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	Ditte Amalie Kraul	20150798	22/09/90
	Ditte Nygaard	20150795	03/10/90
	Nanna Skov Larsen	20150801	24/03/90

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Framing Welfare: Right-wing Populism and Notions of Deservedness in Contemporary Society

A multiple-case study of Denmark and the United Kingdom
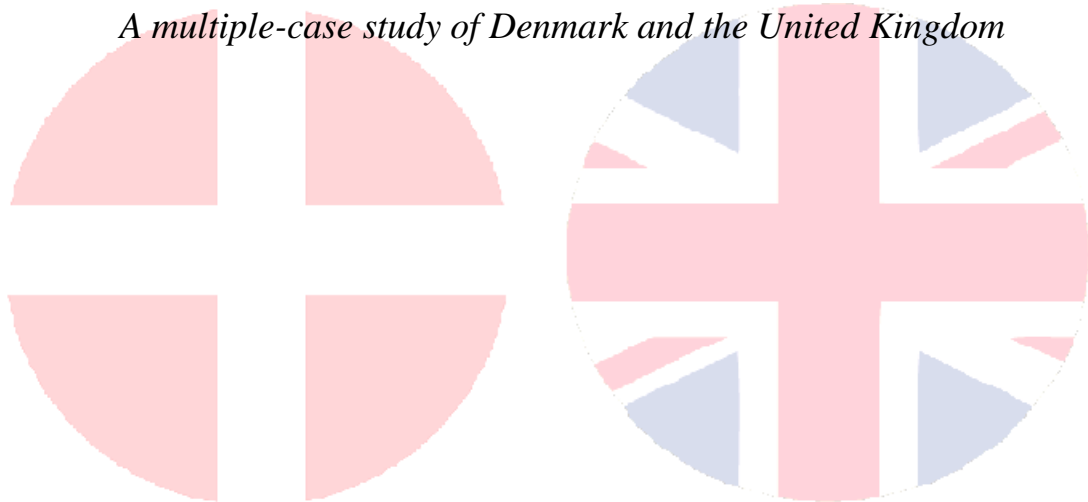
Kraul, Larsen and Nygaard

Master's Thesis

Culture, Communication and Globalization

International Relations and the Global Order

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Abstract

This study concerns populist tendencies and categorizations of deservedness in contemporary society within right-wing parties and media in Denmark and the United Kingdom. The thesis seeks to examine whether the contemporary rise in right-wing populism can be said to influence categorizations of deserving and undeserving in terms of welfare benefits. The study applies theories of populism and deservedness to a two-split empirical data set consisting of political documents in the form of right-wing political party manifestos and rightist media documents in the form of newspaper articles. The paper reflects upon whether populist tendencies can be identified in the empirical data, how categories of deserving and undeserving groups are constructed, which legitimizations of frames in limiting welfare benefits for undeserving target groups are prevalent, and finally, the paper considers the role of populist leaning frames in creating discursive pressure on the concept of the welfare state. A variety of populist tendencies were identified and elaborated upon, and the study established that certain populist tendencies as well as frames of deservedness are recurrent in both of the case countries' data sets. Among others, the populist tendencies that were identified include appeals to producerism and morally correct behavior, proneness towards exclusionism and dividing people into those who are considered 'the pure' and those who are not, along with constructions of enemy images and scapegoating. In comparison with the Danish data set, the British data set generally exhibited increased focus on nationality when it came to determining who was considered part of the deserving, pure group of people. The study found a convergence in a general consistent negative framing of welfare benefit receivers, however the negative framing was present to a stronger degree in the British data set. By extent, it was demonstrated that the British data set exhibit stronger antipathy towards the European Union than the Danish data set. Moreover, one similar matter was found in the fact that the dividing line between being considered as deserving or undeserving is consistently vague and undefined in both of the data sets. This was furthermore found to apply to the matter of the perceived responsibility of the welfare receiver's situation, which, in both data sets, is given significant value in the evaluation of the individual's deservedness.

The study's explorations of the welfare state and social constructions of welfare receivers culminate in a conclusion stating that the analytical findings in the present paper do exhibit pressure on the contemporary welfare state due to a consistently negative framing of the act of receiving welfare benefits along with populist leaning rhetoric influencing the groups of deserving and undeserving, which might result in increasingly less public support for the welfare state.

Til vores nærmeste og hinanden

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1. Introduction

One might argue that a welfare state is conditioned by the willingness of the individual to contribute to those who are worse off. An acceptance that one might live a strenuous life burdened by hardship and still observe others who are considered worse off receive help from government institutions; everything is relative, and hardship is no exception. Receiving welfare transfers from the government inevitably requires an evaluation of the state of the individual's need. Such a practice requires the handing over of some of the control of one's income to the government, in the expectancy that the government is able to conduct the evaluation of one's own and other people's needs fairly and in a way that is represented through one's democratic vote. Of course, the welfare state is meant to provide for its citizens through several different institutions in which everyone is taken into consideration. However, it is easily imagined that as a result of this procedure some would feel they are unfairly treated or unjustly disadvantaged whilst observing others receiving welfare transfers, be it a neighbor across the hedge or a cyber-neighbor in a news media story. One might be of the opinion that others are not entitled to such welfare transfers. An accumulation of frustrations over long periods of time due to this seemingly unfair distribution might find an eventual opportunity of giving vent through someone else conveying one's frustrations in the media or elsewhere; a conveyance of one's frustrations, even anger, of the seemingly ongoing unfairness of others being treated with too much.

This feeling of resentment of others receiving unfair benefits and the consequences of it, we argue, has found its way to populist leaning framings in the public debate. Scholars agree that right-wing populism has been on the rise for a while across Europe (and elsewhere) (Greven 2016; Müller 2016; Wodak 2015). Common denominators of these parties include rightist economic beliefs, xenophobic attitudes and a striving for secession from international agreements and legislation. Parties and party leaders such as the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), Geert Wilders and his Party for Freedom of the Netherlands, Marine Le Pen of Front National in France and Victor Orbán of the Fidesz Party in Hungary are amongst those who are often referred to (ibid.). One might wonder whether part of the rise of populism revolves around frustrations of deservedness in society and in politics in terms of welfare distribution. We argue that right-wing populism and right-wing politics in general have an ongoing impact on the public discourse concerning who is entitled to welfare benefits and who is not, and we wish to explore how such right-wing, populist leaning framings are expressed in politics and in the media.

Therefore, the focal points of the explorations of the present paper will be on populist leaning framings and the welfare state, welfare benefit receivers and notions of deservedness. These matters, we suggest, are negotiated in the public sphere and debate, and it is in this debate the arguments of others being deserving and undeserving can be found. Since populism is found within the realm of politics, we want to explore not only the discourse in the media, but also its form of political communication and examine connections between the two outputs.

1.1. Research Overview

In order to gain an overview of the academic research within the relevant areas for the present thesis, we have identified the studies outlined below to gain an understanding of the contemporary research within the areas.

In a general introduction to and conceptualization of welfare chauvinism, Keskinen, Norocel and Bak Jørgensen (2016) discuss welfare chauvinism and how there are two distinct conceptualizations of it. They outline the development in North- and Western Europe and discuss how the rise of right-wing politics combined with the economic crisis in 2008 have paved the way for right-wing populism: "The 2008 economic crisis accentuated this development and led to the instalment of austerity measures. These have hit the bottom of society the hardest and have generated public discourses of welfare abusers, among which racialised minorities, single mothers, the unemployed and 'chavs' (cf. Jones, 2011) are categorised" (p.326). Simultaneously they argue there has been a development in the public discussions of immigrants and national belonging, and "in such debates and through the policies that these have led to, especially Muslims and non-Western minorities are othered when framed as threats to European societies" (p.324). According to Bak Jørgensen et al. these two developments in combination have led to a contemporary debate revolving around wanted and unwanted migrants and deserving and undeserving social groups. Said contemporary debate on deserving and undeserving groups with a basis formed in welfare chauvinism is especially relevant for the present paper. Welfare chauvinism is a comprehensive concept which can be utilized in many ways, though often in relation to migration matters. Bak Jørgensen et al. moreover propose a broad division into two general approaches, namely as a concept that "covers all sorts of claims and policies to reserve benefits for the 'native' populations" and as an "ethnonationalist and racialising political agenda, characteristic especially of right-wing populist parties" (p.321). By extent, Hjorth (2015) examines the role of stereotypes of welfare recipients in

the realm of cross-border welfare in Sweden, and found that such welfare benefits are conditioned by the stereotypes about who receives the benefits. Similarly examining welfare chauvinism, Nordensvarda and Ketolab (2015) investigate the matter of welfare chauvinism in combination with populism and demonstrate how populist discourses in Sweden and Finland have influenced the characteristic of the welfare state to a 'welfare nation state' where social services that were previously universal become conditioned by ethnicity. Another study concerned with welfare chauvinism is that of Norocel (2016), who examines the assumptions behind populist radical right political discourses specifically in Sweden, with a basis in the folkhem and the populist party Sweden Democrats. Norocel finds that the party mainly forms their discourses around 'us' and 'them'; the migrant other.

Combining research of populism and welfare is not unusual, and has also been done by Schumacher and Kersbergen (2014). In their study they investigate whether mainstream parties adapt to populist parties' welfare chauvinism, with a focal point on the political scene in Denmark and the Netherlands. Schumacher and Kersbergen adopt a very generalist approach to 'populists', and ends their study with a general conclusion that mainstream right-wing parties do adapt to populist parties' welfare chauvinism, and in the process they become more skeptical of multiculturalism but more pro-welfare compared to their original stance on the matter.

Another matter relevant for the research overview of the present thesis is that of the social construction of deservedness, as proposed and elaborated upon at a subsequent point by Ingram and Schneider (2005). In a study by Ennser-Jedenastik (2016), the populist radical right party (PRRP) the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) is examined with a focus on welfare attitudes. Due to the ideology of PRRPs, the study expects that certain groups are viewed as deserving or undeserving, and these expectations are generally conformed to in the results. Ennser-Jedenastik (2016) found that the groups who are perceived as deserving are the elder, traditional families and the disabled and sick, the latter generally not being seen as responsible for their situation. Perceived as undeserving are the so-called free riders, i.e. those who collect benefits though able to work, and the unemployed who are partially viewed as responsible for their situation and/or unwilling to work (Ennser-Jedenastik 2016, 414). Finally, Ennser-Jedenastik concludes that welfare chauvinism has become a standard characteristic of PRRPs in Europe. Bak Jørgensen and Thomsen (2016) similarly investigate categories of deservingness in social policy in Denmark. They argue that immigrants are divided into 'wanted' and 'unwanted' categories related to immigration matters as well as 'deserving' and 'undeserving' target groups based on their status and their perceived 'value' for society. Bak Jørgensen and Thomsen demonstrate that "public policies and the attribution of public goods and rights are increasingly

developed within a hierarchical system of civic stratification that legitimises welfare chauvinism" (p. 330).

The recurrent theme in all of these studies are of course the research areas, but what springs to mind is also the research design; they are all case-studies, some multiple, some singular. The countries investigated are Sweden, followed by the Netherlands, Denmark, Finland, and Austria, something which have of course sparked our interest in a similar research design and considerations of case countries. Common to most of these studies is the employment of the concept of welfare chauvinism, in either of its outlined forms. However, the concept will not be included in the present study, due to us wishing for a more explorative approach, without limiting the focus to migrants and nativity. Following this research outline, and as stated in the introduction, with this thesis we want to combine populism and notions of deservedness in an examination of whether the contemporary rise in right-wing populism influences the categorization of deservedness in terms of welfare benefits among right-wing parties and media in a multiple-case study of Denmark and the United Kingdom. Therefore, the problem formulation will be the following:

1.2. Problem Formulation

We wish to explore populist tendencies and categorizations of deservedness in contemporary society within right-wing parties and media in Denmark and the United Kingdom, in order to examine whether the contemporary rise in right-wing populism can be said to influence the categorizations of deserving and undeserving in terms of welfare benefits.

Thus, we pose the following research questions:
- Which populist tendencies can be identified in the selected empirical data?
- How are categories of deserving and undeserving groups constructed?
- What are the prevalent legitimizations of frames in limiting welfare benefits of undeserving target groups?
- What is the role of populist leaning frames in creating discursive pressure on the concept of a welfare state?

2. Methodology

The following section will provide a scrutinization of the methodological aspects of the present thesis. Firstly, the epistemological and ontological considerations will be outlined. Secondly, the research design will be presented followed by considerations concerning the choice and justification of the selected cases. Subsequently the selection and limitation of empirical data will be covered, detailing the types of sources and data.

2.1. Epistemological and Ontological Considerations

This thesis' ontological approach is based on social constructivism and its epistemological considerations are associated with interpretivism. In terms of interpretivism, this epistemological position originated due to a countermovement to the positivist approach. Whereas positivism pursues entirely value-free data during research, interpretivism abides by respecting the variations between individuals and objects of natural sciences and social sciences, and thus it concentrates on understanding social phenomena which encompasses the causes to said phenomena (Bryman 2012, 30).

As mentioned, the ontological considerations of this thesis are related to social constructivism. Social constructivism promotes an approach where all human knowledge is socially constructed. This philosophical paradigm is founded in an epistemology that embraces subjectivity, and an ontology that rejects realism. Social constructivism distinguishes between phenomena of physical existence and the social importance that humans ascribe to these. This implies that social phenomena are not only provided when social interaction happens but equally that they are continually in a state of change. As a result, these phenomena exclusively exist when humans give meaning to them and thus no objective truth is to be found. Additionally, social constructivism crucially requires researchers "to consider the ways in which social reality is an ongoing accomplishment of social actors rather than something external" (Bryman 2012, 34).

The thesis will engage a qualitative case study design and the bulk of the empirical data collection will consist of political manifestos and news articles, which are suitable for qualitative analysis and the abovementioned approach of social constructivism. The proposed epistemological and ontological approach is crucial when employing case studies such as the one in the present paper in order to take the social world that surrounds our case into consideration. Lastly, seeing as this thesis concerns the examination of framing strategies in written sources and how language and the social

world are mutually constitutive, the social constructivist and interpretivist approach are assessed as the most fruitful approaches.

2.2. Research Design

The research approach of this paper is predominantly deductive, seeing as the the relationship between theory and research will be dominated by the approach of theory guiding the research (Bryman 2012, 19). The deductive approach entails certain limitations, among others the fact that our presuppositions from the selected theories will in all probability have an impact in determining our conclusions and possibly narrow the scope of the analysis. Nevertheless, a deductive approach provides us with an abundance of resources as well as a low risk of non-completion of the study (ibid.). The aim of the present paper coincides with Robert K. Yin's explanation of a case study, which he denotes: "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life contexts, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." (Yin 2009, 28). The theory selected for this thesis will be applied in an analysis of empirical data collected from two selected cases, namely the United Kingdom and Denmark. This thesis will thus be a qualitative multiple-case study of the two nations. Choosing to conduct a multiple-case study will enable us to carefully investigate and intensively analyze the phenomena of populist narratives of the welfare state and the underlying legitimizations of categories of the deserving and undeserving. Considering the fact that the subjects of examination in the present paper are constituted of two countries with different languages, the matter of language differences arises. Seeing as the authors of this thesis are all native Danish speakers as well as native-level in English, we feel confident that we can cover the empirical data written in Danish in valid way, taking into consideration the nuances and tone of language. It is implicit that all quotations from the Danish sources are the authors of this paper's translations unless stated otherwise.

2.3. Justification of Selected Cases

Geographically placed within close proximity of one another, the two nation states respectively Denmark and the United Kingdom have been closely intertwined throughout history as far back as to Viking invasions. From an international point of view, the two nation states have often cooperated and demonstrated similar attitudes, e.g. in World War II, stern support to the United States after 9/11,

including interventions in the Iraq War and in Afghanistan. They are both Western, developed nations, and part of the global North.

Contemporarily, the UK and Denmark demonstrate resemblances in terms of GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita and HDI (Human Development Index) scales, which are near identical in comparison. Furthermore, much demographic data of these countries are similar, such as age breakdown in which the age groups constitute overly similar percentages between groups of 0-14 years, 15-64 years and 65+ years, which respectively constitute 16.88% in Denmark and 17.77% in the UK, 64.16% in Denmark and 64.47% in the UK and 18.96% in Denmark and 17.76% in the UK (FindTheData 2017). The demographic resemblances among others emphasize the basis for conducting a comparative study of the two nation states.

Particularly relevant for the present paper is the presence of Euro-skepticism found in both nations, dating back to the founding of the EU. Traditionally, both the UK and Denmark have not committed fully to European Integration and specifically in relation to the policies of the Union, both nations have negotiated opt-outs, four each (EU-oplysningen 2017 and BREXIT and the EU Referendum 2016 2017). Two of the opt-outs are within the same area, namely the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and within the area of freedom, security and justice (AFSJ). By extension, said skepticism has been evident through several referendums in each member state in that the majority votes were characterized by tight margins, often dividing the voters into near equal size pro and against. With the Brexit vote (51.9% voting 'out' and 48.1% voting 'stay' (BBC n.d.) being the latest illustration of such in the UK, and the Danish referendum on the opt-in model for participation in JHA (Justice and Home Affairs) (*Retsforbeholdet*) with 46.9% voting for and 53.1% against (Danmarks Statistik 2015). The paralleled skepticism is yet another area in which Denmark and the UK share common ground.

However, the two chosen countries undoubtedly display both cultural, historic and societal differences, which we argue make them further suitable for a comparative study in that such differences allow the research to explore advancement of populist sentiments and narratives of deserving and undeserving welfare recipients in relatively different arenas, hopefully giving way to a deeper understanding. Firstly, the population size of the two countries differ greatly in that UK's population number is more than 11 times larger than that of Denmark with 65,110,000 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics 2017) whereas Denmark has merely 5,748,769 (Danmarks Statistik 2017). Regarding the matter of welfare, Denmark and the UK are both recognized as being welfare

states, something which will be elaborated upon in a subsequent paragraph. However, the percentage of social expenditure of GDP varies significantly between the two, seeing that Denmark spent 28,7% of its GDP in 2016 whereas the UK spent 21,5% of its GDP in 2016 (OECD.Stat 2017) on social expenditure, which arguably indicates differences in the scope of the welfare state. Moreover, the Gini Coefficient, which measures income inequality, is fairly different in respectively the UK and Denmark. Drawing upon numbers from the OECD (2017), Denmark ranks third highest of all the OECD nations, making it a country with a significantly low income inequality. Denmark scores 0.254 on the scale of 0 to 1 in 2013, with zero indicating that everyone has the same income, and one being that one single person has all the income in a given country. In 2013, the United Kingdom scores 0.358, ranking 30 out of the 35 OECD countries, only doing better than states such as the United States, Mexico and Israel (OECD 2017). Regarding poverty levels, another contrast becomes apparent from the statistics, which state that the poverty rate in 2013 for each country is at 0.054 (5%) and 0.104 (10%), for Denmark and UK respectively, illustrating a higher level of people whose income falls below the poverty line taken as half the median household income of the total population (OECD Data 2017). Owing to the abovementioned similarities and differences, we find it suitable to conduct a comparative research study employing these two nations.

2.4. Selection and Limitation of Empirical Data

This paragraph will scrutinize our choice of empirical data and the limitations that form the basis of our selection strategy. Having established the basis for the questions posed in the present paper, namely the aim of investigating populist tendencies and populist leaning frames, categorizations of deserving and undeserving and legitimizations for these categories, we have chosen to apply a two-part set of empirical data, in order to examine and elucidate the matter from two main perspectives. One set of data should consist of 'political documents', in the form of manifestos from each of the chosen political parties of each country, which is material published directly from right-wing parties in the UK and Denmark. The second set of data should consist of media content and will be articles from specifically chosen newspapers. These choices will be elaborated upon below.

2.4.1. Political Documents

The choice to include political documents into the pool of empirical data for the present thesis is based on the premise of the problem formulation to explore populist tendencies and categories of deserving and undeserving in right-wing parties.

In order to select the empirical data consisting of political documents, it is necessary to take into consideration that this paper is concerned with right-wing politics, which is why only political documents of right-wing origin will be considered. Both case countries have three parties representing their respective political right-wing, something which will elaborated upon at a subsequent point. From the UK, the right-wing parties constitute the Conservative Party, the UK Independence Party (UKIP) and the British National Party (BNP). From Denmark the selected right-wing parties are the Conservative Party (in Danish; *Det Konservative Folkeparti*), the Liberal Party (*Venstre*) and Liberal Alliance (*Liberal Alliance*). A comment on the Danish People's Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*) is worth mentioning here; although the party is denominated populist by theorists such as Jan-Werner Müller (2016), the party will not be included in this study, as it cannot be categorized as a right-wing party due to, among others, its attitude towards the welfare state and social benefits. Generally speaking, in political analyses, the party is centrally placed and encompasses both leftist and rightist stances (Lange 2016). The fact that we wish to examine populist tendencies might appear to not correspond with our choice of the political parties, seeing as UKIP and BNP are generally declared populist by scholars such as Wodak (2016, 28) and Greven (2016, 3). However, we have chosen the three political parties from each country not because they are (or are not) populist in nature, but because they are right-wing and to make the study taxonomically comparable. We wish to examine and scrutinize different forms of populist tendencies qualitatively and on a descriptive level, and subsequently raise our findings to a higher analytical level of abstraction. Thus we expect the similarities and differences to form part of the comparison in the analysis. Methodologically, we have approached the manifestos in the same way. With this choice of right-wing parties, we have further limited the political documents by applying a 'contemporary framework' in the collection of data; the problem being examined in this thesis is highly contemporary and we are looking for populist tendencies in contemporary society. With that in mind, the political documents have been selected from the criteria that if presented online at the webpages of the parties at the moment of collection, the documents will reflect the respective parties' current desired communicative output manifested through narratives, framings and opinions. What we have found on the parties' webpages is that the present documents available are posted in a time period often spanning over several years - we have prioritized to choose

the most updated versions in order to get the most updated communiqués, in the aim that they to some degree reflect the debate we expect to find in the media empirical data.

2.4.2. The Selected Political Documents

In our search for possible political documents, we have researched the parties' webpages systematically in order to examine their approach to and framing of the welfare state, including who is entitled to benefits and who is not. From a systematic assessment of each webpage, we have examined different types of political documents, such as key issue statements, press releases and manifestos. In order to narrow down the quantity of data, we have decided to focus on manifestos. This decision is based on an assessment that manifestos are the most static communiqués available of the parties' beliefs, representing a 'final' and static version of the respective party's opinion. Another argument in favor of choosing manifestos is the immediate comparable format of them; they are almost all of a certain length, they provide an overview of each party's key issues and they go deeper into detail than other entries present on the webpages. We found that this static manifesto format is repeated in both the UK and Denmark, except in the case of the British National Party (BNP), whose only available manifesto online is a three-page document. In general, their webpage is quite superficial, containing mostly headlines without further detailing the party's opinion on particular matters. However, as this is the only party webpage standing out, and as they themselves denominate this three-page document their manifesto, we still deem the manifestos the most directly comparable document format across the parties, and as such it will be included in the analysis. A noteworthy remark in relation to the British Conservative Party and the document we have chosen from them is that since its publication in 2015, the party has been through a change of leader from David Cameron to Theresa May, a shift that happened in connection with Brexit becoming a reality. Despite these changes, the party manifesto is still to this date available online as the party's main communiqué (5th April, 2017) and thus we deem it representative. Something similar applies to the manifesto of UKIP, a manifesto which states Nigel Farage as the party leader. The manifesto was published in 2015, but to this date it is still available as the party's main communiqué (5th April 2017). From the British right-wing parties, the selected manifestos are The Conservative Party: "Strong leadership. A clear economic plan. A brighter, more secure future." (2015), United Kingdom Independence Party: "Believe in Britain." (2015) and British National Party: "Stop Immigration Now" (2016). From Denmark, the selected manifestos are *Det Konservative Folkeparti*: "*Giv*

*ansvaret tilbage til borgern*e" (2016), *Liberal Alliance*: "*Arbejdsprogram*" (2016) *Venstre* "*Fremtid i frihed og fællesskab*" (n.d.). Noteworthy to mention in relation to the political documents is that due to the documents' length, they will not be attached as appendixes but rather they will be included in the bibliography along with their access date.

2.4.3. Media Documents

By extent of the abovementioned outline and premise for choosing political manifestos as constituting the one half of our empirical data set, the following paragraph will delineate our second half of the empirical data set, namely that stemming from the media specifically in the form of carefully selected newspaper articles.

The contemporary arena of media such as newspapers, TV, radio and social media encompasses a continuous and ubiquitous cascade of utterances, reflections, statements and unlimited information. The media is often viewed as the main contributor of information of society's motions and activities, the 'fourth branch of government' emphasizing its power and role in society. Regarding the matter of welfare, and based on the above considerations, we argue that specifically news media constitute an interesting pool of data to utilize in terms of identifying and subsequently analyzing prevalent opinions, agendas and sentiments of welfare benefits. On the basis of these considerations, the present paper will base its collection of empirical data from the ubiquitous news media flows in its scholarly pursuits and search for the previously mentioned populist leaning frames, categorizations of deservedness and implicit legitimizations. We have chosen to focus on news media articles, as it is a traditional medium with an arguably important position in regards to opinion formation. The amount of textual context is incessant and paves the way for endless research into how the general public approaches and addresses specific topics of content which is deemed relevant to perhaps their lives, interest, identities, etc. In the process of searching for our empirical data, the choice between physically printed articles and online articles arose. We have chosen to focus on articles that have been printed, owing to the fact that the bulk of optional data would otherwise be exceedingly large, and limitations had to be made in this regard. It should be noted and emphasized that the majority of the printed articles can also be found online, which means that there is a possibility that the articles have been read both online and in print, as such reaching a possibly larger audience. Choosing printed articles is among others based on an expectation that these do have a certain audience reception and clout, something which arguably gives weight to the choice of printed articles.

Owing to the fact that we will seek to examine the matter of right-wing populism relative to welfare attitudes as a focal point in this paper, we expect right-leaning newspapers to represent and illustrate the paper's announced political stance. Relevant to our choice of newspapers, we are aware that party-connected newspapers do not exist in an absolute form in the UK or Denmark, but there are nonetheless affiliations and endorsements to be found between certain newspapers and political wings. There is to be found an evident divide in political stances in relation to preferred newspaper among readers. In the case of newspapers in the UK, this is illustrated by the BBC (2009) outlining certain newspapers' relative big support for specific political party leaders, thus showing the newspapers' political stance (BBC 2009). In the case of Denmark, a study by Gallup (2006) established a figure showing electoral vote in the latest referendum relative to preferred newspaper, once again inferring a perceived political stance of each newspaper (Gallup 2006 in Hjarvard 2007).

2.4.4. The Selected Media Documents

As will be demonstrated below, the circulations of the major printed newspapers are not insignificant. Specifically, the circulation numbers have acted as a means of further limitation of the empirical data sources; prior to the final selection of newspapers, we have researched all public right-wing, printed daily newspapers in each country. These newspapers have then been prioritized according to circulation numbers, and the three biggest in each country have been chosen as our final empirical sources. From the United Kingdom, these are *The Sun*, with an average circulation per issue of 1,591,997 (Audit Bureau of Circulations 2017b), followed by *Daily Mail* (average circulation per issue: 1,454,129) (Audit Bureau of Circulations 2017c), and lastly *The Daily Telegraph* with an average circulation per issue of 457,331 (Audit Bureau of Circulations 2017a). From Denmark the selected sources are respectively *Jyllands-Posten* with a daily circulation of 75,943 issues (Danske Mediers Oplagskontrol, 2014c), followed by *Berlingske* with a daily circulation of 74,948 (Danske Mediers Oplagskontrol, 2014a) and *BT,* with a daily circulation of 47,208 (Danske Mediers Oplagskontrol, 2014b). The differences in circulation numbers must naturally be seen in relation to the respective population sizes.

The above section delineated the limitation of the sources for our empirical media data. What follows next is an outline of our limitations for the specific media data, namely the articles we have chosen for our analysis. The first limitation is the time framework; as we are examining a contemporary phenomenon, the time frame for the collection of empirical data have been limited to

the past year, with a cutoff date set as 4th April 2017. Thus, the exact time frame within which the articles have been collected is 5th April 2016 to 4th April 2017. Within this timeframe Brexit has happened, which makes the timeframe even more suitable, ensuring that the themes of welfare and welfare benefits among others have been on the agenda in not only Britain but the entirety of Europe in the past year. This is further amplified by the European Commission's recent proposal to change the rules on social security coordination within the Union (European Commission 2016b). The proposal came in December 2016 and has sparked the debate concerning welfare and the rights of the moving workforce. Also within the time frame is the Danish policy of *Kontanthjælpsloftet*, henceforth translated as 'the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum', something which is arguably a debated subject in Denmark, ensuring that welfare benefits have been up for public debate within the time frame. The policy was proposed in March and implemented in October 2016 (Beskæftigelsesministeriet 2016). The EU Commission proposal and the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum is further elaborated upon in a subsequent paragraph.

In correlation with the time frame and the events that have happened within it, we have had to make a choice in order to limit the pool of articles concerning welfare. In order to establish a pool of empirical data that is taxonomically comparable, it has been necessary to identify a range of themes within the welfare debate, which we can use to elucidate the debate on the matter. Upon creating an overview of possible areas to examine within welfare, we have settled upon three themes as the focal point for our research. These themes have been selected on the basis of them being present in contemporary media discussions, specifically through being mentioned in discussions revolving around Brexit, the Commission's proposal as well as in Danish media and politics within the past year. At the same time, we have assessed that all three themes are taxonomically comparable and sufficiently entail similar actions in the respective countries despite apparent differences in the respective welfare states. The three themes are as follows: jobseeker's allowance (*kontanthjælp*), child benefit (*børnecheck*) and housing benefit (*boligstøtte*).

We are aware that the three themes are not identical and therefore cannot be directly compared as encompassing the same exact same things, however we find that these welfare approaches are nonetheless sufficiently corresponding and comparable in terms of the debate revolving around them. Within each theme, we had to apply a limitation regarding which specific keywords to search for, while being aware of a choice between the different variations in each term. As indicated above, for the case of jobseeker's allowance, the most comparable equivalent in Denmark is *kontanthjælp*, and thus, the search keyword for this theme will be this very word. For the

matter of child benefit, this will be employed along with *børnecheck*, which was chosen over the equally used term *børne- og ungeydelse*, as we find the former to be more idiomatic and prevalent in the public debate. Finally, we will compare the social benefits of housing benefit and *boligstøtte*; in the Danish term, a variety of subterms arise, in that *boligstøtte* covers both *boligydelse* and *boligsikring*; we have assessed that *boligstøtte* is the general term, which is why we do not wish to distinguish this into these subcategories. For analytical purposes, the Danish terms will henceforth in this paper be substituted with the equivalent English word in order to create a more homogeneous analysis.

4.4.4.1. The Selected Articles

In order to delineate the debate revolving around welfare benefits in Denmark, it is imperative to clarify the concept the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum. It is a policy introduced by the government in April 2016, effective from October 2016, entailing that there is a maximum amount possible to receive in welfare benefits per citizen per month (Skive Kommune 2016). The policy entails that the jobseeker's allowance itself was not reduced but the government introduced the possibility of reducing jobseeker's allowance recipients' other welfare benefits, specifically the housing benefit (Styrelsen for Arbejdsmarked og Rekruttering 2017). This results in the welfare debate in Denmark as such revolving mainly around this Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum even when debating other benefits such as the two mentioned above. This has furthermore resulted in an intertwined empirical data set as e.g. the three themes cannot fully be distinguished, because every time an entry on housing benefits arose, it stemmed from the debate on the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum. This means that we have encountered a problem when searching for housing benefits, in that there was no separate debate revolving around housing benefits, resulting in a lack of articles on the matter from two of three Danish newspapers. Instead of dismissing the category completely, we have chosen the one existing article on the matter and included it in the analysis along with the British articles on housing benefits. This means the final pool of articles accumulate to 16 articles instead of the expected 18.

