interpretive tradition gives insight into the understanding of how people construct worlds through everyday performance. These traditions and ideas throughout this paper realized through Fairclough's analytical framework for research on communication on society, via the three-dimensional model of an analysis of the textual contents, discursive practice and the social practice (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011).

Fairclough states how communicative events, as a piece of content of language, includes these three dimensions, which requires of the researcher to include them, when conducting a discourse analysis. The discourse analysis should then 1) at a *textual* level, emphasize the text's linguistic features, such as vocabulary and metaphors, etc., to illustrate where its discourses operate linguistically. 2) When focusing on the *discursive practice*, the analysis should emphasize processes of production and consumption in relation to the text, and how the discourses of the text draw upon other existing discourses. This can be done by classifying specific language used in the text, to enable identifying e.g. the presence of specific political discourses. 3) When analyzing the social practice, the analysis discusses more comprehensive, macro-level relationships between the text and social practices in society. This level of an analysis should be accompanied with reference to cultural or cultural theory, since an analysis of the discourse in the data, is not adequate enough to understand broader social practice (Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011).

This three-dimensional analytical model is presented separately, which is also how it will be employed throughout the analysis, even though the dimensions intersect and are interrelated. Fairclough's three-dimensional model will be used as a framework to illustrate how language and society is interrelated. It should be noted that the analysis employs the analytical structure as a suggestive guideline and that the model is not prescriptive. The analysis is representative of the interpretations of the author of this paper (Fairclough, 1992).

Research Material and Strategy of Analysis

The original file of the manifesto, formally titled "*The Great Replacement – Toward a New Society We March Ever Forwards*" (Tarrant, 2019) was uploaded on 8chan (8ch.net) the 15th of March 2019, consisting of 74 pages and approximately 15.430 words. The manifesto is not clearly structured and starts with a poem by Dylan Thomas, and an introduction arguing that the white race is under threat of being exterminated (p. 1-3). The first third of the manifesto is constructed as three simulated "Q&A-sessions" (p. 4-22) where the manifesto poses questions regarding motives of the terror attack and the ideals of the terrorist. The first Q&A-sessions is constructed as answering general questions, the second being directed at his supporters and the third being directed at those opposing his act. This is followed up by an altered version of a Rudyard Kipling-poem, and a few pages with messages directed to "conservatives", "Christians", "Antifa/Marxist/Communists" and "Turks" (p. 23-28). The rest of the manifesto up until the end discuss "General thoughts and Potential Strategies" (p. 29-72), such as what is perceived as natural connections between the environment and nationalism, why men in the West are being radicalized, and "high profile enemies" consisting of individual politicians. This is followed up by a conclusion (p. 72-74) and a final page with a montage of eight images of women, men and children, represented through idealized narratives on gender and nature, which will be elaborated further in the analysis chapter.

The analyzed data consists of extracts from the manifesto that discusses constructions of "European" and "non-European" identities as well as constructions of its author Brenton Tarrant. The content of the manifesto is repetitive, the different identities and perceived "races" are written about with different terms that are used synonymously, such as "non-Europeans", "invaders", "immigrants" and "Europeans", "white people" and "native Europeans". The excerpts used to be analyzed have been

chosen through passages that discuss these terms, to attempt to reflect on how the content of the manifesto draws on discourses within contemporary digital, physical, intellectual and parliamentary far-right movements, and constructs of an idealized white imagined community.

The strategy of the analysis in this paper consists of an analysis of excerpts from the Great Replacement manifesto; they are researched through a textual analysis which is followed up by an analysis on the discursive practice of the manifesto. The social practice chapter will draw upon the writings from the analysis chapter will lean on Sara Ahmed's writings on the cultural politics of emotions, developed on Benedict Anderson's concept of nations as "imagined communities".

Textual Analysis

The aim of the textual analysis is to research linguistic characteristics of the text, to illustrate how its discourses are activated textually. Emphasis is put on how the text contributes to constructions of specific representations of social identities and relationships as well as representations of the world. The analysis employs different linguistic tools; such as wording, metaphors, ethos to mention some features. These linguistic tools reveal the way in which discourses function in the manifesto. Rhetoric or metaphorical features can disclose "hidden" ideologies or specific elements in the text. The textual analysis therefore discusses how the usage of metaphors shape understandings of the world, and in addition illustrates what factors may have been an influence on the usage of the metaphor. Interpreting meanings of wording and specific words, the analysis reflects upon how theoretical, ideological and cultural perspectives are connected to the choice of wording. The analysis focuses on key words with significance and aims to identify the specific underlying meaning of these (Fairclough, 1992; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011).

