The UKIP, ''the'' populist party in the UK?

Measuring populism in comparative research: the two content analysis

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Executive Summary

Populist parties have received a great amount of attention in the last decade. Scholars agree on the fact that populism addresses issues that are relevant for the majority. However, the established political elites do not discuss and address these issues clearly. Therefore, populist parties stir up the political agenda and force topics, such as immigration and Euroscepticism, to reface in the national and international debate. One of the most recent notable events is Brexit in the United Kingdom. Right-wing parties, such as the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP), have been held responsible for the occurrence of Brexit. The UKIP has recently risen to the political mainstream - even though still a minority party – in the UK.

The aim of this study was to measure the degree of populism in the UKIP. Therefore, the research question is as follows: ''To what extent can we consider the UKIP to be a populist party?'' This entails a comparative content analysis in which the party manifesto of the UKIP was compared to the party manifestos of the British National Party (BNP) and the Conservative Party. Moreover, the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet were analyzed to determine the political discourse of the party.

The research question was answered by means of the two content analysis methods: the computer-based analysis and the classical content analysis. Pauwels and Rooduijn's (2010) pre-constructed dictionary was used in the computer-based analysis. The dictionary measured the following categories: populism, exclusionism and people. The fourth category, anti-elitism, was measured by means of the classical content analysis.

The findings showed that the BNP scored highest in all four categories. Therefore, it could be argued that the BNP has the highest degree of populism in their party manifesto. The UKIP scored second and these scores were still significantly higher compared to the Conservative Party. Secondly, the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet scored a substantially high degree of populism. Most importantly, the results support the constructed theoretical framework and revealed that the UKIP has managed to break away from the sidelines in the British political context. In 2014, the party won the EU-elections with 26,6 per cent of the national vote (Ford & Goodwin, 2014). Moreover, they had a big influence with their 'Leave Campaign' and they forced the Conservative Party to give in to a European membership referendum in 2016. Therefore, it could be stated that the UKIP is ''the'' most successful populist party in the UK.

On this basis, it is recommended to combine the computer-based analysis with the classical content analysis on all documents in future research. A combination of these methods would produce more valid and reliable results. It is advised, to take multiple political documents into consideration.

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Preface

This research report has been written to complete the European Studies program at The Hague University of Applied Sciences. The subject of this research report is populism in the UK, more specifically it is focused on the degree of populism in the UKIP.

I would like to thank everyone who has supported me during the writing process of this dissertation. Foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Mr. Funk for all the support and guidance that he has given me by e-mail and during our meetings. Furthermore, I would like to thank my friends and family for all their support and motivation during this project.

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List of acronyms

- BNP: The British National Party
- CFP: Common Fisheries Policy
- DFID: Department for International Development
- EERM: European Exchange Rate Mechanism
- EU: European Union
- EURES: European Employment Service
- FN: The Front National
- FPÖ: Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs
- FTSE: Financial Times and Stock Exchange
- GDP: Gross domestic product
- GP: general practitioner
- HS2: High Speed 2
- MCC: Migration Control Commission
- MEPs: Members of the European Parliament
- MEP-seats: Member of the European Parliament-seats
- MPS: Member of Parliament
- UKIP: The United Kingdom Independence Party
- NHS: National Health Service
- ÖVP: Österreichische Volkspartei
- PVV: Partij van de Vrijheid
- UK EU membership referendum: United Kingdom European Union membership referendum
- USA: United States of America
- VAT: Value added Tax

1. Introduction to populism and the UKIP

In recent years the UKIP has received a great amount of attention from the media. The UKIP is a Eurosceptic party that has strong policies on immigration and they greatly share their dissatisfaction with the performance of the Conservative-Liberal coalition. The former party leader, Nigel Farage, continuously expressed that leaving the EU would lead to the problem-solving of controlling the immigration influx and that it would cut taxes for the middle-class. With these statements, the UKIP experienced an increased public support. The main ambition of Farage was to withdraw the UK from the EU by requesting a referendum. In June 2016, the referendum was held and the referendum turnout was 71,8 percent and 51.9 per cent of those voting had opted to leave the EU (Clarke, Goodwin & Whiteley, 2017). This event led to Brexit and the UK is due to leave the EU on 29 March 2019.