From Denmark, the selection process has resulted in the following articles within the category jobseeker's allowance: "*Debat: Det giver ikke mening at tale om materiel fattigdom i Danmark*" (*Berlingske*) which translates into "Debate: It is unsound to speak of material poverty in Denmark" (Appendix 1), "*Debat: Lad os få flere Karina'er på banen*" (*BT*) which translates into "Debate: Let's get more Karina's on the pitch" (Appendix 2), "*Debat: Kontanthjælpsloftet er det rigtige, fordi ...*" (*Jyllands-Posten*) which translates into "Debate: The jobseeker's allowance

maximum is legitimate, because…" (Appendix 3). Within the category Child Benefit we have the article "*Rockwool Fonden: Enlige forsørgere kan leve rimeligt på kontanthjælp*" (*Berlingske*) which translates into "Rockwool Foundation: Single parents can live reasonably on jobseeker's allowance" (Appendix 4), "*Ghettodrenge kaprede spabad*" (*BT*) which translates into "Ghetto boys hijacked spa" (Appendix 5) and "*Dansk pres i EU på børnepenge*" (*Jyllands-Posten*) which translates into "EU child support under Danish pressure" (Appendix 6). Lastly, within the category Housing Benefit the article is: "*Minister til borgere på kontanthjælp: Vi har brug for jeres arbejdskraft*" (*Berlingske*) which translates into: "Minister to jobseeker's allowance recipients: We need your labor" (Appendix 7).

In the empirical media data chosen from the UK we have observed that the themed entry results are similarly entwined as in the case of Denmark however, without an immediate particular reason. Naturally, this resulted in difficulties in finding articles concerning only one theme because all of the welfare benefit categories were often mentioned in one article. However, because we have adopted the structure of our search to our analytical process as well, we chose to still categorize the articles. Therefore, from the UK, the selection process has resulted in the following articles within the category of Jobseeker's Allowance: "The PM and His 'Great Migrant Lie'" (Daily Mail) (Appendix 8), "One in four Jobseeker's Allowance claimants caught abusing system as watchdog reveals chaos" (the Daily Telegraph) (Appendix 9) and "I work in the UK but still claim benefits… it's on offer, why not?" (The Sun) (Appendix 10). Within the category of Child Benefit, the articles are as follows: "They're absolutely shameless" (Daily Mail) (Appendix 11), "Ask migrants: what can you do for Britain?" (The Daily Telegraph) (Appendix 12) and "CASH-IN OF KIDS ON NHS; Ruse on Euro mums" (The Sun) (Appendix 13). Lastly, within the category of Housing Benefits, the articles are: "Caught on Facebook, Benefits Cheat Who Said He Was Too Depressed To Work" (Daily Mail) (Appendix 14), "Illegal immigrant invented children to claim benefits" (the Daily Telegraph) (Appendix 15) and "Brexit work permit will work wonders to slash migration" (The Sun) (Appendix 16).

3. Context

3.1. Contemporary Danish Politics and History

According to the *Oxford Companion to Politics of the World*, "Danish politics are characterized by a multiparty system with strong and disciplined parties, frequent elections" (2004) and according to the Danish Parliament, a "high turnout at general elections in Denmark" with eighty to ninety per cent turnout on average (2012). Since the 1920s until primo 1970s the Social Democrats dominated the election results, and the government was constituted by a five-party system intertwined and connected with class divisions. During this period, the Social Democrats often formed coalitions with the Social-Liberals. In the 1960s party membership numbers plummeted, but the political parties remained and are still central for the role of politics in the Danish society (Rasmussen 2011, 433). In 1973 however, the political landscape transformed drastically in that the previous five-party system as a result of the "earthquake election" increased to a ten-party system, due to a large amount of voters moving away from their traditional choice and usually dominant parties (The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World: Denmark 2004). This earthquake election in 1973 created a persistent party fragmentation, which has resulted in minority governments being the rule ever since. However, both subsequent Social Democratic and Conservative governments have generally "maintained the characteristic Danish welfare state policies" (ibid.). Undoubtedly, the matter of considering Danish politics is not easily done without simultaneously noting the renowned welfare state, the epitome of the Scandinavian welfare model. This is further elaborated upon in a subsequent paragraph. The Danish political arena is characterized by interest organizations, e.g. labor, employers, farmers, all of which participate in policy making and implementation (ibid.). This policy involvement is said to constitute "channels of functional representation and democracy" (ibid.). Some issues have been prevalent throughout the years after the oil price shock of 1973-1974, i.e. waves of high unemployment rates, rising welfare spending and rising immigration, which in combination with high taxes have generally "diminished the sense of social solidarity" (ibid.). From 1996 and well into the following millennium, the Danish society was characterized by economic growth, a welcomed change after the 1980s recession (Rasmussen 2011, 425). In 1994 Poul Nyrup Rasmussen became the Social Democratic Prime Minister of four succeeding governments until 2001, during which these governments were generally formed by the Social Democratic Party in conjunction with the Social-Liberals, the Centre Democrats and the Christian People's Party (Rasmussen 2011, 425). In 2001 the political stage changed radically with Anders Fogh Rasmussen of the agrarian Liberal Party becoming the new

Prime Minister, forming an alliance with the Conservative Party. The years of left-wing government was thus replaced by a predominantly more right-wing politics which has applied up until present day.

The political spectrum in Denmark is divided into a red and a blue bloc, in which the former encompasses the left-wing parties and the latter encompasses the right-wing parties. Employing an approach of economic distribution to established the parties' placement on the political spectrum, the following shows: In the red bloc one will find the Danish Social-Liberal Party nearest center followed by the aforementioned Social Democratic Party, the Alternative, the Socialist People's Party, and the Red-Green Alliance, the parties being listed from the most centrist to the most leftist. In the very center, one will find the Danish People's Party followed by the Liberals with the current Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen, closely followed by the Conservative Party and finally, at the far right (relative to this case) one will find the Liberal Alliance Party (Lange 2016).

3.2. Contemporary British Politics and History

Considering the state of contemporary politics in the United Kingdom, one must firstly reflect on some of the historical developments associated with this. Due to the present paper and its scrutinization of the framing and discourse of the welfare state, it becomes particularly suitable to commence the outline of historical developments with the period dominated by one of the former Prime Ministers for the Conservative Party, Margaret Thatcher. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Contemporary World History, Thatcher significantly transformed the political landscape from a focus on "comprehensive welfare policies to a new focus on the market" (2016). Her time in office and legacy was, and is still, unquestionably significant, and depending on economic belief, she has been both lauded and criticized for her stern implementation of neoliberal policies, especially manifested through deregulations of the financial sector, privatization measures and significant cuts in social spending and services. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Contemporary World History, this approach to politics resulted in much less economic decline, compared to the rest of Europe during that time, and moreover her period in office was the catalyst of a "seachange in social and cultural attitudes" (2016). Additionally noteworthy is Thatcher's antipathy towards European integration (ibid.). Moreover, as stated by Schmidt (2002) in Ennser-Jedenastik (2016, 413), the Prime Minister's "approach to the welfare state was characterized by the deserving-undeserving dichotomy, leading her to retrench social assistance …" and this discourse continued under Tony

Blair (Goldson 2002 in Ennser-Jedenastik 2016, 413). After Thatcher's reign, the Conservatives continued with John Major as Prime Minister, and subsequently a period of a Labour government followed from 1997 to 2010, dominated by Prime Ministers Tony Blair and Gordon Brown. Meanwhile, in 2005, David Cameron was elected as leader of the Conservative Party, who "re-energized the party by increasing its appeal to centrist voters" (ibid.). In the referendum in 2010, the Conservative Party became the largest party and in the 2015 general election, the Conservative Party was able to form a majority government with David Cameron as its leader (ibid.). After the 2015 election, the question of EU membership terms once again rose, something which had been a ubiquitous factor in British politics and identity since its membership became a reality when it joined the EC in 1973, as could also be observed through Thatcher's perpetual antipathy for the membership (ibid.). A referendum on whether the UK should remain or leave the EU came into being on 23rd of June 2016, and with the slight majority of 52 per cent, the vote decided the UK should leave the EU, and Brexit became a reality. The Conservative Party generally aspired to leave, whereas the Labour Party, the Liberal Democrats, the SNP and the Welsh Plaid Cymru wished to remain (ibid.). David Cameron stepped down as Prime Minister to be superseded by Theresa May. At the present time, the negotiations for the exit are set to last at least two years "amid great economic, political, and social uncertainty for the country" (ibid.) and, moreover, a general election has now been called for by Theresa May on the 8th of June 2017.

At the right wing of the political spectrum in the UK, the Conservative Party, UKIP and BNP are placed, viewed from the center to the far right (About-Britain 2017). The right wing is constituted by a "broad range of traditional conservatives and royalists, neo-liberals and social conservatives" (ibid.). At the center of the British political spectrum sits the Liberal Democrats and the Greens (ibid.). At the left-wing, the Labour Party is found. Finally, on the far-left wing, the two smaller parties, Respect and the Communist Party of Great Britain are placed. The latter, the Communist Party of Great Britain currently has no seats and had its peak period in the 1940's, where it only reached two seats (ibid.).

The Brexit referendum is said to have cast the otherwise relatively stable British parties into a political turmoil in that the two major parties, the Conservatives and Labour, are both undergoing increasing division regarding their attitudes towards the relations with the EU. These divisions have resulted in Labour being a weak opposition to the Conservatives, as it cannot "present itself as a credible challenge to the Conservative government" (ibid.).

3.3. Defining the Welfare State

The word 'welfare' stems originally from English. However, the welfare state had its origin in Germany in the 1880s during the conservative chancellor Otto von Bismarck's time in office. This type of welfare model eventually formed the doctrine for most welfare states in Europe as well as in other parts of the world (The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History: Welfare State 2008).

According to Esping-Andersen, welfare reforms were historically implemented for the purpose of equality, but specifically "the core aim of all welfare states was social protection and income maintenance" (2015, 124). Esping-Andersen (1990) states that the welfare state can be divided into three types. He gives an account of the three models in his work The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism (1990), and describes how they each refer to a political movement. He classifies them as: the Liberal regime which is associated with Anglophone countries, the Conservative/Corporatist regime which is associated with continental Europe and Japan, and the Social-Democratic regime which is associated with Scandinavia (p.33). Esping-Andersen distinguishes between the three regimes by their degree of decommodification and the kind of stratification they produce in the respective society. Stratification refers to the intensity of redistribution and the level of universality of solidarity that is imposed by the welfare state (p.21-22), whereas decommodification signifies the strength of social entitlements and citizens' degree of immunization from market dependency (ibid.). The Liberal model refers to a regime, which only provides benefits to those citizens that fit the criteria of 'most in need'. These are most often "a clientele of low income, usually working-class, state dependents" (p.26). The Liberal model encompasses a traditional, liberal work-ethic norm, in such a way that work always generates a higher income than the possible income from welfare transfers. Esping-Andersen moreover states that due to this, "entitlement rules are therefore strict and often associated with stigma" (ibid.). The provision of social welfare in the Conservative/Corporatist model depends on the individual's income and labor market affiliation, which provides the right to (and the size of) the social benefits they can receive. In this regime, "the state will only interfere when the family's capacity to service its members is exhausted" (p.27). Lastly, in Social-Democratic welfare states, citizenship provides the individual all social rights and in this specific model, the benefits are financed by taxes (p.27-28). Moreover, the model "constructs an essentially universal solidarity in favor of the welfare state. All benefit; all are dependent; and all will presumably feel obliged to pay" according to Esping-Andersen (1990). He

further stresses that the all-encompassing Social-Democratic welfare state "takes direct responsibility of caring for children, the aged, and the helpless" (p.28). Taxes are arguably central for the payment, and one might claim that children are expected to pay for the transfers in adulthood due to the government's aid in enabling them to move away from hardship, whereas the elderly are expected to having paid taxes already. The helpless are exempt from payment. Equality is central for the Social-Democratic regime, as it promotes an equality of the highest standards, whereas the other models often employ an equality of minimum needs (p.27). At the same time, the ideal is to ensure the independence of the individual with the option of help from the government, rather than to encourage dependence on family (p.28). The ever-pursued equilibrium in terms of welfare transfers financed by taxes in the Social-Democratic model is found in the fact that on the one hand "the right to work has equal status to the right of income protection" (ibid.) and on the other hand, the price for a welfare system of this model means that social issues must be minimized and revenue income should be maximized. This is evidently best solved with the lowest possible unemployment rate, and fewest possible depending on welfare transfers (ibid.).

Internationally, there is an ongoing discussion about consequences of the development of the welfare state. Some have pointed out that it has a positive impact on social balance and harmony, political stability and economic growth. However, on a disputed economic-theoretical level, others have criticized that an apparent uncontrolled growth in state spending creates a heavy tax burden, and as such it has a destructive effect on citizens and business initiatives (The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History: Welfare State 2008). It has furthermore been argued that the welfare state creates a passive clientele in work relations especially with individuals who are dependent on public services. Consequently, it is proclaimed that work motivation in a welfare state is lower, and some fret that this could have a deeper and more prolonged impact on work ethics (The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World 2004: Welfare). This matter is noteworthy in relation to the problem formulation of the present paper, seeing as it poses the question of whether there is to be found an increased pressure on the welfare state through populist tendencies and populist framings and notions of deservedness, of which one might argue that the latter relates to the above critique of the welfare state arguably impairing citizen initiative and government dependence.

3.3.1. The Danish Welfare State and its History

The Danish welfare state has its roots in the early beginnings of Danish democracy. In the encyclopedia The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World, it is described how the Danish democracy had its beginning in the twentieth century (2004). In 1901, the supremacy of the lower house was established and along with it came the right of its majority to form a government. In 1915, a constitutional reform meant that the transition to democracy was finalized when the right to vote was universalized (ibid.). This development in Danish history laid the foundation to the future concept of the Danish welfare state. During the coming decades, the concept of the welfare state and welfare society in general was further considered and moreover, a vision that society as well as its inhabitants should be given the best opportunities to develop greater wealth was debated. Simultaneously, within the idea of a welfare state it was believed that the government should actively interfere in the life of the citizens and strive to guarantee social security and additionally make sure there would be access to health and educational services (ibid.). After 1945, the ideas behind the welfare state was reflected in most Western countries, however the roads to their realization turned out to be different. In countries where liberal and conservative parties were dominant, the focal point was mostly on systems which supported private insurance to secure unemployment, illnesses, etc. In contrast, in other countries such as Denmark, these new thoughts of a welfare state began already in the 1930s and was inspired by social democratic notions evident through the notion of public insurance. As specified in The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World, "the foundation for the modern Danish welfare state was laid in the "red-green" agreement of 30 January 1933 between the Social Democratic–Radical Liberal cabinet of Social Democratic Prime Minister Thorvald Stauning (1873–1942) and the agrarian Liberal opposition." (2004). During the 1960s, the Danish government successfully developed a rather elaborate system of transfer payments and social services. The economic aspect of the Danish welfare model was a major obstacle for more extensive initiatives, seeing as right-wing parties such as the Liberals and the Conservatives were generally skeptical of increased tax collection, even though they did not disagree with the underlying thoughts of a welfare state (ibid.).

In the 1970s and 1980s, women increasingly became part of the labor force in Denmark, increasing from 44 percent in the 1960s to 75 percent in 1985 (ibid.). Women's entry into the labor market was made possible due to the possibility of the welfare state and the benefits it brought with it. At the same time, there was an increase in demand for welfare benefits from women entering the

labor market due to the need for a replacement for their previous caretaker roles for the elderly and children. Thus, in the 1970s and 1980s, measures providing home assistance for elderly commenced and high-quality public day care for children "eased women's entry into the labor market" (ibid.).

Even though the Danish welfare system obtained great success during this time period, between 1973 and 1974 oil prices skyrocketed which resulted in one of the system's greatest economic challenges. As a result, during the 1980s, a set of different legislative cutbacks in relation to welfare benefits was implemented and prior to the beginning of the 1990s, welfare benefits was based on the right to financial support. Also throughout the 1980s, due to great quantities of immigrants, many ethnic Danes viewed the immigrant minority as a competitor in relation to welfare benefits, and saw them as freeloaders draining on the welfare system, whose construction they had not provided for (Rasmussen 2011, 428). During the 1990s, a shift in the Danish welfare paradigm occurred, shifting from a 'passive' social policy with the underlying assumption that the welfare benefits were universal, to a more 'active' social policy focused on "something for something" (Christensen 2004, 2). By extent, a new set of reforms were introduced in 2005 which were meant to ensure the welfare state through a variety of austerity measures, among others by discontinuing post-employment benefits (efterløn), postponement of the state pension age, increased efforts in relation to combatting youth unemployment and by extent, a reduction in the period of unemployment benefits (Politiken 2005). The paradigm shift evolved into a proneness towards austerity-based welfare reforms up until the present day (Rosenkilde and Øyen 2015).

3.3.2. The British Welfare State and its History

Similar to Denmark, the welfare state in the United Kingdom had its commencement during and especially in the aftermath of World War II, in which two critical processes originated, respectively the dismantlement of the British Empire and establishment of the welfare state (A Guide to Countries of the World: United Kingdom 2016). After the elections of July 1945, the British voters left it to the Labour Party to rebuild the economy and postwar society. The new government implemented rigorous economic policies which included rationings and import restrictions and at this point in time, the modern welfare state was founded. In 1946, the establishment of a wide insurance span covering health and unemployment, along with a national healthcare system that provided free healthcare for everyone, was implemented. Other momentous reforms were for instance the nationalization measures of businesses such as aviation, railways, gas works, coal mines and steel industry and

particularly the Bank of England (ibid.). However, the government did not continue in this socialist direction much longer; instead, planned economy was introduced, elitist institutions such as private schools and the House of Lords were seen as matters to strive for. The Labour Party had created a balance between state and citizen, which broadly lasted until the late 1970s (ibid.). As mentioned, Margaret Thatcher brought with her new neoliberal policies with an emphasis on market forces and more individual responsibility on the account of the election in 1979 (ibid.). The following year, the private sector was strengthened by extensive privatization of public enterprises and taxes were reduced, particularly for those with the highest income. Between 1980-1984, a number of newly developed laws in relation to the labor market limited the trade union's line of actions and the government won a big showdown with the coal miners on strike in 1984-85, leaving thousands of coal miners jobless. In this period of time, the welfare system was not abolished, but the condition for welfare benefits was tightened (ibid.). New Labour Party won the election in 1997 and presented a program that should continue previous policies (Giddens 2010). Privatizations and most conservative labor reforms were maintained. The government's economic policy remained tight and the weight was put on making Britain competitive in a free, global economy, for example through increasing the quality of education, rather than to offset income disparities in Britain itself. Social policies set the stage for the activation of the unemployed and equal emphasis on rights and obligations (ibid.). Subsequently, in the early 21st century, the Government of David Cameron (2015-2016) is argued to be known for reductions of welfare spendings in the United Kingdom and government ministers have allegedly argued that a growing moral of welfare dependency maintains welfare spending, thus, a change in public morals is required to reduce the welfare bill (BBC 2012). In relation to Esping-Andersen's characterization of the welfare regimes, scholars often denominate Great Britain a hybrid form of the three different regime types (Schmid 1996, 94 in Heien & Hofäcker 1999, 12). This is among other reasons due to its institutional and attitudinal structure of its population (Heien & Hofäcker 1999, 38).

3.4. European Citizenship and the Right to Social Benefits

In light of the research pursuits of the present paper, this paragraph will outline the current legislation and regulations from the European Union regarding EU citizenship and the four freedoms of EU citizens, focusing specifically on the freedom of movement including the right to social benefits in EU countries.

EU citizenship entails that all citizens of any countries in the European Union are automatically granted an EU citizenship. After a Danish opt-out demanding that the EU citizenship could not replace Danish citizenship but only supplement it, the citizenship was up for debate in the Union, ultimately entering the demand in the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 (Udenrigsministeriet 2017). With the EU citizenship comes certain rights which are delineated in in Article no 45 in The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, among others the right to "non-discrimination on the basis of nationality where the treaty applies" and the right "to move and reside freely within the EU" (European Commission 2016a). Specifically manifested in the EU citizenship, making it different from national citizenship, is the fact that it entails rights but no civic duties (Bux 2016). Furthermore, with the EU citizenships follows 'the four freedoms'; free movement of goods, freedom of movement for workers, right of establishment and freedom to provide services and free movement of capital (European Policy Center 2017). For the present thesis, particularly one of the freedoms is interesting, namely the freedom of movement for workers. This freedom includes the rights for all EU citizens to move and reside between all Member States. Furthermore, it includes the right to work in and be treated equally with nationals of that specific Member State. The freedom of movement for workers is a founding principle in the European Union, and is laid down in Article no 45 in the Treaty of the Functioning of EU. The debate revolving around the freedom of movement for EU citizens is evidence of a Union without a fiscal union. Following traditional economic wisdom, a monetary union such as the Eurozone would have a fiscal union, capable of transferring money and balancing the differences between rich and poor regions, or in this case, countries (Matzen 2016). However, no such thing exists in the Eurozone, which is why the freedom of movement is all the more imperative for the Union. By allowing the workforce to move freely between the countries and go where the jobs are, the Union has created an economic tool for itself, capable of creating growth and even out differences between countries. If one country is suffering under a crisis, the workforce can move and the country will not be hit as hard economically, the argument goes by Matzen (ibid.).

Further relevant for the present thesis is the fact that residing and working in a country that is not one's country of origin entails different needs, among these the access to social benefits. At the current moment, the access to social benefits for European citizens is constructed primarily by the case law of the Court of Justice (Schmid-Drüner 2016). However, access to social benefits are crucial for workers' migration between EU countries (Matzen 2016). The rules and regulations from the Union have always granted the right of social benefits for working citizens, whereas job-seeking or non-working citizens have a harder time obtaining rights. Historically, the Union's courts have often

ruled in favor of better conditions for both non-working and working citizens, but have recently, pressured by contemporary politics on national level, opted for a change of course to a more strict legislation when it comes to non-working citizens and their rights to social benefits in other EU countries (ibid.). This change of course by the Union is illustrated by the latest proposal by the Commission to update EU rules on social security coordination. In December 2016, the Commission released a new proposal to update the current rules, bringing the subject up for discussion. In the following year, the proposal is up for debate among the member states and in Parliament. As expected, the proposal has shaped the debate, centered around four focal points: unemployment benefits, long term care benefits, access of economically inactive citizens to social benefits and social security coordination for posted workers (European Commission 2016b). The proposal furthermore dismisses to the indexation of child benefits, as wished for by member states such as Denmark. (Hjøllund 2016).

4. Theory

In this section the theoretical framework for the present thesis will be presented. The theories being employed in the present study are Framing Theory, Populism Theory as well as Deservedness and Entitlement Theory. Each theory will provide the analysis with a set of distinct tools to analyze plausible populist frames, categorizations of deserving and undeserving and legitimizations for such in selected newspaper articles and political manifestos.

4.1. Framing Theory

This section will address the theoretical concept of framing. This theory will provide the study with a tool in terms of identifying prevalent frames that are central to the problem formulation and research pursuits of the present paper.

From a communicative aspect, Framing Theory is a concept which is an important approach in order to highlight certain happenings and "their underlying causes and consequences", thus drawing attention away from other events (Gamson 2004, 245). According to Gamson, a frame is like "a picture frame" and it "puts a border around something, distinguishing it from what is around it." (ibid.). The concept of framing is commonly attributed to the work of Goffman and especially his book Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience (1974), in which he gives meaning

to the important question of what reality in fact is and additionally "under what circumstances do we think things are real?" (p.2). In his work, he examines the notion of how frames structure an individual's understanding of the world and society in general. He emphasizes that a frame can be observed as theoretical content which can be said to establish certain practices and likewise conduct and guide the actions of not only individuals and groups but equally the whole society. Thus, like Gamson, Goffman gives the example of a picture frame by using it as a metaphor to explain how people understand the society whereas in this case, the frame represents the structural aspect and the picture represents the content.

Another scholar associated with Framing Theory is Lakoff. In his book Don't Think of an Elephant! Know Your Values and Frame the Debate (2004), he stresses that in order to recognize current political discourses, it is essential to understand how language works and how framing provides a possibility of employing a specifically chosen language that conveys a particular worldview, value or idea. Furthermore, Lakoff explains that when human beings think and talk, they both consciously and unconsciously include frames. He explains that every word we know of and use is defined through a frame, and that we, as people, have the knowledge to use these frames properly. Hence, frames are best translated as 'interpretation frames' i.e. frameworks that are applied on a message, topic, subject etc. (Lakoff 2004, 3). Moreover, it is shown that different ways to express oneself, e.g. through irony or by using metaphors and hyperboles can evoke certain frames and are therefore important framing devices for various topics related to political communication and journalism. Lakoff stresses that since frames and structures are recognized in neural circuits in the brain, certain words activate frames in our brain, thus the emotional regions of the brain are activated by them. This explanation enlightens why people sometimes react heatedly to public matters. Furthermore, when framing something or someone in a certain way, a deselecting of a number of other frames happens. This also creates a dimension of power in framing, especially if the selected frames appear naturalized thus it is undisputed that this is just one of several possible representations (Lakoff 2004, 16).

By extention, Lakoff (2004) maintains that specific wordings invoke specific frames, hence the title of his book Don't Think of an Elephant refers to the basic task of being told not to think of an elephant, only to experience mental imageries of that very animal. Lakoff demonstrates this through a note to the notorious remark by Richard Nixon: "I am not a crook" (p.3), which ultimately emphasized his legacy of being just that. Thus, even when one thinks that a word is rejected, it is not only used, it is actually strengthened.

Lakoff describes that frames are mental structures that shape the way we understand the world. Any word gets its meaning from such a conceptual frame. In itself, the word means nothing. When you hear a word, the entire frame (which gives meaning to the word) is activated (Lakoff 2004, XV). Entman acknowledges Lakoff's argument in his article Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm (1993), but Entman also notes that a frame provides attention to a selected part of the described reality; frames therefore also detract attention from other parts of that reality. "Most frames are defined by what they omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience" (Entman 1993, 54).

Entman states that framing is a widespread term. It occurs within different paradigms, schools and fields of research including for example psychology and sociology. Framing studies are aimed at the design, content and effect of frames. Similarly, there are a number of different understandings of what constitutes a frame. Entman (1993) emphasizes that frames can not only be reduced to subjects or themes, but that framing is also a way for the media to ascribe attributes to particular matters (p. 56). It is not only language that affects framing, ideas are the primary and language is the secondary catalyst to evoke these ideas. In his book, Lakoff (2004) specifically focuses on how conservative politicians in the United States have understood how to win various debates by framing their political messages correctly. Conservative politicians win numerous political debates due to the fact that they activate all the conservative sets of values and policies using just a few words. One example is when George W. Bush Jr. said: "We do not need a permission slip to defend America" (p.4). Lakoff (2004) explains that Bush deliberately does not settle for saying that America "won't ask permission" (p.4), but instead uses the analogy of a permission slip. This way, he frames the problem by provoking people to reminisce about unreasonable incidents in their lives which were probably weighed down by restrictions and regulations. In this way, the applied analogy provides negative emotional associations (ibid.). For example, when referring to "Tax relief" (p.23) and "No Child Left Behind" (p.21), most Americans know what is being discussed even if one disagrees. In his book, Lakoff problematizes liberal politicians as he argues that they are failing to take advantage of the same framing methods as conservative politicians. As such, the only choice liberal politicians have is to contradict the conservative frame, which will then strengthen the opponent's frame. In summary, Lakoff (2004) thus emphasizes the importance of not introducing new language and consequently new frames, since new language ought to make sense to the recipient in order to be recognized and understood. Thus, a frame "must be introduced in a communication

system that allows for sufficient spread over the population, sufficient repetition, and sufficient trust in the messengers." (Lakoff 2010, 72). As previously mentioned, certain words activate frames in the human brain and frames are made stronger the more they are activated, meaning that language that is often repeated over time converts into what Lakoff denominates as "normally used language" (ibid). Like Lakoff, Entman (1993) emphasizes that frames clarify selected parts of the information given about a subject in a communication process and thereby highlights the importance of the frame (p.53). Moreover, Entman underlines that a stronger emphasis increases the likelihood that the recipients will perceive information, understand its importance and later store it in memory. Unlike Lakoff, who is primarily focusing on the verbal significance in relation to frames, Entman focuses on texts and words. "Texts can make bits of information more salient by placement or repetition, or by associating them with culturally familiar symbols." (ibid.).

In his article, Entman (1993) highlights the cultural aspect in relation to a frame. Frames exist not only in specific media but is also found in all parts of the global communication process: the communicator, text, receiver and culture in general. Frames are produced by a specific communicator under the influence of his or her mental interpretation, and the frame of a text forms the basis of the recipient's understanding of the text (p.52). Here, the recipient's prior understandings are also important for determining whether the frames exert influence on the recipient's opinion. Entman (1993) further discusses journalists' role in connection to the notion of framing: "Journalists may follow the rules for "objective" reporting and yet convey a dominant framing of the news text that prevents most audience members from making a balanced assessment of a situation" (p.56). As mentioned earlier, it is important that the recipient of the frame understands the frame and thus the language. In this regard Entman stresses that journalists often take advantages of highly accomplished media manipulators to exploit their frames on the news. In relation to this thesis, media manipulators can for instance be politicians, when they choose to talk about selected topics in specific frames (p.56-57).

Concerning the theoretical notions of frames in language, it becomes relevant to consider the notions of discourse, too. The definition of frameworks and discourse are similar and thus often mistaken and occasionally used to describe the same phenomenon. Frames and discourses both refer to a way of articulating ideas that limits actions and thinking. Ferree and Merrill (2000) distinguish between frames, ideologies and discourses. According to these scholars, frames are the way individuals think about reality. Ideologies relates to values and normative standards of 'good' and

'bad'. Discourse, on the other hand, is the wide communication systems that connects an underlying ideology (Ferree and Merrill 2000 in Agustín 2012, 85).

According to Agustín (2012), there are significant differences in how to theorize discourses and frames. Discourse can be perceived as the wider context in which frames are formulated and created. Thus, discourses limit the possibilities of articulation of frames within a given context. As a result, frames can be seen to be discursively conditioned and are likewise part of the broader discourse, whereas discourses are the underlying logic where the framework is based. Additionally, there is a difference in the focus of said communicative approaches. In contrast to frame analysis, discourse analysis focuses to a greater extent on context, power and structure (p.85). Frames, on the other hand, are limited by the discursive structures but can still be selected as strategic political demands within the space that the discourses provide, in order to achieve specific objectives and results (p.86). Agustín (2012) further argues that discourses cannot be selected strategically in the same way as frames can. Instead, discourses are created in the interaction between structures and stakeholders due to fact that they simultaneously constitute to the matter in question and are constituted by it. Both discourses and frames are socially constructed, however, from a political-sociological perspective, discourses are constructed by an anonymous collective, e.g. social structures whose actor-related origin cannot readily be identified, as they are a result of collective subjective practices that are constantly reproduced (p.86-87). Frames can furthermore be seen as the instrumental use of discourses in political terms. In other words, frames are selected and formulated by specific stakeholders. Frames can be understood as rhetorical tools used by strategic "standard-entrepreneurs", i.e. individuals and stakeholders who are active in the formation of new norms and convincing ideas in favor of a given case (Payne 2001 in Agustín 2012, 87). Agustín (2012) furthermore states that any policy is a problematization of a social issue and these problematizations contain a representation of a certain problem (p.89). Representations shape a problem in a certain way and thus contain specific performances with a particular underlying logic and perception of reality. Put otherwise, different policies create competing notions or representations of political topics. Stored or hidden in any perception of a problem is a definite political logic that depends on the values and basic assumptions, which the given stakeholder possesses (ibid.).

