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### **Nation and Identity: Far Right-Wing Parties' Depiction of National Identity and Anti-immigrant Rhetoric**

Kerstin Carroll

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**Nation and identity: Far Right-Wing Parties depiction of  
national identity and anti-immigrant rhetoric**

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Honors Thesis

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## **Abstract**

This thesis analyzes national identity maintenance by looking at the communications of three far right political parties in Europe. These parties are Alternativ Für Deutschland, the National Rally party, and the United Kingdom Independence Party. The results of this thesis have highlighted that these parties are concerned about maintaining the national identity of their countries and the worry that immigration coming into the nation will change the national identity. AfD, the National Rally party and UKIP all have different approaches to national identity; AfD is focused upon the family rhetoric and maintaining the family rhetoric to protect the national identity. The National Rally party is concerned that immigration will bring Islam into France and therefore post a danger to French society. UKIP is concerned about the overwhelming number of immigrants entering the United Kingdom. It is evident within the results, that AfD, the National Rally party, and UKIP are worried about maintaining the national identity and adopting anti-immigrant rhetoric within their communications. It is important to understand how these parties can influence their supporters because of the rise of far-right extremism across Europe. To understand far right extremism, it is vital to recognize the methods of crafting the national identity maintenance rhetoric of far-right parties.

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## 1. Introduction

Flags of the Union Jack were waving throughout the crowd as the “Leave means Leave” march travelled through the streets of London. The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) symbols were in the crowd. This march was in reference to the delays in the Brexit negotiations. The protesters travelled from Sunderland UK and were on route to Hartepool, UK (BBC, 2019, “*Brexit “Leave Means Leave” march sets off from Sunderland*”). The march was in response to Brexit negotiations being slow (BBC, 2019, “*Brexit “Leave Means Leave” march sets off from Sunderland*”). This event reflects the concern of Britain being threatened by immigration entering the UK (BBC, 2019, “*Brexit “Leave Means Leave” march sets off from Sunderland*”). UKIP’s leader, Nigel Farage, who is worried about the future of Britain and strengthening the British nation, was at the center of the march. Nigel Farage is worried about the future of Britain and strengthening the British nation. Farage views immigration into the UK creating major issues (BBC, 2019, “*Brexit “Leave Means Leave” march sets off from Sunderland*”). Immigration is a threat to the national identity of the UK. Therefore, Brexit was seen to prevent more immigration from flowing into the UK.

The event described above happened in the United Kingdom, however, the rise of far-right populism in Europe has created more far right movements. In Germany, on August 29th, 2021, German far right protestors stood before the fences that guarded the Reichstag (Sauerbrey, 2021, *“Far-Right Protesters Stormed Germany’s Parliament. What can American learn?”*). These demonstrators held German flags and memorabilia of the German Socialist Party from the 1930s. The hundreds of protestors jumped over the fences and were able to make their way up the steps of the Reichstag. However, they were stopped by German security forces from entering the building (Sauerbrey,2021, *“Far-Right Protesters Stormed Germany’s Parliament. What can American learn?”*). This event suggests the dangerous movement of far-right groups in Europe. It is important to understand how far-right parties portray nationalism because of far-right parties gaining seats in governments (Vonberg and Schmidt,2017, *“Far right party wins seats in German parliament for first time in decades”*).

This research paper studies the message of national identity and the concept of keeping out foreigners who threaten the identity of a nation. Going into this research, the hypothesis is that these far-right parties demonstrate nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment. This is because I am interested in understanding how nationalism and maintaining the national identity is viewed by far-right political parties. With the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015, I predicted that I would see more anti-immigrant sentiment in these parties’ communications. This is because the refugee crisis in 2015 saw a mass influx of people from Syria, a nation with a Muslim majority population, it was for this reason that I predicted many of these parties would use Islamophobic stereotypes to propagate their fears of immigration into the nation (Poushter, 2016, *“European opinions of the refugee crisis in 5 charts”*). The political parties chosen for this thesis define what is national identity and anti-immigrant sentiment through their communication platforms.

National identity is about maintaining the ethnocultural identity of a nation. The demographics of a nation reflect the identity and the pride of the national community. Anderson describes the building of a nation is through creating an “imagined community” (Anderson, 7). The imagined community is created through the feelings of comradeship and loyalty to the nation (Anderson, 7). National identity can be constructed by describing the traits of an individual who represents the nation (Triandafyllidou, 595). The ideology of nationalism is about being connected to the nation, and that the nation is the identity of the individual. Any person that is “the other” outside of the nation and trying to get into the nation should be considered a threat to the nation’s success (Triandafyllidou, 601). The “other” is foreign and out of the national community (Triandafyllidou, 601). It becomes a concern that immigration will bring “the other” to the nation and change its demographics in the population (Triandafyllidou, 601). This is when we can see anti-immigrant sentiment arise in communications from these far-right parties. The immigrants bring a new language, and new customs that are seen as being foreign to the nation. It is important to highlight that nationalism on its own is not an ideology that creates “the other” (Triandafyllidou, 601). Nationalism is an ideology about pride and feeling attached to one’s nation. The ideology of nationalism is prevalent in every country. However, this thesis is examining how nationalism is weaponized to exclude other people out from the national community. Nationalism on its own is not an ideology that creates xenophobia and ethnocentrism. When far-right political parties want to further the agenda of xenophobia, far right political parties will use nationalism to fuel animosity against immigrants. This thesis is studying the creation of nationalism through the lens of far-right political parties to understand how these far-right political parties can create a story about nationalism and the nation.

This paper is seeking to evaluate the national identity maintenance rhetoric. This rhetoric is about maintaining the ethnocentric identity of the nation. Ethnocentrism is the belief that one group is more superior to other groups (Soblewska and Ford, 22). To maintain the identity of the nation, one must keep the ethnocentric identity of the population. The ethnocentric identity of having a white and traditional population creates the “us versus them” belief (Soblewska and Ford,36). Ethnocentrism fosters the conflict between the in group and groups that are considered out groups, “...ethnocentrism is a stable personality orientation, one that varies between individuals and can be activated among those who hold it when they perceive threats to the in groups they care about and disliked out groups...” (Soblewska and Ford, 38). Therefore, ethnocentrism is the theoretical framework for analyzing these groups that feel threatened by immigration coming into their country. It is because of the threat that an out group poses to the in-group community (Soblewska and Ford, 38). Groups and individuals that are ethnocentric use racial prejudice against groups that are perceived to be outgroups (Soblewska and Ford, 39). This is the ideology that is directed towards immigrants. This stems from the worry that immigrants bring multiculturalism and different identities into the nation, “... identity conservatives are also threatened by migrants and minorities because they are attached to ethnically and culturally defined majority group identities which are eroded by mass migration and the rise of minority communities...” (Soblewska and Ford, 47). Therefore, immigration creates more minority communities, and minorities become more integrated into society. Groups that are concerned about immigration changing the ethnocentric identity will advocate for more “radical migration policies” (Soblewska and Ford, 87). This thesis will be using the theoretical framework of ethnocentrism and national identity to evaluate the national identity maintenance rhetoric from the three far-right political parties of the United Kingdom Independence party (UKIP) (UK), the National Rally party (France) and the Alternativ Für Deutschland (AfD) (Germany).



Nationalism produces xenophobic rhetoric that influences extreme far-right behavior. Nationalism is defined as being "...the pursuit—through argument or other activity—of a set of rights for the self-defined members of the nation, including, at a minimum, territorial autonomy or sovereignty..." (Barrington, 714). This definition talks about how nationalism allows for the individuals in the nation to create the borders and individuals that are seen as a part of the nation (Barrington, 714). It is important to understand messages of nationalism and anti-immigrant sentiment to understand far-right movements in Europe. On July 22 of 2011, Anders Breivik committed mass murder against seventy-seven innocent individuals (Koehler, 85). Breivik bombed a building in Oslo and did a mass shooting at a summer camp (Koehler, 85). It was discovered later that Breivik was a part of a far-right nationalist group that influenced his hatred towards immigrants and political elites (Koehler, 85). In Germany, the German Socialist underground group, was discovered only after they had killed ten people and bombed two areas (Koehler, 85). Far-right extremism is one of the most dangerous forms of terrorism in the world. Nationalism is helping fuel attacks on innocent civilians and hatred against minority communities. It is a threat that continues to rise with the influence of far-right political parties' rhetoric. One of the parties chosen for this thesis, the Alternative Für Deutschland, has been placed under surveillance by the German government for extremist behavior (Bennhold, 2021, "*Germany Places Far-Right AfD party under Surveillance for Extremism*"). This suggests a concern for these far-right groups gaining power in nation's governments because of their far-right ideology being viewed as extreme. These groups reflect a national identity rhetoric and anti-immigrant sentiment that fuels far-right extremism across the globe. It is important to understand how these parties craft their messages to know how effective they are at spreading ethnocentrism and xenophobia.

In this thesis, I have evaluated and analyzed the communication of national identity and anti-immigrant sentiment of these parties. The communication for this thesis is visual, written and video communication. The visual communication are billboards and physical images that these parties have in public spaces to portray their message of national identity. The video communication is from YouTube channels of the parties and interviews with representatives. For written communication, I analyzed manifestos and press releases that are on the parties' websites. I choose these communications because of the digital and physical reach that these communications have in portraying national identity.

I decided to use the far-right political groups of UKIPS (UK), National Rally party (France) and the Alternativ Für Deutschland (Germany), because of these parties being from the most powerful countries in Europe. The United Kingdom, Germany, and France are all countries that have had high immigration rates throughout the years (Connor and Passell, 2019, "*1. Four Countries account for the majority of Europe's unauthorized immigrant population*"). During the refugee crisis of 2015 there was an increase in xenophobia and anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe (Poushter, 2016, "*European opinions of the refugee crisis in 5 charts*"). These far-right political parties have supported to communicate anti-immigrant rhetoric within their communications to show that immigrants are a threat to the nation. I want to study the far-right political parties in these countries to identify how these parties are viewing immigration coming into their country. I predicted that the rise of immigration would create more negative feelings towards immigrants. Therefore, I felt that these parties' messages would give insight into the growing far-right political sphere in the three most powerful countries in Europe. It is important to analyze these messages of national identity to understand how these parties can influence their supporters and spread anti-immigrant sentiment. Understanding the form of communication and

the rhetoric of the messages from these parties is central to understanding the dangers of nationalism and the xenophobia that is created out of the construction of the fear of the “other” (Triandafyllidou, 601).

This thesis will evaluate national identity maintenance rhetoric through the communications of these parties. In the first section of the thesis, I will do the background of the parties. In the second section of this thesis, I will provide the qualitative section to describe the narratives for this thesis that I will be using to examine national identity. In the third section of this thesis, I will provide the methodology section to describe my methods in analyzing national identity. Following the methodology section, the quantitative section will highlight the results that I have found throughout the research. I will then have a conclusion to outline the main findings of this thesis. The background of the parties will provide the history, similarities, and differences between each one. This section is important because it shows the parties objectives of leaving the European Union to maintain the national identity. The methodology section of this thesis will provide descriptions of the visual, video, and written sources that were collected for this research. The section will also provide lists of categories pertaining to these sources. For instance, for written communication, manifestos are analyzed. The list in the methodology section has terminology pertaining to the narratives studied for this thesis. This terminology list covers national identity, immigration, Islam, family and negative. The methodology section will include a description of the discourse and content analysis that was conducted to evaluate these parties. The methodology section is followed by the qualitative and quantitative section. The qualitative section focuses on the narratives that these parties adopt to talk about national identity such as immigration, Islam, and family. The quantitative section provide insight into the results from this thesis and the meaning behind the results that are found in the primary research. The

results of this thesis are important to analyze because they highlight the trend that national identity and this concern of the “other” is increasing exponentially. UKIP, the National Rally party, AfD are all concerned of immigration creating changes to the ethnocentric identity of the nation. The results section of the quantitative section highlights the narratives that are most important to these parties and the reasons behind their importance. In contrast, the quantitative results also highlight the categories that are not a priority for these parties. The qualitative section provides in depth analysis of the narratives that each party portrays. For example, the meaning of the national identity narrative is analyzed within the qualitative section. Additionally, the qualitative section provides background on the co-occurrences between parties and the reasoning of co-occurrences.

To conclude, this thesis is important at providing more background and analysis of national identity and nationalism within the communications of these party’s messages. Nationalism is an important topic to study because of the rise of nationalism in Europe and the concern that it influences far-right extremist groups. This research has unearthed differences and similarities into how these parties address national identity throughout their communications. AfD is concerned with family and maintaining the identity of Germany through family. However, UKIP and the National Rally Party are not concerned about family. The National Rally party is concerned about immigration bringing Islam into France and Islam becoming a societal danger. UKIP is mostly concerned about the number of immigrants entering the UK rather than the cultural issue of Islam. It is important to recognize the differences and similarities between the communications to understand how these parties communicate national identity.

