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The dangers of Non-Western Immigrants in Denmark and Sweden

From the perspective of the Danish
People Party and Sweden
Democrats



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Abstract

This paper investigates how and why parties such as the Danish Peoples Party in Denmark and Sweden Democrats in Sweden frame non-Western immigrants as a threat. Through the use of the theories of framing, nationalism, and nativism, the paper aims to analyze the anti-immigrant discourse created by the media and politicians in Denmark and Sweden over the past two decades. The paper also employs the qualitative multimethod research method, using both framing method model and multimodal discourse analysis to analyze a speech and video campaign by the former party leader of the Danish People's Party, Kristian Thulesen Dahl, and a speech and video campaign by the current party leader of Sweden Democrats, Jimmie Åkesson.

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Introduction

Denmark and Sweden have experienced an increasing number of immigrants since 2000 and reached an all-time high for Sweden in 2016 (*SCB, 2023*), and Denmark reached its all-time high in 2022 (*DST, 2023*). There can be several reasons behind immigration: "asylum seekers, returning native-born persons, immigration due to employment and studies, and immigration due to family reunification among both native- and foreign-born persons" (*SCB, 2023*). The number presented by Statistics Sweden and Statistics Denmark includes Western and non-Western immigrants. Over the last few decades, an increased flow of immigrants, specifically non-western immigrants, in Sweden and Denmark, has meant a more extensive debate and discussion in the media and between politicians about how to integrate or even assimilate them and how much money they are willing to spend on it. An increased number of immigrants and refugees from non-western countries can also result in the fear of the unknown. Not only do they not look like Europeans, but their values, culture, and religion can be different too. This can evoke some "negative" emotions, and some might even fear what this 'change' these foreigners bring with them can entail.

The fear the population in Denmark and Sweden feel has arguably been created by the portrayal of immigrants by the media and the discourse created by the politicians in the past two decades. The anti-immigrant discourse has been a big part of elections and the daily discussion in Denmark and Sweden for the last 15-20 years. This tendency also becomes evident with the popularity of far-right parties, not only in Scandinavia but all over Europe (*Edwards, 2023*). Although Denmark and Sweden are neighboring countries, they have had different approaches to immigrants. Sweden, known for Swedish exceptionalism, has historically been known to be a country that is welcoming towards immigrants' multiculturalism and has an inclusive and generous welfare system (*Schierup & Ålund, 2011*). Although they started with a slightly different approach to immigration than Denmark, some scholars believe that Sweden, like Denmark, has moved towards more strict immigration laws and a more anti-immigrant approach to their society, which can be the end of their 'Swedish Exceptionalism.'

Why this subject, you might wonder? This subject has been close to my heart for most of my life, and when the Danish general election in 2022 happened, it occurred to me how much of a focal point this subject has become in Danish and Swedish society. This made me wonder why. Why is it that immigrants from non-western countries have become a symbol of threat, and what is it that the Danish

and Swedish society, or more specifically the politicians, fear? Is it merely because they look different and believe in a different kind of God, or are we afraid their values cannot co-exist in a Western context? These are questions I asked myself as a researcher, university student, and a UN quota refugee residing in Denmark. This is why this thesis investigates: *“How and why do parties such as the Danish Peoples Party in Denmark and Sweden Democrats in Sweden frame non-Western immigrants as a threat?”* To help investigate, the paper will use the theories: Framing, Nationalism, and Nativism.

Furthermore, the paper will be using the Qualitative Multimethod Research Method. The methods used will be Framing Method Model and Multimodal Discourse Analysis. The thesis set out to analyze a speech and a video campaign by former party leader of the Danish People’s Party, Kristian Thulesen Dahl, and a speech and video campaign by current party leader of Sweden Democrats, Jimmie Åkesson.

Method

Multimethod Qualitative Research

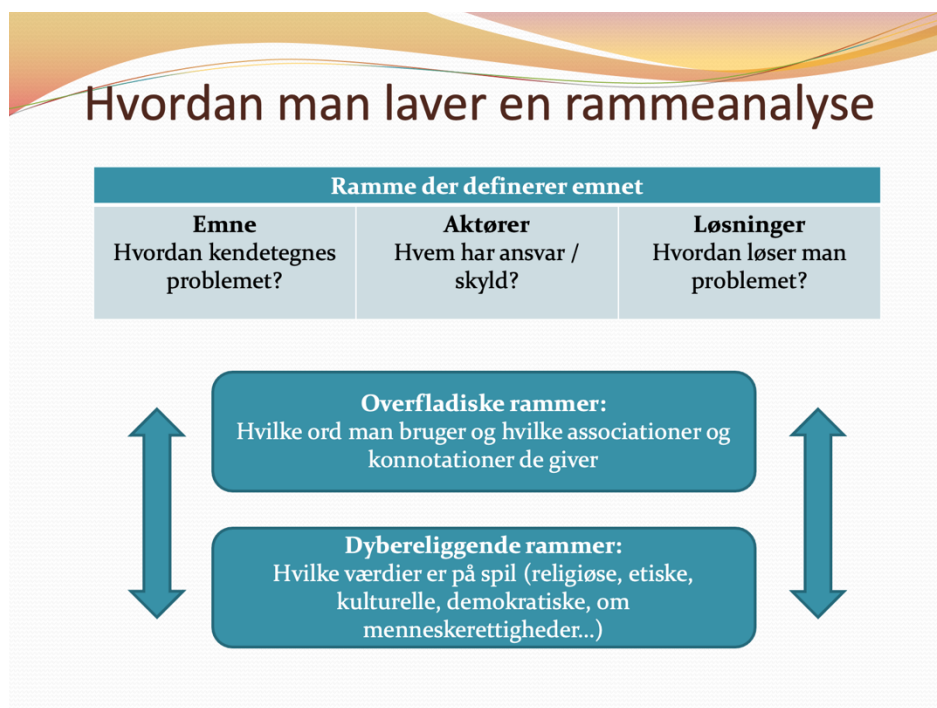
Multimethod research oftentimes gets confused and mixed up with ‘mixed method.’ Mixed method is a research method that combines qualitative and quantitative methods within the same study. However, multimethod is a research method that works within either qualitative or quantitative studies (Mik-Meyer, 2020). The main objective, according to Mik-Meyer, “is to emphasize the value of the different approaches (Mik-Meyer, 2020) and to investigate the complexity of the social world (Moran-Ellis et al., 2006 in Mik-Meyer, 2020). Using more than one research method in your project can in some cases create a better understanding of the research problem (Creswell, 2015:3 in Mik-Meyer, 2020). Though it is important to understand the difference between perceiving research methods as technical tools or as an approach that can be based on an epistemological or ontological framework (Bryman, 1988: 127; Järvinen & Mik-Meyer, 2020; Silverman, 2020 in Mik-Meyer, 2020).

Whether you use different methods within the same epistemological perspective or using different qualitative methodological approaches, it comes with its own set of strengths and advantages. If you use multiple methods but within the same epistemological perspective, it can enhance the quality of the research, and you can uncover different perspectives and nuances with

different methods (Essén & Sauder, 2017; Krølner et al. 2014; Tierney et al., 2019 in Mik-Meyer, 2012; 7). Using different methods with different methodological approaches can uncover an understanding of the problem that would have been hard to uncover otherwise (Frederiksen et al., 2014 in Mik-Meyer, 2020; 7). This is why multimethod has been favored amongst scholars and they see “research designs that include multiple research strategies [as] the strongest ones” (Esterberg, 2022: 37 in Mik-Meyer, 2020: 8).

By using qualitative multimethod research, this paper has been able to analyze more than one type of data with more than one type of method. By combining Frame analysis and multimodal analysis, the paper has been able to look beyond the language used to frame immigrants. By using both frame analysis and multimodal the paper has been able to look at campaigns made by the Danish People’s Party and Sweden Democrats and investigate how they have used visual and audio effects with a combination of language to get their point across. By using both audio and visual effects to further emphasize their opinion, create another layer. It goes beyond words and facts, it is a visual proof of the reality they want to portray and get across, and combining that with music and sounds tells you how to feel about a given situation. Being able to choose different kinds of data and analyzing it with two different methods has given this paper the opportunity to uncover different nuances and create a better understanding of the situation.

Framing:



(Agustin, n.d)

The paper will be using the model as illustrated in the picture above. This is based on George Lakoff's theory of Framing, which will be explained further in the theory section. Firstly, the paper will determine the frame-defining subject by looking at the central theme of the speeches, who the agents are, and what solution the agents offer to solve the problem(s). Next, the paper will look at the surface frame, where it will look deeper into the language, what words have been used, why, and what associations and connotations are connected. What effect does it have to use that specific language about that particular topic, and what frames will be created? Lastly, the paper will look at the deep frame. What values have been produced as a result of the language?

Multimodal discourse analysis

Multimodality is a concept that refers to the integration of various means of expression, or "semiotic modes," within texts and communicative events. This integration combines language with non-verbal elements such as intonation, voice quality, facial expression, gesture, posture, and visual elements like graphology and typography. Multimodal discourse analysis is a field that explores how these different modes are used in various forms of communication and how they contribute to the overall message. This approach draws inspiration from linguistics, art and design theory, and musicology (*van Leeuwen, T., & Kress, G. 2011*).

The need for multimodal analysis arises because communication has become increasingly multimodal over the past century. Magazines, advertising, film, and television have all contributed to merging language, images, and non-verbal communication. To fully understand discourse today, one must pay attention to non-verbal aspects of communication, whether in conversation, therapy, or political discourse (*van Leeuwen, T., & Kress, G. 2011*).

Initially, multimodal discourse analysis explored different modes separately, viewing visual communication as a "language of images" and musical communication as a "language of music." However, many contemporary texts integrate text and images so closely that they cannot be understood in isolation. For example, in modern advertising, words and images are interdependent and create a unified message. This phenomenon has necessitated a shift in the study of communication towards multimodality theory and analysis, recognizing that various modes are now accessible through digital technology. That language is just one component of a broader range of communicative modes (*van Leeuwen, T., & Kress, G. 2011*).

