

Tartu Ülikool

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**Shift in the political focus of the United Kingdom
Independence Party (UKIP) from 2010 to 2015**

Bakalaureusetöö

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Martin Kutti

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1. Introduction

The United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) has established itself as a major player in British politics. In 2014, UKIP achieved its biggest ever success by winning the European Parliament election in Britain. This was the first time in nearly a hundred years when a party other than Conservatives or Labour won a nationwide election. The charismatic lead figure of UKIP – Nigel Farage has created mixed emotions within the British public. On one hand, he has been praised for saying out loud what many people think about the situation in UK politics, issues within the British society and about Britain's membership of the European Union (EU). On the other hand, he has been criticised for some of his public statements, mainly about immigration.

This bachelor thesis is a case study on UKIP. The objective of this study is to evaluate the shift in the political focus of UKIP by attempting to understand how their main ideas have changed between 2010 and 2015. The first and most important research question is – how have the topics and ideas in the party manifestos and Nigel Farage's speeches changed from 2010 to 2015 and how have the ideas presented at the European Parliament differed from the themes used in Britain? Secondly, how well does UKIP fit under the category of a populist right wing party and which signs of populism can be detected? Thirdly, can UKIP be seen as a single issue party? Finally, to what extent can UKIP be seen as a racist party?

In order to investigate the change of focus, UKIP party manifestos from the years of major elections – 2010 (General), 2014 (EU) and 2015 (General) will be analysed in order to monitor the main focus from each year. After examining manifestos, more than 50 speeches of UKIP chairman Nigel Farage will be analysed and evaluated in order to see how the topics and ideas mentioned in Farage's speeches have changed year by year. The purpose behind analysing the speeches of Farage is to understand the change of focus in 'less formal' context. By that, it is meant that the party manifestos can be seen as formal documents and more importantly, documents that the voters may not even be familiar with. Therefore, analysing the speeches adds an extra dimension to the study by looking at what the general public and actual voters have most likely based their attitude towards Farage and UKIP on. Conclusions will be drawn based on the presented theory and analysis of both speeches and manifestos.

This study contributes towards studying right-wing populist parties and British politics in general by offering an in-depth analysis of the ideas of UKIP and methods they have used in order to gain support among the British voters. Analysing more than 50 speeches from 2010 to 2015 will certainly offer a good understanding of UKIP and the ideas of the party. UKIP can be seen as a growing party and a major force in British politics, therefore it is important to understand what they really stand for. Analysing speeches and manifestos gives a good opportunity to evaluate the ideas of the party without being influenced by the media. This study will also present an opportunity for future research on UKIP that could evaluate and predict the ways in which the party will move in the near future based on the developments between 2010 and 2015.

The main theoretical background is based on populism and right wing politics in general. Cas Mudde's theories of the populist right form the most important part of the theoretical framework for this study. Roger Eatwell has investigated the nature of right wing politics which is vital to look at in order to categorise UKIP. The work of Hans-Georg Betz is also of relevance when studying right-wing populism. Some authors have looked precisely at UKIP in their research. The works by van der Brug and Mughan (2007), Usherwood (2008), John and Margetts (2009), Ford and Goodwin (2014), Webb and Bale (2014), Tournier-Sol (2015) and Clarke *et al.* (2016) have also contributed to this study.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Right-wing populism

Roger Eatwell has divided right-wing politics into 5 different styles of thought. The reactionary right, the moderate right, the radical right, the extreme right and the new right (Eatwell, 1989: 63). In the context of this particular study, the correct category to place UKIP under according to Eatwell is the radical right. The term 'radical right' is misleading according to Eatwell as there is a thin line between conservatism and the so-called radical right and that the term has been applied to democratic movements as well as non-democratic which makes it difficult to define. (Eatwell, 1989: 69).

Cas Mudde has thoroughly studied right wing politics and more precisely, right wing populist parties. According to Mudde (2007: 13), populist right parties belong to the extreme right party family. He has offered two definitions – a minimal definition and a maximum definition (Mudde, 2007: 22). Mudde argues that the minimal definition

establishes the main features of the ideologies of all parties that belong in the party family (2007: 15). In this case to belong in the extreme right party family, a party must have two factors present – nationalism and nativism (2007: 16). It is necessary to also clarify these two factors and their precise meanings. Nationalism in this sense means that the main focus of a party is on the nation. Mudde has defined nationalism as:

‘A political doctrine that strives for the congruence of the cultural and political unit, i.e the nation and the state’ (Mudde, 2007: 16).

The other, more important feature that must be present according to Mudde, is nativism. According to Mudde, nativism in this context can be defined as: *‘An ideology, which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by the members of the native group (‘the nation’) and that non-native elements are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation-state’ (Mudde, 2007: 19).*

He goes on to explain that the term of nativism is a good to summarise the extreme right party group as it is more precise than the definition of nationalism. Mudde argues that liberal forms of nationalism can be excluded by nativism and also that parties where nativism can be detected, might or might not be racist (2007: 16).

Now that the minimal definition has been explained, the maximum definition can be looked at. According to Mudde, the maximum definition is a more specific version of the minimal definition as the parties that qualify under the maximum definition must also fit under the minimal definition. Thus, the ‘maximum’ group is a subgroup of the ‘minimal’ group. The minimal definition, as explained before, had two core characteristics – nationalism and nativism. The maximum definition identifies three –

- Nativism
- Authoritarianism
- Populism

The definition of nativism stays the same as it was in the context of the minimal definition, a mixture of xenophobia and nationalism. However, the terms of authoritarianism and populism need explaining as they can be misleading. Mudde has seen authoritarianism as:

'Belief in a strictly ordered society, in which infringements are punished severely. It does not necessarily mean an antidemocratic attitude, but neither does it preclude one' (Mudde, 2007: 23).

The final feature, populism is seen by Mudde as:

'An ideological feature, not merely as a political style. Populism is understood as a thin-centred ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, "the pure people" versus "the corrupt elite" (Mudde 2007: 23).

Mudde argues that 'populist radical right' is the correct name to use rather than 'radical right-wing populism.' The reason behind this is that when using the wording 'radical right-wing populism,' the term 'populism' is key and radical right just shows the political direction or orientation of the party. When using 'populist radical right,' it refers to a populist form of radical right, which has nativism as the main focus (Mudde, 2007: 26). It is important to distinguish these terms because Mudde sees populism as an ideology, not as a political style. To conclude Mudde's ideas, the final definition of populist radical right parties would be:

'Political parties with a core ideology that is a combination of nativism, authoritarianism and populism' (Mudde, 2007: 26).

Van der Brug and Mughan (2007) argued that right-wing populist parties have two characteristics that separate them from the rest of the political field. Firstly, they see themselves as a 'protest vote' against the established parties. They put emphasis on what the other parties fail to offer the voters. According to this, the voters are sending a message to the parties they used to vote for by backing the populist right-wing parties. Secondly, the populist right-wing parties commonly have strong, charismatic leaders. (Van der Brug & Mughan, 2007: 30).

3. UKIP and UK Politics

3.1. UKIP

UKIP has been described as a single-issue party in previous academic work (Usherwood, 2008: 256). According to Usherwood, UKIP's only issue is to force Britain's exit from the EU. However, it has to be considered that Usherwood's article was published in 2008, before the European Parliament elections of 2009. While it is

true that UKIP was first established as a Eurosceptic party, it could also be said that they have come a long way and started addressing issues other than Britain's exit from the EU. The UKIP manifestos seem to confirm this as the content and depth of these documents has improved vastly over the last years. In 2010, UKIP's manifesto for the UK general elections was a simple 16-page document, stating the main ideas and promises. The 2015 general election manifesto was 76 pages long, addressing all the main issues in British politics. It can be said that UKIP are trying to move closer to the mainstream parties in British politics and distance themselves from the image of a single-issue party.