4.2. Populism Theory

In his book What is Populism from 2016, Müller conceptualizes populism as a political movement that is ubiquitous in today's society. Müller states that the concept of populism has been lacking clear definitions and characteristics in academia and public discourse, and consequently he seeks to demonstrate the specific traits of populism. Fundamentally, Müller states that populism can be detected through a "set of distinct claims and has what one might call an inner logic" (2016, 24). Importantly, populism exists in both the right and left political wings and, according to Greven (2016) populism "takes different forms, depending on nationally specific factors such as political history, system and culture" (p.4). One feature that is highly central to conceptualizing populism according to Müller is that there is to be found a "moralistic imagination of politics" in which one will find a "morally pure and fully unified people" (Müller 2016, 41). This one unified people does not encompass the entirety of the people of a society, rather it constitutes only a segment. This segment is then elevated to be put on a pedestal and made into the single worthy people; the alleged real, authentic people. The notion is exemplified by Müller through reference to Nigel Farage, party leader for UKIP, who applauded the Brexit results stating that it was a "victory for real people" and a remark by the President of the United States, Donald Trump, stating that "the only important thing is the unification of the people—because the other people don't mean anything." (p.45). Trump's utterance goes well in line with Müller stating that either, one is in agreement with the true people's claims, or one is plainly mistaken and therefore not entitled to political power. Returning to the aforementioned matter of being "morally pure", this is highly central in that populists are dependent on this distinction between "the moral and the immoral, the pure and the corrupt, the people who matter … and those "who don't mean anything"" (p.50). This notion constitutes one of Müller's main arguments in his definition of populists and is a strong indicator for populist tendencies. In omnipresent opposition to the morally pure people comes a variety of enemy images, especially manifested through hostilities towards the elite(s) and minorities (p.41). Regarding the former, the elites, this is a group that is often manufactured as the main adversary, one that is "immoral, corrupt and overly privileged" and must be fought against by "the people" (ibid.). Müller states this antipathy towards the elite is a necessary trait for populism, but cannot stand alone, seeing as one may rightly criticize elites without otherwise qualifying as a populist (ibid.). The other prevalent antipathy typically found in populists according to Müller is the hostile attitude towards minorities, for instance immigrants in general, or Muslims, Jews or Romas, who are not part of the "pure" and homogenous people. By extent of combatting

minorities, Wodak (2015) considers the matter of the creation of scapegoats in the subsequent paragraph on populist discourse and rhetoric.

Another central attribute is that populists are always anti-pluralist - by extent of the abovementioned outline of the attitude of being the one, chosen people, the anti-pluralist stance springs from exactly this, namely that populists claim to be the only ones who can represent the people (Müller 2016, 41). Having established this, Müller infers that in conjunction, it makes populism inherently anti-democratic, because democracy is in its nature pluralistic. From this, a paradox arises according to Müller, seeing as populist parties evidently emerge in democracies through democratic structures and elections. And, even though they rise in liberal democracies, their core message is that they constitute a liberating force combatting a suppressing, autocratic regime (p.67). Müller quotes Mudde (2013), saying that populism is an "illiberal democratic response to undemocratic liberalism" (Mudde in Müller 2016, 20). Finally, this anti-pluralist stance aids populist in providing them with counter-arguments when election results do not fall in their favor, because they can refer to the "morally correct" outcome (Müller 2016, 63) which should have been the case, had the people dared to voice their "real" opinion. Once in government however, the populists will commence their work towards anti-pluralism, often resulting in constitutional conflicts (p.67). Further regarding populist's activities when in government, Müller demonstrates that there are three distinct ways in which populist logic manifests itself, namely through 1) a colonization of the state and mass clientelism, in which populists will attempt to hijack the state apparatus, 2) an employment of "discriminatory legalism" and 3) a systematic repression of civil society. The latter, Müller claims, is especially noteworthy because it is not limited to populists, but populists will do so openly with reference to their claims of moral justification (p.89). Touching upon the matter of populists being part of a national government, it becomes relevant to consider prevalent characteristics of the electorate, something which arguably often puzzles scholars, journalists and academics; who are the voters, and why do they vote for populist parties which, for most scholars, stand out as oversimplified, undemocratic and as showing atrocious sentiments on many parameters? Müller points to the socioeconomic approach, which is especially noteworthy for the present paper due to our stance of examining matters of welfare recipients. Here, he claims, an income and educational profile is generally accepted and acknowledged regarding populist voters in Europe: they earn less, are less educated and are overwhelmingly male (p.31). Moreover, Müller quotes Priester who has shown that "economically successful citizens often adopt an essentially Social Darwinist attitude and justify their support for right-wing parties by asking, in effect, "I have made it—why can't they?" (Priester 2012

in Müller 2016, 31). Returning to the electorate, the characteristic of anti-democratic attitudes arises once more, in that Müller asserts that populists are actually not very interested in popular participation in politics (p.59). Populist politicians represent the people and are inherently aware of the people's will to an extent where there is no need for democratic measures such as referenda to "prove it", so to speak; as Müller states, "populism without participation is an entirely coherent proposition" (ibid.). Moreover, populists in government will often strive for a "singular common good" and their stance it that this common good is perfectly implementable into policy without any modification (p.51). The common good and the relentless striving towards it, Müller states, "at least partly explains why populism is so often associated with the idea of an oversimplification of policy challenges" (p.52). A final relevant characteristic of populism for the present thesis is what Müller denotes "producerism", which entails a crucial perceived significance in the idea of "real work" of the "pure, innocent, always hardworking people" (p.47) which stands in grave contrast to "the corrupt elite who do not really work (other than to further their self-interest) and, in right-wing populism, also against the very bottom of society (those who also do not really work and live like parasites off the work of others)" (ibid.).

In the book The Politics of Fear - What Right-Wing Populist Discourses Mean, Wodak (2015) considers and elaborates upon populist rhetoric and discourse and establishes the evocation and constructing of fear as a central means in such rhetoric. By extension of Müller's considerations, Wodak outlines three recurring and central concepts in the scholarly debate on characterizing populism as a phenomenon. Firstly the concept of 'the people', which is conceptualized as constituting a "heartland" or "homeland" in which 'the people' comprises the central community, which is perceived as (racially, often) "pure" plus employs the metaphor of the nation as a body (Wodak 2005 in Wodak 2015, 25). Secondly, Wodak states most scholars find that said heartland is typically opposed to or antagonistic towards 'others', be this minorities, immigrants or elites (both ethnic and/or religious). The conceptualization of the "heartland" moreover entails inward-looking, exclusionist tendencies as well as anti-internationalism. Thirdly, populism arguably involves a distancing dynamic, which constructs and maintains an antagonistic relationship with the abovementioned 'others', and this makes populism a "relational concept between 'the people' and 'others' (p.25-26).

Wodak (2015) quotes Betz (1996) importantly stating that populism does not necessarily convey a coherent narrative and/or ideology, rather it is often based on contradictory beliefs, attitudes, etc., due to the fact that it aims towards mobilizing contradictory segments of the electorate (Betz

1996 in Wodak 2005 in Wodak 2015, 10). By extension, the puzzlement of rising populism paves the way for the question of "who" the electorate is made out of. Wodak responds to this, claiming that "different electoral groups are addressed and attracted, frequently via discursive strategies of calculated ambivalence: blue-collar voters; young people; unemployed; prejudiced (racist, antisemitic, antiziganist) voters across the professional spectrum" (2015, 28). A reason to this, according to Laclau (2005) is that among these societal segments, people are frustrated with representative society, because they do not feel represented by the perceived elitist establishment. This anger and frustration is claimed to be the source of contemporary populist movements and parties by Laclau (2005 in Wodak 2015, 28).

Attempting to explain what the, by now acknowledged, rising populism in Europe springs from, Kovacs (2013) states that economic austerity and the Eurozone crisis in combination have caused and continues to reinforce a "widening gap between rich and poor" (Kovacs 2013 in Wodak 2015, 31) as well as a sharp polarization of societies in Greece, Spain, Italy and Portugal (ibid.). Simultaneously, islamophobia in the West and xenophobia towards minorities in countries in the East such as Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Bulgaria and Romania advances mobilization of very different population segments, including educated and less educated, employed and unemployed, rural and urban, and more (ibid.). However, one noteworthy matter to emphasize in this respect is that of economic prosperity, closely related to the research pursuits in the present paper with the focal point of the welfare state, seeing as Wodak concludes that bad economy and lack of means and prosperity is not necessarily a predictor of rising populism (p.31). She illustrates this by putting forth the Swiss People's Party (Schweizer Volkspartei), the Austrian Freedom Party (Freheitliche Partei Österreichs) and Denmark with the Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti), which are all examples of thriving populism in some of the wealthiest European countries, noting also that Austria and Switzerland have suffered the least financial losses in the financial crisis of 2008 (ibid.). Commenting on this, Wodak adds that the rising right-wing populist movements can spring from different factors at different points in time spanning from "collective memories, ingrained and internalized fears of 'strangers' and the 'others'", to "new and old insecurities" all triggered by "socio-political developments" (p.32).

As mentioned above, Wodak (2015) establishes the evocation and constructing of fear as a central means in populist rhetoric. According to Wodak, said fears may in practice be based on fear of losing one's job, of strangers, of losing national autonomy, of losing old traditions and values, climate change, disgust with mainstream politics, anger about rising inequality, and more (p.3.). There

is even a market of fear, Wodak adds, which has prompted a large cottage industry that continuously spawns new fears and an increasing amount of victims (p.5). Moreover, Wodak states that the discourse shows a focus on the necessity of security measures, in which, according to Best (2001) the media plays a significant role in producing and reproducing fear. Within these fears, both politics and the media "reduce complex historical processes to snapshots" which are characterized by "manichean dichotomies", (Best 2001, 6 in Wodak 2015, 5) manifested through repeated indications of friends or foes, perpetrators and victims, and so forth. According to Wodak, said dichotomist perspectives start a process similar to a chain reaction which terminates in exclusionary politics and a legitimation of the latter. After establishing dichotomist perspectives, the creation of scapegoats follows, then threat scenarios involving both new and old moral and horror narratives along with real and imagined security issues, next media reporting is involved, and finally, political parties instrumentalize the above factors, and the legitimation of such exclusionary politics is provided in the process (p.6). Regarding legitimation, Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999, in Wodak 2015, 6) outline four main categories in terms of legitimizing something, namely through 'authorization', i.e. legitimizing by reference to authority, tradition, custom or law, 'moral evaluation' through reference to value systems, 'rationalization' by reference to knowledge, claims or arguments, and 'mythopoesis', which is legitimation through narratives. Wodak adds that right-wing populist rhetoric often employs moral evaluation and mythopoesis (ibid.).

By extension of the aforementioned evocation of fear, Wodak denotes that the image of scapegoats is closely connected to this (p.3). Scapegoats can be be realized in many different forms depending on historical past and context and can both be Jews, Romas or Muslims, for instance, or they can be "capitalists, socialists, career women, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the EU, The United Nations, the US or Communists … the elites, the media" (p.4). Wodak states that the term of 'scapegoating' is vital to the toolkit of populist rhetoric (ibid.).

Another highly relevant matter for the present paper is the role of the media in populist rhetoric, as briefly touched upon above. Wodak quotes Strömbäck (2008) stating that "contemporary politics relies on the media as "the most important source of information and vehicle of communication between the governors and the governed"" (Strömbäck 2008, 230 in Wodak 2015, 11). Wodak claims that at the present time, a media savvy performance from an individual now appears to play a more vital role than the actual political process; according to Wodak, the complexity of politics can be said to have been reduced to "a few slogans that are easily comprehended" in the media (ibid.). In other words, it is evident that the media plays an essential role in today's political

scene. Concerning right-wing populists' utilization and appropriation of the media, a central strategy emphasized by Wodak is that of scandalization and dramatization, because an accumulation of political tension can result in further support for the party, and thus scandals and dramas become something worth aiming for in itself (ibid.) Such scandals can be provoked through violation of publicly accepted norms (Köhler and Wodak 2011 in Wodak 2015) in which the media is "forced into a no-win situation" (p.19) with two choices: if the media reproduces the prejudicial utterance, by which it is further disseminated, or the media might even be perceived as endorsing the utterance. However, if the media critically interviews the politician, the latter is given yet more attention. Central for this intentional dramatization lies the concepts of agenda-setting and a dynamic which Wodak coins the 'perpetrator-victim reversal' as well as the 'right-wing populist perpetuum mobile' (p.20). The latter is an illustration of the movements and strategies that can typically be identified subsequent to the provocation of a scandal, put forth by Wodak. After the scandal has been launched, the opposition will generally present evidence for the insult and the breaking of norms. The original offensive meaning by the populist will be denied. Thirdly, the scandalous utterance will then be redefined and equated with another phenomenon, carefully reformulated by use of analogies and metaphors. This enables point four, in which the populist politician can now claim victimhood, seeing as he was accused of whatever breaking of norms or insult. Fifthly, the event is now dramatized and exaggerated by the populist politician. Sixthly, the politician will set forth the right of freedom of speech, claiming typically that one should be able to criticize the current state of affairs, or they might claim to express what "everybody thinks", the latter giving way to a new frame and another debate unrelated to the original one. Seventhly, the accusation will be instrumentalized in order to bring about a conspiracy, whereby the populist politician will first point to the original culprit of the scandal and next mention the scapegoat. Eighthly and finally, the newly accused scapegoat or alleged culprit will present counter-evidence, but a new scandal is then provoked, and the motion then commences again (Wodak 2015, 20). Especially noteworthy for the present paper comes Wodak's proposed consequence of the abovementioned perpetuum-mobile, namely the claim that other parties and politicians have no choice but to respond to the new provocations, and through this, "mainstream politics move more and more to the right and the public becomes disillusioned and tired of new scandals" (p.20).

In right-wing populist discourse, three categories of specific linguistic strategies are prevalent, according to Wodak (2015), namely that of 'calculated ambivalence,' which typically addresses multiple and contradictory audiences at the same time, 'provocative statements', which

colonize the agendas of daily news programmes and that of the 'double-think' which assumes associations between contradictory meanings (p.45-46). Common to the abovementioned distinctions is a proneness to insinuate common-sense and importantly, legitimation strategies employed to justify utterances that would otherwise be perceived as unjustifiable. Especially relevant to the present paper is Wodak's outlining of discursive strategies and exclusionary argumentation, in which she asserts that discriminatory discursive strategies tend to be "coded" through "insinuations, implicatures, inferences and presuppositions", and by extent Wodak argues that exclusion has transformed into normality and become generally acceptable (2015, 101). Similar to the notions of categories of deservedness as proposed by Ingram and Schneider (2005), Wodak claims that exclusion has been "integrated into all dimensions of our societies" (2015, 49); racism, discrimination and exclusion are manifested discursively, and subsequently, the opinions are maintained by repetition and means of discourse, in which legitimation and justification are once again central instruments (ibid.).

4.3. Deservedness and Entitlement Theory

In Ingram and Schenider's book Deserving and Entitled - Social Constructions and Public Policy (2005), the authors propose the notion of a social construction of deservedness and entitlement. The notion of deservedness springs from the argument that it is an inherent human trait to arrange oneself and others into distinct, constructed social groups of positive or negative characteristics, and that this tendency permeates processes of both social, economic and political nature. Ingram and Schneider point to and acknowledge the social process of 'maximizing the difference' which entails this sharp distinction between the social group with which the individual identifies, as opposed to other groups (Tajfel 1970 in Ingram and Schneider 2005, 3). According to Ingram and Schneider, people from a specific group will strongly identify with its positive traits as well as exaggerate such traits, "especially at the expense of lesserregarded (sic) others" (2005, 3). Moreover, groups and societies will in conjunction create and maintain myths and rationales that serve to undergird said social constructs (ibid). An important matter to note is how the constructed group characteristics may be real, but whether they are generally perceived as positive or negative is "the product of social and political processes" (ibid.).

Ingram and Schneider have identified four target populations in relation to the constructs of deservedness, namely the 'advantaged', the 'contenders', the 'dependents' and, lastly, the 'deviants'. They state that the advantaged group enjoys significant positive social constructions as being

deserving, has significant political power, and, in public policy making, is often overly compensated, overfunded and undertaxed (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 17). The contenders are similarly advantageous with prosperity and political power, but are constructed as undeserving in that they are deemed morally corrupted or greedy. They will often be exemplified through the typical figure of a Wall Street broker. Ingram and Schneider argue that said contenders receive policy benefits through opaque, unfair policies. The following, the dependents, have little to no political power, but are perceived as deserving in a moral sense, although they are "helpless and usually in need of discipline" (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18). The final group, the deviants, are "constructed as undeserving because they are viewed as dangerous and of no value to society" (ibid.) and it is stated that they are often criminals to the extreme degree of terrorists and gang members (ibid.). Ingram and Schneider claim that there is to be found a mutual influencing and advancement of said groups between policy making and social constructions in the public. Moreover, they hold that such policies "convey powerful messages about who matters in our society and who does not" (ibid.), and that these political messages are continuously amplified through repeated reinforcements (p.22). One may argue that the division into groups is rather simplified and clear-cut. For instance, one might pose the question of where to place upper-middle class academics who have not got much political influence as such, are neither overly compensated nor undertaxed, but are not deemed greedy or morally corrupted either; placing them in the dependents-group seems similarly unfitting in that they are not immediately undisciplined or helpless, and not seemingly dependent on society to sustain a living.

Relating to the subject of public policy making is the matter of welfare, specifically welfare benefits, in which one might argue there is to be found an inevitable evaluation of deserving and undeserving, which Nicholson-Crotty and Meier (2005) touch upon, stating that "social service organizations generally, and welfare organizations in particular, have been charged with distinguishing deserving from undeserving program applicants" (p.173) This distinguishing mechanism is then inescapably linked to promoting "discourses, ideologies, materials, and practices that reinforce images of many poor as undeserving and unentitled" (Quadagno and Fobes 1995; Schneider and Ingram 1997 in Nicholson-Crotty and Meier 2005, 173).

Although it has been established that groups associated with being deserving or undeserving are products of social constructs, Nicholson-Crotty and Meier (2005) assert that such groups, their characteristics and their perceived (in)significance in society is not out of reach of influence by individuals who have a desire to, and perhaps a personal interest in, identifying such groups with, for instance, negative traits - in fact, the opposite is the case; groups are very much subjects to desires

and interests in them being perceived in a specific way. Such individuals are considered 'moral entrepreneurs' (p.223). Moral entrepreneurs will often also be 'political actors' in a merged definition (p.227) however, the former part is associated with "stereotyping behaviors to generate anxiety about a particular group" (ibid.) as well as placing the issue on the public agenda, whereas the political actors are concerned with transforming such perceptions and concerns into public policy (ibid.). A central mechanism in the work and strivings for moral entrepreneurs (henceforth this term includes political actors) according to Nicholson-Crotty and Meier is that of "exploiting widely shared negative perceptions of certain groups" (2005, 223). The subsequent step in the process is the employment of "degenerative politics" or scapegoating which serves to identify the group in question as the culprit for a social problem (p.223-224). The result will often be that the social constructions that were created become "persistent and entrenched" especially when coercive policies are the outcome, seeing as these policies will "exacerbate existing problems among these groups, who are, in turn, blamed for their inability or unwillingness to adhere to social and political standards" (Ingram and Schneider 1991 in Nicholson-Crotty and Meier 2005, 223-224). Nicholson-Crotty and Meier further examine the process of how negative perceptions ultimately can become public policy, and assert that the evocation of particular beliefs about "the problems, intention, or moral condition of people whose very existence is problematic" (2005, 225) is central to influencing political opinion.

Moreover, it is emphasized by Nicholson-Crotty and Meier that the moral entrepreneurs are more likely to succeed in their pursuits if they push forward a notion of an entire group being characterized by specific behavioral patterns, and that this behavior is a threat to the rest of the society (p.227). The consequences of linking specific behavior to particular groups is that the constructed threat seems of larger scale than if such behavior was only present in a few individuals of that group. Ultimately, the group in question is demonized as a threat to "the very fabric of society" (ibid.) and they are often additionally constructed as culprits of social problems that greatly exceed the original matter (ibid.). Relevant to the notions of threat and danger to society, Nicholson-Crotty state that there is often "significant electoral benefit in pandering to public fears or addressing high-salience issues" (Becker 1963; Meier 1994 in Nicholson-Crotty and Meier 2005, 228) something which is consistent with Wodak's (2015) considerations of the power and influence of the evocation of fear in politics and policy making, as previously mentioned.

Connecting the two theories of deservedness and populism, Wodak (2015) briefly touches upon the notions of deservedness, where she exemplifies the notions proposed in the above by Ingram and Schneider and Nicholson-Crotty and Meier (2005), specifically applied to the issue of skepticism

towards the European Union and European integration. Wodak summarizes studies on European identity which conclude that there is to be found an alleged 'democracy deficient', evident through a widening communication gap between EU institutions and decision-makers on one side and the EU citizens on the other, which has then resulted in "various measures, policy papers, discussion forums" having been put into practice to address said democracy deficient (Wodak and Wright 2006, 2007). By extension, Wodak claims that the EU "actively constructs discursive forms of inclusion and exclusion" (2015, 42) because it is deemed essential in order to gain support for European integration. These discursive forms of inclusion and exclusion result in distinct definitions of 'the Europeans' and create an imagined community in which the notion of 'Us' excludes the 'Others'; in this instance, the 'Others' are those who are deemed unworthy of becoming Europeans (Wodak 2007b, 652 in Wodak 2015, 42).

4.4. Operationalization of the Theories

We will conduct the analysis through a process in which we combine the characteristics of populism with categorizations of deservedness through a methodological application of Framing Theory. The intended process will be elaborated in this paragraph.

Applying the Theory of Framing, we will conduct a thorough textual analysis on the selected data sets, which was elaborated upon in the paragraph 'Selection and Limitation of the Empirical Data'. By using Framing Theory as a methodological tool, we will seek to identify deliberate wordings and frames in relation to the construction of categories of deserving and undeserving. Framing Theory will moreover be applied as a tool to identify populist rhetoric and strategies. As it has been established, the theory of populism is one of the focal points of the present paper, specifically the conceptualizations that have been proposed by respectively Müller and Wodak, the former delineating populism in its general form and the latter taking a discursive approach. Via these conceptualizations we will seek to identify populist tendencies in our chosen empirical data. We believe the two theorists complement each other in a beneficial way for the present study, and moreover because we wish to discover possible underlying populist communicative strategies. For clarification, tendencies are to be understood as a propensity towards a particular characteristic or type of behavior. Furthermore, we will include Ingram and Schneider's Theory of Deservedness and Entitlement (2005) in an exploration of deservedness with regards to welfare recipients and attempt to identify distinct social categorizations.

We want to combine these three theories into the theoretical framework for the present thesis in order to examine how the framing of the welfare state and who is and who is not deserving of its benefits is present in contemporary society, and whether or not this framing can be said to be populist or have populist tendencies.

5. Analysis

This paragraph will constitute the analysis. Due to the large amount of empirical data, the analysis has been structured taxonomically. As commencement, the political documents will be analyzed, starting with the Danish political manifestos followed by the British political manifestos. Both data sets will be subject to a thorough textual analysis, through applying Framing Theory, Populism Theory and the Theory of Deservedness and Entitlement. The political document analysis will end in a comparison of the two case countries. Following this, the analysis will continue to the media articles, once again divided by case country origin and ending with a comparison of the two cases. Lastly it will be discussed whether and how the manifestos and articles from each country can be said to exhibit similarities and differences. Following the textual analysis and the case comparisons, a discussion which will elaborate upon the findings of the analysis will be found.

With reference to the previous paragraphs on welfare state regimes (cf. Defining the Welfare State) and the differences of the welfare state regimes in Denmark and the UK (cf. The Danish Welfare State and its History and The British Welfare State and its History) it should be noted once again that the two chosen case countries constitute different welfare state regimes. Due to this distinctness we expect the analysis and more specifically the attitudes towards welfare benefits to differ accordingly, something which will be considered in the discussion.

5.1. Part One: Manifesto Analysis

5.1.1. The Danish Manifestos

5.1.1.1. The Conservative Party Manifesto

5.1.1.1.1. Populism in the Conservative Party Manifesto

The following paragraph will commence with the political manifestos of the chosen Danish political parties, starting with the Conservative Party's. The title of the manifesto is "Return the responsibility

to the citizens" and it was lastly revised in 2016. The frame of 'responsibility' starting in the title permeates the entire manifesto as an appeal to the citizens to behave responsibly, exemplifying itself in quotes such as "Every human being is responsible for his/her health. No action done by the government can be compared to when the individual assumes personal responsibility by leading a healthy lifestyle, exercising, and looking after oneself" (Det Konservative Folkeparti 2016, 27) and "Every individual must, as far as possible, have the freedom to decide over one's own life, but it also requires that one takes on the responsibility that necessarily comes with it" (Det Konservative Folkeparti 2016, 20). As stated in the theoretical section on populism, populists often give high value to morals, and when identifying populism, appealing to morals is often a central trait. The quote "Every Dane has the right to the necessary aid from the government, but we must never forget that any such right is based on others' obligation to deliver such a right - every time someone receives, someone else is providing" (Det Konservative Folkeparti 2016, 20), similarly emphasizes every citizen's moral obligations, here through a rationalization in the receiving-providing nexus, which is a characteristic of populist legitimization (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999 in Wodak 2015, 6)

Another characteristic of populism is the appeal to the 'one pure people', which can be observed through the aforementioned sentence "Every Dane has the right to the necessary aid from the government" (Det Konservative Folkeparti 2016, 20) in which one may consider the wording 'Every Dane' seeing as this may be associated with certain connotations of Danes and non-Danes. The Conservative Party's manifesto portrays an exclusionist tendency here, when indirectly limiting the ones who are allowed to have 'the necessary aid form the government' to Danes.

5.1.1.1.2. Deservedness in the Conservative Party Manifesto

Regarding the theoretical matter of deservedness, a range of utterances appeal to this notion. This can be observed through the continuous use of the word 'dependent' in different contexts, as seen in the quote "All human beings should have the opportunity to provide for themselves without being dependent on government aid" (Det Konservative Folkeparti 2016, 8), subtly indicating that being dependent of government payments equals a level of undeservedness. This is emphasized through the following sentence in which it is argued that the welfare state fosters egoism which even takes a toll on family relations, friends and the local society: "a comprehensive welfare state aids in fostering selfishness which represses close relations with family, friends and the local community" (Det Konservative Folkeparti 2016, 8). However, it is established that "The government must of course

support those who, neither by themselves or through help from others, are able to provide for themselves", from which it may be derived that there are in fact people, who are perceived as "rightfully" in need of welfare support, followed by an appeal for a sense of community: "A community fosters safety". By extent of this, it is stressed that "It is important to focus the social effort and government services to those who really have the need" and "We want to increase the social effort for the few truly vulnerable in our society. In return many more who have been made dependent on social benefits must provide for themselves in the future" (Det Konservative Folkeparti 2016, 25). In these quotes, it can once again be observed how those in need of government aid are subject to certain conditions, among others to prove their truthful need of help. Simultaneously the quotes demonstrate who the Conservative Party's manifesto perceive as deserving of social benefits, namely those who are "really" vulnerable, to which one may then question what the stress on 'really' entails in practice. This emphasis of the fact that only those in 'real need' of help should (rightfully) receive it, whereas everyone else ought to rely on family and community, draws on notions of Esping-Andersen's (1999) definition of welfare regimes and arguably correlates better with the Conservative/Corporatist model than the Social-Democrat model (p.27-28). This will be elaborated upon at a subsequent point.

The quote "Every Dane has the right to the necessary aid from the government, but we must never forget that any such right is based on others' obligation to deliver such a right - every time someone receives, someone else is providing" (Det Konservative Folkeparti 2016, 20) in which one might argue that 'every Dane' is constructed as deserving, but it is immediately contradicted because 'every Dane' is conditional in that receivers must conform to the proposed moral codex as elaborated upon in the above section. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the chosen phrasing is 'Every Dane' and not for instance 'Everyone' because it arguably sets another limit on who is deserving; one may wonder if this implicit omission points toward EU citizens, refugees, migrants - or all of them. Finally, the sentence "The interplay/relation/ between freedom and responsibility and rights and obligations is crucial for the way we have organized the society" (Det Konservative Folkeparti 2016, 33) one may arguably observe that to be deserving, one must conform to one's obligations, because if not, one's behaviour is uncivilized and falls under the category of undeserving.

5.1.1.2. The Liberal Alliance Party Manifesto

5.1.1.2.1. Populism in the Liberal Alliance Party Manifesto

The following section will revolve around the Liberal Alliance's manifesto. The title of the manifesto is "Liberal Alliance's working program", and it was lastly revised in 2016. Throughout the manifesto different populist tendencies become present during the analysis. Firstly, the two quotes "it is unfair when people who can provide for themselves ask others to support them. This means that the burden of support for the common hardworking Danes should be reduced" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 5) and "The cost of this is paid each month by the Danish taxpayers who, apart from having to give up unsound amounts of their pay to the government, do not receive the welfare services that were to be expected from a nation like Denmark." (Liberal Alliance 2016, 6) both align with the populist rhetoric of 'producerism', which, according to Müller (2016) entails that the one pure people are the ones who perform 'real work' in society whereas those who do not work are equalized with freeloaders, living off of said pure people (p.47). Liberal Alliance's manifesto implies this notion when framing such behavior as unfair and emphasizes that tax-paying and hard-working citizens symbolize the real and pure people. Moreover, the choice of wording is interesting to take note of; 'Danes' and 'Danish taxpayers' both makes connotations of Danes and non-Danes and who belongs and who does not. This appeal to the pure nation and definition of the heartland is, as previously mentioned, also a characteristic of populism. Another example of producerism can be observed in the following sentence: "A worthy social policy is about inclusion of the individual into society. Whether it is about the sick, vulnerable or disabled, the best help is a place in the labor force." (Liberal Alliance 2016, 21), again drawing on the producerism frame, detailing how the pure people entails a working people. Being sick, vulnerable or disabled is no excuse - in order to belong to the people one must be (hard) working. According to Wodak (2015), a typical populist linguistic strategy is to insinuate common-sense and legitimation, and this can be observed when Liberal Alliance's manifesto assert "The public sector is necessary in order to provide the people with a wide range of offers and services, which the citizens in Denmark back with a large majority." (Liberal Alliance 2016, 6). In this quote, Liberal Alliance's manifesto legitimizes their politics by claiming it is supported by a large majority of the public, however there is no evident source of this support and as such it is just that; a claim. From this, Liberal Alliance's manifesto can arguably be said to assume inherent knowledge of what the majority of the public supports or does not support, albeit only to a small degree. This assumption is a characteristic of a populist party who appears to be convinced they alone represent the people and their desires without need for confirmation (cf. Populism Theory).

