

UNIVERSITY OF TARTU

Faculty of Social Sciences

Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies

Madli Katriin Tauts

**THE ROLE OF POPULIST RADICAL RIGHT PARTIES IN FRAMING THE  
MULTIPOLAR WORLD ORDER**

MA thesis

Supervisor: Louis John Wierenga, MA

Tartu 2020

I, Madli Katriin Tauts, have written this Master's thesis independently. All viewpoints of other authors, literary sources and data from elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

.....Madli Katriin Tauts.....

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## **Abstract**

The potential transformation of the existing world order has been one of the most prominent topics in International Relations' (IR) academic sphere and literature in recent years. However, several IR scholars have argued that in order to truly justify states' actions, the impact of domestic players in shaping the foreign policy agenda of a state should be investigated as well. During the recent decades, one of the main emerging domestic players have been populist radical right (PRR) parties whose impact, thanks to their recent boost in electoral votes as well, can be seen not only in the domestic policy sphere but also in IR in general. Furthermore, its role in shaping multipolar world order is currently an understudied topic. Derived from that, the aim of this thesis is to investigate the role of PRR parties in framing the multipolar world order and for that, an interpretative compare-and-contrast case study was conducted, with a focus on four relevant PRR parties in Europe: The League (Italy), The Freedom Party (Austria), The Finns Party (Finland) and Conservative People's Party of Estonia. According to the results, the main factor contributing to the way how PRR parties frame the multipolar world order is their negative stance on globalisation and the bigger power the PRR has in terms of governance, the grater its impact on the anti-hegemonic drift.

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## **Introduction**

In recent years, one of the most prominent topics in International Relations' (IR) academic sphere has been the rapid transformation of the world order and the dispute over its nature (Chebankova, 2017; Flockhart, 2016; Cox, 2018). The main aspects of this transformation consist of the rising importance of regionalism, the increasing influence of non-Western powers (like Russia and China) and the expansion of non-state actors, along with degradation of Western cohesion and supremacy of U.S. as world's superpower in terms of both economy and military capacity (Acharya 2018). One way the scholars of IR have decided to call the changing world order is by using the concept of multipolarity, which means that instead of having one or two most influential, there are several states in the world that share similar quantity of military, cultural, financial and economic power. The term "multipolar world order" have been used especially by Russia and China in their joint declarations and treaties already from the mid-1990s (Turner 2009). Although the multipolar world order cannot be precisely defined as it has not been fully developed yet, the importance of studying the factors that actively shape the anti-hegemonic drift is widely spread among IR scholars (Chebankova, 2017).

One of the main factors that shapes both IR and the changing world order is the foreign policy of states (Dolan, 2018; Cooper, A. F. & Flesmes, D., 2013; Umbach, 2006). However, in order to truly justify states' actions, a theory of foreign policy "must incorporate domestic players as well", claims one of the most prominent IR scholars, Kenneth Waltz (1979, pp. 122). During the recent decades, one of the main emerging domestic players have been populist radical right (PRR) parties whose impact, thanks to their recent boost in electoral votes as well, can be seen not only in the domestic policy sphere but also in IR in general. By combining authoritarian values with the nativist rhetoric, it is evident that PRR parties are not only undermining liberal Western values (like globalisation and humanitarian intervention) but Western cohesion as well, especially in terms of the EU (Fukuyama, 2018; Werkmann and Gherghina, 2016; Mudde, 2007; Mudde, 2019b Norris and Inglehart, 2019; Verbeek and Zaslove, 2015).

Another evident characteristic of PRR is its alignment with Russia (Klapisis, 2015; Shekhovtsov, 2018). According to Klapisis (2015, pp. 55), not only do many PRR parties see Moscow as a "geopolitical alternative" to both the EU and NATO, they are also drawn

to the “semi-authoritarian and neo-conservative model of governance” of Putin’s Russia. Moreover, it could be argued that by undermining the EU and aligning themselves with Russia, many European PRR parties and politicians are directly participating in shaping the sphere of international relations and thus also in the progression of the multipolar world order. However, PRR’s role in shaping multipolar world order is currently an understudied topic.

Derived from that, the objective of this thesis is to investigate the role of PRR parties in framing the multipolar world order and for that, it states following research questions: (1) *How the populist radical right parties frame the multipolar world order?* (2) *How nativism influences the PRR’s foreign policy agenda and stances on multipolarity?* In order to answer the research questions, an interpretative compare-and-contrast case study will be conducted as this type of research would not only help to understand the reasons behind the phenomena of interest of this thesis but also the connection between the main concepts. The main concepts of this thesis are *anti- globalist*, *anti-interventionist* and *anti-Western governance of PRR parties*. One of the main reasons for choosing the interpretative paradigm for this research is because of the assumption that there are several possible ways for defining social reality and so from the ontological perspective the reality is formed by human experiences and social contexts (Yanow, 2014a; Lynch, 2014; Marshall and Rosman, 2016). Moreover, is rather difficult to make positivist generalisations when trying to analyse the outcomes of political movements as analysing one social world and beliefs requires to understand different perceptions of social reality by different actors (Yanow, 2014a, pp. 12).

In order to analyse the main concepts of this thesis a qualitative content analysis on the relevant data and sources will be conducted, such as the analysis of the interviews conducted with the party leaders and official party platforms as well as on opinion pieces by the party leaders and party-based websites. Based on the theoretical framework and research questions, an inductive (data driven) coding frame will be built and main concepts of the current paper will be used as sensitising concepts which invite inquiry into their meaning to each party under study. Furthermore, this method is useful for thematic analysis that would allow this thesis to identify what the meanings are in terms of nativism and the nativist stance as applied to foreign policy agenda and stances on multipolarity of PRR parties.

The relevance of this thesis lies in the dual theoretical importance as by addressing readers of both academic fields (PRR scholars and IR scholars), the thesis helps to create a linkage between them. In essence, this thesis builds on a void in the scholarship on the PRR and although one example of the current topic is the article by Verveek and Zaslove (2015) which addresses the current phenomena by using a single-N case study, this thesis aims to build on their work in more contemporary circumstances as the 4th wave of the PRR is even further underway (Mudde, 2019b). On the other hand, by addressing the concept of multipolarity and challenges to the liberal world order, this thesis also aims to contribute to an especially important issue in IR scholarship. Furthermore, another aspect of the current thesis that highlights its novelty and importance is the contribution to the literature on interventionism as it is rather difficult to find extensive literature that has investigated how the latter is used in the PRR discourse.

This thesis is structured in four chapters. The first chapter defines the main conceptual phenomena of this thesis and brings out its relevance from the perspective of PRR. The second chapter begins with a literature overview of PRR in general, presenting how different scholars have understood the latter and bringing out the reasons behind its rise. The chapter proceeds with the discussion on the impact of neoliberalism, how populism follows the norms of constitutional liberal democracy and answering the question how could be framed the anti-Western governance of PRR parties based on the literature. Furthermore, connection between the PRR and Russia will be analysed, along with connection between multipolar world order theory and PRR and the literature review on radical right parties' anti-globalisation and anti-interventionist stances. In the third chapter, the research design along with the data and methods will be laid out, also providing explanations for the reasons behind the choice of interpretative paradigm and qualitative content analysis as a method. In the fourth chapter results of the content analysis will be presented case by case along with the discussion on the potential answers to the research questions and to the expectations and assumptions of the thesis. Finally, the findings will be summarised in the conclusion.



## **I Defining main concepts**

### **1.1 Defining populist radical right and anti-globalist**

As for defining “populist radical right (PRR)”, the concept is also often called “far right” and according to Cas Mudde (2007, pp. 15) radical right parties have all 3 of the following components: populism, nativism, and authoritarianism. He has argued effectively that nativism (xenophobic nationalism) is a host ideology of these parties. Moreover, a considerable body of literature has accumulated on the phenomenon called, among other terms, “The Radical Right”, “The Right Wing,” and “The Extreme Right” (ibid.). Furthermore, Werkmann and Gherghina (2016, pp. 3) claim that, radical right parties are often characterized by “their rejection of liberal democracy”, and also for “expressing their rejection in an anti-pluralist, anti-minority rights and anti-parliamentary ideology”. Thus, “authoritarianism is considered another feature of the radical right core ideology” and their scepticism for the EU plays an important part as well (ibid). Although “they oppose the shift of power from the national to the supranational level and seek to re-strengthen national sovereignty, it is rare for them to clearly reject a country’s EU membership”, argue Werkmann and Gherghina (2016, pp. 3-4).

According to Jan Aart Scholte (2008), the concept of globalisation is often regarded as a “particular type of universalisation, one in which social structures of Western modernity (capitalism, industrialism, rationalism, urbanism, etc.) are spread across all of humanity, in the process destroying pre-existent cultures and local self-determination”. In addition, R. Urzua (2000) defines globalisation as

*the acceptance of a set of economic rules for the entire world designed to maximise profits and productivity by universalising markets and production, and to obtain the support of the state with a view to making the national economy more productive and competitive.*  
(Urzua 2000)

Taking into account the definitions above and also relying on the following definition by Martin Albrow (1990), the current paper also conceptualises “anti-globalisation” as being against “all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society”. Moreover, backlash to neoliberal globalization is something that the RR has been keen on addressing and according to Darren J. O’Byrne

(2019), there have been several occasions in the past several years where different far right parties have distanced themselves from the neoliberals and neoconservatives “who have dominated the political Right for some time, and who have been the principal drivers of capitalist globalization”. Mudde (2019a) add, that those who vote for far right parties do it mainly “for punishing the established parties, who are blamed for globalisation or to put a halt to globalisation (including immigration) and “to get their country back””. Moreover, this particular sentiment plays out for both supply and demand side of PRR parties as well as there is a significant amount of the electorate who feels this way and coupled with its ideology (supply side), the PRR has had success in attracting them as a voter base (Norris and Inglehart, 2019; Kehrberg, 2015; Cox, 2018).<sup>1</sup>

## **1.2 Defining anti-interventionist and anti-Western governance**

The concept “foreign intervention” is also often used as “humanitarian intervention” which can be defined as the “use of force to protect people in another State from gross and systematic human rights violations committed against them, or more generally to avert a humanitarian catastrophe, when the target State is unwilling or unable to act” (Lowe & Tzanakopoulos, 2011). According to Schmidt (2018), foreign intervention could be justified as “a response to instability, with the corollary of responsibility to protect”, and as an action against “the war on terror”. This thesis defines “anti-interventionist” as being against “the use of the discretionary power of a government in one society to address perceived problems in foreign societies” (Coyne, 2017). One of the main reasons behind the negative stance on foreign intervention shared by many PRR parties is the belief that any type of foreign intervention is jeopardizing state’s sovereignty and that national interests must come first (Verbeek and Zaslove, 2015; Weiss, 2020).

As for defining the West, Jacinta O’Hagan (2002, pp.8) claims, that it is often defined as “an actor, a powerful actor”, despite the fact that the “nature of its agency is problematic”. As a possible interpretation, Daniel Deudney and John Ikenberry (1993/94) define the contemporary West as “consisting of Western Europe, North America and Japan”. Moreover, the West can be seen as “antithesis to the communist East, which is still central

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<sup>1</sup> More detailed discussion on supply and demand side factors of PRR can be found in the section 2.2.1

to the language of post-Cold War politics”, argues O’Hagan (2002, pp.7) and adds, that despite the sophistication of its constitution, it is important to recognize several powerful actors (like U.S. and EU) along with processes and ideas (like democracy and capitalism, for example) that have participated in the formation of contemporary world politics (ibid, pp. 9).

Relying on the definition provided by O’Hagan (2002), the current paper defines “the West” as Europe and United States. Derived from that, the concept “anti-Western” will be defined as any action against the interests of Europe and North America, especially in terms of philosophy (values) and policies.

## **II Literature review on populist radical right**

### **2.1 Understanding populist radical right**

One of the most important aspects to understand about right-wing populism as political rhetoric is that it promotes authoritarian values and opposes liberal norms and liberal democracy. According to Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart (2019, pp. 4-5), there are two main claims of populist rhetoric regarding the governing of the societies. Firstly, populism aims “to challenge the legitimate authority of the establishment by questioning the pluralist beliefs about the rightful location of power and authority in any state, including the role of elected representatives in democratic regimes” (ibid, pp. 4). Regarding that, it is common for populist leaders to portray themselves as “insurgents willing to ride roughshod over longstanding conventions disrupting mainstream politics as usual” (ibid). According to Francis Fukuyama (2018), this also “presents a challenge to democracy, since such leaders tend to be anti-institutional”.

Secondly, populist leaders insist that “the only legitimate source of political and moral authority in a democracy rests with the people” so they promise to give the people back the power in their country (Norris and Inglehart, 2019, pp. 5). In addition, Anna Grzymala-Busse (2018) claims, that as a result, the “people need to be represented by the populist party or movement, so that their interests can finally be served”. However, rather than promoting democracy, populism seems to be degrading it as the governing practices of populists can be called authoritarian, argue Norris and Inglehart (2019, pp. 6) along with Michel Cox (2018), who states, that populists “may talk the democratic talk. But hidden behind all that rhetoric is a dangerously anti-democratic impulse”. Moreover, Norris and Inglehart (2019, pp. 7) add that, the authoritarianism practiced by populists can be defined as a “cluster of values prioritizing collective security for the group at the expense of liberal autonomy for the individual, which prioritize three core components”:

*(1) the importance of security against risks of instability and disorder; (2) the value of group conformity to preserve conventional traditions and guard our way of life; (3) the need for loyal obedience toward strong leaders who protect the group and its customs. (Norris and Inglehart (2019, pp.7)*

In the far-right political discourse, the first component mentioned above is often referring to how foreigners are taking away “our” jobs, immigrants “attacking our women” and how terrorists are “threatening our safety” (Norris and Inglehart, 2019, pp. 12). For example, during one of his interviews back in 2015, the leader of Estonia’s main far right party EKRE Mart Helme said, that “the rise in popularity of nationalist and anti-immigration political parties in Western Europe is a natural reaction to violent and rapidly increased amounts of immigrants” (Helme, 2015). The second component refers to defending “us” against threats to European values and third component to the attitude “I alone can fix it; “believe me” or “are you in my team?” (Norris and Inglehart, 2019, pp.12). For example, in one of his interviews, Italy’s main PRR party leader Matteo Salvini compared following the EU norms as slavery and hinted that only he is capable to return Italy to its former glory (Salvini 2019a).

Considering the above mentioned, it is important to bring out another important characteristic related to populist radical right rhetoric: the cult of fear. It is fueled by authoritarian values combined with the nativist rhetoric, like the necessity for “high walls and strong leaders in order to protect *us* and *our* nation in the world which is seen as full of gangs, criminals and fanatics; Muslim terrorists and illegal aliens”, argue Norris and Inglehart (2019, pp. 7). Alina Polyakova and Anton Shekhovtsov (2016, pp. 1-2) add that the cult of fear also helps to increase the “support for nationalist populism, economic isolationism, and demagoguery”, especially while mainstream parties “struggle to address growing security threats and fears of an “Islamization of Europe””. Moreover, Polyakova and Shekhovtsov (2016, pp. 2) argue, that it is highly important “to pay attention to developments in Central and Eastern Europe, where the roots of democracy are still relatively shallow, Russian influence is considerable and gaining, and NATO arguably faces its stiffest challenges”. They add that far-right parties in Central and Eastern Europe also “tend to be more antidemocratic and extremist than their counterparts in Western Europe” (ibid).

In foreign affairs, the true essence of populist radical right rhetoric is the protection of national sovereignty and borders, along with a “strong military and trade protectionism”, claim Norris and Inglehart (2019, pp. 8). They add, that for PRR parties, “the membership of the European Union, diplomatic alliances, human rights international engagement and

multi-lateral cooperation within that G7, NATO and United Nations” are far less important (ibid). Furthermore, Polyakova and Shekhovtsov (2016, pp. 5) argue, that “the European integration process and the EU as an institution, with multicultural policies at its core, are interpreted as contributing to or even encouraging the security threat”. In addition, it is “the fear, rather than the experience, of rising instability that creates fertile ground for authoritarian solutions” (ibid).

When speaking about national affairs and policies, it is evident that authoritarian populism supports state’s active intervention “in restricting non-traditional lifestyles, typically by limiting same sex marriages, LGBTQ rights and gender equality, access to contraception and abortion, and affirmative actions or quotas”, claim Norris and Inglehart (2019, pp. 8). However, these types of policies can be destructive to “longstanding norms and institutions of liberal democracy” due to the ability “to corrode respect for free speech, social tolerance and confidence in government by denigrating fake media, dishonest politicians, and judicial authority”, argue Norris and Inglehart (2019, pp. 22). They add that, the more authoritarian forces gain power, the more likely the state will practice protectionist border policies, deteriorate its multilateral relations with other Western states and cultivate extremist hate groups in society by degrading social trust and ethnic tolerance, especially towards minorities (ibid, pp. 23).

In addition, Michael Cox (2018) argues, that far right could also be seen as an expression of western powerlessness on different levels. Firstly, it is the powerlessness of ordinary citizens who are not able to cope with the big changes that surround them and also the powerlessness of western leaders and politicians who “really do not seem to have an answer to the many challenges facing the West right now”. He adds, that a big number of common people might “feel they have no control and express this by supporting populist movements and parties who promise to restore control to them” but in reality, both the established political parties along with politicians and the established structures of power “are equally powerless” (ibid). Cox exemplifies his arguments by examining how the movement of migrants from the Middle East and Africa is still an issue and how the states are showing incapability to control the borders of their own nation states. Moreover, the current power holders are powerless when “faced with a terrorist threat or powerless to

prevent offshoring and tax avoidance. And powerless to reduce unemployment to any significant degree across most of the Eurozone” (ibid).

Although Cox (2018) agrees, that authoritarian populist policies can be harmful to liberal democracy, “many millions of people are obviously very unhappy with the old order and have expressed their alienation by voting against the establishment in very large numbers”, he claims. Derived from that, it can be said that “populism and authoritarianism remain potent forces in the contemporary world, even where authoritarian-populist parties and leaders do not make substantial or sustained electoral gains” (Norris and Inglehart, 2019, pp. 12). Furthermore, as a party family, the PRR have gotten strong enough in recent years (roughly 12-16% of the national vote in Europe) (BBC, 2019) to strongly influence the electoral arena and thus the foreign policy and the general worldview of the PRR can be very important for the discussion about the changing world order.

Moreover, Mudde’s (2019b) argues, that the fourth wave of the PRR sees the RR as mainstreamed and that some mainstream parties address the same issues as the PRR and offer similar issue positions. Thus, the PRR has not modernized, instead many mainstream parties have moved further towards the PRR in terms of immigration and integration, but also, and very importantly from the perspective of this thesis, European integration and international collaboration. Derived from that, it is important to underline that populist radical right politics are not limited to populist radical right parties and the role of the PRR cannot be ignored in this shift. In addition, another essential factor to mention here is the *verrechtsing* thesis which discusses the shift to more right-wing positions on the socio-cultural dimension at the mass and elite level (Mudde, 2016b). Furthermore, Mudde (ibid.) argues that this has come from the mainstream right, rather than the PRR in Western Europe. Thus, it is essential from the perspective of this thesis to underline and acknowledge the role of party competition and issue ownership which plays a significant role in shifting other parties to the right and highlights the importance of the radical right in both the political process and the relevance of their stance on the multipolar world order.

## **2.2 Explanations behind the rise of the populist radical right**

In order to fully understand how the far right parties have managed to achieve their current hold over the significant share of votes around Europe it is important to examine the reasons behind the popularity of PRR parties and according to Simon Bornschier (2018, pp. 311) the best way to do it is by focusing on the “interplay between the economic and cultural dimensions of competition in shaping the fortunes of the radical right”. Furthermore, he calls for the distinction of economic and cultural modernization in order to “overcome the theoretical vagueness of the concepts” (ibid, pp. 316). Speaking of economic modernisation, Bornschier (2018, pp. 315) points out that citizens’ work situations and structural economic change play “central role in shaping voter preferences” and so he underlines economic modernisation as “backbone of radical right support”. He adds, that the electorate of radical right usually experience difficulties on the labour market and because of that the voters try to align themselves with the political rhetoric hostile to immigrants as the latter is made responsible for difficulties on the labour market (ibid, pp. 315-16).

As for the cultural dimension, then it is evident that far right parties are positioning themselves on the opposite of the New Left in terms of the political agenda, especially in terms of minority rights and the attitude towards globalization, European integration and multiculturalism, which became “an issue that was difficult to avoid once the mobilization of the radical right gained momentum”, claims Bornschier (2018, pp. 318-19). As by now it has become clear that radical right’s core support base is established by the working class and especially the production workers for whom “the perceived cultural threats are more important than the economic threats”, this provides also an explanation for one of the reasons why PRR has succeeded in winning them over (ibid, pp. 319-20).

### **2.2.1 Cultural backlash theory**

Another explanation for the rise in the popularity of the PRR is, according to Norris and Inglehart (2019, pp. 32), the cultural backlash theory which is composed of three interactive components: demand-side values, supply side institutions and governance. The demand-side factors involve “societal forces shaping the public's values, attitudes,



and beliefs creating reservoirs of potential support and the electorate that parties attempt to attract” (ibid). These forces include “the silent revolution in socially liberal attitudes, immigration and diversity and economic grievances” (ibid.). Moreover, Jason Kehrberg (2015, pp. 16) agrees that “immigration attitudes” is one of the main aspects that distinguishes radical right voters from the citizenry, but he also underlines the importance of social conservatism and populism. He adds, that one of the main reasons behind the voter’s support toward radical right party is how the latter “portrays immigrants as both an economic and social threat to the citizenry” and that relates well to the interpretation of the populism by Bojan Bugaric (2019, pp. 11), who sees it, amongst other things, as a “reaction against progressive cultural change”. Besides, against the latter are especially people, who are “rooted in a specific place or community, usually a small town or in the countryside, and are socially conservative, often less educated,” argues Cox (2018).

Furthermore, Fukuyama (2018) also refers to the importance of cultural dimension when speaking of the PRR’s success in recent years as “the rapid social change that has produced high levels of immigration has also threatened national identities and caused older native populations to feel they have lost status and influence.” Moreover, as the majority of current mainstream parties in Europe are “linked historically to either the promotion or the acceptance of multi-cultural government policies”, it should not come as a surprise that far right parties, on the contrary, are advocating the cultural threat of immigration and relying on social conservatism in their rhetoric, argues Kehrberg (2015, pp. 17). In addition, Kehrberg (ibid, pp. 16) also brings out the importance of “the ‘fear’ message of radical right parties” which means that PRR parties are using the cult of fear as one of their tools for “attracting voters with similar attitudes”. Cox (2018) adds, that it is in the nature of far right “to thrive on conspiracy, to find enemies even where they do not exist, to criminalise all opposition to them, to play up external threats, and to insist that its critics at home are merely working for foreign governments.”

Thus, the above-mentioned clearly indicates that nativism and a sort of inward looking component of the electorate which is large enough to keep PRR parties relevant and, in most cases, influence mainstream parties to adapt some (or all, depending on which parties and countries) of the RR’s agenda, is the driving force of the PRR (see also the *verrechtsing* theory in section 2.1). Derived from that, this thesis argues that nativism

and a polarized electorate to which the RR has been able to successfully capitalize on has made the PRR important enough to become coalitionable and therefore, exercise power and influence that has an impact on foreign policy – either in the way it is talked about or policy decisions, or both and although most of the literature on the PRR has focused rather on domestic policy, it is evident that nativism can also drive foreign policy agenda of the above-mentioned parties and thus should be analysed as well. Moreover, this thesis will demonstrate that nativism can drive foreign policy as the analysis of the data has shown this tendency as well.

In addition, along with the demand-side factors, it is also essential to emphasize the supply-side factors, which involve “the appeals that parties and leaders use when seeking to mobilize support and the institutional context, especially electoral systems regulating party competition, shaping how popular votes translate into seats and ministerial office”, claim Norris and Inglehart (2019, pp. 32). According to Mudde (2007, pp. 275), the literature on populist radical right often underlines three main factors: a “moderate ideology, a charismatic leader, and a well-structured organization”. He adds that the party ideology can be considered as “the most frequently mentioned internal supply-side factor in the literature” without excluding ideological extremity as an important aspect of electoral success (*ibid*). Moreover, supply-side determinants “can enrich the picture and provide useful insights into what determines the electoral fate of far right parties”, state Werkmann and Gherghina (2016, pp. 5-6) and highlight the programmatic strategies of competitors as those seem to be “essential for the electoral success of radical right parties”. Furthermore, Arzheimer (2018) claims, that supply side usually refers to all variables pertaining to the PRR party itself, which includes, but is not limited to the stylistic and substantive content of the party manifesto and other texts, speeches, or statements produced by the party (which is also important vis-à-vis the current thesis and data collection) as well as the structure of the party, leadership, and resources.

A good example of how radical right parties transmit their ideology and programmatic strategy is by using media and especially by generating propagandized fake news. According to Mudde (2007, pp. 259), “extensive professional propaganda campaigns” can be very useful for gaining electoral success and although parties cannot control how their image is portrayed by the mainstream media, they can transmit their ideas effectively by using websites (party platforms) and social media as these are “difficult to censor and

inexpensive to construct and maintain”. He adds, that by using social media, even “less relevant and organized populist radical right parties are able to get their message across to at least some part of the population” (ibid.). Moreover, it is quite probable that those behind the production of fake news “have played at least a part in far-right parties being taken seriously and therefore appearing on the radar of the ordinary voter”, states Tim Bale (2012, pp. 258).

In addition, a study conducted by Cantarella, Fraccaroli and Volpe (2019) shows, that fake news “have undeniably been biased in favour of populist or anti-establishment parties”. As “politically charged misinformation” has been circling around the internet, it does not come as a surprise that “many have been questioning whether the spread of fake news has affected the results of recent elections, contributing to the growth of populist party platforms” (ibid). Moreover, the “electoral success of populist or anti-establishment parties” can be linked to notable change in people’s consumption of information as “many scholars have found connections between consumption of misinformation and support for ‘anti-establishment’ rhetoric”, argue Cantarella, Fraccaroli and Volpe (2019).

Although PRR’s ideology is one of its main weapons when it comes to attracting voters, most of far right parties “seem no less capable than other marginal players of compromising their ideals and settling for less, especially if it gets them into power and helps them stay there”, argues Bale (2012, pp. 265). Furthermore, when it comes to the question which supply-side variables may explain party-level variation, then one is definitely the “electoral opportunity structure”, argue Werkmann and Gherghina (2016, pp. 6) and add, that “radical right are less successful at the polls when their message is covered by other competitors”. Moreover, it might be rather difficult to attribute PRR party’s success to the shared values among voters as “there are plenty of people who seem to share PRR values, but only a small minority of them vote for the populist radical right, nor is it clear that those who do vote for it do so because of those values”, claims Bale (2012, pp. 267).

### **2.2.2 Impact of neoliberalism**

In addition to the aforementioned, it is essential to underline the importance of neoliberalism as an economic policy model as well when discussing the potential aspects that contribute to the rise of the PRR. During the recent years, populists have been taking great advantage from the negative consequences of neoliberalism while spreading their political beliefs. According to Cox (2018), populists do not only believe that neoliberalism “has skewed the balance towards capital and away from labour”, but they also believe that it has promoted “lower inflation, lower growth rates, lower investment rates, lower productivity growth, increasing wealth and income inequality, diminished job insecurity, and a seriously deflationary bias in the world economy” (ibid.). Moreover, many PRR politicians assume that financial meltdown of 2008 and the subsequent Great Recession are direct results of neoliberalism what in turn were the “foundation for globalization and the economic crises in Europe”, claims Mudde (2016, pp. 27). As “threat of terrorism and anxiety about a massive wave of immigrants from the Muslim world” along with Brexit and economic crisis in Greece could be linked to the consequences of neoliberal economic policies, then one could argue that the latter “have helped to push populist movements to the center of European politics” (ibid, pp. 25).

In addition, Mudde (2016, pp. 25) emphasizes that in order to truly understand the relationship between the far right and neoliberalism it is important to examine the post-industrial revolution that evoked a transformation process in European societies in the 1960s. Zaslove (2008, pp. 173) agrees and adds, that due to vast unemployment, changes in the national and global economy, and poor economic growth, “the solutions of the post-war era, and the so-called post-war compromise, no longer seemed valid”. During those years, “deindustrialization and a steep decline in religious observance weakened the support enjoyed by established center-left and center-right parties” (Mudde 2016, pp. 27), so the neo-liberalism was seen as a populist answer to the economic and political crises, that marked “the end of the post war ‘Golden Age’, especially in the late 1970s and 1980s, claims Zaslove (2008, pp. 173). Moreover, populists started regaining their popularity during 1980s with the appearance of radical right-wing parties like France’s National Front, “which rose to prominence in the wake of mass immigration and growing unemployment by promising to return France to the monocultural glory of its past” (Mudde 2016, pp. 26). In Italy, on the other hand, the Lega Nord “was critical of how the

dominant political parties had colonized the state and in Austria, the Freedom Party was highly critical of consociational democracy and the corporatist welfare state”, claims (Zaslove, 2008, pp. 173).