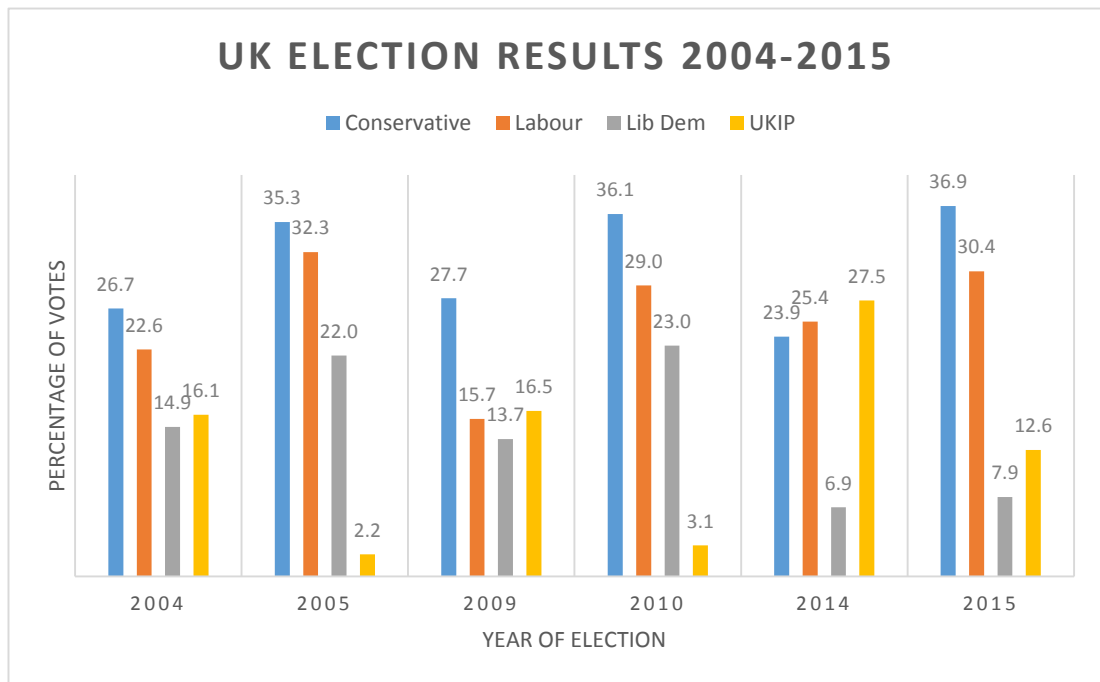
Hayton did not see UKIP as an extreme right wing party and described them as "*anti-European rather than extreme right party*" (Hayton, 2010: 30). Hayton argued that UKIP and the extremely radical British National Party (BNP) campaigned for similar objectives but with different means and that the support numbers of UKIP reflect the potential support of right-wing populist parties better than the votes of BNP. He then went on to compare the issues both parties had addressed in the 2009 European Parliament elections and said that the voters of both parties see the same kind of issues as most important, with immigration, economy and Europe being the main ideas. (Hayton, 2010: 30). Hayton cited John and Margetts (2009: 508) '*UKIP could act as a bridge to the supporters of the main parties who identify with the policies of the BNP but who do not wish to do so directly.*' According to this, UKIP could be distanced from BNP in 2010, based not so much on the general themes the two parties address, but on the solutions they offer in their manifestos and by their public reputations. The same bridge theory by John and Margetts (2009) can also be found later as Webb and Bale (2014) argue that the mainstream centre-right Conservative Party is '*electorally vulnerable to the populist radical right in the sense that the ideological gap between their voters and the latter is already small*' (Webb & Bale, 2014: 962). This suggests that in 2014, UKIP could not be seen as a force that was too radical since the party had become a serious threat to Conservatives, one of the world's most successful and longest running parties. This would place UKIP further right than the Conservatives but at the same time distances them from right-wing extremism.

According to previous academic work by Mudde, Van der Brug and Mughan, UKIP would precisely fit under the category of a populist radical right party. Signs of nativism, authoritarianism and populism can all be identified. In addition to this, Nigel

Farage has certainly shown himself as a charismatic leader. He is a skilled public speaker and has established himself as the face of UKIP, thus qualifying under the second characteristic trait of populist right-wing parties as suggested by Van der Brug and Mughan. The idea of being a protest vote is the one that could be argued against as Farage has openly distanced UKIP from the image of a party who collects protest votes (BBC, 2012) (Financial Times, 2014). This could be a sign of the changing political focus of the whole party as they try to move closer to the mainstream parties by broadening their political platform and distancing from the radical right. Even though Farage has claimed that UKIP are more than a protest vote, they can still be seen as an alternative force in British politics. It is a very important part of their agenda to oppose the Conservatives, the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats, in other words - mainstream political parties in Britain. According to Hans-Georg Betz, radical right-wing populist parties have in most cases distanced themselves from the extreme Right. They often see themselves as a democratic alternative in the current political system (Betz, 1994: 108). Interestingly, Farage himself is a former member of the Conservative Party who left the Conservatives in 1992 to establish UKIP. Farage leaving the Conservatives was inspired by the signing of the Maastricht Treaty which on another level confirms the 'bridge theory' of John and Margetts that was mentioned earlier. Although John and Margetts approached it from the point of view of the voters, similarities can be seen as it could be argued that UKIP itself was established as a 'bridge' party. According to Clarke *et al* (2016), UKIP was established as a 'common sense' party that puts the interests of ordinary people first (Clarke *et al.*, 2016: 138). Despite UKIP trying to distance itself from the Conservatives, some major similarities can be seen between the two. Usherwood (2008: 258) claims: *'Many UKIP members were previously Conservative members and it is tempting to consider UKIP as the anti-EU faction of the Conservative party, on both membership and ideological grounds.'* Clarke *et al.* (2016) agrees with the statement by Usherwood (2008) that many previous Conservative voters have turned to UKIP due to the party's anti-EU views (Clarke *et al.* 2016: 139). Tournier-Sol (2015: 147) claims that David Cameron has been successful in changing the focus of the Conservative party and moved them closer to the centre of the political spectrum, thus leaving the right wing open and giving an opportunity to UKIP to establish itself as a major political force.

3.2. Reasons behind UKIP's popularity

UKIP's success in recent elections has helped the party to establish themselves amongst the British political elite. A quick overview of UKIP's latest electoral results would be appropriate at this point. Since this study covers only a short, 5 year period, from 2010 to 2015, some results from the previous elections would help understand the context and the success UKIP have achieved. It is important to look at the UK general elections and the European Parliament elections separately due to the different voting systems. The first-past-the-post system used in the UK general election has not allowed the small parties to have proper success in the general elections. There have been suggestions about the first-past-the-post system being outdated as its original role was to give a majority to one party in a two-party system (The Guardian, 2015).



(Figure 1.1 UK Election Results 2004-2015)

In the general election of 2005, UKIP did not do as well as they would have hoped, gaining just 605 973 (2.2%) votes (BBC, 2005). In terms of percentages, UKIP were the 4th biggest party in the 2005 elections, behind Labour (35.3%, 356 seats), Conservative Party (32.3%, 198 seats) and Liberal Democrats (22.1%, 62 seats). However, due to the British voting system, they did not even get a seat at Westminster. Nigel Farage took over as the UKIP chairman in 2006. The 2010 general election was once again a disappointment for UKIP as the story of 2005 repeated itself. UKIP again the 4th most successful party percentage-wise, managing to collect 919 546 (3.1%) of the votes but not getting a seat (BBC, 2010). The Conservative Party won in 2010

(36.1%, 307 seats) with Labour second (29.0%, 258 seats) and Liberal Democrats once again 3rd (23.0%, 57 seats). 2015 general election was a big step in the right direction for UKIP as the party achieved its first ever seat at Westminster. They managed 3 881 099 votes (12.6%) which made UKIP the 3rd most popular party in UK after the failure of Liberal Democrats. David Cameron's Conservative Party won the elections once more, getting 36.9% of the votes and 331 seats. Labour came in 2nd with 30.4% and 232 seats.

So far, the real success of UKIP has come in the European Parliament elections. Similarly to the general election, an overview of the last 3 European Parliament elections will be provided in order to explain the background. The closed party list system that is used in the European Parliament elections has been more favourable for UKIP. Already in 2004, UKIP managed a 3rd place in the European Parliament elections with 2 659 768 votes (16.1%), gaining 12 of UK's 78 seats. Conservatives won the elections, gaining 27 seats (BBC, 2004). The 2009 European Parliament elections were even more successful for UKIP as they surpassed the Labour Party in number of votes, winning 2 498 226 votes and 13 seats and obtained 2nd place behind Conservatives (BBC, 2009). The 2009 election was the first real success for Nigel Farage as the UKIP chairman. Things got even better for UKIP in the 2014 European elections when Farage led them to victory. In 2014, UKIP managed 24 seats in the European Parliament and gained 4 376 635 votes. Labour were 2nd with 20 and Conservatives 3rd with 19 seats. 2014 was historic for UKIP since it was the first time since 1906 when a party other than the Conservatives or Labour managed to win the highest share of vote in a nationwide election (Ford & Goodwin, 2014: 277). Even though UKIP have the role of a 'third party' in the UK general election, they have been successful enough to make their voice heard in the British politics.

Looking at the reasons behind UKIP's recent success, Ford and Goodwin (2014: 278) outlined three main features that 6000 self-identified UKIP supporters value most about the party.

Those three motives were: *'a 'hard' brand of euroscepticism that opposes the principle of Britain's EU membership; strong opposition to immigration and concern about its effects on the British economy and society; and dissatisfaction with established politics*

in Westminster and how the established parties have managed immigration and the post-2008 financial crisis' (Ford & Goodwin. 2014: 278).

Ford and Goodwin also point out that UKIP have addressed the problems in society that have existed for a long time without being properly solved. By this, they point out the so-called 'left behind' voters who are "*older, working-class, white voters who lack the educational qualifications, incomes and skills that are needed to adapt and thrive amid a modern post-industrial economy.*" (Ford, Goodwin. 2014: 278). Secondly, they argue that these 'left-behind' voters have different attitudes towards social and cultural issues due to the generational differences. These issues have mainly been identified as immigration, national identity, rights for same-sex couples, Europe and ethnic diversity. Due to their views on these topics, this group of voters have been seen as intolerant by the younger generations who are mainly university educated, more liberal and more financially secure (Ford, Goodwin. 2014: 279). The idea of the former voters of the Conservative party starting to support UKIP was briefly mentioned earlier. Ford and Goodwin approach this differently and argue that the people with not many qualifications and lower income used to vote for Labour back in the 1980s and 1990s but after losing faith in Labour in the 2000s, they refused to vote for Labour or Conservatives as they did not feel like their interests were being represented. This is where the considerably more radical UKIP stepped in and offered these 'left-behind' voters an option to participate in politics again (Ford, Goodwin. 2014: 280).

