The Origins of Replacement Narratives and the Resemanticization of Feminism in Two Novels of the Far Right

Enrico Schlickeisen

When Brenton Tarrant, a right-wing terrorist, attacked two mosques and killed fifty-one people in Christchurch, New Zealand in 2019, he live-streamed his deed on the internet for the world to witness. He also left behind an 87-page manifesto.[1] This electronic document was circulated on online message boards such as the now-defunct 8chan. It was supposed to explain the attacker's motivations and worldview and was meant to inspire copycats, very much in the same way Anders Behring Breivik had intended to do with a similar manifesto named *2038 – A Dec-*

1 After the attack, New Zealand officials and media refrained from communicating the attacker's name in order to prevent a further circulation of his ideas. Further motivation behind this strategy was not to concede the perpetrator special importance over the memorial of the victims. In this article however, I will disclose the attacker's full name and use his manifesto as a quotable source. The document was distributed all over the internet after the Christchurch shooting but to this day it is difficult to find a host that adheres to the standards of academic research. The version of the document that I refer to has been downloaded from the website of the Italian newspaper Il Foglio and is similar to the version of the document that circulated on the website formerly known as 8chan. It is my deeply held belief that it is necessary to explicitly define the agents and strategies of all different forms of neo-Nazism in order to effectively combat them.

laration of European Independence in 2011.[2] The opening lines of the main text of the Christchurch attacker's manifesto, *The Great Replacement*, are a threefold repetition of the sentence "It's the birthrates" (Tarrant 2019, 4). The replacement narrative that is outlined over the following pages of the manifesto and that allegedly motivated the attack is one of the most potent and prominent of the current Far Right. Its basic assessment is that the white "race" is dying out – either through supposedly natural demographic change or through a deliberate attack perpetuated by nebulous forces that advocate unchecked mass migration.

In its demographic and sociological simplicity, the narrative is eerily reminiscent of Jean Raspail's 1973 novel *The Camp of the Saints*. At the very center of the book's plot lies the question to what ends a society would go to protect its own racial and cultural identity in the face of demographic and cultural change. The narrative that was named "Great Replacement" and that motivated the Christchurch shooter and many others to commit acts of political violence takes a prominent position in Raspail's novel. This is one of the reasons why I selected this book for closer analysis. *Sea Changes*, written by Derek Turner almost forty years later, is another novel with a prominent migration theme, although it is more subtle in tone. Rather than the imminent and dystopian threat of irrefutable and sudden destruction of a country's identity through abrupt demographic change, it instead emphasizes the strong emotional reaction of Western society towards the death of migrants during their attempt to enter the country illegally. In spite of a violation of the proper process of providing asylum, a strong sentiment of migration-friendly sympathy and moralistic righteousness is purported by the barely fictionalized media apparatus while simultaneously discarding any reasonable objections to open borders and multiculturalism. This hospitality towards strangers is described as a "psychosis" (Raspail 2018, ix) in Tito Perdue's preface

2 For a detailed explanation regarding the use of Breivik's manifesto as an academic source see above. After the attack in Utøya, the 1500-page manifesto was distributed through several websites such as scribd.com and archive.org. The version I am using for this text is linked in my bibliography.

of Raspail's book; as a "project […] to turn a highly heterogeneous (*diverse!*) into an undifferentiated […] something or another" (Raspail 2018, ix). Both books share the motif of a modern liberal society that fails to defend itself against the threat of the migrant other and of transformation through replacement and that instead celebrates its own decadence, ultimately leading to its demise. Both books feature characters that exhibit an almost obscene obliviousness to the violence that even a liberal democracy has to employ in order to defend itself against anything that reduces the proper process to apply for asylum or immigration to absurdity.

Another prominent aspect of both novels is their depiction of women, women's plot functions and the related assumptions about gender stereotypes and gender politics, which is representative of much right-wing literature. In both novels, feminism and gender equality are reframed as harmful in the struggle to preserve a constructed Western identity. The analysis of contemporary right-wing ideology and media reveals a paradoxical position regarding gender politics. Strong opposition to feminism and gender equality appears to be a common feature as they are often depicted as "clientelistic and largely misguided" and opposed to what is constructed as the traditional gendered reality of most women and men (Sprengholz 2021, 498). Furthermore, scholars such as Angela Nagle have written about the influence of the so-called "manosphere" and other antifeminist online communities on contemporary right-wing movements that hold feminism responsible for their own lack of romantic and physical intimacy (Nagle 2017; Dietze and Strick 2008). Most members of these online communities consider themselves to be "betas", subordinate to the more attractive and successful alpha males and therefore not entitled to love (Nagle 2017, 89). The pessimism created through this self- imposed binary serves as common ground in order to legitimize the misogyny expressed by those communities. Any progressive movements that enable women to freely choose their partners or to have sex outside of a relationship are therefore perceived as hostile because a traditional patriarchal family is idealized as a retrotopian (Baumann 2017) ideal that ensures sexual contact for beta males.