During the next 25 years, a “gradual realignment in European politics saw voters throw their support to old parties that had become virtually nonideological or to new parties defined by relatively narrow ideological stances”, states Mudde (2016, pp. 27). He concludes, that during the last two decades of the twentieth century, “mainstream European parties increasingly converged on a new elite consensus—a common agenda that called for integration through the EU, multi-ethnic societies, and neoliberal economic reforms” (ibid.). Furthermore, Bale (2012, pp. 265) agrees that currently populist radical right parties have not aligned themselves with neoliberal solutions to economic problems. Despite the fact that PRR parties can be considered as centrists in terms of their economic policies that have been called into existence for fighting the harsh effects of global capitalism, their nativism leads to a “flirtation with (and sometimes outright advocacy of) protectionism and welfare chauvinism: the notion that benefits should be restricted only to those who qualify as ‘one of us’ rather than ‘one of them’” (ibid.). Furthermore, “it was shown that neither the electorate of the radical right in general nor its working-class constituency in particular stands out for its market-liberal position”, states Bornschier (2018, pp. 317).

In addition, derived from the sections above, it is evident that nativism is not only an important driver of domestic policies of PRR, but has a strong impact over the economic and foreign policy agenda of the latter as well which makes it an essential component for answering how PRR frames the multipolar world order.

### **2.3 The populist radical right and democratic governance**

During recent years, many scholars of populism have also devoted their attention to the consequences of the phenomenon and the PRR for democratic governance. The interest of the scholars, according to Noam Gidron and Bart Bonikowski (2013, pp. 17) comes from the common perception, that populism or PRR parties in general do not adhere to liberal democracy. Moreover, Jan-Werner Müller (2016, pp. 6) argues, that the aspect

making populism dangerous for the democracy is that it is a “degraded form” of the latter that “promises to make good on democracy’s highest ideals”. He adds that one must have a good political judgement in order to understand where democracy ends and where the populist “peril” begins (ibid). Bojan Bugaric (2019, pp. 3) agrees and adds, that by criticizing the core elements of constitutional democracy, such as independent courts, free media, civil rights, and fair electoral rules, populist radical right parties not only demonstrate their resentment against liberal democracy, but also the liberal international order (Ikenberry, 2018; Luce, 2017). A recent example of assault on the foundation of liberal democracy can be found in Hungary, where populist leader Viktor Orban has passed a bill that not only gives him more personal power but also limits freedom of speech (Baer, 2020).

Derived from the abovementioned, one could say at best the governing form of the PRR could be called an illiberal democracy. However, Müller (2016, pp. 56) argues that by calling populist rule an illiberal democracy, one could only do populist leaders a favour as the latter are then assured that the nation state represents democracy and the EU, on the other hand, is responsible for liberalism, which makes it look more like an “agent of rampant capitalism and libertarian morality”. In the words of Mudde (2016, p. 25), “the populist surge is an illiberal democratic response to decades of undemocratic liberal policies”. In addition, Müller (2016, pp. 9) states, that it is impossible to combine populism with liberalism, if latter is seen as a respect for pluralism, for example. Derived from that, many high officials of the EU have “called the rise of xenophobic right-wing parties in several European Union member states the biggest danger to Europe”, claim Gidron & Bonikowski (2013, pp. 17).

On the other hand, the negative view of populism in Europe have not stopped some scholars from arguing that populism “can in fact support inclusionary politics that expand democratic participation to previously marginalized groups”, that has been evident with the recent rise of left-wing populism in Latin America, for example (Gidron & Bonikowski, 2013, pp. 18). Still, several separate research projects conducted in the past years have shown that despite the contextual differences, different types of populism can be related in terms of how they undermine liberal democracy, mainly by assaulting its four essential components (Bugaric, 2019, pp. 8). For example, the studies have shown that after couple of years of populist rule, courts are “34% less independent than they

would have been under a typical democratic government”, claims Bugaric (ibid). Other pillars of liberal democracy that fall under populist attack are free media, civil rights and liberties and the quality of elections (ibid.).

Thus, the author of this thesis argues that as liberal constitutional democracy also represents core Western values then by attacking democratic principles in their governing, the populist leaders are already directly practising anti-Western governance. Furthermore, being a member of a government allows PRR parties to distribute their views and ideology more efficiently, which is also important from the perspective of how they influence both international relations of their states and international order in general.

### **2.3.1 Anti-Western governance**

Another related aspect to democratic governance of PRR is how it practices the anti-Western governance. The rise of the populist radical right of the last decade is directly connected to deep structural changes in European societies and by acknowledging its impact as third- or second-biggest party in many European states, it is undoubtable that far right has not only taken a bigger role in governance of the states but has also more power to cultivate the mentioned structural changes (Mudde, 2016, pp. 30). One way the far right has done this is by constantly attacking neoliberal capitalism, an important uniting element of the EU, by distancing itself from the European Union and its single-market policies and advocating economic and cultural nationalism, claims De Burca (2018, pp. 351). As mentioned in the previous section, populist leaders tend to practice anti-Western governance by casting aside all traditional institutions of liberal democracy that separate them from their electorate’s wishes and as a result, “many of the populist parties openly flout the rule of law and explicitly reject the values of liberal democracy”, argues Bugaric (2019, pp. 5). The hallmarks of populist style in power are colonization of the state, mass clientelism and mass corruption, and the systematic repression of civil society (ibid).

The anti-Western governance is also shaped by the strong nationalist ideology of PRR that is characterised by authentic civic values that include an illiberal view towards migration and family policies, claim De Búrca (2018, pp. 348). She adds, the mentioned

ideology also includes the economic policies of the social democrat left, which promote redistributive welfare policies only for nation state's citizens and are against policies of austerity (ibid.). Another factor that certainly shapes the anti- Western governance of PRR is its alignment with Russia as, according to Klapsis (2015, pp. 55), all PRR parties who have demonstrated a pro-Russian attitude can also be characterised as Eurosceptic and anti-NATO. He adds, that by showing their support to the Russia's annexation of Crimea despite the fact that the nature of this act was against international law, the PRR parties have demonstrated their "willingness to raise their pro-Russian voices not only at the national level but also in the European Parliament" (Ibid.) Regarding the Euroscepticism of the PRR, Mudde (2016, pp. 29-30) argues, that not only it has become the main agenda of the latter that dominates the public debate, but it has also been used skilfully for othering EU leadership (as allegedly it is posing a threat to national sovereignty).

Thus, one could argue that by following its ideological agenda, the governing principles of PRR parties are not only Eurosceptic but they are dividing the unity of the West as well. On the other hand, De Burca (2018, pp. 363) warns not to rely too much on the concept of Euroscepticism while trying to analyse the aspects that play role behind the anti-Western governance of PRR as the "re-emergence and growth of the far right in various European states had begun well before strong anti-EU sentiment became prevalent". Furthermore, it is important to distinguish PRR's impact on policy making differs between Central and Eastern European parties and Western European parties as the outcome of the former looks more radical, states Minkenberg (2017, pp. 130). For example, when PRR parties in Poland entered the government from 2006-2007, they "were united by a strong nationalist and anti-liberal outlook, disregard for civil liberties and the rule of law, and a populist style" (ibid). Moreover, one of the most prominent PRR parties in Central and East Europe that belongs to its national government, Fidesz, is known for promoting anti-liberalism and anti-pluralism and for transforming the Hungarian system into an "elected autocracy" (ibid, pp. 137-138).

Based on the aforementioned point, the analysis of this paper will include cases from both Western and Eastern Europe in order to provide a better insight to the ideological outcomes of the PRR parties that have participated in government. According to Minkenberg (ibid, pp. 134-135), a substantial characteristic of Eastern European PRR comparing with the Western European one is that it tends to "shift the overall political



agenda more to the right in the dimension of identity politics”. He concludes that a shared aspect between both types of PRR in government did not “result in a mainstreaming of the radical right but instead in a radicalization of the mainstream” (ibid, pp. 136). Furthermore, as there is no evidence of a decline in the support of the PRR, the influence of the latter continues to grow on both domestic and international level which is important thing to consider on the academical level as well. Likewise, Mudde (2016, pp. 30) underlines that although in recent years, PRR “has been mostly willing to serve as junior partners in coalitions; now, however, many populist parties are much bigger than their potential mainstream partners and will be far less likely to take a back seat”.

## **2.4 Connection between the populist radical right and Russia**

During the last years, many European PRR parties have been aligning themselves with Russia and especially with the political approach of Russia’s president Vladimir Putin. The reasons behind the alignment had attracted a notable scholarly attention and authors like Antonis Klapsis (2015, pp. 55) believe that many European far-right politicians are drawn to the “semi-authoritarian and neo-conservative model of governance” of Putin’s Russia that they would like to implement in their own countries as well. Moreover, Russia’s governing and policy model “fits their beliefs and is perceived as a dynamic response to the ‘malice’ of liberalism, openness and tolerance from which Western democracies suffer”, argues Klapsis (2015, pp. 55) and thus for far right, Putin is not only seen as “decisive” and “a strong nationalist leader”, but his policies seem to represent the forgotten European values that the PRR would like to reinforce (Klapsis, 2015; Shekhovtsov, 2018; Nestoras, 2016; Dionne Jr., 2018; Weiss, 2020). On the other hand, Putin “genuinely seems to believe that liberal democracy is doomed and that leaders who are willing to follow his example should be somehow encouraged”, claims Klapsis (2015, pp. 55).

In order to illustrate this encouragement by Russia’s president, real-life examples are presented and one way to do so is to provide financial aid to some of the main European far right parties such as transferring Russian “oil money” into Italy’s League Party, whose leader, Matteo Salvini has constantly demonstrated his pro-Russian positions, especially since the year 2017 (Cerulli, 2019). Salvini’s actions and his desire to be a reliable ally

for Putin has had its impact on the latter's relationship with other European alliances as its foreign policy, for example, has caused confusion in the EU and "threatened its relationships with other states" (Cerulli, 2019). Moreover, agreements between "United Russia" and Austria's "Freedom Party" in 2016 and Italy's "Northern League" in 2017 "represent direct cooperation at high levels within both countries' governments", argue Anton Shekhovtsov (2018).

In addition, after publicly supporting the annexation of Crimea, Marine Le Pen, leader of France's far-right National Rally, "received 11 million euros in the form of loans from Russian banks" and not only has Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban successfully wiped out the "shipwrecked liberal democracy", echoing Putin's statements on the issue (Cerulli, 2019), Hungary has also strengthened its ties to Kremlin thanks to nuclear energy deals (Ridgwell, 2018). So, from the Russian side, "empowering anti-European Union populists has the obvious benefit of helping erode the strength of European institutions that Moscow has long considered enemies", argues Markus Wagner (2017). For the European far right, on the other hand, "the benefits of embracing Putin are more abstract and ideological" (Wagner, 2017). Linda Curika (2018), the spokesperson for NATO strategic communications, agrees and adds that Russian support for the PRR is "all part of a Kremlin strategy to weaken political support for the European Union and NATO" and that there is a "clear ideological link between American white supremacists and the European far-right as well" (ibid).

Another example of how Putin encourages the PRR is by using media and especially by inviting some well-known European far right politicians to appear on the state-owned Russian media, argues Klapsis (2015, pp. 56). Also, the aforementioned politicians show their support to Kremlin by regularly taking part in conferences held in Russia and along with the other members of far-right parties from all over Europe they are "invited to monitor electoral procedures and secessionist referenda in territories where the status quo has been disputed in some way" (Klapsis, 2015, pp. 56; also Shekhovtsov, 2019). Shekhovtsov (2019) agrees by saying that this kind of relationship between Russian media and far right is profitable to both sides and thus, Russian media is "an obvious choice for the FPÖ and other right-wing populist parties in Europe as attention is after all a hard currency for politicians". He adds, that for Russia, "it is not only about legitimizing Russian policies, but also about mitigating the consequences of international isolation"

as several PRR politicians from the FPÖ and other European Union countries are assisting the Russian government “in establishing contacts with medium-sized companies, companies that might want to invest in the occupied Donbass in eastern Ukraine or on the annexed Crimean peninsula” (ibid.). Moreover, it is rather challenging “to come up with a uniform response to Putin’s tactics as the Russian information strategy is highly segmented and region-specific”, argues Nestoras (2016).<sup>2</sup>

The most recent example of Russia’s manipulation with media are perhaps the elections for the European Parliament in 2019, where several websites and social media accounts linked to Russia or far-right groups were “spreading disinformation, encouraging discord and amplifying distrust in the centrist parties that have governed for decades”, claim Apuzzo and Satariano (2019). By doing so, several pro- Russian PRR leaders were probably trying to increase their influence in the Parliament and, in turn, “to redirect or subvert the policymaking in Brussels” (ibid). Although the intelligence officials “have not publicly accused the Kremlin of backing specific candidates in Europe in the way that US authorities say that President Vladimir Putin sought to promote Donald Trump in 2016” (ibid), Russia’s intentions were definitely successful as overall the number of far-right MEPs “increased significantly, mainly because a few populist radical right parties won (big) in big countries – notably Matteo Salvini’s League in Italy”, argues Mudde (2019).

## **2.5. The radical right and the multipolar world**

In recent years, a decent part of scholarly literature has been devoting its attention to the potential transformation of the existing international order and according to Elena Chebankova (2017), one of the most important topics of contemporary international relations is the “ideological struggle over the potential nature of the rapidly changing world order” which is behind the emergence of two distinct paradigmatic positions. Chebankova (2017) claims, that the first one advocates “economic, cultural, and political globalization conducted under the leadership of the Western world” and the other supports “a more particularistic approach that fends for a balance of interests, multiplicity

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<sup>2</sup> The current paper recognizes that the Kremlin also supports parties in Europe outside of the PRR party family and that with some non-PRR parties the support is mutual.

of politico-cultural forms and multiple centres of international influence” (Ibid. 2017). Furthermore, Trine Flockhart (2016, pp. 6) agrees on the significance of the growing amount of the literature on emerging global order and stresses how it could be divided into “three broad narratives” which she labels as “a multipolar future, a multi-partner future and a multi-cultural future”. She adds that all three narratives focus principally on “the role and future prospect of the current liberal international order and they all anticipate a more diverse international system composed of new and emerging (great) powers” (ibid).

Moreover, Creutz, Iso-Markku, Raik and Tiilikainen (2019, pp. 67) argue in their latest report, that by now it is rather evident that world politics are progressing towards a multipolar order and “the rise of new actors, notably China, gives increased prominence to (geo)political competition between major powers along the lines of realist IR theory”. Likewise, Flockhart (2016, pp. 6) also stresses the importance of the relationship between China and the current hegemon, United States when speaking about the new (multipolar) order narrative, which highlights “material capabilities, especially military and economic power, stressing that military power rests on economic strength”. However, “the primary dynamics are likely to be within and between different orders, rather than between multiple sovereign states”, states Flockhart (2016, pp. 23). She adds, that it is crucial to establish new global/systemic primary and secondary institutions that “are suitable for operating in the new multi-order system and that are able to facilitate cooperation across dividing lines between composite actors to meet the many collective security challenges” (ibid, pp. 26).

Although Michael Cox (2018) believes that the “view of an enormous power shift leading to either a post-American, post-western or even a post-liberal world order has been much exaggerated”, he acknowledges its impact to world politics and especially to western population who, whether it was intentional or not, is now feeling rather uncertain about their future. Derived from that, many people are now searching for politicians who would be willing “to stand up for the West; or, in the American context, for example, make America great again” (Cox, 2018). Moreover, “the view that a power shift was or is underway has also helped those in the UK make the case for Brexit”, claims Cox (2018). In addition, Flockhart (2016, pp. 4) argues, that

*following the terrorist attacks in Paris, the lockdown of Brussels, the downing of a Russian passenger plane and the shootings in Tunisia and California as well as the very visible refugee crisis and the pernicious humanitarian disaster in Syria, the concern has clearly spread to the public level, which is bound to have (domestic) political consequences that probably will not enhance the prospects for finding common solutions. Moreover, there is a now widespread agreement that major change is in the making and that the international order of the past seven decades is in question. (Flockhart 2016, pp. 4)*

Furthermore, when speaking of multipolar world order, it is possible to connect it to pro-Russia political and geopolitical position which opposes the West and its hegemony. Although China is seen as an important player in the multipolar world arena, Russia's impact cannot be underestimated either as multipolarity, according to Chebankova (2017), can be interpreted as "Russia's main ethical and ideological position advanced in the international arena". Both, Russia's and China's impact could be connected to the "exploitation and deliberate exacerbation of Europe's internal divisions", argue Creutz, Iso-Markku, Raik and Tiilikainen (2019, pp. 67), adding that the "rising powers, and perhaps increasingly some Western actors as well, uphold rather traditional understandings of statehood and sovereignty" (ibid). Moreover, it is crucial to emphasize that in comparison to China, who's main aim has been "increasing its economic presence in Europe by subtle means", Russia is rather known for "intervening more directly via hybrid measures such as disinformation and support for radical populist groups, instrumentalising existing social and political divisions in order to deepen cleavages within and between EU member states" (ibid, pp. 68).

A potential explanation for Russia's action comes from Andrey Makarychev and Viatcheslav Morozov (2013), who claim that "Russian scholars, along with political leaders, often refer to multipolarity as the emerging new pattern of IR, hailing its alleged arrival as a welcome alternative to Western dominance (Makarychev and Morozov 2011)". Moreover, the anti-Westernism "has become the core ideological connection between Russia and a wide variety of political parties in Europe, including some mainstream parties", states Gustav Gressel (2017). Under the latter category fall also main populist radical right parties in Europe and their connection with Russia is a well-studied

phenomenon as discussed in the previous section (Klapisis, 2015; Kreko, 2014; Shekhovtsov, 2017).

Furthermore, in the eyes of European far-right politicians, Russia is seen as a provider of peace and stability in Europe and also as an “ally in their desire to dismantle the EU and to diminish NATO’s (and consequently the US’s) role in European security issues”, argues Klapisis (2015, pp. 55) and emphasizes the role of Moscow as a “geopolitical alternative to both the EU and NATO”. He adds, that for the Kremlin, “the growing success of far-right parties is clearly an advantage, since it is thought that this will destabilise EU governments and the EU itself” (ibid). Derived from that and relying on the research problem of this paper, we could argue that by undermining the EU and aligning themselves with Russia, many European far right parties and politicians are directly participating in the progression of the multipolar world order and thus also in shaping the sphere of international relations.

## **2.6 Literature review on radical right parties’ anti-globalisation and anti-interventionist stances**

One of the main characteristics of PRR parties are their positions opposing globalisations and in most cases also (humanitarian) intervention, that according to several scholars are undermining the main principles of Western society and also the unity of European Union (Mudde, 2019; De Búrca, 2018; Verbeek and Zaslove, 2015; Minkenberg, 2017; Weiss, 2020). Since the 1990s, populist radical right parties have been portraying themselves as biggest rivals of neo-liberalism, European integration, and immigration what are strongly connected to the overall globalisation and multiculturalism, claims Andrej Zaslove (2008, pp. 169; also Verbeek and Zaslove, 2015, pp. 528). Zaslove (2008, pp. 169) adds, that not only do these parties emphasize the connection between European integration and “a loss of national sovereignty”, they also argue, that “financial and political elites, American hegemony, and the growing influence of the European Union destroy the natural fabric of civil society”. Moreover, Gráinne de Búrca (2018, pp. 348) agrees and adds, that in addition the “overall objection to the dilution of national sovereignty”, far right politicians are convinced that the more liberal the transnational economic exchange is and the higher is immigration, the bigger are economic insecurity and cultural disruption.

Thus not only has the PRR's stance of "globalism versus nationalism" served as presumption to its negative attitude towards European integration, but it has also attracted an extensive amount of far right voters and thereby its policy supporters as well, especially because the core programs of traditional political parties "failed to reflect its salience", argues De Burca (2018, pp. 348). A potential explanation for opposing globalisation is that although it has made a great part of the world wealthier, the working classes in Western societies feel quite the opposite as "these less educated members of the richest countries lost access to well-paid but relatively low-skilled jobs, which were shipped overseas or given to immigrants willing to work for less", claims Jonathan Haidt (2016, pp. 46). So far right parties, on the other hand, entered the political arena "in response to this emerging societal cleavage and adopted strong and sometimes extreme stances on it", says De Burca (2018, pp. 348). Furthermore, Matt Golder (2016, pp. 12) argues, that "a decline in class voting and partisan identification, increased political alienation among certain segments of the population, and reduced trust in the political elite" are also direct consequences of globalization and post industrialization.

In addition, Bertjan Verbeek and Andrej Zaslove (2015, pp. 526-528) use the word "fear" for describing the relationship between PRR and globalization, adding that especially economic globalization "is perceived as a threat to the European-style welfare state and domestic employment" and thus PRR parties "tend to propose more protectionist policies by raising, for example, trade barriers". Moreover, the development of EU trade policy is directly affected by the "globalization backlash perspective on it", claim Dür, Eckhardt & Poletti (2019, pp. 6). They add, that the consequences of far right's sceptical rhetoric about the benefits of trade liberalization "is making EU trade policy more protectionist and that the trade protectionism has figured prominently in the policy proposals of populist/nationalist movements and politicians" (ibid). In France, for example, "Marine Le Pen—running on a programme of economic patriotism, protectionism and leaving the EU—received an unprecedented third of the vote in 2017" (ibid).

Although the increasing influence of the PRR parties on Europeanization and globalization has been evident also in the foreign policy domain, most of the scholars in the IR field "have neglected it as there has been a tendency not to think through the domestic consequences influencing the foreign policy during the last 20 years", argue

Verbeek and Zaslove (2015, pp. 526). On the other hand, even one of the most prominent IR scholars, Kenneth Wlatz (1979, pp. 122) asserted that in order to justify states' choices, it is necessary to have "a theory of foreign policy that incorporates domestic players". Moreover, Verbeek and Zaslove (2015, pp. 529) claim, that "the attention to PRR parties seems particularly warranted, given their xenophobic and often anti-European and anti-globalization message". Therefore, researchers dealing with the foreign policies of states must consider the fact that the latter thus "go beyond the classical notion of territorial security and involve various new domestic issues and players" (ibid).

By now, most of the European states have at least one far right party, that has been influential to both domestic and foreign policy decisions. According to Bernd Sommer (2008), already in 2008 anti-capitalist and anti-globalization arguments, that also contained racist and antisemitic issues, "marked a deeper shift within the political agenda of the extreme right in Germany" and this was mostly due to the success of National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD). Another example could be brought from Austria, where the recent government coalition member, Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), has been the "first party with Nazi origins that had become part of a European government since the end of World War II" already after signing the coalition agreement in the year 2000 (Mcintosh, 2019). But unlike in Germany (and Italy), this party "had no formal connection to the fascist past", claims Michael Minkenberg (2017, pp. 125). He adds, that FPÖ "evolved from an emphasis on a neo-liberal and globalist critique of the welfare state towards a greater emphasis on a comparatively moderate ethnocentrism that facilitated its move into or close to the centres of political power" (ibid).

Furthermore, Italy's main PRR party The League (La Lega) is also known for its critique towards centralization and bureaucracy of the EU, followed by an overall criticism of globalization (Verbeek and Zaslove, 2015, pp. 532). Moreover, its anti-globalist discourse "has become entwined with its traditional identity politics that in turn has raised its criticism towards economic and cultural globalization", argue Verbeek and Zaslove (ibid). They add, that especially in terms of economic globalisation, Lega has been making "protectionist demands against the threat that foreign companies pose to Italian employment, particularly against China" (ibid, pp. 538). In addition, similar anti-globalist attitudes are also expressed by the Hungary's main far right party Fidesz, for example, that during the last decade has continuously taken stronger right-shifted stances on several



“ultranationalist issues, such as the legitimacy of the Treaty of Trianon and their pan-Hungarian agenda, coupled with their racism and anti-Semitism”, claims Minkenberg (2017, pp. 136).

Speaking of interventionism, it is rather difficult to find extensive literature that has investigated how the latter is used in the PRR discourse. Verbeek and Zaslove (2015, pp. 533) claim, for example, that already in the early 1990s Italy’s Northern League (LN) party tended to demonstrate its opposition to multilateral operations initiated by the United States by stressing the “lack of ‘trust’ in the US and its hegemonic tendencies and on the LN’s support for multipolarism”. They add, that although the LN is not against the War on Terror, “it is also often, at the same time, critical of the intentions and motives of American foreign policy, that is, accusing the United States of acting out of self-interest” (ibid). In addition, there has not been any major changes regarding opposition to multilateral operations after LN’s current leader, Matteo Salvini, gained power in 2013, who above everything else has been aligning himself with Russia’s president Putin and sees him as “the defender of identity, tradition, and sovereignty”, states Andrew S. Weiss (2020, pp. 7). Derived from that, LN’s security policies resist military intervention unless the latter is oriented towards protection of Italy’s (and especially its northern part’s) identity (ibid).

Furthermore, one possible explanation for Russia’s (and also its supporting PRR parties’) negative attitude on foreign intervention is “the risk of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU) moving deeper into the post-Soviet space” what may seriously jeopardise some states’ sovereignty and thus Russia’s actions for preventing the latter from happening have already “upended post–Cold War security order”, argues Weiss (2020, pp. 01). He adds, that “in the Kremlin’s overly simplistic view, European security policies are always subordinate to a U.S. hegemon or simply an extension of U.S. power” (ibid). On the other hand, even in the US exist several far right movements in addition to main Republican or Democratic parties, such as Alternative Right, for example, that not only advocate non-interventionism and economic nationalism in their foreign policy discourse, but also appear as overall “critics of liberal capitalism and mass democracy”, claim Matthew N. Lyons (2017).

Moreover, U.S. fall back from a more active stance in foreign relations and foreign intervention represents a notable break from previous administrations under the Trump administration (Fischer-Baum & Vitkovskaya, 2018), not to mention a warm relationship between Trump and Putin (Kumar, 2019) and that for many European PRR parties the former has become a “heroic figure” from both nationalist and nativist perspectives (Taschka, 2019). Thus, this thesis argues, that current U.S. administration not only encourages the mainstreaming of PRR but also contributes directly to anti-hegemonic drift and to shaping the multipolar world order. So, overall, it could be said that looking in depth the reasons behind the anti-globalist and interventionist rhetoric and also its meaning is essential not only for answering the research questions of the current thesis but also for providing insight to far right’s anti-globalist and anti-interventionist stances of the selected cases of the current thesis and therefore to what could be the broader impact for IR of the latter. But in order to gain a better insight on the mentioned impact, next sections will be dedicated to another significant factor relating to both anti-globalism and anti-interventionism and that is relevant to the IR: the anti-Western governance of the PRR.

In addition, as the role of far-right parties in shaping the multipolar world order is currently an understudied aspect of the far-right parties, it is important to start thinking about how these parties are able to shape this, given the recent spike in votes for PRR parties as well as the number of them which are in government. As for the reason behind the choice to study the connection between the main concepts, foreign intervention, especially humanitarian intervention, can be understood as an expansion of western values and by opposing it the far-right parties tend to align themselves with the anti-Western sentiment, so the foreign intervention and globalisation would help to determine whether and on what level the far-right parties can be considered as anti-Western and thus how big is their role on framing the multipolar world order.

Based on the literature review and previous research, the assumptions and expectations of the current paper are following:

*1. assumption:* One of the main reasons behind the anti-interventionist stance of the PRR parties is being pro-Russia.

2. *assumption*: Based on the current literature review and the rhetoric of PRR parties, I assume the PRR parties play an important role in global anti-hegemonic drift.

1. *expectation*: Based on their rhetoric and ideology I expect nativism to be key and crucial aspect of PRR parties for holding an anti-globalization stance.

### **III Research design, data and methods**

#### **3.1 Research design**

To research this topic, an interpretative compare-and-contrast case study will be conducted as it is applicable for investigating hidden reasons behind complex, interrelated, or versatile social processes (Marshall and Rosman, 2016:103) and for helping to understand the reasons behind the connection between the main concepts of this paper. One of the main reasons for choosing the interpretative paradigm for this research is because of the assumption that there are several possible ways for defining social reality and so from the ontological perspective the reality is formed by human experiences and social contexts (Yanow, 2014a; Lynch, 2014; Marshall and Rosman 2016). Another significant characteristic of interpretivism is that it focuses on the meaning of the data under investigation and according to Yanow (2014a, pp. 9-10; also Patton 2015, pp. 56), it is essential to underline the connection between the meaning and researcher's understanding (*verstehen*) which "concerns human subjectivity and intersubjectivity as both subjects of and explanations for human actions". Moreover, from the interpretivist perspective the language "conveys meaning instead of providing an exact and objective replica of reality" (Lynch, 2014) and "the evidentiary of the analysed material is constructed by the participants of the study" (Yanow, 2007).

As the aim of the current case study is to show the potential connection between the main concepts and as an outcome also provide answers to both research questions and expectations and assumptions, it must be kept in mind, that it is rather difficult to make positivist generalisations when trying to analyse the outcomes of political movements as analysing one social world and beliefs requires "accessing what is meaningful to different social, political, cultural or other groups and to individuals within them as well as understanding how meaning is developed, expressed and communicated" (Yanow 2014a, pp. 12). Furthermore, David Art (2018) notes in a recent literature review on the party organization of the PRR, that although most work on the RR is positivist-inspired, not all research puzzles are best suited to be addressed using positivist epistemology. Certainly, there has been some interpretivist work on the RR, but positivist-inspired research still dominates the field and thus by taking an interpretivist stance, the current thesis will also make a significant contribution to the literature on PRR in general.