4. Research

4.1. Coding

MAXQDA program was used to code documents. A paragraph was chosen as the coding unit for the manifestos as each bullet point within the manifestos represented an idea of the party. After coding, the manifestos were analysed both year-by-year and as a whole to detect changes within the 5 year time frame. Open coding was used to code the manifestos, meaning that the information given in the manifestos was the base of the code system created and no external theoretical background was used to create the criteria by which the manifesto was then analysed. Open coding was used in order to comprehend the ideas expressed in the manifestos without basing the judgement on someone else's previous opinions. Open coding allows the author to build up their own understanding of the topic and base the analysis purely on the documents.

The speeches were also coded using MAXQDA but the coding unit was changed from a paragraph to a sentence. This decision was made in order to be more thorough and not miss out on any information due to a paragraph in the speech being longer than that of a manifesto. The coding system of the manifestos was carried over to the speeches. In order to analyse the speeches, two categories were created and a total of over 50 speeches from 2010 to 2015 were investigated separately. These two categories were – Farage’s speeches at the European Parliament and Farage’s speeches and interviews outside the European Parliament. Speeches at the European Parliament were obtained from the website of the European Parliament. These speeches are official transcripts of the European Parliament sessions. Mentions of different subjects in the speeches were measured on a yearly basis. The speeches he delivered in the UK had to be analysed differently compared to the ones at the European Parliament due to a wider range of topics. It was possible to find Farage’s speeches from UKIPs party conferences from each year. These speeches covered UKIPs main issues. In addition to the speeches at party conferences, different interviews were also analysed.

4.2. UKIP Manifesto 2010

The first relevant UKIP manifesto for this project originates from April 2010, a month before the 2010 general election. It could clearly be seen that the main focus of UKIP in 2010 was on separating from the EU. Immigration received a big amount of attention as well as supporting British companies and using British resources. Distancing themselves from the ruling Labour party was also important for UKIP. Already in the foreword it was well established that leaving the EU would be the main topic. UKIP expressed their disappointment with the over-regulation by the EU and counter the claims of ‘Europhile propagandists’ by saying that the EU needs Britain more than Britain needs them. UKIP tend to think the EU directives and regulations interfere with the British laws and make the current government unable to control Britain by themselves. In the 2010 manifesto, UKIP find that by leaving the EU, Britain will gain more freedom. They have named three types of freedom.

- Freedom of Action
- Freedom of Resources
- Freedom of the People

These categorisations could be seen throughout the document and whenever a reason for leaving the EU was mentioned, it would fit under one of those categories. Freedom

of resources was the reason that was referenced most commonly, leaving the impression of the EU membership being a burden for the UK. According to UKIP, the UK's contribution in the EU is too big and due to this, every other member but UK herself benefits from their membership. Breaking free from the EU was mentioned throughout the manifesto and it was seen as a solution to most of the problems UK have.

Putting a stop to mass immigration was another recurring idea within the manifesto. Three main forms of immigration were identified.

- Illegal immigration
- EU immigration
- Asylum seekers

The general idea was to limit all of the above but have zero tolerance towards illegal immigration. The ideas about limiting immigration strongly link with Britain's exit from the EU as once again Britain's EU membership is seen as the reason why the control over UK's borders had been lost. The topic of benefits was also strongly linked with immigration as were strongly against offering help to non-UK citizens. Perhaps the most controversial statement in the 2010 manifesto was the idea to *"Tackle extremist Islam by banning the burqa or veiled niqab in public buildings and certain private buildings."* (UKIP 2014: 14) This was seen to be something that divides Britain and drives the people apart.

Supporting everything British was also one of UKIP's most important targets in the 2010 manifesto as the general idea was replacing the EU products with British own products, therefore helping the British economy and distancing Britain from the UK. In addition to the ideas mentioned, increasing defence spending and promoting patriotism were some of the key points in the 2010 manifesto. To conclude the 2010 manifesto, UKIP clearly enforced its Eurosceptic image and saw leaving the EU as a solution to most of UK's problems.

4.3. UKIP Manifesto 2014

This particular manifesto was created for the 2014 European Parliament election. UKIP enforced its Eurosceptic image even further as the campaign was once again built on leaving the EU for good. Two main ideas could be taken from this manifesto:

- Leaving the EU
- Immigration

Many of the topics that were important for UKIP in the 2010 general elections were also present in the 2014 manifesto with the focus remaining similar to previous years. Finances and taking back the control over UK from Brussels could be seen as two of the biggest reasons for leaving the EU. Interestingly, the 2014 manifesto had a side to it that was not as visible in 2010 – slogans were a vital part of the manifesto. The ideas about immigration concentrated on the EU itself and did not deal with immigrants from outside the EU. Contrary to 2010 when illegal immigration from outside the EU had a significant role in the manifesto. In 2014, immigrants from the poorer European countries were problematic as the country, in UKIP's opinion had lost control of the borders. Supporting British companies was once again an important part of the manifesto as UKIP claimed that the smaller British companies would benefit hugely if UK decided to leave the EU.

4.4. UKIP Manifesto 2015

The manifesto created for the 2015 general elections introduced a whole new level of detail. The 76-page document covered roughly the same topics as in previous manifestos but in much more depth. The main focus was still on leaving the EU and the potential benefits Britain could gain from leaving. For the first time, UKIP also published a concrete plan for the planned exit. Comparing the 2015 manifesto with earlier ones, UKIP had made a step forward in terms of introducing actual figures to show how much money leaving the EU would save for the country as a whole.

Compared to earlier manifestos, the number of slogans seems to be on its way up. In the 2015 manifesto, there are some new topics that had not had as much coverage in the previous years. For example, UKIP wanted to bring change to the British tax system. Changing the way Britain is governed seems to be one of the focal points as well. UKIP wanted to reduce the number of MPs and make Westminster function more efficiently as a whole. Another very important idea in the manifesto was about changing the electoral system. UKIP proposed switching the 'first past the post' system to a proportional electoral system which would represent the opinion of the people better. It could be argued that UKIP might have their own interest in changing the system. From 2010 onwards, the number of votes they have received has been on its way up but due to the current system they have not been successful at the British

elections. Criticising the way Labour, Liberal Democrats and Conservatives have governed the UK, had an even bigger role in the 2015 UKIPs manifesto than in previous years.

“Years of mismanagement by Labour and Conservative governments have left our public finances in a mess. The public sector deficit in 2014/15 is expected to be around £90 billion and our national debt close to £1.5 trillion, £500 billion more than it was when David Cameron took over in 2010” (UKIP, 2015: 8).

Criticism towards the other parties and leaving the EU were the two themes that ran throughout the whole manifesto and were used as an introduction to different topics in order to clearly indicate what kind of change UKIP would bring along.

The topic of immigration did not go untouched in the 2015 manifesto. This time, the main focus was on the financial side of immigration and the cost of having immigrants in the UK. The opinion of UKIP is that immigrants are a burden for the social services of the country. One of the more specific examples was the so-called ‘health tourism’ where the foreign nationals travel to the UK and use ‘UK taxpayer’s money’ in order to seek good quality medical care that will cost them nothing. UKIP also classified those people under the ‘health tourist’ label: who live in the UK but do not qualify for free care; illegal immigrants and those who overstay their visas.

Especially in the 2010 manifesto, one of UKIP’s most important ideas was to support British companies and give more power to local authorities. They have carried these ideas over to the 2015 manifesto as well. According to the manifesto, giving the competitive edge to local companies and protecting them from bigger corporations would be the result of Britain’s exit from the EU and it remains as one of the big arguments for Britain’s separation.

In 2010, UKIP seemed to want to break all ties with the EU. For the 2015 manifesto, this has been revised and trading with the EU after Britain’s exit is included in the future plans. However, the majority of UK trading should still be done with the rest of the world rather than the EU according to UKIP. Trade agreements with countries outside the EU seem to be extremely important for UKIP. They also try to overturn the claims about the UK carrying huge losses should Britain’s exit from the EU become reality.

Similarly to earlier years, especially 2010, UKIP have strongly opposed multiculturalism.

2010 – *“UKIP believes in civic nationalism, which is open and inclusive to anyone who wishes to identify with Britain, regardless of ethnic or religious background. We reject the “blood and soil” ethnic nationalism of extremist parties. UKIP opposes multiculturalism and political correctness, and promotes uniculturalism - aiming to create a single British culture embracing all races and religions” (UKIP, 2010:13)*

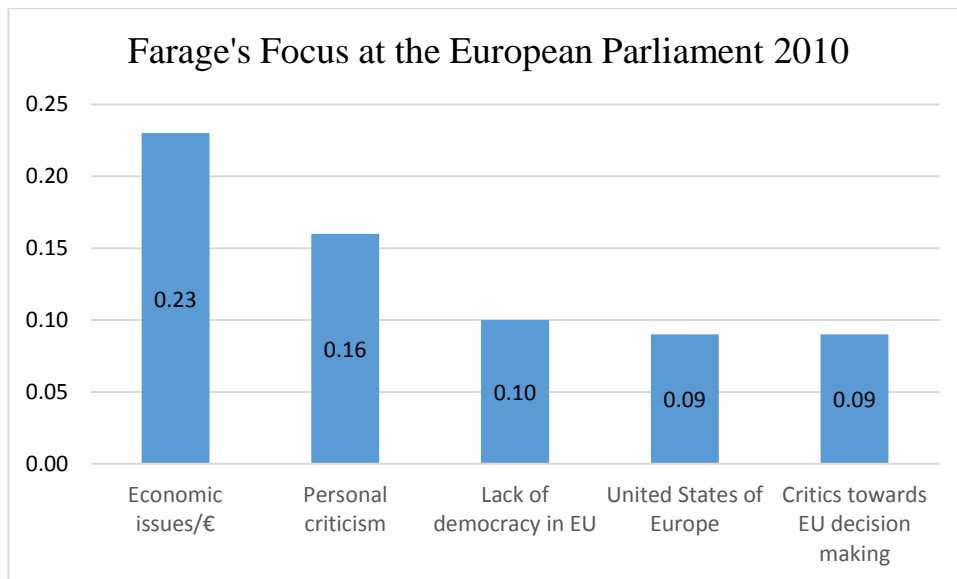
2015 – *“We reject multiculturalism, the doctrine whereby different ethnic and religious groups are encouraged to maintain all aspects of their cultures instead of integrating into our majority culture, even if some of their values and customs conflict with British ones. We believe multiculturalism has led to an alarming fragmentation of British society.” (UKIP 2015:61)*

The main difference here is the way UKIP explain their views towards things associated with multiculturalism. From these short passages, it can be seen that in 2010 UKIP opposed extremist views towards immigrants and took the side of foreigners who wanted to live in Britain and identify with Britain. In 2015, the main idea is similar – no multiculturalism and an opportunity for those who see themselves as British. However, by 2015 according to UKIP, multiculturalism has already done enough damage and fragmented the society which is then used to argue against it.