## **2. Background on parties**

In Bordeaux, on May 1 2019, there was a Mayday protest. One individual carried a sign stating, “We need Frexit” (Gobet, “*France-Politics-Mayday-Protest*”). The protests and demonstrations are to get support for their nation to leave the European Union. This ideology of being unsure about integration into the European Union is known as euroscepticism (Hooghe and Marks, 120). Euroscepticism is an ideology that is closely linked to nationalism and the concern of maintaining the national identity because of the European Union immigration policies. The refugee crisis of 2015 increased euroscepticism because of immigration concerns that came with being a member of the European Union and the immigration laws that subsequently had to be adhered to (Stockememer et al, 884). Ideologies of anti-Islam, anti-immigration and anti-European union increased (Stockememer et al, 884). The vote to leave Brexit was focused upon the concern that immigration policies and rules set by the European Union were forcing Britain to admit thousands of immigrants. Having more immigrants would change Britain’s demographics and harm the national identity. Euroscepticism ideology pushes nationalist groups to campaign for their country to leave the European Union to protect the nation.

The parties of Alternativ Für Deutschland, United Kingdom Independence party and the National Rally party, have campaign communications that focus on the maintenance of national identity and anti-immigrant sentiment. In these campaign communications, it is evident that these parties are concerned about immigration policies and economic policies created by the European Union. UKIP was created to get Britain out of the European Union (UKIP, 2022, “About UKIP”). Marine Le Pen, the leader of the National Rally party, is an outspoken advocate for France leaving the European Union and is critical of the European Union’s role in Europe’s affairs. This rhetoric of being anti-European union is related to national identity maintenance

because it focuses upon protecting their nation from the policies of the European Union. This background section will provide informative analysis of each party's background in euroskepticism and how these parties were established to defend their country from the European Union's policies.

### **United Kingdom Independence Party**

In his last speech to the European Union Parliament, Farage is standing at his seat waving a Union Jack. Surrounding him were his colleagues of the Brexit party waving their union jacks in unison as a final goodbye to the European Union (The Telegraph, 2020, "*Nigel Farage's Final Speech to European Parliament cut short after he waves flag*"). Under the leadership of Farage, UKIP became anti-immigrant and concerned about the implications of Britain having European Union membership. UKIP was established in 1993 for the purpose of getting Britain to leave the European Union (UKIP, 2022, "About UKIP"). UKIP has an anti-globalization viewpoint within its founding, "...Globalists want law-making from supranational bodies to bypass national governments. These forces are driving down the living standards of the British people..." (UKIP, 2022, "About UKIP"). This ideology is that globalism is forcing Britain into chaos and decline. Anti-globalization comes from anti-immigration sentiment. Within the argument against Britain's involvement in the European Union, UKIP describes the link between globalization and immigration, "...these forces want open borders so that cheap labor can be migrated to serve their interests..." (UKIP, 2022, "About UKIP"). It can be inferred from this quote that globalization creates more immigration into the UK. Immigration and anti-

immigration sentiment are a large concern for UKIP. Nigel Farage was the leader that pioneered stricter immigration policies for Britain. He transitioned UKIP from being unknown to a populist far-right party focused on anti-immigration policies (Dennison and Goodwin, 172). Nigel Farage was outspoken on the concerns that he had with immigration coming into the UK, and continuously labeled migrants from the EU as “criminals” (Dennison and Goodwin, 172). Nigel Farage’s leadership of UKIP pioneered the concern about cultural integration of immigrants into British society. Farage is known to have spoken about the concern of having Romanian neighbors and how he felt uncomfortable when he heard any language besides English being spoken on transportation (Dennison and Goodwin, 173). Nigel Farage created the focus of UKIP to be about immigration and protecting Britain’s borders from the inflow of refugees and migrants (Dennison and Goodwin, 172).

This concern regarding immigration is linked to anti-globalization and euroskepticism. Farage believed that Britain’s involvement in the European Union increased immigration into the UK (Dennison and Goodwin, 172). Therefore, UKIP wanted to limit immigration by getting Britain out of the European Union. This need of getting out of the European Union due to immigration policies is to protect the ethnocentric identity of the nation from any external threat.

### **The National Rally Party**

In an interview with the BBC, National Rally party leader Marine Le Pen, spoke about the dangers of the European Union. “The EU is being rejected, in Denmark, in the Netherlands, in Hungary in some days too...” ... “something fundamental is happening: the comeback of

nations, of sovereign states, with people, with frontiers...” (BBC News, 2016, “*Marine Le Pen: Brexit Most Important event since the fall of the Berlin Wall*”). Marine Le Pen believes strongly in the complete sovereignty of a nation in order to protect its borders from immigration. Le Pen is outspoken of the dangers of the European Union and the role it plays with increasing immigration into France. Le Pen’s rhetoric for the National Rally party is focused on anti-immigration and Islamophobia (Bastow, 23). Islamophobia is evident in Le Pen’s commentary regarding Muslims coming into France (Bastow, 23). Le Pen attributes the terrorism in Europe to Muslim’s entering France (Bastow, 23). Le Pen believes that the European Union weakens France because of the immigration policies it makes its members adopt. This narrative fits in with Le Pen’s anti-immigration narrative because of the concern that being a part of the European Union can open the door to massive amounts of immigrants coming into France. Therefore, it is evident that Le Pen’s anti-immigration and anti-globalization stems from a concern regarding France’s membership to the European Union (Ivaldi, 281). Le Pen demonizes the European Union for creating more issues for France throughout her interviews for the National Rally party.

Furthermore, Euroscepticism has been a part of the National Rally narrative since the early 2000’s (Ivaldi, 282). In 2002, the National Rally party, had promised its supporters that if they were in power, they would take France out of all the European agreements and had emphasized the need for France to leave the European Union in their manifesto in 2002 (Ivaldi, 283). Similarly, to UKIP, the National Rally blamed the European Union for immigration into France. Additionally, the National Rally party labelled the European Union as the “trojan horse of globalization” in 2002 and blamed the European Union for restrictive economic policies on France (Ivaldi, 283). The National Rally party planned for France to leave the European Union.



After the 2008 financial crisis, the National Rally party created a plan for France to leave the Euro zone (Ivaldi, 285). For many decades, the National Rally party viewed leaving the European Union would allow France to not have to adopt immigration policies of the European Union. Therefore, being Eurosceptic, is because of the National Rally party's concern that immigration will bring Islam into France.

### **Alternativ Für Deutschland**

On a AfD billboard there is a pregnant woman with the statement, "New Germans? We will make" (AfD, "Neue Deutsche? Wir Machen Sie" Billboard). AfD wants to create a new Germany through massive family production. This is a way to create a new demographic identity for Germany. In 2013, The Alternativ Für Deutschland party was established after German politicians Bernd Lücke, Konrad Adam and Alexander Gauland left the CDU party and wanted to build a new far-right political party in Germany. This concern regarding immigration is tied to Germany's membership in the European Union. AfD is a "soft Eurosceptic party" meaning that they are not completely in rejection of Germany being in the European Union when compared to UKIP and the National Rally party (Grimm, 272). However, AfD is still concerned about the policies mandated by the European Union. During the elections in 2014, AfD's branch in Saxony was focused on anti-immigration rhetoric concern linked to "European welfare tourism" and immigration over the border (Grimm, 273). The concern regarding immigration and the European Union increased during the refugee crisis of 2015 (Breeze, 93). The refugee crisis fueled more concern with refugees coming into Germany and seeking asylum (Breeze, 93). In addition to being anti-immigration, AfD's focus on developing the family and maintaining the traditional German nuclear family, is an aspect of their communications that suggests "international isolationism and protectionism" in the EU (Grimm, 273). AfD would be concerned

regarding the immigration policies of the European Union affecting Germany's demographic identity (Grimm, 273).

Furthermore, the protection of the German borders is to protect the development of the German family and prevent terrorism from occurring (Breeze, 93). AfD's background is focused on the concern that immigrants bring Islam to Germany. AfD strongly believes that Islam is a threat to the German identity and a source of terrorism (Breeze 93). As described above, during the refugee crisis in 2015, there was an immense concern from AfD with immigration and Islam coming into Germany and increasing the risk of terrorism (Breeze, 93). Therefore, this concern regarding immigration leading to terrorism, contributes to the Eurosceptic ideology of AfD.

### **Case selection**

When deciding upon which far-right parties I wanted to study, I was interested in evaluating far-right parties from the most powerful and influential countries in Europe. Therefore, picking Germany, France, and the UK, would provide me with insight into how the far-right political sphere functions in these countries. Additionally, all these countries have had high immigration rates coming into their nation (Connor and Passell, 2019, "*1. Four countries account for the majority of Europe's unauthorized immigration population*"). I wanted to understand how these far-right parties weaponized immigration and painted immigrants as being a danger to their country. Although these are not the main political parties in their country, these parties have gained seats within their governments, highlighting that they are making a move to be more central in their government (Vonberg and Schmidt, 2017, "*Far-Right Party wins seats in German Parliament for first time in decades*"). With these parties gaining more recognition within their governments, it is important to analyze these parties' communications because of the power that they are gaining. Additionally, AfD, UKIP, and the National Rally party being from

Europe, would allow me to understand the discrepancies and similarities between European countries. I wanted to see how their own nation's culture is reflected in how they describe nationalism.

### **Discussion**

To conclude, these parties have backgrounds in being anti-immigration and anti-Islam. Being anti-immigration and anti-Islam is mostly linked to the concern of membership in the European Union. The rise of euroskepticism is a concern for fueling far-right ideologies of anti-immigration. These parties feel that the European Union is a threat to their nation because of the immigration policies that the European Union places on member states. It is important to understand the background of these parties to be aware of their history in Euroscepticism and how it shapes their approach to the European Union to limit immigration into their country. Being anti-European Union is creating a new form of nationalism and isolationism in Europe. It places countries against each other and closes off borders.

### **3. Methodology**

This methodology section describes the approach of evaluating the national identity maintenance rhetoric of UKIP, AfD and the National Rally party. To do this, I conducted a content and discourse analysis with campaign materials of speeches, billboards, and video advertisements of these parties. The collection of data from video, written and visual communication provided me with a diverse set of sources for my content and discourse analysis. Political campaign communication is effective at spreading the national identity maintenance messages to supporters and the public. After deciding to evaluate video, written and visual communication, I then created terminology for each category of national identity, immigration, family, Islam and negative. Coding allowed me to create a list of terminology that I felt identified with the categories. For instance, for immigration, I would write down words related to immigration such as immigrants, migrants, refugee. These terms are in the coding list for “immigration” because they are related to the movement of people. I then created co-occurrences for categories that were related to each other and were referenced together in the communication. One co-occurrence was national identity and immigration. I would code when these terms from both categories were brought up in a speech or interview together. This would be a co-occurrence in a source. This would help illustrate the relationship between these two categories. This methodology section describes the co-occurrences that I was looking for within the data between categories and how I went about analyzing the co-occurrence between categories.

**Table One: Description of video, written and visual communication**

Video	Written	Visual
<p>Campaign videos from YouTube. These campaign videos could be silent, with music or without music.</p>	<p>Manifestos : These are documents that describe the values and goals of the party. AfD and the National Rally party had manifestos from 2020-2021. However, UKIP’s manifestos were from 2017, 2019, 2020, and 2021. It is important to note that UKIP had more manifesto sources compared to AfD and the National Rally party.</p>	<p>Billboards that were located off highways, residential areas and in public spaces. For instance, billboards next to a bus stop would be coded.</p>

<p>Reposted videos of supporters talking about their support for the party</p>	<p>Domestic policies on the party’s website. These were a range of policies from immigration to climate change.</p>	<p>Billboards that were reposted on news websites</p>
<p>Speeches done by party members</p>	<p>Statements from the party on their website describing anything pertaining to policies or current events</p>	
<p>Audio or video interviews done by party or external source (BBC, Ajazeera)</p>	<p>Reposted statements on website from other sources to support party’s message</p>	
	<p>Transcripts of speech</p>	
	<p>Press releases from different members or one member on current events</p>	

## **Video**

Data collection for the video communication came from YouTube. Video is one of the most important forms of media because of the widespread use of videos and the internet in society. YouTube has millions of viewers and therefore is one of the top media outlets in the world. I looked at the YouTube channel of these parties to gather video communication to the public and supporters of these parties. Video communication sources varied with having no sound, only music, or interviews and speeches from the party. The subtitles from these video's allowed for translation and interpretation of the video. For example, UKIP had posted a video of migrants on British royal navy vessels being transported from being rescued. The video also had ominous music. Another video was a criticism of Boris Johnson's asylum seeker policy in the UK. This video showed a clip of Boris Johnson with music and writing criticizing his policy towards asylum seekers (UKIP, 2021, "*Boris Johnson wants a full amnesty for illegal immigrants*"). As described in Table one, some of these videos were members and supporters of the party describing their support for the party. This allowed for me to understand why members felt tied to their party, and what attracted them to support their party. Additionally, video's that were posted from parties' channels were representatives talking about policies and initiatives of the party. This was important as it provided the direct insight of leadership. The National Rally

party's YouTube channel did not have direct translations of the videos. Therefore, I relied upon finding videos of Marine Le Pen giving speeches or interviews to external media sources such as the BBC. In coding these videos, I used the terminology that I utilized for written and visual media types. Additionally, many of the videos varied with some being 45 minutes and others being two minutes. These videos are also shared on other media platforms such as Facebook, twitter, Instagram, and other areas. I did not look at other media platforms to get videos, however it is important to recognize the vast media outlets on the internet where one could find these videos.