However, particularly in right-wing party politics, but also in groups such as Generation Identity or the European Génération Identitaire, there is the notable tendency to reframe arguments of women's rights and equality in order to justify anti-migration policies. The phenomenon of a "feminist right-wing populism" (Hadj-Abdou 2010, 117) is even more surprising considering the emphasis on traditional family models and gender roles exhibited by most of the far right. The consideration of multiculturalism as a threat to gender equality originated in the late 1990s, when prominent feminist voices such as Harvard professor Susan Moller Okin (1997) began to ask, "Is multiculturalism bad for women?" Okin argued that concessions to diversity and the demands of religious minorities threatened liberal notions of gender equality. Okin's critics argued that her argumentation was paternalist (especially of immigrant women) and tended to locate patriarchal oppression as mostly imported from foreign cultures (Fekete 2006, 13). The policies of radical right populist parties and actors such as the German AfD attempt to construct two women's rights narratives. On the one hand, there is a unified heartland, an "us" that has to resist and reject gender ideology as superimposed, and on the other hand, that the heartland has to resist Muslim immigration and multiculturalism in order not to endanger gender equality (Sprengholz 2021, 11). Depending on the communicative situation, the heartland can therefore be constructed as traditional or progressive. This article seeks to analyze from a literary perspective the intratextual function of progressive female characters and feminist narratives for both books, but also within the broader context of contemporary right-wing discursive strategies.

Both books have in common their fictionalization of the alt-right discourse surrounding the notion of cultural Marxism. Far from the intellectual concept developed by Gramsci and the Frankfurt school, cultural Marxism in right-wing discourse is mostly a continuation of the Nazis' idea of "cultural bolshevism" (Mirlees 2018, 53). According to Tanner Mirlees, the phrase "cultural Marxism" was used as "an anti-Semitic epithet and as cudgel for attacking any group of people or modernist cultural trend that they perceived to be corrupting or leading to the degeneracy of traditional German society" (Mirlees 2018, 53). In the same tradition,

"the alt-right's story about cultural Marxism in America represents cultural Marxists as a malicious elite that is consolidating its power over America and controlling the Federal government, the media and cultural industries, the higher education system, public discourse and opinion at the expense of white conservatives" (Mirlees 2018, 56).

Although I chose both books as exemplary for right-wing literature, the latter is not in any way an established genre that can be classified entirely through its topoi or stylistic choices. As I argue, it is rather a context-dependent grouping that relies additionally on extratextual aspects such as the political activities and opinions of authors and their readership. Furthermore, the media that enable the discussion, evaluation and circulation of literature strongly influence literature's political perception. In contrast to the vast body of work that has been done on the influence of the digital sphere on, and the use of media by, right-wing parties, movements and individuals, fictional literature as a phenomenon on the political right has been largely under-researched in that context. Notable exceptions are Crawford Gribben's (2009) and Daniel Silliman's (2021) works on Evangelical fiction. Regarding non-fiction, much secondary literature has been published on the ideological origins and development of the modern far-right (Sedgwick 2019; Beiner 2018; MacLean 2017; Mudde 2019).

My interest in modern right-wing fiction was sparked first when I came across a "Guide to Right-wing literature" on 4chan's /lit/ board. Besides Raspail's *The Camp of the Saints*, this primer contained fiction written by Ernst Jünger, Joseph Conrad, Kurt Vonnegut and other authors and was very obviously meant to give non-initiated prospects an introduction to far-right thought.[3]

In the same way this guide contained all sorts of different texts, books that circulate within the right-wing public sphere or that particularly appeal to audiences beyond the mainstream conservative spectrum

3 4chan and other anonymous messaging boards are notoriously ephemeral. Contents rarely exist longer than a few days unless they are downloaded or archived otherwise. A copy of the image is archived at https://4chanlit.fandom.com/wiki/Conservative_literature.