4.5. Speeches of Nigel Farage

4.6. European Parliament 2010

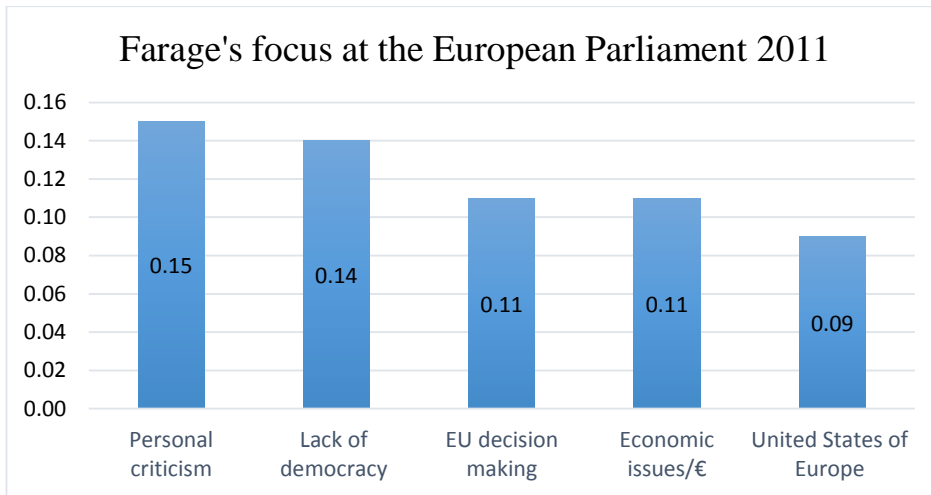
It can be seen from Nigel Farage’s speeches at the European Parliament in 2010 that the topics he approached were fairly evenly shared. Big emphasis was on personal criticism towards high EU-officials. It could even be said that every Farage’s speech involved a personal attack or a sarcastic comment towards other members of the European Parliament. Apart from personal criticism, Farage’s focus was on the euro and the economic problems of the EU. On numerous occasions, Farage also criticised the nature of the EU and the fact that too often, the EU gets involved in the politics of the member states and influences the governments. Farage even went as far as comparing the EU with the Soviet Union. Besides criticising the nature of the EU, the decision making of the EU received its fair share of criticism as well as Farage was not impressed with the lack of democracy within the Union. It could be concluded that in 2010, Farage’s focus in Europe was on economy and the Eurozone.



(Figure 2.1 Farage's focus at the European Parliament 2010)

4.7. European Parliament 2011

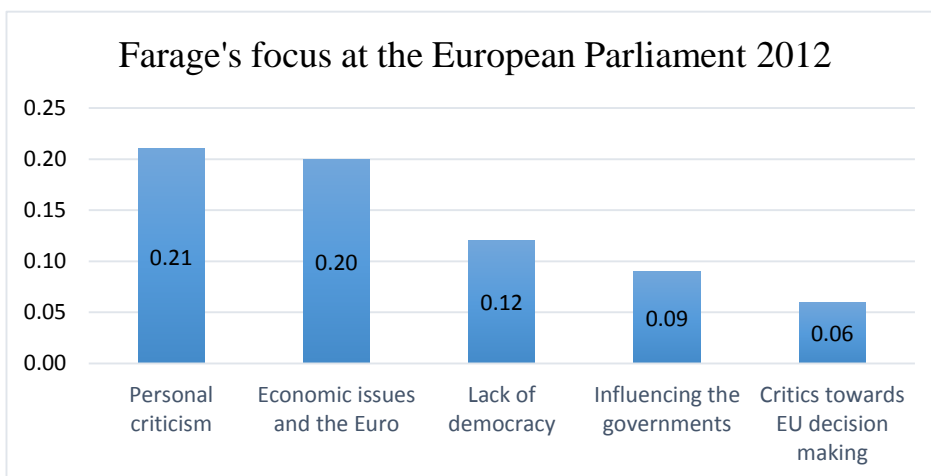
The speeches of 2011 showed some changes compared to 2010 as the Farage's focus in Europe seemed to be on the lack of democracy in the EU. The decision making of the EU also received more criticism by Farage than it did in 2010. A topic related to the EU decision making that Farage also addressed was the rise of extremism in the member states due to the laws and decisions coming from Brussels and people feeling like the power has been taken away from nation states. Personal criticism towards the EU officials was once again an important part of Farage's speeches. Immigration to the UK from within the EU was an issue Farage started addressing in the European Parliament in 2011. In 2010, Farage did not turn a lot of attention on this topic. Farage concentrated on immigration from the poorer EU countries and was against the expansion of the EU. As it can be seen from graph 3, the topics were very evenly shared and no topic is particularly outstanding in 2011.



(Figure 2.2. *Farage's focus at the European Parliament 2011*)

4.8. European Parliament 2012

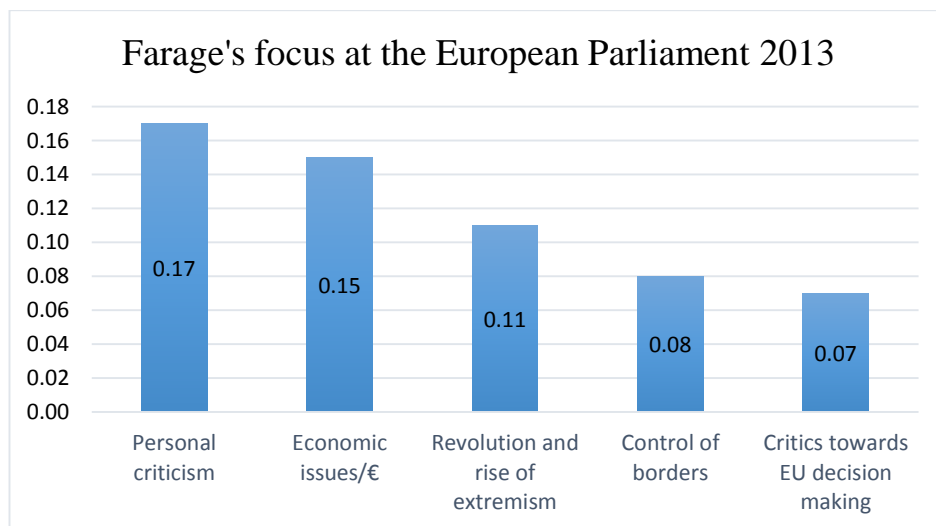
Again in 2012, personal criticism could be seen very often in Farage's speeches. Apart from personal criticism, three topics emerged as the most common ones. These topics were lack of democracy within the EU, problems with the Eurozone and the issue of the EU influencing the governments. All of these topics had also been important in years before. In 2012, Farage also developed ideas about the actions of the EU being the cause of democratic revolutions within Europe. In addition to democratic revolutions in Europe, he also pointed out that the actions of the EU will lead to the emergence of radical movements. Compared to 2011, Farage turned less attention on the topic of immigration. However, as a new trend it can be seen that besides the EU officials, Farage started personally criticising UK Prime Minister David Cameron. Criticism of Cameron played a significant part in Farage's speeches at the European Parliament throughout 2012.



(Figure 2.3. *Farage's focus at the European Parliament 2012*)

4.9. European Parliament 2013

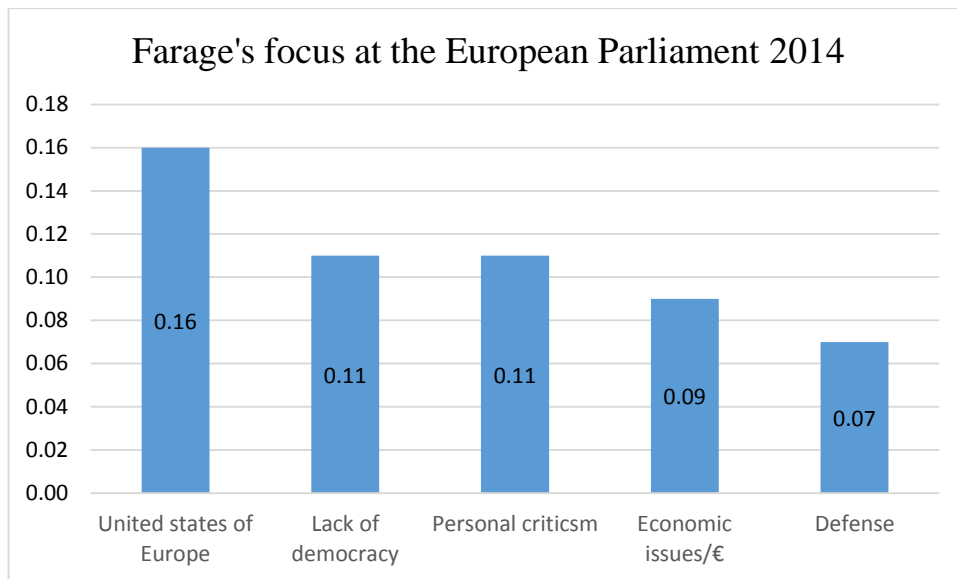
In 2013, Farage's main focus was on the problems with the Euro which received the most mentions. Personal criticism was still a very important part of Farage's speeches and similarly to 2012, David Cameron also received his fair share of the criticism. 2013 could be seen as the year when Farage started addressing the problem of immigration more strongly in the European Parliament. Farage also talks about immigrant crime in relation to immigration. He presents numbers blaming the Romanian immigrants for being responsible for the majority of ATM-crime. The topic of terrorism and the safety of Britain was also mentioned. Main focus of 2013 was on personally criticising other European Parliament members with the familiar topic of economic issues also on an important position.