Moreover, the present manifesto appeals to the citizens' moral obligations, another typical populist value, when stressing that "A crucial prerequisite for Denmark to be a rich and prosperous society is that those who can support themselves do so" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 5). This is a tendency throughout the manifesto; a constant moral appeal to support oneself and be a hard-working citizen. This is further elaborated upon in the following paragraph on deservedness. One last notion worth drawing attention to is the quote: "welfare tourism must be shut down efficiently" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 6). According to Müller (2016), populists will often oversimplify policy challenges (p.52), here exemplified by Liberal Alliance's manifesto's approach to welfare tourism as problematic, powerfully claiming that it must be shut down. It problematizes a complex matter and in the process creates an enemy image of supposed welfare tourists flocking to Denmark to drain our welfare system. Simultaneously with the construct of the pure people as hard-working, one would think that hard-working EU migrants could, due to the free movement of EU citizens, eventually achieve the status of being a member of the pure people, but Liberal Alliance's manifesto in several instances seriously prolongs and complicates the possibility of this by establishing a variety of obstacles before the EU migrant becomes able to receive welfare benefits, a trait seemingly reserved for the pure people. One of such instances is illustrated in the quote: "Due to this, immigration as well as family reunification should be conditioned by independent financing during the first five years. During these years there will be no option for social benefits or publicly financed health care" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 9). Thus, in principle, EU citizens may come to Denmark for work and eventually receive welfare benefits, but the process of becoming part of the pure people is long and demanding.

5.1.1.2.2. Deservedness in the Liberal Alliance Manifesto

Notions of deservedness may be observed in a range of utterances. Beginning with the section of Labor Market Policy of the manifesto, the main message is rabidly stated, namely that much fewer should be reliant on public support in the future. Subsequently, the sentence "However, it is unfair when people who can provide for themselves ask others to support them. This means that the burden of support for the common hardworking Danes should be reduced" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 5) suggests that it is immoral to ask for help when one is not truly in need, and the wording of 'burden of support' stresses this. Moreover, the latter half of the sentence places (hard)working people in the category of deserving, whereas those who do not work - or do not work hard - are framed as the burden. This framing of being a burden to society and those who work constitutes a recurring theme,

also visible in the sentence "As long as you are not a burden to others, you are naturally free to dispose over your own time" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 5). It is continuously stated that the prerequisite for Denmark to be a wealthy and prosperous society is that those who can support themselves do so, and that "self-reliance is the guiding principle of Liberal Alliance" (ibid.). Generally, welfare benefits are framed as something negative and problematic: "Since the 1960's the number of people receiving welfare benefits has exploded. In 2016 2.1 million Danes receive welfare benefits. There is a need for labor market reforms to transfer people from welfare benefits to the labor market." (ibid.). The wording 'exploded' and the subsequent wording 'need for' implies the problematic consequences, though they are not further elaborated upon, and moreover the number of 2.1 million indicates a large amount of people receiving welfare benefits who are constructed as undeserving of it. Regarding the attitudes towards the European Union, the manifesto states "Europeans are given the right to travel, work, study and live abroad, but this is not the right for welfare benefits or freedom of movement for criminals" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 26) in which one may detect a clear construction of a divide between a Europeans, a seemingly deserving group, and criminals, who are undeserving, although Europeans are simultaneously framed as undeserving in that they should not receive any welfare benefits. Moreover, regarding the matter of immigration, it is stated "welfare tourism must be shut down efficiently" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 6) indicating that people arriving in Denmark with the sole purpose of benefitting from welfare services are not deserving of this and therefore not welcome. Moreover, the sentence presupposes and accepts the phenomenon of welfare tourism as truthful, which may be considered an act of 'othering'. The sentence "Foreigners are always welcome in Denmark on the condition that they can support themselves" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 11) aligns with this notion; if foreigners cannot support themselves, they are not deserving of residence permits.

A recurring notion in the manifesto is the framing of the individual responsibility for one's position in life in relation to work ability and/or opportunity, meaning that one's own responsibility is given a crucial role in the evaluation of whether one is deserving or not. This can be observed in the paragraph regarding vulnerable children, stating that it is important for the welfare state to create equal opportunities for everyone in the society, "this applies especially to the children growing up with parents who are unable to fulfill their role as parents" (Liberal Alliance 2016, 44), constructing vulnerable children of dysfunctional families as being without responsibility for their situation and therefore rightfully deserving of help. A similar notion can be observed in the case of disability pensions, but here the rightfully deserving matter is conditional to a larger extent in that this pension should be reserved for citizens who has "no possibility of returning to the labor market" (Liberal

Alliance 2016, 5) indicating a certain level of disability or illness that must be fulfilled before the individual can be perceived as rightfully deserving. One may pose the question of where that line is drawn in practice, seeing as it is completely omitted from the manifesto.

5.1.1.3. The Liberal Party Manifesto

5.1.1.3.1. Populism in The Liberal Party Manifesto

This paragraph will examine the Liberal Party's manifesto, which is titled "Freedom and Unity" (n.d.). In the process of analyzing populist tendencies, it becomes apparent that the Liberal Party's manifesto concentrates highly on the moral aspect in regards to welfare benefits. This is shown in the following sentence "Freedom means absence of coercion - but also that the human being is free to take responsibility of his/her own life and shared responsibility for other human beings and the community" (Venstre n.d., 3) and "We have a personal responsibility for our own health, but we also have a joint responsibility to underpin the personal responsibility." (Venstre n.d., 15). In these utterances, the Liberal Party's manifesto emphasizes responsibility and points to the moral obligation of 'the human being', connecting it with frames of health and community. Moreover, this utterance can be said to draw on the populist communicative strategy denominated 'the double-think' (Wodak 2015, 45-46) along with the sentence: "the help should also be given in a way that enables the receiver to feel a personal responsibility and is encouraged to lift oneself out of the social situation" (Venstre n.d., 17-18). Both sentences equalize a social safety net with personal responsibility to support oneself, which is contradictory and portrays a specific liberal logic. The contradiction in the statements will be elaborated upon in the following paragraph of deservedness.

In these utterances, one may furthermore perceive the notion of the community of 'the pure people', in which one must stay healthy and remain responsible for one's own life in order to belong to the pure people. Furthermore, this notion appears in the quote "that the receiver [of social benefits] has a sense of personal responsibility and is encouraged to lift him/herself out of the (social) situation" (Venstre n.d., 18) emphasizing the importance of personal responsibility and the unwanted situation of being on governmental support. This moralistic notion goes hand in hand with the populist tendency of producerism, entailing that the pure people is constituted by the hard-working citizens who assume personal responsibility and who do not desire welfare benefits. Additionally related to producerism, the Liberal Party's manifesto states that "Whether the case is about unemployment benefits, jobseeker's allowance or other services, the government must always seek to return the

citizen back into full or partial self-support" (Venstre n.d., 23), concluding that individuals must always pursue self-sufficiency, as the benefits are only meant for the weakest members of society: "The strong and healthy have a responsibility for the weak and the ill" (Venstre n.d., 17). The Liberal Party's manifesto's subtle way of defining the limits of the pure people is interesting; to be part of the pure people, one must be hard-working and yet, the 'weak' people are still somewhat included; but one might pose the question of the actual meaning behind 'weak'; leaving it undefined creates a seemingly imaginary space for the weak and sick, but the level of weakness or sickness is undefined and it is conveniently unclear when one is weak or sick enough to rightfully not work and start receiving benefits without falling out of the group of pure people.

5.1.1.3.2. Deservedness in the Liberal Party Manifesto

In the manifesto of the Liberal Party, examples of notions of deservedness is mostly evident through indications of who is generally deserving, and not so much who is not. Generally, the manifesto stresses the sense of community and shared responsibility for those in need of help, making these implicitly deserving. This is demonstrated in utterances such as "shared responsibility for the weakest in society" (Venstre n.d., 3) indicating that the weakest are deserving of aid, and "The strong and healthy have a responsibility for the weak and the ill. This entails that the strong and healthy are encouraged to do an effort on the labor market for as long as possible" (Venstre n.d., 17). However, the utterance "The prerequisite for social safety is that any one who can support themselves do so" (ibid.) implies a contradictory message to some extent because the matter of social safety is put next to and equalized with supporting oneself. These two meanings are not mutually exclusive, but one might argue that there is to be found a deliberate strategy in comparing the two framings of social safety and self support in one, despite the fact that social safety would normally be what is expected when one is no longer capable of self support. Returning to the appeal for community sense and shared responsibility for the weakest, this is apparent in the following sentence, "The shared responsibility for the weakest in the society is characterized by providing the help with respect for the integrity of the individual human being" (Venstre n.d., 17-18) but it is moreover stated that "the help should also be given in a way that enables the receiver to feel a personal responsibility and is encouraged to lift oneself out of the social situation" (ibid.), indicating that when an individual receives welfare support, he/she is reminded that there are certain expectations to fulfil and that you are only deserving of the support if you conform to such expectations; furthermore, the framing of

lifting oneself out of the social situation arguably indicates a thin line between being rightfully deserving and undeserving with regards to social services.

5.1.1.4. Summarizing Populism in the Danish Party Manifestos

Generally speaking, the three Danish manifestos appear to agree upon a set of frames revolving around the pure people, moral behavior; responsibility, hard work and community. They are arguably all constructs in the attempt to define the pure people and seek to delimit the boundaries of said people. In their definition of the pure people, all three parties appeal to the morals of the people by setting up standards for proper behavior such as hard work and at the same time frame the matter of receiving welfare benefits as something undesirable. The emphasis on hard work and the framing of welfare benefits as undesired and unnecessary aligns with the notion of producerism, which is a typical populist trait used to defining the pure people. In the manifestos, hard work is equalized with being independent and earning one's own money, and freedom and a good life are equalized with being independent and supporting oneself. From the analysis, there is little doubt that this framing is typical within liberal politics and as such the manifestos can be said to be typical liberal or political although with notions of populism. Furthermore, both the Conservative Party's and Liberal Alliance's manifestos emphasize the Danish nationality as being the boundary of the heartland, whereas the Liberal Party manifesto do not use this frame or in any way emphasizes nationality. The Liberal Party's manifesto is more subtle in its definition of the pure people, whereas the Conservative Party and Liberal Alliance take on a more direct approach by explicitly stating throughout their manifestos examples of who belongs and who does not and who is allowed to receive benefits and who is not. There is a common agreement throughout the manifestos that EU citizens are allowed to work and contribute to the Danish society, as is also the formal obligation for Denmark's membership of the European Union (cf. European Citizenship and the Right to Social Benefits). However, especially the Conservative Party's and Liberal Alliance's manifestos seem to challenge this obligation, setting up boundaries and limitations between EU citizens and the 'hard-working, Danish taxpayers' and in this act they arguably display a populist characteristic in that they show exclusionist tendencies when they seek to define the heartland/the pure people in terms of nationality. Especially Liberal Alliance's manifesto takes the tendency further in that it insists on mentioning welfare tourism as a concept and vociferously claims that it must be shut down. On a different note, the party manifesto arguably displays another populist tendency when it claims to know what the majority of the Danish people

wants with reference to the public sector and the assertion that the majority of Danes back their thoughts, which is a typical populist linguistic strategy in the attempt to legitimate one's stance (Wodak 2016, 45-46).

Thus, after a thorough analysis of the three manifestos, we conclude that the populist tendencies are most prevalent communicatively in the manifesto of Liberal Alliance, followed by the Conservative Party's and lastly, the Liberal Party's manifesto that come across as more subtle in its approach to the pure people and which does not necessarily try to delimit a heartland as strongly as we see the manifesto of the Conservative Party and Liberal Alliance does.

5.1.1.5. Summarizing Deservedness in the Danish Party Manifestos

In the three party manifestos from Denmark, a range of recurrent framings and themes can be observed. Generally, dependency on welfare benefits is framed as undesirable and equalized with being constructed as undeserving. Moreover, one may observe a continuous focus on the responsibility of the individual in connection to his/her level of deservedness, meaning that if one's need of welfare benefits is due to lack of discipline or something else within the individual's own power, he/she is constructed as undeserving of welfare benefits. As such, this level of responsibility for one's 'bad luck' in a situation is given much value and a crucial role in elaborating the level of deservedness. A recurrent framing can furthermore be found in the level of need for help, evident in e.g. the Conservative Party manifesto, where those who 'really' need help should rightly receive it and therefore deserve it. One may then pose the rhetorical question of when in practice the need for help is sufficiently real. Another prevalent framing to be found in all three manifestos is the constructed divide between those who contribute to the society and those who do not; often, those who do not are addressed and reminded not to be a burden, indicating moreover that there is to be found a non-specific group that receives welfare benefits without deserving it, and are thus taking a toll on society by being burdens. By extent, a moral code is established through certain frames, and it is made evident that one must conform to such morals in order to stay rightfully deserving. In general, welfare benefits are framed as problematic in nature, and the amount of people receiving benefits even more so. It should be noted that the Liberal Party's manifesto is distinct from the two other manifestos in that its focus to a larger extent lies on who is deserving and to a lesser extent on who is not. Lastly, a common trait of the three manifestos can be found in a constructed divide between Danish citizens and foreigners, in which foreigners are generally framed as undeserving of

the Danish welfare state. This includes the matter of citizens of the European Union despite the rules and regulations from the European Union that Denmark is committed to.

5.1.2. The British Manifestos

5.1.2.1. The Conservative Party Manifesto

5.1.2.1.1. Populism in the Conservative Party Manifesto

The analysis of the British political manifestos and the notions of deservedness and populism will commence with the Conservative Party's manifesto which is titled "Strong leadership, a clear economic plan, a brighter, more secure future" and was published in 2015.

Starting with the first populist tendency, it is represented in sentences such as "we will build a system that truly puts you, your family and the British people first" (The Conservative Party 2015, 30) and "If you have worked hard during your life, saved, paid your taxes and done the right thing, you deserve dignity and security when you retire" (The Conservative Party 2015, 65). Both quotes arguably align with the populist characterization of who belongs to the 'pure people', in these examples presented as 'you', 'your family' and 'the British people'. This employment of direct language, which addresses the reader directly is repeated throughout the manifesto through the use of words such as 'you', 'your', 'we' etc. As such, this adressation of the reader makes the manifesto appear to be very inclusive and it becomes clear that the manifesto portrays the Conservative Party as representatives of the reader; something that resembles the populist conviction of representing the pure people as a whole (cf. Populism Theory). Furthermore, the Conservative Party's manifesto arguably employs the populist concept of producerism through frames of the hard-working people; they are the ones belonging to the pure people as can be seen in the utterances: "you are rewarded for working hard and doing the right thing" (The Conservative Party 2015, 3) and "If you have worked hard during your life, saved, paid your taxes and done the right thing, you deserve dignity and security when you retire" (The Conservative Party 2015, 65), stressing that those who work hard do the right thing for society, and as such are part of the worthy and pure people. At the same time as employing the frame of hard work and thus producerism and the definition of who is part of the pure people, another frame becomes apparent, namely the 'the right thing', as illustrated in several of the quotes above. This frame puts into practice the populist approach to moral, and it is noteworthy that the notion of 'doing the right thing' is not explicitly explained at any point in the manifesto, but merely

juxtaposed with hard work and paying taxes. The use of the frame presupposes that the reader agrees with what 'doing the right thing' entails according to the manifesto. The manifesto presents it as common knowledge, drawing lines to the populist proneness to insinuate common-sense in order to legitimize the party's desires. At the same time, the concept of 'doing the right thing' aligns with Wodak's delineation of typical discursive strategies in that the frame is 'coded' through the presupposition that the (pure) people already knows what it means (Wodak 2015, 101).

When analyzing moral tendencies, the utterance "Instead of something-for-nothing, we will build a system based on the principle of something-for-something" (The Conservative Party 2015, 30) can be said to illustrate the moralistic accumulative approach to welfare that the manifesto of the Conservative Party advocates for, namely that one must give before receiving. It also becomes evident in this sentence: "But it is not fair – on taxpayers, or on young people themselves – that 18-21 year-olds with no work experience should slip straight into a life on benefits without first contributing to their community" (The Conservative Party 2015, 18), when stressing the importance of contributing to one's community before receiving any benefits. This frame of contributing evokes a moral obligation of hard work before one can belong to the pure people. This is further emphasized in the following quote: "ask what you can do for your community and your country" (The Conservative Party 2015, 45). Arguably, in order to further clarify who is the hard-working, pure and true people, the Conservative Party manifesto sets up regulations for EU migrants: "EU migrants who want to claim tax credits and child benefit must live here and contribute to our country for a minimum of four years" (The Conservative Party 2015, 30) and following this utterance, they make it clear who the unwanted EU migrants are, as this "will reduce the financial incentive for lower-paid, lower-skilled workers to come to Britain" (ibid). This direct selection of who are and who are not welcome in Britain is very distinct and clearly sets up boundaries for those striving to become part of the pure people. You must be high-paid and high-skilled in order to even be considered, equalizing high pay and a high level of skills with real, hard work. At the same time, they make it clear that a migrant worker doing low-paid and low-skilled work is not doing real or hard work, illustrating the 'Other' which aligns with Populist Theory (Wodak 2015, 25-26).

5.1.2.1.2. Deservedness in the Conservative Party Manifesto

Beginning in the introductory pages of the manifesto, a recurrent message is established, namely the immense value that is attributed to the notions of hard work and 'doing the right thing' which is also

considered in the above. These themes are recurrent throughout the manifesto and can among others be observed in the following sentence: "... to create a fairer welfare system where benefits are capped to the level that makes work pay – so you are rewarded for working hard and doing the right thing" (The Conservative Party 2015, 3). One may argue that hard work is equated with being constructed as deserving through the wording "rewarded" and "doing the right thing", also evident in the sentence "The goal of welfare reform should be to reward hard work and protect the vulnerable" (The Conservative Party 2015, 25). In the sentence "Under Labour, those who worked hard found more and more of their earnings taken away in tax to support a welfare system that allowed, and even encouraged, people to choose benefits when they could be earning a living" (ibid.) notions of deservedness arguably underlie the utterance in that people who were allegedly undeserving of benefits had the option to collect them anyway, an action arguably constructed as highly immoral. Along with the framing of hardworking people as deserving, an implication can be found in the fact that those who do not work hard are implicitly framed as undeserving. Another notion of deservedness to be found is that of the individual's supposed level of need for help, which is set forth as being conditioned of the need's truthfulness; the need for help must be "real" in order to result in rightfully deserved help. This is illustrated in the sentences "Real fairness means that where people really cannot work, they must be supported – but were they are able to work, they should" (The Conservative Party 2015, 25) and "We are reassessing those on incapacity benefits so that help goes to those who really need it" (ibid.) in which the wording 'really' appears repeatedly and stresses its importance. One group appears to be inherently deserving of welfare services, namely the elderly, apparent through the sentence "And we will cap the amount you can be charged for your residential care - so you can have the dignity and security you deserve in your old age" (The Conservative Party 2015, 3) in which the very wording of 'deservedness' appears along with 'dignity', creating a message of a rightfully earned retirement. This framing of elderly as deserving is also apparent in the similar sentence, "If you have worked hard during your life, saved, paid your taxes and done the right thing, you deserve dignity and security when you retire." (The Conservative Party 2015, 65) but here, one may moreover observe the construction of the lifestyle that entails deservedness, namely hard work, sensible use of one's income, apparent in the wording 'saved' and paying your taxes which arguably invokes notions of being a decent citizen, and finally, doing the right thing' which may serve as a general summary of the listed things to conform to.

Another recurrent theme in which notions of deservedness may be observed is the matter of migration from the EU, in which one may detect a constructed, framed divide between the British

people, who are set forth as more deserving, and foreigners, both EU migrants and more vaguely defined foreigners who are generally framed as undeserving. Among others, this is apparent in the two sentences "Our plan to control immigration will put you, your family and the British people first. We will reduce the number of people coming to our country with tough new welfare conditions and robust enforcement" (The Conservative Party 2015, 29) and "control migration from the European Union, by reforming welfare rules" (ibid.). In these sentences, people with nationalities other than British are represented as less deserving of welfare benefits, and immigration as a generalized concept is presupposedly problematized. This is also evident in the following "We will negotiate new rules with the EU, so that people will have to be earning here for a number of years before they can claim benefits" (The Conservative Party 2015, 29-30) and "We will insist that EU migrants who want to claim tax credits and child benefit must live here and contribute to our country for a minimum of four years. This will reduce the financial incentive for lower-paid, lower-skilled workers to come to Britain" (The Conservative Party 2015, 30) in which one might argue that EU citizens claiming benefits from the moment of entry are constructed as undeserving of such. Furthermore, in the latter sentence, the wording 'lower-paid, lower-skilled' is particularly noteworthy, as it presumes the undesirability of having people from that constructed group coming to the UK at the same time as constructing said group as undeserving. Simultaneously, this stance on lower-paid and lower-skilled foreign workers is interesting to note, seeing as unskilled work is often connoted with physically demanding work which as such aligns with the 'working hard equals doing the right thing' mantra; in the case of foreign workers, hard work appears irrelevant or even undesirable.

5.1.2.2. The UKIP Manifesto

5.1.2.2.1. Populism in the UKIP Manifesto

This paragraph will examine the manifesto of UKIP denominated 'Believe in Britain', which was published in 2015, and is still the representative manifesto of the party (cf. Selection and Limitation of Empirical Data). When analyzing the manifesto, it becomes apparent that UKIP has a clear tendency to define who belongs to the category of pure people and who does not, especially through the lenses of immigrants; often the definition or delimitation becomes clear in connection with the mentioning of immigrants, both from the EU and from other parts of the world. Similarly, the pure people is constructed in terms of nationality and whether one is British. This exclusionist tendency is a typical populist trait according to Wodak (2015, 25-26). This becomes apparent in the following

utterance through a preceding discussion of benefits: "Our current immigration rules ignore the wishes of the British people. They discriminate in favour of EU citizens and against the rest of the world" (UKIP 2015, 11). Presently, UKIP's manifesto constructs the EU citizens as a social group benefitting on behalf of 'the rest of the world' and the British people is constructed as a separate social group. This is arguably a clear distinction between 'pure people' (the British people) and the 'Other' (EU citizens and the rest of the world). One might argue that this is not a surprising notion to discover in a party that, even at the time of the issuing of the manifesto, was very pro-Brexit. Nonetheless, it is relevant for the present thesis and our examination of how populist construct the deserving, pure people communicatively. When the pure people is defined like this in relation to nationality, it also connects to Wodak's (2015) definition of the heartland, a concept populists create which consists of pure people but furthermore often entails exclusionist tendencies as well as anti-internationalism. Both is present in UKIP's manifesto through quotes such as: "We will relieve pressure on social housing waiting lists by preventing foreign nationals from obtaining access to social housing until they have lived here and paid UK Tax and National Insurance for a minimum of five years" (UKIP 2015, 34). In this, it also becomes apparent how the manifesto of UKIP sets up boundaries and obstacles between foreign nationalities and the British people, again defining the pure people and thus the heartland in terms of nationality and the exclusion of immigrants, stressing how foreign nationals are not deserving of benefits, and making it difficult to ever obtain status as members of the pure people when one is not born British. Regarding these obstacles, the following is worth mentioning since it draws on the framing of the pure people as the working, tax paying people: "those arriving on work visas will not be granted permanent leave to remain, however they can apply for British citizenship after five years if they have worked and paid tax here" (UKIP 2015, 12) and furthermore it creates yet another obstacle on the road towards becoming a member of the pure people, by not promising citizenship to those who work and pay taxes for five years but instead only vaguely stating that 'they can apply', which indicates that no promises are made at all, leaving one to wonder whether obtainment of citizenship will ever be possible to those not born British. Another example of an expression stressing these tendencies is: "UKIP will put the 'national' back into our national health service" (UKIP 2015, 16) and "The NHS is the National Health Service, not the International Health Service" (ibid.) where the repetition of 'national' emphasizes who are deserving and entitled to the health service and who is not. Clearly this service is not intended for internationals and as such the pure people becomes clearly defined in terms of nationality. In general, the manifesto's definition of the pure people revolves around frames of national belonging and the

concept of being 'local', illustrated in e.g. the utterance: "Local homes for local people" (UKIP 2015, 34). In this statement, which concerns homelessness, it becomes apparent that even within the social group of homeless people, the truly deserving people are the local ones - not the foreigners. UKIP's manifesto further states that: "We will relieve pressure on social housing waiting lists by preventing foreign nationals from obtaining access to social housing until they have lived here and paid UK Tax and National Insurance for a minimum of five years" (UKIP 2015, 34), again constructing the foreigners or the 'Others' as a social group just waiting to harvest the multiple benefits of British society. In the following paragraph, UKIP's manifesto wants to minimize the possible benefits to foreigners, only allowing for urgent-treatment or treatment which falls under a reciprocal international agreement, employing a something-for-something approach: "During this time they will not be able to claim any benefits or non-urgent NHS treatment, unless they can be treated under any reciprocal international agreements" (UKIP 2015, 12).

In relation to the populist framing of the pure people and the notion of producerism, the manifesto of UKIP also represents examples in regards to this such as: "Abolish tuition fees for those studying science, technology, engineering, maths and medicine" (UKIP 2015, 45), meaning that only student studying subjects like these are the ones ending up with jobs within the 'real sector' and as such will be capable of doing 'real work' in the eyes of the party. The manifesto's suggestions of abolishing the tuition fee for students within these fields can be seen as an attempt to protect the future 'real workers' well in advance and is a clear signal about who will and will not grow up to be worthy of being the 'real worker' and as such part of the pure people (cf. Populism Theory). The manifesto further establishes the pure people and who are worthy of being such in utterances such as: "UKIP is fully committed to protecting the rights of disabled people" (UKIP 2015, 23), "How we look after our older people and others who are vulnerable in society because of ill health is a mark of how civilised we are as a society" (UKIP 2015, 19) and "It is scandalous that the current care system is failing those who most need our help" (ibid.). These utterances evidently construct the pure people as a social group including disabled people, older people, people of ill health and 'those who most need our help'. As such, UKIP's manifesto appears sympathetic and inclusive but the groups are left undefined and does not entail details of when one is ill or disabled enough to receive help. Moreover, it is left unsaid who the ones 'who most need our help' are.

Relating to the abovementioned examination of UKIP's manifesto's, it can be argued that throughout the manifesto there are recurrent appeals to morals. Müller (2016) describes how populists have a "moralistic imagination of politics" (p.41) and often highly value a moralistic approach to

matters in society, expecting a certain behavior of the people and seeing themselves as representatives of said people (ibid.). The manifesto of UKIP observably identifies with a high level of morals which becomes evident in utterances such as: "The scale of homelessness in 2015 is morally reprehensible and UKIP will seek to eliminate this national scandal" (UKIP 2015, 34) and "It is scandalous that the current care system is failing those who most need our help" (UKIP 2015, 19). The wording 'morally reprehensible' and 'scandalous' stresses the strong belief behind the statements and the moralistic appeal to the people is further emphasized in the following: "We believe putting back the investment that was taken away by the current government is more than expedient: it is our duty" (ibid.) where doing the right thing is equalized with 'our duty', strongly urging the people to do something about the unfairness in society.

Another noteworthy populist trait is the strive for a 'singular common good', where a kind of 'populist logic' will be employed, often oversimplifying complex matters in the pursuit to achieve the singular common good (cf. Populism Theory). In the present manifesto, this can be seen in the paragraph regarding social care, where UKIP's main concern is portrayed to be caring for the elderly. In order to fund "older people's care" (UKIP 2015, 19), UKIP's manifesto proposes to establish a Sovereign Wealth Fund, funded via tax revenue from shale oil and gas exploration. Especially noteworthy is the fact that shale exploration and fracking do not occur in the UK at the moment, nevertheless the manifesto of UKIP still believes that "should fracking in the UK prove to be possible and profitable, we want to see the nation's income from it spent on looking after older people" (ibid.) and that this smart (and apparently logic) move "will potentially release older people from the distress of having to sell their homes to pay for care and give them and their families peace of mind." (ibid.), which appears as a rather arbitrary solution seeing as fracking is inherently a risky venture that does not guarantee return as well as the very connection between the two - one may pose the question of why fracking should be a solution to funding of elderly care and not the homeless issue, pressure on the healthcare system or one of the other issues often emphasized as problematic and in need of further funding.

This type of oversimplification of complex matters is present numerous times in the manifesto, were UKIP presents solutions in quick and simple terms. Another example of this is their solution to end homelessness: "Tackling homelessness starts with knowing who and where homeless people are, so they can be offered housing and other life opportunities. We will establish a National Homeless Register to make it easier for those of no fixed abode to claim welfare entitlements; get

access to medical and dental services; and enable support services to identify those at risk of physical, psychological and sexual abuse" (UKIP 2015, 34).

If the issue of homelessness could be resolved as simply as it is portrayed, one might claim that there would no longer be an issue of homelessness. However, in reality the problematic of homelessness are far more complex and even the process of registering all homeless people appears a difficult and lengthy task.

An additional populist trait, present in the manifesto of UKIP, is fear. As previously mentioned, the party constructs the pure people mainly in contrast to those who are not part of it, often pointing to EU citizens and other nationalities as the 'Other'. By creating fear of losing national autonomy or by pointing out that Britain has already lost it (by membership of the European Union), UKIP's manifesto creates an enemy image of the welfare tourists flocking to the UK to strip the pure, British people of their benefits. This construct happens both in previously mentioned utterances but also in the following: "We want to see a welfare system that is fairer, simpler and less open to abuse. Our approach is one that firmly opposes the 'benefits lifestyle' but also addresses the current welfare regime, which has produced unjust outcomes" (UKIP 2015, 23) and "Controlling the numbers of new migrants coming to Britain is one important part of the housing jigsaw" (UKIP 2015, 34). The word 'jigsaw' arguably makes way for one of Wodak's proposed linguistic strategies, namely that of the "double think", which assumes associations between contradictory meanings (2015, 45-46) seeing as the semantics of a jigsaw includes the imageries of both a jigsaw puzzle and a machine saw, the former being particularly more harmless than the latter which has connotations to something dangerous and destructive coming your way. Furthermore, the wording of 'controlling' arguably creates fear of uncontrolled numbers of new migrants coming to Britain to enjoy the 'benefits lifestyle' and abuse the system as well as creating an enemy image of migrants. The enemy image is not only created in the image of the minorities of EU migrants, but also in the image of the elite, which becomes apparent when the manifesto of UKIP, again appealing to morals, speaks of the school system: "It is morally wrong that five independent fee-paying schools should send more students to Oxbridge than the worst performing two thousand secondary schools" (UKIP 2015, 28). Creating a variety of enemy images manifested in hostility towards the elite and towards minorities is very typical populist trait (Müller 2016, 41). Finally, one may observe the act of scapegoating (ibid.) in that immigrants are indirectly made culprits of the housing crisis through the above utterance.