are generally diverse in their contents, language and genre. Ranging from evangelical science fiction such as the popular *Left Behind* series by Tim LaHaye and Jerry B. Jenkins, to re-appropriated and re-read classics such as George Orwell's *1984*, a large variety of books are being read among the Right. I selected the abovementioned books as representative works of migration-critical fiction because both have been widely circulated among an anglophone readership and well received among readers of the far-right. According to the U.S. media organization National Public Radio, *The Camp of the Saints* was explicitly mentioned by Donald Trump's Senior Political adviser Stephen Miller in a leaked email to the far-Right news outlet *Breitbart*, together with a plea to use its contents in order to promote White supremacist ideas (Garcia-Navarro 2019). Steve Bannon, co-founder of *Breitbart*, had referred Raspail's novel as early as 2015 in the context of the influx of refugees in Europe. "It's been almost a *Camp of the Saints*-type invasion into Central and then Western and Northern Europe" (Blumenthal and Rieger 2017),[4] he said in an interview to Alabama state senator Jeff Sessions and repeatedly referenced the book in following statements. To some degree, this serves as an indicator that the ideas, positions and discursive strategies formulated in the book have been recognized as beneficial or at least discursively stimulating to those on the Right.

While *The Camp of the Saints* by now has had almost five decades to establish its reputation, Derek Turner's *Sea Changes* was published in 2012, when the advent of Trumpism and Brexit were yet to come and the 2015/16 migration movements that fueled right-wing mobilization all over Europe had not yet occurred. Indicators for the novel's circulation can be found in its author's connections to the British and international right-wing media. In a 2012 interview with the right-wing online blog *Affirmative Right*, Turner himself compares his work to Raspail's *The Camp*

4 Excerpts from this interview can be found in an article from Huffington Post (https://www.huffpost.com/entry/steve-bannon-camp-of-the-saints-immigration_n_58b75206e4b0284854b3dc03) and a recording of the interview is still available on SoundCloud: https://soundcloud.com/siriusxm-news-issues/the-american-people-are-angry.

of the Saints (Nowicki 2012). Turner, who was born in Dublin, worked as a political essayist for the British quarterlies *Right Now!* and its predecessor *Quarterly Review* (Turner 2012, 425). He is a frequent guest in other media, such as the German alt-right blog *Sezession*. The 2018 German translation of the book was published by the *Jungeuropa Verlag*, which is adjacent to the German branch of Generation Identity (Boehnke and Thran and Wunderwald 2019, 138). Richard Spencer, one of the coiners of the term "alt-right", wrote an editorial for this translation, which may serve as another indicator for the transnational character of the right-wing literature industry or possibly the contemporary Right in general.

Controversially discussed since its publication, *The Camp of the Saints* has been praised as a courageous foreboding of the future by some and simultaneously dismissed as racist and insulting by others (Tanton 1994). Its plot is summarized rather quickly: an armada of approximately one million migrants from the Ganges region board numerous dilapidated ships and set out for Europe. Initially, attempts at humanitarian aid are undertaken by the Western world and most of the French mass media cultivate an actively anti-racist spirit of welcoming the fleet that resonates with the fundamental values of the French Republic. Some of the characters uphold the charade of *Willkommenskultur* out of mere opportunism and others simply do not expect the armada to land in Europe. As the plot progresses, the arrival of the armada becomes at first a possibility and later a certainty. Put under pressure by public opinion and its own humanist ideals, the French government desperately attempts to find a humanitarian solution and a possibility to prevent the refugees from landing. When the armada apathetically rejects all aid and continues on its course, public order increasingly disintegrates and a mass exodus of people from South to North is set in motion because of the general population's fear of the newcomers. The French army is deployed to the coast in order to repel the arrivants through the use of force, but most of its soldiers' defect because they cannot stand the idea of shooting the poor and defenseless immigrants. When the ships ultimately arrive at the Côte d'Azur, the masses of immigrants quite literally overrun everything and everyone in their way, ironically those first that were most eager to welcome them. The final chapters describe

the aftermath of the settlement of the one million Indians that radically changes France and destroys its European and Christian culture. The book ends with several more fleets setting sail from different parts of the Global South.