The analysis researches nominalization with choices in connection to voice, *active* or *passive*, to identify processes of responsibility and agency in the manifesto. The chapter analyses the *ethos* of the text, analyzing aspects that contribute to constructions of identities, through the usage of grammar. Further, the analysis examines constructions of identities and how processes of agency by analyzing how the text collectivizes, individualizes and personalizes its content (Fairclough, 1992; Phillips & Jørgensen, 2011).

The textual analysis employs a multimodal analytical approach to be able to interpret visual features in the text, such as the images on the final page of the manifesto. This, to better understand how images contribute to specific representations of social identities and the world and personalization and individualization in the text (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Discursive Practice

Analyzing the discursive practice of the text, has a focus on identifying how and which discourses are drawn upon. Focus is put on the interdiscursivity of the text, to better understand what discourse types are used in the text. In this chapter, emphasis is put whether or not the discursive practice is creative or conventional, to better discuss how the discursive practice could be employing change, discursively as well as culturally, in relations to the social order. The extent of interdiscursivity in the text can indicate how the text is influenced, or draws upon, other texts to construct representations of society (Fairclough, 1992; Phillips and Jørgensen, 2011; Machin & Mayr 2011).

Social Practice

The social practice chapter aims to identifying social systems and structures that the discursive practice is connected to. This, in order to discuss why the discursive practice is constructed as it is, and what its potential consequences can be. The social practice chapter has a focus on the order of the discursive practice, how different discourses are drawn upon and are spread across the manifesto. The social practice connects the textual analysis and discursive practice with non-discursive social relations and structures. The aim of this is to reflect upon what political, cultural, digital conditions the discursive practice is reliant on. The social practice discussion intends to evaluate the hegemonic consequences that the discursive practice suggests (Fairclough, 1992; Phillips and Jørgensen, 2011). This is done through integrating cultural theories, as the writings on the cultural politics of emotions, produced by Sara Ahmed.

This paper subscribes to Anderson's ideas of a "nation" being an imagined community. A nation is limited, because even the largest nation has borders, and it is socially constructed by members of the community who "*will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion*" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). This argument is built on by Sara Ahmed, seeing the imagined community as a collective body. The imagined community can therefor employ feelings as hatred and fear utilized by the proximity of "others".

Others, such as “non-Europeans” are attributed characteristics, “sticky images” as culture or “natural” capabilities that can construct them “foreign” and “contrary” with the “European” community. When a discourse constructs the nation as “invaded”, Ahmed states that the nation becomes a gendered and feminized body, a “soft nation” that is *“too emotional, to easily moved by the demands of others”* ... *“Such attributes are of course gendered: the soft national body is a feminized body, which is ‘penetrated’ or invaded by others”* (Ahmed, 2004, p. 2).

Ethical Considerations

There are several ethical dilemmas to be occupied with in relation to the production and distribution of this paper, and this small chapter attempts to address some of them. As stated in the beginning of this paper, there have not been any news regarding the mental health investigation of Brenton Tarrant, issued by high court Judge Cameron Mander. It is first after these investigations that the high court will decide whether Tarrant is fit to stand trial and receive his sentence. Since Brenton Tarrant has not been sentenced yet, this paper intends not to state that Tarrant is guilty of the judicially formulated murder- and attempted murder charges, something that will as earliest be decided in June 2019. While he has not been judicially found guilty of the charges, Brenton Tarrant is named throughout the paper, as he has been in globally recognized and respected newspapers and media outlets such as the New York Times, The Guardian, Al-Jazeera and BBC.

It should be noted that there have been considerations regarding using the categories as “European people” and “non-European immigrants” and “descendants of non-European immigrants”, in regard to the formulation of the research question and following that, the entire paper. It might be seen as a risk of reproducing far-right discourses that are prevalent in the manifesto of Brenton Tarrant. The choice of constructing the research questions with these terms is based on the conceptualization of “identities” in the Great Replacement theory, as well as the reason that the manifesto excludes certain “Europeans”, from the white community as it views e.g. them as “traitors”, which will be elaborated on. Using these broad unspecific – definitions, make possible a nuanced analysis that reveals what lies beyond the loaded and coded terms, which encapsulates the purpose of this paper.

This paper will not refer to a link where the Great Replacement manifesto can be downloaded. Firstly, this is because the manifesto is constantly removed by file sharing websites, where it is uploaded.