Brexit is one of the most highlighted events in the British political landscape. Many scholars have argued that Eurosceptic groups and political parties, such as the UKIP, campaigned actively for Brexit. They mobilized voters by focusing on the anxiety over immigration, the free movement of people in the EU and the further expansion of the EU (Clarke, Goodwin & Whiteley, 2017). According to Goodwin (2017) ''That experience of UKIP cultivating lots of those east coast and northern areas is an important party of the story about why Britain came to vote for Brexit''(Foster, 2016). The UKIP clearly expressed Euroscepticism in the 'Leave campaign.' This campaign was urging the UK to leave the EU in the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum in 2016. Moreover Goodwin states (2016),''We have quite a bit of evidence to suggest that prior to the referendum, the radical right in Britain was an important part of the broader story'' (Foster, 2016). Scholars often link the radical right-wing parties with the concept of populism. As Mudde (2013) states, ''Populism is an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus the 'corrupt' elite, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté general of 'the people'' (p.3). The populist parties want to bring back the power to the people and they continuously express their dissatisfaction with the 'established-elite.'

Scholars have studied the UKIP in relation to populism and the party has often been labelled as a populist party. One of the downfalls in this field of research, is that the concept of 'populism' is often used to label political parties and leaders without the systematic measurement (Hawkins, 2009). Despite the conceptual vagueness of the concept of populism, this research demonstrates that it is measurable. Pauwels and Rooduijn (2010) have successfully measured the degree of populism in British and Dutch parties. However, the degree of populism has not been empirically tested and compared with only British parties who might also possess populist characteristics. Moreover, they have only measured the degree of populism in party manifestos and they did not take other political

documents, such as the Statement of Principles and the election pamphlet, into consideration. Therefore, it is very hard to determine whether the UKIP is a populist political party. This leads to the focus of this dissertation and the central research question: *''To what extent can we consider the UKIP as a populist party?''*

The central research question is a rather broad question, therefore the first two sub-questions are created to give a greater insight in the UKIP party:'' *What are the policies and the ideology of the UKIP''* and *'What is the voter base of the UKIP?''* The first two sub-questions have a descriptive nature. The third and fourth sub-question *''What is the degree of populism in the party manifestos of the UKIP, the BNP and the Conservative Party?''* and *''What is the degree of populism in the UKIP Statement of Principles and UKIP election pamphlet?''* measure the degree of populism by means of the two content analysis: the computer-based analysis and the classical content analysis.

The dissertation is set up as follows. Chapter 2 consists of a literature review in which the concept of populism is discussed. The concept of 'the people' and 'the other' is highlighted, the key debates on populism are presented and the characteristics of the right-wing and left-wing populist parties are discussed. This is followed by background information on the three parties that are analysed in the two content analysis. The fourth chapter sets out the research methodology identifying the research design and it discusses Pauwels and Rooduijn's (2010) dictionary that was used in the two content analysis. Chapter 5 and 6 focusses on the results of the first two sub-questions. This is followed by the results of the two content analysis of the party manifestos. The next chapter discusses the results of the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet. This is followed by a discussion of the results. Finally, this dissertation concludes that the UKIP is not the ''the'' most populist party in the UK. However, the UKIP is the ''the'' most successful populist party in the UK. At last, recommendations are given for future researchers in this field of research.

2. Literature review

2.1 Defining populism

This chapter will introduce the concept of populism. The topic populism has received a great amount of attention in the academic field. However, there have been multiple debates on the conceptualization of populism. Scholars who have studied this field of research have delivered suggestions to clarify and define the concept of populism. Thus, this chapter starts with a literature review and elaborates on the existing knowledge of populism.

The term populism is derived from the Latin word 'populus' which refers to the 'people.' Scholars have argued that the term is strongly associated with the term 'democracy' (Decker, 2003). Therefore it can be argued that 'democracy' and 'populism' are strongly linked together. Over the last three decades, this relationship has become more apparent and populist parties have become more successful. Therefore, the following question must be answered: what categorizes populism?