Derek Turner's *Sea Changes* strikes a chord that is equally critical of migration. Compared to *The Camp of the Saints* with its dystopian pessimism, the theme in *Sea Changes* emphasizes the reaction of British society to illegal immigration rather than Raspail's fatalistic outlook on the end of western civilization. Turner himself referred to current liberal anti-racist discourse as "modern racial neuroses" (Nowicki 2012). After several bodies of immigrants with gunshot wounds wash up on the shores of a rural British village in the first chapter, journalists, politicians and starlets put into motion schemes for their own political gain under the banner of anti-racism and pro-migration positions. The story is told with frequent changes in the focal characters with a recurrent focus on Ibraham Nassouf, a young Iraqi migrant who used to be a petty criminal before he embarked on his odyssey to Europe. After about half of the book it is revealed that Ibraham was on the same boat as the other migrants but was the only survivor. The timeline after the shipwreck occurred is mainly shaped by contrasting the opportunistic journalist John Leyden and other actors of "pc culture" with the farmer Dan Gowt, who is interviewed shortly after the discovery and who is presented as the embodiment of British rural racism. Leyden, a celebrated journalist who prides himself for his ability to bring to light all kinds of injustices, is a closeted racist and sexist himself. After Ibraham awakes and untruthfully presents himself as part of the opposition against Saddam Hussein, he is idolized as a "Miracle Migrant" (Turner 2012, 391) and most of the media advocate a strict policy that imposes sanctions on racist behavior and encourages diversity. Only very few voices, among them the populist columnist Albert Norman, oppose that general sentiment. Towards the end of the book, another journalist is attacked by antifascists who mistook him for Norman. Ibraham's claims to be a political dissident are ultimately proven false, but he is granted asylum nevertheless. He still ends up unhappy and disillusioned in a cheap housing estate without employment. Ultimately, the novel is inconclusive. There is no solution

to the conflict, the ending is anticlimactic and Ibraham has been merely a pawn of other actors for their own personal, political or moral benefit who never appeared to have cares about him as a person in the first place.

As mentioned above, the narrative of the "Great Replacement" is one of the most prominent among the current Far Right but far from new. More so, it is a direct continuation of an ongoing right-wing demographic and cultural discourse that has been narratively reframed. The Austrian Branch of the Identitarians (*Identitäre Bewegung*) has protested the "Great Replacement" under this name prominently since 2014 (Goetz 2021, 67). The narrative itself, however, has existed for decades within the broader Right under different names and in different iterations. The term "Great Replacement" can be traced back to French right-wing intellectual Renaud Camus, who published a book that was titled accordingly in 2001. The right-wing desire to preserve the existence of a culturally and racially predominantly white population is mostly negotiated in cultural terms, especially in the discourses of those parts of the Far Right that attempt to uphold an impression of civility and democratic legitimacy. More radical proponents, however, argue biologically and consider "the autochthonous 'people' as a unique species that needs to be preserved, or as an organism that needs to be kept clean and that cannot take too many foreign influences, and that is put in mortal danger by amalgamation" (Goetz 2021, 63).

Due to the heritage of the National Socialist state, German speakers are more hesitant to refer to categories of "race" in their argumentation. The use of "White Genocide" as a phrase for ongoing demographic change is therefore more prominent outside of Germany. Instead, terms such as *Umvolkung* and *Volkstod* are used in order to obscure the specific reference to the White population, although they also clearly contain a racial component. According to Judith Goetz, differences in terminology between Europe and the US can mainly be traced back to regional taboos (Goetz 2021, 63). However, regardless of the terminology that is used, right-wing discourses and narratives surrounding demographic change generally consist of three elements: "firstly, the decline in birth rate of the autochthonous population; secondly the 'exchange of populations' due to immigration, multiculturalism and Islamization; and thirdly, the 'senes-

cence' or ageing of society" (Goetz 2021, 62). "Society" and "population" are in this case equated with "the people", an imagined homogenous biological community with common ancestors (Kopke 2017, 57).

The perceived problem of a demographic shift is generally explained as a result of the emancipation movements of the past decades. According to right-wing discourses, feminism and various postcolonial emancipation movements have effected/brought about a decline of the traditional family. Women were enabled to pursue professional careers instead of traditional caretaker roles in families, which in turn led to a general lowering of birth rates. However, proponents of right-wing demographic ideas do not promote a general increase in population number but rather advocate for strict control about which parts of the population increase their birthrate. While they do wish for an increase of birthrates of white, autochthonous segments, they lament the dangers or try to restrict an increase of non-white, immigrant segments within the national population. This perceived opposition of racial in-group and out-group is often contrasted with the rapid population growth in the Global South (Goetz 2021, 63).

These concepts of demographic changes and the diffusion of allegedly separate homogenous populations have been more thoroughly discussed since the early 1900s under the term *Umvolkung* (ethnic replacement) (Kellerslohn 2016). In 1936, Max Boehm, an author on German folkdom, differentiated between three semantic levels of *Umvolkung: assimilation, dissimilation* and *ethnomorphosis* (Kellerslohn 2016, 358). While the former two refer to the integration and reversal of integration of ethnic groups, ethnomorphosis refers to the infiltration of foreign populations into the autochthonous population that is negotiated in either biological or cultural terms (Kellerslohn 2016, 358). It is therefore the semantic component that is most prominent in current conspiracy narratives. In contrast to the concept of *Volkstod* (death of the people), that more strongly emphasizes the perceived negative, fatal and irrevocable outcome of demographic changes, the conspiracy narrative of the "Great Replacement" includes the notion of explicit or implicit participation of political elites in that process (Kopke 2017, 57). The dissemination and discursive reproduction of this narrative is