(Figure 2.4. Farage's focus at the European Parliament 2013)

4.10. European Parliament 2014

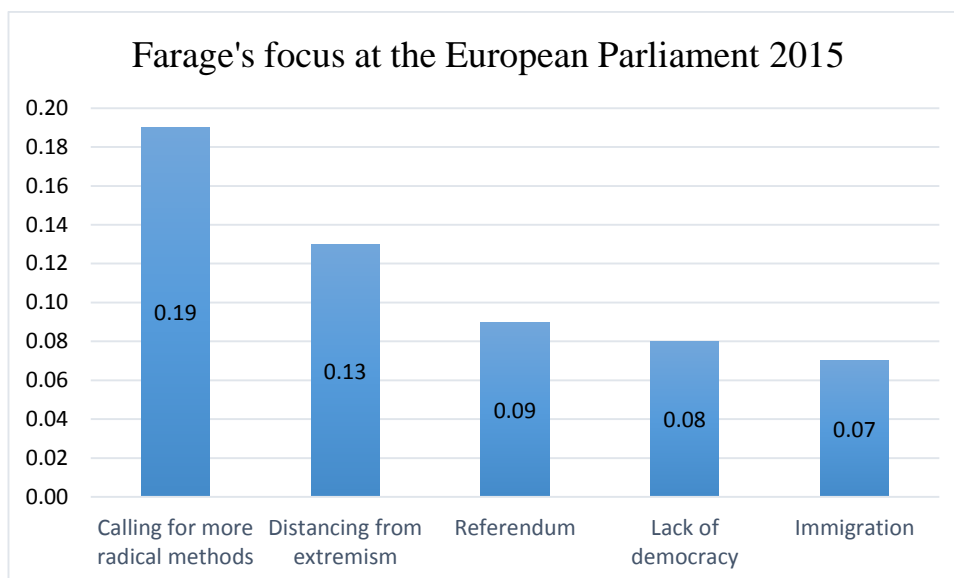
2014 could be seen as a different year as Farage's main focus shifted away from the Eurozone and economic issues. Even a decrease in the number of times when Farage personally criticised someone could be seen. Instead, his main issue throughout the year was the idea of the 'United States of Europe' where all decisions are made in Brussels, which eventually would take the power away from member states. Related to this, mentions of lack of democracy, the imperial ambitions of the EU and criticism towards the decision making were important issues for Farage. Interestingly, Farage also points towards a lack of democracy in the UK in 2014. Similarly to 2013, immigration as a whole also remained an issue. Mentions of national defence could also be seen in relation to terrorism.



(Figure 2.5. *Farage's focus at the European Parliament 2014*)

4.11. European Parliament 2015

2015 was the year where the main issue – immigration, could be seen very clearly. This can naturally be related to the migrant crisis the EU had to face. Mentions of illegal immigration and terrorism have been very popular in Farage's speeches. In relation to the migrant crisis, Farage blamed the EU for lack of democracy as there were talks about dividing the refugees between member states. While the mentions of personal criticism remained as low as they were in 2014, Cameron, on the other hand received more criticism than the year before. This could be related to the general election of 2015. A new topic that Farage had not mentioned as often in earlier years was the referendum for Britain's exit from the EU which was a common part of his speeches in 2015. The economic issues of the EU were also mentioned often, mainly related to the crisis of Greece. Due to the situation in Greece, Farage also criticised the EU for taking away the freedom of resources from its member states. However, it could be seen that compared to previous years, Farage made more proposals in order to improve the future of Europe. This was different from previous years when his main focus was on personal criticism and generally being against the EU.



(Figure 2.6. Farage's focus at the European Parliament 2015)

4.12. Farage in Britain and outside of the European Parliament

Significant differences could be seen between Nigel Farage's speeches at the European Parliament and in Britain. The reason behind those differences was mainly the format of the speeches as in Europe he had to be more formal and still in some way focused to the topic of discussion. However, in Britain, he could lead the speeches and interviews in the most suitable direction for him. For example, his speeches at the UKIP party conferences were significantly longer than the ones he delivered in Europe. In addition to being longer, the speeches at party conferences had to cover a wide range of topics as the main idea of these speeches was to explain the direction in which UKIP were going. Therefore, Farage's speeches in Britain could be significantly more valuable in terms of this specific study. The method of analysing the speeches in Britain was the same as it was for the speeches in Europe, however thanks to the length of the speeches and the ideas covered, the speeches in Britain were much more informative.

4.13. Farage in Britain 2010

In 2010, the stand-out theme in Farage's speeches was opposing other British parties. The way Farage addressed the Conservatives, Labour and Liberal Democrats could be seen as similar to how he addressed the leading politicians in Europe as the comments made were extremely critical, even on a personal level. This left the impression that Farage was challenging the leaders of other major parties by making

comments they could not ignore. An important idea to notice from 2010 was how Farage tried to distance UKIP from the more radical powers in British politics such as the BNP. At the UKIP party conference, he suggested that UKIP has the power to put BNP out of business and referred to it as a good thing. This could be seen as UKIP distancing themselves from the right wing extremists. In an interview to BBC, Farage also condemned the words of a UKIP candidate who had come up with some extremely politically incorrect statements. Another sign of an attempt to improve UKIP's reputation and distancing the party from extremism was Farage's positive comment about work permits and movement within the EU. He accepted the idea on a 'sensible level' but very strongly opposed the idea of immigration as a whole. Some new trends emerged from Farage's speeches in Britain that could not be seen in his speeches in Europe. For example, in Europe, Farage did not use many slogans in his speeches. In Britain, the number of slogans used was considerably higher. In his speeches in Britain, he also used the opportunity to praise the latest achievements of UKIP. There were a few references to patriotism and calls for changes at Westminster. In Europe, Farage did not turn much attention on the topic of a referendum. In Britain, however, he pointed out the need for a referendum on numerous occasions and also accused the reigning parties in lack of democracy for not allowing the people to make the decisions.

4.14. Farage in Britain 2011

Opposing other British parties was once again the standing out theme in Farage's speeches in 2011 with the party leader openly declaring it UKIP's objective to be the 3rd biggest party in the UK. In many ways, the speeches in 2010 were very similar to the ones of 2010. Farage used every opportunity to point out the recent achievements of UKIP, slogans were also common in his speeches. The topics approached were wider than in 2010. It could be said that defence spending was a new topic compared to 2010. Although the EU was once again the focus of Farage's speeches, other parties and politicians also received a fair share of criticism. Immigration was also often discussed in 2011. Especially immigration from the poorer EU countries.

4.15. Farage in Britain 2012

In 2012, Farage's focus was very much on the topic of the EU once again. More precisely, he addressed the problems of the Eurozone and in relation to this, also tried to pass on the idea about Britain getting back control over their own resources once

they leave the EU. In addition to the financial issues and problems with the Euro that Farage brought up, the decision making and lack of democracy within the EU was a significant part of Farage's speeches in 2012 as well. The pattern and topics covered by Farage in his speeches in Britain in 2012, were very similar to the issues he raised at the European Parliament. In 2012, he was also outspoken about the possibility of the emergence of extremist movements in EU member states due to the lack of transparency in the decision making and the oppressive nature of the EU laws. This topic was raised by Farage both in the European Parliament and at the UKIP party conference. Naturally, opposing the other parties and personally addressed attacks towards the leaders of other major British parties were very common in Farage's speeches once again in 2012. Interestingly, his 2012 party conference speech also involved personal criticism towards leading EU politicians. This had previously mainly been a part of his speeches in Europe but not in the UK.

4.16. Farage in Britain 2013

In 2013, Farage's focus on two topics was clear. These two issues were the EU and immigration. The idea of a referendum about Britain's EU membership played a role in Farage's speeches similarly to previous years with the number of times a referendum was mentioned also not much different from the figures of 2011 and 2012. Farage approached the issue of immigration in a different way in 2013. The approach could be seen as more powerful than in previous years. It could be said that Farage started to talk about immigration as the source of problems in Britain, there were numerous mentions of immigrant crime and immigrants being a burden to the British society. It should be pointed out that a lot of Farage's immigration talk concentrated on the negative effect of immigration in general, without addressing a special type of immigration, such as illegal immigration or immigration from other EU member states. Interestingly, less personal criticism and opposing the major parties could be seen in 2013 compared to earlier years. However, more slogans could be seen in Farage's speeches than in 2011 and 2012. Pointing out the recent achievements of UKIP still had an important role.