The three layers of analysis for multimodal texts are discourse, design, and production. This section explains the three layers separately for simplicity and ease, but they will be used simultaneously and as they fit in the analysis. The first layer is the discourse in the video campaign. These are described as "*socially constructed knowledge about some aspect of reality*" (van Leeuwen, T., & Kress, G. 2011). and serve as resources for creating and interpreting content in texts and communicative events. Though existing as mental constructs, these discourses are "*socially constructed*" within specific social institutions, large or small, and shaped by prevailing interests (van Leeuwen, T., & Kress, G. 2011). The second layer is design, where the paper will identify the different modes used in the video campaign. Modes encompass various forms of communication, such as text, image, sound, music, gesture, and movement. Analyze how each mode contributes to the overall message and how they interact.

After that, the paper will explore the semiotic choices made during design. How do color schemes, typography, and visual compositions convey meaning? How do they align with the chosen modes? In the design phase, the paper will also look at the 'structure' of the campaign and how the placement of the element can contribute to meaning. Lastly, in the design phase, the paper will look at multimodal Storytelling: Does the campaign tell a coherent story through the various modes used? How do different modes contribute to the narrative and message? The last and third layer is production. In this phase, the paper will look at the Synchronization of Modes - How does the timing of visuals, audio, and text enhance or detract from the overall message? How do these modes work together?

Methodology

This paper will use Hanne Fredslund's philosophical hermeneutic to explain and understand the research process and the considerations made throughout. In the following section, the paper will describe the methodical principles, how they correlate with this paper, and the investigator's process. Fredslund has developed four methodical principles in the process (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*):

- 1) To be aware of your preconception
- 2) To put your preconception in play and, by that, putting your horizon of understanding in motion
- 3) To put yourself in the other's place
- 4) To be aware of the structure of the question to be able to influence its horizon.

Fredslund has, according to herself, based her research on Gadamer's research on hermeneutics, and in the first principle, she argues that if one looks at the subject-object relation from the perspective of Gadamer, the researcher steps into the hermeneutic circle rather than standing on the outside looking in (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). The critical point here is to understand *what* kind of preconception the researcher takes with them when they step into that circle, as that will be important and can affect both the research process and the horizon of understanding of the researcher (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). When you research, you create questions based on your preconception of the topic (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). This means that when the researcher in this particular paper goes into the research process to investigate how immigrant and refugees in Sweden and Denmark has been framed as a threat, they already have an idea or preconception of the paper's outcome. This is based on the preconception the researcher has about the public and political opinion about immigrants, which has been evident through societal debates about the subject. Based on this preconception and knowledge, the researcher can have an idea that immigrants and refugees from a non-western country are usually the center of political debates, and more often than not, it is about how they are criminals, lechers, and a burden for society. Based on the research questions, the researcher indicates that their preconception is that immigrants and refugees are indeed framed as threats because the question is not whether or not they are being framed as such, but rather *why*.

Furthermore, as a refugee living in Denmark, it was even more important to be aware of my preconception and how that can affect the end product. By being aware of my position and my bias, I could identify it and look at the topic more objectively. Fredslund argues that in this stage of the

research, it is essential for the researcher to be aware of their preconception as it can affect the result and overall process. But when one is aware of it, one is more likely not to let it affect it and even be open to changes, which can ultimately change the preconception.

The second methodical principle is that once one is aware of one's preconception, it is time to put it in play and challenge it. This is by no means an easy task, as Fredslund argues that we are one with our preconceptions, and being aware of it is hard enough. Fredslund suggests that once one is aware of their preconceptions, they are put in play with other horizons to see aspects that might be invisible to us (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). This means that you, as a researcher, should question your preconception, which will, according to Fredslund, bring the horizon of understanding in motion. This opens the researcher to new influences and understandings that could impact the preexisting knowledge about the topic. One can do this by being transparent about the academic perspectives and assumptions the paper is built on; this goes for one's experience, theories, and empirical data (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). One should discuss and be aware of what the different kinds of preconceptions about the topic can have for the paper and more importantly, how that preconception will limit one's knowledge. Furthermore, she suggests, that one uses different kinds of literature within the topic, one should research widely and go to sources, that might even contradict your beliefs, because this may give you a perspective, you wouldn't have thought about otherwise. In order to challenge my preconception, I had to read different literature about the topic, not only from the ones that were critical against the far-right/right parties in Denmark and Sweden, but also those that in simpler terms were explaining why the phenomenon has become mainstream. One must understand why these parties have such opinions to understand the phenomenon.

The third methodical principle differs from the previous two, as in this principle we are moving away from the researcher for a minute, and focusing on the subject, whether that being an organization, a political party, a specific person, or a phenomenon, we are researching. If we want to have a deeper understanding of why someone behaves in a certain way, we must put ourselves in their situation. The situation Fredslund talks about is based on Gadamer's concept of hermeneutic situation, which states that the situation in which we speak our truth, both the researcher and the subject being analyzed, is crucial for the understanding and knowledge (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). In order to better understand the situation and the actions of the person or in this case a political party we must understand their situation and their background, we have to put ourselves in their place. This will

especially be helpful in those cases, where one does not fully understand or agree with the other person's actions. This does not mean we leave our preconceptions and knowledge behind, but rather we put all of that into an imaginary rucksack and take that with us when we enter the other's situation (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). The researcher might not understand why some political parties in Denmark and Sweden have such a problem with immigrants and might not even agree with some of the statements made by those political parties, because the researcher has another worldview, that has been created and molded by their background, upbringing and values. This is why it is crucial to be able to put yourself in the other's place, to understand their background, situation, and values to understand their actions and opinions. But how does one do that? Theory in a 'traditional' sense is either deductive or inductive, but in philosophical hermeneutics, theory is a way of opening new horizons (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). Theory in this context, should instead be used as a tool to question the empirical data. You are, by doing this, letting the horizons meet and challenge each other, which will lead to a new understanding (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). This paper has used the theories; framing, nationalism, and nativism, to better understand both the context and the situation from the perspective of the political parties in question. Fredslund emphasizes that theory, like everything else, has its own horizon and limits. No theory can explain everything, so it is important to understand that when one chooses a theory, one chooses what direction the paper goes into. We therefore have to ask ourselves, as researchers, what this theory helps us understand and what it does not, which is why one has to include other theories, to understand other aspects, the previous theories could not (*Fredslund in Nygaard 2012*). As mentioned, all theories have strengths and limits, and by combining the above-mentioned theories, this paper can look at the language with framing and how that language can be understood in the context of theories such as nativism and nationalism. If the paper only looked at framing, it would only uncover how The Danish People's Party and Swedish Democrats have used language to frame a certain topic, but when combined with Nativism and Nationalism one may find one of many explanations as to why they have framed immigrants as a threat.

The fourth, and therefore the last, methodical principle, is about the questions we ask ourselves and the questions we use in the research. The questions we set to investigate in a research process will have an effect on the end result, which is why Fredslund argues it is important to be aware of the kind of questions we ask throughout the process as it will determine which direction the research goes into (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). For every question one asks, there is a correlated answer, and that

relation between the two is the foundation of hermeneutic interpretation according to Fredslund. She suggests that when you read a text or any kind of literature, see it as an answer to a question. What she means by this, is when you read a text, understand what that specific text or literature is an answer to in your specific research (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). Furthermore, the researcher must constantly dialog with the text, and ask yourself and the litterateur, the empirical data, your theories, and methods throughout the process what they are answers to. Not only that, but also what are their limits, how to best apply it, and how well it can used in correlation with the empirical data. This process is not only to be aware of how you ask the questions, but what and how those questions will shape and mold your research into what it is. We must keep challenging it and ourselves so that we and the product we produce can be as nuanced as possible (*Fredslund in Nygaard, 2012*). This process came to expression in the thesis through the whole process. Through the data-selection process, I read many speeches and saw lots of video campaigns before I ended up selecting the final two speeches and two campaigns. I went through the selection process by asking myself what that data could help me understand about the topic. The decision was based on when the speeches and campaign were held or published, and the topics and opinions conveyed. Although both speeches and campaigns had similar themes and message, it was expressed differently. While I went into the thesis writing process with a preconception about Sweden Democrats being more similar to the Danish People's Party in their way of expressing their opinion about non-Western immigrants I was surprised when I read the speech and saw the video campaign used in this paper. I chose them to be able to understand the differences, and why they may be.

Theory

Framing

In the following section, the paper will be looking at framing and how it will be used. When one is talking about framing, it is hard not to mention and look at the work of George Lakoff. Lakoff made a name for himself through his work with framing, specifically "Don't Think of an Elephant", published in 2004. The idea behind the book is, how we have a preconception idea of 'a frame' of what words mean and how they look, which is why Lakoff, as described in his book, starts his lessons

at the University of Berkely with “Don’t think of an elephant! Whatever you do, do not think of an elephant” (*Lakoff, 2004*). What he means with this, is that we have words or pictures of what an elephant looks like, and those will pop up in your head, such as “big, grey, India or Thailand” which are all frames for an elephant. This example can be implicated in most situations, whether you are talking about yourself, someone else, or any given situation. Whenever we talk about something, we reinforce a frame, and the more we talk about it in that given context and way we strengthen the frame (*Lakoff, 2004*). Lakoff argues that with framing the intention is to create the best possible frame for yourself to fit into the worldview you try to present, it is not only the language one uses, but also the ideas the language represents: “That is what framing is about. Framing is about getting language that fits your worldview. It is not just language. The ideas are primary – and the language carries those ideas, evokes those ideas” (*Lakoff, 2004*). Moreover, Lakoff argues that humans aren’t necessarily the rational beings we hope or think we are. It is not enough to present people with hard cold facts, if it does not fit into the mold of frames they believe in, it will “bounce off” (*Lakoff, 2004*) as Lakoff puts it. It happens because the concepts we believe to be true are ingrained in our brains, and those concepts cannot merely change just because someone tells us something that some may believe as facts. In order for people to ‘change our minds’ the facts we are being presented with should align with the frames and concepts we already believe in. Moreover, Lakoff argues that if it does occur that we are presented with facts that do not align with our beliefs, it will most likely evoke a feeling in us that makes us question them and their beliefs and even ridicule them (*Lakoff, 2004*). This is arguably why the politician in power keep winning election after election, they know how to feed into the frames that have been established over time, and they use it to their advantage (*Lakoff, 2004*).