Many scholars have come up with characteristics to define the concept of populism. According to Taggart (2002), there are six key term terms that run through populism: ''The hostility to representative democracy, 'the people' as a heartland – center of populism ideology, lack of core values, tendency to be highly chameleonic, emerges as a reaction to sense of extreme crisis and self-limiting quality of populism''(Taggart, in Meny and Surel). Taggart's definition successfully categorizes populism in terms of 'the people' against the 'representative democracy.' Moreover, it also becomes apparent that populism emerges in times of extreme crisis.

Along similar lines, Mény and Surel reduce the number of characteristics to the three most essential characteristics of populism. The first condition is the 'people' because a feeling of community is created. As a rebuttal to this point, it is argued that populist claim that the 'elite' have betrayed the 'people' by their use of power and corruption. Lastly, the 'primacy of the people' has to be restored (Mény and Surel, 2002). In light of these characteristics, it can be said that the main focus of populism is 'the people' who feel unheard by the representative democracy. Therefore current leaders of the establishment need to be replaced by the new populist leaders who will act in accordance with the will of the 'the people.'

In this fashion, Taggart's definition is in accordance with two of the characteristics that were given by Mény and Surel. Most importantly, he agrees upon the 'people', because the 'people' can be seen as the heartland for the creation of a sense of belonging to a community. Moreover, he agrees that 'the people' feel that the 'elite' have betrayed 'the people.' As a result, a hostile attitude towards the representative democracy is created.

With this in mind, Mudde has combined 'the people' and 'the elite' in one definition. As Mudde (2013) states, ''Populism is an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus the 'corrupt' elite, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté general of 'the people'' (p.3). Mudde successfully combines the most important aspects of populism in his definition.

The foregoing discussion implies that there is a consensus view on the definition of populism. Most researchers focus on the notion of 'the people' against the 'established elite.' However, most definitions are too elaborate and fail to give a concrete answer of what populism exactly is. Nonetheless, Mudde successfully defines populism by including the two most important aspects of populism. Mudde's definition is used in this dissertation, because he is a recognized political scientist in the field of populism. Moreover, it is practical to use Mudde's definition, because Pauwels and Rooduijn have used this conceptualization of populism in his dictionary. This will be of great importance in the comparative content analysis that will be conducted later on in the dissertation.

2.2 'The people'

The usage of 'the people' is highly important in populist political communication. This term can either refer to the population of a country or to the smaller fraction of the population. For instance, in Neo-Populism 'the people' refers to individuals of a specific nationality or cultural background (Betz and Immerfall, 1998). When 'the people' is used to identify a specific culture or race, populism can easily be turned into discrimination. Populist leaders may use the term to distance the minority group from the majority group in society. On the contrary, 'the people' may refer to a certain social class that tends to be left-wing oriented. For example, Deiwiks (2009) claims that ''Minorities with a certain status such as the 'peasants in Russia' or the 'petit-bourgeois' of the Poujadist movement in France, may be examples of a certain social class that can be described as 'the people'' (p2.).Nonetheless, the term is still used to differentiate minority groups from the majority.

Another factor is that populist leaders who are referring to 'the people' have different motives. They try to create a sense of belonging in a community that excludes people who think differently. These people will be portrayed as the 'others' and they are treated differently. According to Deiwiks (2009), this is peculiar because ''Populism involves a denial of the real complexity of different societal group and it also entails a reduction of all differences between in-group and out-group to one all-encompassing differences''(p.3). This is partly true because in modern day democracies the government is governed by a minority of people, who each represent different minority groups. Power is shared among different people and an autocracy is prevented.

2.3 'The people' against 'the other'

The second aspect of populism that is characterized in scholarly literature is the concept of 'the people' against 'the other.' This concept entails that 'the other' can be perceived as multiple entities. This, for example, can be the government, the established elite or an individual politician. Moreover, it can be used to identify businesses and immigrant workers. According to the social identity theory, it is of utmost importance that people associate themselves with a specific group and distance themselves from another group (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). This is necessary because this will create a unique identity for an individual. Putting themselves in a positive spot while the other group is highlighted with negative features strengthens their personal identity.