**Table two: number of sources of written communication from each party**

UKIP	The National Front Party	AFD
15	10	13

### **Written communication**

Written communication was taken directly from the party's websites. The only written communication that is not taken directly from the websites, are the speeches of Marine Le Pen during the election from 2017. I gathered manifestos from party websites, policy, and press releases. Although written communication could be predicted to not be read by many of the party's supporters, it is still of value to understand the party's direct message in their manifestos and statements of value. Additionally, I collected party representatives' opinions towards



multiple different policies besides immigration. For example, for the National Rally Party's website, some of the press releases were regarding climate change or France's relationship with Australia. Additionally, for the manifestos, I collected policies that are not related to immigration to understand the party's messages relating other topics to national identity. For instance, for my research I examined the introduction to the manifesto. It is important to analyze sources not directly relating to the categories of national identity, immigration, family, and Islam to provide a well-rounded analysis of the party. Some written communication was shorter in length than other written communication. For instance, across all party's communication manifestos tended to be longer in pages compared to press releases that were only one page. Manifestos came from an array of different years to show the changes towards policies. For UKIP, I incorporated manifestos from 2017, 2020, 2019, and 2021. As described in Table one, these manifestos indicate the party's goals and values towards certain policies pertaining to economic, social, and political aspects of the nation. Written communication provides insight into the goals and values of the party.

**Table Three: Number of sources for visual communication from each party**

UKIP	The National Front Party	AFD
17	18	16

## **Visual media**

Visual sources were billboards situated off highways, in residential areas and in public spaces. The billboards that I would collect were posted on external media sites. For example, for UKIP, I have the pictures of the billboards from different news media websites. The party that had the least visual sources is the National Rally party. Additionally, most of the media is now on the internet rather in person. Therefore, visual sources are limited compared to video and written communication that has been posted on the internet. However, billboards are still effective at capturing the public's attention. Visual media adds to my thesis because it highlights how these parties can illustrate their message to the public and supporters in a form that can capture the reader's attention in one or two sentences. With visual media, I use the same rules and terminology applied to written and video communication. Most of these billboards would have pictures and one sentence describing the message. For instance, on one of the AfD billboards, there is a picture of a pig with the statement in German stating, "Islam? Not in our kitchen" (AfD, "*Der Islam?*" *Passt nicht zu unserer Küche*" Billboard ). This statement is short and has one image emphasizing the message of being anti-Islam. This message is effective at getting the viewer's attention. Visual communication is important because it highlights another form of media to capture the public's attention to be concerned about protecting the nation from outsiders.

## **Table four: number of sources for video communication from each party**

UKIP	The National Front Party	AFD
12	2	11

### **Content analysis: Overview**

To conduct my research, I performed a content analysis. In his work, “*Content Analysis*” Klaus Krippendorff defines content analysis as being, “...a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context...” (Krippendorff, 403). He notes that “the most obvious sources of data appropriate for content analysis are text to which meanings are conventionally attributed: verbal discourse, written documents, and visual representations (meaning)...” (Krippendorff, 404). There are five steps involved in content analysis: design, unitizing, sampling, coding, and drawing inferences (Krippendorff, 406). The design phase involves identifying the research question and the appropriate context for answering it (Krippendorff, 406). To begin with, I started to want to understand how far-right parties talk about national identity in the context of their campaign efforts. The unitizing phase focuses on defining the sampling units (Krippendorff, 406). I examine audio, visual, and written campaign communications. In the sampling phase, I included any of these campaign communications that I could readily obtain. Parties often don’t preserve or make available the entirety of their campaign documents; it was sometimes difficult to find sources. Quite often, only the most impactful and far-reaching communications are accessible. While my sampling was not random, it likely reflects the communications most likely to receive broad public attention. Coding was the next

stage in my content analysis. According to Krippendeoff the coding stage is the “...step of describing the recording units or classifying them in terms of categories of the analytical constructs chosen...” (Krippendeoff, 406-407). To do this, I developed a list of keywords, ideas, and images and counted how often they occurred in campaign communications. Every time a term would come up in the communications, I would code the term in relation to the category. There would be different lists of terms for national identity, immigration, family, negative and Islam. All these terms would be related to that category. Content analysis allowed for me to evaluate the most important narratives of these parties.

### **Content Analysis: coding**

The coding process is to create a list of terminology that can identify patterns within the sources. To begin the coding process, I created a list of key words indicating a reference to national identity, immigration, family, negative and Islam. This list was generated from the list of references that I predicted to see within the communications. For instance, for immigration, I predicted words such as refugees, migrants, and immigrants. I would use these terms because I felt that these terms were key in illustrating immigration. However, after going through the communication, I started to collect more data on new references that would come up and would be added to the list of original coding words. For instance, when watching UKIP video's, I noticed the term “invasion”. This would be added to my terminology on negative. Every time the term would be identified in the communication, I would count that as one. I then created tables for each party to show how many times these terms would pop up in sources. Table five below highlights the terminology of coding words for each category. The categories that I focused on for this content analysis methodology were as follows: immigrant, national identity, cultural

identity, negative, family, and Islam. I picked these categories because of the trends that I would see within the data. For instance, when I started this research, I did not have any words pertaining to Islam. However, during the research process, I noticed in the National Rally party and in AfD talking about Islam in their communications.

**Table five: Terminology of words used for immigration, negative, national identity, cultural identity, family, and Islam.**

<b>Immigration</b>	<b>Negative</b>	<b>National Identity</b>	<b>Cultural Identity</b>	<b>Family</b>	<b>Islam</b>
Immigration	Threat	Name of country i.e., France, England, Germany, the French, “the British”, “Germans”	Culture	Mother	Halal
Migration	Jihad	Ancestors	Multiculturalis m	Father	Sharia

emigration	Jihadism	Heritage	Tradition	Children	Islam
Immigrants	Terrorist	The state	Assimilation	Child	Islamism
Foreign	Extremist	Patriots	Integration	Birth	Muslims
Foreigners	Cancer	Compatriots	Integrated	Kids	
Aliens	Criminals	Patriotism	Language	Pregnancy	
Borders	Crime	The flag	Demographic	Pregnant women	
Security	Conquer	Sovereignty	Population	Toddlers	
Citizen	Conquest	Motherland	Diversity	Infants	
Citizenship	ISIS	Fatherland		Offspring	
Migrants	Name of terrorist group	The people		Sons	

Mass Immigration	Attack	Any word/sentence with “our land”, “our country”		Daughters	
Thousands of people	Invasion	Country		Marriage	
Deporting	Enemies	This country		Partnership	
Naturalization	Dark Images i.e., depicting others in darkness	Soil		Child raising	
	Extremists	Land		Babies	
	Fundamentalism	Descendants		Baby	
		National Pride		Husband and wife	

### **Description of coding for national identity**

National identity references are central to my thesis research. The references for national identity illustrate the national identity maintenance rhetoric. When deciding on terminology to use for national identity, I wanted the terms to contribute to the idea of “togetherness” and community of the nation. I also wanted to make the distinction between national identity and cultural identity which was a challenging aspect of coding. For example, words such as “heritage” and “values” project the idea of national pride and a national code of conduct for citizens. This idea of descendants and ancestry also creates the emphasis of passing down national identity. One of the most important images used to code for national pride would be flags. The flag of a country invokes the sense of pride and a symbol of identifying with the nation. Another coding process that I used for national identity is the name of the country that is being analyzed. For instance, for the National Rally party, it would be France. Marine Le Pen would repeat in her communication “France” or “the French people”. This repetition of the country and its citizens is repetitive and enforces the idea that France is the most important country in Europe. Furthermore, stating “the French people” invokes a sense of pride and community for the citizens. The citizens are a part of France and see that as part of their identity. One of the most popular terms that was stated in the communication was “our country” and “our land”. This statement is referring to the idea of “togetherness” and creating the feeling of comradeship amongst the public. These terms for national identity invoke the idea of citizenship and national pride amongst the supporters and public.



### **Description of coding for immigration**

Coding for immigration was focused upon border security and the movement of people across the border. The most common terminology for immigration was migrants, immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers. This list of words relates to the movement of people. Additionally for the border security for immigration, I was focused on terms such as border, border security, deportation, citizenship, and naturalization. Deportation and borders relate to the idea of protecting the nation from immigrants coming into the nation. During this coding process for immigration, I would circle any words pertaining to this list of references for immigration.

### **Description of coding for negative**

This coding for negative words is focused on negative connotation's around a category. For instance, the most popular terms for negative are "terrorist", and "invasion". These terms are effective negative messaging because they establish fear for the society. I wanted to include the negative references in the coding because I think it is important to analyze how these parties use negative images or words to villainize immigrants and multi culturalism in society. Additionally, I wanted to code negative images because these parties like to use the idea of fear to push for stricter immigration policy in their governments. When I was coding for images, I made sure to incorporate any images that could be considered dark and referencing terrorism. These images being dark suggests an ominous threat that is coming into the nation. The negative coding process was important to have in this research because it highlights the danger and the feeling of fear that these parties use to communicate their message of protecting the nation from an external threat.

### **Description of family reference**

The family reference is important because AfD is focused on family in their communication regarding national identity maintenance rhetoric. I started to code for family references when I noticed it was in most of AfD's communications. However, family references were not a large focus for The National Rally party or UKIP. Family is oftentimes characterized as being in relation to national identity. AfD views family as being one of the most important aspects for national identity. Family orientation and the desire for family values in society is one of the main objectives of AfD. Family references focused on any terms relating to a family such as daughter, mother, sons, husband, marriage. These terms are related to the construction of a nuclear family. The terms invoke the idea that building up the nuclear family is a German duty. This creation of the German family relates back to Adolf Hitler's motives in the 1930's of creating a white aryan nation of Germany. Therefore, the family reference was important to analyze because of its relation to building up this traditional German society to maintain the ethnocentric identity of the nation.

### **Description of Islam reference**

This coding focused on terms relating to Islam that the parties communicated in their platforms. Terminology that was in this category would be hallal meat, Islam, Muslim, and

Sharia. These terms invoke images of Islam. There were not as many terms for Islam compared to the other categories as most of these terms were the four listed in this description. These terms invoke that a different culture is coming into the nation. I created this Islam reference because of the concern that immigration will bring Islam into the nation. Throughout communication, these parties referenced Islam as creating problems in their society. Therefore, I wanted to focus on how many references that are related to Islam.

### **Content Analysis: Inference**

When I finished coding, I first calculated the average number of times that each party referenced national identity across all their communications. Next, I calculated the percentage of messages that contained at least one reference to national identity. This gives us information about both the density and frequency of national identity references. I represented these results in bar graphs. Finally, I looked for connections between references to national identity and other types of messages. I did this by calculating the percentage of messages that contained a reference to national identity as well as a secondary message of interest. For instance, if a party referenced national identity in ten of their messages and referenced family in five of those, that is a co-occurrence of 50%. This highlights the relation between two corresponding ideas that help these parties put together their national identity maintenance rhetoric and made it more credible to the viewer. Additionally, it is important to understand how these countries view the relation of two categories and then figuring out the reasons behind the relation between two categories.

### **Co-Occurrence: national identity and immigrants**

I put these two categories of references together because it helps define who belongs to the nation. I wanted to understand the relationship between national identity and immigration. Immigrants seem to be perceived by these parties as threats to their national identity community. To do this, I would take the total number of national identity and the references of national identity and immigrants and would divide them together to get the number of relations. I would then make this number into a percentage and a bar graph for a visual representation of the data.