In addition, Marshall and Rosman (2016, pp. 103) underline the importance of immersion in the setting and while the researcher analyses the meaning of the data, the impact of worldviews of both researcher and participants should not be omitted. Moreover, Patton (2015, pp. 57) believes, that as the human being is “the instrument of data collection, it requires the investigator to carefully reflect on, deal with, and report potential sources of bias and error”. Overall, Yanow (2014a, pp. 22) argues, that interpretative approaches are “arguably more democratic in character than analyses informed by methodological positivism”, especially when applied “to communities, organisations, states, public policies, governmental decision making and other empirical settings”. The current thesis agrees with Yanow (ibid) and will use the interpretative approach for analysing public policies and governmental decision making of the selected cases.

The main tool for conducting the case study is a qualitative content analysis, that is “particularly oriented toward exploration, discovery, and inductive logic” (Patton 2015, pp. 64) and thus is well suited for analysing the main concepts of this thesis. The current analysis will rely on Patton’s (2015, pp. 47) argumentation, that the inductive analysis “begins with specific observations and builds toward general patterns, themes, and interrelationships”; secondly, the emerged data would be “explored and recognised” and then “followed by confirmatory inquiry”. The overall analysis from the particular to the general is “guided by analytical principles rather than by rules”, and it ends with a “creative synthesis” (ibid). The aim of the content analysis is then to understand “the multiple interrelationships among the dimensions that emerge from the data, without making prior assumptions or specifying hypotheses about the linear or correlative relationships among the narrowly defined, operationalized variables” (ibid, pp. 64).

In order to assure the credibility of the research, the data will be analysed systematically and the arguments arising from the analysis will be constructed logically by ensuring that all conclusions are adequately supported by the presented evidence. That, in turn, would help “to persuade the reader of the cogency of the argument” (Yanow 2014b, pp. 102). In addition, it is acknowledged that in terms of objectivity, the research should be “distanced, value-free, impartial and factual as much as possible (ibid, pp. 104). Patton (2015, pp. 57-58) agrees and adds, that only by applying “systematic data collection procedures, rigorous training, multiple data sources, triangulation and external reviews”, it is possible to produce a “high-quality qualitative data that is credible, trustworthy,

authentic, and balanced about the phenomenon under study”. On the other hand, it is rather difficult for the researcher conducting the interpretive study to distance herself from the subjects of her study both physically or cognitively emotionally, so it is critical for the researcher to be able “to assess the relationship between members' knowing and the researcher's own knowing, including the latter's active role in constructing and shaping the narrative that (re)presents that social reality” (Yanow 2014b, pp. 110).

### **3.2 Case selection**

This research will be based on four cases as too little data can lead to false or premature assumptions, while too much data may not be adequately processed by the researcher. Moreover, the choice of the exact cases under investigation in the current paper relied on the statement by Klotz (2008, pp. 56), that for a good case study it is important “to remain mindful of theoretical framework and core question”. Moreover, the author of this thesis relies on purposeful sampling, where cases are selected because they are information rich and illuminative and offer manifestations of the phenomena of the current thesis (Patton, 2015). Derived from that, the selected cases are The League, The Freedom Party, The Finns Party and Conservative People's Party of Estonia as all of them represent, what Marshall and Rosman (2016, pp. 109-110) call, a “reasonable variation in the phenomenon, settings, or people”, adding that the focus for site and sample selection should also be provided by “the sensitizing concepts from the literature review and the research questions” (*see Table 1*).

**Table 1**

	<b>The League (Lega)</b>	<b>The Freedom Party (FPÖ)</b>	<b>The Finns Party (The Finns)</b>	<b>Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EKRE)</b>
<b>EU member</b>	+	+	+	+
<b>Anti-globalist</b>	+	+	+	+
<b>Eurosceptic</b>	+	+	+	+
<b>Pro-Russia</b>	+	+	-	-
<b>Negative stance on foreign intervention</b>	+	+	-	-

*Source: Author's own creation*

Relying on the above mentioned, another idea behind the choice of the research subjects is that all of them are currently EU members, they share an anti-globalist stance and are Eurosceptic. In addition, all chosen subjects have recently been or are members of a coalition government of their states, so they have participated recently in governance and it is also important that the League still remains the most popular party in Italy and The Finns were until very recently in government as well and are actually the largest party in Finland. Moreover, similarly to the other European PRR parties, half of the research subjects (except for Conservative People's Party of Estonia and The Finns Party) of this paper show signs of being pro-Russia and see Russian President Vladimir Putin as “the model of a strong, conservative leader who defends traditional values and opposes the decadent West” (Klapisis, 2015) which can also explain why half of the research subjects share the sensitizing concepts of this thesis- the negative stance on foreign intervention and globalisation.

Furthermore, Lega and FPÖ are clearly in the opposition to interventionist foreign policies but True Finns and EKRE can be labelled as not strongly opposed to foreign intervention and that is another reason for including these parties to the case selection and excluding Fidesz, for example, although the latter also has a strong (governmental) influence in Hungary but is rather anti-interventionist along with other main PRR parties in the EU. Another explanation why EKRE and The Finns are rather interventionist and not pro-Russian comes from Andrew S. Weiss (2020, pp. 2), who claims that “countries closer to Russia’s borders, who spent much of the twentieth century under the Soviet

yoke, often view Russia as a dissatisfied power with lingering imperial ambitions that must be confronted and contained”. Thus, having both EKRE and The Finns as research subjects not only brings more insight to the reasons behind the relation between the main concepts but also helps to define reasons for being interventionist or not in the first place.

### **3.3 Content analysis and coding**

In order to analyse main concepts, a qualitative content analysis on the relevant data and sources will be conducted, such as the analysis of the interviews and with the party leaders and official party platforms as well as on opinion pieces written by party leaders and party-based websites. Derived from the theoretical background and research questions, the main focus of the analysis will be the party positions on anti-globalization (with an emphasis on autarchy and protectionism, denial of climate change) and anti-interventionist stance (in relation to conflicts and their dynamics around the world) and how those concepts are connected to the anti-Western governance. Based on the research questions, an inductive (data driven) coding frame will be built and main concepts of the current paper (anti-Western governance, anti-interventionist and anti-globalist) will be used as sensitising concepts which invite inquiry into their meaning to each party under study.

Derived from that, the coding will be data-driven, aimed at establishing links both between data and concepts and between concepts. The coding frame will be open to additional categories what can emerge from the data. The main goal of the current research after coding would derivation of a theory that would provide an answer to the research questions from the observed data. For obtaining the required data from the above-mentioned documents and sources, a program QCAmap is used as it facilitates the allocation of segments from the texts accordingly, and also makes the creation of a clear coding system easier. The final number of codes will be kept minimum for coherent analysis (Saldana, 2016, pp. 25). Furthermore, the record of codes will be kept in a separate file (codebook), which is a “compilation of codes, their content description and a brief data example for reference” as it facilitates the organisation of codes into categories and subcategories (Saldana, 2016, pp. 38).



The coding of the data will be carried out in two cycles, in the first cycle the initial or open coding will be carried out as it allows the researcher to “remain open to all possible theoretical directions suggested by the interpretation of the data” (Charmaz, 2014). Moreover, the initial coding can employ several other coding methods (like descriptive and process coding) and creates a “starting point to provide the researcher analytic leads for further exploration and to determine the direction of the current study” (Saldana, 2016, pp. 115). Furthermore, only most sensitive parts of the data will be coded as not everything is relevant to research questions stated in this paper. The second cycle of coding will use the focused coding in order to categorize and crystalize the analytic results of the first-round coding even further. So, relying on the suggestions by Saldana (*ibid*, pp. 234), the results of the first cycle coding will be reorganised and reconfigured in order to develop “a smaller and more select list” of broader categories, themes and concepts, what will arise from similarity and regularity of the codes. It will also be considered that the categories “do not always have their constituent elements sharing a common set of features and that there are different degrees of belonging” (*ibid*, pp. 240).

After the coding, the results along with the emerged theory and examples from the data will be presented in a continuous text, describing the cases and the emerged categories one after another and accompanied by examples from the material illustrating the categories as it allows, according to Schreier (2012, pp. 220), the reader to understand how exactly the category was expressed in the material. Moreover, the results will be followed by the discussion where a theory is derived from the findings and presented as a possible explanation for the research questions.

### **3.4 Empirical data and sources**

This research will be an interpretative content analysis which will be based on the empirical data from the period of governance of all the parties under analysis. In order to analyse anti-Western governance of far-right parties, negative stance on foreign intervention and globalisation primary sources, such as relevant speeches, interviews conducted by journalists with the party leaders, official party platforms and official social media channels of the selected parties (Facebook and Twitter) will be used as these are useful for analysing both the political behaviour and the reasons behind it. As for the

sampling, any article or written social media post from the period 2015-2019 which is related to the chosen parties and where they discuss issues of globalization and foreign intervention/isolationist positions will be analysed until the data saturation. In other words, data saturation is achieved when no new relevant data appears while searching and selecting data with sensitising concepts (anti-interventionist, anti-globalist, anti-Western governance and Euroscepticism). As a result, 124 relevant data sources were coded and analysed (for more specific information, see appendix 1-4).

One of the main obstacles of using the party platforms and social media channels, for example, is that the information could be in a foreign language unknown to the author. In this occasion, official translations will be used instead, or the alternative sources will be searched. The author acknowledges, that the translation impacts reliability in terms of lexical-semantic problems, for example. In order to overcome those dictionaries will be consulted, along with glossaries, terminology banks and the help from the native speakers will be used as well.

## **IV Empirical analysis and results**

The aim of this chapter is to present the results of the content analysis case by case along with the discussion on the potential answers to the research questions and to the expectations and assumptions. Firstly, an introductory overview of the particular case is presented, followed by the coding results and analysis of the findings. Secondly, both similarities and differences between the cases and expectations and assumptions will be presented. Lastly, a discussion along with answers to the main research questions will be given.

### **4.1 The case of The League (Italy)**

The League was founded in 1991 by Umberto Bossi and its initial rhetoric was mainly composed of advocacy for northern Italy's secession and the denouncement of Italy's capital as "thieving Rome" (Balmer 2018). After Matteo Salvini's rise to party leadership in 2013, the party adopted a more nationalist approach by actively opposing the Euro and upholding its support for regional separatism (ANSA 2013). Before the 2018 general election, the party started to brand itself as Lega (League) in order to attract more voters from the southern regions of Italy but kept its official name in the party's statute (Balmer 2018). In the 2018 general election, the League became the third-largest scoring party behind the Five Star Movement (M5S) and the Democratic Party (PD) with 17.4% of the vote (+13.3pp) (The Guardian 2018) that allowed it to enter the coalition government with the latter two. The government lasted until the August 2019, but before that Lega became the largest scoring party in the 2019 European Parliament elections (Politico 2020). After the abovementioned elections, the party co-founded the Identity and Democracy (ID) group, alongside the French National Rally, the Danish People's Party, the Freedom Party of Austria, the Conservative People's Party of Estonia, the Finns Party, the Belgian Vlaams Belang, the Czech Freedom and Direct Democracy party, and Alternative for Germany.

#### **4.1.1 Coding results**

All in all, 31 different relevant data sources have been analysed. Firstly, main emerged categories are presented along with the relevant subcategories and codes and their frequency (marked after every category and code). Secondly, the results are analysed in order to provide better understanding along with possible explanations. The main categories that emerged while analysing Lega's positions on relevant subjects are following:

##### **1. Anti- globalist stance (56):**

- *Nativism (3)*
- *Importance of nationalism (6)*
- *Migration as a security threat (8)*
- *Negative stance on migration (3)*
- *Migration from culturally related countries (1)*
- *Islamic extremism as a threat to security (3)*
- *Securitization of Muslims (1)*
- *Pro-Russian sentiment (10)*
- *Importance of Russia (5)*
- *USA as main ally (2)*
- *US policies represent IT national interest (2)*
- *Importance of special relationship with Trump (3)*
- *Protectionism (8)*
- *Negative stance on China (1)*

##### **2. Anti-interventionist stance (5):**

- *Negative stance on foreign intervention (4)*
- *Importance of international military cooperation and interventions (1)*

##### **3. Anti- EU sentiment (10):**

- *Importance of reframing EU values (5)*
- *Importance of EU cooperation (1)*
- *Negative stance on EU (4)*

#### **4. Western values (4):**

- *Supporting green economy (1)*
- *Traditional family values (1)*
- *Positive stance towards legal migration (1)*
- *Negative stance on liberal economy (1)*

##### **4.1.2 Analysis of the results**

As can be seen in the previous section, most of the analysed data indicates Lega's anti-globalist sentiment, that is characterized by several different aspects, one of which is the importance of nationalism and nativism. Lega advocates strongly that Italian citizens and their well-being must be the top priority for Italian government and that actions promoting the interests of native inhabitants against those of immigrants are essential. Party's leader Matteo Salvini sees EU as a producer of "silly rules" and said that "if the EU still asks for sacrifices, precariousness and cuts, the response of the government will be no thanks- first the well-being of the Italians, then the European rules" (Salvini 2018).

In addition to promoting national interests, Lega is convinced that the EU is depriving Italy of its sovereignty and that all member states should have more national autonomy when it comes to policies. According to its Government Program (2018) "the projects of the "United States of Europe", which would lead to the cancellation of Italian individuality, nor all the intermediate steps that expropriate the national Parliament (and therefore the Italian people) of fundamental skills should not be supported". Moreover, Salvini argues that Italy must be nr 1 state in EU and equals Trump's (nationalism's) victory with important historical events.

Another characteristic of Lega's anti-globalist stance is the securitization of migrants and migration by depicting them as an overall security threat along with economical and societal threat. According to the Lega's Government Program (2018), "the second fundamental national interest is that of security, in particular from threats such as terrorism, Islamic extremism, uncontrolled migratory flows". Lega is convinced that migration offers opportunities for terrorist infiltrations and increases overall terrorism, so Italy must be protected from it. Moreover, migration is related to human smugglers and

immigrants are not considered important for Italian economy. “An out-of-control immigration damages the labour market, because Italians can’t compete with illegal workers who are being exploited”, states Salvini (2018c).

Furthermore, Lega supports the enforcement of a ban that would prevent migrants from entering the EU, especially the economic ones. Thus, the identification of refugees should take place already in Africa or Middle East and not in EU. According to the member of Lega’s political secretariat Luca Zaia (2015), “it is absolutely necessary to distinguish between refugees and economic migrants. The data we have in Veneto tells us that the most numerous immigrants arrive from Nigeria and Senegal, countries where there is a discreet economic situation and not wars and carnage”. On the other hand, those migrants who are coming from the culturally related countries are allowed to Italy, especially if they possess sought-after professional qualifications. Related to the migration and terrorism is also securitization of Islamic extremism in Lega’s rhetoric. According to the Government Program (2018) “the second fundamental national interest is that of security, in particular from threats such as terrorism, Islamic extremism”. So, the more Muslims there are, the more insecure Italians should feel.

When speaking of Lega’s foreign policy then USA is seen as Italy’s main foreign partner with whom the party would like to have a special relationship in EU. In words of Salvini (2019a), “being one of the favourite partners of the U.S. in the European Union would be very important, also on a geopolitical level since Italy’s approach on some situations is different from some of the European Union”. Furthermore, many US policies represent IT national interest, particularly those on China and migration. Moreover, Lega would like to have a special relationship with President Trump administration as according to Salvini the latter and Lega belong to the same global nationalist movement. He says (2018c), that “Trump and I we are part of the same global movement. History has cycles. This is a cycle that represents more than the confrontation between left and right, it is the confrontation between the elite and the people”.

Another important foreign partner for Lega and likewise a potential partner for both EU and NATO is Russia, despite multiple denouncements of several Russia’s actions in recent history by EU and USA. Based on the analysis, Lega sees Russia as a part of Western civilization and (Government Program 2018) and underlines the significance of

friendship between two states. Moreover, Russia is rather seen as an ally and not the threat. According to Salvini (2018c), he only has “an idea of having a good partnership between Russia and Europe. There is an agreement between the League and [Putin’s] United Russia party. I hope to stop this regime of sanctions as soon as possible, because there is no need to fight”. Salvini adds, that sanctions against Russia must be lifted as those, amongst other things, are damaging Italian economy. Furthermore, Lega portrays Russia as a significant actor in Syrian conflict against terrorism and good US-Russia relations are also good for Italy. In addition, Salvini also defends annexation of Crimea as a region that is culturally and historically linked to Russia and according to him, being pro-Russia (and pro-Putin) equals peace.

The anti-globalist stance of Lega is strongly shaped by the concept of protectionism as well as the party stresses the importance of the protection of external borders from the perspective of both Italy and EU. According to Lega, a state should have exclusive right for dealing with its external borders and defending its fatherland is seen as citizens duty. As can be seen in the party’s Government Program (2018) “leverage is also a preventive action necessary to ensure citizens' preparation for the constitutional duty to defend the Fatherland, in the case (very improbable but theoretically not impossible) of mobilization caused by a serious international crisis”. Moreover, Lega is convinced that one of the main goals of the EU should be common defence and improvement of the overall security and that external borders should be closed for non-Europeans. In addition to the importance of securing external borders, Italy must be defended also from Chinese economical invasion.

Another category that emerged from the analysis is Lega’s negative stance on foreign interventions as these are supported only when in accordance with Italy's national interests and goals. According to the party’s Government Program (2018) “dispensing Italy’s military over a large number of threats is an unsustainable policy, because it costs a lot and produces poor results in terms of economic expansion and migratory or counter-terrorist security”. Moreover, the conflict in Syria should be solved by using different means and not by direct military intervention. Zaia (2018) claims, that “Matteo Salvini 's position on Syria is that of the whole League. The situation in that country is not solved with bombs, especially if there is no certainty of the use of chemical weapons. Assad and Russia fight our first enemy, the Caliphate; ISIS is the real problem, and it must be

defeated!” Furthermore, the party believes, that NATO intervention in Syria can be seen as a gift to ISIS. On the other hand, Salvini has expressed his support to NATO but the national interests must come first when dealing military sector.

In addition to underlining the importance of national interests in both domestic and foreign policy, Lega believes that EU values should be reframed and that Italy is the last hope for that. The party stresses the need for an alternative for Christian democrats and socialists, who currently rule EU. According to Salvini (2018c) Lega is currently “working with friends from France, Germany, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Netherland, Belgium, Austria to create an alternative alliance to the Christian Democrat and Socialist duopoly that has always governed Europe”. Moreover, the model of EU should be changed as well and it should be made more democratic regarding electing its leadership. Likewise, the party stresses that the unity of EU must be restored, along with social cohesion and that EU must be united against common enemies, such as immigration and terrorism. Furthermore, EU is currently compared with the Soviet Union and is accused for starving Italy. So, although Lega does not want to leave the EU and is officially supportive towards it, the party others the current EU leadership in terms of values that Italy represents and which should be promoted among the member states as well.

When speaking of Lega’s position on Western values, then the party supports the green way of thinking. According to Lega’s Manifesto, “man and environment are two sides of the same coin. Whoever fails to respect the environment fails to respect himself. Our task is to support the green economy, enabling research, innovation and the development of ecological work”. Lega is also against gay unions and adoptions and the market advantage should be given to national entrepreneurs, even if that means restricting free market.

#### **4.2 The case of The Freedom Party (Austria)**

The Freedom Party (FPÖ) was founded in 1956 after the demolition of temporary Federation of Independents, representing mainly pan-Germanists and national liberals who opposed to both socialism and Catholic clericalism. The party adopted the right-wing populist ideology under the leadership of Jörg Haider from 1986 onwards. FPÖ’s recent popularity was accomplished under the leadership of Heinz-Christian Strache (2005–



2019) with a culmination in the 2017 Austrian legislative election, where FPÖ achieved its best election result since the 1999 (Barkin 2017). After the elections FPÖ showed interest in forming a coalition with ÖVP and after reaching an agreement the coalition government was made that lasted from 12.2017-20.05.2019. During its rule, FPÖ gained control over six ministries, including defence, the interior, and foreign affairs. The party, led by Norbert Hofer since September 2019, is a member of both the Identity and Democracy group in the European Parliament and the Identity and Democracy Party.

#### **4.2.1 Coding results**

All in all, 31 different relevant data sources have been analysed. Firstly, main emerged categories are presented along with the relevant subcategories and codes and their frequency (marked after every category and code). Secondly, the results are analysed in order to provide better understanding along with possible explanations. The main categories that emerged while analysing FPÖ's positions on relevant subjects are following:

##### **1. Anti- globalist stance (57):**

- *National interests first (9)*
- *Importance of nationalism (5)*
- *Importance of national autonomy (1)*
- *Nativism (5)*
- *Protectionism (12)*
- *Conservative family values (4)*
- *Negative stance on gay marriage (2)*
- *Importance of traditional family (2)*
- *Negative stance on migration (10)*
- *Pro-Russian sentiment (4)*
- *Negative stance on globalisation (1)*
- *Negative stance on Islam (2)*

##### **2. Western values (13):**

- *Importance of Western values (5)*

- *Liberal market economy (2)*
- *Importance of solidarity (1)*
- *Importance of democracy and human rights (1)*
- *Negative stance on liberal economy (1)*
- *Importance of Christian values (2)*
- *Negative stance on Western values (1)*

### **3. Anti-interventionist stance (5):**

- *Negative stance on foreign intervention (2)*
- *Negative stance on NATO (3)*

### **4. Anti- EU sentiment (11):**

- *Anti-EU stance (8)*
- *Importance of reframing EU values (2)*
- *Economically weak EU (1)*

#### **4.2.2 Analysis of the results**

On a large scale the analysis of the data showed that both FPÖ and its key members in their individual claims are strongly defending Austria's national interests and are against overall globalisation process which they mainly associate with a loss of cultural identity, deletion of community history and also with a conflict of civilization. In terms of overall globalisation, the latter is seen as a threat to Austria. According to FPÖ's Party Platform, "FPÖ is for the preservation of our national solidarity systems and our social networks, but against escalating globalization as well as against wage dumping and the dictates of the international financial markets". So, in order to prevent abovementioned from happening, key members of FPÖ have constantly emphasised the importance of Austrian interests in the latter's international relations and foreign policy, especially in terms of national peace, freedom, security and welfare. According to the FPÖ's Party Program (2011), "the freedom, security, peace and welfare of Austria and its people are the guidelines and the benchmarks for our actions as a social, meritocratic and patriotic Austrian political force". Moreover, FPÖ underlines the importance nations' autonomy

in international relations, adding that the foreign policy of Austria must not be shaped only by its security interests but by the cultural and economic ones as well (Ibid.).

Furthermore, FPÖ strongly believe that Austria should have more autonomy in its policy decisions and overall, there should be less following of the EU directives as the national interests are more important. The party is against the "United States of Europe" and highlights the importance of preservation of national sovereignty. For FPÖ, EU should be a union of autonomous sovereign states and not a centralised union and it is significant that its citizens are primarily Austrians and not Europeans (FPÖ's Party Platform). Likewise, European states should not cooperate closely in every area but should have a common understanding in security, economic and energy sector (Hofer 2017). In addition, FPÖ emphasizes the preservation of Austrian view on mankind and society "that has matured in Austrian traditions and in Austrian history" (FPÖ's Part Programme 2011). Some of its key members have highlighted, that without FPÖ in the Austrian government there is a risk that citizen rights will deteriorate and that foreigners will have bigger power (Darmann 2019).

Although FPÖ supports overall idea of the EU, the party believes it should be reformed as it is unable to promote sustainable development for the future generations in terms of climate and environment, for example (Rauch 2019). Moreover, EU should change its priorities by decreasing its involvement in environmental protection and increasing its participation in a fight with migration. One of FPÖ's deputy party chairmen, Herbert Kickl (2018a), states that "the concept of solidarity, which is very important within the EU, should be brought to life to prevent illegal migration rather than to distribute refugees!". The EU also undermines its existence by accusing its states of islamophobia, claims FPÖ's chairman Norbert Hofer (2019c), as EU does not always seem follow the democratic norms itself, some its decisions are not democratic (Hofer 2016b). FPÖ is convinced that democracy and democratic views, that at the same time respect and promote member state's sovereignty and autonomy in its decisions, should be promoted more in EU.

Another important aspect related to FPÖ's attitude towards EU is that although it mostly supports staying in the EU, it does not exclude the possibility of leaving the union either, especially if something in EU is severely against its views and beliefs (like accession of

Turkey, for ex.). FPÖ's dissatisfaction with EU is also fuelled by the amount of benefits Austria gets from the latter, especially when compared with its investments to the EU. Furthermore, many of the FPÖ's key members have praised Brits for taking their destiny into their own hands by organising Brexit referendum (Svazek 2016). In order to reduce its dependence on EU, FPÖ has been making and maintaining close ties with Russia as well. Russia is seen as an important (economical) partner for Austria and FPÖ condemns the sanctions that has been imposed against Moscow. "In the area of internal security, bilateral cooperation between Russia and Austria is very good. I hope to have a good exchange on our current and future cooperation, for example, in combating organized crime", states Kickl (2018b). Moreover, Hofer (2016b) believes, that Russia can be considered a democratic state and a good relationship with Russia is also essential for the prosperity of EU.

In addition to anti-EU sentiments, FPÖ's anti-globalist stance is also strongly shaped by its negative attitude towards migration what is mainly backed by the belief that the EU should be composed by autochthonous groups of people and autonomous nations (FPÖ's Party Program 2011). Derived from that, migrants and overall migration is strongly securitized by the FPÖ, advocating that all measures should be taken for protecting Austria from mass illegal migration. Moreover, migration flow to EU must be stopped, EU solidarity should be implemented towards its own citizens (Kickl 2018a). On the other hand, these migrants, who share its values and are useful for the society, are welcomed to Austria but state borders must be protected against immigrants who are perceived as a potential security threat, especially with an Islamic background (Hofer 2016c). For FPÖ, the threat of immigration is strongly intervened with the threat of Islam and thus Austria must be protected against it as it is perceived as a threat to Austrian culture and its people. "Islam is not part of our history and our culture - and never will be, [...] political Islam is a system of submission and intolerance", states Hofer (2019b). In terms of economic workforce, Austria should rely more on family policies than immigration, advocates FPÖ.

Derived from abovementioned threats, FPÖ also encourages protectionism, claiming that not only the protection of Austria's national territory and citizens is a top priority, the protection should include its identity and autonomy as well. Moreover, FPÖ is "committed to a foreign policy that focuses on securing the sovereignty of Austria and the objective of protecting the freedom of its citizens" (FPÖ's Party Program 2011).

Furthermore, the importance of securing EU's external borders from migrants is stressed as well as FPÖ is against open borders policy and welcome culture due to the security threat for Austrian citizens. According to FPÖ's Party Program (2011), the party is "dedicated to protecting our homeland of Austria, our national identity and autonomy as well as our natural livelihood". Once again, migration is used as a potential security threat that may deteriorate the life situation of Austrians and for their protection the EU external borders must be well secured, especially against migrants and Turkey (Kickl 2019). Furthermore, FPÖ believes that EU should question migrants and process the asylum applications already at its external border as this would help to protect its member states from illegal mass migration. Overall, European borders should be protected more and everybody should not be welcomed here.

Another important characteristic of FPÖ that emerged from the analysis is the negative stance on foreign intervention. The party assumes that Austrian soldiers should primarily focus on defending their motherland and should not be deployed abroad (FPÖ's Party Program 2011). Moreover, FPÖ values Austrian neutrality and is against of military intervention and the use of force of any kind, advocating that disputes between states should be dissolved using diplomatic means (Hofer 2019a). In addition, FPÖ argues that Austria should be fully in charge of its army and that military pacts/alliances are threatening its autonomy. Derived from that, Austria should maintain distance from non-European powers and military alliances dominated by non-European countries and European interests must be Austria's first priority. Moreover, FPÖ finds neutrality and not being a part of the NATO to be a great advantage for Austria. According to FPÖ's Party Program (2011), FPÖ is "committed to a common foreign and security policy of such a European alliance of states that preserves Austrian neutrality and maintains distance from non-European powers and military alliances dominated by non-European countries to safeguard common European interests worldwide".

An interesting aspect that rose from the analysis of FPÖ is that although it seems to hold a critical stance towards EU and overall globalisation and thus to liberal Western values, it does emphasize the importance of the latter at least in its official rhetoric. As can be seen in their Party Program (2011) the party gives prominence to the European view of the world and cultural Christianity that is shaped by enlightenment and humanism. The importance of liberty and community of solidarity is stressed as well. Moreover,

European values must be defended and the EU must be shaped by the western values along with the cultural heritage and the traditions of the European peoples. Likewise, FPÖ promotes respect for liberal freedom and democratic rule of law. As is stated in the FPÖ's Party Program (2011), "the freedom of citizens must be ensured and protected by means of liberty and rule of law as well as a genuine community of solidarity".

In addition, the party believes that also EU's decision-making should be shaped by the Christianity and some of FPÖ's key members share the view that Europe should be composed of people who share the same (Christian) values and that the incoming immigrants, who come outside from Europe, do not share them (Hofer 2017). Thus, in many instances it becomes evident that although FPÖ claims to be standing behind Western values (like solidarity, liberalism etc.), its strong appreciation of traditional Christian values sometimes gives the opposite impression. While advocating the importance of traditional family, for example, the party claims that the gay marriage is harmful to child's welfare and that traditional family is a basis for functional society. According to the FPÖ's Party Programm (2011), FPÖ is "committed to the primacy of marriage between a man and a woman as a distinct way of protecting child welfare. Only partnerships between men and women provide our society with a wealth of children. The party rejects a separate legal institution for same-sex relations."