5.1.2.2.2. Deservedness in the UKIP Manifesto

There are several occurrences of notions of deservedness to be observed in the manifesto of UKIP. The most prevalent themes are immigration matters, the elderly, vulnerable, the family, children and the homeless. The overall theme of immigration with regards to the welfare state is particularly central in the UKIP manifesto. The manifesto proposes an "Australian-style points based system. Workers under this scheme will be required to have medical insurance to cover both themselves and any dependents for five years' duration. During this time they will not be able to claim any benefits or non-urgent NHS treatment" (UKIP 2015, 12) in which one may detect a limit stating that after five years, they may become deserving of the British welfare system. The phrase 'Australian-style' arguably invokes notions of a strict policy, and the fact that workers will not receive any welfare services during a few-year duration emphasizes their constructed status as lesser deserving. Further related to immigration comes the matter of non-British students who, according to the manifesto should be "required to maintain private health insurance for the period of their study" (UKIP 2015, 12) and that EU students should not be granted tuition fee loans; "we will not give tuition fee loans to EEA students when we leave the EU" (UKIP 2015, 31), which illustrate that neither the vague group of non-British students nor the specific group of EU students are deserving of British welfare benefits. UKIP's manifesto also emphasizes that the British healthcare system, the NHS, is under pressure, and immigration is ruled out as the single culprit. Wording such as 'health-tourism' (UKIP 2015, 16) adds to the problematization of the undeserving group that receives health care. "Every year the NHS spends up to £2 billion of UK taxpayers' money treating those ineligible for free care" (UKIP 2015, 16). The wording 'taxpayers' money' and 'those ineligible for free care' invokes notions of unfairness and fraudsters. Another theme in which notions of deservedness can be observed is in that of social care and elderly care. Concerning the former, the manifesto of UKIP states "How we look after our older people and others who are vulnerable in society because of ill health is a mark of how civilised we are as a society. It is scandalous that the current care system is failing those who most need our help" (UKIP 2015, 19). This utterance illustrates that according to UKIP's manifesto, vulnerable and older people are sympathized with and perceived deserving of help and looking after. This is furthermore apparent in the sentence "UKIP is fully committed to protecting the rights of disabled people" (UKIP 2015, 23). However, in the subsequent section 'Welfare and Disability' the notion of undeserving people who swindle with the system is quickly introduced: "We want to see a welfare system that is fairer simpler and less open to abuse. Our approach is one that firmly opposes the 'benefits lifestyle'" (UKIP 2015, 23) in which the wording of 'less open to abuse' and 'benefits

lifestyle' brings out connotations of an undeserving group that receives benefits; the 'benefits lifestyle' wording is especially noteworthy and brings to mind the constructed social group of the 'deviants' seeing as they are constructed as dangerous and of no value to society (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18). This is furthermore evident in the bullet point list of the manifesto of UKIP's proposed "common sense approach to benefits" (UKIP 2015, 23) including "Cracking down on benefit fraud", "Ending welfare tourism with a five-year ban on benefits for migrants" and "Stopping child benefit being paid to children who don't live in the UK" in which the first point aligns with the aforementioned group of undeserving receiving benefits, and the two latter points which align with the above theme of British citizens being more deserving than foreigners.

One group that is consistently depicted as deserving is families, evident through statements such as "UKIP believes supporting children and families is a pre-requisite for a strong and healthy society" (UKIP 2015, 24) and "Families are important, in all their diversity" (ibid.). Similarly, children in general appear to be framed as deserving, even those from poor families: "Many pupils learn best in a rigorous academic environment and the system can improve social mobility for able children from poorer backgrounds" (UKIP 2015, 30) and, stated with reference to children with special needs, "Every child is unique and the needs of each child should come first" (UKIP 2015, 31). From these statements, it seems that the aforementioned considerations of the perceived responsibility for one's own lot and the consequent construction of deserving versus undeserving are apparent in the rationales underlying the messages in the manifesto of UKIP as well.

A noteworthy statement concerning educational matters and welfare benefits in terms of tuition fees can be found in the proposition that "UK students taking approved degrees in Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics and Medicine ... will not have to repay their tuition fees" (ibid.). In this utterance, a clear divide of deservedness is made between the natural sciences and other subjects seeing as the former should be exempt from tuition fees. Moreover, one might argue that the statement invokes a sense that one's profession is connoted with a certain level of overall beneficial potential for the rest of society.

The notion of deservedness is prevalent also under the theme of housing issues. Housing is established as a severe issue in urgent need of tackling, and the recurrent proposed solution is the distinction of local people and 'others', evident among others through the sub-headline 'Local Homes for Local People' (UKIP 2015, 34) and the statement "Controlling the numbers of new migrants coming to Britain is one important part of the housing jigsaw" (ibid.) in which the solution is

presented, namely less immigration. Immigrants are thus framed as culprits of the alleged housing crisis and as implicitly constructed as undeserving of social housing. Related to housing comes the matter of homelessness, where it is noteworthy how the homeless are deemed a highly deserving group: "Tackling homelessness starts with knowing who and where homeless people are, so they can be offered housing and other life opportunities. We will establish a National Homeless Register to make it easier for those of no fixed abode to claim welfare entitlements" (ibid.). Often, people in the lowest part of society are subject to a certain need for explanation or justification of their situation and the role of their own responsibility (cf. Deservedness and Entitlement Theory) and in the present case, the absence of any perceived need for responsibility of the homeless' situation is noteworthy.

5.1.2.3. The BNP Manifesto

Regarding the British National Party's (BNP) manifesto, a challenge arose in conducting the analysis. Initially, the manifest was deemed useful despite its small size compared to the other manifestos, but after careful analytical assessment it has been established that, in relation to notions of the welfare state, there is a lack of content. Consequently, the manifesto of BNP has resulted in a very limited analysis outcome. One frame that is recurrent is that of the 'local people', which is constructed as the group that is most deserving regarding social housing (BNP 2016, 3). Apart from this, there is an absence of content. Thus, BNP will be omitted from the summarizing in the following paragraphs.

5.1.2.4. Summarizing Populism in the British Party Manifestos

As it has been established, the manifesto of BNP proved unfit for analysis due to its very limited content. When analyzing the other two party manifestos from the UK, a variety of similarities occur. The first one, and also the most prevalent one is how they construct themselves as the pure people. Both manifestos seek to define the boundaries of the pure people and as such appear rather exclusionary throughout the manifestos. This excluding attitude is typical populist according to Wodak (2015) and Müller (2016). Both parties delineate the pure people in terms of nationality, emphasizing the importance of being British in order to be able to receive any type of welfare benefit or social care. At the same time those who are not British are denominated by both party manifestos as EU citizens and EU migrants. Furthermore, UKIP's manifesto includes foreigners in general when

they go as far as to say 'the rest of the world', as such an obvious exclusionary framing which directly limits the pure people to only entail real, pure British people.

The manifesto of the Conservative Party may be distinguished from UKIP's in the employment of the frame of 'hard-working' and 'doing the right thing' in that both frames appear multiple times only in the Conservative Party manifesto, and these frames arguably have connotations to the populist notion of producerism. In alignment with this comes the prevalent Conservative frame of 'something-for-something', which arguably illustrates the moralistic accumulative approach to welfare that the Conservative Party's manifesto advocates for. As such, it becomes apparent throughout the Conservative Party's manifesto how one ought to behave in order to be considered part of the pure people. In contrast, UKIP's manifesto is more concentrated on establishing who does not belong, namely the immigrants and 'the rest of the world', with the exception of denominating specific social groups as part of the pure people, seemingly with no relation to their behavior. These social groups are the disabled, the elderly, those with ill health and the homeless.

The Conservative Party manifesto shows populist tendencies to a greater extent regarding the matter of moral behavior seeing as such moral behavior is described in specific terms e.g. through 'doing the right thing', something which presupposes a common understanding of such 'right thing' between the reader and the manifesto. This invokes both the populist tendency of using 'common sense' and the appeal to moral behavior. One matter in which UKIP's manifesto can be distinguished from the Conservative Party's is their framed simplification of rather complex issues, for instance through the proposed solution to the lack of means in the elderly care sector by commencing fracking in search of shale oil and gas (UKIP 2015, 19), which as mentioned above encompasses a variety of incoherencies and arbitrariness.

Regarding the matter of the creation of exemplified fear, one may argue that the manifesto of UKIP constructs a variety of specific enemy images, among others that of 'welfare tourists' who are constructed as flocking to the UK and stripping the pure, British people of their rightfully earned benefits. Simultaneously, one may detect the invocation of fear through the framing of immigrants as an ubiquitous enemy which floods all corners of the welfare system, further decreasing the shrinking pool of funds resulting in there not being enough for the British people.

With reference to the issue of citizenship, which also entails membership of the pure people, both UKIP's and the Conservative Party's manifesto list a variety of conditions for the achievement of citizenship. A distinction between the two may be observed in the language employed, in which

the Conservative Party manifesto sets up a range of conditions and/or obstacles to be overcome before one may apply for citizenship, however, the manifesto of the Conservative Party arguably promises a possible obtainment as a reward, whereas the manifesto of UKIP's reward consists merely of the option to apply for citizenship but makes no reference to the possibility of obtainment. This lack of mentioning of the obtainment arguably illustrates UKIP's manifesto's greater reluctance in providing immigrants with a British citizenship.

5.1.2.5. Summarizing Deservedness in the British Party Manifestos

In the two party manifestos of respectively the Conservatives and UKIP, a range of common themes and frames may be observed, although the two manifestos also encompass certain differences. Generally, framings of hard work and 'doing the right thing' and the underlying association with being deserving or undeserving with reference to one's working life is present to a larger extent in the Conservative Party manifesto, but it is still found in the UKIP manifesto, among others through mentionings of the 'benefits lifestyle' which invokes a frame of an undeserving group which is unrightfully receiving welfare benefits. For the Conservative Party manifesto, a greater emphasis is put on the issue of being in 'real' need of help, i.e. welfare benefits, and this requirement of a truthful need is constructed as a crucial factor in elaborating the individual's deservedness. References to certain deserving lifestyles may also be observed in the Conservative manifesto, e.g. through the close association between 'working hard', 'saving' and 'paying tax'. Moreover, through the common appeal to working hard and decent lifestyles, one may detect underlying equations of immoral behavior such as freeloading with being undeserving. Moreover, one may argue that those who do not work (hard) are placed in the group of 'deviants' (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18) seeing as they are continuously constructed as being of no value to society.

In both of the manifestos, the implicit role of the individual's own responsibility for their situation may be derived. One matter which the two manifestos have in common is a consensus that the elderly as a group is assumed deserving, however in the case UKIP manifesto it is without much justification. The elderly are framed as having done what was expected from their role as decent citizens and now deserving of a fruitful retirement. For the case of the manifesto of UKIP, families, the homeless, the disabled and children are additionally framed as deserving groups without much justification. As such, these groups are distinguished by being in no need for explaining or justifying their own responsibility.

Common to both the manifestos is the mutual understanding between the manifesto and the reader that immigration is indeed a problem and that this constructed fact needs no further justification or legitimization. This is the case of both EU migrants and immigration in general, the latter often more vaguely described, but both equally undeserving of welfare benefits. However, one may argue that the proneness for constructing immigrants as sole culprits for alleged crises in the society (e.g. the alleged housing crisis and the healthcare system being under too much pressure) is present to a greater extent in the UKIP manifesto than in the Conservative Party manifesto. Nevertheless, in both cases immigrants are generally considered undeserving.

At this point in the analysis it is relevant to pose the question of whether there might exist any structural connections between the hitherto illustrated populist tendencies and notions of deservedness. This will be elaborated upon at a subsequent point.

5.1.3. Comparison of the Case Countries' Manifestos

5.1.3.1. Comparison of Populist Tendencies

In the analysis of the five party manifestos from the right-wing parties in respectively UK and Denmark, we have found both similarities and differences. This paragraph will seek to illustrate these and discuss the prevalent tendencies of populism found in the manifestos. To a large degree, the conservative parties' manifestos in both countries can be said to have a similar approach in that they advocate for more responsibility to the people and less to the government, as well as both manifestos emphasize hard work as the key solution to many problems. In Denmark, the Liberal Party's manifesto is a bit more vague in its expressions regarding welfare, which can perhaps be explained in relation to the Social-Democratic welfare regime employed in Denmark. Through time, the Danish right-wing parties have had a tendency of supporting the concept of the all-encompassing welfare state, and to some degree this matches with the findings in the Liberal Party's manifesto. On the opposing side, we find UKIP's manifesto, which seeks a lower cap on benefits (UKIP 2015, 23), but at the same time supports the idea of welfare benefits for a relatively large group of people including both disabled, the elderly, families, the homeless, and children in general. These two contrasting desires in the UKIP manifesto can be described as typically populist in that the underlying message being conveyed does not necessarily entail an entirely coherent ideology (cf. Populism Theory).

Common for all three Danish manifestos is the employment of the frames of 'responsibility', 'community' and 'hard-work'. These frames employ connotations of an expected, moral behavior. At the same time, said frames are arguably used in reference to the pure people; those accepted into the group consists largely of hard-working, responsible and tax-paying adults. In the UK, the Conservative Party's manifesto has a similar frame of hard-work and adds another frame, 'doing the right thing', in which it presupposes that the readers will know what this action demands and at the same time draws on the common-sense notion of populism as well as a moralistic aspect. One of the party manifestos stands out, namely UKIP's, in that its group of 'the pure people' is rather inclusive, embodying all of the abovementioned categories of people. With regards to the group of 'pure people', we found it to be constructed in both countries. In Denmark, especially the manifestos of the Conservative Party and Liberal Alliance are concerned with delimiting the pure people in terms of nationality, whereas the Liberal Party's manifesto is more vague and inclusive in this respect. In the UK, both party manifestos are preoccupied with delimiting the pure people in different ways. While UKIP's manifesto is quite inclusive of different social groups in society, the (British) Conservative Party's manifesto focuses more on hard-working people in general.

A tendency that occurs in all of the manifestos is exclusionism, mainly in regards to immigrants and EU migrants. The topic of EU migrants is touched upon in all of the manifestos (with the exception of the Danish Liberal Party manifesto), often challenging the obligations each country has in relation to their membership of the European Union.

In four of the five party manifestos, we see how the they seek to put up obstacles for EU migrants, e.g. the British manifestos are very concerned with implementing a five-year rule before any non-British person can obtain welfare benefits. The same demand is repeated in the Danish manifestos, and in both countries the demand for the immigrant to work and pay taxes for a number of years before being allowed to apply for citizenship or receive welfare benefits is prevalent.

Before obtainment of citizenship, no one will be included in the pure people category and rightfully receive any benefits. The UKIP manifesto stands out in that it puts up the same obstacles for EU immigrants, but it does not promise the reward of being part of the pure people in the end; instead what is promised in UKIP's manifesto is that the immigrant will merely be allowed to apply for citizenship after the five-year wait. There is a distinction to be found in that UKIP's manifesto discursively possibly tries to exclude everyone but British nationals, constructing the pure people as an exclusive group which no immigrant will ever obtain membership of. Furthermore, the UKIP

manifesto portrays certain populist tendencies, which the other parties do not. These tendencies are found when the manifesto discursively simplifies complex matters, creates enemy images, portrays the immigrant as a scapegoat and to a larger degree invokes fear compared to the rest of the parties and their manifestos. In Denmark, the Liberal Alliance manifesto stands out in that it employs a notion of populism which is not prevalent in any of the other manifestos; the manifesto to some degree demonstrates an attitude that Liberal Alliance represents the people and the people's desires, as illustrated in the above section.

In conclusion, the prevalent populist tendencies in both countries are: attempts to construct the pure people, mainly in terms of nationality, the emphasis on producerism, exclusionist tendencies towards EU immigrants, and an appeal to moral behavior. Moreover, one manifesto in each country stands out; in Denmark, Liberal Alliance's manifesto portrays populist tendencies a bit stronger. From the UK, UKIP's manifesto stands out in that it irrefutably expresses most populist tendencies, and is distinct compared to the manifesto from the Conservative Party and the Danish party manifestos as well. As the party is declared populist (Greven 2016, 3), it is not that surprising, but nonetheless the documentation of their utterances is noteworthy for the scholarly pursuits of the present thesis.

5.1.3.2. Comparison of Deservedness

The following paragraph will seek to compare the findings of notions of deservedness which have been illustrated above, in the British and Danish manifestos respectively. Subsequently it will be discussed how categories of deserving and undeserving groups are constructed.

When comparing the manifestos of the two case countries, it becomes evident that certain frames are prevalent in both, although the level of prevalence varies slightly according to each manifesto. One frame which may be found in the manifestos of both Denmark and the UK is that of being in "real" need of welfare benefits, through which it can be established that there is a requirement of a certain level of truthfulness to one's need; a conditional factor that decides whether one is deserving or not. By extent of this proposed "real" need of welfare benefits comes another mutual notion, namely that of the perceived responsibility for the individual's situation, meaning that if the individual's need for welfare benefits is caused by something which could have been avoided by e.g. more discipline, consideration or another way of deterring the situation, then the problem is considered self-inflicted and should be dealt with not by the government through welfare services, but by the individual alone or through help from his/her family or friends.

Another matter which is common to both case countries is the perceived value of moral behavior in relation to deservedness, in which it can be observed that by conforming to the moral code, one can expect the categorization of being deserving. Characteristic of this moral code is an emphasis on hard work, paying taxes and the overall appeal of contributing to society. For the case of the Danish manifestos, this is apparent through repeated wordings such as 'contributing' whereas the wordings in the British manifestos are to a greater extent exemplified through hard work and "doing the right thing" (and, it should be added, this is mostly prevalent in the Conservative Party manifesto). This moral code moreover aligns with notions of constructed "deserving lifestyles".

Yet another common feature to be observed in both of the countries' manifestos is a prevalent negative framing of welfare benefits as a general concept. Receiving welfare benefits in general is consequently associated with being undeserving, and in the case of both of the countries one may argue that if you rely on welfare benefits as a living, you are either placed in the constructed group of the 'dependents' or the 'deviants' (Ingram and Schneider 2015, 18) depending on whether the welfare receiver is framed as being of no value or merely in need of more discipline. Additionally, related to the constructed undeserving group, another common characteristic of the manifestos of both of the countries arises, namely that of immigration, a matter which is generally constructed as a problem. For the case of Denmark, this is exemplified indirectly through emphasized wordings such as 'Danes' which arguably involve an implicit exclusion of non-Danes who are perceived as undeserving, and for the case of the UK, the most prevalent undeserving group in terms of immigration is established as EU migrants. Put otherwise, the matter of nationality is given a high value in determining who is deserving and who is not, applying to both countries. Touching upon the subject of immediately deserving groups, one characteristic applies only to the case of the UK, namely that of the elderly who, as a group, are constructed as unimpeachable by both parties. Distinct from the others, the UKIP manifesto adds families, children (including children with disabilities), the homeless and the disabled to the group of the deserving. One may pose the question of whether these groups are deemed non-responsible for their situation in life and, thus, in "real" need of welfare services.

Regarding the question of how categories of deserving and undeserving groups are constructed, the above analytical outline shows a variety of recurrent themes. At this point it can be established that the deserving group is predominantly constructed as people who work and are able support themselves, i.e. those who lead morally fitting lifestyles - and the undeserving are then placed in a vacuum in which they oscillate somewhere between being perceived as actually deserving of help

and being perceived as freeloaders. This seemingly thin dividing line between "real" need of help and "fake" need of help is interesting to consider; one might pose the question of whether this continuously vague distinction gives rise to a vacuum in which discursive harassment can flourish. The continuous vague distinction arguably results in the matter being subject to ceaseless discussion and a proneness towards evaluation in individual cases, only emphasizing the need for clearer definitions, creating insecurity and a constant sense of condemnation.

5.2. Part Two: Article Analysis

This section of the paper will constitute the analysis of the chosen newspaper articles from respectively Denmark and the UK. In the following it will be evident that some of the articles do to not align very much with the keywords through which they were retrieved, and it is thus essential to take note of the fact that the keyword search entries - jobseeker's allowance, child benefit and housing benefit - were employed as tools for the retrieval of empirical data with reference to welfare benefits to a greater extent than due to the keywords being benchmarks in the media debate. In practice, this means that the analysis for structural reasons is organized around the keywords, however the analysis and subsequent discussion will not be based on the keywords but on the content of the articles which revolve around welfare benefits. Part two of the analysis will constitute of a divide into firstly the Danish data and secondly the British data. Within each data set the analysis will be structured in categories of the abovementioned keywords, starting with Jobseeker's Allowance, Child Benefit and subsequently Housing Benefit.

5.2.1. The Danish Articles

5.2.1.1. Jobseeker's Allowance

The first article included in this category is from the newspaper Berlingske, and the title is "Debate: It is unsound to speak of material poverty in Denmark". The article is one of two articles published the same day, and the author is Joachim B. Olsen, MP from Liberal Alliance. The article from Jyllands-Posten is titled "Debate: The jobseeker's allowance maximum is legitimate, because…", an article written by Lene Horsbøl, member of the employment committee in the Parliament for The Liberal Party. The article expresses Lene's opinion about the jobseeker's allowance maximum. Finally, the third article from BT is "Debate: Let's get more Karinas on the pitch" written by Olav

Skaaning Andersen who is chief editor of the newspaper. In this article, he calls for a more nuanced debate about jobseeker's allowance and for more reports from people, who or whose parents have received jobseeker's allowance.

5.2.1.1.1. Populism in Jobseeker's Allowance Articles

There are different populist tendencies prevalent in the articles. For instance, the construction of the pure people happens more than once. In the article from Berlingske the utterances "We politicians must set up a framework. A framework which on the one hands ensures a basic income and on the other hand ensures that people are able to see a purpose in moving away from the welfare benefits system" (Appendix 1) and "For self-determination and for the values that are the prerequisite for adults getting a meaningful and productive lives" (ibid.) arguably employs notions of producerism through the wording 'productive lives' and the encouragement to move away from the benefits system. Both quotes appeal to self-determination as the correct behavior and at the same time, meaningful and productive lives are equated with independence and working, something which is typical for the populist tendency of producerism and the delimitation of the pure people (cf. Populism Theory). This notion also recurs in the article from Jyllands-Posten in the utterance ""It must pay to work" is, for good reasons, becoming my party's new mantra" (Appendix 3) through the mantra 'it must pay to work' seeing as that sentence brings to mind an idea of it being too easy to avoid work due to high welfare services, which is arguably a right-wing frame. At the same time, the mantra draws on the populist tendency of appealing to moral behavior, through the wordings 'for good reason', something which can also be seen in another utterance from Jyllands-Posten: "I am a firm believer that the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum not only is the necessary solution but also the right one in order to get more people working" (ibid.), in which the article stresses how the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum is the only correct solution to getting people to work. This is illustrated by using the words 'firm believer' and 'necessary solution'. The overall aim is to get people working, which furthermore entails producerism and the delimitation of the pure people, entailing that those who work form part of the pure people and those who do not work, do not. The aspect of recurrent appeal to moral behavior can also be observed in the article from Berlingske, a matter which can be observed in sentences such as "[there is] too much claimant-mentality, assuming victimhood and too little honour in self support" (Appendix 1) which arguably has connotations to a lack of moral behavior as well as creating an imagery of leaning back and demanding more benefits, something

which is deemed immoral. Simultaneously, this utterance frames those who do not work as possessors of claimant-mentality, an assumed victimhood and lacking honor. Similarly, another statement in the article from Berlingske is: "There must be a notable difference between the lowest level in the welfare benefits system and working a minimum wage" (Appendix 1), which gives connotations to the notion of immoral behavior being too easily chosen due to an alleged too high level of welfare benefits. Among others, this appeal to moral behavior can also be found elsewhere in the article from Berlingske for instance in the sentence "But we also know (as a fact) that there are people who are either well enough to work but do not …" (ibid.), in which it is implicitly established that there is a group of immoral people who do not work and contribute, even though they are able to in reality. Generally, the article frames those who do not work as immoral and without honor; they have a claimant-mentality and often assume victimhood, when instead they ought to be working.

In the debate revolving around Jobseeker's Allowance in the Danish newspapers, the article from BT ("Debate: Let's get more Karinas on the pitch") distinguishes itself from the other two articles, in that it does not employ any of the same populist tendencies but instead draws upon other notions of populism. One of such notions is that of creating an enemy image and invoking fear. The introductory paragraph of the article states: "There is to be found a 'Bottom of Denmark' [Underdanmark] which speculates in gross exploitation of the system and does everything to avoid working" (Appendix 2) and "The mentality is passed on through generations and is in the long term a bomb under our welfare society" (ibid.), which creates an imagery of said 'Bottom of Denmark' as a sort of parallel society, full of people just waiting to exploit the system. Apparently these people possess a very specific mindset and mentality, which, in the article, is juxtaposed with a bomb just waiting to explode and rip the welfare society to pieces. Using the word 'bomb' automatically invokes frightening frames in most people and as such juxtaposes 'Bottom of Denmark' with a bomb. Later, 'Bottom of Denmark' is mentioned again, this time denominated as "Benefits-Denmark" (ibid.) which is arguably yet another negative framing of the people forming part of this group. One of such people is exemplified in 'Lazy Robert', a media figure whose inclusion in this article reveals a moralistic opinion. In the utterance: "Later we got Lazy Robert, who would not take on any type of job but was happy to receive welfare services" (Appendix 2). The inclusion of Robert as well as his nickname 'Lazy Robert' portrays him as a representative of 'Benefits-Denmark' and as unwanted; there is no room for lazy people on welfare benefits in the 'Top of Denmark', which is then constructed as the pure people and the heartland.

On a last note, the article from BT in itself seems rather contradictory; although appealing for more first-hand reports from people in 'Bottom of Denmark' in order to "create new insights and observations" (Appendix 2) it also portrays the 'Bottom of Denmark' as an enemy image, making it clear that people of 'Bottom of Denmark' "speculates in gross exploitation of the system and does everything to avoid working" (Appendix 2). One can pose the question: if the purpose of the article really is to welcome such reports and nuance the debate, why is 'Benefits-Denmark' and 'Bottom of Denmark' portrayed in such an arguably exclusionist, populist manner?

5.2.1.1.2. Deservedness in Jobseeker's Allowance Articles

The following paragraph will examine and delineate notions of deservedness in the chosen Danish articles of the jobseeker's allowance category that are mentioned in the section above.

Appeals to deservedness can be observed in several instances in the article from Berlingske, among others in the sentence "[there is] too much claimant-mentality, assuming victimhood and too little honour in self support" (Appendix 1) which gives rise to connotations of someone who happily claims welfare services without considering whether they actually should, and are thus undeserving of said welfare services. The sentence "A single mother of two on jobseeker's allowance receives 17,600 DKK a month in total benefits. A family like this would not even be poor following the previous government's definition" (ibid.) gives rise to a construction of the single mother in question being undeserving due to the amount of welfare services she receives, and the fact that she is "not even poor". One might argue that the condition of being rightfully deserving of welfare benefits in this case is constructed as being "really" poor. By the same note, the sentence "I am confident that the majority of jobseeker's allowance receivers have a potential to something else and more than receiving benefits without working for it" (ibid.) implicitly indicates a group of well-and-able, undeserving receivers of benefits as well as making reference to those who do work for a living through the wording "working for it". Finally, the issue of "real" need of help can be observed in the sentence: "Yes, we read about ill people who have been placed wrongfully in the system and I believe, as does everyone else, they should be helped and receive a retirement if they are so ill that they can never form part of the labour force" (ibid.) seeing as the wording "so ill" brings to mind a requirement of a specific level of illness before one is deserving of help.

One group that is generally constructed as deserving of welfare benefits in the article from Berlingske is that of children, which among others is demonstrated in the sentence "There are children

who are let down, lack solicitude or live in poverty-like conditions because their parents fail to make the right priorities" (ibid.) in which it is established that the unfortunate children deserve sympathy whilst the parents are simultaneously constructed as undeserving due to their failures to make the right priorities. Subsequently in the article, it is established that it is the "really vulnerable children" who are deemed rightfully deserving; "In this I aim for the really vulnerable children" (ibid.), and here it is interesting to take note of the wording "really" which implicitly constructs a divide between children who are not actually vulnerable and therefore undeserving, and those who are in "real" need of help.

The notion of deservedness is also present in the article "Debate: Let's get more Karinas on the pitch" (BT), and the predominant focus lies on the undeserving who exploit the welfare system. Among others, the introductory sentence "There is to be found a 'Bottom of Denmark' [Underdanmark] which speculates in gross exploitation of the system to avoid working" (Appendix 2) brings to mind an undeserving group whose single purpose in their existence is to freeload on government support without working for it. By extent, the utterance "The mentality is passed on through generations and is in the long term a bomb under our welfare society" (ibid.) employs a frame in which said undeserving group will eventually ruin society due to their shameless freeloading, and arguably, the invocation of fear can be observed here. The sentence "in which work morals and exploitation of the system is discussed" (ibid.) furthermore gives rise to a constructed divide between those who work, who are deserving, and those who exploit, who are undeserving. One might argue that the portrayal of undeserving welfare-receivers falls into the constructed category of the 'deviants' (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18), seeing as they are framed as having no value to society as well as having only malevolent intentions. By extent, the sentence "way too many for whom an ordinary job will never form part of their lives" (Appendix 2) arguably aligns with the above mentioned quotes in which those who do not work are constructed as undeserving. Finally, the aforementioned media figure "Lazy Robert" is put forth: "Later, we got Lazy Robert, who would not take on any type of job but was happy to receive welfare services" (ibid.) in which the underlying message being conveyed arguably is the immoral and undeserving act of not accepting any job available in addition to happily claiming benefits.

In the article from Jyllands-Posten, Lene Horsbøl portrays a softer approach in the categorization of deserving and undeserving compared to the other two articles. The article employs a more subtle language and urges for a change of the current system: "For me, this is sufficient proof that something needs to be done. Because let me make it clear: jobseeker's allowance is not a

permanent solution for anyone" (Appendix 3). Similarly the article stresses that jobseeker's allowance is to be a temporary solution for those looking for jobs in the utterance: "It should instead be seen as a temporary support for citizens who are ready to take on a job" (ibid.). In its stance on the matter, the article can be said to justify receiving jobseeker's allowance, at least momentarily, whereas the other articles are mostly concerned with how people should not receive it at all, because those who do so could be working. As such, there is to be found a certain group of people who are at least temporarily deserving of the benefits payment; those who can work, do so, but are currently between jobs, and thus fall under the category of the 'dependents' (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18). Similarly she states: "Because if you are not capable of working, jobseeker's allowance is not the right benefits service to receive" (Appendix 3) in which it can be argued that she also constructs a group of deserving people in that those who are actually incapable of working are deserving of (other) welfare benefits, but are to be dismissed from the category receiving jobseeker's allowance.

Even though it is not directly stated, the article still demonstrates the aforementioned underlying notions of being "really" ill or in "real" need of governmental help if one considers the author's distinction between rightfully deserving jobseeker's allowance temporarily on the one hand, and those who either receive it for too long (undeservingly) or should be transferred to another welfare service because of "real" illness.

5.2.1.2. Child Benefit

5.2.1.2.1. Populism in Child Benefit Articles

This section will commence with an analysis of the articles found within the category of child benefit. Out of the three articles in this category, one is from Berlingske and the title is: "Rockwool Foundation: Single parents can live reasonably on jobseeker's allowance", written by journalists Astrid Ildor and Jens Anton Bjørnager. The article details a new report from the Rockwool Foundation and its findings with regards to the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum. The second article is from Jyllands-Posten and is titled "EU child support under Danish pressure", published by Ritzau. The article takes a focal point in the pursuit of the Danish government to change EU practice regarding child benefit. Lastly, the third article is from BT. The title is "Ghetto boys hijacked spa", written by journalist Jeppe Findalen and it concerns a series of incidents where 10-12 young boys have been harassing the local people in a small town in Denmark.

In the article from BT, notions of moral behavior are included, a typical populist tendency with references to value systems. This becomes apparent in the following statement: "mom and dad must take care of the young people" (Appendix 5), which is a clear encouragement to take care of their children, indicating that is it not a job for the police or the government. The article from Berlingske also employs several appeals to moral behavior for people living on jobseeker's allowance, e.g. in the utterance: "Quit alcohol and cigarettes, take the bus instead of the car, buy the cheapest foods in discount supermarkets and only visit Tivoli once a year" (Appendix 4). Here, the appeal to moral is written in something reminiscent to a guide on what to do and how to behave in order to behave well; what to quit, were to shop for food, how many leisure trips one can expect, etc. Explicitly, the imperative structure in the sentence is addressing the reader directly and emphasizes the appeal on how to behave. The moral approach continues in the statement: "According to the Rockwool Foundation, the budget allows for the opportunity to live a healthy life, to have a 'certain social life' and to pay for e.g. a mobile phone and a Netflix subscription" (ibid.). Implicitly these two quotations insinuate how receivers of jobseeker's allowance ought to live and what they should be satisfied with. At the same time the underlying message decides and justifies the lifestyle that is portrayed as being within scope of the benefits receiver, and it is through this the moral aspect is demonstrated. There is to be found an inference of what is a bearable lifestyle; one visit a year to Tivoli is sufficient, the possible lifestyle is 'healthy' and therefore acceptable, the cheapest food will do. Typical for populists is a discriminatory discursive strategy of insinuations, implicatures, inferences and presuppositions (cf. Populism Theory). An example of another inference can be seen in the utterance: "there is a difference between being self-supportive and being supported by the government" (Appendix 4) where the deduced meaning arguably is that this 'difference' forms the line between something inherently positive and inherently negative. This appeal to being self-supportive furthermore draws on the notions of producerism where working is the right thing to do. It entails a perceived significance in the idea of the hardworking people as the true people. This notion of producerism or appeals to such can also be deduced from the sentence: "It is common sense and only fair that you have more left for yourself by working a collectively agreed minimum wage than to be dependent on government support" (Appendix 4), where a notion of common-sense is used as an argument for the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum. The use of common-sense is also denoted a populist trait (Wodak 2015, 49).