### **Co-Occurrence: immigrants and negative**

With immigrants, I wanted to see how many negative references were used in relation to immigrants. I predicted there would be negative connotations for immigrants because of these parties viewing immigration as a threat to the nation. For this grouping, I would find the total number of immigrants, and total number for correspondence between immigrants and negative references. I would then divide the total number of correspondences between these two groups by the total number of immigrants to find the relation. It is important to notice the relation between these two groups because these parties tend to illustrate immigrants in a negative light to their supporters.

### **Co-occurrence: immigrants and Islam**

Throughout the communication there was a trend of immigrants and Islam being related to each other. This comes from the fear that immigration brings Islam into a nation. This co-occurrence of immigrants and Islam is to see the relationship between these two categories. For this, I used the same method as before with counting the total of immigrants and correspondence

between the two references and then dividing it by the number of correspondences and multiplying by a hundred to get a percentage.

### **Co-occurrence: national identity and family**

When going through the AfD communication, I noticed that there was a trend of family identity. I wanted to see how national identity is shaped by family identity. It is important to understand how building a family and protecting the family invokes national pride and encouraging national identity maintenance.

### **Co-occurrence: Islam and negative**

This co-occurrence analyzes the relationship between Islam and negative connotation attached to Islam in the communications. Throughout the communication, Islam is mentioned. However, in some sources Islam is described in negative ways. For instance, some sources describe Muslims as being terrorists. This would be a negative connotation of Islam. I created this co-occurrence to evaluate if the communication from the party demonizes Islam when talking about Islam. This is important to understand because of the parties utilizing Islam to illustrate a threat to the nation's ethnocentric identity.

### **Discourse analysis**

In addition to a quantitative content analysis, I also analyze the campaign messages qualitatively. The qualitative results focus on describing the narratives of each party and why these narratives were chosen. I utilize "critical discourse analysis" (Mogashoa, 105). This type of

discourse is focused upon language and communication. Furthermore, the analysis is looking at how individuals communicate their messages. Tebogo Mogashoa, defines critical discourse analysis as to, “...represent speaker’s beliefs, positions and ideas in terms of spoken texts like conversations...” (Mogashoa, 105). This qualitative research I did for my thesis in focusing on how these parties portray their messages. Another scholar, Mariana Soutu-Manning, describes critical discourse as being, “...as an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination and reception, that brings an object into being...” (Soutu-Manning, 159). This means that critical discourse is focused on analyzing different varieties of texts and how they are portraying a subject. Critical discourse analysis is analyzing the language and things used to portray messages. Therefore, for the qualitative section, I became focused on analyzing language within the data.

When I started researching for narratives, I focused on the narratives that seemed to come through when I was collecting the data. For instance, when watching AfD videos, I started to realize that AfD is a big advocate for the traditional German family. This observance of a trend throughout their communication then turned into a narrative for the qualitative section, as I wanted to understand how AfD used family to build up national identity maintenance. Before starting this research, I was only focused on national identity and immigration references. However, after collecting more data in the primary research, I noticed other narratives to add to my qualitative section.

The qualitative section is important for this research because it highlights the continuous narratives in the data. The narratives tell a story to the reader about the rhetoric noticed in the messages. The qualitative section also connects different narratives to each other. For instance, narratives such as immigration and Islam are placed together. These are narratives that are found

throughout the communication. One of the parties believes that immigration and Islam go together and therefore pair the two together in their narrative on national identity. The qualitative section helps to tell a story to the reader. Each narrative is analyzed, and the importance of each narrative is given within this section. It is important to understand each narrative and what the narrative contributes to the research.

### **Limitations on research**

There were two limitations on this research. Two of the parties, AfD (Germany), and the National Rally Party (France), have their communications all in German and French. I am not fluent in either of these languages. I relied upon translation from the computer to translate the communications on the parties' websites, and videos that I coded. When I went to a party's website, there would be a translate button that I could press, and it would translate the website from the language to English. It is important to note that the translation from the computer is not always accurate and there is a loss of the nuance of the language. However, even if I was fluent in the language, it can be argued that I can still not pick up on every term, especially when it comes to colloquialisms and idioms. For example, regional language differences could change the meaning of a term within the communication. A term in one region of Germany could mean another term in a different region of Germany. Another limitation within this research, is that some parties had more communication in certain sources compared to others. For instance, the National Rally party had only two visual sources that I was able to find and code for this

research. However, UKIP had twelve and AfD had eleven sources for me to code for this research. Therefore, that decreases the National Rally's number of visual sources for me to code.

### **Conclusion of methodology**

To conclude, this methodology of content and discourse analysis was used to provide an accurate evaluation of the use of national identity maintenance within the communication. To evaluate the narratives of family, Islam, immigration and negative to see how they influence national identity, it was important to use content analysis to identify how important these categories were used in the communications. The content analysis allowed for me to come up with the key terminology that would be delegated to each category. I would then count the terms in the communications that were on my list. This allowed for me to see how many times these categories were referenced within the communication. Then, putting together the co-occurrences between categories such as family and national identity, allowed for me to understand the relationship between these narratives and national identity. Co-occurrences in the methodology highlighted if the parties felt that the two categories were related or not. One party would be concerned about Islam hurting national identity more than another party because the priorities of the parties being different to each other. This methodology is expansive in helping the primary research analyze the national identity maintenance message and the narratives that influence national identity in the communications.



#### **4. Qualitative analysis**

National identity maintenance is about maintaining the culture of a nation. Within the nation, there are communities that reflect the national culture. Communities are created out of cultural ideology and language (Anderson, 70). The narratives that were chosen for this thesis came from focusing on the main areas that surround national identity. These narratives were chosen because of the trend and patterns of similarities and differences between these parties. It is imperative to understand and recognize the narratives that the Alternativ Für Deutschland (AfD), National Rally party, and the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) are using to create communities of national identity and scare the public of immigrants coming into the country. Understanding these narratives provides the opportunity to evaluate the thinking behind the National Rally, UKIP, and AfD's communications. Recognizing and analyzing these narratives of family, immigration, and culture will further allow more analysis on why these parties feel the need to protect their national identity.

##### A. Narrative 1: National Identity

National identity is the belief of protecting the nation to retain the cultural identity and protection from outsiders that pose a threat to the nation. National identity is tied to the values and integrity of one's nation. The values of the nation are defined by the National Front, United Kingdom Independence Party, and the Alternativ Für Deutschland. Each party feels differently as to what identifies national identity. National identity is important for these parties and therefore they have the power to illustrate what national identity means in their communication. How is someone to be considered a representation of the nation? National identity values are represented through cultural traditions and language of the nation. Traditions and language make an individual feel tied to their national identity. It creates this shared community that exchanges similar ideas and values traditions. The traditions of that nation are tied to being sentimental and a key indicator of national loyalty. For instance, a tradition of national identity in certain countries such as the United States is singing the national anthem before sports games. Everyone who takes part in this tradition is perceived to be retaining and demonstrating their national identity.

In addition to this, another method of retaining national identity is the reaffirmation of loyalty to the nation and the claim of the "togetherness" of the nation through language. All the parties the National Rally, Alternativ Für Deutschland, and the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), use the method of repeating their nations name or stating "our land" many times throughout communication. Repetition of the name of the nation reaffirms allegiance to that nation. With the constant repetition and reaffirmation, there is the sense that they are feeling closely tied to their nation. This reaffirmation of loyalty creates the sense of pride for the

audience. UKIP, AfD, and the National Front want their members to feel a sense of belonging to their nation because it develops the ethnocentrism of the nation.

### **United Independence Party (UKIP) and National Identity**

To illustrate the meaning behind national identity in UKIP's communication, UKIP representative Katie Hopkins describes what it means to be British and the pride of feeling British. Within her description, Hopkins lists going to church, going to a football game, and other routines (UKIP, "*Katie Hopkins on Being British*"). To Hopkins, this is what it means to feel British and British pride. Individuals who practice the characteristics that Hopkins describes and feel the "pride" of being "British" are the ones that understand Britain's national identity and what it means to be a citizen of Britain (UKIP, "*Katie Hopkins on Being British*"). Anyone who does not feel the "pride" of the nation could be an outsider or someone who should not be considered within the national identity boundaries. This concept is about defining pride based on the party's perception of traditions in the nation.

### **Alternativ Für Deutschland and National Identity**

The Alternativ Für Deutschland's communication regarding national identity highlights the ideology of having similar cultural aspects across Germany. In AfD's "*Declaration of the German People and German Identity*", AfD states, "...only those who speak our language, share our values, and approve our way of life should be able to become German according to the law..." (AfD, "*Declaration of the German People and German Identity*"). This concept of reaffirming the "our" in values and language relates to national identity because it is promoting the idea of comradeship and this maintenance of "togetherness" in sharing a common language

and beliefs (Anderson, 7). AfD does not feel the requirement to state “German values” rather with “our” it makes the reader want to become an individual that can be included within AfD’s sphere. The language that AfD is using within the written communication is exclusive to individuals who support AfD’s conception of national identity. The values and language of a nation are linked to national identity. AfD never specifically defines what the “values” are, rather than puts forward the crisis that the values are under attack from outsiders. In addition to the pride of the nation, national identity requires loyalty to the nation and defending the nation from adversaries and criticism. This ideology of national identity is seen within the reaffirmation of the nation’s name throughout the communication.

## 2. Narrative 2: Family

National identity characteristics and cultural traditions of the nation are passed down through generations of family members. Society must support the family and encourage the production of the family to pass down the culture, comradeship, and loyalty to the nation. If the next generation does not feel tied to the nation, then it poses a problem to maintaining the national identity. When I started this project, I did not think of incorporating a narrative for family. However, I began to realize trends within the *Alternativ Für Deutschland*’s communication, focusing on the creation of family to retain national identity in Germany. This family narrative is important in analyzing how a societal aspect is being used to further national identity and ethnocentrism. Although parties would refer to the production of the family as being about national identity, the

production of the family would also allow for parties to create one majority ethnic group of people that are considered to reflect the national identity.

Family is also another aspect of society that is always changing with developments of modernization versus traditional family orientation. These parties are concerned about changes in the “traditional” family. Within national identity, the “traditional family” of a wife at home with the children, and the father working, was a part of the culture of a nation. UKIP, the National Front, and AfD are concerned about the “traditional” family structure being disrupted by modern times. Therefore, the family narrative analyzes the importance and role of family within the structure of national identity.

### **Alternativ Für Deutschland and family**

I choose this narrative as it became unique with the Alternativ Für Deutschland’s communication. AfD’s communication platforms have a trend of focusing on protecting the family from outsiders and re-establishing the traditional German family. Creating and maintaining the traditional German family allows for AfD to maintain national identity culture. Many AfD’s communication illustrate examples of families with traditional gender roles that help nurture the development of the children.

One of the video communications of AfD, describes the need for more welfare programs to support the German family so that they can produce more babies (AfD, “*Darum sollten Familien die AfD wählen*”). Within the video, the mother has the traditional role of taking care of the children and the father is the one that is working and has the dream of having his own family (AfD, “*Darum sollten Familien die AfD wählen*”). This video highlights AfD’s

persistent campaign that Germans should have more babies and should have child support for families (AfD, “*Darum sollten Familien die AfD wählen*”). Although welfare for family development is a positive concept, this video communication highlights that AfD has a very traditional outlook of how the “German family” should look like and gender roles that support family development. Traditional German families with distinct gender roles for women and men reiterates this idea of going back to times when the woman did not have a career and the husband was the leader of the household. To AfD, this traditional household is what makes up a German family. Having a traditional household will make the national identity of Germany more traditional and less progressive.

Another campaign from AfD that reaffirms this ideology that national identity is passed through generations is in visual communication. One of AfD’s billboards has a pregnant German woman lying on the grass with the statement, “...New Germans? We will make...” (AfD, “*Neue Deutsche?...*” *Billboard*). Once again, this billboard is illustrating the idea of maintaining the national identity through the reproduction of the family. Additionally, this woman is white and young, suggesting that AfD believes that reproducing more German babies will create a more ethnocentric white national identity for Germany. This narrative can be tied to the national identity vision of an Aryan nation that Adolf Hitler pioneered in the 1930s. This parallel between AfD and Nazi Germany was brought up in an interview with Beatriz Von Storch and a BBC reporter who mentioned the connection to Nazi Germany. Beatrix Von Storch rebuffed this connection by talking about the “demographic” issue with having not enough Germans reproducing babies (BBC News night, 2017, “*What does Germany...*”). Again, this highlights

the need to maintain national identity through the production of the family, and the creation of more Germans.

The creation of more Germans will maintain this white national identity and traditional values that come out of a traditional family. AfD is the party that pioneers this need to maintain traditional family aspects and help develop the family. This narrative is unique because it highlights another way of maintaining the culture through the physical reproduction of children. Additionally, it highlights that being “traditional” and having a traditional family is ideal for a healthy nation. In addition to this, the family narrative is important to understand because of its parallels to ethnocentric leaders that adopted the same strategy of creating and focusing on family development to maintain the national identity. The connection between AfD and Hitler is concerning and is why these narrative fits into the national identity maintenance theory because it relates to passing that national identity throughout generations and creating a white dominant race in German society.