Secondly, it is because several of the webpages where the manifesto is accessible contain far-right and offensive content, which there is no reason for sharing in a paper like this that tries to critique such contents. The .pdf-file containing the manifesto that has been used during the process of producing this paper was retrieved on the webpage www.mediafire.com via the original Christchurch-post, on 8chan March 15th, 2019. The page on Mediafire, where the file was uploaded by the alleged perpetrator does no longer exist. Therefore, the full manifesto will be attached with the appendix (see Appendix B). The manifesto is not uploaded in its completely original version but has been edited with the an adding of page numbers, to make it easier to navigate through.

III: Analysis

The analysis of this paper is split into two parts, the first being a textual analysis and the second an analysis of the discursive practice, of the manifesto. It should be noted that the textual analysis is divided into two sub-chapters; the first analyzing how the manifesto constructs concepts and identities of “Europe” and “European people” in relation to “non-European” people (*“Our lands will never be their lands”*), and the second analyzing how the manifesto constructs its author Brenton Tarrant (*“Just a ordinary White man”*).

Textual Analysis

“Our lands will never be their lands”

“If there is one thing I want you to remember from these writings, its that the birthrates must change. Even if we were to deport all Non-Europeans from our lands tomorrow, the European people would still be spiraling into decay and eventual death” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 3). Obsessed with the birthrates in Europe (the word is written 12 times throughout the manifesto, along with “fertility”, which is written 24 times), the text starts off with collectivizing “European” people as a collective that transcends borders. “The Great Replacement”, the manifesto claims, is an existential threat to the survival of Europe, constituted by the proximity of the migrated Other, that by “nature” is much more reproductive than the European population. The categorization of “Europeans” and “Non-Europeans” produces a binary narrative, an “us” and “them”-rhetoric where the Other is seen an existential threat and inferior subject within “Europe”.

“To maintain a population the people must achieve a birthrate that reaches replacement fertility levels. In the Western world this is roughly 2.06 births per woman” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 3). The manifesto claims early on, how the role of European women is to (re)produce European children, for the survival of the “race”. *“Millions of people pouring across our borders, legally. Invited by the state and corporate entities to replace the White people who have failed to reproduce, failed to create the cheap labour, new consumers and tax base that the corporations and states need to thrive”* (Tarrant, 2019, p. 3). The text clearly states how the concept of “Europeans” is synonymous “white” people,

and that the threat is constituted by a collectivized, homogenous unity of immigrant Others. Through constructing “non-Europeans” as an oppositional “force” to (white) “Europeans”, the text claims this category is not white, but constituted by people of color. The “millions of people pouring across ‘our’ borders” are at once constructed as actively entering, penetrating, borders that are not “theirs”, but white. The Others are, in both a metaphorical and literal sense, “pouring” through European borders, constructed as a natural catastrophe. Thus, they are incompatible with the environment of white European nations, imported by political and economic elites, who wish to substitute the environment and “natural” order.

The manifesto asks why Tarrant committed the attack, answering that it is “*to show the invaders that our lands will never be their lands*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 5), where the text moves on to state it is a revenge act for “*Young, innocent and dead Ebba*” (Tarrant, 2019, 7). Here the text refers to Ebba Åkerlund, the 11-year-old girl who was murdered in the terror attack in Stockholm, Sweden in 2017. Attempting to draw on a globally established sensational narrative, the personalization of Ebba illustrates the embodiment of the victims of the replacement. The phrase “young, innocent and dead Ebba” makes clear, that the “invader” (which is mentioned more than 50 times throughout the manifesto) – meaning all immigrants who are not white and embodied by the Stockholm terrorist Rahmat Akilov – is constructed as a brute, willing to attack even the youngest and most harmless beings that constitute the idea of Europeans. The innocence of Ebba makes her a representation of a feminized and victimized Europe, that is under attack.

The concept of Europe and Europeans is elaborated on, in the answer “*What makes you believe you are European, not just an Australian?*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 21), that the manifesto asks Tarrant himself. Answering “*...Australian is a European colony, particularly of British stock and thereby an extension of Europe*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 21). This widens the idea of fighting for “Europe” as not only being the perceived struggle for the white “race”, but being a fight that transcends national and even regional borders. The construction of the European community becomes a transnational and white community, which Tarrant himself is an embodied manifestation of. While he may not be a son of New Zealand, he is a son of the extended European, white community, and his acts of terror toward those who he does not perceive as Europeans, is constructed an act of solidarity with those living in New Zealand that he views as members of his white nation.