Generally speaking, the article from Berlingske employs an overall framing of the Rockwool Foundation's findings as morally suitable. It supports the implementation of the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum, and through wordings such as "a modest living" (Appendix 4) and "a reasonable life" (ibid.) we can see a narrative being formed around the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum entailing that receivers of jobseeker's allowance can live a reasonable life if they accept a modest lifestyle. Moreover, one might claim that jobseeker's allowance receivers are indirectly framed as undisciplined, lazy and as showing claimant-mentality in the narrative. Wodak (2015, 6) denominates this 'mythopoesis', and it is essentially a legitimation through narratives, something that often is employed rhetorically by right-wing populists - not to claim that the authors of the article in question are necessarily populist; the matter in focus is the alignment in the content with populist rhetoric. At the same time, though the report from the Rockwool Foundation does not entail mentionings of ethnicity or nationality, the Minister of Employment of the time Jørn Neergaard Larsen comments on the matter in the article. When he is asked whether the rates of jobseeker's allowance are to be revised based on the report from the Rockwool Foundation, he answers: "We are in a situation in which more than 85 percent of married couples, where both receive jobseeker's allowance, are non-Western immigrants or descendants. This is completely unsustainable and therefore the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum is necessary" (Appendix 4). By including the mentioning of immigrants, the frame of problematic immigrants is included in the narrative formed around the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum.

Throughout the article "EU child support under Danish pressure" from Jyllands-Posten and in the utterance: "It is not okay that foreign workers can send Danish child support to their children in for instance Eastern Europe, where living costs and price levels are significantly lower than in Denmark" (Appendix 6) there is to be found an underlying construct of the pure people in the employment of exclusionist notions. The framing of EU citizens as 'foreign workers' and the emphasis on 'Danish child support' creates a frame around EU citizens as the 'Other' who unfairly receive benefits for their children, though working and paying taxes in Denmark, as has previously been demonstrated as the obligation for the pure people (cf. Part One: Manifesto Analysis).

Furthermore, the article from Jyllands-Posten has its focal point in the pursuit of the Danish government to change EU practices in regards to cross-border child benefits. The overall pursuit of changing this policy can arguably be compared to the populist tendency of pursuing a common good, which Müller (2016) describes as something populists will often strive for while claiming said common good to be perfectly implementable into policy and at the same time oversimplifying policy

challenges and changes (p.51-52). One can arguably place the focal point of the article, namely the pursuit of the Danish government to change the EU policy on child benefits, as the common good, and the article can be seen as part of the strive for it. The overall presupposition through the article is the tacit assumption that the policy change is fully implementable over a relatively short time period. This is illustrated in the utterance from Troels Lund Poulsen, the present day Danish Minister of Employment: "I don't think it will happen in 2017, but I hope we will make it happen in 2018" (Appendix 6). This assumption of a possible time frame for the policy changes arguably illustrates a simplification of the matter, in that the change needs to happen on a EU regulative level and in that the article itself also mentions that the European Commission's latest proposal "does not bring up the indexation of child benefits" (ibid.). As such, this insistence on problematizing child benefit across European borders can arguably be seen as a relentless strive towards achieving the goal of policy change. Further illustrating this populist tendency is the last sentence in the article, where it is stressed that economically there is little motivation for the policy change: "less than 1 pct. of child benefits in EU is exported from one member state to another" (ibid.), which then leaves the motivation and strive for the policy change to be something else than economic. This connects to the aforementioned framing of the issue as ethnically conditioned and poses the question: does the issue also entail nationally/ethnically Danish parents, whose children live abroad for one reason or the other? Or is it merely a question of excluding EU citizens from national, Danish welfare benefits?

Another particular populist tendency can be detected in the article from BT ("Ghetto boys hijacked spa"), namely legitimization of a certain matter by the use of an authoritative voice. This is evident throughout the article, as the tone of the article insinuates that by involving the police (as an authoritative figure), the problem will now be solved. It can be seen in the following utterances: "This has now made the police and business owners take a tough stance in the fight to stop the boys" (Appendix 5). By emphasizing the role of the police, the core message of the article, namely that of putting an end to the boys' ravage, is legitimized by reference to authority and law. Furthermore, one might be puzzled as to why the Minister of Immigration and Integration Inger Støjberg from the Liberal Party is included in the article, implicitly stating that the boys must be of another ethnic origin than Danish although the ethnic background of the boys has not been mentioned previously. She is quoted saying: "[I am] satisfied that the mayor has approached the case and will look into the option of giving parent injunctions and for instance sanction the child benefit check" (ibid.). With the involvement of the Minister in the case of the boys, the case is framed into a matter of ethnicity. Again we see an employment of connecting frames between ethnicity and problematic receivers of

benefits. The Minister states: "[I will] look into the option of giving parent injunctions and for instance sanction the child benefit check" (ibid.), bringing in the option of sanctioning the benefits, doubling the authoritative and statutory legitimization of why the boys' behavior is problematic.

Further, in the article it is described that the hotels guest should feel "safe" (ibid.) when staying at the hotel in question and further, the sentence "Young people who run around and cause havoc is no good for anyone" arguably indicates that these boys are a danger for the visitors. A populist method is to create enemy images that especially manifest themselves through hostilities towards minorities (Müller 2016, 41), which plausibly could be these boys since they, according to the article, have residence in a social housing area, something which becomes evident in the headline of the article "Ghetto boys" (Appendix 5). Additionally, an arguable notion of the exclusionist, populist tendency becomes apparent in this framing of the boys and thus an underlying construction of the 'the other' are employed. Furthermore, even though the article from BT does not comment on the boy's ethnicity, a particular frame comes to mind. According to Lakoff, recognized frames are essential since certain words activates particular frames. By including the Danish Minister for Immigration and Integration and the place of residence as the 'ghetto', a clear ethnicity frame is invoked in the reader.

5.2.1.2.2. Deservedness in Child Benefit Articles

Notions of deservedness are apparent in the chosen Danish articles in several instances. The first article is: "Rockwool Foundation: Single parents can live reasonably on jobseeker's allowance" from Berlingske. In the quote "Roughly speaking, the jobseeker's allowance rates are pretty accurate when it comes to single people, whereas single parents lie 20 percent below – it should then be up to the politicians to judge whether this is fair" (Appendix 4) one may infer that it is questioned if single parents are deserving of more welfare benefits, now that it has been established that their budget lacks 20 percent according to the rates put forth by the Rockwool Foundation.

In the following quote from Minister of Employment at the time, Jørn Neergaard Larsen one may argue that there is a constructed frame in which those who are deserving work and support themselves, and those who receive welfare benefits in general are undeserving. This can be observed through the two following sentences: "Jørn Neergaard Larsen (V) maintains that there is a difference in supporting oneself and being dependent on government support" and "It is common sense and only fair that you have more left for yourself by working a collectively agreed minimum wage than to be

dependent on government support" (ibid.) seeing as the wording 'difference' in the former sentence emphasizes the gap between the two groups, and the wording 'only fair' in the latter sentence adds to the construction of the working group being more deserving. The sentence "The Rockwool Foundation utilizes a so-called budget calculator to calculate the minimum budget of a specific type of family" - and at a previous point in the article it is established that it generally concerns families of modest conditions. From this, one might pose the question of whether the sentence constructs a frame in which it becomes legitimate to openly consider how much the undeserving group are worth in paid benefits. By extent, the sentence "On average, the minimum budgets lie 85% below what normal Danish families would consume" (ibid.) brings to mind whether the underlying notion might be that undeserving groups are only "worth" 25% of what a normal family consumes.

The article from Berlingske brings forth that there has been an increase in the number of people receiving jobseeker's allowance: "From approximately 129,000 persons in 2. quarter of 2011 to 158,500 persons in 2. quarter of 2016. That is an increase of approximately 23 percent." (ibid.) and one might argue that the very mentioning of this increase creates a problematization of the growing group, which then adds to the construct of an undeserving group constituting an issue in society. Furthermore, one might question whether the responsibility of this increase is placed on the system or if it indirectly points to the undeserving group of passive people, which is allegedly growing. One final point to be made regarding deservedness in the present article is the following utterance, which concerns immigrants: "We are in a situation in which more than 85 percent of married couples, where both receive jobseeker's allowance, are non-Western immigrants or descendants. This is completely unsustainable and therefore the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum is necessary" (ibid.). This sentence arguably frames immigrants as the actual undeserving group of the unemployed and furthermore invokes notions of said immigrants eroding the welfare system through the wording 'completely unsustainable'.

The article from Jyllands-Posten "EU child support under Danish pressure" demonstrates notions of deservedness as well. It can be observed in the sentence "It is not okay that foreign workers can send Danish child support to their children in for instance Eastern Europe" (Appendix 6) through the wording 'not okay' indicating dissatisfaction as well as invoking frames of unfairness. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the geographical area used as an example is that of Eastern Europe, and one might argue that this group is especially subject to a construction of undeservedness when it comes to welfare benefits. The main point of the article from Jyllands-Posten is that the present day Danish Minister of Employment, Troels Lund Poulsen was pursuing an indexation of child benefits

in the EU: "in order to gather a majority for an indexation of child benefits in the EU" (ibid.) which emphasizes the construction of European Citizens as undeserving of Danish welfare benefits, seeing as an indexation would make child support relative of the country it goes to, on the grounds that certain countries, like Denmark, have higher living costs than others, and that e.g. Eastern European countries allegedly do not require the amount needed in Denmark to provide for a child.

The article "Ghetto boys hijacked spa" from BT gives rise to only few notions of deservedness, though they are present. The article tells the story about a local spa and hotel being harassed by a group of young boys from a nearby social housing area (Appendix 5). The mayor of the municipality states that he will "tighten the grip around the families who do not keep their children away from crime" (ibid.) and "We need to tighten the thumbscrew on the very few families that this concerns" (ibid.) which puts forth a harsh tone towards the boys through the wording 'thumbscrew' which brings to mind an imagery of something being tightened gradually as well as a former torture device. It is relevant to mention this with regards to the matter of deservedness because it is later commented on in the article by the Minister of Immigration and Integration Inger Støjberg, who arguably verbalizes the mayor's indications more specifically by stating "Young people who run around and cause havoc is no good for anyone. I am very satisfied that the mayor has approached the case and will look into the option of giving parent injunctions and for instance sanction the child benefit check" (ibid.) and as such, a discursive construct is created in which families with criminal children are considered undeserving of benefits and should maybe be subjects to punishment.

5.2.1.3. Housing Benefit

5.2.1.3.1. Populism in Housing Benefit Articles

As previously mentioned, articles regarding housing benefit from respectively Jyllands-Posten and BT will not be included in the analysis due to lack of relevance. (cf. Selection and Limitation of Empirical Data) However, in relation to the article from Berlingske titled "Minister to jobseeker's allowance recipients: We need your labor" written by Søren Domino, political journalist, populist tendencies and notions of deservedness with reference to welfare benefits are both evident. The article concerns the matter of the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum and the advantages linked to it such as a relatively large reward through deducted taxes for just a few hours of work a week as well as emphasizing the need for the dwelling labor force in receivers of jobseeker's allowance.

Firstly, the construction of the pure people is arguably prevalent in the headline: "We need your labor" (Appendix 7) and furthermore in the following utterance: "It can be a double gain - in part for the individual and in part for the community. We need them" (ibid.) both with reference to people on jobseeker's allowance. In these statements, appeals of producerism are perceivably evident since the overall message is that the best thing for the Danish society is hard-working people and this constructs the goal for the pure people. Notions of moral behavior can also be observed in the article, evident in the above-mentioned sentence in wordings such as "double gain ... for society" (ibid.), which indicates and legitimizes that this is the right thing to do. Moreover, appeals to moral behavior can be found elsewhere in the article, for instance in the sentence "Minister for employment points out that areas like hotel, catering and agriculture already lack labor and therefore employ foreigners. Here, current jobseeker's allowance receives could play a crucial role" (ibid). When referring to foreigners who are willingly working, it is implicitly implied that people on welfare benefits have a lack of morals since they are not working. This further give connotation to these particular people who are framed as being demanding and picky possibly due to an alleged too high level of welfare benefits.

5.2.1.3.2. Deservedness in Housing Benefit Articles

Regarding notions of deservedness, the article "Minister to jobseeker's allowance recipients: We need your labor" (Appendix 7) from Berlingske shows a variety of these matters. The sentence "But the jobseeker's allowance must never turn into a permanent payment. It is a temporary payment and to the extent that you have remaining working capacity, this remaining working capacity should be activated" (ibid.) invokes a frame of a limited time of rightfully receiving benefits meaning that there is a limit to the time period, where one is deserving of the benefit. At the same time, the issue of possibly being able to work is put forth through the wording 'remaining working capacity' which arguably creates a ubiquitous constructed suspicion towards receivers of jobseeker's allowance, seeing as it is indicated that there are undeserving people out there who could work but do not. One might argue that there is a recurring constructed suspicion of undeserving jobseeker's allowance due to this alleged notion of the possible 'remaining working capacity'. The title, which signifies the need for the labor dwelling in the group of jobseeker's allowance receivers, is stressed through the exemplification that employment areas such as hotel, catering and the farming business need labor and therefore hire foreigners; "here, current jobseeker's allowance receives could play a crucial role" (ibid.) it is stated. One may furthermore detect an ambivalent construction of foreigners in this case,

in that they can be perceived as undeserving of Danish jobs, but they are arguably also portrayed as role models due to their willingness to take on such jobs, and are thus, to some degree, deserving.

At the final paragraph of the article, the opposing party of the Social Democrats is put forth through the inclusion of the Social Democratic spokesman Leif Lahn Jensen, who states "The Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum will hit families especially hard" (ibid.) which indicates that through his point of view, families are generally considered (more) deserving than elsewhere in the article.

5.2.1.4. Summarizing Populism in the Danish Articles

In the above analysis of the Danish articles, a variety of populist tendencies were demonstrated. These include producerism, a matter that is often associated with working and contributing to society, appeals to moral behavior and exemplifications of what is considered immoral behavior, which is similar to producerism in entailing specific ways of (not) living one's life and contributing to society, delimitations of notions of the pure people through various means, among others exemplified in Danish citizens and general appeals to common sense.

Moreover, a variety of discursive means have been identified including that of the populist logic and oversimplifications of complex matters, invocations of fear and creation of enemy images manifested through ethnic minority groups and the 'Bottom of Denmark'. In addition, there is to be found a frame of EU citizens as the 'Other' who unfairly send child benefits to other countries although they work and pay taxes in Denmark. As such, there is to be found a vague emphasis of nationality in terms of who can receive welfare benefits rightfully, with the Danes being more entitled to payouts from the Danish government compared to those of other nationalities.

Furthermore, discriminatory language, legitimization through authoritative voices, and finally an overall relentless striving for the common good have been demonstrated in the analysis. Lastly, legitimization through narratives, which Wodak denominates 'mythopoesis' (Wodak 2015) was illustrated in the analysis through a narrative connecting the frames of being undisciplined, lazy and showing claimant-mentality with jobseeker's allowance receivers.

5.2.1.5. Summarizing Deservedness in the Danish Articles

Regarding notions of deservedness in the chosen Danish articles, this is demonstrated in various ways. Specifically, the undeserving group is often characterized by those who receive welfare benefits in general, regardless of the reasons, seeing as welfare receivers are problematized through specific framings. Moreover, predominant framings involve a constructed group which receives benefits even though they could actually work and thus they are indirectly accused of exploiting the system. It is noteworthy how it is often framed as being possible to be deserving of welfare benefits on the condition that it is during a limited time frame, which again aligns with the characteristics of the 'dependents' group (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18). However, the actual cutting line between acceptable and unacceptable periods of receiving welfare benefits is continuously vague and ill-defined. One might wonder if this lack of clear definitions gives rise to a discursive arena in which suspicion and harassment of welfare receivers can flourish to a greater extent than if the dividing line between acceptable and unacceptable had been clearer. This issue aligns with the previously mentioned constructed divide between being in "real" and "fake" need of help, which arguably also gives rise to a discursive arena of further suspicion. Regarding the matter of who is generally perceived and constructed as deserving, children and sometimes specifically "really vulnerable children" fall into this category. One occurrence of a framing of the undeserving group falling under the category of the 'deviants' was established in the article "Let's get more Karinas on the pitch". Finally, immigrants and EU migrants are generally perceived as less deserving of welfare benefits than Danish citizens, although Danish citizens are, as illustrated, also subject to constructed undeservedness. A final noteworthy matter to consider regarding deservedness is the illustrated evaluation of the mentioning of percentage from what an average household consumes as the argument for what a "modest" lifestyle on a jobseeker's allowance income requires. What is noteworthy about this is the outright establishment of such a family's monetary worth, and one might argue that it serves as a response to an exogenous discourse claiming that a jobseeker's allowance is not sufficient.

5.2.2. The British Articles

5.2.2.1. Jobseeker's Allowance

This paragraph will entail an analysis of the articles found in the category of jobseeker's allowance. The first article is from Daily Mail and is titled "The PM and His 'Great Migrant Lie'". It is written

by James Slack, a political editor and journalist, and the article is about EU migrants' lawful right to welfare services. The second article is from the Daily Telegraph and is called "One in four Jobseeker's Allowance claimants caught abusing system as watchdog reveals chaos", written by journalist Kate McCann. The article concerns a report from a watchdog, reporting that high numbers of welfare benefits receivers abuse the system, entailing the wasted high amounts of money and the use of sanctions. The last article is from The Sun and is titled "I work in the UK but still claim benefits… it's on offer, why not?" written by journalist Ben Griffiths. The article is concerned with the London Borough of Newham and mostly concerns EU citizens and their approach to the welfare benefits system.

5.2.2.1.1. Populism in Jobseeker's Allowance Articles

The article from the Daily Mail, "The PM and his great migrant lie" was published in the run-up to the Brexit referendum. It was published 4th June 2016, and the referendum happened 23rd June 2016. This influences the article which has its focal point in the debate on the EU and the right to Freedom of Movement in connection to the large spending on welfare benefits by the British government, something which is highly problematized throughout the article, and something which was also arguably a decisive factor in Brexit, as has been demonstrated previously in the present paper (cf. Selection and Limitation of Empirical Data). As such, the article is a representative example of the contemporary debate, a debate which has continued even after the victory of the leave-side which is evident from the other empirical data subject to scrutinization.

Throughout the article there is an apparent attempt to frame the former Prime Minister David Cameron as a liar, including contributing utterances from the former Prime Minister himself. Generally, the article is characterized by strong expressions such as "kick out migrants", "a damning report", "the Prime Minister had told two lies in two sentences", "Wrecking our economy", "a terrible way", "promising to flood the continent with jihadists", etc. (Appendix 8), all adding to a negative framing of the issue of welfare benefits and the European Union. At the same time, the wording 'kick out migrants', which is repeated throughout the article, sets the bar for the negative framing of migrants, which is also continuously present. Generally, both sides of the debate in the article agree that EU migration to the UK is problematic and what is really being discussed is their different takes on a 'solution' to end this problem, relating again to the two opposing sides in the referendum: stay or leave in the EU.

Related to populist tendencies is the creation of the EU migrant as a scapegoat, blamed for draining the British welfare system through abuse and for flooding the country. This creation of a scapegoat is vital to the toolkit of populist rhetoric according to Wodak (2015, 3). There is to be found a distinguishment in the construct of this 'EU migrant scapegoat', namely that it is made up out of three different 'migrant-minorities', divided into categories of 'jobseeking EU migrants in general', 'criminal EU migrants' and 'jobseeking EU migrants who have been in the UK for more than six months'. Relevant to the first scapegoat category is the utterances: "In 2015, 77,000 jobseekers came to the UK from the EU looking for work" (Appendix 8) and "The Prime Minister had dropped a pledge to ensure that EU citizens should secure a job before they came here" (ibid.), emphasizing the thousands of jobseeking EU migrants coming to the UK and how the Prime Minister has tried to stop this migration by setting up obstacles prior to the migrants arriving in the UK.

The second scapegoat-category, the criminal EU migrants, is problematized in the mentioning of a "damning report" (Appendix 8) from the Home Affairs select committee that "attacked the Government's failure to deport EU criminals" (ibid.). There is a further mentioning of the criminal EU migrants in the utterance: "The UK has removed over 6,800 EU nationals between January 2014 and December 2015 for a range of reasons including criminality" (ibid.), where the wording 'removed' is a rather neutral way of describing what has happened with these EU nationals, leaving it to the reader to judge or elaborate whether it is to perceived as something negative or positive.

The third and final scapegoat-category is problematized in this utterance, in which it has previously been established that EU migrants are entitled to jobseeker's allowance for a maximum of three months on the condition that they have had residence in the UK for three months prior to applying, after which it is indicated that the migrants stay in the country and this is unwished for: "there is no mechanism for monitoring whether or not jobseekers remain in the UK after this six-month period" (ibid.), where the call for a monitoring system arguable frames the jobseeking EU migrants in a very negative matter, to such an extent that they ought to be monitored, insinuating that they are in need of being controlled. Further in the article it is stressed that the matter has already been tested on EU law, which "forbids systematic verification of whether EU citizens are lawfully resident in the UK" (ibid.). This is further exemplified in the statement: "Treaties forbid the removal of jobseekers from another EU member state regardless of the duration of their stay if the person concerned provides evidence that he is continuing to seek employment and that he has genuine chances of being engaged" (ibid.). These statements also illustrate the clash between the EU

regulations and the wishes put forth in the article, further emphasized in the following statement from Prime Minister of the time, David Cameron, of what he will pursue if the result of the referendum is to remain: "jobless migrants from the European Union are not entitled to benefits - and are kicked out of Britain if they don't find work within six months" (ibid.), where it is established directly that jobless migrants are not entitled to benefits, also drawing notions to producerism, hence the use of the word 'jobless'.

These three types of 'scapegoats' are pinpointed in the article, in what one can argue is an overall attempt to create an enemy image. The enemy image is established in relation to the 'Other' and to foreigners; the EU migrants are alienated, although they are legally entitled to their residence in the UK. At the same time there is to be found a fear of losing national autonomy in that the European Union, in the eyes of the British (according to this article), is too far-reaching and powerful, and the current legislation goes against the wishes of the pure people, the Brits. This is further demonstrated in the quote: "EU open borders are not just a security risk but have led to a level of migration never seen before in our country that has been bad for social cohesion" (ibid.). The creation of enemy images and scapegoats are both populist tendencies. Especially the creation of fear of foreigners and losing national autonomy is linked to typical populist behavior and attitude (Wodak 2015, 3-6), and adding to this is the populist trait of being 'inward-looking', portraying exclusionist tendencies and having an anti-internationalist stance (Wodak 2015, 25-26), all of which are present in the article from Daily Mail. This arguably rather large mix of populist tendencies in relation to the European Union will be elaborated upon at a subsequent point.

In the article from the Daily Telegraph notions of populist tendencies are prevalent. Throughout the article, starting in the headline, there is an underlying acceptance of the harsh course set for those 'abusing' the system. The problematization of these abusers are present in the headline "One in four Jobseeker's Allowance claimants caught abusing system" (Appendix 9) where it is stressed that these abusers are to be caught and in reality already have been caught: one in four of all receiving jobseeker's allowance are abusing the system. This early establishment of abusers lead to a further denomination of those abusers. The pinpointing of the abusers is expressed through utterances such as those "who do not fulfil their commitment to find work" (ibid.) and those who "fail to do what is asked of them in return for benefits" (ibid.) as well as "those who broke the rules" (ibid.). All of these utterances legitimize who is to be punished by use of 'moral evaluation' with reference to a presupposed value system. At the same time the utterances establish the moral code of the article; these examples of people, failing to commit, who break rules and do not follow orders are legitimate

to punish and sanction. Furthermore, the 'commitment to find work' is a strong indicator of the wanted behavior. Thus, the goal is to find work and as such it draws on notions of producerism as well, in that it is an implied appeal and expectation that people receive benefits only temporarily before finding work and starting to contribute to society.

By establishing this moral code of whom are to be punished and why, a cohesion is formed in that breaking the moral code for behavior results in punishment, something which arguably creates rather harsh connotations. The benefits receivers are then left with only two choices; accept the moral code and toe the line or receive your punishment. As such, the article from the Daily Telegraph can in its entirety be seen as an appeal to moral behavior, in order for one to fit into the existing system. Thus, this moral appeal cannot be said to be explicitly populist in itself, but combined with the enemy image created of 'the abusers' and the notions of producerism, one could argue that there are certain connotations aligning with Populism Theory.

Present in the article "I work in the UK but still claim benefits...it's on offer, why not?" from The Sun is a specific framing of the welfare benefits system and the act of receiving such benefits. The article mainly gives way for Newham-residing (an area portrayed as predominantly multicultural) Eastern European citizens to express their experiences and opinions on the benefits system, and as such, the article is mainly composed of quotes from different Eastern European people. The framing of the welfare benefits system and the people receiving it as such occurs within a preset frame of Eastern-European nationality. An example of the framing of the benefits system can be observed in the utterances: "Britain has a very good benefits system. For some it is just too easy to claim benefits" (Appendix 10) and "For many, the benefits system is too attractive, for British people and people from abroad" (ibid.). Both sentences establish overtly positive attitudes toward the system through the wordings 'very good' and 'too attractive'. By establishing the system as "too attractive, for British people and people from abroad" (ibid.) a connecting frame is evoked in the reader as well; that of non-British people, namely people from abroad. These are the pivot of the debate, and as such the underlying theme of the whole article. At the same time, benefits are constructed as something that is (too) easy to get and as something negative to receive. This can be observed in the following quotes: "Some like the attraction of getting something for nothing" (ibid.) and "I don't know if some may be doing cash-in-hand work, but certainly they all try to earn without getting handouts" (ibid.). The first quote plays on the mantra 'something-for-nothing', something which has previously been examined in this analysis along with its antithesis 'something-for-something'. This is arguably a strong, Conservative frame (cf. The Conservative Party Manifesto), entailing notions of producerism and

praising hard work. The last quote equalizes welfare benefits with 'handouts', an overtly negative word thus giving a negative framing of welfare benefits and the act of receiving them. Further in relation to populism it is interesting to take note of how the article can be said to construct an enemy image of EU citizens, and especially people from Eastern Europe. The enemy image can arguably be said to be constructed through the following utterance: ""Imported worklessness" - migrant workers claiming benefits - is one of three reasons the borough has an unemployment problem" (Appendix 10), where a direct link between 'the unemployment problem' and 'migrant workers claiming benefits' is established. At the same time migrant workers are denominated 'imported worklessness', which is arguably a derogatory term. Noteworthy as well is the omission of the other two reasons for the unemployment problem, stressing how the migrants must be the main problem. The article furthermore paints a contradictory picture of the London borough Newham. First, in a narrative-like storytelling: "Market stall traders bellow their patter, yards from where men gather outside a busy mosque. On Prince Regent Lane, Indian restaurants and chicken shops sit alongside Lithuanian and Polish shops selling dumplings and Baltic sausages. This is London at its most multicultural" (Appendix 10), where multiculturalism arguably is framed positively or at least neutrally. The following paragraph then commences: "The number of EU migrants moving to the borough is up 64,000 to 168,000 in ten years and the Department for Work and Pensions says last year 26,000 people applied for a National Insurance number in Newham - more than in any other part of the country" (ibid.). This paragraph leans towards a negative framing of EU migrants in that it portrays the rising numbers, and stresses that in Newham statistically 'more than in any other part of the country' applies for a National Insurance number and as such establishes an underlying insinuation that it is too much, soon there will be too many EU migrants in the borough. These insinuations are present throughout the article, e.g. when stating "At the busy Canning Town Jobcentre Plus there is a steady flow of foreigners, many who are from eastern (sic) Europe" (ibid.). As such, the Eastern European nationality is again brought to the agenda and framed as problematic, adding to the aforementioned enemy image. The abovementioned contradictory 'picture' of the multicultural Newham connects to this contradictory framing of the Eastern Europeans, in that the problematization of the Eastern European migrants are recurring. In the statement: "Simon is one of 1.6million EU migrants to have moved to the UK in the past five years and is among those receiving an annual total of £886million in income support, housing benefit, jobseeker's allowance and sickness pay" (ibid.), Simon, a Bulgarian, is perceivably equalized with millions of EU migrants moving to the UK only to receive benefits worth millions. At the same time, elsewhere in the article, Simon establishes that he

is merely using the legally available benefits while in the process of establishing his own business: "It's just to help pay the rent while I get more work. It is there to be given out and it will just help me with day-to-day life" (ibid.). The article states that: "Simon is legally entitled to claim jobseeker's allowance - or JSA - while looking for work for his new business" (ibid.). These contradictory sections of the article can be seen as an attempt to soften the otherwise negative (enemy) image of Eastern Europeans in the UK. On a last note, within the focal point of the article, namely that of Eastern Europeans and their use of the benefits system in the UK, there is to be found also a construct of the pure people; by revolving around nationality, there is inherently an exclusionist approach to delimiting the pure people, and it becomes apparent throughout the article that Eastern Europeans are problematic, that they drain, or will in the future drain the otherwise "very good benefit system" (ibid.).

5.2.2.1.2. Deservedness in Jobseeker's Allowance Articles

The article from the Daily Mail, "The PM and his Great Migrant Lie" shows occurrences of who is deserving and undeserving in several instances, and the main message being conveyed is arguably that EU migrants are considered unwelcome and undeserving of British welfare benefits. This is illustrated through sentences such as "The row centred on Mr Cameron's claim that jobless migrants from the European Union are not entitled to benefits - and are kicked out of Britain if they don't find work within six months" (Appendix 8) in which it is stated clearly that the jobless migrants are not entitled to benefits and thus, are considered undeserving. Throughout the article, a relatively tough language is employed, something which is exemplified through wording such as 'kicked out' in the sentence "the number of people kicked out under the six-month rule was zero" (ibid.).

One may observe an imagery and a frame of the country being 'flooded' by undeserving rushes of EU migrants: "The truth is that for as long as we are a member of the EU we are powerless to control the number of people coming to this country" (ibid.) in which said imagery is emphasized through the wording 'powerless', 'control' and 'the number', which invoke notions of a need for a tougher stance on immigration matters through underlying suggestions of more power, more control and fewer people.

By extent, a frame of both undeserving and criminal EU migrants is put forth by the sentence: "And yesterday's damning Home Affairs report shows conclusively that even if EU migrants commit serious crimes, the Government is unable to remove them" (ibid.). The wording indirectly brings to

mind the above mentioned waves of migrants who are not only undeserving of benefits, but who are also criminals and thus fall under the category of the 'deviants' group seeing as this group is characterized by people who are either of no value or dangerous (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18). The wording 'remove them' aligns with the above mentioned appeal to a tougher stance on immigration matters, and finally one may also observe a rough generalization of EU migrants.