4.17. Farage in Britain 2014

In the UKIP spring and autumn conferences, Farage openly distanced UKIP from being close to the Conservatives and from the image of UKIP being a protest vote

against the mainstream parties. The spring conference saw Farage pointing out open-door immigration as the issue that will define the European Parliament elections of 2014. Farage also concentrated on the importance of speaking the truth and opposed the exaggerated political correctness of the opposing parties that has a very harmful effect on Britain. In the autumn conference, Farage claimed that the party's focus is broadening ahead of the 2015 general election. He strongly criticised the decisions that Cameron's government had made in recent years, especially from the foreign policy point of view and connected these thoughts with a higher danger of terrorism due to the decisions made by Britain. Farage openly spoke out about his concerns with the radicalisation of Islam in Britain and called it a problem. However, he pointed out that UKIP are still not against Islam but they are against multiculturalism. Some of the most important points to be taken from the 2014 spring and autumn party conference speeches were opposing to other parties, taking back control over the border and fighting the lack of democracy in the UK and EU. Using different kind of slogans was more important in 2014 than it had been in previous years. These slogans were mostly built on UKIP's recent achievements.

4.18. Farage in Britain 2015

2015 was the year of general election where UKIP achieved one seat at Westminster. Farage focused on the question of the EU referendum as it was confirmed that a referendum will take place in 2016. Giving the people of Britain a referendum on EU membership was one of Cameron's promises before the general election. Similarly to previous years, Farage's focus was relatively broad but some main themes emerged. Farage continued to use slogans in his speeches. Opposing other British parties was another method he used a lot, in addition to this, David Cameron received criticism and his name was mentioned by Farage in relation to a lack of democracy in Britain. It could be noted that the number of times that financial issues of the EU were mentioned, was lower compared to some of the earlier years. This is surprising in many ways as Europe was in the middle of the Greek financial crisis. Immigration and the ongoing migrant crisis were also major issues according to Farage, he blamed the European and leading British politicians for their poor judgement during the migrant crisis which had allowed the situation to escalate.

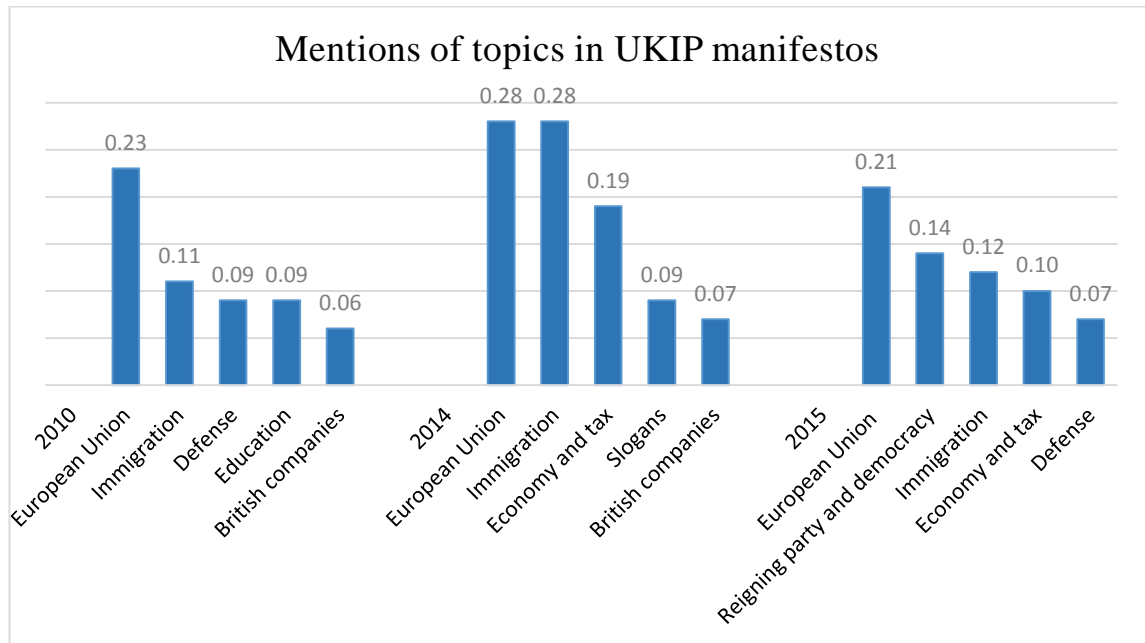
5. Analysis

Firstly, some major differences should be pointed out between Farage's speeches in Europe and in the UK. The most obvious difference is the choice of topics as Farage changed his focus according to the audience he was addressing. As mentioned earlier in the study, Farage's speeches in the UK proved to be much more informative and offer a wider variety of ideas as the party leader could decide himself what kind of points he would like to make with a specific speech and who to address. Whereas in Europe, his speeches had a time limit and Farage would have to follow the general discussion, even though his speeches were often rants rather than a serious contribution to the discussion. Farage can be described by a very distinctive, outspoken style of public speaking. Even though the speeches are delivered in an emotional manner, they are also well structured.

The public image of Farage and UKIP has always been extreme. The media portrays UKIP as a racist and politically incorrect party. After carefully studying the speeches of Farage, finding racism seems to be the question of each individual person's viewpoint. The British media, known to have its spheres of interest, seems to be looking at UKIP and Farage as racists. Looking at these speeches, it could be said that there are statements that are close to being racist, there are many controversial statements that for some, exceed the limit of good taste and there are statements that many parts of the current British multicultural society do not like. UKIP's views are more radical compared to Labour and Conservatives and this could be where this controversy surrounding UKIP could be coming from as the British society is not used to having a major political force that is as radical compared to the traditional Labour and Conservative parties and therefore a non-mainstream political statement is looked upon differently. It could be argued that the extent of how racist or radical UKIP is, should be measured using other methods than the speeches of the party chairman. The regular members of UKIP have made racist statements, following which, the party has had to distance themselves from these members and even expel some of them. It can be said that some members of UKIP are openly racist and that the party often attracts people with racist views. It is questionable whether the party itself could be seen as racist as the leading politicians, including Farage openly distance the party from racism and extremism. Therefore, it could be argued that according to its principles, the party is not racist but it contains racist elements. The reasons behind this could be different,

but most likely UKIP is seen by certain members as a bigger political party than any other that is further right on the UK political spectrum. Due to UKIP being the biggest anti-immigration and Eurosceptic party, in many ways it presents a better opportunity for those who would otherwise be members of a more radical party as being part of UKIP, there is a bigger chance for their voice to be heard.

5.1. Manifestos



(Figure 3.1. UKIP manifestos 2010, 2014, 2015.)

This graph concentrates on the UKIP manifestos, five most mentioned topics were picked out from each year and then compared. The figures here are shown in percentages as the length of manifestos differed a lot and simply comparing figures would not give a very good overview. This graph shows the mentions of the most important topics and how big of a part of the overall mentions a certain topic forms. These figures show very clearly that the most important issue for UKIP throughout the years has been the EU. It is also the only topic that has constantly covered more than 20% of every manifesto. While analysing the manifestos, an interesting discovery was made – even though the EU is the main topic in each of these manifestos, it was always a different side of the EU that attracted the most attention. For example, in 2010 the focus was on the economic side of Britain’s EU membership. ‘Freedom of resources’ was established as the most important subtopic of the EU. In 2014, the main EU subtopic had shifted from freedom of resources to immigration from within the Union.

The graph also demonstrates the importance of the topic of immigration in 2014 as these two topics combined covered 56% of the whole manifesto, clearly pointing out the central themes. It has to be said that the 2014 manifesto was shorter than the other two and since it was published for the European Parliament election that UKIP ended up winning, it had a more narrow focus. Therefore, it is not surprising that the two most important issues for UKIP that are both strongly related to the EU, are the most important parts of this manifesto. In 2015, the most important subtopic of both EU and immigration was the cost of immigration from within the EU. More precisely, UKIP argued that EU membership and open door immigration are a huge burden to the British social system as people from poorer countries come to UK for ‘health tourism’ and other benefits. Based on these three manifestos, it could be said that even though the main focus is always on the EU, UKIP looks at different aspects of the topic of the EU – in 2010 it was the freedom of resources, in 2014 immigration from within the EU and in 2015, the economic damage caused to Britain by the immigrants. Therefore, the approaches towards EU in 2010 and 2015 were somewhat related to each other as both concentrated on the financial side. Similarly, 2014 and 2015 had a connection, as both focused on different sides of immigration within the EU.