### C. Narrative 3: Immigration

The immigration narrative is one of the most important narratives to be analyzed in this research because being closely connected to national identity maintenance. National identity is about maintaining the ethnocentrism of the society in that nation therefore keeping the “other” out is central to protecting the society (Triandafyllidou, 601). These parties being in Germany, France in the United Kingdom have always been impacted by immigration. For the United

Kingdom, before Brexit, and for France and Germany, there has always been a consistent flow of people across borders. During the Syrian refugee crisis of 2015, there was an uptick of immigration from Syria going to Europe to seek asylum from the war (Connor and Passell, 2019, “1. Four Countries account for the majority of Europe’s unauthorized immigrant population”). This specific Syrian refugee crisis sparked xenophobic and Islamophobic commentary towards new refugees seeking asylum in Europe (Poutscher, 2016, “*European Opinions of the Refugee Crisis in 5 Charts*”).

Within this research, it was consistently seen in the data that all three parties the National Front, Alternativ Für Deutschland, and the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), have similar negative commentary on immigration. There are three threats that immigrants pose to society. One being that immigrants threaten cultural norms because of bringing a different culture, the other being that immigrants are an imminent threat to society because they are perceived to be “terrorists”, and the ideology relating to an uncontrollable number of immigrants entering the country.

Immigrants and refugees are seen as “the other” and are viewed as threats to society because of the culture and language differences that they bring to the country. With national identity, many ethnocentrism, and nationalists, want to keep their own culture and not have any culture change. It is important to analyze this immigration narrative to understand and recognize how these parties portray the immigrants and refugees as being “terrorists”. Due to the terrorist attacks that have occurred in Europe, these parties have found a method of integrating discrimination against any immigrant



coming into their country on the basis that these immigrants can pose an imminent threat to society. Words associated with this negative commentary in the communication are “protect” and “deport” and “criminal”. These words are referencing the trend of wanting to protect the national identity of the nation by getting rid of the “other” who poses a threat to the nation. All these parties Alternativ Für Deutschland, the National Front, and United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) all feel similarly towards immigration that it is a threat to national identity, and that immigrants pose a threat to society.

### **United Kingdom Independence Party and Immigration**

The immigration narrative in this research highlights the idea of massive amounts of people crossing the border to enter the nation. This ideological thinking is suggesting that there are an overwhelming amount of people entering the country. This idea of an overwhelming number of groups of people suggests an uncontrolled border. The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) would highlight this narrative throughout their campaign communication. For instance, one of the billboards released by UKIP, has a picture of thousands of people in a long line with the statement, “*Breaking Point. The EU has failed us all. We must break free of the EU and take control of our borders*” (UKIP, “*Breaking Point...*” Billboard). This billboard is focused on creating the idea that there are massive amounts of refugees and immigrants that are coming into the United Kingdom. Additionally, the title “breaking point” on the billboard suggests that there is such an overwhelming force of immigrants coming into the country. It creates the idea that immigrants will overtake the population of the nation and will therefore change the culture of the national identity. This type of billboard can “scare” and frighten the

audience because of the pictures of lines of people getting into the UK. It highlights that the UK's borders are failing at providing security for UK citizens against immigration. Additionally, many UK citizens will associate immigrants with taking their jobs and social welfare, therefore providing imagery that creates the imagery of overwhelming numbers of people frightens people.

### **Alternativ Für Deutschland and immigration**

The Alternativ Für Deutschland's immigration policy highlights the need to sustain the German ideals from immigrant culture and the imminent threat of terrorism that immigrants supposedly pose to society. In one of the video communications by AfD, titled "3 Schritten gegen Migrantengewelt!" a representative describes three initiatives that AfD believes Germany should take towards immigrants coming into Germany. This video communication highlighted the anti-immigrant sentiment and xenophobia that AfD feels towards immigrants when the representative in the German Bundestag characterized immigrants as being anti-Semitic and violent criminals (AfD, "3 Schritten gegen Migrantengewelt!"). Additionally, he advised the German government to take the initiative upon themselves to create stricter border control and deport any foreigner that is perceived to be a criminal of the German government. This commentary from AfD highlights the xenophobic comments that the party makes towards immigrants coming into Germany. AfD wants to frighten the public to believe that these immigrants are a threat to society and therefore should be "deported".

### **The National Rally and immigration**

The National Front coincides with both UKIP and the AfD, in providing negative narratives around immigration. For instance, Marine Le Pen uses a similar tactic to Nigel Farage in talking about the number of refugees entering France. In an interview with CNN, Marine Le Pen, stated the growing number of refugees “one million refugees in 2015, 3 million...” Additionally, going along with AfD’s narrative about immigrants being possible terrorists, Marine Le Pen, also describes the concern of terrorists being amongst the immigrants (CNN, 2017, “*Paris Terror: Marine Le Pen Halting Immigration*”). This CNN interview with Marine Le Pen highlights the National Front’s stance towards immigrants being mostly concerned about the connection to terrorism and the overwhelming number of immigrants entering France. This idea of fear of immigrants and numbers of immigrants links back to wanting to protect the national population from “the other”. Le Pen uses the narrative to warn the French people of an immigrant takeover of France.

#### D. Narrative 4: Islam

The Islam narrative is closely connected to the immigration and cultural narrative of this thesis. Islam comes out of immigration because it is the specific religion of most of the immigrants entering Europe during the Syrian refugee crisis, and it is the religion that these parties link to terrorism because of their ethnocentrism and xenophobic beliefs of the “other”. With most of the immigrants of Muslim background, these parties feel that aspects of Islam whether it is food-related or cultural related are a threat to the maintenance of national identity culture. The concern

comes from the issue that Islam being integrated into every place of society is dangerous. Islam is portrayed to be connected to terrorism and danger to society.

In addition to AfD's narrative of being concerned about the cultural and violent threat of Islam, the National Front's Marine Le Pen's narrative is like AfD's rhetoric warning about radical Islam. Both parties want to depict "the other" as not just culturally different but a physical threat to the people. Islam out of France allows for these parties to pursue a "pure" or "white" racial identity for their nations. Depicting Muslims as terrorists makes these parties feel justified in their concern for the nation's safety. Unlike the National Front and AfD, the United Kingdom Independence party is not as vocal regarding negative references to Islam or even mentioning Islam in their campaigns. Islam is mostly kept separate from UKIP's campaign communication. However, the significant commentary from the National Front and the Alternativ Für Deutschland highlights the separation of Islam from society and therefore is another way of protecting the nation from "the other".

### **Alternativ Für Deutschland and Islam**

The Alternativ Für Deutschland is one party that is outspoken about the cultural concerns around Islam. Throughout all visual, written, and video communication, AfD, seems to be the political party that pioneers negative references around Islam. To illustrate the narrative around cultural concerns regarding Islam, AfD, has a billboard with a pig on it stating, "...Der Islam?" Passt nicht unserer Küche..." translating to "Islam? Not in our kitchen" (AfD, "Der Islam? Pass nitcht underer Küche" billboard). This statement on a billboard with a pig suggests the concern

regarding halal meat in German society. The billboard is quite derogatory towards Islam and halal meat. This negative concept of trying to keep Islam out of the culture of Germany coincides with the national identity maintenance protection because AfD does not want Islam to change the German identity. Food is a staple of national identity as Germans have their traditional meals such as sausages and a variety of meats. Food highlights that AfD is worried about having German food be secondary to halal meat. In relation to national identity, AfD is weaponizing food to scare Germans that their national identity will be eroded if there is more outside cultural integration in German society.

In addition to the cultural threat that Islam poses to German society, AfD depicts that Muslims are terrorists. One billboard that AfD has is very dark with the statement, “Islamisierung Stoppen” translating into stop Islamization (AfD, “Islamisierung Stoppen” billboard). Although the Muslims in this picture are not being violent, the dark coloring of the picture, suggests an ominous setting. It creates the atmosphere that the Muslims that are being depicted is about to do something violent. This narrative of depicting Muslims in a violent light relates to national identity as the “other” is being perceived to be an imminent physical threat to the nation.

### **The National Rally and Islam**

The National Rally’s Marine Le Pen’s narrative is like AfD’s rhetoric warning about radical Islam. In one of the video statements released by Marine Le Pen’s party, she describes the concern about radical Islam in France. This statement came recently after the attack on the French school teacher, Samuel Patty (Rassemblement National, “*Marine Le Pen calls for a*

*crucial effort against Islamism (Statement of Marine Le Pen*)). In the video, Marine Le Pen describes Islam as being a “criminal ideology” operating in France . The video goes on to describe Islam as being a threat to France (Rassemblement National, “*Marine Le Pen calls for a crucial effort against Islamism (Statement of Marine Le Pen*”). This commentary of linking Islam as being a threat to France and characterizing Muslims as being terrorists and therefore should be deported from France. Like the United Kingdom Independence Party, and Alternativ Für Deutschland, the National Front is weaponizing Islam to maintain an ethnocentric national identity.

### **Discussion**

In conclusion, immigration, family, and Islam, all contribute to the maintenance of national identity. Each has a unique purpose to serve the National Front, the United Kingdom Independence, and the Alternative für Deutschland’s, vision of national identity. Understanding these narratives are vital to analyzing the national identity maintenance of these parties. These three parties differ and share certain narratives of national maintenance identity. These narratives were chosen because of the consistent representation in the communication of these parties. Additionally, in recognizing the narratives that these parties use, it helps to further if there are parallels with extremist right wing groups that use similar narratives.

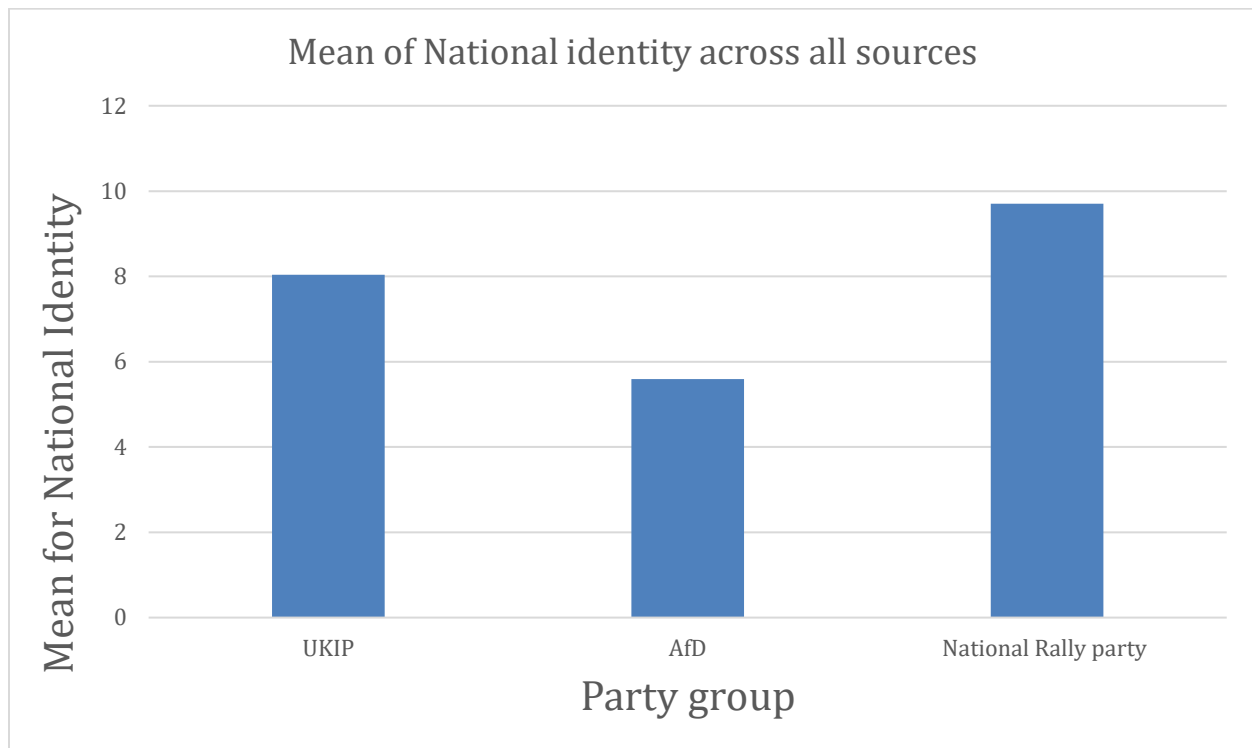
## 5. Quantitative

This quantitative section focuses on the analysis of the data collected in the primary research on national identity. In this section, there are figures illustrating co-occurrences between categories. Co-occurrences are two relations between categories. For instance, how are national identity and family related to each other? How are parties using national identity to protect the sanctity of family in society. The percentages in these graphs show differences and similarities between the parties and the narratives they find closely related to national identity. The analysis of these results has highlighted a couple of key findings. Firstly, the message of these parties is that they are centrally focused on the topic of national identity maintenance and protecting the national identity of the nation. The United Kingdom Independence party, Alternativ Für Deutschland, and the National Rally party want members to feel connected to national identity and frightened of threats to national identity. These results highlight the correspondence between immigration and national identity, and furthermore, the concern around immigration threatening the national identity of the nation. In addition to the concern that immigration threatens national identity, there is a concern regarding the cultural aspect that immigrants bring to a nation. The focus on national identity, the concern of immigration being a threat, and the concern regarding

another culture integrating into society, all come together to influence these parties campaign communications.