Repeating the word “truth” four times in the beginnings of several paragraphs on one page, the text discusses how radicalization of “*young Western men*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 34) is inevitable to the current state of “ethnic replacement”, put in place by a political and cultural establishment in the “West”. Young Western men are supposedly realizing “*the truth that they are rapidly becoming, not just a global minority, but a minority in their own lands*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 34). White men in the Global North are here constructed as subjects with almost no agency, but as victims of a “*society of rampant nihilism, consumerism and individualism*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 34) and a cultural elite, exemplified by Kurt Cobain who is described as “*suicidal, drug addict, self hater, antisocial*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 35) and Madonna, described as “*degenerate, drug addict, childless, whore, anti-christian, pro miscegenation*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 35). The text reveals that Tarrant not only blames a political establishment for the “decline” of the white race. Young “Western” men are constructed as victims to culture icons, as a part of a consumer society, that Tarrant with a misogynist lens perceives as filthy, undesirable, individualist “race” traitors. Kurt Cobain and Madonna become oppositional representations of the preferred community, where women are supposed to follow Christianity and produce white children, and men should be self-loving, social, active and healthy. The culture icons become metaphorical signs for those who are deserving of having their privilege of belonging to the white community, idealized by Tarrant, removed.

Further in the manifesto, the chapter “The Danger of the Invader” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 43) discusses the “armed invader”, in relations to the “unarmed invader”; “*Both would seek to destroy our nation, both would seek to displace and replace our people, both would seek to destroy our culture and nationhood. But only one has the ability and only one has shown to be effective at doing so*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 43). This passage both collectivizes the members of “our nation”, “our people” and “our culture”. This, in an oppositional relation to the “invader” that in his – the armed – and hers – the unarmed – singularity composes a threat to whole nations of white populations.

On the final page of the manifesto, there is a montage of eight images, with images of white men, women and children. The images are intersected with the Nazi SS “Black Sun Symbol” (The Economist, 2019), which can also be seen used on the front page of the manifesto. The first image is of a man with a hound in a forest, the second of a girl hugging a woman, the third of three men having a picnic in the woods, and the fourth of two soldiers sitting down with rifles and fully dressed for battle. The fifth image displays an elite soldier in a landscape, the sixth represents a mother kissing

her child, the seventh of a farmer woman with her daughter and the eighth is an image of a father and son out fishing.

The montage of images reveals how the text idealizes and connects ideas of race, nature, masculinity, femininity and family (Tarrant, 2019, p. 74). Through the image of the father fishing with his son, along with the mother kissing her child gently, the text speaks into reactionary representations of the nuclear family; representing women and mothers as intimately loving and men and fathers as physically active, passing their sons, the skills of catching the bread that feeds the family.

White men are also constructed as (hyper)masculine; individual hunters, that search the woods with their hounds, and brothers who enjoy nature together. They are constructed – or perhaps idealized – as uniformed and official bearers of arms, keeping an eye for outside threats. When connected with the images of hyperfeminized representations of women and girls, and the narratives of the manifesto in general, the armed elite-like-looking soldiers, become affective symbolic guardians of the borders of the nation, women and children, who are at the risk of being obliterated by “Other” dangers.

“Just a ordinary White man”

In the first question of the Q&A-part, Brenton Tarrant starts by introducing himself, constructing himself as an “average Joe” as a respond to the question “*Who are you?*”; “*Just a ordinary White man, 28 years old. Born in Australia to a working class, low income family*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 5) [...] “*I am just a regular White man, from a regular family. Who decided to take a stand to ensure a future for my people*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 5).

The rather humbly put answer is mixed with the first shitposting element of the manifesto, where he states that he has been occupied with being a “kebab removalist”; “*More recently I have been working part time as a kebab removalist*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 5). When it says that Tarrant has been working as a “kebab removalist”, it is a reference to the Serbian nationalist Chetnik propaganda machine song “Serbia Strong”, more commonly known as the meme “remove kebab” (Evans, 2019), which was made as a tribute to a Bosnian-Serb war criminal. The song could be heard from Brenton Tarrant’s livestream, where he played it on his way to the mosque, where he would murder worshippers. In the manifesto, the “remove kebab” statement becomes an absurd adjective metaphor for the antimuslim terrorist, while at the same time constructing Muslims in a stereotypical matter.

When the manifesto writes about Ebba Åkerlund, who was murdered in the terror attack in Stockholm in 2017, the text goes on to state that *“I could no longer ignore the attacks. They were attacks on my people, attacks on my culture, attacks on my faith and attacks on my soul. They would not be ignored”* (Tarrant, 2019, p. 8). Here, Brenton Tarrant along with Ebba Åkerlund becomes an embodied manifestation of the European, the “white race”, that is under literal existential threat. Tarrant constructs a narrative of Ebba – as a passive subject - that he is set to avenge.