Lakoff uses the family metaphor to explain morality in politics and society. Lakoff studied family values to understand the structure of politics and why family values were either used metaphorically or literally. In the American context, there are “Founding *Fathers*” or “The *Daughters* of the American Revolution”, or when soldiers go into war, they refer to it as “Sending our *sons* to war” (*Lakoff, 2004*). Furthermore, Lakoff argues that we understand large social groups, such as nations, states, or communities as a family (*Lakoff 2004*). There are two different kinds of families Lakoff argues: a strict father family and a nurturant parent family (*Lakoff, 2004*).

The strict father figure or model has the following assumptions according to Lakoff: that the world is a dangerous, competitive, and evil world. There is no questioning whether or not something is wrong or right, there has to always be a winner and loser – there is no in-between. The

strict father figure believes that children are innately bad, and it is the parents', and more specifically the fathers, responsibility to teach them right from wrong, as Lakoff puts it, "they [the children] have to be made good" (*Lakoff, 2004*). Based on this worldview, the strict father should be someone who can protect his family from the dangerous world and evil world, support them and lastly be an example of what is right and wrong and teach them to live by that mantra (*Lakoff, 2004*). With a father figure like the one described above, it is expected that the child is obedient, and if not, it is believed that the only way to teach them [the kids] "is thought punishment, painful punishment, when they do wrong" (*Lakoff, 2004*). If we look at it from a political perspective, the strict father figure is the state or government, and the children are the population living within the borders of the country. The population should be obedient and be guided through society by the father and if not, they should be punished. Either the children evolve into mature beings who are disciplined and can flourish in the world with all the learnings from the father figure, or they have failed at all aspects, which means they are on their own (*Lakoff, 2004*). This translates into social programs too, you have to earn everything – nothing will be handed to you, as it will make you dependent on the parent [government], "It is immoral to give people things they have not earned because then they will not develop discipline and will become both dependent and immoral" (*Lakoff, 2004*).

On the opposite specter, there is the nurturant parent. What is different with this worldview is that it is gender neutral contrary to the strict father, where it is believed that the father is the moral compass and head of the family. In the nurturant parent model, both parents are equal both in raising their children and in authority. In this worldview, children are innately good and can become even better with time, love, and nurture. With this worldview, the innately good children who are nurtured into the best versions of themselves are how the world, which is a good place as it is, becomes a better place (*Lakoff, 2004*). Nurturance, according to Lakoff means three things: "Empathy, responsibility for yourself and others, and a commitment to do your best not just for yourself, but for your family, your community, your country, and the world" (*Lakoff, 2004*). The values that follow this family model, is freedom, opportunity and prosperity, fairness, community-building, trust and honesty, which are arguably aligned with the values of the progressive political parties (*Lakoff, 2004*). That being said, it does not mean that every progressive party shares all the same values and are identical, but it is important to note that they are a variation of the original idea, which also goes to for the strict father figure model, which is often referred to in relation to conservative parties.

Lakoff also touches upon marriage, terror, and how the last decade of framing has evolved. For the sake of the relevancy of this paper, I solely use the chapter on “Metaphors of Terror”, which was written shortly after the terror attack in New York, USA, and was edited in July 2014. Lakoff argues that after 9/11 our brains, our worldview, and our concept of not only New York City, but a whole religion and its people changed overnight. This event was the first of its kind and a perfect example of how framing works. The Bush Administration tried to frame it in a couple of different ways, and the first few did not stick, as it didn’t make sense with the event, which led Bush and the administration to find a way of addressing it that would be helpful for justifying the events that followed. They ended up using the phrase “Axis of Evil”, which was created and written by Bush’s Speechwriter David Frum (*Lakoff, 2004*). Bush used this phrase in his 2002 State of the Union Speech where he referred to Iran, Iraq, and North Korea, and since then used it in multiple occasions about the Iraq war (*Lakoff, 2004*). This exact phrase stuck and worked because it had a historical reference, World War II(WWII), and at the time it was still quite fresh in people’s minds. What Bush was referencing with the Axis, was the Axis of power in WWII, which constituted, Germany, Italy, and Japan, which was who needed to be defeated at the time (*Lakoff, 2004*). By using that reference and talking about Iraq in the same context as Iran and North Korea he is hinting that Iraq is as dangerous, as the two other countries. This was enough justification to invade and carry on a war that lasted years and killed Americans and locals (*Lakoff, 2004*). By using ‘evil’ in the phrase, it indicates that there is a ‘good’ who in this case is America, that needs to fight the bad and evil. It is a pretty easy and tangible concept and even self-explanatory because, of course, one should try to fight evil and get rid of it for good. By Framing the terrorists and their actions as ‘evil’, and America and Americans as ‘good’, it morally implies that Americans should, whatever its cost, fight the evil, as it would otherwise be their fault if the evildoers, keep harming other people and countries (*Lakoff, 2004*). This framing of the ‘Good’ Western world vs the ‘Evil’ Muslim/eastern world has stuck by and is still being used in 2023. This goes back to Lakoff’s argument, that framing does not necessarily need to be factual, but rather something that should fit into the worldview, or frames that have been reinforced into society over a longer period of time.

Nationalism

Nationalism is an ideology that is essential to how people understand their identity and has been defined to be one of the dominant political ideologies in most societies. The argument for this statement is that no matter how different views political parties have, one thing they have in common is they agree that they are all from the same nation and that they are trying to represent the people of that nation (Schertzer, Woods, 2022). What exactly is nationalism then? Schertzer and Woods use Anthony Smith's definition of nationalism in their pursuit of understanding Ethnic Nationalism as “*an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’*” (Smith 2010, 9 in Schertzer, Woods, 2022). Schertzer and Woods have chosen to use this definition as they believe it is distinct for the following reasons: It is firstly more concrete as it gives specific goals one should aim to achieve “an action-oriented ideology” as they call it and the goals in question are “*autonomy, unity, and identity*”. Secondly, this definition emphasizes the importance of autonomy for the nation, rather than settling for relative autonomy (Schertzer, Woods, 2022). Lastly, Schertzer and Woods argue that this definition helps us see that once the goals have been reached, it is important to make an effort to make sure that the goals are maintained in the face of potential threats (Schertzer, Woods, 2022). This definition furthermore differs as it not only focuses on the political sphere but also the cultural sphere “*By including the goals of “unity” and “identity”, Smith suggests that nationalism is not only a political project; it is also cultural project.*” (Schertzer, Woods, 2022). This gives the opportunity to not only look at political actors, but also cultural actors and how both the political and cultural spheres and actors are intertwined “*Political nationalists cannot help but become involved in cultural nationalism – when they represent the nation in their demands for autonomy, they are implicitly contributing to the cultivation of its identity. Similarly, when poets and writers extol the virtues of some of the nation’s identity, they are also implicitly supplying a rationale for defending its autonomy*” (Hutchinson 1987; Woods 2015 in Schertzer, Woods, 2022).

There are many different types of nationalism, and the paper will define and explain some of which are relevant to this particular research in the following section. Christopher R. Fardan and Cathrine Thorleifsson argue that nationalism has historically been divided between ‘civic’ and ‘ethnic’ (Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023). Civic nationalism is arguably the more inclusive type of nationalism. In Civic nationalism it is believed that whoever want to belong to a nation is welcome, as it does not discriminate based on people’s cultural background, which is why “*Civic nationalism has tended to*

be seen as an inclusive ideology and, generally, as a positive force in politics.” (Schertzer, Woods, 2022). Moreover, the values that Civic Nationalism identifies with are freedom, tolerance, and equality according to Fardan and Thorleifsson (*Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023*). Although Civic Nationalism is inclusive and welcoming, it also states that the requirement to be accepted by the community is that one should adapt and assimilate to the dominant culture and if necessary one can practice one’s own culture in private (*Smith 2003; Schertzer, Woods, 2022*). Schertzer and Woods argue that *“Civic nationalism does not seek to create a cosmopolitan ethic; it is a nationalist ideology that prioritizes the national “us” over the foreign “them”.” (Schertzer, Woods, 2022).* This means that it is more important to have a united ‘us’ with a common identity and culture to stand strong against the foreign ‘them’.

Ethnic nationalism has in some contexts been linked with radical nationalism based on their exclusivist view. Fardan and Thorleifsson argue that radical nationalism aligned with three ideological camps: racial nationalism, ethnic nationalism, and cultural nationalism (*Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023*). The paper will therefore not only define what ethnic nationalism is, it will also touch upon racial and cultural nationalism. Fardan and Thorleifsson argue that there is not an obvious division between the different types of radical nationalism, and it can therefore be hard to differentiate, as they may share core values and ideas. The descriptions of the different types should according to Fardan and Thorleifsson *“... be seen as ideal types” (Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023).* In practice it may not be as black and white *“...different parties and activist movements migrate between the different alignments, some individuals may have one foot in each camp, or there can be connections and collaboration across the camps.” (Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023).*

Racial nationalism puts emphasis on the importance of race and believes that the white race is the superior race, and they tend to call themselves “white nationalists”. As they, racial nationalists, believe they are the superior race, they often see every one of color as an enemy to them and their survival and they are ultimately inferior in every aspect (*Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023*). This group of politicians and activists are according to Fardan and Thorleifsson often condemned and come in small numbers, as they are viewed as anti-democratic, violent, and militant (*Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023*).