Even though these parties focus on national identity, the messages utilize the fear of the “other” to propagate national identity. These parties want to conserve the ethnocentric identity of the nation. This analysis will provide an in-depth evaluation of each figure as well as the reasoning behind the message. This section is significant as it illustrates the narratives that each party are focused on to protect national identity.

**Figure One: mean of national identity across all sources**

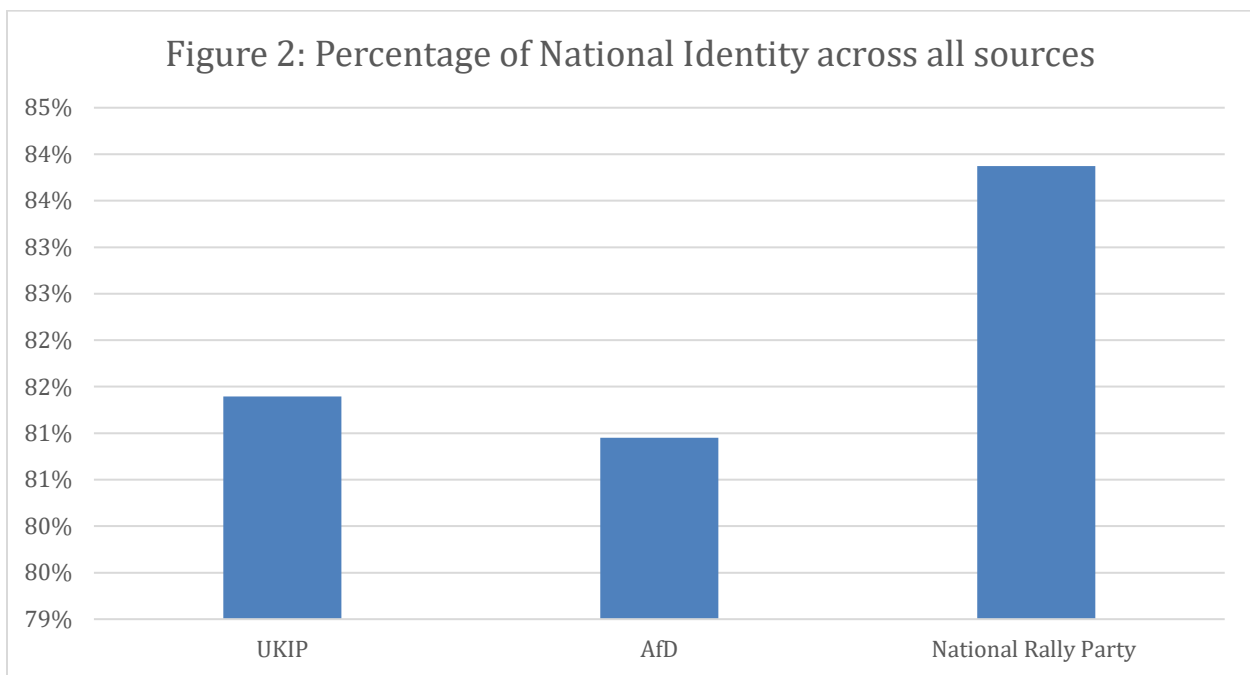


**Description of results**



Figure one illustrates on average how many times national identity is mentioned throughout all the communications. This figure is important because it shows that national identity is portrayed in every speech, video, and visual communication. The National Rally party has the highest mean for national identity being at 9.7. Having 9.7 as a mean for national identity across all communications is high because it shows that in every communication whether it is speeches, videos, or billboards, there is a mention of national identity within that communication. Additionally, the United Kingdom Independence party, is at 8.04 and the Alternativ Für Deutschland is at 5.59. Both numbers highlight that on average at 8.04 there is a mention of national identity in UKIP's communications, and on average of 5.59 there is mention of national identity for Afd in their communications. As stated above, this means that in every speech, video, billboard there is a mention of national identity. This reinstates the importance of protecting national identity in the communications. National identity maintenance is at the center for the parties' message.

**Figure Two: Percentage of national identity across all sources**

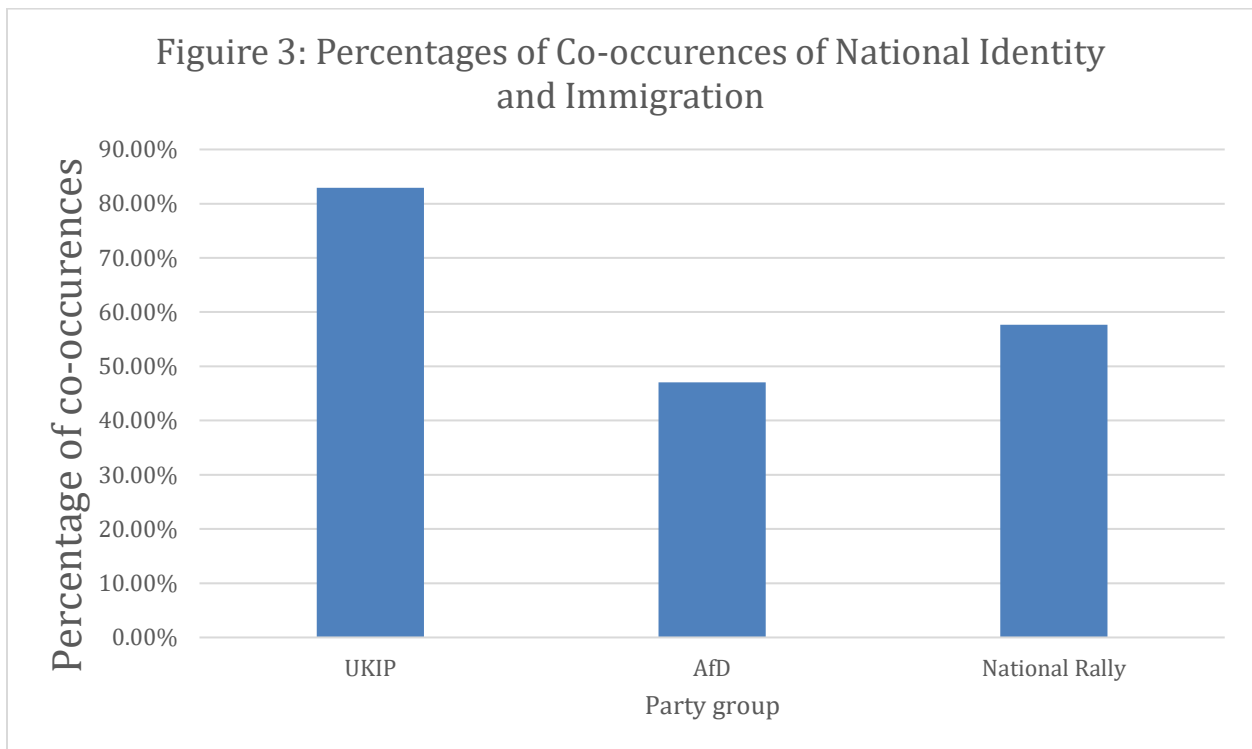


**Description of Results**

Figure two displays the percentage of communications that include at least one reference to national identity. This figure is significant because it shows that national identity is central to these party's messages. National identity is portrayed throughout the communication as a visual representation of a flag or the continuous mention of "our country" or "our nation". This figure shows that the National Rally party has the highest percentage of national identity throughout all their communications being at 84%. This percentage is high for the National Rally party as it

shows that throughout communications there is an 84% chance of national identity being portrayed in some way. Additionally, AfD and UKIP have the same percentage of 81% for both parties in their national identity communications. This means that throughout the communications these parties have a mention of national identity being eighty one percent of the communications. Figures one and two are important because they both emphasize how central national identity is in the communications of UKIP, AfD, and the National Rally party. National identity is a primary concern for all these parties. Protecting the ethnocentric identity of the nation is key for the nation to feel strong.

**Figure Three: Percentages of co-occurrences of national identity and immigration**

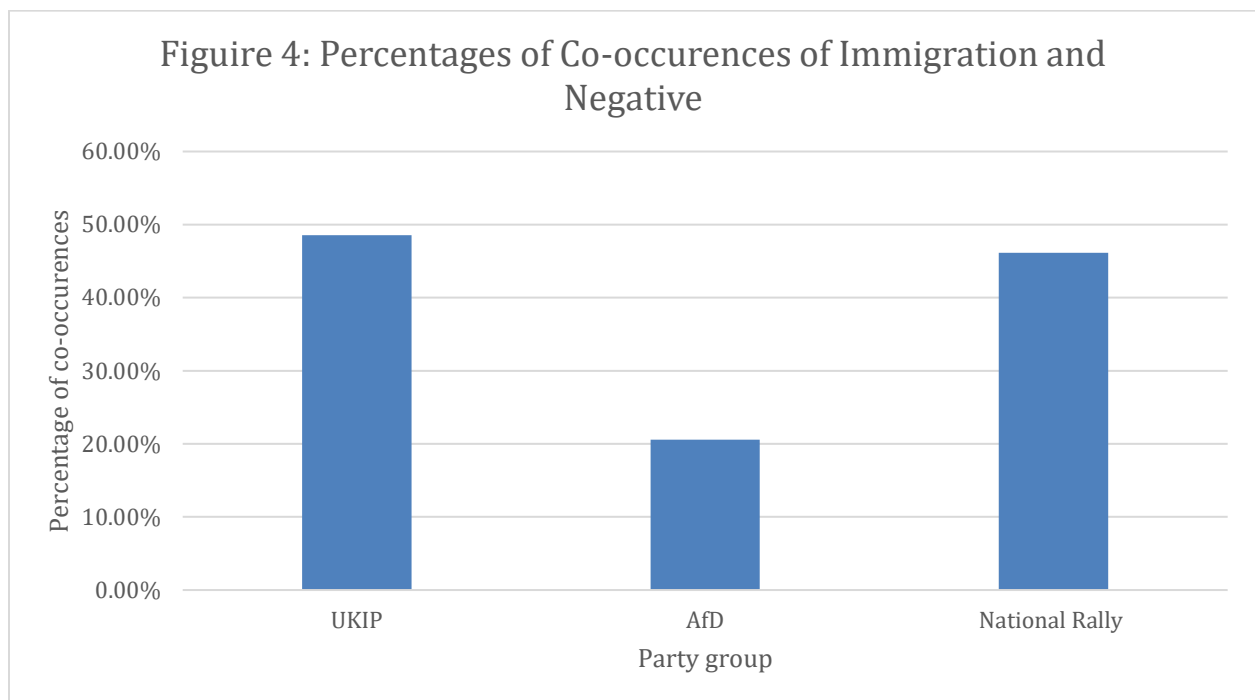


### **Description of Results**

Figure three shows the percentage of co-occurrences of national identity and immigration. These co-occurrences mean that whenever national identity is mentioned it is in

relation to immigration. To illustrate this concept, an example would be an UKIP representative stating in an interview that Britain needs to “protect our borders”. This puts immigration and national identity together because the representative would be stressing the urgency that to take care of the nation, Britain would have to restrict immigration. Therefore, it is tying the maintenance of the ethnocentric identity to preventing “the other” from entering that national identity. The United Kingdom Independence party has the highest co-occurrences at 82.90%. This means that at 82.90% of the time national identity and immigration are placed together in UKIP’s communications. Moreover, this shows that UKIP considers immigration as a concern for national identity. Additionally, AfD and the National Rally party have high percentages for communicating about national identity and immigration. AfD has the relation between national identity and immigration at 47.06% and the National Rally party has the percentage between immigration and national identity being at 57.69%. These two percentages are high for correspondence between national identity and immigration. The percentages highlight that these three parties believe that immigration affects national identity. This concept of linking immigration and national identity closely together highlights the concern of the “other” coming into the nation and changing the national identity. Additionally, the results of figure three showing that all these parties have high percentages of tying national identity and immigration together, emphasizes the priority of these parties to protect their national identity from immigrants.