This emphasizes the difference between 'the people' and 'the other.' The difference between 'the people' and 'the other' can be perceived as a form of resentment (Deiwiks, 2009). This means that the resentments can be seen as the unsatisfied wants that are not met. Bertz (2002) confirms this argument by stating ''Resentments usually involve the attribution of blame and the demand for compensation of some kind and play a particularly significant role in the initial mobilization phase of populist movements''(p.12). As a result, other groups will become victims of the resentments and they are blamed the crises in the country. In contemporary society, 'the other' may be immigrant groups or ethnic groups that are perceived to get better treatment than other groups.

2.4 The democratic paradox

The idea that populism is caused by a crisis is contradicted as well as supported by several scholars. Canovan (2002) claims that ''The sources of populism lies not only in the social context that supplies the grievances of any particular movement but is to be found in the tensions at the heart of the democracy''(p.1). The involvement of an increasing number of people in the decision-making process leads to a lack of transparency in the political system. As a result, there is a growing gap between the voters and their representatives (Mair, 2002). Populist leaders promise to close the gap and they want to give back the power to 'the people.' Voters gravitate towards this idea because the established elite does not seem to have the right approach to problem-solving.

Current researchers appear to validate that there is a democratic paradox because populist leaders fail to recognize how democracy works. The power needs to be distributed among an increasing number of people so that the policies are a result of the interactions and adjustments between representatives (Canovan, 2002). It is of high importance that the power is shared among multiple groups and not concentrated on one representative.

Moreover, it can be argued that populism can be seen as a 'pathology' and corruption of democracy. Populist leaders heavily rely on their charisma, propaganda and the manipulation of their audience

to gain new voters (Meny & Surel, 2002). Panizza agrees with this notion and explains that populism may have a negative label because populist movements do not want to identify themselves with this strategy (Panizza, 2005). They want to change the political system as well as society by making radical statements, but in the end most proposals are not reachable.

On the other side, populism can also be portrayed on a positive note. Populism may act as a fever warning, signalling the elite that there is a default in the representative political system (Meny and Surel, 2002). It can be stated that populism functions as a health indicator to the current political establishment. Moreover, it highlights the malfunctioning of the representative political system (Taggart, 2002). Finally, Canovan adds, elites come to the realization that they have to bring politics back to 'the people' (Canovan, 2002). They will create new proposals and in this way, the political debate becomes more interesting again.

2.5 Key debates on populism

Up until a few years ago populism was portrayed as a 'pathology of democracy' by the European elites on the right and left. However, there has been a shift in the public debate and populist movements are on the rise.

Political theorist, Chantal Mouffe, has had a great impact on the rise of left-wing populism, such as the Spanish Podemos party. She argued that we live in post-democratic societies, therefore there should be space for exercising the rights of citizenship (Mouffe, 2016). Researchers agree on the fact that populism addresses issues that are relevant for the majority. However, the established political elites do not discuss or address these issues clearly. Therefore, populist parties let topics resurface, such as immigration and Euroscepticism, on the agenda in national and international politics.

Nonetheless, populist parties tend to change dramatically when they are in power. This change takes place because populist parties suddenly have to share the power with non-populist parties. The Austrian case of the populist Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) is a good example. In 2000 there was a coalition government between the populist FPÖ and the Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP). As a result, the former Prime Minister of Austria, Wolfgang Schüssel, had to work together with the populist party, which he considered as an unpredictable partner (Luther, 2009). At the time, this coalition was highly controversial in Austria and abroad. In Italy, Silvio Berlusconi attempted to undermine the power of independent judges and the established elite several times. However, in most cases, Berlusconi was stopped by the non-populist parties and the EU (Mudde, 2015). These cases show that most of the populist parties are put back into place by the established elite. Therefore, their power seems to be less harmful than expected.