Another example could be found from FPÖ's approach to liberal democratic market economy, that according to party's official rhetoric is important and achievements in market economy must be encouraged (FPÖ's Party Program 2011). On the other hand, many key members of the party believe that in terms of economy, the EU should focus primarily on its domestic needs and factors and agreed, that FPÖ should use its position in the government to influence labour market in Austria. According to FPÖ's deputy chairman Marlene Svazek (2018),

*after twelve years of red-black labour market policy, the result is a massive shortage of skilled workers in many areas, even though unemployment remains far too high. However, the FPÖ will pay close attention in the government to ensure that only where there is a shortage of skilled workers there is a short-term coverage of non-EU foreigners. (Svazek 2018)*

In addition, party's chairman Hofer has demonstrated contractionary attitude on Western values by saying, for example, that European NGOs should not rescue refugees in help out of solidarity (Hofer 2019a).

### **4.3 The case of The Finns Party (Finland)**

The Finns Party, formerly known in English as the True Finns, was founded in 1995 following the dissolution of the Finnish Rural Party and is known for conservative social values, socio-cultural authoritarianism, and ethnic nationalism (Arter 2010). In the 2011 parliamentary election, the party turned into the third largest party in the Finnish Parliament by winning the 19.1% of votes (Helsingin Sanomat 2011). In the 2015 election the party won 17.7% of the votes, and thus became the parliament's second-largest party (Eduskuntavaalit 2015), allowing it to join the government coalition that lasted until the party split in 2017. In 2019 parliamentary elections, the party increased its representation from 38 to 39 seats but continued in the opposition (ibid). Speaking of European Parliament, the Finns Party became a founding member of the Europe of Freedom and Democracy Group (EFD) in 2009. However, the party decided to leave the EFD and join the European Conservatives and Reformists Group (ECR) after the 2014 election. After the 2019 election the party joined the Identity and Democracy (ID) Group.

#### **4.3.1 Coding results**

All in all, 29 different relevant data sources have been analysed. Firstly, main emerged categories are presented along with the relevant subcategories and codes and their frequency (marked after every category and code). Secondly, the results are analysed in order to provide better understanding along with possible explanations. The main categories that emerged while analysing The Finns' positions on relevant subjects are following:

##### **1. Anti-globalist stance (48):**

- *Nativism (7)*
- *Negative stance on migration (16)*

- *Securitization of immigration (5)*
- *Protectionism (4)*
- *Importance of nationalism (3)*
- *National interests first (2)*
- *Importance of national autonomy (1)*
- *Negative stance on multiculturalism (6)*
- *Negative stance on Islam (4)*

## **2. Anti-interventionist stance (4):**

- *Negative stance on foreign intervention (3)*
- *Negative stance on NATO (1)*

## **3. Anti-EU sentiment (13):**

- *Negative stance on EU (10)*
- *Negative stance on Euro currency (3)*

## **4. Western values (13):**

- *Negative stance on Russia (7)*
- *Importance of green economy (3)*
- *Importance of Western values (1)*
- *Negative stance on Western values (1)*
- *Pro- NATO attitude (1)*

### **4.3.2 Analysis of the results**

As can be seen in the previous section, most of the analysed data indicates Finns' anti-globalist sentiment that is characterized by several different aspects, the most prominent one being its negative stance on migration, followed by the importance of nationalism and nativism. The Finns are convinced that international community should do everything in its power to prevent another immigration crisis and that all persons crossing EU border illegally should be returned to their place of origin. In order to achieve that, it is important to prevent a big wave of migration already in the first place and to build refugee camps near Syria. The party believes that immigration is not seen as something beneficial for Finland, especially not economic wise. According to The Finns Party's General Elections Program (2019), "immigration is not bringing new taxpayers to Finland - or providing



resources to face future challenges”. Not only has migration a negative effect on Finnish economy and, but it also encourages educated Finns to leave the motherland which in turn allows low-skilled migrants to take their place.

Moreover, The Finns believe that Finland should stop funding immigration programmes as “the necessary changes must start with cutting support for immigration and foreign aid of the 'make a better world' type programs” (Party Platform 2015). Furthermore, party’s chairman Jussi Halla-aho (2019a) claims, that immigration causes problems like segregation in the education system as well and that ethnic restaurants are another reason behind migration as these attract immigrants who only want to obtain a residence permit. In addition, The Finns rhetoric on migration is strongly characterised by the securitization of the latter as well as the party is constantly portraying migration as a potential security threat to Finland, especially in terms of potential ethnic conflicts. Moreover, the party believes that immigration will destroy European culture and that it can be causally linked to Islamic terrorism (The Finns’ EU policy 2019). As immigrants have allegedly caused the rise in sexual offences as well, The Finns see no other option than to pursue more protectionist policies, particularly when it comes to the protection of Finland’s external borders. Thus, border checks must be established again and asylum seekers who receive a negative response, should leave Finland immediately.

In terms of nationalism, the analysis shows that The Finns are strongly advocating not only Finland’s national interest but also a nativist mentality by claiming that Finnish people must always come first and it is important to further protect their rights and interests. According to The Finns’ EU policy (2019) “Finland needs The Finns Party in the European Parliament to further the cause of the Finnish people and to protect their rights and interests”. Moreover, the party states that Finland is for the Finns, who share the similar culture, language and values and that schools must promote the latter as well (Municipal elections program 2017). According to The Finns, Finnish speaking people must come first and Finland must protect them. Furthermore, the party argues that migrants should not be integrated with native people and that Finland should be against the federalisation of Europe as members of the EU should have more autonomy in their decisions. In addition, The Finns see other nationalist parties as sympathizers and the party is pleased with nationalism’s triumph in Austria.

Another characteristic of the Finns' anti-globalist stance is its negative stance on multiculturalism as the party is convinced that differences among the culture only lead to conflicts. According to Riikka Purra (2019),

*“party’s research shows that the further away the origins of immigrants and the more diverse their cultures, the more difficult societal integration will be for them. Those migrants with a particularly strong ‘group identity’ in terms of culture, religion or language, have more difficulties with successful employment than those who have a less ‘binding’ identity”. (Purra 2019)*

Furthermore, The Finns believe that from the bigger perspective multiculturalism is not justified, and Finland must not to give support to migrants' feelings of identity, culture or religious practices. Likewise, multiculturalism is allegedly creating problems also in the education system and it is important to keep the segregation of genders as well (Municipal election program 2017). In addition, the party opposes the infiltration of Islam into Finnish society and burkas along with similar clothing should be banned. Moreover, many key members of the party believe that Islamic immigration will eventually Islamise Europe (Huhtasaari 2019) and that Islamic traditions create problems for the Finnish health care system. In the words of Halla-aho (2019c), “immigration from Islamic countries employs both do-it-yourself surgeons and public sector personnel to repair the damage they cause”.

In addition to opposing globalisation, the Finns' rhetoric is also heavily shaped by the othering of EU as the latter is portrayed as a threat to Finnish democracy and welfare society. According to party's EU policy (2019), “the encroachment of European ‘bureaucracy’ does not represent - or advance - the real value and virtues of European values”. Moreover, The Finns believe that European Commission is holding too much power and that nation states should be more autonomous in their decisions. The party is certain that EU leadership is looking for ways to remove decision making power from the member states. Furthermore, The Finns argue that EU is not efficient in problem solving and that Finland should not support EU rescue packages. Likewise, it is outrageous that EU's climate policies costs billions of euros to Finland, but the union does not even give any security guarantees to its member states. Thus, The Finns encourage Finland to oppose several EU policies, including harmful immigration and refugee policy

(Parliament elections program 2015). In addition, the party states that Euro currency was a mistake as well and that Finland should abandon it (The Finns' EU policy 2019).

Another category that emerged from the analysis is The Finns' negative stance on foreign intervention. The party believes that Finland should avoid joining big conflicts, should not intervene militarily and be neutral. As stated in the party's Parliamentary elections program (2015) "The Finns Party believes that the policy of military non-alignment has served Finland so well that it should be changed only when based on very pressing grounds". Furthermore, Finland should not support peacekeeping military operations and the party is convinced that joining NATO would not offer Finland better defence, only more obligations. On the other hand, the crisis in Ukraine showed that Finland must have strong security and should consider NATO membership after all.

The last component of The Finns rhetoric that arouse from the analysis is the latter's position on Western values. Although The Finns considers itself as promoter of Christian democratic values, the solidarity towards others, especially immigrants, is not always applicable. The party believes that immigrants must accept true Western values that are represented by Finland. Derived from these values is also The Finns position on Russia, which is rather negative. The party sees Finland as the last frontier of West against the East and is opposed to Russia's actions in Crimea. Moreover, the party believes that current sanctions against Russia are unequal and should be firmer (The Finns' EU policy 2019). Because of the crisis in Ukraine, Finland must be careful with the visa free system with Russia as well. In addition, Finland should not have accepted the ban of landmines, especially because of the neighbouring Russia and the party is convinced that the latter is trapping Finnish people in order to blackmail them later. "For some people, the Russian authorities have information that they would not like to be made public. It is dangerous for a politician to visit Russia and establish non-formal relations with the Russians" (Halla-aho 2019b).

In terms of economy, The Finns believe Finland must pursue a sensible climate change policy at both the national and European Union level. Pollution standards should be at the level of European average. Moreover, Finland should support using taxes on uses of coal as these taxes "will penalize ecologically-worse alternatives and move consumption to

more climate-friendly processes – and at the same time, protect Finnish and European energy production” (Halla-aho 2019c).

#### **4.4 The case of Conservative People's Party of Estonia**

The Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EKRE) was founded in 2012, which makes it a relatively young party that is mostly known for its national-conservative and right-wing populist rhetoric. One of the party's main goals is the preservation of Estonian ethnicity and many of its policies are aiming to provide support to young Estonian families, to lower emigration of (skilled) Estonians and to restrict immigration, especially from the third countries (EKRE 10 käsku). During the period of Estonian parliamentary election in 2015, EKRE's support grew significantly and the party won 8.1% of the votes, gaining 7 seats in the Parliament (Valimiskomisjon 2015). In the 2019 Estonian parliamentary elections, EKRE more than doubled its support, gaining 17.8% of the votes and increasing its number of parliamentary seats to 19, which also allowed it to join Jüri Ratas' second government with five out of fifteen cabinet positions (Olsen & Tanner 2019). Furthermore, in 2019 European Parliament elections, EKRE received 12,7% from all votes and gained one position to the EP (Valimised 2019). In the EP, it belongs to the far right ID Group.

##### **4.4.1 Coding results**

All in all, 33 different relevant data sources have been analysed. Firstly, main emerged categories are presented along with the relevant subcategories and codes and their frequency (marked after every category and code). Secondly, the results are analysed in order to provide better understanding along with possible explanations. The main categories that emerged while analysing EKRE's positions on relevant subjects are following:

##### **1. Anti-globalist stance (44):**

- *Negative stance on globalisation (2)*
- *Negative stance on migration (10)*

- *Securitization of migration (1)*
- *Importance of nationalism (5)*
- *National interests first (2)*
- *Nativism (5)*
- *Negative stance on multiculturalism (4)*
- *Trump's admiration (2)*
- *Importance of USA (3)*
- *Protectionism (4)*
- *Securitization of Islam (1)*
- *Traditional family values (5)*

## **2. Anti – EU sentiment (16):**

- *Negative stance on EU (10)*
- *Negative stance of Western Europe (1)*
- *Importance of reframing EU (2)*
- *Eastern Europe as an ally (2)*
- *Pro-EU attitude (1)*

## **3. Western values (26):**

- *Negative stance on Russia (13)*
- *Securitization of Russia (6)*
- *Anti-Western sentiment (1)*
- *Importance of liberal economy (1)*
- *Negative stance on liberal economy (1)*
- *Negative stance on green economy (1)*
- *Importance of NATO (3)*

### **4.4.2 Analysis of the results**

As can be seen in the case, most of the analysed data indicates EKRE's anti-globalist sentiment, that is characterized by several different aspects, the most prominent one being its negative stance on migration, followed by the importance of nationalism and nativism. Overall, EKRE claims, that Estonian people do not want immigrants and that there is an

agreement in society to stop immigration. Moreover, according to the congress of EKRE (2019), Estonia needs an agreement in society, which states that the State should not give in to pressure, which promises to solve economic problems by importing cheap labour force to Estonia as only those should be allowed who are useful for the state. Furthermore, Ukrainian labour migrants are seen as a threat even to local Russians in Estonia (Helme 2018). In addition, EKRE believes, that societies with similar history and background are more stable and by stressing the need for new immigration plan along with quotas, EU leaders are declaring war to nation states. One of EKRE's main messages currently is that Estonia will not take any more migrants based on the distribution quota of EU. Likewise, EKRE's rhetoric is strongly characterised by securitization of migration and Islam, claiming that as long as immigrants come to Estonia, the latter faces danger of terrorism invoked by Islam. In the words of party's chairman Mart Helme (2016c), "we are currently facing an organized war against Western civilization by members of one religion".

As mentioned before, another essential characteristic for EKRE is the importance of nationalism. The party strongly values the cooperation with similar-minded Eastern-European nation states and believes, that cosmopolitanism not only destroys nationalism, but local cultural traditions as well (Helme 2016b). In order to preserve Estonian nation state, EKRE takes part in a fight against liberal and globalist forces, claims Mart Helme (2019). Moreover, from the perspective of preserving national culture and values, EKRE underlines the importance of teaching Estonian to foreigners, especially to Russians already in kindergartens. In the name of nationalism, the party believes that Estonia must refuse to acknowledge EU's laws in case they are conflicting. Furthermore, EKRE is convinced that other Estonian parties do not care about Estonia's national interest and citizens, as they constantly follow EU's and big corporations' instructions. In addition, EKRE's nationalist sentiment is also characterised by a nativist rhetoric. The party claims, for example, that Estonians want to live like always, surrounded by people who share same cultural values and language and that Estonians' interests are EKRE's top priority. According to Helme (2019), Estonia is for Estonians, their well-being is most important for EKRE and not everybody should be welcomed here. Moreover, the party stresses the importance of supporting Finno-Ugric people in Russia.

In addition, EKRE's illiberal attitude can also be seen in its strong support for traditional family values as the party supports Christian values and defend traditional, wholesome family model, which consists of mother, father and children. EKRE stresses, that marriage should be only between man and a woman and that married gays should not adopt or marry. According to one of the party's key members, Jaak Madison (2018c), gay couples having a kid is "disgusting" and majority of the same-sex couples also use surrogacy that is seen as "human trafficking" and EKRE is against objectifying female's body.

Another aspect of EKRE's anti-globalist rhetoric is the significance of protectionism. The party believes that Estonia needs a proper state boarder along with increased border control as it is important to build a physical barrier in order to prevent migration, for example. In addition to preventing migration, the return of migrants must also be encouraged, states EKRE's vice chairman Martin Helme (2019). Moreover, the party criticizes EU's open border policies as these increase the risk of terrorism by allowing terrorists to move around Europe. Furthermore, EKRE also sees President Trump's victory as statement against globalism. In words of Mart Helme (2016a), "Trump's victory has shown, that the resentment against globalist ideology in the world is on the rise". Likewise, the party perceives Trump's victory as statement against multiculturalism and blames other Estonian parties that support multiculturalism to be against the constitution. For example, the Congress of EKRE states, that political powers who support the multiculturalism "have started a campaign, that attacks national principles of Estonia, and with it they basically call for changing our land to an aisle" (EKRE's Political statement 2019). Furthermore, the party is certain that rape incidents in Finland are connected to multiculturalism as well and Madison (2018a) has praised the foreign minister of Netherlands, who thinks that there is no such thing as a successful multicultural society.

EKRE's admiration for Trump and USA in general is not only defined by common nationalist policies but also by US President's usefulness to Estonia, especially in terms of military defence. More specifically, the party sees USA as the only reliable defence source for Estonia as the EU will not protect the latter, but the USA will. Furthermore, EKRE is convinced that EU's own armed forces could threaten USA's presence in the region and that is something that from Estonia's perspective cannot be allowed. According to Mart Helme (2017), " it must be realized that the mainstay of the independence of Estonia and the other Baltic states is the consensus reached between

Washington and Moscow in 1991, which is guaranteed by the United States, not the European Union". The importance of USA is mostly defined by NATO, thus EKRE strongly supports NATO and other Estonia's allied forces, claiming that Estonia's security depends on the latter and that Estonia needs allies who would not only give it a hand in case of danger but would be ready to move mountains if necessary, especially when speaking about potential Russian aggression. Moreover, the party believes, that Estonia must cooperate with NATO in order to prevent another wave of migrants from Islamic countries.

In addition to EKRE's anti- globalist position, the second category that appeared as a result of the analysis is the party's negative stance on EU. Firstly, the party criticizes EU for being too soft with Russia after attacks against members of Council of Europe and especially Germany and France for not tightening the sanctions against Russia. Moreover, Europe did not impose new sanctions like USA and probably its actions are based on wrong selfish reasons, states Mart Helme (2017). Likewise, EKRE believes that EU should align itself more with the US. Secondly, many of EKRE's key members actively criticize EU's open boarder policy, as true Europe must not have any problems related to terrorism that is invoked by the mentioned policy (Madison 2018b). Thus, EKRE does not agree with EU leadership on migration and opposes EU leadership for wishing to create EU's army and more federalised union. Furthermore, the party is certain that EU's own armed forces would destroy NATO and drive off the US from the alliance.

Thirdly, EKRE believes that the "Old" Europe has no principles. According to Mart Helme (2019) "the makers of Estonian foreign policy should let go of the illusion, that our explanatory work will open the eyes of the Old Europe. These eyes are wide open, but behind them stares back weathercockism". On the other hand, EKRE stresses that the party is against leaving the EU but for the sake of its survival and better cooperation between the states, the union must be reformed. For example, the EU must embrace once again Europe's Christian values and as the party is against the Empire of Europe, a bigger emphasis should be put on the preservation of member states' sovereignty. In addition, EKRE believes that most of the Eastern-Europe allies share the same nationalist values and that closer ties with Baltics and Poland for better defence network must be established as would guarantee Estonia an imminent help in instance of foreign aggression. Along with Poland and Baltic states, Hungary is seen as an important ally to Estonia.



The third main category that emerged as a result of the current analysis combines EKRE's reflections on Western values. The analysis shows that EKRE portrays itself as a defender of Christian conservative democratic values, especially against liberal values and authoritarian aggressors like Russia. Moreover, EKRE sees Russia as a hostile and highly corrupt state and condemns its aggression in Ukraine, Georgia and in Kerch strait. Party's securitization of Russia grows mainly out of latter's occupation of the Baltics after the II WW as EKRE is afraid that it could do the same in the future. According to the party, it is only natural, that Estonia is always aware of Russia's possible attack and that a Russian friendly government is harmful to Estonia's well-being. Compensations from Russia for the damage that was caused by the occupation are also required. Furthermore, EKRE is against a new border law with Russia and demands its withdrawal from the parliament by referring to the fact that the real Estonian border is still occupied by Russia, according to the Peace treaty of Tartu (1920). In addition, EKRE demands the return of archives from Russia to Estonia and warns against hostile military exercise "*Zapad*".

In addition, EKRE expresses its opposition to liberal Western values also by stating, that the party is waiting from the Estonian Government a statement that declares withdrawing from the UN migration pact (EKRE's Political statement 2019). Regarding party's position on liberal economy, then on one hand, EKRE's economic policies are closely tied to liberal economic ideas but on the other hand, the party warns economic policy makers not to be too liberal. Moreover, for EKRE, CO measuring is less important than cheap electricity, for example.

#### **4.5 Similarities between cases and expectations and assumptions**

Regarding the results of the content analysis, one of the striking similarities among cases is that their rhetoric mostly reflects an anti-globalist stance, with an emphasis on the preservation and strengthening national interests and autonomy and negative stance on migration along with securitization of the latter. All parties also share the need for greater protection of the nation state, both on the domestic and EU level, especially from migrants and Islamic terrorists among them. Moreover, the analysis shows that although all selected cases are against liberal western values, they claim to be representing traditional Christian democratic values (with an emphasis on traditional family values and

segregation of traditional gender roles), that are seen as the right ones from the perspective of survival of the EU. Furthermore, all cases share a rather negative position on the EU, particularly against its leadership. On the other hand, all parties are against leaving the union, but stressing that for the better future of EU, it must be reformed and nation states should have more autonomy over their policy decisions. In addition, another common characteristic among all cases is nativism, that reflects how nation's citizens' interests must always come first and how carrying on its national culture, language and values should be the top priority of the state.

As for the similarities between expectations and assumptions of this paper, then based on the results of the analysis as well as the PRR parties' rhetoric and ideology, it is evident that all analysed cases do hold an anti-globalist stance and that the nativism has a significant impact on it as all analysed parties have expressed the importance of preserving their national view on mankind and society. Moreover, the current analysis shows, the anti-globalist position is also the most prominent one in the PRR rhetoric. In addition, the above-mentioned similarities among the cases already demonstrate that the shared importance of nationalism is strongly related to the negative position on the EU, so it is evident that the PRR parties play an important role in global anti-hegemonic drift as well.

#### **4.6 Differences between cases and expectations and assumptions**

The main difference that arouse from the current analysis is that in comparison with other cases, the analysed data does not show any anti-interventionist positions in the case of EKRE. Main reason behind it could be EKRE's claim, that foreign allies together with NATO and the possibility for foreign intervention is Estonia's only legitimate security guarantee against Russia's aggression, for example. As was expected, both Lega and FPÖ are ill-disposed towards foreign intervention. The former claims that it costs a lot and produces poor results in terms of economic expansion and migratory or counter-terrorist security and the latter values Austrian neutrality and is advocating that disputes between states should be dissolved using diplomatic means rather than a military intervention. Moreover, another reason behind Lega's opposition might be its alignment with Russian views by claiming that Assad is not the real problem in Syrian conflict and that NATO's

intervention was rather a gift for the real threat, ISIS. Furthermore, an interesting observation has been made by analysing The Finns' position on foreign intervention as although it does not share the sympathy towards Russia with the previously mentioned parties, The Finns believe the policy of military non-alignment has served Finland so well that it should be changed only when based on very pressing grounds that joining NATO would not offer Finland better defence, only more obligations.

In addition, the position on Russia is another main difference among the cases. The current analysis shows that both Lega and FPÖ are being pro-Russia and see latter as an important (economical) partner, a part of Western civilization that is rather seen as an ally and not the threat. Likewise, both parties condemn the sanctions imposed against Moscow and FPÖ's chairman Norbert Hofer sees Putin as a democrat. On the other hand, EKRE and The Finns have a rather negative view on Russia as the former sees Russia as a hostile and highly corrupt state and the latter as the last frontier of West against the East. Moreover, both parties believe that the sanctions imposed on Russia are too soft, the implementation is too weak and condemn its aggression in Ukraine, Georgia and in Kerch strait. Likewise, EKRE's rhetoric also incorporates the securitization of Russia, especially by referring to its aggression towards Estonia during and after the II WW and speculating that the chances are high for the further aggression as well.

Another difference between the cases is the importance of USA. In comparison with the other cases, Lega and EKRE both admire President Trump, claiming that his nationalist policies are also beneficial to both Estonia and Italy. Moreover, EKRE strongly values US military presence in EU. In addition, an interesting observation came also by analysing FPÖ's western values as it is the only case that officially underlines the importance of the latter, especially in terms of solidarity and human rights without strongly referring to the importance of Christian democratic values. As for the differences between the expectations and assumptions, it is evident that although Russia plays an important role behind the anti-interventionist stances of PRR, it is definitely not the only actor as FPÖ's position, for example, is also strongly influenced by its policy of neutrality and it deliberately wants to distance itself from the non-EU dominated military alliances. Likewise, The Finns also value the principle of neutrality in addition to being negatively disposed towards Russia. Derived from that, it can be argued that the way how the

selected cases influence the global anti-hegemonic is slightly different in its aspects as well.

#### **4.7 Discussion**

Based on the theoretical assumptions and the content analysis, the current paper's answers for the research questions of this paper are following:

##### *1. How the populist radical right parties address the multipolar world order?*

Based on the analysis of the current paper, it can be said that there are several different aspects by which the PRR addresses the multipolar world order. Firstly, the PRR contributes to the anti-hegemonic drift by practicing anti-Western governance that is strongly shaped by the illiberal anti-globalist rhetoric. Moreover, according to several scholars, PRR positions opposing globalisations and, in most cases, also foreign intervention are undermining the main principles of Western society and also the unity of European Union (Mudde, 2019; De Búrca, 2018; Verbeek and Zaslove, 2015; Minkenberg, 2017; Weiss, 2020). Thus, considering the results of the analysis, the bigger power the PRR has in terms of governance and the more it stresses the need for protectionism (in terms tightening border control) and opposing liberal democratic values (by criticizing migration, preservation of human rights, solidarity towards gender minorities etc.), the more it helps to shape the multipolar world order. Furthermore, the importance of anti-Western governance lies in the fact that being a member of a government allows PRR parties to distribute their views and ideology more efficiently, which is also important from the perspective of how they influence both international relations of their states.

Secondly, the PRR address the multipolar world order by dividing EU from inside. Based on the analysis, one way to do so is by opposing EU policies, such as policies on immigration (EKRE has played an important role in making Estonia to refuse any more migrants, for example). Another way is by aligning itself with Russia, as the importance of nationalism has become the core ideological connection between Russia and PRR (Gressel, 2017). Moreover, PRR support of Russia not only allows the later to be more influential in the EU but helps to increase the deterioration of EU's unity. Thus, the

weaker EU is in terms of unity among its member states, the lesser influence it has as a regional power and the more power Russia has for shaping the world order. In addition, the analysed parties are also framing the multipolar world order by cooperating with other nationalist blocs and by challenging the Christian Democrats and Social Democratic parties (the “pillar parties” as they are known), both on national and EU level.

## *2. How nativism influences the foreign policy agenda and stances on multipolarity?*

In addition to the abovementioned, PRR contributes to the global anti-hegemonic drift also by advocating nation states’ autonomy and nativist rhetoric in its foreign policy agenda. Based on the current analysis, PRR nativist stances tend to be in correlation with its opposition to cultures different from its own. For example, EKRE believes that Estonians should be surrounded by people who share same cultural values and language and for that, deriving from its strong rejection of immigration and similarly to other cases, its foreign policy agenda is shaped by othering of those countries that do not share the same cultural values, especially Islamic ones. Thus, it can be argued that nativism has a negative effect on bilateral relations between several European and Islamic states. Likewise, the PRR also tends to oppose the principles of neoliberal economy by placing restrictions on the foreign workforce. In addition, as mentioned before, nativism has a significant role behind parties’ anti-globalist stances.

## Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the role of PRR parties in framing the multipolar world order. For that, a theoretical framework was built, with a focus on defining main concepts and providing general literature review of PRR and its connection with multipolar world order theory, along with the connection between PRR and Russia and literature review on radical right parties' anti-globalisation and anti-interventionist stances. In order to answer the research questions of the current thesis (*How the populist radical right parties frame the multipolar world order?* and *How nativism influences the PRR's foreign policy agenda and stances on multipolarity?*) an interpretative compare-and-contrast case study was conducted, focusing on four PRR parties: The League (Lega), The Freedom Party (FPÖ), The Finns Party (The Finns) and Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EKRE).

In order to analyse the main concepts of this thesis (*anti-globalist*, *anti-interventionist* and *anti-Western governance* of PRR) a qualitative content analysis on the relevant data and sources was conducted, such as the analysis of the interviews conducted with the party leaders and official party platforms as well as on opinion pieces and party-based websites. Based on the theoretical framework and research questions, an inductive (data driven) coding frame was built and main concepts of the current thesis were used as sensitising concepts. For facilitating the coding process, the author used a QCAmap program. Overall, 124 data units were coded and analyses and the number of sources for each party came out as follows: Lega (31), FPÖ (31), The Finns (29), EKRE (33).

As for the results, the main categories that emerged were *anti-globalist stance*, *anti-EU sentiment*, *Western values* and *anti-interventionist stance* (with an exception of EKRE). The anti-globalist stance was the most reflected in the rhetoric of analysed parties, with an emphasis on the preservation and strengthening national interests and autonomy and negative stance on migration along with securitization of the latter. All parties also shared the need for greater protection of the nation state, both on the domestic and EU level, especially from migrants and Islamic terrorists among them. Moreover, the analysis showed that although all selected cases are against liberal western values, they claimed to be representing traditional Christian democratic values (with an emphasis on traditional

family values and segregation of traditional gender roles), that are seen as the right ones from the perspective of survival of the EU. Furthermore, nativism appeared as an important characteristic of the anti-globalist stance among PRR, that reflects how nation's citizens' interests must always come first and how carrying on its national culture, language and values should be the top priority of the state.

In addition, the main difference that arouse from the current analysis is that in comparison with other cases, the analysed data did not show any anti-interventionist positions in the case of EKRE. Main reason behind it could be EKRE's claim, that foreign allies together with NATO and the possibility for foreign intervention is Estonia's only legitimate security guarantee against Russia's aggression, for example. As was expected, both Lega and FPÖ are ill-disposed towards foreign intervention. Furthermore, the position on Russia is another main difference among the cases. The current analysis shows that both Lega and FPÖ are being pro-Russia and see latter as an important (economical) partner, a part of Western civilization that is rather seen as an ally and not the threat. EKRE and The Finns, on the other hand, share a rather negative view on Russia as the former sees Russia as a hostile and highly corrupt state and the latter as the last frontier of West against the East.