**Figure Four: Percentages of co-occurences of immigration and negative**

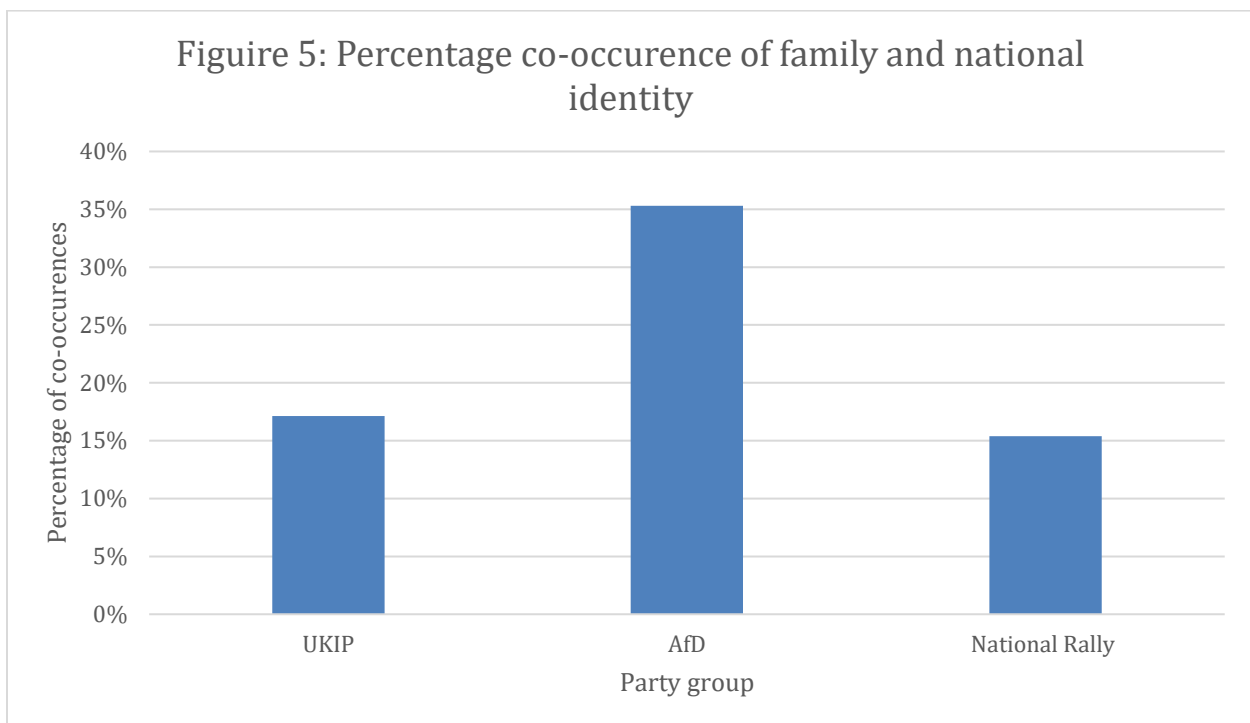


### **Description of Results**

Figure four is illustrating the correspondence between immigrants and negative. This means that every time that immigration is mentioned it is in a negative way. A negative concept would be linking immigrants to terrorism. This narrative highlights how these parties are viewing immigrants as a threat to national identity. The United Kingdom Independence party and the

National Rally party are both close to each other with their connection between immigration and negative. UKIP leads at 48.57% with the National Rally party second to UKIP at 26.15%. UKIP being at almost fifty percent highlights that almost half of the communication regarding immigration is negative. In comparison, AfD, is slightly lower in the percentage of co-occurrences of immigration and negative being at 20.59%. These percentages are relatively high therefore emphasizing that all these party's view immigration as a threat to their national identity. UKIP, AfD and the National Rally party view immigrants as being "the other" invading their country. This negative narrative is a priority for these parties to instill fear into their supporters about outsiders coming in and hurting the national identity. One example of immigration and negative is AfD's billboards associating immigrants with terrorism. Figure four's results are significant because it shows the xenophobia and anti-immigration that comes through these campaign communications.

**Figure Five: Percentage of co-occurrence of family and national identity**



**Description of results**

Figure five shows the results of these parties connecting national identity and family together. Every time that national identity was mentioned it also included a reference to family. This narrative is important because it is a unique way of portraying the importance of

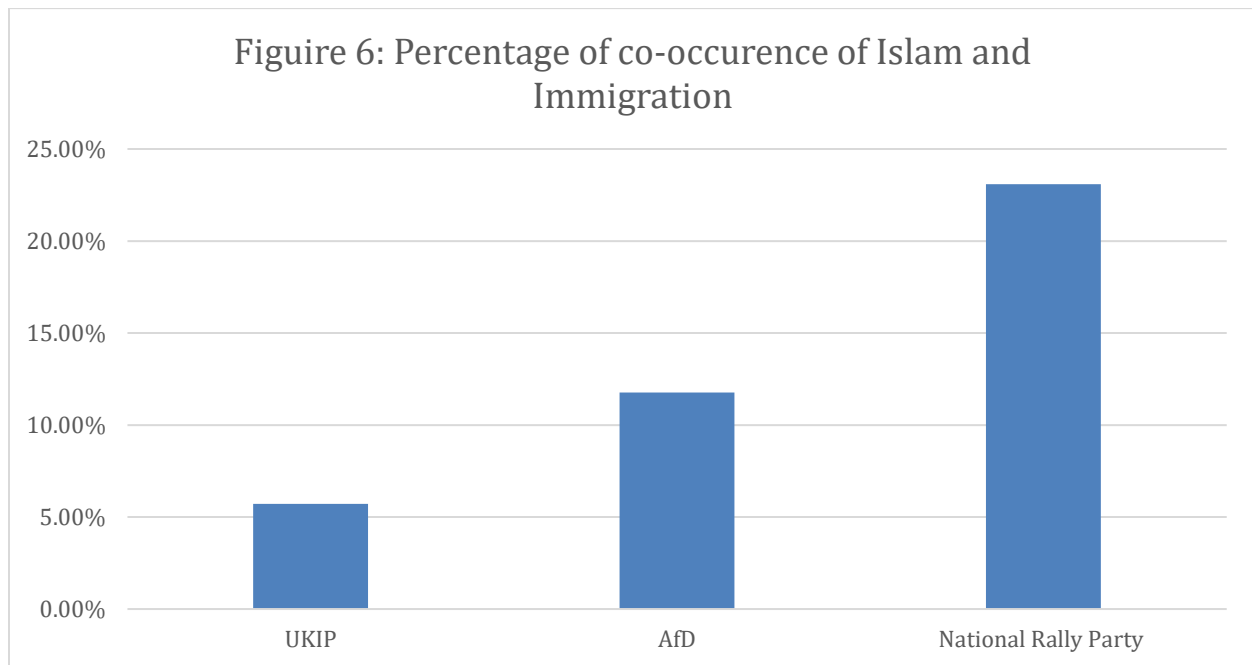


ethnocentrism in a nation through maintaining the family at home. An example of this would be the Alternative Für Deutschland's videos on welfare, and helping build the traditional German family to maintain an ethnocentric identity, AfD is the leading party of national identity and family being at 35%. This is much larger compared to the United Kingdom Independence party being at 17% and the National Rally party being at 16% for national identity and family co-occurrences. From this difference between AfD and the other parties, it can be inferred that AfD considers the family narrative as being a top priority for them for them to protect national identity. This suggests that when AfD feels that national identity is threatened, so is the German family in society. Therefore, it is a prerogative for AfD to campaign to protect the German family rather than focus on other narratives that seem minimal to the family. Protecting the German family will help protect the ethnocentrism of the nation and will help Germany build a population of white Germans. Having the production of new generations to carry the German identity is central to AfD's message. For instance, in one of their communications, there is a pregnant woman on a billboard with the statement, "New German babies? We will make" (AfD, "*Neue Deutsche? Machen wir selber*" Billboard). This example, and the results of AfD having a high percentage for family and national identity emphasizes that AfD is focused on building a new generation of Germans through encouraging reproduction and providing welfare programs for the German family.

In addition to this, UKIP and the National Rally party have lower percentages for this figure, highlighting the lack of priority for family in the national identity maintenance mission. UKIP and the National Rally party are more concerned about immigration rather than maintaining the family identity of the nation. Instead of focusing on protecting the borders from immigration and the concern regarding Islam, AfD is concerned regarding the demographic

crisis that faces Germany. This is another rhetoric that AfD uses to explain AfD's interest in protecting the German family. In an interview with the BBC, AfD representative Beatrix Von Storch, focuses on the "demographic crisis" of Germany and believes that the solution is having young people make babies for Germany to resolve this demographic crisis of too many immigrants and not as many Germans to counter act the immigrant population (BBC Newsnight, "What Does Germany's far right AfD party plan to do now?"). This narrative of family and national identity is concerning because it is like Adolf Hitler's message during the 1930's about of building a white, blue eyed, Aryan Germany. Therefore, it is important to analyze the family and national identity narrative because of its association to the mission of reproducing to maintain the ethnocentric identity of Germany.

**Figure Six: Percentage of co-occurrence of Islam and immigration**



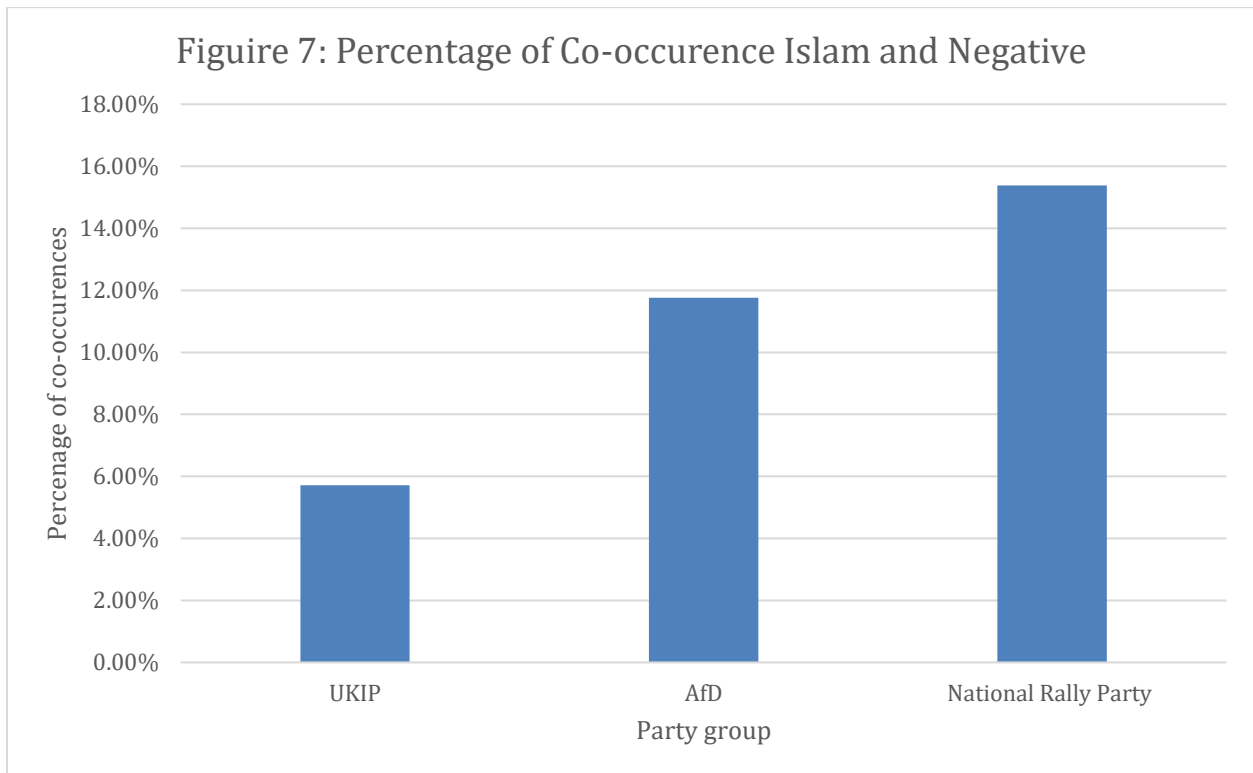
## **Description of Results**

Figure six shows the relationship between Islam and Immigration. This means that when talking about immigration there is also a relation to Islam. For instance, when talking about immigration in a speech, the leader of the National Rally party, Marine Le Pen, might bring up Islam because she believes that immigration brings Islam to France. Le Pen believes that Islam threatens the French identity. Figure six shows that the National Rally party has the highest percentage for relating Islam and immigration being at 23.08%. This suggests that the National Rally party believes that immigration and Islam are related to each other. Immigration brings Islam to France. Additionally, The Alternativ Für Deutschland and the United Kingdom Independence party are far behind National Rally at 11.76% (AfD) and 5.71% (UKIP). AfD being at 11.76% suggests that their party believes that Islam and Immigration are related but are not a priority for maintaining national identity. This could be reflected in figure five which emphasizes the priority for AfD being about the maintenance of family in national identity. Figure four's results are surprising as it highlights that UKIP's anti-immigration stance does not mention Islam and Immigration together. UKIP is at 5.71% for co-occurrences between Islam and Immigration. This percentage of 5.71% is relatively low compared to the National Rally party at 23.08%. This highlights that compared to UKIP, the National Rally party is focused on the cultural aspect that immigration brings rather than immigration in general. Whereas UKIP has a low percentage at 5.71% suggesting that UKIP does not view Islam related to immigration as much as the National Rally party.