not limited to far-right fringe groups, but has found its way into the broader political discourse. In a 2015 speech, Björn Höcke, leader of the Thuringian branch and a prominent member of the German right-wing populist party AfD (*Alternative für Deutschland*, Alternative for Germany), contended that chancellor Angela Merkel was either deranged for allowing refugees to enter the country in 2015, or complicit in a larger, geopolitical plan to destabilize Europe (Kemper 2016). Conspiracy narratives such as the "Great Replacement" narrative obscure the historical origins and global dimensions of the Syrian refugee crisis.

Analytically, the replacement narratives in Raspail's and Turner's novels consist of three broader categories of people: those being replaced, those responsible for or perpetuating the replacement, and those who come to replace. These three human groups have different amounts of agency and motivation. It is particularly the second category, the perpetrators, who are imagined to be in control of the situation. These malicious elites are contrasted with two separate concepts of "the people" that are both imagined as homogenous: the supposedly "native" European population and the foreigners who immigrate, or rather invade their realm. Particularly the first two categories are largely adjacent to the discourse through which populism constructs the aforementioned cultural and political "us" vs. "them" – a construct that largely follows the two-dimensional model proposed by Pierre-André Taguieff (1995). The "us" and "them" are defined both in horizontal and vertical dimensions. Vertically, the dichotomy is constructed between "the people" and "the elite". Rhetorically, an adherence to "the people" is promoted, regardless of the populists' material or social conditions. "The elite", however, represents a class of opportunistic, self-serving and individuals laying claim to political correctness while lacking common decency and sense. The horizontal dimension expresses the opposition of perceived insiders and outsiders, "between 'people like us', those who share our way of life, and those on the outside who threaten our way of life" (Brubaker 2017, 2). Recent populist characterizations therefore place political, economic and cultural elites both "on top" and "outside", as Brubaker argues. This distinction is particularly observable in the characters in both books, as I will outline later.

Regarding the narrative of the "Great Replacement", the sixth edition of Norman Shapiro's English translation of *The Camp of the Saints* contains an extensive foreword by Jean Raspail himself, both for the original publication in 1973 but also for the 2011 reprint. The latter is an essay named "Big Other". In it, Raspail reflects on the mixed reception of the novel during the almost fifty years since its publication but more importantly provides a prime example and brief summary for the primary element of the "Great Reset", the demographic change:

> […] in reality, it's about an ingoing submersion, over the years, whose catastrophic fullness won't register on us until the watershed of 2045–2050, when the passing of the final demographic tipping point will be under way: In France and the countries around us, in the urbanized zones where two-thirds of the population live, 50 percent of the inhabitants below the age of 55 will be of non-European extraction. After which, this percentage will only keep climbing as a corollary of the weight of the two or three billion individuals, mainly from Africa and Asia, who will have been added to the six billion human beings the earth has today, and against whom our original Europe will be able to put up only its rump birth rate and its glorious senescence. (Raspail 2018, xxvii)

In this essay, Raspail anticipates the arguments that the Christchurch shooter would use years later (Tarrant 2019). Raspail allegorically equates the well-known biological factors of European descent, birthrates and demographic development with the cultural dangers he associates with migration. To Raspail, it is out of the question that "all persons and nations have the sacred right to preserve their differences and identities, in the name of their own future and their own past" (Raspail 2018, xiii). Potential accusations of racism are refuted through reference to Dartmouth professor Jeffrey Hart who is quoted writing that "Raspail is not writing about race, he is writing about civilization" (qt. in Raspail 2018, xiv).

The Camp of the Saints fictionally reinforces Raspail's stated opinions, offering more insight regarding the "Great Replacement" narrative

through its plot and characters. More so, the novel provides a fictionalized version of all the necessary components of that narrative. It comprises the necessary threat of the "Other", the benefactors and accomplices in the process of replacement and it includes those who either tragically suffer the results of the replacement or desperately fight it.

Right in the first chapter, which temporally takes place on the evening before the landing of the refugees, the character of Calguès is introduced. A former professor of Literature, Calguès is one of the few people who remained in their homes on the southern coast of France as the armada approached. The character serves as a personification of traditionalist values. He is an educated, well-read man who is used to the luxuries, comforts and privileges of Western European culture. As a character, he functions as an observer of the events that are unfolding. Calguès, the stoic remnant of the France that is ceasing to exist, is contrasted with a leftist hippie who has traveled to the South in order to observe the arrival of the armada. Representing the tragedy of the demise of French culture, Calguès is confronted with someone who applauds and welcomes that change. The nameless leftist has a radically Christian-humanist perspective, he claims that "there's a million Christs on those boats" (Raspail 2018, 10). Following the composition of the "Great Replacement" narrative, the hippie is probably closest to an accomplice of the replacement process, although he holds no political influence whatsoever. Following the revelation of his views, Calguès shoots him without further ado.