An interesting aspect to the construction of Brenton Tarrant in the manifesto is the tendency in the text, of stating how central Tarrant is, for the supposed resistance movement that he is a part of. In a Q&A-part, he asks himself if he carried *“out the attack for fame”* (Tarrant, 2019, p. 10), where he answers *“No, carrying out an attack for fame would be laughable”* (ibid). While the text moves on to construct Brenton Tarrant as a *“private”* and *“mostly introverted person”* (ibid), the claim is contradictory, since he moves on to state that he is a representative of *“millions of Europeans”* (ibid), in a global resistance movement. This is elaborated further when it is claimed that he does not label his acts as terrorism but a *“partisan action against an occupying force”* (Tarrant, 2019, p. 12), which is also repeated in the answer to the question *“Do you consider yourself a leader?”* (Tarrant, 2019, p.17), where the reply, of the author of the 74-page manifesto, is *“No, just a partisan”* (ibid). The manifesto constructs Tarrant as a “freedom fighter” that rises to fight the imagined war that the (“Western”) states have no capacity of, since it is in fact the states that has brought this war of civilizations upon its “people”. Tarrant is constructed as a hero renegade, fighting for the existence of “his” people.

In the manifesto, several violent antimuslim, antimigrant and white supremacist attackers and terrorists are mentioned as “partisans” that Brenton Tarrant has ties to (Tarrant, 2019, p. 18). While comparing his actions to other highly debated white supremacists that have committed attacks with similar motives, the manifesto constructs Brenton Tarrant as a hero and martyr-soon-to-be. The text says that he will commit suicide after being released; *“I will commit suicide, happy in the knowledge I did my best to prevent the death of my race”* (Tarrant, 2019, p. 18). Tarrant is constructed as a hero surrounded by race brethren that are victims of a racially motivated replacement. The “replacement” of the white “race” is to him a racist act by groups who are not white. This is elaborated on when the text discusses the prison releasement of Tarrant; *“I do not just expected to be released, but I also expect an eventual Nobel Peace prize.As was awarded to the Terrorist Nelson Mandela once his own people achieved victory and took power”* (Tarrant, 2019, p. 18). This quote could be read as a

sarcastic attempt of shitposting, while also revealing how the manifesto views the “invasion” “non-Europeans”, as an institutionalized racist structure that oppresses the white population. Brenton Tarrant is then constructed in relation to Nelson Mandela, as a dissident of this system, fighting to overthrow the oppressive state system.

In the Q&A chapter dedicated to the supporters of Brenton Tarrant, the text answers the question “*What do you encourage us to do?*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 19) with a call to action, urging its agreeing readers to get armed, train and act. The answer of the questions ends with the statement “*Men of the West must be men once more*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 19). With these nine words, it is clear that the manifesto speaks to a violent, masculine and nostalgic constructed image of a (white) man, almost as a reflection of Brenton Tarrant; the resistance fighter that chose to step into character.

Discursive Practice

The constructions of social identities of Europeans and non-Europeans consist of *gendered* discourses. The actively formulated “invasion” and “invaders” position “Non-Europeans” as *hypermasculine* subjects that are attacking a passively constructed “Europe”. The positionality of Brenton Tarrant throughout the manifesto shifts these perceived unequal power relations. As with the chapter on why men in the west are being radicalized (Tarrant, 2019, p. 34), they are – due to the decline of the nation – constructed as feminized subjects. The beliefs, writings and actions of Brenton Tarrant are positioned as the opposition to this state. His acts become the preferred and “rational” reaction. So, the discourses that construct understandings of Europe and Europeans are gendered; The European community is *feminized* while there are “Non-Europeans” within it but can – as manifested by the perceived hero and future martyr Brenton Tarrant – fight back and step into *masculine* character.

Throughout the manifesto, there is a constant discourse that *victimizes* the “white race”, as sufferers of an elitist conspiracy wishing to obliterate them. Europe and Europeans are victims of a kind of colonialism where the Other is actively attempting to “*replace the native European populations*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 48). The *nativist* discourse reveals how the manifesto elaborates on Europe and Europeans as passive subjects, exploited by its cultural, political and economic elite, determined to demolish its soul by allowing “foreign forces” to actively “*occupy*” its nations. The construction of

“native” Europeans intensifies the production of an us-and-them narrative and ideology where there are subjects that have the right to be a part of the European nationhood and those that by default, have no right to exist within the social, cultural and racial borders that constitute the European, or white, nation.