While the above delineation illustrates undeservedness and appeals to a tougher stance on immigration, the article simultaneously states in several instances that the group of EU migrants is protected by EU law, and as such are perceivably 'legally deserving'. Among others, this is evident through the sentence "The European Court of Justice ruled that Treaties forbid the removal of jobseekers from another EU member state regardless of the duration of their stay if the person concerned provides evidence that he is continuing to seek employment and that he has genuine chances of being engaged" (Appendix 8) and "In any event, EU law forbids systematic verification of whether EU citizens are lawfully resident in the UK" (ibid.). This inclusion of EU protection stands in contrast to the rest of the article.

As a final consideration for the present article, it is interesting to take note of the fact that an EU migrant may receive jobseeker's allowance for three months whilst applying for work. The article arguably constructs those who remain in the country after this as highly undeserving through the quote: "there is no mechanism for monitoring whether or not jobseekers remain in the UK after this six-month period" (ibid.). This is curious due to the fact that the justification for constructing someone as undeserving is found in them receiving unrightful benefit, but this is not the case here - as such, their very existence in the country is problematized and considered undeserving.

In the article from the Daily Telegraph ("One in four Jobseeker's Allowance claimants caught abusing system as watchdog reveals chaos") the central point to be inferred in terms of deservedness is arguably that those who break the welfare benefits rules are undeserving of them. This is evident among others through the quote "800,000 cases in which rules were potentially broken" (Appendix 9) which is noteworthy due to the fact that it arguably questions whether there might actually be 800,000 individuals who break the rules and are therefore undeserving of what they receive. The article generally stresses the high amounts of money spent, and often allegedly wasted, on welfare benefit fraudsters and subsequent collection of sanctions: "a further £244 million was spent checking that people were claiming their benefits correctly and implementing sanctions for those who broke the rules" (ibid.) through which one might claim that the breaking of rules is equated

with being undeserving of benefits. In the sentence "punishments varied according to the priorities of local job centre managers" (ibid.) the word 'punishment' adds to the construction of the seriousness and urgency of the matter as well as invoking a rather tough frame in which those who receive benefits undeservingly should be punished. The sentence "Sanctions are an important part of our benefits system and it is right that there is a system in place for tackling those few who do not fulfil their commitment to find work" (ibid.) is noteworthy because it brings forth an approach that is distinct from the rest of the article in that the spokesperson establishes that the amount of people who break the rules are merely "few". This stands in contrast to the tone employed in rest of the article, which brings to mind an imagery of an enormous group of supposed rule-breakers. Finally, the notion of 'something for something' can be observed in the sentence "The number of sanctions has fallen, and they are only ever used as a last resort after people fail to do what is asked of them in return for benefits" - it is established that there are certain rules to oblige by in order to rightfully receive benefits. In the article there is to be found an underlying message that very large amounts of cash are spent on undeserving individuals. The high amounts being mentioned in conjunction with the high numbers of potential fraudsters add to the dramatization of the situation portrayed and puts extra weight on the discursive harassment on the group of undeserving.

The article "I work in the UK but still claim benefits…it's on offer, why not?" from The Sun generally tells a story of the undeserving residents of a multicultural neighborhood and the extent of their freeloading activities. This is evident from an early point in the article, among others in the quote: "Simon Lyebenov, 24, who only came to Britain a year ago, has just signed on for £50-a-week benefits, despite boasting that he already runs his decorating business" (Appendix 10) in which one may argue that Simon is deemed undeserving firstly due to his short stay in Britain, secondly due to him already having a business and thirdly due to him 'boasting' of said business. He is not "really" in need of help and thus undeserving. The article is characterized by statements of large numbers of immigrants in conjunction with large amounts of government spending on welfare benefits, which altogether adds to the negative perception of the undeserving group: "Simon is one of 1.6million EU migrants to have moved to the UK in the past five years and is among those receiving an annual total of £886million in income support, housing benefit, jobseeker's allowance and sickness pay" (ibid.). Moreover, welfare benefits are highly problematized in this quote and especially in relation to immigrants; it is not directly stated that EU migrants are the main receivers of these high amounts of welfare benefits, but it is arguably insinuated through making the interviewee Simon part of the statistic in one single sentence. The sentence "At the busy Canning Town Jobcentre Plus there is a

steady flow of foreigners, many who are from eastern Europe." (ibid.) arguably frames Eastern Europeans as the main culprits of the high unemployment rates, and thus this nationality is constructed as the least deserving group. One interesting thing to note is how one interviewee constructs her own group as deserving whilst constructing other groups as undeserving in terms of welfare benefits. This is evident in the quote from Lithuanian Agne Jonuityte when she states: "For many, the benefits system is too attractive, for British people and people from abroad. Some like the attraction of getting something for nothing" and subsequently states: "Most people I know who have come over from eastern Europe will make sure they work. … We have a strong work ethic in our country." (ibid.). In the two quotes one may detect a clear divide into those who work and are deserving and those who do not, and even enjoy it, hence the "some like the attraction of getting something for nothing" (ibid.). A quote by the same frame is found in a Ukrainian migrant who, according to the article, "admits: "Britain has a very good benefits system. For some it is just too easy to claim benefits."" (ibid.) - it is interesting that the article uses the word 'admits' about the quote, since it brings to mind something being brought forth which has previously been held unsaid and simultaneously adds to constructing the group about which it revolves as undeserving. Moreover, the wording of 'too easy' brings to mind an imagery in which benefits flow unhindered towards to the hands of EU migrants.

5.2.2.2. Child Benefit

This section will examine the articles within the category of child benefits. The first article is from Daily Mail which is called "They're absolutely shameless", written by journalist Tom Kelly and tells a story of a family of ten originating from Cameroon with French citizenship who is staying in the UK. The second article is from the Daily Telegraph and is called "Ask migrants: what can you do for Britain?", written by Julia Hartleybrewer. She is a journalist, broadcaster and talk radio presenter who advocates that it is not the UK's moral responsibility to save the world. Finally, the last article from The Sun is titled: ""CASH-IN OF KIDS ON NHS; Ruse on Euro mums"" written by Lynn Davidson who is the Whitehall Correspondent from The Sun, and the article concerns the trouble regarding Eastern Europeans who are claiming benefits in another EU country, in this case the UK.

5.2.2.2.1. Populism in Child Benefit Articles

In the article from Daily Mail, populist notions of moral behavior can be observed, for instance in the following utterance: "It's absolutely shameless and brings the welfare system into disrepute" (Appendix 11) stated by Philip Davies, a Conservative MP, referring to the main characters in the story who are allegedly claiming welfare benefits. Davies further elaborates that the parents "shouldn't expect the taxpayer to pick up the tab for a massive family they can't afford" (ibid.) and goes on by stating that "It's a kick in the teeth to anybody who behaves responsibly and works hard" (ibid.). Both statements bear connotations of a lack of moral behavior as well as indicating that the couple themselves are to blame for their financial problems, something which is demonstrated in the wording 'massive family they can't afford'. This is also evident when Davies claims that the "family shouldn't keep having children if they can't afford to keep them themselves". According to Müller (2016), being 'morally pure' is important to populists, in that they create a distinction in between being 'morally pure' and 'immoral' (p.50). The abovementioned quotations can arguably be seen as an appeal to the family to stop behaving immorally.

Furthermore, in the article from Daily Mail when referring to the "taxpayer" (Appendix 11) and those "who behaves responsibly and works hard" (ibid.), another populist tendency springs to mind, namely producerism. These notions of producerism are arguably also employed in order to delineate who belong to the pure people. Additionally, when stating that people cannot afford to support and provide for themselves they should not expect others to help them, the mantra 'something-for-something' springs to mind. It has previously been examined in the analysis of the Conservative manifesto (cf. Populism in the Conservative Party Manifesto). Similarly, the aforementioned mantra is also prevalent in the article from the Daily Telegraph where it is emphasized that immigrants must have "qualifications or skills", show "entrepreneurship", create jobs or have "big wads of taxable cash" (Appendix 12) in order to migrate to the UK. Furthermore, notions of producerism are expressed in the following utterance, again from the Daily Telegraph: "the British people created this country through decades and centuries of hard work, fighting for democracy, the welfare state and all the other benefits we currently enjoy" (ibid.). In this statement, the concept of producerism is evident in the narrative that is created around the British people and the UK; they created the country through decades of hard work, and the welfare state with is benefits owes its existence to the hard working British people, insinuating that as such, those who have created the benefits system are the real, worthy receivers of it. This further constructs a framing of the British people as the true, hard working and deeply engaged citizens, which again equalizes them with the

pure people, and those wanted in the UK. This is further emphasized in the following utterance: "Britain is a very desirable place to live and ... we are ideally placed to pick the brightest and the best to come to live and work here" (ibid.).

Another particular populist tendency is observable in the article from the Daily Telegraph, namely legitimization of a certain matter by use of an authoritative voice. This is illustrated by the inclusion of the following statement by John F Kennedy in the article: "Ask not what this country can do for you, ask what you can do for this country." (Appendix 12), which is a direct appeal to what is presupposed as the correct, moral behavior. Since John F Kennedy is the former president of the United States, his historical, powerful position legitimizes the message in the article. A quite similar quote was found in the British Conservative Party manifesto: "ask what you can do for your community and your country" (The Conservative Party 2015, 45). The resemblance is remarkable and draws on the same connotations; as such the frame of contributing to one's country is present in both data sets, and can arguably be seen as a widely known frame in the British population, evidently also internationally known, since Kennedy is from the US.

In addition to the authoritarian legitimation, the Conservative MP Davies in the article from the Daily mail states: "They [the parents] should be offered no more housing until they can look after themselves" (Appendix 11). By including Davies' proposal to exclude people from more housing unless they are able to 'take care of themselves', one can argue that it is an attempt to legitimize the harsh approach towards these individuals, which aligns with the populist strategy of legitimizing by reference to authority and law.

Another populist tendency is apparent throughout the article from Daily Mail, namely the mentioning of the family's nationality. Even though the article is concerned with the fact that EU citizens can claim benefits in the UK, the family's Cameroonian origin is mentioned more than once. This is done along with a short mentioning of the family actually being of French nationality (ibid.). The need to denominate the family as 'Cameroonian' can be interpreted as a further exclusionist tendency than what we have previously seen. Previously in this analysis, it has been shown how there are often attempts to delineate the pure people in terms of nationality. By both delineating the family in terms of nationality (French) and their country of origin (Cameroon), one can observe an attempt to construct an even more exclusionist delineation of the pure people (cf. Populism Theory).

This exclusionist tendency also becomes prevalent in the article from the Daily Telegraph, which one may detect in utterances such as: "put the needs of British people first" (Appendix 12) and

"We now have the first opportunity in a generation to replace our current mess" (ibid.), both statements referring to border control. Similar to the article from Daily Mail, the article from Daily Telegraph clearly delineate between 'British people' and those beyond the borders. By using wording such as 'current mess', a distinct negative framing of people who are not of British nationality and thus debatably not a part of the populist definition of the pure people is created. Furthermore, the article emphasizes that the UK should not be obligated to take care of people who are "not a British citizen" (ibid.). Similarly, in the article from The Sun, the tendency for exclusionism is expressed and becomes prevalent through the statement: "Women from Eastern Europe come to Britain to have babies on the NHS and claim for benefits before going home" (Appendix 13). A common populist tendency is to distinguish between hard-working, pure people and "those who ... do not really work and live like parasites off the work of others" (Müller 2016, 47), which are arguably present in the above sentence as an underlying insinuation. Further in the article, this parasite-insinuation becomes apparent again, when ex-cancer surgeon, Joseph Meirion Thomas postulates that "they registered for National Insurance before the births" (Appendix 13) and afterwards they file in the "paperwork for child benefit before heading back and getting the money sent to their homelands" (ibid.). Both of these statements employ notions of populism in that they employ legitimization through 'authorization' (surgeon Joseph Meirion Thomas) and 'rationalization' (the surgeon must know the system from the inside), as well as the direct pinpointing of these women and their behavior, as such making it clear that they abuse the system, take advantage of the rights of EU citizens and that they do not belong to the hard-working pure people.

In contrast to the articles from Daily Mail and The Sun, notions of the populist tendency in relation to pursuing the common good can be observed in the article from the Daily Telegraph. Here, the common good is the striving for being able to stop or at least be able to control migration to the UK. This is illustrated in the statement: "Controlled immigration doesn't require us to close our doors to the rest of the world - far from it. But it does mean us getting to decide who we want to live here and, for the first time in decades, putting the needs of the British people first" (Appendix 12). As shown, a focal point in this article is the strive for policy change, which Müller (2016) describes as something populists often will strive for while claiming it as the common good (p. 51-52).

Another populist tendency is found in relation to oversimplifying complex matters such as policies in order to change the practises involved. This is prevalent in the article from the Daily Telegraph, for instance in sentences such as "The only sensible immigration policy is one using skills-based work permits. Yes, that will involve more paperwork than an open -door policy, but most

countries manage it" (Appendix 12). This statement illustrates the belief that even though it is a policy alteration, complications will not be worse than simply more paperwork. This is arguably expressed as a rather simple and effortless change. Lastly, present in the article from the Daily Telegraph, one can observe notions of populist logic. According to Müller (2016), populism can be detected through a "set of distinct claims and has what one might call an inner logic" (p. 24), which arguably is expressed in this sentence: "That is why we have every right to close our doors to economic migrants who will contribute less than they will take out" (Appendix 12), which refers to the aforementioned statement regarding how the UK became wealthy in terms of economy, welfare etc. By the use of the claimant that they have the right to close their borders, a particular frame referring to logic conceivably springs to mind in that they are rightfully in control despite the laws of EU. This arguably has to be put in relation to the ongoing debate revolving around Brexit, where the logic and rationalization of the pro-Brexit-voters can be said to be identical with the above, without making the whole pro-Brexit group populist.

5.2.2.2. Deservedness in Child Benefit Articles

In the article from Daily Mail about the French family of Cameroonian origin, various arguments are put forth which all construct the family as undeserving of their activities, their welfare benefits and the father's free education although they are legally entitled. This is evident from the very title "They're absolutely shameless" which arguably constructs them as undeserving of what they receive due to the fact that they do it happily. The article stresses the amounts of welfare services the family has received. The cost of the father's degree is stated, as is a story of the family staying at a hotel at the government's cost: "the couple also spent four months living in a hotel at a cost of £38,400 to taxpayers, plus a £21,000 room service and restaurant bill" (Appendix 11) and the mentioning arguably adds to the argument and construction of why they are undeserving.

Adding to the construction of the family as undeserving comes quotes such as "This is making a mockery of the benefits system. It's absolutely shameless and brings the welfare system into disrepute" (ibid.) and "This family shouldn't keep having children if they can't afford to keep them themselves, and they shouldn't expect the taxpayer to pick up the tab for a massive family they can't afford" (ibid.). The latter quote denotes a frame of British taxpayers being more deserving owing to them paying taxes, and the wording 'kept having children' constructs a negative frame in having more children than the average. The previous frame of being in "real" need of help is furthermore present

in the article, through the sentence "The welfare state is there to help people who are in real need of it, not to be an alternative lifestyle choice" (ibid.) by the wording 'real', while 'alternative lifestyle choice' brings forth the undeserving, shameless construction.

The article "Ask migrants: what can you do for Britain?" from The Daily Telegraph demonstrates notions of deservedness on several instances. The article generally has a picturesque language similar to that of a column with a colloquial tone. The previously established proneness towards constructing immigrants as less deserving continues in the present article, something which is evident in the sentence "any new immigration should undoubtedly be based on one simple principle: it should unashamedly be for the benefit of the British people, and not for the benefit of those who want to come here" (Appendix 12) in which it is made clear that future benefits should fall in advance of British citizens, not foreigners. A similar underlying message can be observed in the quote "we don't have a moral responsibility to open our doors to the five billion--odd people on this planet who live in poorer countries than ours" (ibid.) where the undeserving trait of all foreigners of less wealthy countries of the world is stated, and the rather harsh approach is continued.

An interesting note to be considered is how the article constructs specific conditions on what makes an immigrant deserving through an enumeration of assets needed: "If you have something to offer Britain, whether it be much-needed qualifications or skills, entrepreneurship, creating jobs, or big wads of taxable cash, then by all means do come in and make yourself at home" (ibid.) from which it is made evident that there are to be found immigrants who, according to the author of the article are considered deserving, namely those who fulfill the requirements on the list, while those who "have no qualifications, no professional skills other than a driving licence, and can barely speak English, or … have a criminal record" (ibid.) are undeserving and unwelcome. This latter group is arguably framed as being of no value to society, making them fall under the constructed category of 'deviants' (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18).

Adding to the main message being conveyed, namely that immigrants are generally undeserving and not the responsibility of Britain, there is to be found a justification of why this is perceived as the case, among others in the sentence: "it is not a matter of luck that Britain is the country it is. Great Britain didn't just happen; the British people created this country through decades and centuries of hard work, fighting for democracy, the welfare state and all the other benefits we currently enjoy" (Appendix 12). In this quote one may observe how British citizens have allegedly

made themselves deserving of what they have through demanding effort and ability through history, implicitly also stating that other countries who have not managed this deserve no more.

The article "CASH-IN OF KIDS ON NHS; Ruse on Euro mums" from The Sun overall constructs a frame in which Eastern European mothers are quite undeserving. The main message being conveyed in the article is that women from Eastern European countries travel to Britain with the sole purpose of giving birth to their children, because they are then able to apply for child benefit which they can bring to their country of origin. The negative framing of citizens of Eastern Europe is especially recurrent in the present article. The article generally conveys a provocative message, evident from the first sentence: "Women from Eastern Europe come to Britain to have babies on the NHS and claim for benefits before going home" (Appendix 13), and the interviewee's utterance "I'm told people fill out the child benefit form and go back to Eastern Europe and child benefit is paid for a long time" (ibid.) creating an imagery of British welfare benefits gushing out of Britain to undeserving people in other countries who shamelessly exploit the British system, for long periods of time. The interviewee adds: "500 million EU citizens were eligible for NHS treatment" (ibid.) which adds to the constructed imagery of hordes of undeserving people who might come and drain the British welfare system. The depicted group of European mothers is denoted 'health tourists' and it is then claimed they "cost taxpayers £6billion in eight years" (ibid.), which underpins the divide between those who have contributed to the system in order to be deserving, namely the taxpayers, and those who freeload. The amount mentioned could arguably be said to be difficult to readers to decipher, among others due the amount being spread over eight years, however one might claim that the very mentioning of six billion pounds is enough to add to the provocative justification that the European mothers are undeserving.

5.2.2.3. Housing benefits

This section will include the analysis of the articles found in the category of housing benefits. The first article, which is from Daily Mail, is written by reporter James Tozer, titled "Caught out on Facebook, benefits cheat who said he was too depressed to work" and concerns a British citizen, Stephen Astbury, who is accused of fraud in welfare benefits. The second article is from The Sun and is called "Brexit work permit will work wonders to slash migration", consisting of an enumeration of advantages of the new immigration system resulting from Brexit and is written by previous Member of the European Parliament for the Conservative Party, Daniel Hannan. Lastly, the article from the

Daily Telegraph is titled "Illegal immigrant invented children to claim benefits" and concerns how Monjur Miah has fraudulently received benefits from the British government though being illegally in the country.

5.2.2.3.1. Populism in Housing Benefit Articles

This paragraph will consist of the analysis of the British articles from Daily Mail, The Sun and the Daily Telegraph. The first two will be be conducted in a merged form whereas the article from the Daily Telegraph will be examined separately at the end of the paragraph in a merged analysis of deservedness and populist tendencies.

In the article from Daily Mail, notions of populist tendencies in the form of producerism are prevalent, illustrated in statements such as "[he] fraudulently claimed £15,214 between March 2013 and September 2015" (Appendix 14) referring to the fraudster Stephen Astbury, who allegedly committed "shameless benefits cheats" (ibid.) while being on vacation. By using wordings such as 'fraudulently' and 'shameless benefits cheats' a rather harsh framing of Astbury is established. As previously mentioned, according to Müller (2016), populist often construct the pure people in terms of producerism, and are inherently against those who "live like parasites off the work of others" (p. 47), which is feasibly the case of Astbury who works with construction but still claims benefits and thus has double the income compared to 'regular' workers. Likewise, in the article from The Sun, notions of producerism and thus the pure people are portrayed. The following statement concerns new migrant regulations but emphasizes that the economy sector of the UK will "still be able to hire the talent they need" (Appendix 15). These talented individuals are allegedly people who are "The best and brightest people in the world" (ibid.) and more specifically: "doctors, engineers or scientists" (ibid.). Since populist often determine the pure, hard-working people in terms of those who perform "real work" (Müller 2016, 47), these utterances arguably indicate that said job titles are 'real work'.

Generally, a lack of moral behaviour is the focal point for this article from the Daily Mail, which is expressed in utterances such as: "he was pocketing more than £15,000 of taxpayers' money by falsely claiming he was too depressed to have a job" (Appendix 14), where 'pocketing' is arguably an expression that creates negative connotations to the act of stealing. This arguably employs notions of what is morally correct behavior and denominates Astbury as immoral, in that he exploits other, hard-working people by using taxpayer's money. This aligns with both populist notions of morals and producerism, but in the specific case it probably offends most people. The article further stresses

his exploitation, when the article describes photos showing "his extravagant holidays to destinations including Egypt and Spain, with snaps showing him skiing, riding a jetski, snorkelling, relaxing on a beach and visiting the Eiffel Tower" (ibid.). By the using the wording 'extravagant' in relation to his holiday, a negative framing springs to mind that frames Astbury as immoral, since this said holiday was financed by welfare benefits and thus the hard-working, taxpaying people's money. Furthermore, the article from Daily Mail emphasizes Astbury's lie as the worst part of the fraud, something which is arguably a very moral approach to the case. This can be observed in how his lie is repeated throughout the article when stating: "falsely claiming he was too depressed to have a job" (Appendix 14) and "he was too ill to work" (ibid.).

In contrast to the article from Daily Mail, the article from The Sun generally portrays exclusionist tendencies in relation to immigrant regulations. These tendencies are expressed in statements such as: "Most Brits - including most who voted Remain - want immigration to be regulated" (Appendix 16) and "It [the welfare system] plainly cannot work if 60million Brits are filling the pot but 500million EU citizens can empty it" (ibid.). These perceivably exclusionist utterances also illustrate who the article considers as being a part of the pure people and who are not which, according to the article, are those EU citizens who migrate in order to live on benefits: "around 70,000 a year arrive without a job offer" (ibid.). Another populist tendency exhibited in the article from The Sun which is not present in the article from Daily Mail is the creation of enemy images. This is prevalent in this utterance: "Our welfare system is based on the idea that we fill a common pot with our taxes when we are working and draw from that pot at times of need. It plainly cannot work if 60 million Brits are filling the pot but 500 million EU citizens can empty it" (ibid.). By declaring that 500 million EU citizens empties the common pot, an enemy images towards said citizens is produced, and fear is constructed; fear of millions of EU citizens longing to come to Britain to empty the national pot. This framing is a typical populist tendency, often manifested towards minority groups such as EU migrants. Lastly, the article from The Sun includes notions of the 'Other', which becomes prevalent when the article problematizes the rules of free movements and welfare benefits to EU nationals, which the article claims are "invented by Eurocrats and Euro-judges rather than approved by their own ministers" (ibid.) and that other electorates in Europe are not given the option to express their opinion, "because their political leaders care more about a united Europe than about sensible immigration controls" (ibid.). Thus, it may be argued that the article shows othering in the form of antipathy towards the elite (Müller 2016, 41) from the wording 'invented by Eurocrats

and Euro-judges' and moreover, one may claim that the article argues for giving the power back to the people, a typical populist characteristic.

The article from the Daily Telegraph "Illegal immigrant invented children to claim benefits" has been found to not invoke any notions of populism or populist tendencies, nor does it entail any specification of deservedness. The article concerns the case of an illegal immigrant who has been convicted of benefit fraud; according to the article, the fraud consists of him inventing children, stealing identities and claiming benefits for these stolen identities. Put in relation to our knowledge from the previous analysis of the manifestos, the articles from Denmark and the above articles from UK, one might argue that this article connects with certain constructs of both scapegoats (e.g. the (jobless) migrant) and categories of undeserving (migrants) that were examined previously. As such, the article can be seen as an exemplification and personification of the feared undeserving migrant who abuses the British benefits system and is to be kicked out of the country once he is done serving his imprisonment.

5.2.2.3.2. Deservedness in Housing Benefit Articles

The article "Caught out on Facebook, Benefits Cheat Who Said he was Too Depressed to Work" from Daily Mail tells the story of a British citizen who has allegedly been collecting welfare benefits for several years even though he was working at the same time. The beginning of the article takes an approach which is quite derogatory and frames the man as highly undeserving due to his actions. This is evident through sentences such as "These were in fact the exploits of shameless benefits cheat Stephen Astbury while he was pocketing more than £15,000 of taxpayers' money by falsely claiming he was too depressed to have a job" (Appendix 14) in which wordings such as 'shameless', 'pocketing' and 'taxpayers' money' all serve to construct him as immoral and thus, undeserving. A similar frame can be observed in the sentence "They also found photos from his extravagant holidays to destinations including Egypt and Spain, with snaps showing him skiing, riding a jetski, snorkelling, relaxing on a beach" (ibid.) in which the enumeration of places he has been adds to the provocative construct of his actions and makes him appear further undeserving.

It is later established that the man had been given welfare benefits due to proved mental conditions: "he was unfit to work due to a split personality disorder as well as anxiety and depression" (ibid.) and one might argue that this takes a different approach and shows a shift in the article, namely that he was originally deserving of such benefits. Subsequently it is indirectly expressed that he had

no intentions of swindling: "The defendant accepts these charges but claims he was not aware he had to inform the DWP as he was earning less than £100 a week" and moreover, the portrayal seemingly encourages sympathy for the man due to him having sole custody of his child: "He has sole custody of his daughter and wants to give her a better life and spent the money on that. He was remorseful for his actions" (ibid.) seeing as one might argue that the mentioning of taking care of one's child is a frame which invokes sympathy and understanding in the reader. It is concluded that the judge found sympathy for the man whilst sentencing: "we will deal with this in a sympathetic way" (ibid.) and it is established that the sentence was lenient compared to what one might expect from the initial half of the article.

One may conclude that the article shows two different approaches in terms of deservedness. The first half depicts the man as highly immoral, "pocketing taxpayers' money" (ibid.) and receiving benefits whilst both working and holidaying, photos of the latter emphasizing his immoral and undeserving character. This aligns with the construct which has previously been observed in other articles, namely an increased pressure on the British welfare system, because fraudsters like the one depicted here may live off of taxpayers' hard earned money. However, the change of approach is demonstrated when the reader is made aware that he did not swindle on purpose and moreover has sole custody of his child. Thus, a sympathetic construct is created and the general attitude towards him changes drastically. From his name, Steven Astbury, one may assume that he is British. This is noteworthy if one compares the construct of him with the other articles, in which welfare fraudsters are often portrayed as being immigrants, and nuances of their intentions or mitigating circumstances are very rarely if ever included. As such, due to the fact that more sympathy-invoking nuances are included in the present portrayal such as good intentions and Astbury being a single father, he is constructed as more deserving than one might expect from the portrayal of a migrant. One may observe a divide in deservedness in terms of nationality in the majority of the British articles, and arguably the present article supports this.

The article "Brexit work permit will work wonders to slash migration" from The Sun consists of an enumeration of advantages with the new immigration system resulting from Brexit. It expresses notions of deservedness which are generally associated with some immigrants being less deserving than others, and all immigrants together being definitely less deserving than British citizens, who should be first priority. The article furthermore expresses a variety of justifications for constructing a divide between who is deserving and who is not, one of which can be observed in the sentence which comments on the new rules being positive: "[They are] reasonable because key

sectors of our economy will still be able to hire the talent they need" (Appendix 16) where the justification can be found in the reference to the economy which allegedly will not suffer. A similar justification can be found in the sentence "Most Brits - including most who voted Remain - want immigration to be regulated" (ibid.) through the discursive claim that "most people wish for this".

A construct of EU migrants as a general group being undeserving can be found in the utterance: "But they will no longer be able to claim payments such as tax credits, income support, housing benefit and help with council tax" (ibid.) in which it is specified what benefits the EU migrants are not deserving of. But there is also a constructed divide in terms of deserving and undeserving with reference to EU migrants. Some are perceived as deserving, and some are not: "The fall in numbers will be largely accounted for by unskilled EU migrants … It won't affect doctors, engineers or scientists." (ibid.) from this, one may infer that the unskilled EU migrants are undeserving of residence in the UK and thus, unwelcome, whereas highly educated EU migrants are deserving and welcome. It can be argued that the undeserving, unskilled migrants can be placed in Ingram and Schneider's (2005) 'deviant' group (p.18), due to the fact that they are constructed as having no value to society. Seen from an overall point of view, the article aligns with the other empirical data findings which show how EU migrants are constructed as less deserving than British citizens, however it is stated which specific EU migrants are actually deserving and welcome. Moreover, the presence of justification in the form of rationales behind the divide adds heightened value of certain occupations and educational levels.

5.2.2.4. Summarizing Populism in the British Articles

From the analysis above it can be observed how a variety of populist tendencies are present in the British articles. These tendencies include a delineation of the pure people in terms of nationality; to some degree, the British people is constructed in a 'British people vs. EU citizens' setting, showing clear exclusionist tendencies and inward-looking notions. At the same time tendencies of producerism can be found in the articles. There is to be found a presupposition of the British people as hard working, tax-paying citizens. Also present in the article is an overall framing of the welfare benefits system in the articles as something too good and attractive. By extent it is constructed as being in need of protection. This aligns with the construct of the EU migrants as scapegoats that is to be found in one of the articles. The creation of the scapegoat takes various forms including denominating the EU migrants as 'imported worklessness', 'jobless migrants' and targeting the EU migrants in general,

even problematizing them when they do not receive benefits but simply stay in the country. The scapegoat is blamed for loss of national autonomy.

This aligns with the general imagery of the EU migrants in the articles, equated with the populist 'enemy image', that is to be feared because of the narrative surrounding the EU migrants, stating that very soon it will be too much, there will be too many immigrants, they are uncontrollable and will eventually empty the British benefits system. In this regard, it is worth noting how some articles discuss the general EU migrant, but in most instances, there is an emphasis on and personification of EU migrants from Eastern Europe, as a sort of exemplification of the unwanted EU migrant. As such, throughout the articles there is very much an immigration-focus when the debate falls upon welfare benefits. At the same time, there is a very harsh discourse to be found, both in terms of EU immigrants, but also in general terms of 'those abusing the system'. The mentioning of 'those abusing the system' draws on the populist notion of moral; present in the articles are both an appeal to moral behavior as well as an appeal to stop immoral behavior. Moreover, the frames of 'something-for-something' and 'something-for-nothing' is employed, something which was initially observed in the Conservative Party manifesto (cf. Populism in the Conservative Party Manifesto). This frame employs notions of producerism and praises hard work. Lastly, the articles make use of certain populist linguistic strategies (Wodak 2015, 45-46) seeing as there is to be found legitimization through both authorization and rationalization, as well as the use of insinuations, presuppositions and oversimplification. In one instance, there is to be found a direct strive for a common good, in that the article from the Daily Telegraph exemplifies this as a desire to control the EU migrant and put the British people first. Moreover, this can be seen as the underlying desire in most, if not all, of the articles. Thus, one might argue Brexit is the result of the strive for this common good, namely being able to control EU immigration and (re)gain control in order to put the British people first in terms of access to welfare benefits. This will be elaborated upon in the subsequent discussion.