This naïve idea of the "million Christs" is contrasted with chapters that describe life on the boats of the armada. Only few characters are described in more detail, among them the leader of the armada, a misshapen child that is only named the "turd-eater" (Raspail 2018, 40) who serves as a proto-religious figure and spiritual guide to those aboard the ship, a travesty of the Christ figure showing that the text also turns against the Christian doctrine of human love. The thousands of other people are mostly described as an amorphous mass of indistinct, dark-skinned bodies that barely have any individual qualities beyond occasional mentions of age or gender. Most of the unnamed people aboard the armada act only as a collective. The revocation of individual qualities

and personalities enables both other characters and the reader to ignore any personal moral judgement about the situation in the face of an existential threat. This dehumanization is particularly exemplified in chapter 20 of *The Camp of the Saints* in which the process of using human excrements in order to fuel the fires needed to cook rice is described. The explicit description is immediately contrasted with a depiction of orgiastic group sex involving children: "And everywhere, a mass of hands and mouths, of phalluses and rumps. Young boys passed from hand to hand. Young girls, barely ripe, lying together cheek to thigh, asleep in a languid maze of arms, and legs, and flowing hair, waking to the silent play of eager lips" (Raspail 2018, 108). Particularly in this passage, the refugees are reduced to a faceless mass of filth and debauched, uncontrollable sexuality: a monstrous, amorphous and threatening body.

Throughout the entire novel, the notable dichotomy of political stances that is expressed in Calguès' encounter with the hippie, is a recurring theme. On the one hand, there are those that bear political responsibility for the arrival of the armada. Public figures who influence the country's opinion into welcoming the immigrants are contrasted with characters that exhibit migration-friendly positions for political or moral reasons are among them. The journalist Ben Suad, also known as Clément Dio, is a prime example in this regard. He is the editor of a newspaper with a large readership and from the moment he is introduced as a character, it is clear that he is somewhat of an antithesis to Calgués. Although this character was invented almost fifty years ago, he reads like an anticipation of the strawman the current Far Right brings up as an antagonist to their own hostile position towards migration. In *The Camp of the Saints*, Raspail leaves no doubt that Dio's actions are malicious and self-serving. In the chapter in which he is introduced, he is described as "a spider deep in the midst of French public opinion" (Raspail 2018, 68). Raspail writes further that "one thing never changed: his contempt for tradition, his scorn for Western man per se, and above all the patriotic Frenchman" (Raspail 2018, 69). A similar character is the radio host Albert Dufort, who similarly enjoys presenting himself as a fighter for a righteous cause. Both Dufort and Dio do not primarily

adhere to these ideals due to a deeper belief in universal humanism but rather for their own vanity and profit. A similar character in *Sea Changes* is John Leyden, who is a celebrated journalist and who has mastered the art of stirring public opinion towards social justice and generating outrage towards any sort of injustice. In the same way as Dio, John upholds a façade of political correctness and moral superiority but is in reality focused on his personal benefit. Furthermore, he has strong narcissistic tendencies, objectifies women in his immediate surrounding and is himself not free of racist thought and practice (Turner 2012, 373). Regarding the abovementioned two dimensions of populism, these members of the media industry are both economically "on top" (as they are part of a financially well-endowed and well-educated elite) and "outside" (as they act against the supposed immediate interests and wellbeing of the general population). In practice, this framing is used to justify and legitimize opposition to the perceived outsiders. Both Tarrant's and Breivik's manifestos fashion their authors as rightful fighters against an oppressive and elitist political caste (Breivik 2011; Tarrant 2019).

In *Sea Changes*, the farmer Dan Gowt, who is described as a simple and hard-working manual laborer from a rural village, is presented as an antithesis and victim to the ambitions of a morally corrupt media class. Gowt is the personification of the good-hearted "small man" who is out of touch with an increasingly academic and self-referential culture of political correctness personified by people like John Leyden. Despite attempts to clear his name, Dan Gowt is relentlessly smeared and labelled as a racist after initially making insensitive remarks right at the scene of the shipwreck. Besides Ibraham, Gowt is the character that is easiest to sympathize with, since he embodies traits and values that are associated with honesty and authenticity. In both populist dimensions, he is part of the in-group. Vertically, he is part of "the people" as he is living a frugal life with little to no societal or economic influence. Horizontally, he is "inside" due to his historical connection and admiration for the farm he inherited from his father. Gowt is, in right-wing terms, autochthonous, part of a supposedly native population. With this portrayal, he serves as the ideal projection screen for conservative self-identification.