The manifesto encourages “Europeans” to “wake up” from a state of passively accepting a feminization of its nation and turn to masculinizing the nation. The manifesto produces *transnational* discourses in its construction of what constitutes of Europe, being a community that transcends geographically national and regional borders. The European community, the manifesto writes, should instead fight the perceived aliens; “*Men of the west must be men, once more*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 19). This excerpt visualizes how the manifesto calls for a nation which does not hold itself from using all means possible to ensure the “pure” nation, consisting of a homogenous white community. The claim that men of the west must be men once or, is also read as a passage that constitutes a mirroring of the in which the text constructs its main character, Brenton Tarrant. Through a discourse that positions him as a *hero*, he is constructed as an awakened “partisan”, who up until now has been an “*ordinary White man*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 5). The 28-year-old digital native, is constructed as a person who has turned away from being another victim of a replacement coordinated against “his” people, and has become a leader of a resistance movement, foreseeing that he will be crowned a hero by the international community in a few years. While he may not be immediately rewarded, he counts on being incarcerated. After being released from prison, Tarrant writes that he “*will commit suicide, happy in the knowledge I did the best to prevent the death of my race*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 18), constructing a *martyr* discourse he urges others to join.

The manifesto discusses how Tarrant chose who to target with the attack, stating that “*They were an obvious, visible and large group of invaders, from a culture with higher fertility rates, higher social trust and strong, robust traditions that seek to occupy my peoples lands and ethnically replace my own people*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 10). “Non-European” identities, are constructed as opposite subjects of “white people”, namely people of color. They are constructed through a *racial* and *cultural* discourse; people that inherently, by “nature” seek power and domination through reproduction, and that are “culturally” more inclined to live and act toward white nations as a united community. The mixture of these (biological) racial and cultural discourses ideologically makes non-European “Others” unworthy of existing within white European nations, and therefor “killable” subjects. The

manifesto constructs Others as a dehumanized “plague” that must be repatriated, removed, held off European soil and kept away from “white” blood, so that it does not threaten white “European” nations.

Through drawing on meme culture and including shitposting elements, such as the meme-fied Serbian nationalist propaganda song, infamously known as “Remove Kebab”, the manifesto encourages its followers, “anons” to follow the path of Tarrant and engage in warfare, by physical and digital means. Page 17 of the manifesto is filled with several shitposts, beginning with answering a question of where he received his beliefs, where the manifesto answers “*The internet of course. You will not find the truth anywhere else*” (Tarrant, 2019, p. 17), revealing how essential online spaces and perhaps (4- or 8-)chan have been for the mending of Tarrant’s world views. The text moves on to claim that Tarrant was “*taught violence and extremism*” (ibid) by computer- and video games such as “*Spyro the dragon 3, Fortnite*” (ibid). This “sarcastically” formulated carelessness, could be categorized as “chan discourse” – while the content seems meaningless, the essential claim resonates with the jargon spread on spaces such as /pol/ on 8chan, that is often used as a tactic to create divide, spread misogyny and racist ideas (Wendling, 2018, pp. 49-59). “Shitposting” within the manifesto in this manner, describing games such as Spyro the Dragon 3 or Fortnite as the reasons behind the violent radicalization of a terrorist, trivializes the offensiveness and violence of Tarrant’s acts, as well as it contaminates the games and ascribes them attributes, making them into symbols related to Brenton Tarrant’s beliefs and acts. While these shitposts may not have explicit tones of hatred in these specific claims, they construct a divide among readers of the manifesto. For an “anon” used to the jargon on 8chan, the shitposting elements of the manifesto can be interpreted as humorous statements, while a so-called “normie” might misinterpret it, by reading it in a literal sense.

IV: Social Practice

The Great Replacement manifesto constructs Europe and Europeans as a white community, drawing on discourses of transnationality, culture and race. Europeans are narrated as victims of a replacement or genocide, employed by colonizing and oppositional “non-Europeans”, understood as racialized non-white “Others”. These Others are collectivized as perpetrators that the manifesto names with terms that are used interchangeably, such as “invaders” and immigrants” synonymous with “non-Europeans”. This can be compared to the individualization and personification that follows with the narrative of 11-year-old Ebba Åkerlund, who was murdered in the Stockholm terrorist attack in 2017 in Sweden. She becomes an illustration of the viciousness of the “invader’s” (perceived “racist”) replacement strategy that in the imagination of Brenton Tarrant is a coordinated effort by an economic, cultural and political elite that is mass murdering the transnational and racial imagined community which is Europe.