As for the potential answers to the research questions, the main factor contributing to the way how PRR parties frame the multipolar world order is their negative stance on globalisation. Moreover, the bigger power the PRR has in terms of governance and the more it stresses the need for protectionism (in terms tightening border control) and opposing liberal democratic values (by criticizing migration, preservation of human rights, solidarity towards gender minorities etc.), the more it helps to frame the multipolar world order. Furthermore, the importance of anti-Western governance lies in the fact that being a member of a government allows PRR parties to distribute their views and ideology more efficiently, which is also important from the perspective of how they influence both international relations of their states.

Moreover, PRR support of Russia not only allows the latter to be more influential in the EU but helps to increase the deterioration of EU's unity and thus facilitates the anti-hegemonic drift in the current world order. Likewise, the weaker EU is in terms of unity among its member states, the lesser influence it has as a regional power and the more

power Russia has for shaping the world order. In addition, the analysed parties are also framing the multipolar world order by cooperating with other nationalist blocs and by challenging the Christian Democrats and Social Democratic parties (the “pillar parties” as they are known), both on national and EU level. In addition to the aforementioned, PRR contributes to the global anti-hegemonic drift also by advocating nation states’ autonomy and nativist rhetoric in its foreign policy agenda. Based on the current analysis, PRR nativist stances tend to be in correlation with its opposition to cultures different from its own.

All in all, the current study has shown that the PRR do play a remarkable role in framing the multipolar world order and that its impact on the nation states’ foreign policy agenda along with international relations is something that policy makers around the world should take into consideration, especially as the PRR is gaining more and more supporters and votes in elections. However, the findings may not be applicable in same form to all other European PRR parties, so in order to be able to make further generalisations, an additional research with different cases is required.



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# Appendices

## Appendix 1

### Coding frame (Conservative People's Party of Estonia)

Case	Code	Description	Example	Reference
EKRE	Trump's admiration	Trump's usefulness to Estonia; praising his policies	"Trump will probably focus on making America great and will turn less attention to different covert operations in rivaling countries. This is why Russia has no reason to actively step on USA's toes, rise tensions or provoke a conflict in the Baltics" said Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Trump's policies protect Estonia against Russia	"Thanks to Trump the war with Russia will be kept off at least in the close future" said Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/</a>
EKRE	Relations with Russia	Estonia wants to get along with Russia	"Estonia also wants to get along with Russia. Does that mean that allow Russia to push us around? No, it does not" said Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/</a>
EKRE	Biased media against Right wing parties	Media against Trump like in Estonia	"Media's propaganda for Clinton was not hidden, and survey companies published false results in order to manipulate voters. From that we can draw some straight parallels to what is happening in Estonia. The same manipulations happen here as well" said Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on globalisation	Trump's victory as statement against globalism	"Trump's victory has shown, that the resentment against globalist ideology in the world is on the rise" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on multiculturalism	Trump's victory as statement against multi culturism	"More and more people in the whole world do not want any kind of multiculturalism" said Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	People don't want immigration	"People do not want immigration or globalism" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/</a>
EKRE	Nativism	People want to live like always, surrounded by people who share same cultural values and language.	"Estonia wants to get along with Russia" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-trumpi-voit-tahendab-et-lahiajal-venemaa-eesi-kallale-ei-tule/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on EU	EU is too soft with Russia after attacks against members of CE	"If a country, who has attacked two members of Council of Europe, is invited back behind the table by Western-European politics, then it is clear, that this organisation has abandoned the principles of the rule of law" said Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peaks-koos-mottekaaslastega-peatama-osaluse-euroopa-noukogus-parlamentaaarses-assamblees/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peaks-koos-mottekaaslastega-peatama-osaluse-euroopa-noukogus-parlamentaaarses-assamblees/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Western Europe	"Old" Europe has no principles	"The makers of Estonian foreign policy should let go of the illusion, that our explanatory work will open the eyes of the Old Europe. These eyes are wide open, but behind them stares back weathercockism" said Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peaks-koos-mottekaaslastega-peatama-osaluse-euroopa-noukogus-parlamentaaarses-assamblees/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peaks-koos-mottekaaslastega-peatama-osaluse-euroopa-noukogus-parlamentaaarses-assamblees/</a>
EKRE	Importance of nationalism	Importance of cooperation with Eastern-European nation states	"We should strengthen the security cooperation with our true allies in Eastern-Europe" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peaks-koos-mottekaaslastega-peatama-osaluse-euroopa-noukogus-parlamentaaarses-assamblees/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peaks-koos-mottekaaslastega-peatama-osaluse-euroopa-noukogus-parlamentaaarses-assamblees/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	Agreement in society to stop immigration	Congress of Conservative People's Party of Estonia (EKRE) calls for making an agreement in society for stopping the immigration in order to keep Estonian national home.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on multiculturalism	Other parties that support multiculturalism; it is against the constitution; to keep the nation home of Estonia	Congress of EKRE states, that political powers who support the multiculturalism have started a campaign, that attacks national principles of Estonia, and with it they basically call for changing our land to an aisle.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	Solving economic problems with cheap foreign labor	According to the congress of EKRE, Estonia needs an agreement in society, which states that the State should not give in to pressure, which promises to solve economic problems by importing cheap labor force to Estonia.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/</a>
EKRE	Immigration through history	Because of the USSR the 30% of the population are from foreign origin	According to the congress of EKRE, even under the Soviet Union there was a labor migration to Estonia. Although only every seventh migrant stayed in Estonia, the number of them accumulated over the years which finally led to the unprecedented scale in Europe - almost 30% of Estonian population is of foreign origin.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	Societies with similar history and background are more stable	Congress of EKRE states, that societies who share similar history or religion, have always been more stable.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/</a>
EKRE	Anti-Western sentiment	Withdrawing from the UN migration pact	Congress of EKRE states, that they are waiting from the Estonian Government a statement that declares withdrawing from the UN migration pact.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-kongressi-politiline-avaldus-9-juunil-2019-johvis/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	To withdraw/cancel the border draft from the parliament	Henn Põlluaas states "Estonia lacks any reasons or needs to give up its lawful areas to a state that is hostile to us".	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-ettepanek-katkestada-roovelliku-eesi-vene-piirleppe-ratifikatsioon-lukati-riigikogus-tagasi/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-ettepanek-katkestada-roovelliku-eesi-vene-piirleppe-ratifikatsioon-lukati-riigikogus-tagasi/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Condemning Russian aggression in Ukraine and Georgia	Henn Põlluaas stated, that "if we support the territorial integrity of Georgia and Ukraine and we condemn Russia's aggression in these countries, then the same principle should be applied to Estonia".	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-ettepanek-katkestada-roovelliku-eesi-vene-piirleppe-ratifikatsioon-lukati-riigikogus-tagasi/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-ettepanek-katkestada-roovelliku-eesi-vene-piirleppe-ratifikatsioon-lukati-riigikogus-tagasi/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Russian friendly government is harmful to Estonia's well-being	Mart Helme states, that "the left-wing and pro-Russian government is once again harming Estonia's interests, this time by voting incorrectly at the UN resolution on Jerusalem". "These voting results conflicted with the interest of the United States, who clearly stated, that it takes this result as a hostile step against their policies. USA is the only NATO state, that can actually offer a real security to Estonia" stated Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-taunib-valitsuse-ja-valisministri-kahjulikkutegevust-eesi-peamise-liitlase-usa-suhtes/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-taunib-valitsuse-ja-valisministri-kahjulikkutegevust-eesi-peamise-liitlase-usa-suhtes/</a>
EKRE	Importance of USA	USA as the only defence for Estonia	"The wrong side was also chosen by Europe" commented Mart Helme about voting in the UN about the Jerusalem resolution.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-taunib-valitsuse-ja-valisministri-kahjulikkutegevust-eesi-peamise-liitlase-usa-suhtes/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-taunib-valitsuse-ja-valisministri-kahjulikkutegevust-eesi-peamise-liitlase-usa-suhtes/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on the EU	Most of the Europe did not side with the US	"Our real geopolitical allies, such as Poland, Hungary, Latvia, the Czech Republic, with whom we actually have the same interest in defending sovereignty within the European Union, for example on immigration, abstained" commented Mart Helme about the voting in the UN.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-taunib-valitsuse-ja-valisministri-kahjulikkutegevust-eesi-peamise-liitlase-usa-suhtes/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-taunib-valitsuse-ja-valisministri-kahjulikkutegevust-eesi-peamise-liitlase-usa-suhtes/</a>
EKRE	Eastern-Europe as an ally	Most of the Eastern-Europe allies share the same nationalist values as EKRE	Henn Põlluaas commented the following on the topic of voting in UN about Jerusalem resolution: "being on the border of Europe, with a mutually hostile and aggressive Russia, which has just completed the large-scale exercise named Zapad with more than 100,000 participants, during which it was practiced conquering the Baltic States and Estonia with a quick attack - such behavior is unthinkable. This is a direct damage to Estonia's security and our national interests	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-taunib-valitsuse-ja-valisministri-kahjulikkutegevust-eesi-peamise-liitlase-usa-suhtes/">https://www.ekre.ee/ekre-taunib-valitsuse-ja-valisministri-kahjulikkutegevust-eesi-peamise-liitlase-usa-suhtes/</a>
EKRE	Securitization of Russia	Hostile Russia; hostile military exercise Zapad against the Baltics		

## Appendix 1 (continued)

EKRE	Negative stance on EU	Europe does not to impose new sanctions like USA	„Even today, Paris, Berlin and Rome are talking about sanctions, while at the same time doing business with Russia and speculating on easing sanctions“ stated Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peab-vene-sanktsioonide-kusimuses-toetama-meie-pearmist-julgeolekugarantid-usa-d/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peab-vene-sanktsioonide-kusimuses-toetama-meie-pearmist-julgeolekugarantid-usa-d/</a>
EKRE	Securitization of Russia	Russia has occupied us in the past; fear because of Russia	„Estonia must also take into account historical experience. The great powers of Europe have always ceded the Baltic states to Russia when it has been more beneficial for them in their relations with Russia“ stated Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peab-vene-sanktsioonide-kusimuses-toetama-meie-pearmist-julgeolekugarantid-usa-d/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peab-vene-sanktsioonide-kusimuses-toetama-meie-pearmist-julgeolekugarantid-usa-d/</a>
EKRE	Importance of USA	Europe does not protect us, USA will	„We must realize that the pillar of independence of Estonia and the other Baltic states is the consensus reached between Washington and Moscow in 1991, which is guaranteed by the United States, not by the European Union. If the United States takes its defensive hand away from us, we will only face bad and very bad choices in our relations with Russia“ stated Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peab-vene-sanktsioonide-kusimuses-toetama-meie-pearmist-julgeolekugarantid-usa-d/">https://www.ekre.ee/mart-helme-eesi-peab-vene-sanktsioonide-kusimuses-toetama-meie-pearmist-julgeolekugarantid-usa-d/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Russia is a state with high level of corruption	„Surrogacy is banned in most Western countries. This is common, for example, in countries with high levels of corruption, such as Ukraine, Russia and India“ states Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/jaak-madison-asendusemaduse-seadustamine-eesis-tooks-nimkaubanduse/">https://www.ekre.ee/jaak-madison-asendusemaduse-seadustamine-eesis-tooks-nimkaubanduse/</a>
EKRE	Traditional family values	Majority of the people who use surrogacy are same-sex couples	Jaak Madison states, that a clinic in Ukrain that provides surrogacy services will earn an average of 20 000 dollars from each baby and the surrogate mother approximately 10 000 dollars. A majority of the clients are same-sex couples. Research also shows, that surrogacy causes irreversible psychological damage to surrogate mothers.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/jaak-madison-asendusemaduse-seadustamine-eesis-tooks-nimkaubanduse/">https://www.ekre.ee/jaak-madison-asendusemaduse-seadustamine-eesis-tooks-nimkaubanduse/</a>
EKRE	Pro-EU attitude	European Parliament has condemned surrogacy, which EKRE approves	Jaak Madison states, that even European Parliament has condemned the surrogacy, which undermines woman's human dignity, as her body will be treated as a commodity.	<a href="https://www.ekre.ee/jaak-madison-asendusemaduse-seadustamine-eesis-tooks-nimkaubanduse/">https://www.ekre.ee/jaak-madison-asendusemaduse-seadustamine-eesis-tooks-nimkaubanduse/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	Control over immigration; only those are allowed who are useful to the state	The programme of EKRE states, that they would control immigration from both the East and the West and link the immigration quota to the number of indigenous peoples. Immigration must be based only on the unavoidable need and a well-thought-out action plan that ensures the rapid integration of immigrants into Estonian society and cultural space.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Securitization Russia	We need a list of Russians who live in Estonia	The programme of EKRE states, that they would require Russia to report the number and names of citizens of the Russian Federation living in Estonia.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Traditional family values	Family means father, mother and children	EKRE's programme states, that they support christian values and defend traditional, wholesome family model, which consists of mother, father and children.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Nativism	Support finno-ugric people in Russia	The programme of EKRE states, that they would support the cultural activities of endangered Finno-Ugric peoples in other countries, especially in Russia.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Importance of liberal economy	Economic policies are closely tied to liberal economic ideas	EKRE's programme states, that they support the lowering of indirect taxes and creating new values in increasing overall wealth, investments, savings and earnings. They support proportional income tax. They also support the system where foodstuffs, children's goods, medicine and cultural field would be with a lower VAT than luxury goods.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Demand the return of archives from Russia to Estonia	The programme of EKRE states, that they would demand that all archives and cultural values that were brought from Estonia to Russia be returned to Estonia.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	National interests first	Estonia refuses to acknowledge EU's laws if they are conflicting	The programme of EKRE states, that they proceed from the primacy of the Estonian Constitution. Estonia does not comply with European Union laws or other regulatory acts that endanger Estonia's survival as a nation state or are contrary to Estonians' sense of justice, morality and good practices. Membership of the European Union and the single currency, the euro, must not restrict Estonia's sovereignty or hinder Estonia's development.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Relations with Russia	Peace agreement of Tartu is the basis in relations with Russia	The programme of EKRE states, that in our relations with Russia, they emphasize the continued recognition of the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty, by which Russia forever recognized Estonia's right to independence and inviolability, as the basis for Estonian-Russian relations.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	EKRE is against a new border law with Russia	The programme of EKRE states, that they would repeal the Estonian-Russian Border Agreement Ratification Act concluded in 2005.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	A need for compensations from Russia for the damage that was caused from the occupation	The programme of EKRE states, that in cooperation with international organizations and other countries, they will seek compensation from Russia for the damage caused by the occupation, including to the victims of communist repression and to their families.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Eastern- Europe as an ally	Closer ties with Baltics and Poland for better defense network	The programme of EKRE states, that they consider it important to conclude additional cooperation and mutual assistance agreements with Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Norway (and preferably also with Finland and Sweden), according to which immediate military assistance will be provided to each other in the event of aggression.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Securitization of Russia	Russian citizens in its military structure are all agents	The programme of EKRE states, that citizens of the Russian Federation who are permanently residing in Estonia and belong to the military structures of the Russian Federation, is takes as a disloyal activity to Estonia.	<a href="https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf">https://ekre.ee/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/EKRE-PROGRAMM-KONSERVATIIVNE-PROGRAMM.pdf</a>
EKRE	Trump's admiration	Madison is scolding those who were blaming Trump in being a Russian agent	„How many journalists and politicians are now taking responsibility and stepping back after they have been distributing "fake news" for several years, that @realDonaldTrump has been Russian agent? Probably none because they are permanent liars!“ tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1109943381772455937">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1109943381772455937</a>
EKRE	Protectionism	Madison criticizes open border policies as a terrorist escapes to another country in Europe	Madison tweets the following: "Unfortunately because of our open doors policy again innocents are suffering. I have been to Strasbourg many times, it is located just next to the German border. The murderer escaped and the border control is nonexistent (sic!) - so he could be anywhere".	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1072777707300290560">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1072777707300290560</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on EU	Madison criticizes Europe's open boarder policy, as true Europe does not have terrorist problems	"The Tallinn Christmas market was chosen as the best in Europe. The Budapest Christmas market took a second place. What do they have in common? Both do not have to be secured by concrete barriers and soldiers with machine guns. A small, eloquent fact that characterizes real Europe" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1072263578760200192">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1072263578760200192</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on multiculturalism	Rape incidents in Finland connected to multiculturalism	"In Oulu, Finland, seven foreign men raped a 10-year-old girl. A 20-year-old man has already been convicted once of raping two teenagers. The men were aged 20-30, and one was over 30. The Finnish media is full of it, but Estonian media is in silence. The "fruits" of multiculturalism" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1069730370831167489">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1069730370831167489</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Denouncement of Russian aggression in Kerch strait	"If Austria is proposing to tighten sanctions on Russia for inciting war in the Kerch Strait, Germany and France are not supporting it" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1067912114466103296">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1067912114466103296</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on EU	Madison criticizes Germany and France for not tightening the sanctions against Russia	"So these are our allies, before whom our liberals grovel. At the same time shouting that Austria had to be "pro-Russian,"" tweeted Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1067912114466103296">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1067912114466103296</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on EU	Criticism against EU's own armed forces	"Merkel said today that Europe needs to create a Union army and security council. Why? To destroy NATO to defeat the United States from the Alliance? Such a federalization is the cause of Brexit" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1062446262367203328">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1062446262367203328</a>

## Appendix 1 (continued)

EKRE	Importance of USA	Europe's own armed forces could threaten USA's presence	"Merkel said today that Europe needs to create a Union army and security council. Why? To destroy NATO to defeat the United States from the Alliance? Such a federalization is the cause of Brexit!" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1062446262367203328">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1062446262367203328</a>
EKRE	Eastern-Europe as an ally	Poland and Hungary are important allies to Estonia	"At the same time, Poland and Hungary are important allies for us in the EU. We are together!" tweeted Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1024662845068324864">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1024662845068324864</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Russian criticism against Estonian event to remember war veterans who fought against the Red Army in WW2	"The Russian embassy has once again interfered in our internal affairs, criticizing the commemoration of war veterans who fought against the Red Army and for Estonia" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1024014945057423360">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1024014945057423360</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on multiculturalism	Madison praises a foreign minister of Netherlands, who thinks that there is no such thing as a successful multicultural society	"Unfortunately, it has not been covered in the Estonian media that yesterday the Dutch Foreign Minister Stef Blok made a beautiful statement: 'There is no such thing as a successful multicultural society'" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1020239956441206784">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1020239956441206784</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	Madison praises a foreign minister of Netherlands, who said that Eastern-Europe will never accept the migration quota	"Unfortunately, it has not been covered in the Estonian media that yesterday the Dutch Foreign Minister Stef Blok made a beautiful statement: 'There is no such thing as a successful multicultural society'" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1020239956441206784">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1020239956441206784</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Estonian real border is occupied by Russia (Peace of Tartu 1920)	"At the moment the real Estonian border is occupied by Russia" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1019582176482986224">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1019582176482986224</a>
EKRE	Protectionism	It is important to build a physical barrier for preventing migration	"The aim must be to build a physical barrier that would exclude migration" tweets Jaak Madison.	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1019582176482986224">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1019582176482986224</a>
EKRE	Traditional family values	Gay couples having a kid is "disgusting"	Jaak Madison tweets the following: "there is a 'happy' article in the news portal of Delfi that an Estonian gay couple will become parents, twins must be born into a so-called 'family' in autumn. Without any irony: how are children born to any gays? Or is it surrogacy aka human trafficking? Anyway, disgusting".	<a href="https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1017036931195129857">https://twitter.com/JaakMadison/status/1017036931195129857</a>
EKRE	Securitization of Russia	Helping Finno-Ugric people who are persecuted in Russia	"We were pleased to know that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education and Research are committed to the issue of our kindred nations and are also looking for new ways to support them. We must do everything we can to give these persecuted and oppressed nations self-confidence and the courage to resist Moscow's pressure" states Ruuben Kaalep.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/ruuben.kaalep/posts/3159322290749017?_in=&amp;R">https://www.facebook.com/ruuben.kaalep/posts/3159322290749017?_in=&amp;R</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Russia is still occupying Estonian territories according to the Peace of Tartu 1918	"In addition, Russia has not returned the territory belonging to Estonia according to the Tartu Peace Treaty of 1920, but continues to occupy Petserimaa and Narva" states Ruuben Kaalep.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/ruuben.kaalep/posts/2858886417459274">https://www.facebook.com/ruuben.kaalep/posts/2858886417459274</a>
EKRE	Securitization of Russia	It is only natural, that Estonia is always aware of Russia's possible attack	"It is natural that Estonia is constantly ready to repel possible Russian military aggression, with the aim of inflicting as much damage as possible on the enemy" states Ruuben Kaalep.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/ruuben.kaalep/posts/2858886417459274">https://www.facebook.com/ruuben.kaalep/posts/2858886417459274</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on EU	EKRE opposes EU leadership for wishing to create EU army and more federalised union	Martin Helme is sad, because of the new president of the European Commission is Ursula von der Leyen. As Martin states, she is "a conservative, born in Brussels to an eurocrat parent. Leyen has previously repeatedly states, that the European Union must change to a federation. In 2011 she stated, that her goal is European Federation, with the same model as Switzerland or United States of America. In 2015 she said, that her goal is to form united armed forces for EU."	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079">https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079</a>
EKRE	Traditional family values	Married gays should not adopt or marry	"It is noteworthy that although she belongs to an allegedly conservative party, she has long been an advocate for gay marriage and thinks it is necessary for them the right to adopt" comments Martin Helme about Ursula von der Leyen.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079">https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on EU	EKRE does not agree with EU leadership on immigration	"Her second favorite topic seems to be facilitating immigration. In 2015, he spoke out strongly against Hungary when the Orbán government used water cannons to repel the masses that had invaded the border" comments Martin Helme about Ursula von der Leyen.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079">https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Ursula von der Leyen is bad, because she does not want sanctions against Russia	"If she doesn't like Hungary, she does like Russia. In 2014, as Minister of Defense, she refused to sell weapons to Ukraine on the grounds that it could provoke Russia. She has been very ambivalent about sanctions against Russia. 'Sanctions are detrimental to both sides,' is one of her reasoning that led to the claim that negotiations should still take place" comments Martin Helme about Ursula von der Leyen.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079">https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on EU	Europe is moving more towards federalisation	"The conflict between the Member States, which care about their sovereignty, and the Commission, which is fanatically oriented towards usurpation of power, will be much more severe in the coming years than it has been so far. If staff like this is in power, it will guarantee a permanent and substantial crisis of power in the European Union in the coming years, as exactly wrong conclusions have been drawn from Brexit" states Martin Helme.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079">https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158071839727079</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on green economy	CO2 measuring is less important than cheap electricity	Martin Helme states the following: "It is really nice to be with a green world view, talk about saving the world and about a global footprint, but if we one day face with simple political schemes like CO2 trade, where somebody just decided, that now we start measuring and taxing CO2 and because of that both Estonian and the whole Europe is in a situation, where we are with the most expensive electricity in the world, Because of this we must ask if people agree with this declining quality of life."	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158002549502079">https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158002549502079</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on Russia	Martin Helme warns of using "dirty Russian electricity"	"And I would like to ask all the Greens, what is the point of killing our energy production with strict environmental requirements if we then start buying dirty Russian electricity?" states Martin Helme.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158002549502079">https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10158002549502079</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on EU	Against Europe's migration quotas	Martin Helme stated that: "firstly, it was unequivocally agreed that immigration will remain fully under Estonian control in the future, and there will be no quotas!"	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10157691233297079">https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10157691233297079</a>
EKRE	Protectionism	It is important for Martin Helme to build a solid border and to encourage the return of migrants	Martin Helme stated the following: "In addition, it was agreed to reintroduce border control (separate structure with its own budget) and to facilitate return migration, which was included in the draft coalition agreement".	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10157691233297079">https://www.facebook.com/martin.helme.9/posts/10157691233297079</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on liberal economy	We must be aware of liberal economy policies	Liberal economic policy, which is highly praised in Estonia, is one of the instruments of these corporations, "says Mart Helme."	<a href="https://objektiv.ee/mart-helme-see-mida-globalistid-nimetavad-vordsuseks-havitab-vabaduse/">https://objektiv.ee/mart-helme-see-mida-globalistid-nimetavad-vordsuseks-havitab-vabaduse/</a>
EKRE	Importance of nationalism	Cosmopolitanism destroys nationalism and local cultural traditions	"However, the cosmopolitanism imposed by the left-liberals is destroying nationality and local traditions" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://objektiv.ee/mart-helme-see-mida-globalistid-nimetavad-vordsuseks-havitab-vabaduse/">https://objektiv.ee/mart-helme-see-mida-globalistid-nimetavad-vordsuseks-havitab-vabaduse/</a>
EKRE	Nativism	People might be different in Estonia but we all share the same cultural values which is the most important.	"We are not equal. We have different skills and different talents, but we share the same values, and that is the key" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://objektiv.ee/mart-helme-see-mida-globalistid-nimetavad-vordsuseks-havitab-vabaduse/">https://objektiv.ee/mart-helme-see-mida-globalistid-nimetavad-vordsuseks-havitab-vabaduse/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	Agreements against immigration	"I consider immigration agreements to be our greatest achievement" states Martin Helme.	<a href="https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesi-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/">https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesi-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/</a>
EKRE	Protectionism	Building a proper state boarder	"We are starting to restore border control, with our budget, training and reserves. By the way, we are also building a decent border, just at a much more reasonable cost" states Martin Helme.	<a href="https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesi-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/">https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesi-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/</a>