An identification of those that are "outside" in *Sea Changes* is made particularly obvious in the chapter "Vox Metrop", which features a panel discussion in which John Leyden and representatives of several political parties and NGOs partake. Their populist framing as "outsiders" is narratively constructed through their depiction as incredibly self-righteous and arrogant but morally flawed individuals. Although most of them have enough political agency to be invited to a televised panel discussion, all of them are presented as unlikeable and estranged from the concerns of honest and hard-working people such as Dan Gowt. An example is Richard Simpson, a Member of Parliament for the leftist Worker's Party. Nicknamed "Spitson" (Turner 2012, 89) due to his pronunciation and accent, he is represented as a relic from a past political era of labor disputes that is quite unfamiliar with the cosmopolitan and PC notion of an inclusive society. Evan Dafydd is a representative of another political party named Fair Play Alliance. A bureaucrat and a bore, he is on the show as the "Coalition spokesperson for Transgendered Ethnic Minorities, and as rotating chair of the Fair Play for Islam Forum" (Turner 2012, 90). Particularly Carole Hassan, a devout Muslim convert and spokesperson for the Muslim Alliance, evokes in the reader an uneasiness that is mirrored in the audience of the panel discussion. While there is no objection from the other participants of the discussion, it is mentioned that "her concentration on Islam made some in the audience uneasy" (Turner 2012, 99). Apart from a general description of the aforementioned characters, this feeling of unease is mostly evoked indirectly. When a man from the audience makes the cautious remark that immigration control is still needed despite the incident, he is mocked and treated "as out of place as a Neanderthal lumbering down Oxford Street" (Turner 2012, 101). The self-righteousness of the panel and the rest of the audience's reaction feels cruel and uncalled for, which in return makes it easier to sympathize with those who are silenced and mocked and therefore locate the political protagonists and NGO and media representatives as out of touch with the concerns of reasonable and ordinary people. They are therefore "outside" and "on top" in populist terms.

While in *The Camp of the Saints*, the classification of "elites" and "outsiders" is relatively easy, it lacks a clearly identifiable "inside" counterpart. Calgués, while having a historical connection and a strong affection towards the region where he lives, is not the ideal example for "the people" due to his job in academia. Furthermore, there are those like Dio and Dufort who have grasped the severity of the situation early on, but who are silenced by public opinion control and "professional do-gooders". In most cases, they unsuccessfully attempt to act as a voice of reason in the discourse. One such character is the reactionary journalist Machefer who works for a small and unsuccessful newspaper with very limited success. Politically, "Machefer's paper was neither right nor left, nor even lukewarm middle of the road. It would lash out, often where least expected, tilting at the windmills of hackneyed opinion" (Raspail 2018, 75). This ability for a transgressive populism makes Machefer the ideal counterpart to a media apparatus that is seemingly forced into line.

Under the impression of books like Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilizations* (1992) and changes in Western party politics, the past two decades have witnessed a growing skepticism regarding the compatibility of a supposed "Western" culture and "non-Western" immigrant communities, particularly of Muslim faith. In contrast to the abovementioned replacement narratives that have prominent racial undertones, arguments about the incompatibility of the gains of feminism with the acceptance of Muslim lifestyles mostly rely on cultural arguments.

Much in the same way that replacement narratives are fueling radicalization and inspiring violent action, an emerging anti-feminist and anti-LGBTQ* sentiment is providing a gateway and a framework for right-wing radicalization. Considering feminists and feminism as adversaries to the national and racial well-being appears to be the smallest common denominator between conservatives and far-right extremists. The "manosphere", an online subculture that seeks the preservation of male privilege and an end to an alleged discrimination of men, has been a fertile ground for anti-feminist and right-wing discourses over the last years (Nagle 2017). The relationship to feminism both within online and offline communities on the political right, however, is remarkably

two-fold. On the one hand, feminist or egalitarian views challenge traditional gender roles and notions of a hierarchy based on biological difference. Any ideology that enables women to choose their lifestyle and partnership model autonomously supposedly lowers a nation's birthrate, which consequently affects population size. Particularly in this regard, narratives of "White Genocide" and anti-feminist discourses intersect. On the other hand, there is a visible tendency to "outsource" the sexism innate in those arguments and to appropriate supposedly feminist stances in order to underline cultural or racial differences to the "other". According to Ruth Wodak,

> [s]trangers within and outside are perceived as threatening (Christian) civilization, accompanied by a gendered discourse which, on the one hand, appeals to a liberation of women according to Human Rights conventions and is directed against Muslim women and, on the other hand, restricts women's rights via traditional Christian religious values directed against the freedom to choose abortion and to live independent lives (Wodak 2015, 181).