The manifesto draws on discourses that on a larger social scale are produced in a spectrum spanning from the “intellectual” far right, to the 8chan board /pol/, to militant groups such as the American Alternative Right and so-called “pan-European” movements as Generation Identity. They, as Tarrant himself, views the fight for the white “identity” as transcending singular nation state borders. The Great Replacement manifesto suggests that there is a hegemonic struggle in regard to the survival of the European nation; either it stays a passive and feminized victim of a “white genocide” or it steps into masculine character and gets rid of the perceived “curse” that is non-white people. The manifesto suggests breaking out of the emotionality of the “European” community. Sara Ahmed writes about the undesirability of the “soft” and “emotional” nation; *“being emotional, allowing yourself to become overwhelmed by an external cause, is viewed as being “beneath the faculties of thought and reason ... To be emotional is to have one’s judgement affected”* (Ahmed, 2004, p. 3). Due to the allowing of immigration from “foreign” countries, the manifesto rejects the perceived feminization of “the West”, Europe is constructed as penetrated by “foreign” subjects and thus its population is at the risk of being replaced. The allowing of the imagined “invasion” is grounded in a “softness” within the nation states that constitute the supposed European community. This, the manifesto views is intensified by the incapability of responding to the internal threats of the nation, who are driven by irrationality; such as the women, exemplified by Madonna, who are constructed as prioritizing their individual ambitions instead over the collectively oriented act of (re)producing white children,

corporates who are allowing non-white workers to “occupy” white worker’s jobs and the political establishment who through (humanitarian asylum) politics make possible a replacement of “its people”.

While the acts of Brenton Tarrant have been globally denounced, similar narratives exist within far-right political actors in the Global North. Far right politics are in several places in Europe integrating with the political establishment (Fielitz, Laloire, 2016, p. 17). While the established parties are adopting far right politics, increasingly implementing masculine hard line politics to preserve the purity of their nations. As mentioned previously in the paper, the idea of population replacements is integrating into the social practice of established political systems, as articulated by Italy’s Matteo Salvini; *“I am increasingly convinced that there is an ongoing attempt of ethnic replacement of one people with another people. This is not emergency migration, but organized migration that aims at replacing the Italian people with other people, Italian workers with other workers”* (Reynolds, 2018).

Supported by more extreme far right movements as the Alternative Right, powerful politicians such as the United States President has implemented a travel ban, prohibiting people from predominantly Muslim countries to enter the United States (Associated Press, 2018). In Australia, the home country of Brenton Tarrant, its government announced that it will reduce its immigration intake and force immigrants to live in regional areas, after an *“ambivalence about a new wave of non-European immigration, especially from Muslim countries”* (Cave & Kwai, 2019). All over Europe, in France, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, the final years have been dominated by proposed and adopted legislations prohibiting facial veils, affecting Muslim women with stigmatizing politics (BBC News, 2018).

In the Netherlands, undocumented migrants are deprived of their rights. The government proposed the implementation of detention facilities for refugees and migrants that Amnesty International describe as “prison like”, since the suggested facilities would include usage of handcuffs and isolation cells (Amnesty International, 2018). In Poland the government is policing women’s bodies with laws that criminalize abortion (Roache, 2019), while strangling the rights of migrants from North Africa, the Balkans, and the Middle East, aiming at establishing a *“Poland for Poles”* (Santora, 2019). In Denmark, the government is planning to isolate “unwanted migrants” on a small island, “westernize” citizens that live in “ghetto areas”, targeting so called “non-Westerners” (Barry & Sorensen, 2018),

and repatriate people that do not fit the narrow requirements for asylum (Sorensen, 2018). In Estonia, the new far-right government includes a party that says it is fighting for the “*indigenous Estonian*” population and a “*white*” nation (Gershkovich, 2019). In Italy, Deputy Prime Minister Matteo Salvini’s government passed a law that will no longer grant “humanitarian” asylum, which harms people fleeing from anti-LGBT prosecution, stating “*I’m willing to host women and children who are escaping from war... But all the others, no*” (Scherer, 2018). And in Hungary, Prime Minister Viktor Orbán attempts to abolish structures of liberal democracy, while isolating people seeking refuge from entering the country with fences, in defense for a “*Christian Europe*” (Gorondi, 2019).

The Great Replacement manifesto in some respects resonate with these masculine political enforcements and demands a more intensified path forward. The manifesto produces discourses that constructs Brenton Tarrant as a hero of the white community and erects him as the leading spear toward a more masculine white European community. Tarrant is constructed as “rational” and the man that stepped into (hyper-)masculine character. Drawing on several discourses on race, culture and nativism, the level of interdiscursivity of the manifesto suggests white men and women to claim their “natural” roles of being physically active fighters and loving mothers of a white homogenous society, built on idealized reactionary gender roles. The perceived white community denounces those of liberal or “left” political beliefs. They are viewed as unworthy the privilege of belonging to the white community, and therefor (killable) dissidents, standing in the way of the martyred crusade toward the “clean” and white society.