On the contrary, in Hungary populism has taken full control over the country. Viktor Orbán, the Prime Minister of Hungary, has successfully introduced new constitutions that undermine the liberal democracy. They have put 'loyalist' in the courts and oversight committees (Mudde, 2015). As a result, any opposition is slowed down by the legal-pressure. After the election of Donald Trump, Viktor Orbán stated in the State of Nation Address: ''There was Brexit, the US presidential election, the ejection of the Italian government, the Hungarian migrant referendum - and perhaps there is still more to come'' (About Hungary, 2017). In his speech he celebrated the victory of populism and he addressed the changes that would progress in the future.

2.6 Right-wing and left-wing populism

In the theory of populism, there is a difference between right-wing populism and left-wing populism. Both streams try to gather the same audience by stating that it is 'us' against 'them.' However, there is a huge difference in the emotion that is used to mobilize the voters.

Right-wing populist parties mostly use hatred and indifference, for example, the 'fear of the foreigner', to create their voters base. As Mudde states, ''I define these parties as populist radical right, itself a combination of nativism, authoritarianism, and populism'' (Mudde, 2011). First of all, nativism entails that the country should only be inhabited by the people of the nation and not by the minority groups. There is a strong sense of nationalism towards the country. Authoritarianism signifies that right-wing populist parties adopt policies that contribute to the security against threats from outsiders. Lastly, Mudde mentioned populism, because right-wing populism clearly highlights the difference between 'the people' and the 'established elite.'

The right-wing populism of Farage was clearly evident in the 'Leave campaign.' This campaign was urging the UK to leave the EU in the United Kingdom European Union membership referendum in 2016. In the same year, Trump came up with his 'Make America Great Again' campaign during the presidential elections (Zabala, 2017). Both campaigns were highlighting the importance of the national identity of the 'people.' However, minority groups such as immigrants, refugees and other 'foreign' groups were not included.

Likewise, left-wing populist parties possess populist features. However, they combine the concept of populism with political themes that are associated with the socialist parties. This means that they highlight the importance of justice and equality in society. They are anti-capitalism, anti-globalization, and pacifism (March & Mudde, 2005). However, they differ from the right-wing populist parties, because they do not wish to exclude groups of people in societies but rather exclude global corporations.

As Bernie Sanders, claimed in his campaign ''It is time to break up the largest financial institutions in the country'' (Sanders, n.d.). He wanted to reform Wall Street because the financial institutions

gained too much economic and political power. This would be dangerous for the economy and the political institutions in the United States. In addition, Pablo Iglesias, leader of the Podemos party, also stated that the main aim of the party is ''Transforming the hard-hit social majority into a majority for political change''(Revolting Europe, 2014). This entails that the party wants to reduce the power of subordinates in the system and that it does not necessarily want to exclude minority groups.

2.7 Populist right-wing parties

In the years after the Second World War populist parties hardly had any relevance in the European political landscape. Populist parties were associated with fascism and the Third Reich. However, the political turbulence in the late 1960s, the rising social conflicts in the 1970s and the spread of mass protests by new social movements in the 1980s, were symptoms of a profound transformation of Western-European politics (Betz, 1993). However, over the last thirty years, European right-wing populist parties have made an up rise in Europe. They have achieved great electoral success in the national governments and local governments.

The Front National (FN) is a prominent example of a successful right-wing populist party. Throughout history, the French were always sceptical towards the EU since they only approved the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 with a very small majority (51%) by involving the referendum (Bilesfky, 2016). The first leader of the party was Jean-Marine Le Pen and he remained the face of the party until his resignation in 2011. Marine Le Pen, his daughter, took over his position after she was elected as the current leader of the FN. However, Le Pen neutralized the image of the populist party by expelling controversial members of the party. In 2014 the FN won several municipalities at the municipalities elections and it became the biggest party in the European elections 2014. Since 2015 the FN has established itself as one of the most popular parties among French citizens between the ages of 18 and 34 (Marsden, 2017). The FN calls itself a 'national party' that is mainly against the membership of the EU, the protectionism of the French economic realm and the opposition to immigration.