5.2.2.5. Summarizing Deservedness in the British Articles

Regarding notions of deservedness in the British articles, this occurred in several instances. In the analysis it was established that there is to be found a constructed imagery of British welfare benefits gushing out of Britain to undeserving people in other countries along with an imagery of hordes of undeserving people who might come and drain the British welfare system. These undeserving people who exploit the system are most often portrayed as EU migrants, including especially Eastern

European people. There are to be found constructs of specific conditions on what makes an immigrant deserving, through an enumeration of assets needed, among others higher education, qualified skills, and more. As such, if the immigrant fulfills the requirements, he/she will in principle be perceived deserving. At the same time, the undeserving migrant is one with no qualifications, no professional skills, one who barely speaks English and/or has a criminal record. Criminal or not, the EU migrant is in several instances constructed as undeserving. They are framed as fraudsters, who put increased pressure on the British welfare system. There is a rather tough language to be found in the articles, directly calling for punishments for the undeserving. As it can be observed in the analysis the criminal EU migrants are discursively placed in the 'deviants' group (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 17), however we argue that all EU migrants, except those with high-skilled professions, are generally placed in this bottom group seeing as they are continuously framed as either dangerous and/or of no value to society.

Moreover, the notions of deservedness vary in degree, in that some immigrants are constructed as less deserving than others, but all immigrants together are definitely less deserving than British citizens, often making it a question of nationality whether one fairly deserves the right to welfare benefits or not. This aligns with the British people being framed as hard working and earning their right to be deserving by paying their taxes and being British. One last detail to make note of is how the EU legislation is mentioned a couple of times, leaving it up to no doubt that the group of EU migrants are protected by EU law and as such are perceivably 'legally deserving'. Nonetheless, they are still constructed as undeserving and as receivers of unrightful benefits, along with a problematization of them taking up residence in the country, benefits or not. The construction of EU migrants as generally undeserving is unconditional of whether the article was published prior to or after Brexit.

5.2.3. Comparison of the Case Countries' Articles

In the analysis of the 16 articles from respectively the UK and Denmark we have found both differences and similarities. This paragraph will seek to illustrate these and consider the prevalent tendencies of populism and notions of deservedness found in the articles.

5.2.3.1. Comparison of Populist Tendencies

In both countries, a range of populist tendencies are prevalent. One of these is the delineation of the pure people. In Denmark the pure people is constructed as Danish citizens and those who work and pay taxes, whereas in the UK, the group is constructed mainly in terms of nationality. Related to the pure people comes the notion of producerism, which is also prevalent in both countries. Other similar tendencies are those of the appeal to morally correct behavior along with the exemplification of what is considered immoral behavior, oversimplification of complex matters, and legitimization by authoritarian voices. Another tendency which is prevalent in both countries is the creation of enemy images, although they are manifested differently in each country. In Denmark there is an enemy image of ethnic minorities and a community denominated the 'Bottom of Denmark', consisting of people on welfare payments who only strive to exploit the system. In the UK, we have similarly found the construct of an enemy image. However, in the British articles, the imagery consists of EU migrants draining the British welfare benefits system, often exemplified as Eastern Europeans. The variation in the enemy image and the possible reasons behind will be elaborated upon in the subsequent discussion. A similar yet varying populist tendency is that of the strive for the common good, something which is mentioned in one article from each of the respective countries. In the Danish article, this is illustrated through a pursuit of changing EU legislation to an indexation of child benefits. In the British article the pursued common good is to control EU migrants and stop them from receiving benefits at all or living unregistered in the country. This difference in what is strived for can arguably be seen as illustrating a difference between the two countries; while Denmark merely seeks to adjust EU legislation, the UK seeks to abolish it or secede from it. This is interesting seen in the light of Brexit, because Denmark and the UK have had similar levels of Euroscepticism since the foundation of the Union. This matter will be considered further in the subsequent discussion. A third populist tendency that can be observed in both case countries in different manners falls under the category of discriminatory linguistic strategies. In the Danish articles this is manifested through the use of inferences, whereas in the British articles it is mainly displayed through presuppositions and insinuations.

As demonstrated in the analysis, the articles from both countries also differ from one another. This is illustrated in the analysis of the Danish articles in the form of the populist notions of mythopoesis and the employment of an appeal to common-sense. In the articles from the UK, there was a creation of the EU migrant as a scapegoat to create fear. The notion of fear of the EU migrant

was to some degree also present in the Danish articles, however not as strongly constructed as in the British articles.

A last noteworthy remark to make in relation to the findings in each country is the occurrence of exclusionism through the use of nationality. As illustrated in the analysis, the said notion of nationality is employed specifically in relation to the delineation of the pure people. In the British articles, notions of nationality is employed repeatedly and arguably illustrates nationality as a definition in itself of who can belong to the pure people, whereas in the Danish articles, the emphasis of nationality is more vague.

5.2.3.2. Comparison of Deservedness

When comparing notions of deservedness in Denmark and the UK, there are certain similarities and differences. One notable matter is the difference in use of tone in the article data sets of the two countries, evident through the delineated finding that the discourse revolving around deservedness in the British articles is significantly harsher than in the Danish articles. In both countries, welfare benefit receivers are generally problematized but it was observed that in Denmark there is a constructed sympathy, making it possible to be perceived as deserving of welfare benefits for a limited time period, with the exception of the 'Bottom of Denmark'-frame, seeing as this group allegedly strives only for exploiting Denmark and as such both constitute a danger and no value to society, making the group align with the 'deviants' (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18). This does not seem to be the case to the same extent in the UK, where the attitude is much less accepting of welfare benefit receivers. In one of the Danish articles, children are framed as deserving and even more so if they are "really" vulnerable. In the British articles, this framing of children as deserving is not very present, rather children are often mentioned in connection to benefit fraudsters having what is perceived as "too many children" for the sole purpose of being eligible for increasing child benefit payments. From this, one might argue that the UK article data sets shows more proneness towards constructing people as undeserving and falling under the category of the 'deviants' (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18) due to the harsher approach, whereas Denmark is more prone towards constructing the undeserving as falling under the category of the 'dependents' (ibid.) seeing as the discourse is not quite as harsh combined with the aforementioned sympathy. The respective approaches to especially EU migration is noteworthy. In the Danish article data set, only one article revolves around EU migrants whereas in the British article data set only one article does not revolve

around EU migrants. The British articles are characterized by a recurrent enemy image of the EU migrants being problematized gravely and the predominant frame is that the EU legislation is something malevolent which is directly counteracting the people's wishes. From the analysis we argue that the framing of EU citizens in the UK is derogatory to such a level that the constructed undeserving group generally falls under the category of the 'deviants' (ibid.).

5.3. Connecting the Findings of the Articles and the Manifestos

This paragraph will juxtapose the findings of the articles and manifestos of each country, meaning an analysis of the articles and manifestos from Denmark and subsequently the articles and manifestos from the UK in order to give rise to a more general discussion of the case country comparison.

5.3.1. Populism in the Danish Articles and the Danish Manifestos

From the analysis of the empirical data from Denmark, it can be established that the debate in the articles revolve mainly around the Jobseeker's Allowance Maximum, a policy implemented by the Danish government in October 2016 (Beskæftigelsesministeriet 2016). Although this influenced most of the debate in the articles, the articles and manifestos are still quite comparable in relation to the prevalent tendencies of populism. In general, there is only a slight focus on the matter of EU citizens in both articles and manifestos, and there seems to be a common agreement that EU citizens are allowed to work and contribute to the Danish society, something which correlates with the legislation and obligations of the Danish membership of the European Union. However, two of the party manifestos introduce limitations for EU citizens, and furthermore the articles frame it as problematic that 'Danish child benefits' are being sent to other EU countries. In connection to this, it was found that in two of three manifestos there is a construct of nationality as boundary of the heartland and the pure people, something which is also vaguely emphasized in the Danish articles. This mentioning of nationality along with a focus on EU in both the manifestos and the articles from Denmark is interesting. Seeing as both Denmark and the UK have displayed scepticism towards the EU throughout history (cf. Context), one might pose the question of whether similar tendencies in both countries affect the debate about the respective countries' relationship with the EU, and the obligations and terms this relationship entails.

5.3.2. Deservedness in the Danish Manifestos and the Danish Articles

As it has been established, notions of deservedness are found both in the Danish manifestos and the Danish article sets, and one might argue that there is a certain continuous agreement about who is constructed as deserving and who is not. Simultaneously, in both data sets it is generally framed as undesirable to receive welfare benefits. As such, welfare benefits receivers are constructed as undeserving by definition. However, there is a difference to be found in the manifestos and articles. In the former, there is to be found a frame around a perceived "real" need, which the welfare benefits receiver must somehow conform to - this truthfulness is never elaborated upon in detail - and in the articles, said frame of "real" need is repeated, however, the matter of time frame in which one receives welfare benefits is additionally given a crucial role to play in that a vaguely defined short period is constructed as acceptable. Both frames are vague in nature, however in the articles one may observe an actual existing option of being deserving of welfare benefits, namely through the timeframe. Nevertheless, the timeframe is equally vague and lacking in definition.

There is a consensus between the manifestos and articles that there is a constructed divide between those who contribute to society and those who do not. The latter can in the articles be categorized with Ingram and Schenider's 'dependents' group (2005, 18). One might argue that they fall under the category of the 'deviants' being as they are constructed as undeserving, however this requires a frame in which they are constructed as being of no value to society, and this is not the case in the Danish data sets except for one instance, namely that of the 'Bottom of Denmark' which is in fact framed as both dangerous and of no value and therefore falls under the category of the 'deviants'. However, the underlying message for the majority of the welfare receiver group appears to be that they do indeed have value and could contribute through employment, they just need discipline and increased moral, placing them overwhelmingly in the 'dependents' group.

5.3.3. Populism in the British Articles and the British Manifestos

Throughout the analysis it has become evident that the theme in both the manifestos and the articles from the UK arguably revolves around a delineation of the pure people, strongly in terms of nationality as well as a fear of the British welfare system being drained by welfare tourists (cf. The British Manifestos) and EU immigrants (cf. The British Articles). This is further emphasized in the debate in the articles in that eight out of nine articles concern EU immigrants. A difference between the two data sets from the UK becomes evident in that the articles very specifically identify Eastern

Europeans and equalize them with the alleged various immigrant-related problems. There is as such a harsher framing of the immigrants apparent in the articles, emphasizing a greater exclusionist tendency and stronger inward-looking notions in terms of the nation state, something which is not prevalent in the manifestos to the same degree. At the same time, we see a construct of the EU migrant as a scapegoat in the articles, where they are blamed directly for abusing and draining the system, something which is prevalent in the manifestos but to a slightly smaller degree.

It is worth noting that the manifestos in the UK showed both differences and similarities. There was a divide between the Conservative Party manifesto and the UKIP manifesto in multiple instances (cf. Summarizing Populism in the British Party Manifestos), demonstrating that the UKIP manifesto in itself exhibits more and stronger populist tendencies, something which was to be expected in that they have been denominated populists (cf. Contemporary British Politics and History) prior to this analysis. One might wonder if the fact that the welfare debate in the UK revolves mainly around immigration could be due to it being a focal point in UKIP policy, the latter being demonstrated in the analysis of the manifesto. It is interesting how the tone of the language is similar in the British articles and the UKIP manifesto, allowing for an exchange and reproduction of populist leaning frames of immigrants, EU migrants and benefit fraudsters. While we have mainly observed the same tone towards immigrants in the UKIP manifesto and the articles, there are also instances of similarities between the Conservative Party manifesto and the articles. This specific exchange and reproduction of frames is directly exemplified in the British empirical data set, in that the mantra 'something-for-nothing' and the connecting 'something-for-something' is evident in both the articles and the manifesto, constructed in a way that entails the same frame when it is mentioned. This aligns with Lakoff's theory of framing and how a few set of words can activate a set of values and policies (Lakoff 2004, 4), and this is arguably what happens in this instance.

Further noteworthy in this connection is the difference between Danish and British media, where in the British articles we have seen exemplified instances of blame and personifications of who abuses the system (e.g. Steven Astbury, Simon Lyebenov), something which can seem rather dramatic and scandalous compared to the Danish articles where the tone is not quite as heated and looking to name culprits. The blame and personifications in the British articles could arguably relate back to a central populist strategy emphasized by Wodak (2015) namely that of scandalization and dramatization (p. 11).

5.3.4. Deservedness in the British Manifestos and the British Articles

There are certain overall differences between the approaches to deservedness between the British manifestos and the British articles. In the manifestos there is to be found a high focus on so-called deserving lifestyles, evident especially in the Conservative manifesto seeing as 'hard work' and 'doing the right thing' are wordings that are repeated often. Thus, to a high extent notions of deservedness revolve around the individual's working life. Moreover, the matter of being in perceived "real" need of help is equally crucial for the evaluation of the individual's deservedness. Immigrants are generally framed as problematic for society. In conclusion, it may be observed from the manifestos that those who do not work, along with immigrants, overwhelmingly fall under the category of the 'deviants' (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18) due to the framing of them as having no value to society.

One remarkable difference between the British manifestos and the British articles is the extraordinary focus on immigrants and especially EU immigrants in the British articles. The value given to working life with reference to being deserving is still present in the articles, however, a majority of the articles involve EU migrants. The focus is often on undeserving EU migrants who exploit the British society and of these migrants, especially Eastern Europeans are subject to derogatory wordings. The language employed in the articles is generally tougher and more specific in their delineations of deserving versus undeserving than in the manifestos, with one example even enumerating conditions for the former or the latter, again with migrants in focus. Immigrants, and EU immigrants in particular, are continuously perceived as less deserving than British citizens and generally, the discourse around immigrants is derogatory to such an extent that those who are constructed as undeserving fall under the category of the 'deviants' (ibid.).

6. Discussion

This paragraph will constitute the discussion of our findings in the above analysis. The first section will connect the two theories of populism and deservedness. Subsequently we will reflect on the populist aspect of our findings, followed by a discussion of possible outcomes of the discourse in contemporary society in the UK and Denmark. Lastly we will connect our findings to notions of welfare regimes and contemplate the question of whether populist leaning frames are creating discursive pressure on the concept of the welfare state.

6.1. Connecting Populism and Deservedness

As a result of our analysis it has become possible to connect the two theories of populism and deservedness to each other. The most prevalent populist tendencies can be divided into three overall constructed themes: 1) the pure people and exclusionism 2) producerism and 3) moral behavior. Connecting these to notions of deservedness, one might argue that the three overall themes involve implicit notions of deservedness. Firstly, the theme of being part of the pure people and showing exclusionist tendencies presupposes forming part of this people to be deserving; if you are not, you will be subject to exclusionist actions and thus be perceived as undeserving. Secondly, producerism entails hard work, contributing to society and self-support which may then be constituent elements in order to be perceived as deserving. The third theme of moral behavior entails conforming to the discursively constructed moral standards in order to be perceived as deserving. In the analysis this distinction between the theories has ensured the avoidance of neglecting nuanced analytical findings. However, due to this connection of deservedness and populist tendencies, the discussion will from this point onwards not constitute as sharp a division as has hitherto been the case, rather the two will be increasingly treated in a merged form.

6.2. Considering Right-Wing Populist Tendencies

It has been established that there are various populist tendencies to be found in our chosen empirical data. It should however be noted that this does not necessarily make the data, neither the manifestos nor the articles decidedly populist.

There is an interesting matter to be found regarding whether the populist traits that we have demonstrated in the analysis in reality can be said to be populist or if the majority is merely exclusionist. This is a noteworthy debate to consider, because the theorists employed in this thesis, specifically Wodak (2015) and Ingram and Schneider (2005), claim that exclusionism and categorizing into groups have both "become 'normality' and thus acceptable, and has been integrated into all dimensions of our societies" (Wodak 2015, 50). At the same time Wodak denominates exclusionism as a populist characteristic (p.25-26). Moreover, according to Wodak it can be difficult to identify explicit intentions of racist, discriminating and exclusionist actors, and thus it is necessary to study the discursive practices as it is through discourse that these practices are "prepared,

promulgated and legitimized" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001, 41 in Wodak 2015, 50). The argument from Ingram and Schneider (2005) springs from the fact that it is an inherent human trait to arrange oneself and others into groups, and in this process, the group to which the individual belongs will be given increased value by said individual (cf. Deservedness and Entitlement Theory). According to Ingram and Schneider (2005) this is the fundamental notion which forms the basis to the deservedness and entitlement categorizations, and it "permeates processes of both social, economic and political nature" (p.3). The point of concern then arguably arises when this proneness to arrange others into groups is coupled with the abovementioned populist tendencies, or is coupled with rising right-wing populist movements and rhetoric as it is happening in contemporary societies.

Further regarding the matter of our findings possibly constituting populist tendencies, one might argue that the majority is merely exclusionist. If one acknowledges Wodak and Ingram and Schneider's interpretations, one must also recognize that exclusionism in itself cannot be denominated as populist, but rather as a tendency in society. However, as Wodak also claims, exclusionism can be seen as a populist trait, and we argue that since the analysis has found significant amounts of other notions drawing on the theoretical matter of populism along with exclusionism, the findings of the analysis in combination can be said to form populist tendencies. It should in this instance be emphasized once again that the aim of the present paper is not to denominate whether or not the case manifestos or articles are populist, but rather to discover whether populist tendencies are prevalent in contemporary society in the UK and Denmark. And, as it has been illustrated throughout our analysis, right-wing populist tendencies are present in both UK and Denmark.

6.3. Possible Outcomes of the Findings

One might wonder if the demonstrated amount of populist tendencies constitutes a predictor for a development of the political parties and the public discourse in the two countries; and if so, if even stronger populist tendencies and perhaps even outright right-wing populist parties will gain increased power in each country. In this respect what would be alarming in the case countries would not necessarily be expanding governmental power, but the influence populist momentum would have on public debates. This concern is based on Lakoff's argument that frames become strengthened when reinforced and that they via repetition over time can become normally used language (Lakoff 2004, 72). Juxtaposed with our analytical findings, this points towards an increasingly derogatory discourse in which the social groups are to a growing extent pinned against each other as a result of an

oversimplified and one-sided debate, and thus we argue that this concern is justified. The public discourse may then be increasingly divided despite the fact that the basis for the debate is found within the aforementioned vague definitions of who forms part of the pure and deserving people, seeing as it is never clear who is actually in "real need". The debate arguably omits the definition of why someone is directly perceived as deserving in anything else but vague wording and through a focus on the 'Other', making the debate and evaluation dependent on nationality and/or citizenship and thus, borders of the nation state. The only seemingly obvious definition of when you are or are not deserving or part of the pure people takes the form of citizenship and nationality, but even if you are of the "right" nationality or citizenship, the ubiquitous evaluation of deservedness is still present and dependent on an implied moral code to be followed in order to be truly deserving and part of the pure people.

On a slightly different note, another problematic matter arises in a possible increased pressure or compromisation of the welfare state at its present state. Through the analytical findings we argue that populists tendencies and populist leaning frames put pressure on the current welfare regimes in the two countries due to the populists' proneness of reserving the welfare benefits to their perceived group of pure and deserving people - an often limited segment of the population. Further interesting for the possible development in the case countries, it is noteworthy to consider that the two countries have exhibited similar levels of Euro-scepticism throughout history (cf. Justification of Selected Cases), which in the case of the UK resulted in Brexit. This development may explain why it is possible to observe stronger populist tendencies in the British data sets than in the Danish. Moreover one might wonder whether Brexit happened due to increased populist tendencies manifested through strong exclusionism along with anti-internationalism, inward-looking, scapegoating, enemy images and a general fear and constructing of blame of EU migrants. By extent, we may conclude that we have demonstrated similar populist tendencies in the Danish empirical data set, and as such the question arises; is Brexit possible in a Danish context? However, this matter is not within the scope of the present paper and only the future can definitively answer the question.

6.4. Linking the Findings to Welfare Regimes

As it has been established in the analysis there is to be found a difference in how the undeserving group is constructed, and we argue that in the British data sets, those who are undeserving predominantly fall under the group of the 'deviants' (Ingram and Schneider 2005, 18) whereas the

Danish data sets exhibit more lenience and generally constructs the undeserving as falling under the category of the 'dependents' (ibid.) seeing as they are often deemed to lack only discipline and being of passive value to society in mere need of activation. One might pose the question if this finding may coincide with the welfare regimes in the chosen case countries. As previously demonstrated, the Danish welfare system builds largely on the Social-Democratic regime, whereas the British system to a larger extent is a hybrid, encompassing elements from the Liberal and Conservative/Corporatist regimes as well (Esping-Andersen 1990 and Heien & Hofäcker 1999). The findings in the analysis illustrate the division between the two case countries due to the fact that the debates in said countries elucidate contrasting desires for how the welfare state should be, at least according to Esping-Andersen's (1990) rather strict distinction. For instance the Danish Conservative Party manifesto emphasizes a belief where aid from family and community comes first and government transfers second, which does not align very well with the proposed definition of the Social-Democratic regime (p.28). One might wonder whether this is caused by increased focus on the evaluation of who is deserving of welfare benefits and thus belongs to the pure people, and who is and does not. At the same time, one might argue that the appeal from the Danish Conservative Party manifesto aligns with the Conservative/Corporatist model seeing as it focuses on dependence on family rather than government. The analysis has found a convergence of three social groups which are emphasized in both data sets from the UK and Denmark. These three social groups are consistently constructed as deserving and as forming part of the pure people, and consist of children, the elderly and the helpless. In relation to Esping-Andersen's (1990) division of welfare regimes, the finding of the three groups in Denmark is as such not surprising, as they form part of the Social-Democratic regime pr. definition, but in the UK, one might conjecture whether this is due to their hybrid-model or perhaps because of populist rhetoric constructing these groups in terms of the pure people in the public debate and as such as groups with 'real needs' and a need for protection and inclusion. It was illustrated in the analysis how UKIP's manifesto specifically pinpointed these three groups and constructed them as deserving and part of the pure people, defining 'the helpless' as people of ill health and 'those who most need our help' (UKIP 2015, 19), whereas the Conservatives defines 'the helpless' as 'those who really need it' (The Conservative Party 2015, 25). The proneness towards establishing a divide between deserving and undeserving as coinciding with being in "real" need of help has been demonstrated in several instances in the analysis. This is interesting to note since, as it has been established, the dividing line between "real" and "fake" need of help is incessantly vague wherever it occurs, and with a basis in the analysis, one might claim that this vagueness gives rise to a discursive

arena in which harassment can flourish increasingly, due to the vague distinction arguably resulting in endless discussion and evaluation of individual cases, which then creates insecurity and a constant sense of stigma for the welfare benefits receiver. Aligning with this, Esping-Andersen states that in the Liberal welfare regime, "Entitlement rules are … strict and often associated with stigma" (1990, 26) and this is noteworthy seeing as the vague distinction and following harassment and stigma is present in both the Danish and the British data sets despite the fact that Denmark constitutes a Social-Democratic welfare regime in which one might otherwise expect more lenience in terms of deservedness and entitlement. One might moreover wonder if this vagueness has always been present in the Danish context, or if it is something which is relatively new in the debate - and if so, one may then pose the question if this caused by populist leaning rhetoric or increased harsh deservedness approaches. This might constitute an interesting basis for further scholarly research, however it goes beyond the scope of the present paper. Another noteworthy matter with regards to the matter of stigmatization of welfare benefit receivers is the possible consequences of this tendency. One might speculate if the very concept of the welfare state is subject to pressure due to this discourse, seeing as the framing of receiving welfare benefits as something inherently negative might result in increasingly less public support for the welfare state.

7. Conclusion

The present paper set out to explore populist tendencies and categorizations of deservedness in right-wing parties and media in Denmark and the United Kingdom, in order to examine whether the contemporary rise in right-wing populism can be said to influence the categorizations of deserving and undeserving in terms of welfare benefits. The paper employed a two-split set of empirical data in the form of political party manifestos and articles from newspapers in respectively Denmark and the United Kingdom, and both empirical data sets were analyzed with a focal point of welfare benefits.

Regarding the findings in the manifestos, a variety of populist tendencies were observed. Applying to both Denmark and UK, we found attempts to construct the pure people mainly in terms of nationality; we found a prevalent emphasis on producerism as well as appeals to moral behavior. We also found alike exclusionist tendencies towards EU migrants. Similarly, another convergence was found between the Danish and the British manifestos. The frame of being in "real" need of welfare benefits is present in both case countries. Similarly, there was an added value to the perceived

responsibility of the individual's situation with reference to receiving welfare transfers, meaning that if the need for welfare transfers is caused by something that is deemed within the power of the individual, said individual is not constructed as deserving, seeing as the problem should be dealt with by the individual and not the government. Moreover, a similar frame of morally correct behavior in relation to deservedness, meaning that the individual ought to work hard, pay taxes, and contribute to society, was found in both case countries. In the manifestos of both case countries, welfare benefits are generally framed negatively. Furthermore, it was established that the undeserving group is placed in a vacuum in which they fluctuate between being perceived as actually deserving of help and being perceived as freeloaders.

It was illustrated that the second set of the two split empirical data, namely the articles, were distinct from the manifestos in a variety of ways. Concerning populist tendencies, there was a difference between the case countries in the construction of the pure people. In Denmark, mostly Danish citizens and those who work and pay taxes are part of the pure people whereas in the UK the group is constructed mainly in terms of nationality. However, notions of producerism were present in both case countries. Along with producerism, other similar tendencies were found in appeals to morally correct behavior, oversimplifications of complex matters, discriminatory language use, legitimization by authoritarian voices and the creation of enemy images, although the latter is manifested differently in each country. Another common populist tendency was the strive for the common good, which was also manifested differently in each country; while Denmark merely seeks to adjust the EU legislation, the UK seeks to secede from it. Only in in the Danish articles mythopoesis was found to be present and only in the UK the fear of migrants was so strong that it formed a scapegoat and an outright enemy image. Only in the UK, appeals to nationality as a definition of who can belong to the pure people were found, whereas in the Danish articles the emphasis of nationality is more vague. The findings of deservedness showed that the frames surrounding deservedness in the British articles are significantly harsher than in the Danish articles. Applying to both case countries, welfare receivers are problematized through specific frames, but in Denmark there is to be found a constructed sympathy towards welfare receivers meaning that it is possible to be deserving of benefits on the condition that it is during a limited time and with the exception of the 'Bottom of Denmark' which is framed as only seeking to exploit the system. The empirical data from the British articles showed much less acceptance of welfare receivers. Moreover, it was established that the British articles exhibit a proneness towards placing the undeserving group under the category of the 'deviants' due to its associated frame of having no value and/or being a danger to society, whereas

Denmark generally places the welfare receivers under the group of the 'dependents' due to its constructed possibility of having value to society. Adding to this it was shown that only one Danish article revolved around the EU migrants whereas all but one British article revolved around EU migrants. Aligning with this it was found that in the UK there is a recurring enemy image of the EU migrant along with the predominant frame that EU legislation is something malevolent and goes against the people's wishes. In the Danish article set only one article mentioned children, implying that only "really" vulnerable children are deserving of welfare benefits, whereas in the UK children in the articles are only mentioned with reference to children becoming a means of increasing welfare transfers.

Generally, it can be established that in the case of the Danish data sets there seems to be a common agreement that EU citizens are "allowed to" work and contribute to the Danish society. However, the manifestos do seek to place limitations for EU citizens and in one of the articles it is framed as problematic that Danish child benefits are sent to other EU countries. It was established that two out of three Danish manifestos exhibited a construct of nationality as a boundary of the heartland and the pure people, something which was also vaguely demonstrated in the Danish articles. Further it was observed that the debate in the Danish articles revolves mainly around the Jobseekers Allowance Maximum, whereas in the British articles, eight out of nine articles concern EU migrants. The data set including manifestos and articles from the UK arguably revolves around delineating the pure people in terms of nationality as well as a fear of the British welfare system being drained by the welfare tourists. In the British material it was observed how the articles specifically identified Eastern Europeans as being culprits of various immigrant-related issues. Comparing the British manifestos and articles, the articles entail a much harsher framing of immigrants and as such portray greater exclusionist tendencies as well as stronger inward-looking notions. We observed a very similar set of populist-leaning frames of immigrants, EU migrants and benefit fraudsters between the British articles and manifestos entailing a much harsher tone of language compared to the Danish tone. This is further emphasized in that the British articles employ exemplified instances of blame and personifications of who abuses the system, which compared to the Danish articles can seem rather dramatic. Regarding deservedness in the Danish data sets there is to be found a continuous agreement about who is constructed as deserving and who is not. There is a difference to be found in that the articles is the only part of the Danish data to mention the timeframe in terms of the possibility of being deserving. Regarding deservedness in the British data sets, to a high extent notions of deservedness in the manifestos revolve around the individual's working life. In the articles the

language use is generally tougher and more specific in the delineation of deserving versus undeserving. EU immigrants in particular are continuously perceived as less deserving than British citizens.

As outlined in the discussion, we found it to be possible to connect the two theories of populism and deservedness as the two portray certain similarities and because our analysis enabled us to see a linkage between the pure people, exclusionism, producerism, moral behavior and the categorization of deserving and undeserving. As it was illustrated, there is to be found a divide into who is deserving and who is undeserving in each of the populist tendencies.

In the discussion we asked whether the established populist tendencies may constitute a predictor for a development of the political parties and public discourse in each of the countries, and if so, if we might expect to see increased power to populist parties in the future. We stated that this would be alarming due to the harmful influence that populist rhetoric has on the debates and the resulting derogatory discourse in which social groups will increasingly be pinned against each other, and the debate may be oversimplified and increasingly divided. In the discussion we moreover argue that the demonstrated populist tendencies do put pressure on the contemporary welfare state, and we reflected that this might be caused by populist rhetoric's proneness towards reserving welfare benefits for their own pure, deserving group - one that is often quite limited. Further relevant for a reflection of the future comes the fact that, as it has been shown, Denmark and the UK have exhibited similar levels of EU scepticism throughout history. Moreover, our findings showed that the British data exhibited a larger amount of populist tendencies compared to the Danish data.

It was established that there is to be found a continuous difference in how the undeserving group is constructed in the Danish and the British data sets respectively; the former overwhelmingly places the undeserving groups under the 'dependents' category and shows more lenience towards welfare recipients whereas the latter overwhelmingly places undeserving groups in the 'deviants' category through an increased focus on possible value and/or danger to society. By extent, we considered the theoretical basis of welfare regimes and inferred that there was a relative coherence to be found between our findings and the regimes. One interesting matter was that we found the Danish Conservative Party to oppose the general approach put forth in the Social-Democratic regime in their appeal for focusing more on one's family instead of relying on welfare benefits, and we asked whether this might be caused by an increased discursive focus on the dividing into groups of deserving and undeserving. It was furthermore established that three groups are continuously framed as deserving

and as being part of the pure people in the data sets from both case countries, namely the elderly, children and helpless. Another recurrent matter in both of the data sets is the perceived "real" need for help in the form of welfare transfers. We concluded that the dividing line between "real" and "fake" need for help is incessantly vague, and from this we proposed that this may give rise to a discursive arena where harassment of welfare receivers can flourish, perhaps due to the fact that the consistently vague definition gives rise to continuous evaluation, which then results in insecurity and increasing stigma. This was further an interesting finding, since stigma in regards to welfare entitlement is stated as being characteristic of the Liberal welfare regime and in the present study it was found in both of the case countries although to varying degrees. Finally, we argued that the analytical findings in the present paper does indeed put pressure on the concept of the welfare state, due to framing of the act of receiving welfare benefits generally being negative and thus might result in increasingly less public support for the welfare state.

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9. Appendixes

The appendixes have been attached as a separate file in the uploading process.