Ethnic nationalism on the contrary to civic nationalism *“... defines the nation primarily in terms of a perceived common ethnic heritage and culture that developed organically over many generations*

(“since time immemorial”) in its territorial homeland” (Schertzer, Woods, 2022). Based on this ethnic nationalism is often seen as the exclusionary ideology, as it emphasizes the importance of a common ethno-cultural inheritance to be able to belong to a nation and the people within. This can be a powerful tool to use when trying to create a common identity and solidarity, but it excludes everyone who shares that ethnic heritage and culture. The ethnic nationalist does not deny that people from another nation or a foreigner may understand the community’s culture, they just believe that if you are not born into a family that has roots within that community, you will never truly belong and be part of the national community *(Schertzer, Woods, 2022).*

Fardan and Thorleifsson argue that ethnic nationalism is a combination of racial and cultural nationalism *“Ethnic nationalists often claim that race and ethnicity are indispensable elements of identity, placing them close to racial nationalists” (Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023).* Although they have some similarities, they also have their differences, as ethnic nationalism does not necessarily believe in one superior race or ethnic ‘purity’. They believe that all ethnicities are equal, but they should be separated and ideally stay within their own country’s borders *(Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023).* Ethnic nationalism does not believe multiculturalism and ‘assimilation’ are something that can be done successfully, and it can therefore be harmful to society, they instead believe in ‘ethnopluralism’ *(Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023).*

Moreover, Fardan and Thorleifsson argue that ethnic nationalism has historically been used to justify *“...ethnic cleansing, genocide and holocaust of Jews, Roma and LGBT people as in the cases of Nazi Germany and Mussolini’s Italy” (Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023).* Ethnic Nationalism has also been linked to populism as leaders have claimed to be *“... the true authentic voice of the nation fighting against foreign influences and their elite allies.” (Schertzer, Woods, 2022).*

Cultural nationalism puts emphasis on culture rather than ethnicity or race. This makes this type of nationalism more acceptable towards other nationalities and ethnic groups and may even believe that assimilation and integration are possible and can be successful *(Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023).* Although they believe in integration and assimilation, not all cultures and religions they believe in are ‘compatible’ with Western culture and values. Cultural nationalists believe that Islam and Muslims from the Middle East and parts of Africa directly threaten western culture, democracy, liberal values, women, and LGBTQ rights *(Fardan, Thorleifsson, 2023).*

Nativism

Nativism came about in the early 1800s in the United States of America, it was Louis Dow Scisco who first used the term to describe the agenda of a party called Know Nothing Party, which was known for being anti-foreigner and anti-Catholic (*Guia, 2016*). Nativism has since then mainly been used in the American context, and it didn't gain popularity in mainstream media until the 1990s when conservative politicians put immigration problems on the agenda and argued it should be restricted. It has since then been used on various different occasions, such as in 2010 when Arizona passed an anti-immigrant bill which Aitana Guia describes as being draconian, and again in 2016 with Donald Trump's election his anti-Mexican and anti-Muslim discourse (*Guia, 2016*).

But what is nativism, and does it only exist in the United States of America? There are different opinions and definitions of the concept, and it can be confused with other theories. Nativism is often characterized by its 'us' vs 'them' narrative, where the 'them' are the outsiders, often immigrants from non-Western countries, that threaten the 'natives' and their culture, religion, and safety (*Daigle; Neulen; Hofeman, 2017*). According to Cas Mudde nativism has aspects of both nationalism and xenophobia within it. He further argues that nativism is "an ideology that holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group ('the nation') and those non-native (or 'alien') elements, whether persons or ideas are fundamentally threatening to the homogeneous nation-state" (*Mudde, 2017*). Nativism is not exclusive to the United States of America, it exists as much in Europe. In the European context, and more specifically in a populist radical right context, the focus is mainly on the 'them' which in this case are immigrants and refugees in the western part of Europe and 'indigenous' minorities, in East Europe (*Mudde, 2017*). On the other hand, Guia argues that Nativism does not work as a "nation-building ideology" such as nationalism did once but rather that "nativism emerges as a mechanism to modify already existing constructions of nationhood along 'native' and 'non-native' lines" (*Guia, 2016*). Furthermore, Guia argues that nativism, although it can be used in correlation with a lot of far-right concepts, is not exclusive to that phenomenon, which compels her to argue that "Europe is not so much witnessing the mainstreaming of radical right policy agendas and discourses or the shifting of the political spectrum to the right, as it is entering into a nativist period in which constructions of belonging and policies regarding immigration and cultural diversity are being shaped by a new cleavage between 'natives' and 'non-natives' (*Guia, 2016*). Going back to the mix-up and confusion between Nativism and other concepts and theories, Guia argues that although nativism has some overlaps with nationalism, populism, and even racism and xenophobia,

it is its own concept. Her first argument in this regard is that nativism is not the same as nationalism, but rather a construction of it and builds on a nationalist epistemology. Secondly, nativism has some overlap with populism, but she argues “this is a contingent rather than fundamental intersection. Not all nativism is populist and not all populism is nativist” (*Guia, 2016*). Thirdly, nativism can be racist and xenophobic, but these concepts are not exclusive to nativism, as it can occur in situations that has nothing to do with nativism (*Guia, 2016*).

Background knowledge:

The Danish People’s Party

The Danish People’s Party is a Danish political party founded in 1995 by four politicians, Pia Kjærsgaard, Poul Nødgaard, Ole Donner, and Kristian Thulesen Dahl (*Kosiara-Pedersen, 2023*). The Danish People’s Party gained popularity quickly and within a few years, they gained both mandates in the government and in local municipalities. By 2015 they were the third largest party in the parliament with 413.491 votes, 12% of all the votes cast that year (*Jensen, 2015*).

The Danish People’s Party has from the start presented itself as a nationalistic party, that advocated to protect the core values of the welfare state. They used the Danish flag as a symbol, both in their logo and election material and in public (*Brunbech, 2017*). The Danish People’s Party is mainly known for its stricter immigration policy, its EU skepticism, and protecting our elders and the ‘weak’ and the Danish culture and values (*Brunbech, 2017*).

The Danish People’s Party was founded by and led by Pia Kjærsgaard from 1995 until 2012 when Kristian Thulesen Dahl took over and remained party leader until 2022 (*Brunbech, 2017*). Pia Kjærsgaard is arguably one of the reasons behind The Danish People’s Party’s success. And has been described as a strong voice in Danish politics by her own party, The Danish People’s Party (*Dansk Folkeparti: Pia Kjærsgaard, n.d.*). She is mainly known for her long career in Danish politics and has become somewhat of an icon for the populist right wing in Denmark (*Rasmussen, 2023*). Rasmussen argues that Kjærsgaard did not necessarily become successful because she had a strong political ideology, but rather because she knew how to talk to people and had a way of getting her

message across (*Rasmussen, 2023*). Even though Kjærsgaard stepped down as the party leader in 2012, she is very much involved in the party and has since become the spokesperson. Another of Kjærsgaard's core values is protecting and strengthening families in Denmark (*Dansk Folkeparti, Pia Kjærsgaard, n.d.*). Lastly, and maybe most importantly, Kjærsgaard has been known for being a strong proponent of stricter immigration policies *Pia Kjærsgaard has also been a strong advocate for immigration policy and has worked to preserve Denmark's sovereignty and integrity. She has always stood up for Denmark's interests and has been willing to make the tough decisions to protect the country and its people*” (*Dansk Folkeparti, Pia Kjærsgaard, n.d.*).

Sweden Democrats

Sweden Democrats was founded in 1988 and has in recent times gained popularity and become one of the three largest parties in Sweden (*Martinsson, p. 10, 2019*). There are different opinions on how to label the party, and most of them agree that they belong on the right end of the political spectrum, however, there has been disagreement on whether they are just ‘far-right’, ‘extreme right’, or ‘radical right’. However, Johan Martinsson, an associate professor for the Department of Political Science at the University of Gothenburg in Sweden, argues that Sweden Democrats does not necessarily belong on the right end of the spectrum, as some of their core values, such as showing support to the Swedish welfare state based on public funding, does not align with the core values of right winged parties (*Martinsson, p. 11, 2019*). What Sweden Democrats are mainly known for and one of their core values are their strict immigration and refugee policy and their nationalistic tendencies where they additionally advocate for social cohesion and are against multiculturalism (*Martinsson, p. 11, 2019*). This is why Martinsson argues that one should label Sweden Democrats as an ‘anti-immigration and nationalist party’ (*Martinsson, p. 11, 2019*).

Martinsson argues that in terms of ideology, the Sweden Democrats identify themselves as nationalist and have since the beginning of 2011 changed that in their party program and expressed that they are advocates for “social conservatism on a nationalist foundation” (*Svergedemokraterna, 2011. P. 11 in Martinsson, p 13, 2019*). This shift, according to Martinsson is a sign that Sweden Democrats have evolved from being a nationalist to cultural nationalism. This argument is based on the fact that since 2011 ethnicity has not been a focal part of their party program, they have instead chosen to define the nation, Sweden, “in terms of common identity, language and culture” (*Martinsson, p.14, 2019*).

The evolution and rebranding of Sweden Democrats has arguably been one of the main reasons behind their success and their popularity in recent times. When the party was founded, it was associated with neo-Nazism as their first proper party leader, Anders Klarström, was previously part of a neo-Nazi party (*Martinsson, p. 12, 2019*). However, in 2005 the party elected their now party leader, Jimmie Åkesson. What Åkesson did for the party was to rebrand the party and changing the narrative “*pushing it [the party] away from openly racist ground and toward a populist message advocating for “ordinary people” against a corrupt elite at the height of a global recession*” (*Tomson, 2020*). To further save their image, Danielle Lee Tomson argues that in 2010 when Sweden Democrats entered the parliament, they continued the rebranding by introducing a ‘zero tolerance for racism’ policy, and as a result cleaned house (*Tomson, 2020*). This ‘zero tolerance for racism’ policy did not include the party members that were openly anti-Muslim or anti-Islam according to Tomson, as the party is known for its anti-Islam narrative, to the extent, that the party leader, Åkesson, claimed that Islam is Sweden’s enemy number one (*Tomson, 2020*). Sweden Democrats although their long-standing career in Swedish politics, did not gain the popularity they have now until the 2015 refugee crisis, when Sweden received 114000 asylum seekers (*Tomson, 2020*). Sweden Democrats used the situation to fuel their discourse about how immigrants will strain the welfare state and continue to threaten the Swedish culture and national identity (*Tomson, 2020*).

Analysis

Frame analysis – Kristian Thulesen Dahl

In the following section, I will be analyzing the speech held by Kristian Thulesen Dahl at the yearly Danish People’s Party the 17th of September 2016. I will mainly focus on the parts of the speech that address their view directly or indirectly on immigration and immigration policies. I will be using framing as the main method for this analysis, and I will also be using the other selected theories to support some of the argument and to help further explain it. Unless otherwise stated, all the quotes will be from the speech and have been translated with ChatGPT. As mentioned in my method section,

I will examine the issue-defining frames such as theme, agents, and solution. The paper will thereafter look at surface message/frame, and deep frames.