The Partij van de Vrijheid (PVV) is another prominent example of right-wing populist parties. The political party was founded in 2006, and in 2008 the party won nine of the 150 seats in the Dutch parliament. The PVV was founded by Geert Wilders and he wanted to create a party that expressed patriotism in which the independence of the Netherlands is most important. The two main concerns of the party are the Islamization of Dutch society and the influence of the EU on the Netherlands (Lucardi, 2013). Wilders is as popular as he is controversial. In March 2008 he released the film 'Fitna' about the Islam on the internet. Even before the film was released, it caused a lot of commotion in the Muslim communities worldwide. For instance, Iran claimed that consequences would follow if the film would be broadcasted. The Taliban threatened with attacks on the Dutch soldiers in Afghanistan, and the Dutch embassies in the Middle-East had to sharpen their security

(NU, 2008). Former Prime Minister Jan-Peter Balkenende called the situation 'a crisis situation' and the Dutch government distanced itself from the movie.

The last example concerning right-wing populist parties in Europe is the FPÖ. The party was founded in 1956 and was the successor of the League of Independents. This league was a national party that represented the interests of the Nazis. However, in 1980 the party had shifted to the political centre, and Jorg Haider was elected as the new party leader in 1986. In February 2000 the Freedom Party of Austria had reached its peak. It had multiplied its share of votes by more than five times since 1983. Moreover, it had become the second strongest party at the national level and they formed a coalition with the Christian Democratic People's Party. The governing of the FPÖ was highly criticized due to the radical racist and anti-Semitic statements that were made by Haider (Fallen, 2007). He was a charismatic party leader who contributed to the great electoral success of the party. However, Haider was forced to resign as the party leader before the party could form a coalition due to his ''Neo-Nazi'' tendencies.

All three right-wing populist parties played a prominent role in setting the political agenda for their countries. Their leaders are highly criticized and labelled as populist leaders, due to their extreme actions and statements.

2.8 Parties

2.8.1 The BNP

The BNP is a radical right-wing political party in the UK which was founded by John Tyndall. In 1972 he was the chairman of the fascist political party, the National Front, but in 1982 he left the party to form the BNP. In 1999 he became the leader of his party and remained the leader until his death in 2005. His successor was Nick Griffin, a full-time organizer and writer for the BNP. He had been participating in right-wing politics for over 30 years. Griffin was chosen as party leader because he promised to bring a level of modernization to the party (BBC, 2006). The party desperately needed a modernization because the party had been portrayed as a racist and fascist party.

In 2009, the level of modernization was rewarded with the greatest electoral success for a right-wing British party in contemporary British history. The BNP won a million votes in the European elections which was 6,3% of the UK in total (Shaw, 2016). This victory gave hope to the BNP. However, Griffin was blamed for inciting racial hatred by making radical statements, however, the BNP rejected these accusations (BBC, 2006). The BNP did not want to be linked to a racist or Neo-Nazi image. In 2014, Adam Walker became the chairman of the BNP. He was less successful than Griffin because during his leadership the party lost two seats in the European Parliament.

The BNP has always been seen as a controversial party because they want to make sure that the future for the native people of Britain is secured by stopping as much 'non-white immigration' as possible. Moreover, the party continuously battles against the 'established elite' and the EU. They believed that the 'established elite' prevent Britons from expressing their true ethnic identity (British National Party, 2004;2005). Moreover, the BNP does not wish to extend the concept of democracy. They believe that those who are affected by the political decisions should also be the ones who influence and decide on the political decisions. Therefore, they called for a new effective political representation that takes the concerns of the Britons seriously. The BNP feels discontent with the current establishment, due to their 'incompetence, lies, false promises and sleaze' (BNP, 2004;2005). These radical statements and policies confirm the populist discourse of the party.

2.8.2 The Conservative Party

The Conservative Party, also known as the Tories, is a British political party that thrives on the continuation of the values of the Old Tory Party. The members of the Old Tory Party began forming 'conservative associations' after the electoral rights were extended to the middle class. This happened in 1832 after the Britain's Reform Bill. Since World War I, the Conservative Party has dominated the British political landscape (Louth and Web, 2017). The Conservative Party is one of the main ruling parties in Britain together with the Labour Party and the Liberal Democratic Party.