The economy and reforming the tax system seem to be gaining importance in 2014 and 2015. In the detailed 2015 manifesto, a vast number of changes were proposed by UKIP in order to make the tax system friendlier towards a common Briton. These ideas are closely related to the theory by Ford and Goodwin about ‘left behind’ voters being important to UKIP that was discussed earlier in this study. Reforming the tax system can be seen as addressing that group of ‘left behind’ voters. As mentioned earlier, the theme of economy is vital in the 2010 manifesto as well, mostly in relation to the EU. It is interesting to see that the idea of helping small or medium sized British companies by giving them a competitive edge over their big European rivals has been present to a relatively big extent in 2010 and 2014. However, in 2015 it was not one of the five most important ideas of UKIP. It could be that due to a more detailed manifesto than ever before, this topic just got lost between other ideas. This 76-page manifesto involved many new topics and during the analysis it became clear that a wide variety of issues were mentioned in a short paragraph in order to cover more material. British companies and resources were one of these themes. It is not visible on the graph in 2015 but this topic composed a mere 3.7% of the total mentions. It can be argued that

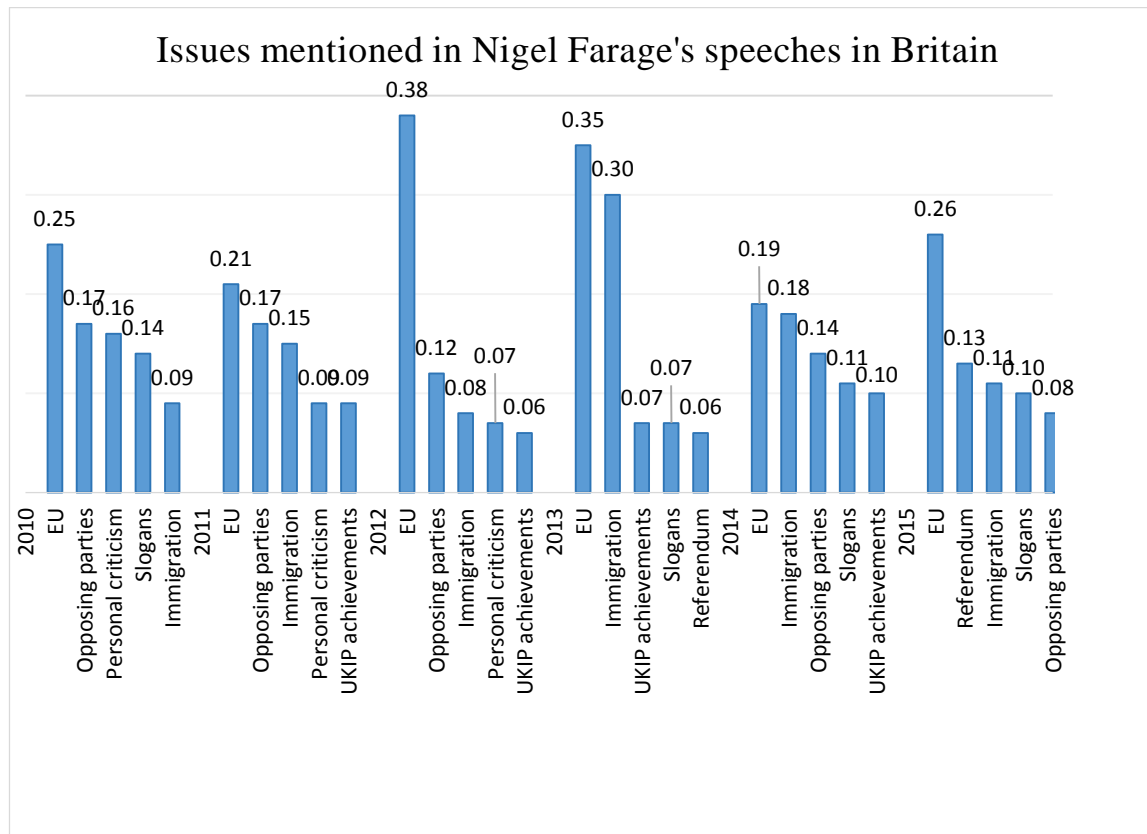
it got lost among other topics due to the wider focus of the manifesto or that this topic has actually lost its importance in the eyes of UKIP. Based on these data, it would be incorrect to draw a conclusion.

Years 2014 and 2015 could show another new trend. It can be seen from the graph that slogans formed 9% of the manifesto in 2014 and opposing a ruling party formed 14% of the 2015 manifesto. This could be pointing to higher levels of populism. According to Mudde's definition of populism that was explained earlier in the study, populism is an ideology that opposes two groups – 'the pure people' vs the 'corrupt elite' (Mudde 2007: 23). Opposing the governing party in UKIP's context is criticising the decisions made by the comfortable and non-democratic elite politicians who do not have a proper vision for the direction Britain should be moving. After criticising the decisions made, possible changes are pointed out which UKIP would enforce if people would give them the power to do so. This seems like a way to distance the party from the elite and offer an alternative and enforcing the image of UKIP being something new and completely different from the two big parties in Britain. The rising numbers of slogans and criticism towards other forces in British politics could show that UKIP are going in the direction of being more populist. In 2010, critics towards the ruling party formed just under 6% of the manifesto. In 2014, the criticism was aimed at the leading European politicians and formed 6% of the manifesto. The figures of 2015 can be seen on the graph and they show that 16% of the manifesto was about criticising the other parties and the lack of democracy that they cause. This shows a considerable rise in the figures that could be related to populism. It is important to note that these percentages are based on just the manifestos which can be seen as official documents. This was the exact reason why speeches were also analysed besides manifestos in this study as they offer a more informal view and therefore an alternative to the official documents.

5.2. Speeches

In order to get a better overview of the issues Farage addressed, the subtopics under EU were all merged under the common EU theme when analysing Farage's speeches outside the European Parliament. Due to the dominance of this topic, it was necessary to do so as otherwise a lot of the issues within the UK would have been difficult to analyse as the graphs would have only shown the various subtopics under the EU

which would have had too much influence. These subtopics were analysed earlier in the study, in the research chapter.



(Figure 4.1. Nigel Farage's speeches in Great Britain 2010-2015.)

Looking at the figures presented on this graph, it is once again clear that the main issue is Britain's membership of the EU, which has made up at least 19% of the content of Farage's speeches in each year. These figures are very similar in both manifestos and speeches. From 2010 to 2012, opposing other British parties had the second most important role after the topic of the EU. However, it seems that opposing other parties has been less frequent in the following years. This topic seems to have been left on the background due to the rise of the topic of immigration. It could be argued that the reason behind the rise of the topic of immigration is related to the discussion started in April 2013 when Austria, Germany, The Netherlands and UK called on the EU to make it more difficult for citizens of member states to claim benefits in other countries who are part of the EU (European Union, 2013). These countries felt like too many people from poorer EU member states were coming to the wealthier countries in order to claim benefits and without an intention to work. It could be argued that this was a

step taken in order to prevent problems before the restrictions of free movement would be lifted from Romania and Bulgaria in 2014. The Romanian and Bulgarian issues were often mentioned in Farage's speeches. These speeches involved some controversial statements that the general public did not take very well due to their discriminating and borderline racist nature, for example Farage blamed the Romanian nationals for the majority of ATM-crime in Britain. Immigration was one issue that was among the top five most common topics for Farage every year from 2010 to 2015. 2010 was perhaps the year when it was not mentioned as often as Farage's focus was mainly on the economic issues of the EU and the common currency. In 2013 and 2014, immigration was the second most common topic for Farage behind the EU, however these two have very strong ties as the focus of the immigration discussion of Farage was more on the movement inside the EU rather than illegal immigration. Illegal immigration became a more common theme in 2015 due to the migrant crisis. Despite the big-scale migrant crisis, it was only the third most common topic in 2015 as the general election also took place in 2015. Twice in relation to big events affecting Britain, it could be seen that Farage called for more radical methods to be used. One of these were the London riots of 2011 where in his opinion, the army should have joined in order to end the public unrest immediately. The second event was that refugee crisis of 2015.

One topic that gained more attention as the years went on was a possible referendum on British membership of the EU. Farage did not talk about a referendum much at the European Parliament until 2015 when a referendum had already been confirmed. However, it was always present in his speeches within the EU. It could be said that the referendum was always in the picture from 2010 to 2014 and went up vastly in 2015. Due to the general election of 2015, Britain's referendum on EU membership received more attention from Farage than before. It had a role to play in the 2015 party manifesto but more importantly, having a referendum was one of David Cameron's promises ahead of the general election. After the Conservatives won the general election, Farage made sure to put more emphasis on the topic as a way to put pressure on Cameron to fulfil his promise.

There were three characteristics that could only be seen in Farage's speeches in the UK – slogans, pointing out the achievements of UKIP and opposing other major British parties. These characteristics are directly related to the audience and the

different purpose of the party conference speeches compared to the ones at the European Parliament.

A common characteristic of Farage's speeches both in Europe and in Britain was the personal criticism he used. In Europe, this criticism was mainly directed towards influential European politicians. From 2012 onwards, Cameron was criticised both in Europe and to an ever bigger extent in Farage's speeches in Britain. It could be said that Farage's speeches in Britain were often built on discrediting the other major British parties and personally attacking their leaders. It could be noted that there were specific reasons for attacking different parties. The Conservatives and Cameron were mostly blamed for corruption and dividing the society. Labour were criticised for being too liberal and Liberal Democrats for not even knowing what they stand for. Farage claimed that neither of these parties has its own face and that there is no difference who gets elected. This is where the idea of UKIP as an alternative force came in. Farage tried to point out as many differences between UKIP and the major parties as possible in order to emphasise what kind of difference UKIP would make. However, Farage distances UKIP from the image of being a 'protest vote' and instead wants the voters to look at UKIP as an alternative.