Firstly, the paper will look at the issue defining frame, and the first step that is to determine the theme of the speech. There is arguably more than just one theme in such a long speech, but the common theme among them is that non-Western immigrants are the root of most problems in Denmark. If one finds the solution to this problem, most other problems will solve themselves *“Discussions about better hospitals, elderly care, schools, education, more police officers, and an efficient defense can be had just for the sake of debate. However, there won't be room for all these desires in the future unless we address the challenge of immigration in Denmark.”*. In the next part, agents, the paper will differentiate between ‘good’ agents and ‘bad’ agents based on the way Dahl describes them and their role in the immigration problem. The ‘good’ agents are the Danish population, the Danish Peoples Party, and Social Democrats after 2016. The bad agents are immigrants, Lars Løkke, V/K government, Helle Thorning Schmidt, Social Democrats before 2016, Angela Merkel, and Claus Hjort Frederiksen. The ‘good’ agents are the ones supporting Kristian Thulesen Dahl and the Danish People’s Party and their views. Social Democrats after 2016 started to share some of the same views as them, and they have therefore with time become ‘good’ agents *“But despite the differences between us and the Social Democrats – differences that do exist and are real – I see the Social Democrats, as they are today, in 2016, as a possible partner for major agreements with Venstre and us!”*. The ‘bad’ agents are the ones that do not share the same views as the Danish People’s Party and Dahl, the ones that are responsible for the open borders and a lenient immigration policy that have resulted in the problems Denmark is now facing *“In the last 3-4 decades, the Social Democrats have had a primary responsibility for an immigration policy that has created significant challenges for our country”*. The solution Dahl offers in his speech is more to limit the amount of immigrants that come through the borders, and to send more people back to their own country *“It should be solved solely by allowing fewer people in and deporting many more.”*. The way to do this according to Kristian Thulesen Dahl is to have a closed and locked up border: *“And metaphorically speaking, that's what we want at the border: a lock on the door, an alarm, and a big dog! Because the message from here is simple: We don't want borderless Europe!”*.

The surface frame is where the paper will be looking at how Kristian Thulesen Dahl describes the situation, what words he uses, and what connotations and associations they might have.

When Kristian Thulesen Dahl talks about Danes, their rights, and what the vision is for them, he implies that they are not in control, and they aren't the ones in charge. Dahl wants the Danes to be in control, he wants them to be the ones that make the decision, and the ones that decide who comes into their homes, and who does not. *"Danes should have control in their own country, "We simply need to ensure that the Danes are masters in their own house.", "Because we want us Danes to decide in Denmark."* Although it seems like an 'obvious' observation and a good vision for the future, he also paints a scary picture of Denmark and the current situation. He is indirectly telling the Danish population that their country is not their own, they are not in control, they are not the ones making the decisions, and their home is being invaded by intruders, because they are not the master of your own home. Kristian Thulesen Dahl uses 'home' as a metaphor, as it creates an association most people can relate to. It simplifies the problem and is trying to think of Denmark as if it was their family home, and the front door is the border, and the immigrants are intruders trying to come into your home and take your belongings and essentially becoming the new owner of the home. In correlation with this Dahl speaks about the importance of protecting oneself, the Danish values, traditions, culture, and the system "There is so much we need to protect" and as he himself states, this statement both indicates there is evil or a threat out there, that Denmark needs to protect itself from, but also that Denmark has something valuable that needs to be protected too. This statement legitimizes the need for stricter and permanent border control *"Complete with police, customs officers, cameras, scanners, and permanent buildings, weighbridges, etc."*. To further legitimize his claim that Denmark needs border control he states, *"Over a million asylum seekers and migrants have squeezed into the wide-open EU - just in the past year."* Using words such as 'squeezed into' and 'wide-open' paints a picture that they people getting in, are imposing and not welcomed, because people that were welcomed would not be imposing or "squeeze" their way in. Using a word like "wide-open", indicates that no one is protecting the borders, it's wide open and anyone and everyone can just waltz through, with no one checking who's passing through. This is why over a million immigrants and asylum seekers have gotten through and into the EU countries. Kristian Thulesen Dahl does not shy away from being direct and open about who he believes is causing Denmark the most problems: *"And it's precisely the number of non-Western foreigners in Denmark, in combination with their overall negative impact on the Danish economy, culture, and traditions, that is exactly why we in the Danish People's Party keep pushing for a stricter immigration policy!"*. This creates a perfectly clear picture of the people who are the problem, the 'negative impact', that the Danish People's Party is trying to keep out of the country and away from the borders. Moreover, a stricter immigration policy can mean

a Denmark with fewer non-western immigrants and with that a more balanced society, where there will be more money and energy to spend on the problems that have been pushed aside for years due to the immigration problem *“If we regain control of Denmark, we save many conflicts and a lot of money. We can use those resources to ensure the right social balance in our country.”* This paints a picture that non-Western immigrants are draining Denmark’s resources, money, and energy. It is the non-western immigrant’s fault that there is not a social balance right and that there aren’t any resources to allocate to the areas where Danes feel neglected and forgotten.

Kristian Thulesen Dahl also uses the term “migrants” on multiple occasions through his speech and even though this is arguably a neutral word, with no negative connotation, it can, in a political context be used negatively. Migrants are people who have left their homes for a better life and the reason it can be problematic is that it *“is used as a counter-category instead of an overarching category”* (Johansen, 2015). Furthermore, by putting everyone under the term “migrants” it paints a picture that those coming to Denmark are not in dire need of help and it is therefore okay to reject them by the border *“Therefore, using the term “migrant” can risk implying that it’s not about refugees but about economic migrants or others who can be legally rejected at the border. This could result in some refugees being deprived of their rights”* (Johansen, 2015). Moreover, it also undermines the situations the refugees and some immigrants are in, and it takes away from their situation when he puts them all under the same ‘term’ and not differentiating between the different groups. This also takes away the sympathy some may feel for them if they are simply here to endanger the country and society and aren’t here because their life is in danger. He furthermore uses the word “Asylum shopping”, which further emphasizes the idea that these ‘migrants’ coming to Denmark are here to take advantage of the system. When immigrants cross at least “5-6 safe countries” as Dahl puts it, it must mean that they are not as helpless and as much in need as they want you to believe. What Dahl is implying here is, that if you are truly in need of help and asylum, you would settle and stay in the first secure country you reach on your journey and make your way up to northern Europe. This reinforces the idea that it is okay to turn away people at the border and not give them asylum, especially if they are resourceful and not in need of help *“...the very resourceful migrants who have been able to move all the way here”*.

Dahl also sends a very loud and clear message to the non-Western immigrants living in Denmark. It is not your country, and you are here on borrowed time *“We need an active repatriation policy.”* And

that the resourceful migrants who have made their way to Denmark should make sure that *“They come home and help rebuild their country.”* Staying in Denmark should only be a temporary fix to the problem, and they should not expect to stay long-term. When using phrases that indicate that they should go home to ‘rebuild *their* country’ implies that Denmark is not their home, and they should go back to their own home country and help rebuild it with the resources they have otherwise use to come to Denmark. Dahl does not say how this would work in practice, only that *“If conditions in their home countries have changed, then they should, of course, return home.”* The conditions in some cases have not changed in decades and will most likely not change anytime soon either, and this means that there are families, and refugees, in Denmark that have lived here for generations, and

Now that we have established what frames Dahl has used to describe immigration and Denmark's current situation, the paper will look one step further and see what moral and ethical values these frames are deep-seated in. Oftentimes, it is an unconscious and cognitive structure that shapes our understanding of a concept and specific issues. Dahl for example uses the metaphor ‘Denmark is your private home, and you need to protect it by locking the door, and guard it with an alarm and a dog’ for a reason. This takes very complex and abstract concepts and simplifies them. Metaphors can help us shape how we think of specific things, an example of this is ‘time is money’, it’s a phrase most people have heard, and it indicates that our time is valuable, and we need to use it sparingly and helps shape how we think about time. That is why, when Dahl uses this metaphor, he tries to explain a complex political issue in a simple and understandable language, that at the same time provokes some uncomfortable emotions. Dahl wants the Danish population to think of Denmark as If it were their private homes where they reside with their families, have their valuables, and their safe space. If someone tried to break and enter your private home, you would do absolutely everything to protect your family and throw out the person who was breaking in. The other side of this metaphor is, how immigrants, especially those from non-western countries, are being perceived. They are unwelcomed guests who have overstayed their welcome, and they are eating all of your food, creating a mess for you to clean up, they have quite simply taken over your home and are now making all of the decisions, you are no longer the master of your own home, they are. This metaphor also opens the door to other issues, such as the cultural aspect, the democratic aspect, and the financial. As Dahl mentioned in his speech *“... with their [non-western immigrants] overall negative impact on the Danish economy, culture, and traditions...”*. What Dahl wants to evoke in the Danish population is the strain non-Western immigrants are on the Danish society. It’s people’s fundamental democratic values, culture,

and traditions that are in danger. Dahl wants Danes to understand the seriousness of the problem and make them realize that non-western immigrants are the root of all problems, they are the reason there isn't money for elderly care, and why there aren't funds to allocate to schools and hospitals. This puts a face to all of the problems within the Danish society and gives the people who are feeling neglected by the system someone to blame. Furthermore, Dahl also puts the cultural value into question. The negative impact is not only on the financial aspect of it but also on how they are infiltrating the culture and changing it to their own benefit.

Frame analysis – Jimmie Åkesson

In the following section, the paper will look at the speech held by Jimmie Åkesson at Almedal in 2016. As in the previous analysis, I will mainly focus on the parts of the speech that directly or indirectly address foreigners or immigrants. All the quotes will be from the speech and from the translated subtitles unless otherwise stated. In this analysis the paper will, as mentioned in the method, be looking at the issue defining frames such as theme, agents, and solution, and the surface frame and lastly the deep frames.