## Appendix 1 (continued)

EKRE	Nativism	Estonians' interests first. Lowering immigration quotas and fighting a temporary staff	"We will fight the temporary workforce and reduce the exemptions from the immigration quota" says Martin Helme.	<a href="https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/">https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/</a>
EKRE	Traditional family values	Marriage is between man and woman	"However, we have already achieved a referendum during the next local elections, in which we ask for support for the proposal to amend the Constitution so that marriage is defined as a union between one man and one woman" states Martin Helme.	<a href="https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/">https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/</a>
EKRE	Economical development	Lowering taxes is important	"In the economic field, it is gratifying to see that the coalition focuses primarily on lowering taxes and cutting red tape" says Martin Helme.	<a href="https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/">https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/</a>
EKRE	Importance of nationalism	Teaching Estonian to foreigners, importance of preserving national culture and values	"It was more difficult to agree on citizenship and language policy, but after very long and tense talks we can say that the principles of Estonian citizenship policy will not be changed and this government plans to teach Estonian to non-Estonians to a extent never done in Estonia in 30 years" states Martin Helme.	<a href="https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/">https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on globalisation	Rail Baltic is bad	"If you ask me what is the most bitter pill for me in our coalition agreement, I honestly admit that it is an issue with the Rail Baltic. Our desire for the project to end immediately almost ruined our talks" states Martin Helme.	<a href="https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/">https://uueduudised.ee/uudis/eesti/martin-helme-eesti-koige-rokkivamast-opositsioonierakonnast-on-saanud-koige-joulisem-valitsuserakond/</a>
EKRE	National interests first	Other parties only do EU's and big corporation's bidding, they do not care about Estonia's national interest and citizens	"They do this not in the interests of Estonia, but in the interests of the European Union and in the interests of large corporations. The Estonian people are of fifth importance to all of them" comments Mart Helme about anti-EKRE forces.	<a href="https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded">https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded</a>
EKRE	Nativism	Estonia is for Estonians and not everybody is welcome here.	"We are the first to say that the people of Estonia are the ones for whom it is the country whose well-being is paramount and whose security is the most important categorical imperative" states Mart Helme.	<a href="https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded">https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded</a>
EKRE	Importance of nationalism	EKRE takes part in a fight against liberal and globalist forces	"Our party is no longer just an Estonian party. It is a party that takes part in the pan-European and, more broadly, Western struggle between conservative, nationalist, traditionalist and Christian forces and those against liberal, globalist, nation-state and traditional values" states Mart Helme.	<a href="https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded">https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded</a>
EKRE	Importance of reframing EU	EKRE needs to take back Europe's Christian values	"Just as we must take back Estonia, so we must take back Europe as a set of its national and Christian values" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded">https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	By stressing the need for new immigration plan along with quotas, Von der Leyen is declaring war to nation states.	"When the new spokeswoman for the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen, announces the there is a need for a new immigration plan involving all Member States, who must also be involved in the distribution of immigrants, she has declared war on nations, nation states and their patriots" states Mart Helme.	<a href="https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded">https://politika.postimees.ee/6745246/mart-helme-meid-ootab-ees-tosine-lahing-andsin-meie-uksustele-lahinguaesanded</a>
EKRE	Relations with Russia	Estonians do not understand that Russians are a civilization	"As for the Russians, I want to say that Estonians do not understand that Russians are not just a nation, Russians are a civilization" states Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale">https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale</a>
EKRE	Importance of nationalism	It is important to teach Estonian to Russians already in kindergardens	"It all starts with the language. If we want to get rid of segregation, Russian children must be taught Estonian from kindergarten. This is a difficult but not hopeless process" states Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale">https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale</a>
EKRE	Importance of reframing EU	EKRE is in favor of Europe, but against the Imperium of Europe, bigger emphasis should be put on the preservation of nation states sovereignty.	"Me oleme Euroopa poolt, kuid Euroopa impeeriumi vastu. Me seisame sellise Euroopa eest, mis koosneb suveräänsetest riikidest nagu Ungari, Poola, Tšehhi ja Itaalia. Eesti peab seisma selles reas ja Euroopa Liit saab olema edukam, kui ta koosneb suveräänsetest riikidest" states Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale">https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale</a>
EKRE	Relations with Russia	EKRE agrees with Sergei Lavrov, that peace loving Russia is the safest bet	"At this point, I agree with Sergei Lavrov, who said that the guarantee of security in the Baltic States is a benevolent and peace-loving Russia. I think that if Russia realizes that the Baltic states are not dangerous to it, it will not fight for physical control over them" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale">https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale</a>
EKRE	Importance of NATO	Estonia must cooperate with NATO in order to prevent another wave of migrants from Islamic countries.	"We need to work with both NATO and Russia. The influx of immigrants from Islamic countries, Africa and India will also become a problem in the future for Russia" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale">https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	Ukrainian labor migrants are a threat to local Russians in Estonia	"The shortage of labor, the influx of Ukrainian migrants, primarily affects local Russians" says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale">https://www.postimees.ee/6409887/helme-maaris-venelastele-mett-moka-peale</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on migration	Estonia will not take any migrant based on the distribution quota of EU	"We show by our symbolic absence that we do not intend to start any discussion on this subject. We are not going to get involved in any kind of debate over it. Estonia does not accept immigrants on the basis of any central distribution mechanism," says Mart Helme.	<a href="https://www.err.ee/982019/mart-helme-eesti-ei-osale-macroni-ja-conte-randearutelus">https://www.err.ee/982019/mart-helme-eesti-ei-osale-macroni-ja-conte-randearutelus</a>
EKRE	Securitization of Islam	Islam is behind terrorist attacks	"It is an organized war against Western civilization by members of one religion. The attacks in Germany and France over the last few weeks are a sign that the war between European and Islamic civilizations is just gaining momentum" said Mart Helme.	<a href="http://www.pealinn.ee/hewset/helme-hoiatab-eesti-muutumise-est-verseks-lahingandriks-n173147">http://www.pealinn.ee/hewset/helme-hoiatab-eesti-muutumise-est-verseks-lahingandriks-n173147</a>
EKRE	Negative stance on EU	Political correctness blind people from understanding what is behind terrorist attacks	"In all cases, the attackers have been immigrants from Islamic countries, but the political correctness and uncritical attitude towards suicidal immigration policy that has taken hold in Europe is preventing liberals from understanding the obvious facts" said Mart Helme.	<a href="http://www.pealinn.ee/hewset/helme-hoiatab-eesti-muutumise-est-verseks-lahingandriks-n173147">http://www.pealinn.ee/hewset/helme-hoiatab-eesti-muutumise-est-verseks-lahingandriks-n173147</a>
EKRE	Securitization of migration	As long as immigrants come to Estonia, it faces dangers from terrorism	"Estonians now have reason to worry about their security. A prime minister who sees no link between terrorism and Islam is incapable of defending his people. As long as the government continues to import immigrants to Estonia on a monthly basis and does not condemn the immigration policy of Western Europe, it is only a matter of time before Islamic terrorism demands new victims from Estonia" stated Mart Helme.	<a href="http://www.pealinn.ee/hewset/helme-hoiatab-eesti-muutumise-est-verseks-lahingandriks-n173147">http://www.pealinn.ee/hewset/helme-hoiatab-eesti-muutumise-est-verseks-lahingandriks-n173147</a>
EKRE	Importance of NATO	Estonia's security depends largely on foreign interve	"So if we look at all this, we really can't say anything othe	<a href="https://tv.postimees.ee/6830434/mart-helme-otse-voitlusesse-laiulises-vormis">https://tv.postimees.ee/6830434/mart-helme-otse-voitlusesse-laiulises-vormis</a>
EKRE	Importance of NATO	EKRE supports NATO and our allied forces, Estonian	"EKRE supports allied units in Estonia. And NATO membersh	

## Coding frame (The Finns Party)

Case	Code	Description	Example	Reference
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	EU is a threat to Finnish democracy and welfare society	The endurance of Finnish democracy and its valued 'welfare society' in the future is dependent on Finland prying itself loose from the intrusion of Brussels into all aspects of daily Finnish life.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	Today's EU does not represent true European values	This encroachment of European 'bureaucracy' does not represent - or advance - the real value and virtues of European values.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Nativism	Finnish people come first and it is important to further protect their rights and interests	Finland needs the Finns Party in the European Parliament to further the cause of the Finnish people and to protect their rights and interests.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Relations with Scandinavia	It is important to form close relationships with Sweden and Denmark	Forming particularly close relationships with Sweden and Denmark would be very rational as those countries share many of the social and cultural values and environments of Finland.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Euro currency	Euro currency was a mistake	The Finns Party believes that Finland taking up the Euro was a huge political and economic mistake - in terms of both the resulting structure and composition.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Euro currency	Finland should abandon the Euro currency	The Finns Party cannot support the formation of a federalised Eurozone with all that it entails: the Party believes the way forward is to create a 'well controlled exit' from the Euro.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	There cannot be another immigration crisis	Over one million asylum seekers illegally crossed the borders of the European Union in 2015 - there must not be a repeat of this.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Securitization of migration	Immigration causes Islamic terrorism	Between the years 2015 and 2018, several attacks by Islamic terrorists occurred in various EU countries. These were 'facilitated' by insecure EU external borders, 'free movement' within the Schengen area as well as the general chaos generated in the various member nations by the immigration crisis.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	All persons crossing EU border should be returned to their place of origin	Thus - all persons crossing the European Union's land and sea boundaries illegally will be returned to their place of origin by the EU Border and Coast Guards.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	Finland should not take part in EU's military exercises	The defence of one's own country must always be the priority - expensive and unnecessary European Union military exercises around the world should be avoided.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Russia	Finland is the last frontier of West against the East, othering of Russia	In principle, Finland is the last 'frontier' of the West against the East and presents a real force with its universal military service.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on foreign intervention	Finland should avoid joining other big conflicts	Finland should also avoid getting involved in any 'big power political disputes and conflicts.'	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Russia	Sanctions against Russia are unequal and should be firmer	One example is the crisis in Ukraine and the EU sanctions imposed on Russia - German cars are exported to Russia as before but Finnish choose not!	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Importance of green economy	Finland must pursue a sensible climate change policy at both the national and European Union level.	The Finns Party believes that Finland must pursue a sensible climate change policy at both the national and European Union level. The existence of a factory in Finland is already an environmentally-favourable act because if it isn't in Finland, it will be someplace else. And that 'someplace else' will more than likely have environmental standards and monitoring levels which will not be as good as Finland. The result is that the global climate and Finland both suffer.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	It is important to prevent a big wave of migration in the first place and build refugee camps near Syria	Rather, EU countries must invest in the construction and maintenance of refugee camps - especially in the neighbouring areas to the conflicts in Syria.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/EUpolitiikkaENG_2019.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Immigration is not seen as something beneficial for Finland, especially not economic-wise.	The immigration is not bringing new taxpayers to Finland - or providing resources to face future challenges.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Eduskuntavaaliohjelma-2019_SU_In_English_1.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Eduskuntavaaliohjelma-2019_SU_In_English_1.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Immigrants as seen as a security threat and must be returned in order to protect Finland	The return of migrants to their countries of origin are the most important - and, actually, the only - means of protecting Finland against these costly consequences of immigration.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Eduskuntavaaliohjelma-2019_SU_In_English_1.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Eduskuntavaaliohjelma-2019_SU_In_English_1.pdf</a>
FINNS	Importance of green economy	Pollution standards should be at the level of European average	Pollution standards should be respected and maintained at the levels they are in the rest of the European Union - neither higher nor lower - or reduced at a faster rate than other countries.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Eduskuntavaaliohjelma-2019_SU_In_English_1.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Eduskuntavaaliohjelma-2019_SU_In_English_1.pdf</a>
FINNS	Nativism	Finland is for the Finns, who share the similar culture, language and values	Finland is the home for the Finns. Every Finnish citizen in Finland has the right to housing, health care, education, sufficient livelihood and safety. No single tradition, attitude, opinion or 'style' is the core of Finnish culture - but it is the combination of language, history, customs, values, and symbols.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Periaateohjelma-19.10.2018_SU_In_English.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/Periaateohjelma-19.10.2018_SU_In_English.pdf</a>
FINNS	National interests first	Finland should be against the federalisation of Europe	As an election 'policy program,' the Finns Party must look to the goal of a decrease in European Union 'federalism.'	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	European Comission is holding too much power, nation states should be more autonomous in their decisions	The power of the European Commission must be curbed. We want to increase the decision-making possibilities of the European Council where the individual member-nations have a better chance of affecting decisions.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Free movement of labor has created too many problems	The Finns Party wants the 'freedom of labour movement' removed from the 'four freedoms' of the 'internal market' promoted by the EU. The implementation of this idea has caused considerable problems in the receiving countries as well as the countries of emigration.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on euro currency	Taking up the Euro currency was a mistake	The Finns Party believes that Finland taking up the Euro was a huge political and economic mistake and has proved to be a failure - in terms of both the resulting structure and composition.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	There is no justification for uncontrolled immigration, EU should do everything in its power to end it	The European Union has to put a stop to uncontrolled immigration as there is no justification for it. The immigration and asylum crises of 2015 are remembered only too well - and Europe also saw how completely helpless it was to prevent and halt the floods of migrants.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-aho-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/</a>



## Appendix 2 (continued)

FINNS	Importance of green economy	Finland should support using taxes on uses of coal	As an EU member, Finland should support and operate on using taxes on uses of coal and climate-degrading energy sources. These taxes will penalize ecologically-worse alternatives and move consumption to more climate-friendly processes – and at the same time, protect Finnish and European energy production.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-abc-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/finns-party-workmens-discussion-hour-april-18-2019-jussi-halla-abc-chairperson-the-finn-party-and-riikka-slunga-poutsalo-secretary-the-finn-party/</a> <a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Immigration that is harmful to Finland must be stopped	The party is, rather, opposed to immigration that is economically, socially, culturally or otherwise harmful to Finland and its values.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Migration has a negative effect on Finnish economy and also encourages educated Finns to leave the motherland which in turn allows low-skilled migrants to take their place.	And at the same time, the highly educated academic Finns (supported by Finnish taxpayer funds) are emigrating and their place taken by uneducated, even illiterate, immigrants.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on multiculturalism	The more different the culture, the more bigger are the problems	Our research shows that the further away the origins of immigrants and the more diverse their cultures, the more difficult societal integration will be for them. Those migrants with a particularly strong 'group identity' in terms of culture, religion or language, have more difficulties with successful employment than those who have a less 'binding' identity.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/</a>
FINNS	Protectionism	Finland must protect its borders, especially against migration	Tightening up Finland's border policy is an effective way to help stem immigration and prepare for any possible future waves of migrants.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Islam	Burkas and similar clothing should be banned	The Finns Party believes that there should be a ban – in public places – of wearing 'burkas, hijabs and niqab' apparel – and the wearing of similar scarves on little girls.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/riikka-purra-m-s-political-science-the-finn-party-policy-planner-finn-party-workmens-discussion-hour-february-22-2019/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on multiculturalism	Multiculturalism creates problems in the education system	At the same time, if a school is overflowing with immigrants, it creates a situation that will encourage parents, who have the means, to move away. These situations, with specially distributed pupils, are not corrected with flowery phrases such as 'multiculturalism.'	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf</a>
FINNS	Nativism	Schools must promote Finnish values and culture	The Finns Party believes that the schools should promote and preserve Finnish culture and values and emphasize that these are importantly Finnish. Language teaching and 'school readiness' teaching should be separately arranged for migrant children and not integrated into the regular school agenda -this will assure that the education of the other children will not be affected.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf</a>
FINNS	Nativism	Migrants should not be integrated with native people	Toilets should continue to be for 'boys' and 'girls' - it's a human right. Boys are boys and girls are girls. The Finns Party is critical of some ideological and feminist ideas.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on multiculturalism	Genders must be separated, the same goes to toilets	For example, sexual offences have increased significantly – and the share of these involving the recent flow of immigrants is indisputable.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf</a>
FINNS	Securitization of migration	Immigrants have caused the rise in sexual offences	Immigrants and new citizens must accept the core values of Finnish and Western society and live their lives in accordance with them.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Finnish_working_dav_is_the_starting_point.pdf</a>
FINNS	Importance of Western values	Immigrants must accept Western values, Finland as a representative of the latter	The necessary changes must start with cutting support for immigration and foreign aid of the 'make a better world' type programs.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_2015_concerns_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_2015_concerns_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Finland should stop funding immigration programmes	The crisis in Ukraine has demonstrated that security situations can change quickly and dramatically in the present world. It is most important, therefore, that Finland must have a strong and credible defence that is capable of guaranteeing the country's security in all circumstances. An objective study of NATO membership can be made giving both pros and cons.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_2015_concerns_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_2015_concerns_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Pro- NATO attitude	Crisis in Ukraine shows that Finland must have strong security and should consider NATO membership	New Euro rescue packages and other additional EU invoices for Finland must be fought. Finns have finally dared to defend themselves and to contest billions of Euros of additional charges which we believe do definite damage to Finland.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_economy_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_economy_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	Finland should not support EU rescue packages	We need to continue the prevention of workforces coming from outside the EU and EEA countries.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_economy_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_economy_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Finland should not take in workforce outside of EU	We do not support the concept of a so-called 'flat tax.' Taxation must be straightforward, uncomplicated, and comprehensive as well as being balanced with regard to the various sources of tax revenue. Additional resources should not be directed toward intensifying the tax system -and the mechanisms for 'tax planning' should be minimized. Privileges with respect to certain tax dispensations should be discontinued. The Finns Party wants allowing every Finn to be able to earn 1000 Euros per month tax-free – while at the same time increasing 'high income' tax rates.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_economy_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_economy_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Economic policies	There should not be flat tax	According to analysis by the Pellervo Economic Research Group (PET), the EU goals for climate control will cost Finland billions of Euros of higher energy cost for industry and consumers by 2030 - a pernicious result for both. Finland should not agree to these climate policies without changes assuring fairness throughout the EU.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_economy_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_economy_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	EU's climate policies costs billions of euros to Finland	The Finns Party believes that the policy of military non-alignment has served Finland so well that it should be changed only when based on very pressing grounds.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on foreign intervention	Finland should not intervene militarily and be neutral	NATO membership has not been presented with sufficiently concrete reasoning that it would allow one to assume, with certainty, that defence of our country would be better with such membership. Instead it seems our flexibility in national defence matters would be narrowed - and we would get in the face of international crises obligations within the NATO alliance.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on NATO	NATO does not offer better defence, only more obligations	The fact is that Finland, as an EU member, has been a part of the great power politics with no security guarantees. Despite the Treaty of Lisbon we would get EU sympathy in the case of an emergency but not anything more.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	EU does not give any security guarantees	The Finns Party favours the very realistic and pragmatic concept of Nordic security and defence co-operation. It's a much more natural approach than the rather impulsive one of the EU.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Partnership with Scandinavia	Finland should focus more on Nordic security co-operation	Military operations, where peace is being forced at the point of a gun, is not, in the opinion of the Finns Party, a place for the use of resources of small countries.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on foreign intervention	Finland should not support peacekeeping military operations	It's completely incredible that Finland went along with this prohibitive treaty when we have a border of over 1300 kilometers with Russia - which is permitted to use these mines.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Russia	Finland should not have accepted the ban of landmines, especially because of the neighboring Russia	Significant components of security policy are border control, immigration policy and the system of policing. Finland must have a high degree of border control - we need to know, quite clearly, who is coming to our country – significant help will come from the Eurodac identification system.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Protectionism	Finland should strengthen its border control		

## Appendix 2 (continued)

FINNS	Negative stance on EU	Finland should remain outside of the EU's immigration and refugee policy	The Finns Party believes Finland should remain outside of the envisioned general European Immigration and Refugee policy – by doing so, Finland can independently decide who and how many of these persons can enter the country. Finland has begun preparation at the government level for the EU-Russia visa-free system. The Ukraine crisis has most definitely frozen the situation. The Finns Party believes, in any case, that such a visa-free program must be given careful consideration before any approval. Immigration will change, irreversibly, the host country's population profile, disrupt social cohesion, overburden public services and economic resources, lead to the formation of ghettos, promote religious radicalism and its consequences, and foster ethnic conflicts.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Russia	Because of the crisis in Ukraine, Finland must be careful with the visa free system with Russia		<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_defence_final.pdf</a>
FINNS	Securitization of migration	Immigration as a potential security threat to Finland		<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_immigration_fin.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_immigration_fin.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on multiculturalism	Multiculturalism is not justified and Finland must not to give support to migrants' feelings of identity, culture or religious practices.	Politics that binds itself to multiculturalism emphasizes the preservation of the migrants' own identity, culture, religion and exceptionalism and promotes societal support -for example, financial subsidies for various migrant organizations. We believe that society and taxpayers do not have the responsibility, voluntarily or otherwise, to give support to migrants' feelings of identity, culture or religious practices.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_immigration_fin.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_immigration_fin.pdf</a>
FINNS	National interests first	Education system is for Finns	The Finnish education system is for serving Finland and Finns. The European Union has passed a strongly binding common asylum policy with a "burden sharing mechanism" which promotes a program where migrants from Africa and the Middle East should be distributed evenly among EU member states. Such "burden sharing" would seriously affect Finland with largenumbers of people that would be difficult to successfully integrate into Finnish society – as well as making it difficult for Finland to make its own decisions on who enters our country.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_immigration_fin.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_immigration_fin.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	EU's migration burden sharing policy is very harmful for Finland		<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_immigration_fin.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_immigration_fin.pdf</a>
FINNS	Nativism	It is important to maintain and uplift Finnish language	Finns must be maintained as an academic research language -as well as accepted as a 'working language' in the Nordic Council -similarly to Swedish, Norwegian and Danish. There must be respect for a citizen's own feelings of identity. The Finns Party does not accept outsiders setting up standards for how people judge themselves.	<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_language_policy.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_language_policy.pdf</a>
FINNS	Nativism	Finnish speaking people first, others second		<a href="https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_language_policy.pdf">https://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/ps_language_policy.pdf</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Western values	Solidarity is not always applicable	If children cannot be brought out of Syria without their mothers, the right solution is to leave everyone there. Sometimes you have to close your eyes because the alternative is to go crazy or contribute to greater evil.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2670977536355767">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2670977536355767</a>
FINNS	Nativism	Finland must protect Finns	Finland's task is to protect Finns in Finland. Finland has pursued a more generous policy on visas for Russians than it should as a Schengen country.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2670977536355767">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2670977536355767</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Russia	Finland should slow down the visa free processes with Russia		<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2672968942823283">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2672968942823283</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Russia	Russia is trapping Finnish people in order to blackmail them later	For some people, the Russian authorities have information that they would not like to be made public. It is dangerous for a politician to visit Russia and establish non-formal relations with the Russians. Over the decades, the Russian authorities have built professionalism in building traps and using microphone concrete as a building material. If one enters such a trap, there is a permanent grip on the FSB.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2672968942823283">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2672968942823283</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Immigration causes problems in the education system	Disadvantage immigration causes segregation of schools.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2662176877235823">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2662176877235823</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on multiculturalism	Cultural differences cause problems in the education system	Problems due to cultural differences and poor language skills worsen the learning environment.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2662176877235823">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2662176877235823</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Islam	Islamic traditions create problems at the health care	In a multicultural society, the school system is not equal. Those children from the native population whose parents cannot afford to pay for their families free from multiculturalism are left in declining public crisis schools among a growing immigrant population. The regulation cycle ends for them. Intimidation and horror? Everything that has happened in Sweden has happened with a delay of a few decades for us, because we are doing everything in exactly the same way as Sweden has done before us.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2522151304571715?_tn=H-R">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2522151304571715?_tn=H-R</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Immigrants bring backward and harmful traditions with them	Immigration from Islamic countries employs both do-it-yourself surgeons and public sector personnel to repair the damage they cause. When large numbers of people from medieval societies arrive in Europe, they bring the Middle Ages with them.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2522151304571715?_tn=H-R">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2522151304571715?_tn=H-R</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Cheap labor migrant create economic problems	Cheap labor immigration is not a moral (or culinary) problem. That is an economic problem.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2530316517088527?_tn=H-R">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2530316517088527?_tn=H-R</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Ethnic restaurants cause more immigrations	Ethnic restaurants have also become a conduit for migration, as the owner can sell a job to his cousin living in the country of origin for a starvation wage. The cousin does not make a living in Finland on his salary, but obtains a residence permit under the guise of a job and becomes a social security customer.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2530316517088527?_tn=H-R">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2530316517088527?_tn=H-R</a>
FINNS	Climate change	If Finland does not chop down trees, China will, which is more harmful to the environment	By the benefit-risk ratio, I am referring, for example, to the fact that the downsizing of the forest industry in a country of responsible forestry and low-emission energy production such as Finland will lead to an increase in production in countries of irresponsible forestry and high-emission energy production such as China. The net effect is negative for the climate, not to mention the effects on Finnish work, entrepreneurship and well-being. The tax increase on fuels, and, last but not least, the introduction and regulation of petrol cards, represent the same perverted thinking.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2554911211295724?_tn=H-R">https://www.facebook.com/jussi.hallaaho/posts/2554911211295724?_tn=H-R</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Russia	The Finns are opposed to Russia's actions in Crimea	The line is clear, we are cooperating with the outside world a healthy and sensible point of view, and we do not accept the way in which Russia took Crimea and we do not accept Russia's actions in Ukraine.	<a href="https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/472991da-cd17-4224-bc5d-c413aa309605">https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/472991da-cd17-4224-bc5d-c413aa309605</a>
FINNS	Importance of national autonomy	The Finns are against EU's federal state, members of the EU should have more autonomy in their decisions	The interest of the Finns is that Finland should decide its own affairs, including with regard to monetary union. /.../ Finland needs the EU : the EU internal market, but not the EU : the federal state. We want to save the EU, we do not run the Russian interest.	<a href="https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/472991da-cd17-4224-bc5d-c413aa309605">https://www.iltalehti.fi/politiikka/a/472991da-cd17-4224-bc5d-c413aa309605</a>
FINNS	Importance of nationalism	Finns see other nationalist parties as sympathizers	Great result for patriots! Immigration and Islamic critics won the Austrian election.	<a href="https://puheenvuoro.uusisuomi.fi/laurahuhtasaari/244491-koko-eurooppa-ei-ole-tuhon-tiella/">https://puheenvuoro.uusisuomi.fi/laurahuhtasaari/244491-koko-eurooppa-ei-ole-tuhon-tiella/</a>
FINNS	Importance of nationalism	It is good that nationalism triumphed in Austria	With its nationalist line, the FPÖ has received a strong mandate from the people.	<a href="https://puheenvuoro.uusisuomi.fi/laurahuhtasaari/244491-koko-eurooppa-ei-ole-tuhon-tiella/">https://puheenvuoro.uusisuomi.fi/laurahuhtasaari/244491-koko-eurooppa-ei-ole-tuhon-tiella/</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Islam	It is important to stun animals long before cutting their throats in order to produce halal meat	"In the name of any religion, animals must not be harmed unnecessarily. The matter should be clarified in the law that the animal should be stunned before the blood falls" says Meri.	<a href="https://www.suomenuutiset.fi/maahanmuutto-ilmaa-riisualliteurastuksia-meri-ukkonen-vuorille-ei-saa-aiheuttaa-elimille-tarpeeton-kipua/">https://www.suomenuutiset.fi/maahanmuutto-ilmaa-riisualliteurastuksia-meri-ukkonen-vuorille-ei-saa-aiheuttaa-elimille-tarpeeton-kipua/</a>



## Appendix 2 (continued)

FINNS	Protectionism	Border checks must established again	"Border checks must be brought back to Finland's borders. At the moment, the crowds are moving inside the EU like sparrows, against the EU's own rules", Huhtasaari commented.	<a href="https://www.ksml.fi/kotimaa/Laura-Huhtasaari-vaatii-rajatarkastuksia-takaisin/1030645">https://www.ksml.fi/kotimaa/Laura-Huhtasaari-vaatii-rajatarkastuksia-takaisin/1030645</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Asylum seekers who receive a negative response, must leave immediately	"Those staying here illegally must be taken under controlled conditions immediately after a negative asylum decision and kept in a controlled state with only one way out: out of the country", Huhtasaari says.	<a href="https://www.ksml.fi/kotimaa/Laura-Huhtasaari-vaatii-rajatarkastuksia-takaisin/1030645">https://www.ksml.fi/kotimaa/Laura-Huhtasaari-vaatii-rajatarkastuksia-takaisin/1030645</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	EU wants to remove decision making power from the member states	The EU's superpower project once again aims at a concentration of power, with decision-making being removed from national parliaments and handed over to EU bodies.	<a href="https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846">https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on EU	EU cannot solve problems and is trying to prevent solving them by it Member States	The EU cannot solve problems, but it is also trying to prevent its Member States from solving them.	<a href="https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846">https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846</a>
FINNS	Importance of nationalism	National countries can do something about stopping immigration	However, many European countries have taken strong national measures to control uncontrolled immigration.	<a href="https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846">https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846</a>
FINNS	Securitization of migration	Immigration will destroy European culture	If we want to preserve European culture, mass immigration from the Third World must be stopped.	<a href="https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846">https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on Islam	Islamic immigration will islamize Europe	It is self-deceiving to claim that Islamic immigration would not Islamize Europe.	<a href="https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846">https://www.satakunnankansa.fi/a/b7b3899-6-86c0-4069-ae25-543a98ca47fd?c=1528874183846</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Immigrants only want a residence permit	No one has an interest in working for such a low wage when the primary motive, in this case stay and residence permit, is ensured. "Their motive is wrong. Domestic policy is an attempt to make foreign policy. It is naive to think that only Russia would have tried to influence another country's elections", Huhtasaari comments new sanctions on Russia by the USA.	<a href="https://www.suomenutiset.fi/lahe-paakaupunkiseudun-postin-varhaisjakelijat-maahanmuuttajia-purra-hallitus-valittaa-etta-maahanmuutto-vaikuta-tyon-halpuuttamiseen/">https://www.suomenutiset.fi/lahe-paakaupunkiseudun-postin-varhaisjakelijat-maahanmuuttajia-purra-hallitus-valittaa-etta-maahanmuutto-vaikuta-tyon-halpuuttamiseen/</a>
FINNS	Relations with Russia	Motives behind sanctions on Russia are wrong	Russia has no strategic needs for Ukraine. Unlike Crimea and the Crimeans are pro-Russian and Russian-speaking. Russia will not attack Ukraine unless it retaliates and then it will be tough.	<a href="https://www.italahti.fi/politiikka/a/20170817-2200333915">https://www.italahti.fi/politiikka/a/20170817-2200333915</a>
FINNS	Relations with Russia	Russia has no need for Ukraine	The disintegration of the EU has begun, and whenever a ship is really turning, it is then that the resistance is strongest.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/laurahuhtasaare/posts/943698309091641?_tn_=-R">https://www.facebook.com/laurahuhtasaare/posts/943698309091641?_tn_=-R</a>
FINNS	Against Europe	EU is already disintegrating	Why do we bow down and towards an ideology that takes our money and undermines our security. The EU, the euro and immigration are all things where Europe has failed.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/laurahuhtasaare/posts/943698309091641?_tn_=-R">https://www.facebook.com/laurahuhtasaare/posts/943698309091641?_tn_=-R</a>
FINNS	Against Europe	EU has failed in everything	"Hopefully Trump will lift U.S. sanctions on Russia. Finland has been badly worn out by this economic war", Huhtasaari writes in his Speech blog.	<a href="https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/jussi-halla-ahon-kolumni-ei-ena-b-sarjan-toimija-kiina-on-paljon-vaarallisempi-peluri-kuin-venaja/6828566#gs.5b8dnf">https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/jussi-halla-ahon-kolumni-ei-ena-b-sarjan-toimija-kiina-on-paljon-vaarallisempi-peluri-kuin-venaja/6828566#gs.5b8dnf</a>
FINNS	Relations with Russia	West should focus on China not Russia	In recent years, the West has focused on Russia and what it does. However, the focus should be on China, whose political power is spreading more subtly and penetrating deeper.	<a href="https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/jussi-halla-ahon-kolumni-ei-ena-b-sarjan-toimija-kiina-on-paljon-vaarallisempi-peluri-kuin-venaja/6828566#gs.5b8dnf">https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/jussi-halla-ahon-kolumni-ei-ena-b-sarjan-toimija-kiina-on-paljon-vaarallisempi-peluri-kuin-venaja/6828566#gs.5b8dnf</a>
FINNS	Relations with Russia	Russia is militarily dangerous to its neighbors	It is true, of course, that Russia is an authoritarian state and militarily dangerous to its neighbors, but as an economic dwarf, its potential for non-small-scale bullying is quite limited.	<a href="https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/jussi-halla-ahon-kolumni-ei-ena-b-sarjan-toimija-kiina-on-paljon-vaarallisempi-peluri-kuin-venaja/6828566#gs.5b8dnf">https://www.mtvuutiset.fi/artikkeli/jussi-halla-ahon-kolumni-ei-ena-b-sarjan-toimija-kiina-on-paljon-vaarallisempi-peluri-kuin-venaja/6828566#gs.5b8dnf</a>
FINNS	Protectionism	Protectionism is a sensible policy in the long run	"The EU cannot arbitrarily cut money from just something, then it must also cut from Romania, Poland, etc. It has consequences, but small Finland should not acquire enemies in vain," she continues.	<a href="https://www.uusisuomi.fi/uutiset/laura-huhtasaari-tapaus-unkarista-venaja-on-erittain-tyytyvainen-jos-suomi-suuttattaa-naton-jasenien/97004499-aefd-3bc2-9aea-241b05c317cb#.XT71wYIHqRM.twitter">https://www.uusisuomi.fi/uutiset/laura-huhtasaari-tapaus-unkarista-venaja-on-erittain-tyytyvainen-jos-suomi-suuttattaa-naton-jasenien/97004499-aefd-3bc2-9aea-241b05c317cb#.XT71wYIHqRM.twitter</a>
FINNS	Against immigration	NGO's are attracting illegal immigrants	"Particular attention has been drawn to the way in which NGOs carry out maritime rescue operations, often already in Libyan territorial waters. According to Frontex, the EU's border and coast guard agency, the activities of non-governmental organizations have created a clear attraction for illegal immigration", Halla-aho says in her written question.	<a href="https://www.uusisuomi.fi/uutiset/aluksia-ei-saa-paastaa-satamiin-halla-aho-vaatii-eulta-esteita-ihmissalakuljetukselle/b1bd76aa-22a3-308c-98d0-5b620c91b213#.WV0HlkeV40.facebook">https://www.uusisuomi.fi/uutiset/aluksia-ei-saa-paastaa-satamiin-halla-aho-vaatii-eulta-esteita-ihmissalakuljetukselle/b1bd76aa-22a3-308c-98d0-5b620c91b213#.WV0HlkeV40.facebook</a>
FINNS	Negative stance on migration	Migrants are motivated only by economic reasons	"The clear majority of newcomers are not in need of international protection, but their migration is motivated by economic reasons," Halla-aho says.	<a href="https://www.uusisuomi.fi/uutiset/aluksia-ei-saa-paastaa-satamiin-halla-aho-vaatii-eulta-esteita-ihmissalakuljetukselle/b1bd76aa-22a3-308c-98d0-5b620c91b213#.WV0HlkeV40.facebook">https://www.uusisuomi.fi/uutiset/aluksia-ei-saa-paastaa-satamiin-halla-aho-vaatii-eulta-esteita-ihmissalakuljetukselle/b1bd76aa-22a3-308c-98d0-5b620c91b213#.WV0HlkeV40.facebook</a>