5.3. Theory and UKIP

Some conclusions can be drawn based on the existing theory that was looked at earlier in the study and the empirical research. Firstly, it could be argued that the theory of Usherwood (2008: 256) about UKIP being a single-issue party could have been true in 2008 but it cannot be confirmed in 2016. While the EU remains UKIP's main focus, it cannot be seen as the only topic they address. Immigration, national defence, economy and lack of democracy can all be seen as issues that UKIP also address. Therefore, it could be said that UKIP are an anti-immigrant, Eurosceptic party. Evaluating the theory of Eatwell (1989) about different natures of right wing politics, UKIP fits under the category of radical right. Meaning that the ideas of the party are close to conservatism. Moving on from Eatwell's theory and looking at what Mudde (2007) has said, it can be established that UKIP fit under the populist radical right party family as notions of nativism, authoritarianism and populism can all be detected in the manifestos and speeches that were analysed in the study. They are populist as a big part of their agenda is about opposing the 'elite' and they see themselves as the representative of the opposite group who fight against that corrupt

elite. Nativism can be seen as they protect everything British with patriotism playing a role in their main ideas. As authoritarianism does not mean anti-democratic but rather a belief in order in society, UKIP also can be seen authoritarian as they oppose the more liberal approach and demand stricter laws within the society which also include stricter punishments for serious crimes.

6. Conclusion

Now that the speeches and manifestos have been examined in depth, conclusions can be drawn based on the analysis. The objective of this study was to observe how UKIP's focus has changed in the five year period from 2010 to 2015. It can be said that UKIP has clearly moved towards other mainstream parties but still remains firmly on the right side of the political spectrum. UKIP attempts to oppose the Conservative and Labour parties in many ways and present itself as an alternative option.

The shift towards a more mainstream approach could be explained by two major ideas. Firstly, this would attract former voters of the Conservatives who have been disappointed with the way Cameron's party has governed Britain and would like to see Britain leave the EU. This also links with the theories presented earlier in the studies by Tournier-Sol (2015), Usherwood (2008) and Webb and Bale (2014). Tournier-Sol (2015) argues that due to the Conservatives moving even closer towards the centre of the political spectrum, they have left the right wing open and presented an opportunity to UKIP for becoming a major political force (2015: 147). Webb and Bale (2014) argue that due to the similarity of the ideology of the Conservative and populist right wing voters, the mainstream conservative party could start losing votes to the populist right (Webb and Bale, 2014: 962). Usherwood (2008) claims that UKIP could even be seen as the anti-EU faction of the Conservative party (2008: 258). Secondly, the other reason for UKIP's shift towards mainstream politics could be solely down to the fact that the number of voters who would be willing to vote for an extreme right wing party is not big enough to be successful in national elections. This is related to the bridge theory of John and Margetts (2009) who argue that UKIP attract the votes of those who have been voting for the mainstream parties, being also able to relate to the ideas of BNP but are not willing to vote for the BNP as the ideas are still too radical (John and Margetts, 2009: 508).

Based on the empirical research, it seems difficult to agree with the Usherwood (2008) who claims that UKIP are a single-issue party. While it could have been true in 2008 when Usherwood published his research, it is difficult to see UKIP as a single-issue party now. While it is true that Euroscepticism has been the most important part of UKIP's agenda, it could be said that UKIP have dramatically widened its platform and started to address many other topics apart from UK's EU membership, thus gaining popularity amongst a wider range of voters. Immigration and opposing other British parties have been the most widely mentioned issues after the EU. This can especially be seen from the party manifestos where the EU is a dominating issue but by far not the only one worth mentioning. In Farage's speeches, the topic of the EU is more dominant than it is in the manifestos. It can be said that the focus within the topic of EU has changed in these years, moving from the financial freedom of Britain to immigration from within the EU. The approaches towards EU in 2010 and 2015 were somewhat related to each other as both concentrated on the financial side. Similarly, 2014 and 2015 had a connection, as both focused on different sides of immigration within the EU. The manifestos show that UKIP has been moving towards a wider platform where topics other than the EU play a more important role, this can even be seen from the length of the manifestos as the 2010 general election manifesto was a brief overview of the main ideas. The 2015 manifesto was a detailed document that had an in-depth overview of all issues that UKIP wish to address.

One of the most important findings was the high level of populism in Farage's speeches. The manifestos did not include as many populist traits as the speeches. Personal criticism and slogans could both be seen as populist features and these features were present every year from 2010 to 2015. Slogans were less present in Farage's speeches at the European Parliament due to the audience. However, personal criticism was an important part of his speeches both in Europe and Britain. In Europe, it was directed towards leading EU politicians and in Britain mostly towards the prime minister. In both cases, the people addressed were blamed for being corrupt. This fits with the theory of Cas Mudde that sees populism as an ideology that creates two groups and opposes them to one another – the corrupt elite and the pure people (*Mudde 2007: 23*). One of the characteristics of populist right-wing parties that Betz outlined was the tendency to offer a democratic alternative to the current ruling parties (Betz, 1994: 108). This once again speaks in favour of categorising UKIP as a populist party as it

is important for UKIP to be seen different from the other political parties in Britain. According to previous academic work by Mudde (2007), Betz (1994) and Van der Brug and Mughan (2007), UKIP would precisely fit under the category of a populist radical right party. Signs of nativism, authoritarianism and populism can all be seen. In addition to this, Farage has certainly shown himself as a charismatic leader.

While some right wing parties are anti-democratic, this cannot be said about UKIP as calling for more democracy was one of Farage's most important arguments in both Europe and Britain. Criticising the lack of democracy in EU decision making had a major role in his speeches as it was closely tied to the theme of personal criticism. He put emphasis on the fact that some of the EU leaders were not even chosen by regular people. In Britain, talking about lack of democracy was mostly related to the electoral system of the country that does not support smaller parties.

Another objective of this study was to look at UKIP in the context of racism. The media has portrayed UKIP as a racist party. Looking at the speeches of Farage it could be concluded that Farage himself and UKIP have some ideas that the general public do not appreciate. However, these statements can rarely be seen as racist. There are party members who have been openly racist and in order to protect the reputation of UKIP, the party has had to take measures against them. Farage has openly distanced himself and UKIP from racism. Therefore, it could be argued that according to its principles, the party is not racist but it contains racist elements. The reasons behind this could be different, but most likely UKIP is seen by certain members as a bigger political party than any other that is even further right on the UK political spectrum. Due to UKIP being the biggest anti-immigration and Eurosceptic party, in many ways it presents a better opportunity for those who would otherwise be members of a more radical party as being part of UKIP, there is a bigger chance of their voice being heard.

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8. Kokkuvõte

Käesoleva bakalaureusetöö eesmärgiks oli kaardistada Suurbritannia iseseisvuspartei (UKIP) poliitilise fookuse muutust aastatel 2010-2015. UKIPi puhul on tegu Suurbritannia suurima paremäärmusliku erakonnaga. UKIPi võib kategoriseerida Euroskeptilise, populistliku paremäärmusliku erakonnana. Bakalaureusetööl oli kolm tähtsamat eesmärki. Esiteks, jälgida UKIPi poliitilise fookuse muutust. Teiseks, jälgida populistlike tunnuste olemasolu partei valimisprogrammides ja esimehe kõnedes ning jõuda järeldusele, kas UKIPi võib näha populistliku liikumisena. Kolmandaks, uurida kas UKIPi võib kategoriseerida parteina, kellel on vaid üks eesmärk (*single-issue party*) – lahkumine Euroopa Liidust.

Esimene osa tööst keskendus teoreetilisele kirjandusele, selle eesmärgiks oli defineerida vajalikud mõisted ja uurida, kuidas UKIPi varem käsitletud on. Töö teine ja selgelt mahukam osa keskendus partei valimisprogrammide ja esimees Nigel Farage kõnede analüüsile. Kokku analüüsiti 3 valimisprogrammi ja üle 50 kõne ning intervjuu, mis pärinesid põhiliselt Euroopa Parlamendi istungitelt ja UKIPi parteikongressidelt.

Selgus, et UKIPi ei saa enam pidada ühe eesmärgiga parteiks tänu nende fookuse laienemisele viimaste aastate jooksul. Erakonna algseks eesmärgiks oli Suurbritannia eraldumine Euroopa Liidust, nüüdseks on partei fookus märgatavalt laienenud ja kuigi Euroopa Liidust eraldumine on jäänud UKIPi kõige olulisemaks eesmärgiks, siis adresseeritakse ka paljusid teisi teemasid, millest kõige olulisemateks on immigratsioon ning demokraatia puudus või puudulik rakendamine Euroopa Liidus ja Suurbritannias. Kusjuures ka Euroopa Liiduga seotud teemakäsitus on aastate jooksul muutunud, olles 2010. aastal keskendunud Euroopa Liidust lahkumise majanduslikule poolele ning liikudes aastate jooksul niimoodi, et nüüdseks põhiliseks probleemiks on massiline immigratsioon vaesematest Euroopa Liidu riikidest ning surve, mida avatud piirid Suurbritannia sotsiaalsüsteemile panevad. Tööst selgus ka, et UKIPi võib tõepoolest liigitada populistlikuks paremäärmuslikuks erakonnaks. Selle järelduse tegemisel on lähtutud Cas Mudde (2007) teooriast, kus ta identifitseerib kolm tunnust, mis määravad partei kuulumise populistlike paremäärmuslaste hulka. Need tunnused on: nativism, autoritaarsus ja populism. Valimisprogrammide ja kõnede analüüsimisel selgus, et kõik nimetatud tunnused on UKIPi puhul selgelt nähtavad. Võimalik oli ka järeldada, et populismi tunnused sagesid aastate jooksul ning olid nähtaval igal

vaadeldud aastal. Mudde (2007) teoriast lähtuvalt on populism ideoloogia, kus vastanduvad kaks gruppi – korrumpeerunud eliit ja tavainimesed. Seega käsitleti vastandumist teistele parteidele põhilise populismi tunnuseks, sest Farage kõnede üks kõige olulisemaid komponente oli teiste parteide ja nende liidrite kritiseerimine.

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