In conclusion, figure four's results highlights that the National Rally party is concerned with immigration because of its relation to Islam and Islam integrating into French society. Being at 23.08%, the National Rally party, has this relation of Islam and immigration throughout

their communication. In most of her interviews, the National Rally party leader, Marine Le Pen, mentions concerns regarding Islam. Understanding party’s perception on the relation between immigration and Islam can help explain if the party is concerned with immigration or the cultural aspect of immigration being an issue. This further expands on the maintenance of national identity from keeping out cultural exposure in society.

**Figure Seven: Percentage of co-occurrence of Islam and negative**



**Description of Results**

Figure seven shows the percentage of co-occurrences between Islam and negative. This figure identifies these parties associating Islam with negative connotations and how much they associate Islam with being a negative threat to their nation. A negative connotation would be describing immigrants as terrorists. This figure is important because it shows the party's using a cultural aspect to scare their members and emphasize the importance of protecting national identity. Figure Seven illustrates that the National Rally party is the party with the highest percentage of negative associations with Islam being at 15.38%. AfD is close to the National Rally party being at 11.76% and UKIP being at 5.71% for co-occurrences of Islam and Negative. Figure seven expands on figure four, percentage of co-occurrences between Islam and Immigration, because it highlights the negative associations that are made towards Islam from these parties. These parties are not just highlighting that immigration is a threat to the national identity, but, that Islam is a cultural threat to national identity maintenance. Additionally, figure seven also coincides with figure six, percentage of co-occurrence of immigration and negative, with being more specific on what area of immigration these parties are concerned about which is Islam. According to Figure seven, the National Rally party believes that Islam is one of the biggest threats to national identity compared to the National Rally's negative associations with immigration from Figure Six. This is not surprising that the National Rally party holds a high percentage of Islam and negative associations as in figure four percentages of co-occurrences between Islam and immigration, National Rally is the highest compared to AfD and UKIP at 23.08% of co-occurrences.

This suggests that the National Rally party connects Islam and immigration not just closely together, but as an entire threat to national identity because of the associations with Islam being extremely negative from the National Rally's perspective. AfD's percentage in figure

seven being at 11.76% is lower than its percentage in figure six for immigration and negative which was at 20.59%. This comparison of AfD's negative perception on immigration and Islam highlights in figure six and seven suggests that AfD is more concerned about immigration being a threat to national identity rather than Islam itself being a cultural threat. Additionally, UKIP follows the same comparison as AfD, in figure six UKIP's percentage of co-occurrences of immigration and negative is high at 48.57% compared to the low percentage of 5.71% for figure seven in associating Islam with negative. This comparison of UKIP's percentage between figure six and seven suggests that along with AfD, UKIP is more concerned about immigration overall than Islam being in British society. It is important to analyze the results of figure seven because figure seven is focused on culture rather than immigration in general.

### **Comparison of immigration versus culture threat**

In comparing these results, it is evident that UKIP, AfD, and the National Rally party have different perceptions regarding immigration and Islam. In analyzing UKIP, UKIP feels concerned about immigration in general rather than the cultural aspect of immigration bringing Islam to the UK. For instance, in figure four, UKIP has almost half of its communications associating immigration with a negative connotation. As described above, this suggests that UKIP views immigration as being negative. However, in figure six that is showing the relation between Islam and immigration, and UKIP's percentage drops to 5.71%. This means that every time Islam is mentioned it is tied to immigration. However, between UKIP having a high percentage of immigration and negative to a low percentage for Islam and immigration, it suggests that UKIP views immigration generally as a threat to Britain but not as a cultural threat. Furthermore, in figure seven, which shows the association between Islam being associated with

negative connotations, UKIP once again has a low percentage at 5.71% for perceiving Islam in a negative light. Again, this suggests that UKIP is not concerned about the cultural aspects that immigration brings into Britain, but rather immigration in general that comes into the UK. In contrast with UKIP, the National Rally party is concerned regarding the cultural aspect of Islam that immigration brings to France. In figure four, the National Rally party is at 26.15% for immigration and negative connotations. This result highlights that the National Rally party views immigration as a threat to national identity. However, in looking at figure's six (percentage of co-occurrences between Islam and immigration), and figure seven (percentage of co-occurrences between Islam and negative), it is evident that the National Rally party is mostly concerned about Islam in France. Therefore, the research suggests that parties are divided on immigration rather than just about Islam.

## **Discussion**

These results highlight that there are distinctions between narratives with these parties. For instance, as analyzed in figure 5, AfD is focused on the priority of maintaining the traditional German family to protect the national identity of Germany. However, figure five reflects the low priority of the relation between national identity and family in the results for UKIP and the National Rally party. Additionally, another important point that has been analyzed in these results is the difference between immigration and Islam. The National Rally party seems to focus more on immigration than Islam when comparing figure six and seven. These results are surprising as I would infer from the communications that the National Rally party would have more negative for Islam than for immigration. These results highlight the different priorities of the parties in how they view the variety of narratives to protect national identity. It is important

to use this quantitative section together with the qualitative section that describes these narratives that these parties use.

## **6. Conclusion of thesis**

This thesis has identified that these far-right parties are concerned with immigration affecting the national identity of the nation. Additionally, this thesis has identified the areas that the ideology of nationalism is weaponized to create the divide of a superior population versus other nation states (Soblewska and Ford, 22). The rise of nationalism has been connected to far-right extreme behavior in Europe and throughout the world (Koehler,85). Right wing nationalism is an ideology that must be analyzed and evaluated to understand how far right parties are able to influence extremist groups. It is important to understand the communication methods that these parties use, to analyze how these far-right parties propagate hatred towards minority groups and facilitate racial prejudice against immigrants.

The results from the quantitative and qualitative section of this thesis show that far right parties in the UK, Germany and France are all focused on issues of immigration and national identity. The concern of national identity is tied closely to immigration coming into the nation. Across all the communications, it is evident that these parties are concerned regarding the immigration that is coming into their country. There is a distinction between the parties on what areas of immigration they are most concerned about and what area's that are not focused on in the communication about national identity. For instance, the National Rally party is concerned about immigration because of the concern that immigration brings Islam to France. In addition to



the National Rally party, AfD has the same concern regarding Islam being brought into Germany and has many communications referencing negative connotations about Islam and immigration. Whereas UKIP seems to be focused on the amounts of immigration coming into the country rather than being concerned about Islam. Another priority that is distinctive for AfD is the family narrative. AfD seems to view family as being central in the national identity maintenance rhetoric. Family is at the center of AfD's campaign in maintaining the ethnocentric identity of the nation. This is attributed to the ideology that ethnocentrism and national identity is passed down through generations in the family. Therefore, family becomes one of the central focuses in the campaign to maintain national identity in AfD's communications. Whereas UKIP and the National Rally party are not concerned about the development of the nuclear family. Therefore, there are discrepancies between parties on which area of national identity they are concerned about. The research highlights that these parties are worried that the nation is under attack from "the other" meaning immigrants and that there is an urgency to protect the national identity of the nation. Negative connotations towards immigrants are high throughout the results in the quantitative section. These parties are extremely concerned that immigrants pose a threat to their national identity. Therefore, the portrayal of immigrants throughout the communication is oftentimes racist and xenophobic. The narratives in the qualitative section of this thesis follow the theoretical framework of ethnocentrism and national identity to keep out other groups.

Ethnocentrism plays a huge role in influencing the national identity of a nation. These parties' communications are tied to ethnocentric narratives because they produce this ideology of being focused on the nation and the growth of the nation and being concerned about "out groups" that are threats to the nation's development (Soblewska and Ford, 38). Groups of immigrants are considered out groups because of not being a part of the nation and coming into the nation with a

new culture (Soblewska and Ford, 39). Retaining a traditional ethnocentric nation is a priority for these parties. Nationalism is not created on its own through states (Anderson, 6). Nationalism is born out of wanting to create an imagined community (Anderson, 7). These parties can construct a national identity that is in accordance with their beliefs and ideologies. For instance, AfD is focused on family maintenance for Germany and therefore has most communications focused on family development. In addition to this, the National Rally party is concerned Islam disrupting the French ethnocentric identity. UKIP is having the concern that immigration is overwhelming the UK and taking the jobs of average British people. Each party constructs its ethnocentric national identity throughout the communications. The story of nationalism is told through the lens and perspective from these parties. Furthermore, these parties are concerned about immigration coming into the nation and changing the ethnocentric identity. Ethnocentrism ideology is the belief that one nation is stronger than all the other nations (Soblewska and Ford, 22). These parties want to maintain the strength of the nation by limiting the amount of immigration into the country. Studying nationalism through the framework of ethnocentrism and national identity maintenance is key when understanding the parties' messages of nationalism.

UKIP, the National Rally party, and AfD, all talk about nationalism differently to each other. These parties are constructing their own "imagined community" through the communication platforms (Anderson, 7). These results are important to understand how these parties construct their imagined communities because of the dangers that stem from nationalism. We must understand how these parties discuss nationalism, to understand how their communications can influence far-right extremism. The findings of this thesis suggest that nationalism is not dead. Nationalism is alive in Europe and is growing in the far-right political sphere in powerful European countries. In addition to this, the world is digitalized with

messages and communications being transferred across nations. The ideas of ethnocentrism which is pushing individuals to be loyal to their nation and the fear of immigrants is being shared amongst different countries. These parties are unique in their description of nationalism. Each party has a different narrative when portraying nationalism. It can be inferred from the research that these parties have multiple different influences on why they portray nationalism the way they do. As indicated within this thesis, nationalism has been used as a weapon against immigrants and is weaponized to create an ethnocentric and xenophobic environment. There are many different influences that create nationalism in Europe. These parties are portraying their own version and story of nationalism. However, it is important to question how these parties have been influenced in their construction of nationalism. I would argue that these parties have been influenced by the narratives around nationalism that have spread around the world. However, I believe that this research indicates that culture and history heavily influence nationalism. This is apparent in Afd's view of nationalism. Afd uses family within its communications when talking about nationalism. This is an aspect of Afd's portrayal of nationalism that is unique to Afd's perception on nationalism.

I would argue that Afd was influenced by Germany's history with nationalism and Adolf Hitler's construction of an Aryan nation. Additionally, the National Rally party is focused on the rhetoric that Muslims are a threat to France's security. This anti Islam narrative within the portrayal of national identity of the National Rally party could be because of France's history of controversial policies towards its large Muslim population. France has also been the victim to many terrorists' attacks from extremists that identify themselves as being from the

Muslim community. Although these individuals are extremists, it allows for the National Rally party and far-right individuals to view these individuals as representing the entire Muslim community in France and therefore being a threat to the French people. Another area of influence on why these parties depict nationalism the way that they do could be contributed to the ideas of nationalism that are spreading across borders. This is because of the exchange of information and ideas across the internet. These far-right movements are spreading their ideologies of anti-immigrant sentiment and maintaining the nation through the distribution of information online.

This research will add on to the research that has been done on far-right movements because of the evaluation of the communication methods that these parties use to portray national identity. Research on far-right movements must focus on studying parties within the country's where these movements are taking place. Far right extremism is on the rise across the world. Far right terrorist groups are finding ways to disseminate false information and carry out acts of violence to achieve the common goal of maintaining the national identity of the nation and keep out immigrants. The world has seen attacks on minority communities because of far-right extremism. Future research will focus on evaluating the communications of far-right extremist groups and the parallel of the communications to far right political group communications. How are far right political group communications like the communications of far-right extremist groups? One of the party's studied in this thesis, AfD, has been tied to the far-right extremist movement of Pegida in Germany. This movement shows similar traits of AfD in being anti-immigrant and xenophobic (Grabow, 175). We must understand the correlation between far-right extremism and far right political parties to defeat the rise of far-right terrorism in Europe.

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