The first thing to be determined is the theme within the issue-defining frame. One could argue that the central theme in the speech is the imperative need to take action as the Sweden that exists now is one of division, self-denial, anxiety, self-loathing, and segregation, *“A time where fragmentation, segregation, polarization are parts of our living, and vital parts of our society and welfare are under a threat.”* Throughout his speech, Åkesson identifies various actors who play roles in this narrative, and it will as previously be categorized as either ‘bad’ agents or ‘good’ agents based on Åkesson's opinion of them. Among the ‘bad’ agents he includes are foreigners, the EU, Dan Eliasson, the national police chief, Anders Danielsson, the Chief of the authority of migration, the political elite, Jan Björklund, Stefan Löfven, the prime minister, and ‘federalists in Brussels’. In contrast, Åkesson paints his own party, Sweden Democrats, as the ‘good’ agents, a beacon fighting for safety, unity, and trust. Åkesson outlines and offers several solutions. He underscores Sweden Democrats’ pivotal role as the solution to these issues, emphasizing their visionary approach that breaks from the old patterns of empty promises, whitewashing, and false optimism. Key to their vision is strengthening Sweden's sense of self and setting an example for newcomers to showcase the workings of a well-functioning society. He further emphasizes that foreigners should take responsibility and seek to integrate into Swedish society, guided by its values: *“...our vision for Sweden is based on citizenship,*

a sense of duty, unity, affinity, trust, homeliness, safety, belief in the future, and respect for those who built this country."

In the following section, the paper will look at the surface frame, where the paper will be looking at the language and what connotations and associations Åkesson is trying to make with his choice of words and phrases. When addressing the current society and the issues Sweden are facing Åkesson is very critical and uses words and phrases with negative connotation "*A society where women, girls, young children, can't stay in public environments, without taking the risk of being sexually abused.*" and "*our society fails, and the failing gets complete by the unwillingness and the inability to admit what this phenomenon is about.*" He describes a society that fails and is very much in denial of the issues prevailing, such as the safety issue he addresses in the first quote. He describes a society where woman and children cannot leave their homes without fear of getting sexually assaulted. It paints a very negative and frightening picture of Sweden, where no one is safe, and there is presumably a government or society that ignores the root of the problem, the phenomenon. He furthermore criticizes the government and the political elite for suddenly acknowledging the long-standing issues they had previously disregarded "*It's lovely to hear that you now talk about the things which has been completely obvious to a large amount of people for many years but came to your realization just recently.*" Åkesson is using sarcasm to emphasize his point, that the government has *just realized* something that had been 'obvious to a large amount of people'. He implies that the government is either incompetent at its job or has simply turned a blind eye to it, until recently. Neither of those things are great attributes to have as a party or politician. As a politician or party, it is expected to know what is happening and work on solving the problems and issues at hand. This gets reinforced throughout the speech, as he uses phrases such as "*welcome to reality*" and "*it keeps surprising me of this sudden insight of those who has or just had the governmental power, it's quite impressive actually*".

Åkesson tendency to be highly skeptical and critical of the existing government and the other parties continues through most of the speech. He states that Sweden is in a time where '*fragmentation, segregation, polarization are parts of our living*', this is partly caused by the political decisions made over the last decade and is both '*terrible and unforgivable.*' Åkesson believes the governments and parties that have ruled during the past decade have had a pivotal role in the destruction of Swedish society and should therefore be held accountable for their part in this crisis he believes Sweden is in.

When addressing immigration and its issues, Åkesson believes there should be transparency about the negative effects of the large amount of immigration Sweden has received. This was triggered by the fact that Anders Danielsson, head of the Migration Agency, had asked at a seminar in Visby, a seminar with societies 'outermost elites', "How many of you have gotten a worse living situation, raise your hand..." in regard to the large immigration Sweden received in 2015. Åkesson does not believe it was the right audience to ask and he is implying that it is naive to think that the 'large immigration' hasn't had a negative impact on Swedish society "My point is that if you are going to pretend that the large immigration, we've had in recent years does NOT affect the society and its population negatively, and also in that context use the society's outermost elites as a reference." Åkesson believes the question should have been asked in an audience where everyday people are present, the ones that are actually affected by it "It's so humiliating, so disrespectful towards all of the people who actually suffer from reduction of welfare and security as a result of an irresponsible immigration policy." He states some of the negative impacts immigration has had on Swedish society, such as the reduction of welfare and security. Although the immigrants have had a negative impact, Åkesson furthermore implies that it is a result of the irresponsible immigration policy that this is at all happening. He, therefore, puts some of the responsibility and somewhat blames on the politicians who have been responsible for the 'irresponsible immigration policy'. It is therefore a bigger political problem, as well as a societal problem. Åkesson also dives deeper into what aspects of immigration can cause problems and one of the areas he touches upon is the cultural differences and how that can affect people's values, attitudes, and behaviors "Culture has a meaning, culture matters, norms, values, attitudes matter. It controls people's behavior." Although he explicitly says that the cultural differences are bad or a negative side-effect of immigration, he implies that it is the root of the safety problem many women were experiencing at concerts and festivals. Another problem the Swedish society is facing due to immigration, "more examples of how our society betrays" as Åkesson puts it, is what he calls 'lost areas', it is a suburban area that has been labeled 'vulnerable- and particularly vulnerable regions' due to high crime rates. He uses phrases such as: "Problematic social and economic relations, difficulties for police and other authorities to perform their mission", "Parallel cultures and social structures, religious extremism," and "most of these areas have a large proportion of their population with foreign background," to describe these areas and the people that live there. He further states that 'the well-behaved citizens that do live there, feel abandoned, they are the ones that have to live in such environments, where their safety is compromised and their property is at risk of getting burned and ruined "Well, it's the well-behaved, law-abiding people, who have to

live in the center of this. They are forced to witness their cars be burned; their children's schools be burned. They are taking the risk of being exposed to crime at their way to their work." Åkesson creates, with this framing, an 'us vs them' narrative, they, the foreigners, are criminals who sexually abuse Swedish women, and the 'us' is the well-behaved citizens. He is framing it as 'the law-abiding' people of Sweden are the ones fearing for their lives and suffering from a situation that is caused by the 'foreigners' that are restricting the freedom of 'well-behaved' citizens with their foreign structure and values "*And get their freedom heavily restricted by foreign structures and values.*" Åkesson paints a very clear picture of how the 'law-abiding' Swedish citizens suffer because of things outside their control. People with different values, beliefs, and a different way of life have come and are causing this chaos and suffering. Moreover, it is not only the high crime rate, the cultural effects, and parallel cultures that are causing problems in 'lost areas', people cannot get the life-changing help they need from ambulances without having a police escort. "*And won't get life-changing help in time, because the ambulance can't get there in time without police escort.*"

Although Åkesson is critical of foreigners and immigrants, he still believes it is possible to integrate them and welcome them into Sweden, as long as they adhere to the Swedish way of life. "*They should feel, and deeply so, that they can be included by this same community, same citizenship as me and you.*" He believes that integrating and maybe even assimilating to Swedish society will in the long run solve most problems and prevent future conflicts as they have learned the 'right' way, the Swedish way, of dealing with certain situations "*A Swedish way of relating to conflict resolution, to the state, to gender relations, relations between adults and children. Relations between humans and animals, humans and nature, and so on and so forth.*" This can furthermore help preserve the Swedish culture, traditions, norms, and values without outside influences. He further explains that it is also the Swedish population's responsibility first to acknowledge and understand the value of Sweden and its culture. If they live by those norms and high standards, they can lead by example and teach the newcomers how to live and abide by the rules and norms "*And when the Swedish society denies the existence of all this, specifically uniquely Swedish. It means that we at the same time don't give newly arrived people something to relate to, become a part of and adapt to.*" This arguably distributes the responsibility between both the immigrants coming to the country and the Swedish population. It is as much the immigrant's responsibility to integrate, abide by the laws, and follow the cultural rules and norms as it is the Swede's responsibility to help them by living by the standards they are setting for the immigrants. Åkesson does not believe that your skin color, religion, or social status decides whether or not you can be part of society and contribute "*It's not true that your ability to contribute*

to the society depends on your skin color, where you are born, your gender, your sexual orientation, if you are wealthy or poor or where you etc.” It is a sense of responsibility and your desire to contribute to the society you live in, that matters. Åkesson believes that it is a common responsibility to rebuild the country. Everyone can be part of the society; they simply need to adapt and contribute to the society. Only then can they reap the benefits of the society and welfare system “What actually means something, is if you are ready to contribute or not, if you are ready to do your duty before you claim your right.” Åkesson moreover wants a united society with a common identity, a society worth passing on to the next generation, and a society that honors the generations before “...is based on citizenship, a sense of duty, unity, affinity, trust, homeliness, safety, belief in the future, respect for those who built this country.” This is the ideal version of Sweden Åkesson envisions, and he is not dismissive against a society where people from different backgrounds can live side by side, in harmony. The only requirement he has is that everyone live and abide by the same traditions, culture, norms, and values. This then eliminates the possibility of a diverse and multicultural society and country. He furthermore wants people to feel a sense of pride and patriotism/nationalism about Sweden “Our vision is based on the knowledge that our country, our nation is bigger than any individual ... And we have a responsibility to manage what we inherit, to preserve it, to refine it, to handle it over to the coming generations in good condition.”

The values Åkesson that are being expressed through his speech are among other things democratic values, the importance of a sovereign Sweden, and protecting the welfare system. He believes that if Sweden does not make drastic changes to get out of this ‘darkness’, the country as a whole will suffer and with that, the welfare system will suffer too. In a democratic society, everyone contributes, and Åkesson firmly believes that a good society is one where everyone contributes and sees it as their duty to do so. He also states the importance of taking back control of the European Union and being a sovereign state. Sweden should be able to make their own decisions and not let the outside influences tell them how to run their country “And let an even bigger part of our living be controlled by rulers and bureaucrats from other countries, rulers, which we can’t choose nor set aside”. If Sweden does not protect itself from outside influences such as the European Union, it will lose who they are, their national identity, and diversity and the consequences will be “less Sweden and less democracy.” Åkesson envisions a Sweden that are leader, a country that will take the lead and show the rest of the European countries that it is in fact possible to collaborate with the other European countries without conforming to the ways of European Union “Lets hope that more countries in Europe now dares to precede, defy the EU elite, claim their power again, demand to be

masters in their own house.” Åkesson furthermore poses an ethical dilemma Sweden are facing. Can it be true that people should be suffering because of the foreigners in Sweden? People are not getting the life-changing help they need from healthcare personnel; women are being raped, sexually assaulted, and people feel unsafe in their homes and society. It is a society; a Sweden, the Swedish population passes on to the next generation. It is unethical, and neglect, and the ‘normal’ ‘common’ people suffer because of political decisions made by people who do not see the problem for what it is. He wants people listening to this speech to understand the severity of the situation, how this affects them, their families, and the men and women who are tirelessly working overtime at hospitals and families that need to uproot their lives and move *‘in favor of newcomers’*.