## Coding frame (The Freedom Party)

Case	Code	Description	Example	Reference
FPÖ	National interests first	Interests of Austria are the most important, especially in terms of peace, freedom, security and welfare	"The freedom, security, peace and welfare of Austria and its people are the guidelines and the benchmarks for our actions as a social, meritocratic and patriotic Austrian political force."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Liberal market economy	Liberal democratic market economy is important	"We are committed to freedom and responsibility of the individual and the community, to democracy, to liberty and the rule of law, to the principles of the market economy and to social justice."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Nativism	Importance of preservation of Austrian view on mankind and society	"We are committed to Austria's right to self-determination and to preserving and protecting our view of mankind and society that has matured in our traditions and in our history."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	Austria must be protected along with its identity and autonomy	"We are committed to protecting our homeland of Austria, our national identity and autonomy as well as our natural livelihood."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of Western values	Importance of liberty and community of solidarity	"The freedom of citizens is ensured and protected by means of liberty and rule of law as well as a genuine community of solidarity."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on gay marriage	Trad. family as a basis for functional society	"The family, as a partnership between a man and a woman with common children, is the natural nucleus that holds a functioning society together, and which, with the solidarity of the generations, underpins our sustainability."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Liberal market economy	Achievements in market economy must be encouraged	"We encourage achievements in a market economy with social responsibility, protect private property and advocate an equitable distribution of contributions and benefits for the general public."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	Protection of Austria's national territory and citizens is a top priority	"Austria must do all in its power to protect its national territory, maintain its neutrality and offer its citizens protection and assistance in the event of threats or danger."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	National interests first	Austria's interests are most important in IR	"Austria's role in the world must be shaped by humanitarian responsibility, self-awareness and the preservation of Austrian interests."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of nationalism	Nations should be autonomous in IR	"Our European policy and our international contacts are based on an association of free peoples and autonomous nations."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	Importance of protecting national identity and autonomy	"We are dedicated to protecting our homeland of Austria, our national identity and autonomy as well as our natural livelihood."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on immigration	Austria should rely more on family policies than immigration	"Austria is not an country of immigration. This is why we pursue a family policy centred around births. Legal and legitimate immigrants who are already integrated, who can speak the German language, who fully acknowledge our values and laws and have set down cultural roots should be given the right to stay and obtain citizenship."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of Western values	Austria carry Christian values and is part of European culture, that is shaped by enlightenment and humanism	"Austria is part of the cultural region of Europe. The roots of European culture stretch back to Ancient Times. Europe was decisively shaped by Christianity, influenced by Judaism and other non-Christian religious communities, while humanism and the Enlightenment marked its continued fundamental development."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of Western values	Importance of European view of the world and cultural Christianity	"We acknowledge the basic values this has created and the European view of the world, which we describe, in a broad sense, as cultural Christianity, and which is based on the separation of the church and the state."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of Western values	European values must be defended, development of the currently "dominant culture".	"We are prepared to put up a resolute defence of these European values and our basic liberal-democratic order against fanaticism and extremism, and to take action to maintain and develop our dominant culture and our way of life in peace and in freedom."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of solidarity	Importance of liberty and community of solidarity	"The freedom of citizens is ensured and protected by means of liberty and rule of law as well as a genuine community of solidarity."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of democracy and HR	Respect for liberal freedom and democratic rule of law	"We acknowledge the democratic, rule-of-law, republican, power-separating and federal constitutional principles, respect for life and human dignity and the basic liberal freedoms such as freedom of expression, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Traditional family	Trad. family as a basis for functional society	"The family, as a partnership between a man and a woman with common children, is the natural nucleus that holds a functioning society together, and which, with the solidarity of the generations, underpins our sustainability."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on gay marriage	Gay marriage is harmful to child's welfare	"We are committed to the primacy of marriage between a man and a woman as a distinct way of protecting child welfare. Only partnerships between men and women provide our society with a wealth of children. We reject a separate legal institution for same-sex relations."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	Protection of Austria's national territory and citizens is a top priority	"Austria must do all in its power to protect its national territory, maintain its neutrality and offer its citizens protection and assistance in the event of threats or danger."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on foreign intervention	Austrian soldiers should primarily focus on defending Austria and should not be deployed abroad	"Protecting our homeland and defending our country take precedence over deployments of the army abroad. The deployment of Austrian soldiers abroad should be completely voluntary, and only take place in the event of disasters, for humanitarian missions, for peacekeeping and under a UN mandate."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on NATO	Military pacts/alliances are threatening Austria's autonomy	"Austria is an autonomous and peacemaking country, and must therefore not be a member of a military pact."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	National interests first	Austria should be fully in charge of its army	"Decisions about the deployment of our army and our soldiers are made by Austria alone, as a sovereign and neutral state, aware of its responsibility for the security and freedom of its citizens."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of nationalism	Austrian interests its main priority	"Austria's role in the world must be shaped by humanitarian responsibility, self-awareness and the preservation of Austrian interests."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>

## Appendix 3 (continued)

FPÖ	National interests first	FP must be shaped by its cultural and economic interests as well as security	"Our foreign policy must be driven by humanitarian responsibility, self-awareness and preserving the security as well as the economic and cultural interests of Austria and its citizens throughout the world."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	Austria's sovereignty must be protected along with the freedom of its citizens	"This means we are committed to a foreign policy that focuses on securing the sovereignty of Austria and the objective of protecting the freedom of its citizens."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of nationalism	Nations should be autonomous in IR	"Our European policy and our international relationships are based on an association of free peoples and autonomous fatherlands."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on multiculturalism, globalism and immigration	The EU should be composed by autochthonous groups of people and autonomous nations	"We are committed to a Europe of peoples and autochthonous groups of people which have developed through history, and firmly reject any artificial synchronisation of the diverse European languages and cultures by means of forced multiculturalism, globalisation and mass immigration."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of Western values	EU must be shaped by the western values, the cultural heritage and the traditions of the European peoples.	"The aim of European integration is to have a community of states that make up Europe geographically, spiritually and culturally, and which have bound themselves by the western values, the cultural heritage and the traditions of the European peoples."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on NATO	Austria should maintain distance from non-European powers and military alliances dominated by non-European countries, EU interests must come first.	"We are committed to a common foreign and security policy of such a European alliance of states that preserves Austrian neutrality and maintains distance from non-European powers and military alliances dominated by non-European countries to safeguard common European interests worldwide."	Party program: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/parteiprogramm/parteiprogramm-englisch/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	EU's external borders should be protected from migrants	"We and more and more European governments are clear about protecting the EU's external borders, you [migrants] can no longer get through it. Your ships will no longer be towed to Europe."	Kickl (2018). In: Kronen Zeitung: "Ja, jetzt steigt die Zahl der Abschiebe-Flüge", 05.03.18: <a href="https://www.krone.at/1657465?fbclid=IwAR3SDJYr4MaKaDO4xBZPh7ZJqslahFbG5ShcvUSBCxtRL5uMdsqtwm80">https://www.krone.at/1657465?fbclid=IwAR3SDJYr4MaKaDO4xBZPh7ZJqslahFbG5ShcvUSBCxtRL5uMdsqtwm80</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on illegal immigration	Illegal immigration must be stopped, it is a threat to Austria's security	"The change of government in Italy now threatens increased migration pressure to the southern border. It is therefore no longer to be expected that illegal immigration will be stopped in our neighboring country."	Kickl, FB page, 30.08.2019: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/herbertkickl/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/herbertkickl/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
FPÖ	Anti-migration stance	Migration must be stopped	"If Matteo Salvini's consistent line on immigration across the Mediterranean is no longer followed by a left-wing government, the pressure to migrate will also increase again in Austria. Vigilance is therefore a must and action must be taken quickly in an emergency!"	Kickl, FB page, 30.08.2019: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/notes/herbert-kickl/auf-k%C3%A4rnten-tour/2391689447776018/">https://www.facebook.com/notes/herbert-kickl/auf-k%C3%A4rnten-tour/2391689447776018/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	Migration as a potential security threat	"We must make sure that migration does not deteriorate the life situation of the Austrians. This is what we do with the rejection of the UN Migration Pact and the clear definition that we do not accept any legal connection of Austria to this pact."	Kickl, FB page, 03.11.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/herbertkickl/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/herbertkickl/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on illegal immigration	Illegal immigration must be stopped, it is a threat to Austria's security	"We have deliberately set ourselves the goal of combating illegal migration and asylum abuse."	Kickl, FB page, 02.06.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/">https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on illegal immigration	Illegal immigration must be stopped, it is a threat to Austria's security, EU solidarity should be implemented towards its own citizens	"The concept of solidarity, which is very important within the EU, should be brought to life to prevent illegal migration rather than to distribute refugees!"	Kickl, FB page, 05.06.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/">https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on illegal immigration	Illegal immigration must be stopped, it is a threat to Austria's security	"The aim of the talks was and is to find sustainable solutions that lead to preventing illegal migration to Europe along the Balkan route."	Kickl, FB page, 03.05.2019: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/">https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	EU borders must have stronger protection, especially against migrants and Turkey	"The EU should take external border protection for the Greek islands towards Turkey into its own hands with a massive effort by the European border protection agency FRONTEX."	Kickl, FB page, 26.12.2019: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/">https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/</a>
FPÖ	Pro- Russia sentiment	Cooperation with Russia important for FPÖ and it should be strengthened even more in the future.	"In the area of internal security, bilateral cooperation between Russia and Austria is very good. I hope to have a good exchange on our current and future cooperation, for example, in combating organized crime."	Kickl, FB page, 29.10.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/">https://www.facebook.com/herbertkickl/post/s/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on globalisation	Escalating globalisation is seen as a threat to Austria	"[FPÖ is] FOR the preservation of our national solidarity systems and our social networks, but AGAINST escalating globalization as well as against wage dumping and the dictates of the international financial markets."	Party platform: Our basic positions are manifested in five points that stand for a positive change in current EU policies: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/leitangtrag/grundsaetzliche-positionen/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/leitangtrag/grundsaetzliche-positionen/</a>
FPÖ	National interests first	The most important is the preservation of national sovereignty, FPÖ is against the "United States of Europe".	"[FPÖ is] FOR the preservation of national sovereignty, against Brussels centralism and an escalating EU bureaucracy."	Party platform: Our basic positions are manifested in five points that stand for a positive change in current EU policies: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/themen/leitangtrag/grundsaetzliche-positionen/">https://www.fpoe.at/themen/leitangtrag/grundsaetzliche-positionen/</a>
FPÖ	Importance of reframing EU values	For better future, the EU must be reformed	"The EU must be thoroughly reformed and critical voices must be listened to otherwise its future looks bleak."	Kickl (2019). In: FPÖ Party platform: 25 years of EU membership: cheers are inappropriate, 30.12.2019: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/25-jahre-eu-mitgliedschaft-jubelchoere-sind-unangebracht/">https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/25-jahre-eu-mitgliedschaft-jubelchoere-sind-unangebracht/</a>
FPÖ	Pro- Russia sentiment	A good relationship with Russia is important for the prosperity of EU	"A sincere and partnership-like approach and a diplomatic dialogue with Russia on an equal footing are essential for future security and prosperity in Europe."	Steger (2019). In: EU sanctions against Russia, but not against Turkey, 11.12.2019: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/eu-sanktionen-gegen-russland-aber-nicht-gegen-die-tuerkei/">https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/eu-sanktionen-gegen-russland-aber-nicht-gegen-die-tuerkei/</a>
FPÖ	Anti-EU stance	EU is unable to promote sustainable development for the future generations in terms of climate and environment.	"Nuclear power will now be promoted under the guise of climate neutrality. The EU is thus deliberately jeopardizing the lives of future generations."	Rauch (2019). In: Party platform: The EU Commission's "green deal" is both a farce and a threat, 13.12.2019: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/green-deal-der-eu-kommission-ist-farce-und-bedrohung-zugleich/">https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/green-deal-der-eu-kommission-ist-farce-und-bedrohung-zugleich/</a>
FPÖ	Anti-EU stance	The EU undermines its existence by accusing its states of islamophobia.	"Anyone who deals with Islam and makes even a slight criticism is, according to the report, 'Islamophobic'. The report also mentions the ban on headscarves in schools, which was introduced by the last federal government. Anyone who advocates this measure is considered 'Islamophobic' in the eyes of the study authors. And all of this is financed with EU funds. That must be the end. Such payments are counterproductive to peaceful coexistence in the European Union."	Hofer (2019). In: Party platform: EU funds for "Islamophobia Report" must be stopped, 12.12.2019: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/eu-gelder-fuer-islamophobie-report-sind-einzustellen/">https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/eu-gelder-fuer-islamophobie-report-sind-einzustellen/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	EU should focus more on the protection of its external borders	"Due to the inefficient EU policy to protect the external borders of the European Union, the individual member countries are forced to ensure the protection of their borders."	Bösch (2019). In: Party platform: Climate debate displaces focus on illegal migration, 11.12.2019: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/klima-debatte-verdraengt-fokus-auf-illegale-migration/">https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/klima-debatte-verdraengt-fokus-auf-illegale-migration/</a>
FPÖ	Anti- EU sentiment	EU should change its priorities by decreasing its involvement in environmental protection and increasing its participation in a fight with migration	"In acute emergencies such as the swelling of the refugee camps in Bosnia or the daily ship landings at Italian ports, one wonders what reality perception the EU Commission is setting its priorities with [as a response to EU investments in environmental protection]."	Steger (2019). In: Party platform: The EU's lack of reality shows 100 billion euros only for "climate policy", 06.12.2019: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/100-milliarden-euro-nur-fuer-klima-politik-zeigt-die-realitaetsferne-der-eu/">https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/100-milliarden-euro-nur-fuer-klima-politik-zeigt-die-realitaetsferne-der-eu/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on illegal immigration	All measures should be taken for protecting Austria from mass illegal immigration	"It is therefore also necessary to check whether the so-called defense case occurs in the event of a new wave of migration. Under no circumstances - as has happened before - should you shrug when thousands and thousands of migrants illegally cross our borders. Austria's sovereignty was silently overruled by the government at the time - that must never happen again."	Kickl (2019). In: FPÖ: Kickl on National Day: willingness to protect and defend our territory and our sovereignty! 26.10.2019: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/fpoe-kickl-zu-nationalfeiertag-bereitschaft-unser-territorium-und-unsere-souveraenitaet-zu-schuetzen/">https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/fpoe-kickl-zu-nationalfeiertag-bereitschaft-unser-territorium-und-unsere-souveraenitaet-zu-schuetzen/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	EU should question migrants and process the asylum applications already at its external border as this would help to protect its member states from illegal mass migration	"If we want secure external borders, this means that no one should come through who has no right to it. A determination of the need for protection at the external border and the return to the countries of origin, if there is no reason for protection, are the right approach."	Vilmsky (2019). In: Party platform: Vilmsky: "Asylum check already at the EU's external border", 30.10.2019: <a href="https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/vilmsky-asylpruefung-bereits-an-der-eu-aussengrenze/">https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/vilmsky-asylpruefung-bereits-an-der-eu-aussengrenze/</a>

## Appendix 3 (continued)

FPO	Nativism	Without FPO in the government there is a risk that citizen rights will deteriorate and that foreigners will have bigger power. Principle of neutrality in its foreign policy	"With a black and green federal government, which many foreigners in the EU fear, the risk that citizenship rights will be undermined and that all foreigners will have the right to vote."	Darmann (surfrage). In: FPO-Darmann against an additional surprise for foreigners. <a href="https://www.fpo.at/news/poe-darmann-gegen-generelles-wahlrecht-fur-auslaender/">https://www.fpo.at/news/poe-darmann-gegen-generelles-wahlrecht-fur-auslaender/</a>
FPO	Protectionism	European borders should be protected more and everybody should not be welcomed here	"Many problems are due to the irresponsible welcome policy of Merkel, Juncker and Macron. Therefore, the upcoming EU election is a directional decision. It is clear: simply keeping Europe's doors open so that everyone can come in is not a solution!"	Vilmsky, FB page, 22.03.2019: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/Vilmsky.Harald/">https://www.facebook.com/Vilmsky.Harald/</a> video/2290852036374..._xjs...f0e4B.ARCBGUBtD8LYVSnuSLHOPINZaxqToAF.SInFoumSjSJaWQBrmw3sewOE2RyaEawkmz8G5C3XnKIK_9vYVVC2CcshahdP7NULZCO_ETNEJgJVWckqj7htFVVUWGey_NU3UR.LrFVA_Ju_79a_3GINLXmy2xfq8fneBAIm.LanIP8vOLUDOCcgbibCqyPLuPweSzPCQ.bfSCgmqWOYGpxkLgeJBtVRa8ZQ3_r7dGLghJ2uaA9emTSG58CITHIBUKo5.W69YI.YkO_Yf8YN8Uqzy2olyDPmhk615OIGHBBSL.KlGWOSSh57iaqBJGx7PNUsgV2uINt9IS.MLGCCW5E9IEABRH7HCyypfrdeET1PfFX.6SkLC3C08ESnmIEtNet_.1AvMtlH1_Lay_qDBeck4dRaInSBcj_ZX17.RWMDUOHgz2JOJfovsW-qdFRVWUWKnca.khMBEC8_in_+H-R
FPO	National interests first	Domestic interests must be prioritized when speaking about foreign agreements and deals	"Under the present conditions FPO cannot agree to the trade agreement with the Latin American Mercosur states. The agreement does not serve the domestic economy and is to be completely reevaluated with a view to the Amazon crisis."	Svazek, FB page, 27.08.2019: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/Mariene.Svazek/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/Mariene.Svazek/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
FPO	Anti-EU sentiment	National interests are more important than following unified regulations of the EU Austria should have more autonomy in its policy decisions and less following of the EU directives. It should also think about leaving EU if it feels that it is not the EU one.	"The EU is planning a unified toll in the EU area instead of the domestic motorway vignette. The cost should be 6 cents per kilometer. The FPO-Salzburg is decidedly against this model!" "FPO regional division head Mariene Svazek has previously threatened the start." She praised Vilmsky: "He is the only one who does not give up his citizenship when he goes to Brussels or Strasbourg." "After twelve years of red-black labor market policy, the result is a massive shortage of skilled workers in many areas despite the fact that unemployment remains far too high. However, the FPO will pay close attention in the government to ensure that only where there is a shortage of skilled workers there is a short-term coverage of non-EU foreigners."	Svazek, FB page, 29.05.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/Mariene.Svazek/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/Mariene.Svazek/posts/?ref=page_internal</a> Svazek, FB page, 28.04.2019: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/Mariene.Svazek/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/Mariene.Svazek/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
FPO	Negative stance on liberal market economy	FPO uses government to influence labour market in Austria	"The British take their own destiny into their own hands today and vote on their remaining in the EU. Not long ago I was allowed to meet the head of the UK & UKIP Nigel Farage in the European Parliament.) The Brexit referendum could further support the pressure to reform within the EU. In the event of further negative developments, such as Turkey's accession to the EU, such a referendum must also be thought out loud in Austria."	Svazek, FB page, 14.01.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/Mariene.Svazek/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/Mariene.Svazek/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
FPO	Anti-EU sentiment	Praising Britts for taking their destiny into their own hands by organising Brexit referendum, instead of aligning itself with the EU. Austria should also think about leaving EU if it feels that its autonomy is being repressed by the latter.	"I do not think that the US will be isolated. But I believe that they will do everything they can in order to bring production back to America, because this is supposed to secure the jobs in the US. And I believe that Europe must react to it and do everything in its power to become economically stronger again."	Svazek, FB page, 23.06.2016: Hofer (2017). In: Visegrad Post. Norbert Hofer: the FPO is Likely to be the First Party at the Next Elections and We'll Get Closer to the Visegrád Countries. 08.02.2017: <a href="https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/">https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/</a> Hofer (2017). In: Visegrad Post. Norbert Hofer: the FPO is Likely to be the First Party at the Next Elections and We'll Get Closer to the Visegrád Countries. 08.02.2017: <a href="https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/">https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/</a>
FPO	Importance of strong EU	Europe should be economically less dependent on the USA	"The thing is that you are producing where the goods are needed is, from my point of view, the correct path, and this is where Europe must concentrate upon, in all friendship with the USA, in all friendship with Russia, in all friendship with China. But states represent interests and also the European Union must represent interests, namely the interests of the domestic economy, of our workers and the consumers who live here. This is what we must pay attention to."	Hofer (2017). In: Visegrad Post. Norbert Hofer: the FPO is Likely to be the First Party at the Next Elections and We'll Get Closer to the Visegrád Countries. 08.02.2017: <a href="https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/">https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/</a> Hofer (2017). In: Visegrad Post. Norbert Hofer: the FPO is Likely to be the First Party at the Next Elections and We'll Get Closer to the Visegrád Countries. 08.02.2017: <a href="https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/">https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/</a>
FPO	National interests first	In terms of economy, the EU should focus primarily on its domestic needs and factors	"Yes, that is the great advantage of our country that we are neutral."	Hofer (2017). In: Visegrad Post. Norbert Hofer: the FPO is Likely to be the First Party at the Next Elections and We'll Get Closer to the Visegrád Countries. 08.02.2017: <a href="https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/">https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/</a>
FPO	Anti-NATO sentiment	FPO finds neutrality and not being a part of the NATO to be a great advantage for Austria	"And if you address the energy issue, I believe that Europe needs to cooperate more closely in certain areas, while in other areas, we might need to cooperate less closely than before [...] However, on security issues, economic issues and energy we need to cooperate more closely. It is therefore wise to find ways to make this cooperation possible, especially in the infrastructure."	Hofer (2017). In: Visegrad Post. Norbert Hofer: the FPO is Likely to be the First Party at the Next Elections and We'll Get Closer to the Visegrád Countries. 08.02.2017: <a href="https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/">https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/</a>
FPO	Importance of national autonomy	European states should not cooperate closely in every area but its important to have a common understanding in security, economic and energy sector	"But, as far as China is concerned, one thing is very important to me: close cooperation with China. I met the Ambassador of China, China is keen to invest in Europe, but we must also ensure that there will be no sell-out of Europe, because China is, of course, looking for values that can be bought."	Hofer (2017). In: Visegrad Post. Norbert Hofer: the FPO is Likely to be the First Party at the Next Elections and We'll Get Closer to the Visegrád Countries. 08.02.2017: <a href="https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/">https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/</a>
FPO	Importance of China	China is seen as an important international partner but its influence in Europe should not grow too big	"The Order of St. George is a very fast-growing order, precisely because it also represents the right position for Europe, for Central Europe and for the countries shaped by Christianity. When I say countries shaped by Christianity, I do not mean that every citizen of these states should be a Christian – not at all. We have states where there is freedom of religion and everyone lives as he wants, but we are shaped by Christianity."	Hofer (2017). In: Visegrad Post. Norbert Hofer: the FPO is Likely to be the First Party at the Next Elections and We'll Get Closer to the Visegrád Countries. 08.02.2017: <a href="https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/">https://visegradpost.com/en/2017/02/08/norbert-hofer-the-fpo-is-likely-to-be-the-first-party-at-the-next-elections-and-we'll-get-closer-to-the-visegrad-countries/</a>
FPO	Importance of Christian values	Europe is shaped by the christianity, which also should guide/shape its decision-making, including the political one	"This is our history, these are our values, this is what is important to us and by which means we distinguish what is good and what is evil. This is not always the case. If I look at the development of the past few months, I feel that people are coming to Europe who are not always quite aware what is important to them."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Importance of Christian values	Europe should be composed of people who share the same (Christian) values and the incoming immigrants do not share their use of force of any kind, disputes between people should be dissolved using diplomatic means. FPO values Austrian neutrality	"Austria is a neutral state that has to review its role through diplomatic channels in the sense of an active foreign policy. Victory actions of war and clearly to be rejected."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Nativism	Democracy and democratic values, but at the same time respect and promote member state's sovereignty and autonomy in its decisions, should be promoted more in EU.	"The EU as a whole must become more democratic, not more authoritarian. [...] We would like to continue to be Austrian in our sovereign homeland and improve the EU, correct undesirable developments and prevent authoritarian and centralist efforts that threaten our Austrian sovereignty."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Nativism	EU should be a union of autonomous nation states which shall not obey to the centralized directives	"We want as much regionalism as possible and not more centralism than necessary - A Europe of the mother countries."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Negative stance on Western values	European NGOs should not rescue refugees in help out of solidarity	"I don't want to see a Europe that creates an incentive for economic refugees and supports the criminal actions of smugglers. It would be more important in the long run to help the people in the Islamic world who are in need of help."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Negative stance on islam	Islam is seen as a security threat	"The dissolution of the family and the disintegration of the [FPO's foreign policy is strongly oriented towards the Visegrad Group and Russia] We will continue on this path. Here we see enormous growth opportunities for our economy. We have to be prepared for the time when the sanctions against Moscow that are hopefully coming to an end."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Traditional family	Trad. family as a basis for functional society	"Without a doubt. For me, Putin is a democrat. However, we should not now play the senior brother and transfer our standards to Russia. It was only 25 years ago that the old Soviet system collapsed, the Berlin Wall collapsed and the Warsaw Pact broke up. Russia's path is a democratic one. And, one should also add that: is decision-making within the EU always democratic? Again, we have seen decisions that do not meet our standards and our demands."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Pro-Russian stance	Russia is seen as an important (economic) partner for Austria, negative attitude towards sanctions against Moscow.	"I want a sectoral immigration freeze. If a person can do something that is in demand, he should come. If someone has a job, he should come. I don't see the need. But I would be for a referendum if Turkey joins."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Pro-Russian stance/ anti-EU stance	Russia can be considered democratic state, EU does not always follow the democratic norms, some of its decisions are not democratic	"[Are you excluding a referendum on leaving the EU during your term in office?] I don't see this need. But I would be for a referendum if Turkey joins."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Anti-migration stance	Only these migrants are welcomed to Austria who share its values and are useful for the society Although FPO mostly supports staying in the EU, it does not exclude the possibility of leaving the union either, especially if something in EU is severely against its views (like accession of Turkey, for ex.)	"I want a sectoral immigration freeze. If a person can do something that is in demand, he should come. If someone has a job, he should come. I don't see the need. But I would be for a referendum if Turkey joins."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Anti-EU/ Turkey stance		"I don't want a United States of Europe like Alexander Van der Bellen wants."	NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>
FPO	Importance of nationalism	EU should be a union of autonomous sovereign elites and not a centralised union		NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.glaube.at/news/108/norbert-hofer-christliche-werte-mit-norberthofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a> NATIONALRATSWAHL: INTERVIEW ÜBER CHRISTLICHE WERTE MIT NORBERT HOFER (FPO), 11.09.2016 <a href="http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016">http://www.1000002735-nationalratswahl.at/content/view/full/1000002735-nationalratswahl-hofer-fpo-11-09-2016</a>