This dichotomy is perpetuated in both of the novels. In both books, there are notable instances of women who embody this duality, particularly through sexually tantalizing behavior or as persons onto whom sexual anxieties are projected. In *Sea Changes*, the lawyer Joanna Karatakis is such a figure. When the protagonist, Ibraham, is accommodated in a decrepit refugee camp in Greece, he develops an almost obsessive behavior and fantasizes about her. In the chapters, it remains ambiguous whether the provocative behavior that Ibraham notices is actually just the product of his imagination. In the descriptions of their interactions, it is made obvious that the male gaze and Ibraham's attraction towards Ms. Karatakis influence the narrative reliability of Ibraham as a focalizer for the narrative. When he attempts to kiss Ms. Karatakis, he is dragged out of the room by a translator and his rejection is made abundantly clear. The professional relationship between them is destroyed and Ibraham feels like he is "banished forever from paradise" when the mental image he has built up around her is met with a sudden physical rejection

(Turner 2012, 178). This immediate physical reaction is an expression of a sudden change in the power dynamics between the characters. Ibraham changes from a person Ms. Karatakis empathizes with and cares for to a sexually abusive offender, the predatory "Other". In a riot that takes place in the camp a few weeks later, a female guard is raped which again reflects a change in power dynamics and solidifies the representation of the migrant other as uncontrollable sexual predator.

In *The Camp of the Saints*, a comparable character is Iris Nan-Chan, girlfriend of Clèment Dio and a member of the liberal elite that exhibits the same reversal of power dynamics. When Dio and Nan-Chan head to the south of France to witness the arrival of the armada, they do so from an emphatic, humanist perspective that exhibits both scorn for their country and a paternalism and naiveté towards the migrant other. When she and Dio attempt to spend the night at a hotel that has been overtaken by a band of leftists and migrants, Nan-Chan is raped and commits suicide as a consequence.

Sexualized violence as a consequence or punishment for characters who exhibit pro-immigration stances occur several times throughout the book. Another case is Lydia, a member of the group of leftist militants under a leader named Panama Ranger. Lydia, too, expresses through her membership in Panama Ranger's group a decidedly pro-immigrant stance. As a minor character, Lydia remains very flat. The only information about her that can be gathered is that she is sexually promiscuous (Raspail 2018, 252). In the chapters that function as an epilogue it is revealed that after the arrival of the armada, she spent time in a brothel that offered mandatory services to the newly arrived Hindus (Raspail 2018, 269). Ultimately, she dies full of regret and self-loathing. Again, rape, sexualized violence and death are in the book's logic the consequence for behavior that harms the nation's identity and biological survival.

Unsurprisingly, neither novel contains complex female characters. They appear to exist only in two iterations: as weak characters or members of an assumed "elite". The weaker female characters need male protection because they are in danger, particularly from the migrant masculine other. An exception to the general lack of agency regarding females

are those characters that are part of the populist conception of "the elite". Both books generally follow or anticipate the right-wing assertion that migration of people with non-western culture and values is a threat to women's emancipation and safety. Simultaneously, in both novels there are instances in which particularly emancipated women suffer sexualized violence. Not surprisingly, the texts do not adhere to the feminist conception of patriarchy as a set of social relations that transcends borders and cultures, but rather locate the origin of oppression on the side of foreign male invaders. The rhetorical and narrative strategies of reframing, or resemanticizing, feminist themes serves to justify anti-immigration policies. Both novels subvert feminist ideas, transforming them into instruments of xenophobic anti-immigration narratives.

In conclusion, both books employ elements of the "Great Replacement" narrative, albeit with different emphases. While *The Camp of the Saints* emphasizes both the irreversible national catastrophe of the replacement and the events leading up to it, *Sea Changes* lacks such a cataclysmic incident. What the novels have in common is their focus on the conditions of and the individual contributions to such a replacement. While characters from both novels act maliciously or selfishly, they share a dismissal of societal relations and fundamental humanitarian values which they represent as hindrances to the preservation of national culture and ethnic survival. In both Raspail's and Turner's fictions it is not individual wrongdoing that leads to catastrophe, but rather a collectively grown political culture that has learned to embrace Christian-humanitarian values of diversity and multiculturalism over the tendency to protect one's own racial and cultural identity.

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