Video campaign – Danish People’s Party

The following section will look at the video campaign made by the Danish People’s Party and published on their Facebook page 18th of June 2018 (*Dansk Folkeparti, Facebook, 2018*). All the quotes will be from this video unless otherwise stated. The analysis will be using, as mentioned in the method, the Multimodal model and will be looking at discourse, design, and production.

The video commences with a drone shot of picturesque Denmark: the west coast, windmills against a sunset backdrop, and suburban areas adorned with Danish flags in every garden. At 0:10 the words *"I love Denmark, I love the Denmark many before us created"* overlay this serene imagery. As Kristian Thulesen Dahl elaborates on the values the Danish People’s Party stands for and is fighting to preserve, the scene transitions to him walking through this idyllic landscape. At 0:22 a side shot of him, framed prominently against a blurred backdrop, emphasizes his significance.

From 0:26-0:39, Thulesen Dahl underscores the significance of safeguarding and nurturing Denmark we hold dear, its values, traditions, and culture. This segues back to 'idyllic' Denmark, featuring summer houses along the west coast, Nyhavn in Copenhagen, and the Dannebrog. This is the Denmark that Thulesen Dahl is determined to preserve and restore – his vision of a perfect Denmark, one he knows and loves. The imagery remains bright, sunny, and beautiful, complemented by upbeat, cheerful background music.

However, he warns of impending threats: *"But there are clouds in the sky. Something is threatening the Denmark we love."* As he utters these words, the clear blue sky darkens with clouds, accompanied

by a somber musical shift. This transition sets the stage for the looming threat he identifies as *"immigration, especially from Islamic countries."* The visuals maintain a gloomy, grey tone. They depict people walking along train tracks and masses of individuals praying in a mosque, with the accompanying words, *"values and cultures that do not necessarily fit into our society."* Other scenes portray individuals holding the Quran, women veiled in black burqas that cover all but their eyes, and families with children wearing prayer 'hats' while their mothers don burqas. They are shown walking through neighborhoods one could label as 'ghettos,' with a police officer in the far background wearing a bulletproof vest. The video campaign uses modes such as music, visual expressions, such as color, and video clips to enhance their opinion and to frame better the idea and concept. The words narrated by Thulesen Dahl accompanied by the visual expressions, the music to set the mood and the video clips tell a clear story. The people shown, the culture, and what they represent are the threat, it is looming, and it does not belong in the Denmark they love (0:41-1:07).

Thulesen Dahl contends that this is the Denmark the Danish People's Party opposes – a threat to the nation's traditions, values, culture, welfare system, and safety. It is not the Denmark they want. *"Therefore, we must continue to limit immigration. We need an asylum ban, and more migrants need to return to their home country as soon as possible."* (0:54) The imagery, music, colors, and message all align to portray a gloomy, dark, and negative representation of the threat posed by non-Western immigrants. The Danish People's Party leaves no room for ambiguity in its message and openly expresses its views on non-Western immigrants, painting a distinct picture of what it believes non-Western people look like.

The visuals shift once more, and brighter, sunnier weather emerges. *"At the last election, The Danish People's Party gained 37 mandates – that was amazing."* (1:11). This signifies positivity and the promise of better, brighter days with The Danish People's Party in power. The scene transitions to Thulesen Dahl in front of Christiansborg and closes in on him, exuding happiness and pride. *"We use our influence every single day to move Denmark in our direction and implement the necessary proposals to preserve the Denmark we cherish."* (1:19). The visuals reinforce this by showcasing Thulesen Dahl at the podium in Christiansborg, advocating for their cause.

The video includes statistics to prove that their policies have been effective. The statistics are shown in big font and in the middle of the screen. It furthermore uses different colors in the text to illustrate

the 'bad'. Everything is written in white, but the numbers illustrate the numbers of asylum seekers in 2015 and 2017. It illustrates that *"Since the parliamentary election three years ago, the number of asylum seekers has significantly declined."* (1:46). Shortly after 80 is illustrated in a big red font in the middle of the screen. This is the number the video wants you to focus on *"Since the parliamentary election, over 80 restrictions have been introduced in the immigration field."* (1:49). These numbers are important for the Danish People's Party, as it demonstrate the work and the improvements, they have made to solve the pending problem. The visual components that accompanied echo those shown earlier when illustrating the threat and the darkness. However, the difference now lies in the vividness of colors and the music, which has reverted to being cheerful and hopeful. The same scenes represent The Danish People's Party's achievements and the positive outcomes of their policies, portraying their work as the source of a better and brighter future.

The Danish People's Party conveys a clear and resolute message, underlining its stance through language, music, and color. With this video, they encapsulate their vision of the Danish identity. It represents the Denmark they wish to preserve, the Denmark that is idealized and aspired to. This version embodies their beliefs, casting a distinct image of the 'true' Denmark – the appearance of those who belong and those who do not. It responds to the age-old question of "what is Danish," or at least The Danish People's Party's interpretation of it.

This portrayal aligns with one of the prevailing discourses in Denmark, that The Danish People's Party has pushed. The discourse is, that immigration is a threat to society, and it needs to be limited. Because it is one of the prevailing discourses in Denmark it requires minimal explanation before the audience grasps the issue and the underlying problem. For instance, at 1:03, the clip shows a mother walking with her children, leading a seemingly 'normal' life. It is not their actions that are the problem, but their clothing, religion, and the frame constructed around them, labeling them as 'dangerous' and 'wrong.' The Danish People's Party does not depict non-Western immigrants as engaging in objectively 'bad or wrong' activities. Instead, they illustrate these individuals living their lives, relying on the audience's established preconceptions accompanied by the mood set by the music and the colors to brand them as a threat. Their attire, religious practices, and cultural differences are subtly framed as dangerous, adhering to the prevailing discourse in Denmark. The modes used in this campaign, such as the music to set the mood, the narration by Thulesen Dahl, the textual component, and the colors contribute to a non-communicative discourse. Thulesen Dahl does not have to

explicitly say everything, he can, with the music, colors, and video clips illustrate the feeling and the discourse he wants to present to the audience.

Video campaign – Åkesson

The following section will look at the video campaign made by Sweden Democrats and published on their YouTube channel 14th of May 2016 (*Sverigedemokraterna, YouTube, 2016*). All the quotes will be from this video unless otherwise stated. The analysis will be using, as mentioned in the method, the Multimodal model and will be looking at discourse, design, and production.

The discourse the campaign is trying to convey is that Sweden needs rebuilding, there is too much chaos, disruption, and society at its worst. It's Sweden that needs help, direction, and a vision, it's a Sweden that needs Sweden Democrats. They are the answer to the problems, they will restore security and homeliness.

The campaign begins with a striking aerial shot in black and white, capturing a bustling square where people go about their daily lives. The scene transitions to Jimmie Åkesson in color, initially featuring a close-up of him, then showing him from a distance as he approaches the camera, all accompanied by somber music. He declares, *"Our country is in a grave state, and our society is falling apart."* (0:14) The subsequent clips depict the 'grave state' Åkesson references. They include scenes of police cars with sirens, a vandalized van in black and white, a building engulfed in flames, police intervening in a fight, patrols in specific areas, people diligently at work, and a car in flames. These visuals paint a vivid picture of the chaos he is describing, effectively conveying the sense of urgency when he claims that *"Vital welfare functions, such as elderly care, schooling, health care, social services, judiciary, and more, are in severe hardship. Our country is being torn apart."* (0:21).

We then return to Åkesson, walking in a concrete parking lot. He continues, *"Beyond the distorted stories, the whitewash, and campaigning journalism of those in power, there is a reality. A reality of disruption, segregation, and polarization."* (0:38). This narration is accompanied by images of concrete structures and people voicing their discontent by giving the middle finger to members of Sweden Democrats as they set up a banner. The visual storytelling effectively links these words to the corresponding images, leaving little need for further explanation.

Åkesson goes on, *"Beyond the praise from the other parties – beyond the speeches about opening our hearts."* (0:50). The video shows the Social Democrat's logo on a door or building, clarifying the reference to parties that make unfulfilled promises and discuss 'opening our hearts.' This is a dig at Social Democrats and their policy. It is subtle, but it sends the message they want to. This is a perfect example of how visual expression can support the discourse to convey a message, without one or the other the message would have been lost in translation. Continuing with, *"There is a society that has lost its optimism, its feeling of homeliness, and its trust."* (0:59). The visuals depict a bleak setting where people walk in a metro tunnel, including the elderly, homeless individuals, and 'regular' citizens. The visuals show a picture and depiction of what 'loss of optimism, homeliness and trust' looks like. It is lonely, cold and sad. Another clip shows a woman waiting for a train in dimly lit conditions, appearing cautious or uncomfortable. This is a depiction of the lost trust. This woman does not feel safe, she is wary about her surroundings. These scenes exude a cold and unwelcoming atmosphere. Åkesson emphasizes, *"After decades of misrule, something essential is now lost. More and more people feel inside that many things are wrong here."* (1:07). The video switches to colored scenes of people finding shelter in a makeshift bed on a sidewalk, followed by black and white images of overflowing trash cans and a trailer park. The subsequent scene features a gated community with large houses, surrounded by fences and security cameras, highlighting the wealth gap. Even in the clips depicting 'rich areas,' the mood remains cool and uninviting, underlining the notion of something vital being lost. He then mentions, *"And it will take a long time to recreate the security,"* (1:39). transitioning to a clip of a suburban area in daylight, with lush green grass, a mother, and her three children on a bike ride. This is the type of security they wish to restore. It signifies the vision of an idyllic Sweden that viewers should associate with security and Sweden that needs rebuilding. *"The community, the feeling of homeliness, and the faith in the future that once made Sweden one of the best countries in the world to live in."* (1:44). The following scenes present an 'idyllic' Sweden, with sunshine, fields, the Swedish flag fluttering in the breeze, and a vibrant blue sky. This again is Sweden, the community, the feeling of homeliness and the faith that is being demonstrated through visual expression.