## Appendix 3 (continued)

FPÖ	Negative stance on the EU	FPÖ is dissatisfied with the amount of benefits its gets from the EU, especially when compared with its investments to the EU	"A lot was invested in Burgenland, but Austria is still a net payer, pays more to the EU coffers than it gets out."	Hofer (2016). In: Die Presse. Norbert Hofer: „Ist Integration noch möglich?“ 17.05.2016. <a href="https://www.diepresse.com/4989616/norbert-hofer-ist-integration-noch-moeglich">https://www.diepresse.com/4989616/norbert-hofer-ist-integration-noch-moeglich</a>
FPÖ	Pro-EU stance	FPÖ supports overall idea of the EU but it should be reformed	"I would vote to stay [in EU]. I was once asked a question: how would you vote if it were decided to join now? And I said then: If Austria were not now a member of the European Union, we would no doubt have - like Switzerland - concluded bilateral agreements with the Union. And then I probably would not have voted for it if we had all these advantages like Switzerland. But stepping out now would be a wrong way."	Hofer (2016). In: Neuwal. Norbert Hofer in der #ZIB2 bei Armin Wolf. 18.05.2016. <a href="https://neuwal.com/2016/05/18/norbert-hofer-in-der-zib2-bei-armin-wolf/">https://neuwal.com/2016/05/18/norbert-hofer-in-der-zib2-bei-armin-wolf/</a>
FPÖ	National interests first	A good foreign policy is important for FPÖ in order to have national gains like good economic partnership with other states like China, for ex.	"And I would also like to say that as Federal President I will make every effort to have good contacts abroad. Because it is important for the economy. We have done far too little with China, for example, in recent years. There are already some interesting contacts."	Hofer (2016). In: Neuwal. Norbert Hofer in der #ZIB2 bei Armin Wolf. 18.05.2016. <a href="https://neuwal.com/2016/05/18/norbert-hofer-in-der-zib2-bei-armin-wolf/">https://neuwal.com/2016/05/18/norbert-hofer-in-der-zib2-bei-armin-wolf/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on islam	Austria must be protected against islam, it is perceived as a threat to Austrian culture and its people.	"This is a wish that shows once again that there is a creeping Islamization in our country. We have to face this development decisively. Islam is not part of our history and our culture - and never will be, [...] political Islam is a system of submission and intolerance."	Hofer (2019). In: Die Tagesstimme. Norbert Hofer (FPÖ) warnt vor „schleichender Islamisierung“. 18.11.2019. <a href="https://www.tagesstimme.com/2019/11/18/norbert-hofer-fpo-warn-vor-schleichender-islamisierung/">https://www.tagesstimme.com/2019/11/18/norbert-hofer-fpo-warn-vor-schleichender-islamisierung/</a>
FPÖ	Protectionism	FPÖ is against open borders policy and welcome culture as these are perceived as a security threat for Austrian citizens	"The borders must now be protected, "because tens of thousands of migrants - mostly young men of military age - are already pushing towards Central Europe via the Balkan route".	Hofer (2019). In: Die Tagesstimme. Norbert Hofer (FPÖ) warnt vor „schleichender Islamisierung“. 18.11.2019. <a href="https://www.tagesstimme.com/2019/11/18/norbert-hofer-fpo-warn-vor-schleichender-islamisierung/">https://www.tagesstimme.com/2019/11/18/norbert-hofer-fpo-warn-vor-schleichender-islamisierung/</a>
FPÖ	Negative stance on migration	State borders must be protected against immigrants who are perceived as a potential security threat.	"If we send soldiers and police officers to the border who are not armed, we are the ridicule of the whole of Europe [...] because not only nice people are coming, there are also people who are willing to cut your head off."	Hofer (2016). In: Vienna Online. Für Hofer gibt es "keinen anderen Weg" als EU-Innengrenzen-Sicherung. 14.02.2016. <a href="https://www.fuer-hofer-gibt-es-keinen-anderen-weg-als-eu-innengrenzen-sicherung/4623116">https://www.fuer-hofer-gibt-es-keinen-anderen-weg-als-eu-innengrenzen-sicherung/4623116</a>

## Coding frame (The League)

Case	Code	Description	Example	Reference
LN	Nativism	Actions promoting the interests of native inhabitants against those of immigrants	"The first national interest is to preserve its sovereignty: sovereignty means being masters in our home and claiming the right to build a future protected from the most cumbersome foreign interference." "In this sense, the projects of the "United States of Europe", which would lead to the cancellation of Italian individuality, nor all the intermediate steps that expropriate the national Parliament (and therefore the Italian people) of fundamental skills should not be supported."	Lega Salvini Premier Government Program, Elections 2018: <a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Importance of nationalism	National interests must come first	"The second fundamental national interest is that of security, in particular from threats such as terrorism, Islamic extremism."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Islamic extremism as threat to security	Othering of Islamic extremism	"The second fundamental national interest is that of security, in particular from threats such as terrorism, Islamic extremism, uncontrolled migratory flows."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Migration as a security threat	Depiction of migration as a security threat	"Russia, part of western civilization and at the forefront of defending some of its values, should be perceived as a partner rather than a threat."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Importance of Russia	Russia is seen as an important foreign partner	an alternative or accomplished at the expense of the relationship with the United States of America, which remain Italy's reference	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	USA as main ally	USA is seen as Italy's main foreign partner	"An Italian Center-Right government should bet on a privileged and special relationship with the Trump Administration."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Importance of special relationship with Trump admin.	Good relations with Trump admin. especially are seen important	"Numerous policies of the current American administration (such as the defense against Islamic extremism and aggressive Chinese political and commercial penetration) are in full harmony with the"	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	US policies represent IT national interest	Especially those policies on China and immigration	"Russia does not constitute a credible military threat, but a potential partner for NATO and the EU."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Importance of Russia	Russia is seen as a potential partner for EU and NATO	"It is in the Mediterranean that more instability factors gather: Islamic extremism, massive migratory flows, state failures, tensions	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Migration as a security threat	Depiction of migration as a security threat	"In the region, Italy should intensify cooperation with those countries, such as Israel and Egypt, most engaged in the fight against Islamic."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Islamic extremism as threat to security	Othering of Islamic extremism, which is seen as one of main threats to IT	"Begin to concentrate the Italian military presence abroad and international cooperation interventions where for us more important."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Importance of international military cooperation and interventions	Importance of international cooperation and interventions that are in accordance with IT national interests	"Dispersing our military over a large number of theaters is an unsustainable policy, because it costs a lot and produces poor results in terms of economic expansion and migratory or counter-terrorist security."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Negative stance on foreign intervention	Interventions are supported only when in accordance with IT's national interests and goals.	"The current massive and uncontrolled immigration flows destabilize our country from a social point of view and offer opportunities for trafficking and repatriation of illegal immigrants (the latter well publicized to dissuade others) should be implemented and supported	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Migration as a security threat	Migration offers opportunities for terrorist infiltrations	"Asylum policies, devised for an era of reduced immigration, should be rethought restrictively and leaving (in line with the final declaration of the last G7) full sovereignty on its borders to the state."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Protectionism	Importance of protection of external borders from the perspective of both IT and EU	"Migration policies should favor entries from culturally related countries, selecting individuals with more sought after professional qualifications."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Protectionism	State should have exclusive right for dealing with its external borders	"Leverage is also a preventive action necessary to ensure citizens' preparation for the constitutional duty to defend the Fatherland, in the case (very improbable but theoretically not impossible) of mobilization caused by a serious international crisis."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Migration from culturally related countries	Defending fatherland as citizens duty	"The national interest should be kept at the center of [military] sector policies."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Protectionism	National interest comes first when dealing military sector	"European [military] cooperation must be pursued."	<a href="https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018">https://www.leganord.org/eventi/politiche-2018</a>
LN	Importance of EU cooperation	EU must be united against common enemies, such as immigration and terrorism	"A few months ago the Agrigento prosecutor (the one who is investigating me) said: 'The risk of terrorists on board the boats is high.' [...] 'For me the problem remains the same even TODAY. Investigate me, arrest me if you want, but I have a duty to defend Italian citizens and their safety, at any cost.'"	Salvini, FB page, 26.08.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/photo/s/pocrita-buonista-razzista-con-gli-italani-dimettisgonforialaboldrini/10153936292273155/">https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/photo/s/pocrita-buonista-razzista-con-gli-italani-dimettisgonforialaboldrini/10153936292273155/</a>
LN	Migration as a security threat	Migration increases terrorism; the need to protect IT from migration	"Does the European Union want to continue facilitating the dirty work of smugglers?"	Salvini, FB page, 16.07.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
LN	Migration as a security threat	Migration is related to human smugglers	"If the European Union still asks for sacrifices, precariousness and cuts, the response of the Salvini government will be NO THANKS. First the well-being of the Italians, then the European rules."	Salvini, FB page, 07.04.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
LN	Nativism	Italians' well-being comes first, then the EU	Salvini, FB page, 27.03.2017: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>	
LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Russia is rather seen as an ally and not the threat	"If Putin hadn't started attacking ISIS terrorists in Syria, Europe would still be sleeping."	Salvini, FB page, 17.01.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
LN	Importance of nationalism	The EU is depriving IT of its sovereignty; national interest must come first	"SLAVES of the European Union? No thanks! I look forward to the fact that, with our government, Italy can regain sovereignty and defend NATIONAL INTEREST, by any means possible."	Salvini, FB page, 26.08.2016: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/salviniofficial/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
LN	Negative stance on EU	EU is compared with the Soviet Union and accused for starving IT	"Between 2008 and 2015, the Italians paid 41 billion euros more to the European Union than what has gone back. To rebuild the countries destroyed by the EARTHQUAKE, and above all to secure the territory, one must ASK that money BACK. Or leave a European Soviet Union that starves us."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt, V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within. Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	Negative stance on EU	Othering from the current EU leadership in terms of values, IT as representative of those values	"On the contrary, I think that history will entrust us with the role of saving European values."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt, V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within. Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	Importance of reframing EU values	IT as the last hope for reframing EU	"I choose to change things from within. That is probably more difficult, it is longer and more complicated but it is a more concrete solution. To work from within to change monetary, financial, agricultural, commercial, industrial policies. We are growing, and we are allying with other European countries to change the E.U. from within. If we leave, it would be the end of hope."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt, V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within. Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	Importance of reframing EU values	The need for an alternative for christian democrats and socialists	"We are working with friends from France, Germany, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Netherland, Belgium, Austria to create an alternative alliance to the Christian Democrat and Socialist duopoly that has always governed Europe."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt, V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within. Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	Protectionism	The need for protection of EU's external borders, external borders should be closed for non-Europeans	"The protection of the external borders would allow us to reopen the internal borders that are now closed. I would like free movement within the EU as a result of us protecting external borders."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt, V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within. Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	Migration as a security threat	Migration as an economical and societal threat	"And out-of-control immigration damages the labor market, because Italians can't compete with illegal workers who are being exploited. So to restore dignity to work we must control immigration."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt, V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within. Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	Migration as a security threat	Irregular immigration is seen in correlation with crime rate	"The problem is irregular immigration which brings crime and social conflict. If I could reduce the number of these crimes and the presence of illegal immigrants they can call me racist as much as they want."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt, V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within. Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	US policies represent IT national interest		"But I appreciated his [Trump's] proposals on security and especially on the economy, and the fact that he kept these commitments after the elections — even with hot topics, such as moving the capital of Israel to Jerusalem. I like the fact that he has kept the commitments made on the protection of the borders, on the tax reduction, on investment. The economic situation in the United States is absolutely positive."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt, V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within. Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	Importance of special relationship with Trump admin.	Salvini aligns himself with Donald Trump, they belong to the same global movement	"I would say [Trump and I] we are part of the same global movement. History has cycles. This is cycle that represents more than the confrontation between left and right, it is the confrontation between the elite and the people. So popular values, family, work, safety, wellbeing, children, against the impositions of finance, multinationals, uniform thinking. I do not know how long it will last."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt, V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within. Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>

## Appendix 4 (continued)

LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Russia is rather seen as an ally and not the threat	"I only have an idea of having a good partnership between Russia and Europe. There is an agreement between the League and [Putin's] United Russia party. I hope to stop this regime of sanctions as soon as possible, because there is no need to fight."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within.' Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Russia is rather seen as an ally and not the threat	"But from my point of view this story of Russian interference is ridiculous. Fake news is already distributed 24 hours a day by official Italian television companies paid by Italian taxpayers, and not by Russian hackers."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within.' Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	IT as an important component of EU		"We [Italians] are 60 million. We pay 6 billion [Euros] a year to the European budget. So I think we have good reasons to be heard. We will be heard because Europe does not exist without Italy."	Salvini (2018). In: Walt V. (2018). We Want to Change Things from Within.' Italy's Matteo Salvini on His Goal to Reshape Europe. Time: <a href="https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/">https://time.com/5394207/matteo-salvini-time-interview-transcript-full/</a>
LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Russia is rather seen as an ally and not the threat	"Good relations with Russia are great news."	Salvini (2016). In: The global vote: <a href="https://www.goodcountry.org/global-vote/elections/italy/candidates/matteo-salvini/">https://www.goodcountry.org/global-vote/elections/italy/candidates/matteo-salvini/</a>
LN	Negative stance on China	IT must be defended from Chinese economical invasion	"Defending American industry against the invasion of Chinese products. Renegotiating the role of NATO. And a similar approach on the issue of immigration. This is all great news."	Salvini (2016). In: The global vote: <a href="https://www.goodcountry.org/global-vote/elections/italy/candidates/matteo-salvini/">https://www.goodcountry.org/global-vote/elections/italy/candidates/matteo-salvini/</a>
LN	Muslims are perceived as a threat	The more muslims there are, the more insecure italians feel	"The problem of the Muslim presence is increasingly worrying. There are more and more clashes, more and more demands."	Salvini (2016). In: The global vote: <a href="https://www.goodcountry.org/global-vote/elections/italy/candidates/matteo-salvini/">https://www.goodcountry.org/global-vote/elections/italy/candidates/matteo-salvini/</a>
LN	Positive stance towards legal migration	Legal immigrants are welcome to stay in Italy thinking	"In Italy there are 5 million legal migrants. They're integrated, and they're welcome."	Salvini (2016). In: The global vote: <a href="https://www.goodcountry.org/global-vote/elections/italy/candidates/matteo-salvini/">https://www.goodcountry.org/global-vote/elections/italy/candidates/matteo-salvini/</a>
LN	Supporting green economy		"The fact that the environment and the same goes for the task to respect the environment fails to respect himself. Our task is to respect the environment."	Salvini (2019). In: Le Point: "Il fascismo è un'idea morta" 16.10.19: <a href="https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php">https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php</a>
LN	Importance of nationalism	IT interests come first	"I do not criticize the Democratic Party (PD) because it is leftist, but because it depends on the will of Brussels, while for the League, Italian interest is the priority."	Salvini (2019). In: Le Point: "Il fascismo è un'idea morta" 16.10.19: <a href="https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php">https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php</a>
LN	Anti- EU sentiment	To change the current European mentality, values	"The League, for example, is different from the Front national, but we have a common plan to change European rules."	Salvini (2019). In: Le Point: "Il fascismo è un'idea morta" 16.10.19: <a href="https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php">https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php</a>
LN	Importance of reframing EU values	The need to change current rules of the EU	"No, but Europe's rules such as the Bolkestein directive that we have stopped must be completely changed."	Salvini (2019). In: Le Point: "Il fascismo è un'idea morta" 16.10.19: <a href="https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php">https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php</a>
LN	Anti-Turkish sentiment	Turkey cannot be accepted to the EU	"I also remember the 15 billion given to Turkey and which add up to another 7 already budgeted for the next few years. In this regard, I hope everyone is convinced, as the League has been saying for years, that Turkey cannot enter Europe."	Salvini (2019). In: Le Point: "Il fascismo è un'idea morta" 16.10.19: <a href="https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php">https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php</a>
LN	Protectionism	One of the main goal of the EU should be common defence and improvement of the overall security	"Let us think of a Europe that deals with immigration, common defense, the defense of borders. The Frontex project is weak today. Europe must fight terrorism and deal with security, but it must leave the economic choices to the States."	Salvini (2019). In: Le Point: "Il fascismo è un'idea morta" 16.10.19: <a href="https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php">https://www.lepoint.fr/europe/matteo-salvini-il-fascismo-e-un-idea-morta-16-10-2019-2341572_2626.php</a>
LN	Protectionism	The need for protection of EU's external borders, external borders should be closed for non-Europeans	"But our common goal isn't just that of imposing a distribution of refugees on Brussels, but especially that of protecting the EU's external borders. A system like the one with Turkey in the southeast should be put in place in southern Europe too."	Salvini (2018). In: Spiegel International: "Within a Year, We'll See if a United Europe Still Exists" 27.06.18: <a href="https://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/interview-with-italian-interior-minister-salvini-a-1215157.html">https://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/interview-with-italian-interior-minister-salvini-a-1215157.html</a>
LN	Protectionism	Importance of securing external borders	"The focus in the draft document is primarily on the immediate deportation to Italy of those who originally landed on our coasts. And only then is the future protection of our external borders addressed. For us, though, the priorities are exactly the other way around."	Salvini (2018). In: Spiegel International: "Within a Year, We'll See if a United Europe Still Exists" 27.06.18: <a href="https://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/interview-with-italian-interior-minister-salvini-a-1215157.html">https://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/interview-with-italian-interior-minister-salvini-a-1215157.html</a>
LN	Islamic extremism as threat to security	People linked with Islamic extremism should be expelled	"Every day, I sign orders to expel people who are linked to Islamic terrorism."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Migration as a security threat	Migrants should be prevented from entering the EU	"The final objective is not to distribute the migrants among various European countries, but to prevent them from entering Europe and from departing from Africa."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Need to intervene in Africa	Intervention in Africa would help to stop migration from there	"We need to intervene in Africa. We need to have a Marshall Plan for Africa to improve living conditions in the countries of origin."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Good US-Russia relations are also good for Italy	"A rapprochement between the U.S. and Russia is good news for Italy and for Europe."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Importance of nationalism	EU states should have more nationalist power when it comes to policies	"We envision a different Europe where every E.U. country should have the freedom to decide its own economic policies."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Salvini defends annexation of Crimea	"There was a referendum, and 90 percent of the people voted for the return of Crimea to the Russian Federation."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Salvini defends annexation of Crimea	"There are some historically Russian zones with Russian culture and traditions which legitimately belong to the Russian Federation."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Pro - NATO sentiment	Salvini supports NATO	"Yes [I do support NATO]. We belong to the Atlantic alliance."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Negative stance on immigration	Immigrants are not considered important for the economy	"I don't agree with such an idea [that immigrants are needed for economic growth]."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Traditional family values	Lega is against gay unions and adoptions	"No — I am only against gay adoptions and surrogate births amongst gay couples. [The League party] voted against civil unions between homosexuals because this is a slippery slope to gay adoptions. Beyond that, anyone can do whatever they like."	Salvini (2018). In: Washington Post: <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html">https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/italy-has-done-a-lot-maybe-too-much/2018/07/19/dc81a292-8ac1-11e8-8aea-86e88ae760d8_story.html</a>
LN	Anti- EU sentiment	EU no longer represents its people, decision-making process should be reframed	"This Europe and the bureaucrats that run it no longer represent the people for a long time: it is the leaders who need to take decisions, not the technicians."	Zaia, FB page, 18.10.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
LN	Importance of reframing EU	The model of EU should be changed, it should be made more democratic regarding electing its leadership	"I am not anti-European, I am against this model of the European Union, directed by a lot of unelected bureaucrats."	Zaia, FB page, 31.10.2017: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
LN	Negative stance on liberal economy	Market advantage should be given to national entrepreneurs, even if that means restricting free market	"I therefore agree with the request by the National Olivgrowers to suspend oil imports from outside EU, especially Tunisia, during the harvesting period. Our producers must be protected, not penalized at every occasion! I stand with them."	Zaia, FB page, 07.12.2016: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
LN	Negative stance on migration	Identification of refugees should take place already in Africa or Middle East and not in EU	"It is European Union that has so far continued to proclaim solidarity while migrants die at sea, giving up the only true way to save them, i.e. setting up refugee camps in Africa or the Middle East to identify who is entitled to refugee status here in EU."	Zaia, FB page, 16.02.2016: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
LN	Negative stance on economic migration	All economic migrants should not be allowed to enter EU	"It is absolutely necessary to distinguish between refugees and economic migrants. The data we have in Veneto tells us that the most numerous immigrants arrive from Nigeria and Senegal, countries where there is a discreet economic situation and not wars and carnage."	Zaia, FB page, 17.06.2015: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>

## Appendix 4 (continued)

LN	Negative stance on military intervention	Conflict in Syria should be solved by using different means and not by direct military intervention	"Matteo Salvini's position on Syria is that of the whole League. The situation in that country is not solved with bombs, especially if there is no certainty of the use of chemical weapons. Assad and Russia fight our first enemy, the Caliphate; ISIS is the real problem, and it must be defeated! "	Zaia, FB page, 16.04.2018: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal">https://www.facebook.com/pg/zaiaufficiale/posts/?ref=page_internal</a>
LN	Negative stance on military intervention	Conflict in Syria should be solved by using different means and not by direct military intervention	"Bombing Syria won't help and the real danger is Islamic terrorism, not the Russians".	Salvini (2018). In: The Local: "What is Italy's position on Syria?" 18.04.2018: <a href="https://www.thelocal.it/20180418/what-is-italys-position-on-syria">https://www.thelocal.it/20180418/what-is-italys-position-on-syria</a>
LN	Negative stance on military intervention	NATO intervention in Syria can be seen as a gift to ISIS	"Trump's decision [to launch airstrikes in Syria] was a bad idea, big mistake, and a gift to Isis".	Salvini (2017). In: The Local: "Italy's pro-Trump parties condemn Syria air strikes" 7.04.2017: <a href="https://www.thelocal.it/20170407/italys-pro-trump-parties-condemn-syria-air-strikes">https://www.thelocal.it/20170407/italys-pro-trump-parties-condemn-syria-air-strikes</a>
LN	Importance of special relationship with Trump admin.	Lega shares common values with Trump admin.	"We share common values. My party appreciates the Trump administration."	Salvini (2019). In: Daily Beast: "Italy's Trump Goes to Washington Accompanied by a Whiff of Fascism" 15.06.2019: <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/italys-far-right-matteo-salvini-heads-to-washington-to-show-trump-a-thing-or-two-about-stopping-immigrants">https://www.thedailybeast.com/italys-far-right-matteo-salvini-heads-to-washington-to-show-trump-a-thing-or-two-about-stopping-immigrants</a>
LN	US as main ally	Importance of being US main partner in EU, geopolitical importance	"So being one of the favorite partners of the U.S. in the European Union will be very important, also on a geopolitical level since Italy's approach on some situations is different from some of the European Union."	Salvini (2019). In: Daily Beast: "Italy's Trump Goes to Washington Accompanied by a Whiff of Fascism" 15.06.2019: <a href="https://www.thedailybeast.com/italys-far-right-matteo-salvini-heads-to-washington-to-show-trump-a-thing-or-two-about-stopping-immigrants">https://www.thedailybeast.com/italys-far-right-matteo-salvini-heads-to-washington-to-show-trump-a-thing-or-two-about-stopping-immigrants</a>
LN	Nativism	Italians come first, EU is seen as a producer of "silly rules"	"Italians come first ... Italy no longer wants to be a servant to silly rules [of the EU]"	Salvini (2018). In: "Salvini says Italy won't change budget, 'Italians come first'" (In-Cyprus) 24.10.2018: <a href="https://in-cyprus.philenews.com/salvini-says-italy-wont-change-budget-italians-come-first/">https://in-cyprus.philenews.com/salvini-says-italy-wont-change-budget-italians-come-first/</a>
LN	partner	against terrorism	Why don't the rabbits that govern Italy and Europe help them too?	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/posts/">https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/posts/</a>
LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Being pro-Russia (and pro-Putin) equals peace	"I want Peace, I'm with Putin [regarding the Syrian conflict]."	Salvini, FB page, 24.11.2015: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/posts/10153392702448155">https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/posts/10153392702448155</a>
LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Russia should rather be seen as an ally	"Why, instead of "playing war" with Russia, Europe doesn't revoke the embargo against Syria, and intervene with force to EXTERMINATE murderers of the Islamic State?"	Salvini, FB page, 03.09.2015: <a href="https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/posts/10153242156338155">https://www.facebook.com/salviniofficial/posts/10153242156338155</a>
LN	Russia as an important partner	Importance of friendship between Russia and IT	"It was also a fundamental occasion to confirm and strengthen the friendship between Italy and Russia."	Salvini (2017). In: Il Populista: "Salvini incontra il ministro degli Esteri russo: "Presentato il nostro progetto di governo per l'Italia e per l'Europa" 06.03.2017: <a href="http://www.ilpopulista.it/news/6-Marzo-2017/11503/esclusivo-salvini-incontra-il-ministro-degli-esteri-russo-presentate-le-nostre-idee-per-il-governo-dell-italia-e-il-futuro-dell-europa.html?fbclid=IwAR3FvR8_UYQps1zGugMQPMUM1n3eJTyChsXS9BRu3n2L6i7xaP1cNDZLQA">http://www.ilpopulista.it/news/6-Marzo-2017/11503/esclusivo-salvini-incontra-il-ministro-degli-esteri-russo-presentate-le-nostre-idee-per-il-governo-dell-italia-e-il-futuro-dell-europa.html?fbclid=IwAR3FvR8_UYQps1zGugMQPMUM1n3eJTyChsXS9BRu3n2L6i7xaP1cNDZLQA</a>
LN	Russia as an important partner	Russia as an important actor in Syrian conflict against terrorism	"On behalf of many, I also thanked the Minister of Russian intervention in Syria against ISIS "	Salvini (2017). In: Il Populista: "Salvini incontra il ministro degli Esteri russo: "Presentato il nostro progetto di governo per l'Italia e per l'Europa" 06.03.2017: <a href="http://www.ilpopulista.it/news/6-Marzo-2017/11503/esclusivo-salvini-incontra-il-ministro-degli-esteri-russo-presentate-le-nostre-idee-per-il-governo-dell-italia-e-il-futuro-dell-europa.html?fbclid=IwAR3FvR8_UYQps1zGugMQPMUM1n3eJTyChsXS9BRu3n2L6i7xaP1cNDZLQA">http://www.ilpopulista.it/news/6-Marzo-2017/11503/esclusivo-salvini-incontra-il-ministro-degli-esteri-russo-presentate-le-nostre-idee-per-il-governo-dell-italia-e-il-futuro-dell-europa.html?fbclid=IwAR3FvR8_UYQps1zGugMQPMUM1n3eJTyChsXS9BRu3n2L6i7xaP1cNDZLQA</a>
LN	Pro- Russian sentiment	Sanctions must be lifted as those are also damaging IT economy	"We have shared [with Sergei Lavrov] the need to reach the sooner to a definitive elimination of the sanctions, confirming my commitment and that of the League which, moreover, is from the beginning in the front row in Europe on this front, as the Minister himself acknowledged."	Salvini (2017). In: Il Populista: "Salvini incontra il ministro degli Esteri russo: "Presentato il nostro progetto di governo per l'Italia e per l'Europa" 06.03.2017: <a href="http://www.ilpopulista.it/news/6-Marzo-2017/11503/esclusivo-salvini-incontra-il-ministro-degli-esteri-russo-presentate-le-nostre-idee-per-il-governo-dell-italia-e-il-futuro-dell-europa.html?fbclid=IwAR3FvR8_UYQps1zGugMQPMUM1n3eJTyChsXS9BRu3n2L6i7xaP1cNDZLQA">http://www.ilpopulista.it/news/6-Marzo-2017/11503/esclusivo-salvini-incontra-il-ministro-degli-esteri-russo-presentate-le-nostre-idee-per-il-governo-dell-italia-e-il-futuro-dell-europa.html?fbclid=IwAR3FvR8_UYQps1zGugMQPMUM1n3eJTyChsXS9BRu3n2L6i7xaP1cNDZLQA</a>
LN	Importance of nationalism	Italy must be nr 1 in EU	"I will do and we will do everything to make Italy return to being the first in Europe."	Salvini (2019). In: Vita: "Dialogo con Salvini sull'Europa. Immaginario, ma con parole vere". 11.02.2019: <a href="http://www.vita.it/it/article/2019/02/11/dialogo-con-salvini-sulleuropa-immaginario-ma-con-parole-vera/150639/">http://www.vita.it/it/article/2019/02/11/dialogo-con-salvini-sulleuropa-immaginario-ma-con-parole-vera/150639/</a>
LN	Importance of reframing EU values	The unity of the EU must be restored, along with social cohesion	"History gives us a bigger goal: to restore social cohesion, friendship, brotherhood and unity in a continent that if it goes on like this it risks being crushed to the west, east and south by other great powers, and we will become only a huge market of consumers of products designed, built and processed on the other side of the world."	Salvini (2019). In: Vita: "Dialogo con Salvini sull'Europa. Immaginario, ma con parole vere". 11.02.2019: <a href="http://www.vita.it/it/article/2019/02/11/dialogo-con-salvini-sulleuropa-immaginario-ma-con-parole-vera/150639/">http://www.vita.it/it/article/2019/02/11/dialogo-con-salvini-sulleuropa-immaginario-ma-con-parole-vera/150639/</a>
LN	Importance of nationalism	Salvini equals Trump's (nationalism's) victory with important historical events	"Trump's victory was of historical significance equal to the fall of the Berlin Wall".	dal falco anti-Ue di Trump A Londra l'incontro con Ted Malloch". 09.02.2017:



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18/05/2020