The sympathizers of Tarrant are encouraged to follow and clone his terrorizing methods through online metapolitical and physical warfare to affect the emotional political system into adopting hard line politics. Through affective imagery – humorous for some, provocative for others - the careless and “sarcastic” utilization of shitposting and production of “chan discourse” resonates with 68’-New Right’s emphasis on engaging in metapolitical culture warfare. It aims at changing fundamental values and perceptions of peoples, in order to claim political power. The usage of 8chan-references and shitposting tactics in the manifesto becomes means of this violent metapolitical fight. This could be seen only a few weeks after the attack in Poway, California, where 19-year-old John Earnest entered a synagogue and murdered and injured Jewish Californians. He – just as Tarrant also used physical and digital spaces as a part of his terroristic “spectacle” and referred to the Christchurch terrorist as the “*catalyst*” for his acts (Evans, 2019).

V: Conclusion

This paper has attempted to analyze the manifesto uploaded on the neo-Nazi forum /pol/ on 8chan, as a part of the anti-Muslim terror attack in Christchurch, New Zealand, the 15th of March 2019. It has applied Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model of Critical Discourse Analysis to discuss how the manifesto "The Great Replacement – Towards a New Society We March Ever Forwards", constructs an idealized white imagined community.

The manifesto is obsessed with the conspiracy theory 'the Great Replacement' that constructs "Europe" and "Europeans" as under threat due to an imagined white genocide due to the proximity of people of color. This paper illustrates how the manifesto constructs "Europe" and social identity of "Europeans" as a transnational imagined community bound together by racial and cultural discourses, that exclude people of color. The existence of people of color within the imaginary borders of the white European community is seen as illegitimate. "Non-Europeans" are collectivized and dehumanized by interchangeably being referred to as "immigrants" and "invaders", that oppress the "white" European community by their existence within the perceived borders of the European nation.

Utilizing Sara Ahmed's writings on the politics of emotion and nations as gendered bodies, the paper argues that the manifesto suggests that (white) nation, which is Europe, is in a hegemonic struggle with regards to being obliterated by the irrational and emotional political structures that allow for the existence of non-white populations within its borders. The manifesto constructs Europe as being passively penetrated by outside forces, calling for a masculinized nation that aims at racial and cultural homogeneity, that rejects, repatriates and removes "non-European" people by all means necessary.

The paper demonstrates how the author of the manifesto, Brenton Tarrant, is constructed as a hero and martyr, that views his actions as partisan "resistance" deeds. His acts are constructed as exemplary for how white men should "step into" hypermasculine character to fight the imaginary "white genocide". This, by committing digital and physical violence toward those who by racial, cultural and political reasons do not fit into the "pure" and preferred white European community. The idealized imagined community understands "men" and "women" as binary categories in relation to

one another. They are demanded to adopt reactionary gender roles, where men are physically strong patriarchs and women are hyperfeminine with the primary task of giving birth to white children, to preserve the “white race”. The community must be homogenous in respects to political belief and denounce liberalism and “left” political ideologies, as well as live a sober life without the consumption of any intoxicating substance.

This paper discusses how concepts and terms employed in the Great Replacement manifesto resonates with current far right assemblies, whether they be activist groups or political parties. The violent approach and goal of the manifesto might differ from the goals of far-right political parties in the Global North. Though, this paper implies that established political actors in the Global North, are implementing politics based on reasoning that resonates with the “masculine” and “hard” nation body politic that is prevalent throughout the manifesto of Tarrant.

When Denmark repatriate people that do not fit the narrow requirements of asylum, it is to ensure the nation remains untouched by outer disturbance. When Italy grants women and children asylum but rejects LGBT-asylum seekers fleeing from prosecution, it is to secure the structure of the nuclear family and categorize “all the others” (Scherer, 2019) as unworthy subjects with no agency. When the Estonian government calls for a white nation, it makes possible the “cleansing” of the nation, by the removal of visible “occupiers” that through the sticky images, as the color of their skin, can be sorted out.

Due to limiting resources and framework for this bachelor thesis, it has unfortunately not been possible to dive into all of the contents and nuances of the manifesto that has been analyzed. While this has been the case, this paper has been written with an ambition to scratch the surface of and attempt to connect the dots between violent far-right narratives in social, physical, digital and political spaces. With the sad belief that these ideas are becoming a more integrated part of people’s realities and bodies, this paper hopes to contribute to the dissection of contemporary racist politics, so that we someday, hopefully, get rid of them.

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