In stark contrast, the video features a diverse group of people at night, with a couple of men of color in the foreground shoving each other. These images align with Åkesson's statement, *"We must say it as it is that we are in the worst crisis that Sweden has faced in modern times."* (1:33) Indicating that this diversity and the disruption is part of the crisis. The mood shifts when he declares, *"But in spite*

of that, I am hopeful. I choose to be hopeful. Because there is really no other option." (1:56). The video showcases Åkesson in front of an enthusiastic crowd, being celebrated and holding flowers – a symbol of hope. This imagery encapsulates the optimism and the idealized version of Sweden when Åkesson and his party are in power. Åkesson goes on to say, *"We can and we must turn this around. To begin, we must free ourselves of the staged lines of conflict that the establishment has forced upon us."(2:03).* This section intercuts scenes of people being arrested and led away through a crowd by police officers, along with a car in flames and exploding. The visual storytelling effectively supports Åkesson's insinuation in his 'speech.'

He later states, *"The conflict in Swedish society today is really not about skin color, gender, sexual orientation, or about class. Neither is the conflict between those born in this country and those who are not." (2:13)* The video aligns with these words, featuring both white and non-white individuals engaging in disruptive behaviors. The focus is not on who commits the crimes but on who allows them. It is a bigger problem than allowing immigrants to live in Sweden. It is a political problem created by the other parties, such as Social Democrats. Åkesson wants viewers to associate Swedish citizenship with honor, pride, and greatness, symbolizing a select privilege rather than a blanket offer. Åkesson contends, *"It is a dark time for our nation when authorities, establishment, and media use every conceivable method to silence the opposition." (4:07)* The video visually conveys that Sweden Democrats, despite the negative portrayals, is not as ominous as they are made to seem. They are a party advocating for peace, love, and harmony. Sweden Democrats, with Åkesson as the leader, have been misrepresented and they are in reality the only hope for Sweden.

Comparison and application of the theories:

When parties such as the Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats talk about immigration or the prevailing problems in their countries and societies, the audience with knowledge about their policy and especially their target group have an already preconceived frame in their mind. They know who they are talking about, and specific scenarios and pictures will be associated with that given situation. This fits the worldview Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats are trying to present and convey. Both Thulesen Dahl and Åkesson use ridicule and question other authorities in both their speeches and the video campaigns that have opposing views on the matter. This is to reinforce their ideas and to convey a clear message to the audience and their target group, that the frames the other politicians and parties are trying to push forward have harmed the society and they are the reason

Denmark and Sweden have found themselves in a time in history where darkness and disruption prevails. This frame has come to exist by standing by it and ‘fueling’ it year after year. This has been reinforced through many elections and debates and has been a focal point.

Danish People’s Party is arguably following the strict father figure model. The strict father figure will do everything in their power to protect his children and family, the country and its people, from evil outsiders, the non-western immigrants. Danish People’s Party and Thulesen Dahl as the leader are role models, the ones that decide the agenda and the ones teaching their kids right from wrong. He conveys to them that they should protect their homes, their values, traditions, and culture because there is evil out there, darkness, and destruction. If you don’t protect your home and protect your children, evil will enter, and you will lose control and not be the master anymore. Denmark is the home but literally and metaphorically that needs to be protected, and it is up to the father to decide who belongs and who does not. The biological children are the ones, Thulesen Dahl, believes belong in Denmark and the foster children that have gotten through the front door are disobedient and they are causing a lot of trouble for the father and the strict father would rather they go back to their own homes. To avoid further disobedient foster children coming through the front door, the strict father has decided to lock it and guard it with alarms and a dog. Although Sweden Democrats arguably also follow the strict father figure, it is a less strict version. Sweden Democrats, like the Danish People’s Party, try to protect its children, and the country, not only from the evil outsiders that is the immigrants but from the disobedient children inside their home. The other parties, the disobedient children have spoiled it for everyone, and it is the strict father figure’s job to rebuild and teach the children how to behave. They should be punished, and in this case, by not having any power, people should not support them, they should support Sweden Democrats instead. And the children should through good behavior, hard work, and discipline earn their right to the welfare system and all its benefits. In Sweden Democrats case the disobedient children are not of a specific color or background, but they do not deny that the immigration has caused problems in the home. They are trying to live a different lifestyle, with different values and traditions, which is unacceptable. If one wishes to live in this particular home, one should follow the rules, traditions, and culture. It is furthermore partly the responsibility of the children to show the newcomers how to live correctly and lead by example.

Both the Danish People’s Party and Sweden Democrats use metaphors and references that explain why there is a need for action, and the reason is also the justification. Both Thulesen Dahl and

Åkesson use the frame of evil vs good, right vs bad, and them vs us. They, the Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats, the good ones are morally obligated to fight it, to protect their families. It is the *right* thing to do, and it is okay to turn people away from the border, as the Danish People's Party has fought to do so, because they are evil, and one needs to keep them away. Both parties also chose to use family and home as metaphors to convey their message, which makes it more tangible and understandable. Hinting at the values and importance of it, it also gives people a sense of belonging a common identity, and a united nation. And as Schertzer and Woods argue, presenting a united front, a united nation, is one of the pillars of nationalism. Which is arguably what both the Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats are trying to convey. It is their attempt at attaining and maintaining unity and identity for the Danish and Swedish populations.

Moreover, Sweden Democrats have some characteristics associated with civic nationalism and cultural nationalism. As long as people are ready to assimilate to the Swedish culture and society there should not be a problem. Sweden Democrats believe that a nationalistic 'us' is a united country, where everyone contributes and lives harmoniously. Åkesson preaches a common identity and culture, where everyone in Sweden should stand strong together and dismiss the foreign 'them' that does not conform to the Swedish way of living. Cultural nationalism, as mentioned in the theory, emphasizes culture rather than ethnicity or race, and as Åkesson mentioned both in the speech and video campaign, both one's ability to contribute and the conflicts in Sweden are not dependent on or because of race and ethnicity, but rather whether or not you are willing to integrate and assimilate to the Swedish culture, norms, and traditions.

Danish people's party unlike Sweden Democrats have more in common with ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism, as mentioned in the theory, defines the nation primarily in terms of perceived common ethnic heritage and culture that has developed over many generations. This is why the Danish People's Party believes that non-Western immigrants do not belong in Denmark and that Denmark is not their home. There is no common cultural inheritance and they, the non-Western immigrants, do not fit into the perception of national identity that the Danish People's Party has in mind. Non-western immigrants will never truly belong in Denmark and even though some of them may integrate and obey the rules of the society, it still would not be enough. Furthermore, aspects of cultural nationalism could arguably apply to both the Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats. Cultural nationalists believe that some cultures, especially those associated with Islamic countries are

incompatible with Western values. Both the Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats believe that Islam and non-Western immigrants threaten what is believed to be innately Danish and Swedish. This incompatibility can be perceived as a threat, as instead of integrating and assimilating, they can cause problems by living by different rules, norms, and cultures. It can therefore threaten an otherwise homogeneous society.

The aforementioned 'us vs them' narrative can also be understood from a nativist perspective. The 'us' is the native population of a country, and the 'them' in this context is the foreigners and immigrants that are posing a threat to the society as a whole. It threatens the culture, traditions, and safety. The 'them' can both be a cultural and economic threat; the cultural threat is if the countries have to adapt and make changes to accommodate the foreign culture, traditions, and values, it may overtake and threaten the existing culture. The natives may, in the long run, lose their 'origin' culture over time if there comes too much outside influence and meddling. For example, Thulesen Dahl believes that Denmark should only be inhabited by 'native' Danes, and whoever does not fit into that mold, is not welcome. How nativism differs from nationalism is that it pertains to protecting the interest of the native population against the threats immigrants may pose, while nationalism is rather about the broader sense of the national identity. An example of nativism is when Thulesen Dahl wishes to protect Danes so they can be in control of their own country and home, it is nativism. Thulesen Dahl is protecting the interests of the native population, the Danes, from the perceived threat from immigrants. This is where Sweden Democrats differ from the Danish People's Party, as the 'us vs them' narrative is not about nationality or race, but rather that the 'us' is the well-behaved, law-abiding homogenous Swedish society vs 'them' the disruptive, destructive part of the population.

Conclusion

In conclusion to the research question: "*How and why do parties such as the Danish Peoples Party in Denmark and Sweden Democrats in Sweden frame non-Western immigrants as a threat?*" The *how* can be explained a bit easier than the *why*. Both parties use language with negative connotations, visual expressions that support their worldview, and music to evoke feelings and moods that correlate. The framing of non-Western immigrants as a threat has emerged with a persistent framing strategy. Over time both The Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats have systematically reinforced

their discourse and opinion on non-Western immigrants through elections, debates, and media campaigns to ensure their framing.

As to the *'why'*, one could argue that both parties are acting out from a strict father figure model, which explains the need to limit or fully stop immigration, especially from non-Western countries, as they can be perceived as threatening to the family structure and their values, traditions, and culture. The perceived threat is based on the incompatibility of the non-Western immigrants' origin culture, traditions, values, and norms with the Western. This incompatibility is one of the reasons why The Danish People's Party does not believe in integrating non-Western immigrants and would prefer to turn them away by the German-Danish border. Moreover, parties such as the Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats have framed immigrants as threats, as they believe that a substantial number of non-Western immigrants can be dangerous to the national identity. The Danish People's Party wants a homogenous society, made up of a population with shared history and heritage, and non-Western immigrant, however integrated into the society, does not fit into that mold. Although Sweden Democrats also want a society and population with a common identity and a sense of pride and desire to contribute to the society, this is not based on color, race, or religion. The non-Western immigrants Sweden Democrats are framing as threats, are the ones that will not adhere to the Swedish social and cultural norms, because they are posing a threat to the 'ideal' version, a safe, united, and dutiful, of Sweden that Sweden Democrats are working for. Furthermore, having non-Western immigrants in Denmark and Sweden results in poorer conditions for the natives, for parties such as the Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats the well-being and interest of the Danes and Swedes are more important and are the top priority. Not only that, but it is also the Swedish and Danish culture, traditions, and values that are at stake. If the Danish People's Party and Sweden Democrats don't take action, it will all be lost. It is the things that are innately Danish and Swedish that are in danger of change and disappearing over time.

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