The party's main policies revolve around the promotion of private property and enterprise, the maintenance of a strong military and the preservation of traditional values and institutions (Louth and Web, n.d.). In the past, the support base of the Conservative Party was mainly drawn from the middle classes and the landowning. In 2010, David Cameron became the leader of the party and he incorporated a greener, friendlier approach. His main focus was to get in touch with the average Briton. Unlike the previous party leaders, Cameron reached out to younger voters and female voters. This resulted in a rise in the ratings of the party polls. For the first time in a decade, they scored higher than the Labour Party (BBC, 2010). Cameron became the Prime Minister of the UK in 2010 and he remained in office till 2016.

The Conservatives have been in an uneasy state with regards to the EU since the 1980s. During that time there was a debate on how Britain should respond to the rapid European political integration. Moreover, the UK was forced to exit the European Exchange Rate Mechanism (EERM) in September 1992. These events created a political generation that would become greatly Eurosceptic, including the members of the Conservative Party. Nonetheless, in 2006, David Cameron urged to 'stop banging on about Europe.' However, the other members of the Conservative Party became scared for the Eurosceptic tide. Especially the rise of the UKIP was perceived as a great threat (Diamond, 2016). Therefore, Cameron conceded the UK EU membership referendum in 2016.

2.8.3 The UKIP

The UKIP is a political party in the UK that was founded in 1993. The political party has its roots in the Anti-Federalist League which was founded by Dr. Allan Sked. He was a lecturer at the London School of Economics and later became the head of the European Studies department. During this period in time, he broadened and deepened his Euroscepticism. Therefore, the main objective of the Anti-Federalist League was to campaign against the Maastricht Treaty of the EU in 1991. Their run against the Conservatives in 1992 proved to be a disaster, as they only managed to attain 0,2 per cent of the vote in Bath. Therefore the Anti-Federalist League decided that it was time for a change (Heger, 2015). As a result, the UKIP was founded at a conference at the London School of Economics in 1993.

In 1994, the party met its first challenges due to the by-election and European election. The party was optimistic about their outcomes. However, many factors were not taken into consideration and eventually prevented UKIP from succeeding. First of all, the party experienced a financial problem, which hindered them from creating a successful and convincing campaign. Moreover, the candidates of the party were not very experienced and they had different ideas about the course of the party. Consequently, Dr. Allen Sked did not prove to be a strong leader because he failed to give the party a clear direction (Heger, 2015). Their party manifesto was poorly developed and mainly based on the UK's withdrawal from the EU. While at the time, voters were not interested in the withdrawal from the EU.

In 2003, Dick Morris changed the targeting strategy of UKIP. According to Vuroninen (2015), ''Morris' aim was to mobile the anti-EU- citizens and UKIP's slogan was simplified to 'Say NO'; this phrasing left it to the individual to contemplate their subject dissatisfaction'' (p.18). He simplified the messages and slogans of the UKIP so that they could be understood by the 'common man.'

In 1999, 2004 and 2009 UKIP's success slowly grew and they managed to obtain more seats in the European Parliament. Farage got re-elected in 2006 and became known as the 'hero of UKIP.' He had been a member of the UKIP since 1993 and he had a clear vision concerning the future of the party. His first promise was to beat the results of the 2004 elections. In 2009, he succeeded because UKIP managed to add one MEP-seat to Brussels (The commentator, 2014). Eventually, in May 2014 the party won the EU-elections with 4,3 million and 26,6 per cent of the national vote (Ford & Goodwin, 2014). This caused UKIP to grow and break away from the sidelines in the British political context. In October 2014 the party won its first Westminster seat with Farage as the leader of the party.

Until November 2016, UKIP remained to revolve around its party leader Farage. Dalton (2013) categorizes Farage as a 'Witty, charismatic man who genuinely speaks from his heart.' He has been portrayed as one of the bluntest politicians in British politics because he offended fellow politicians and he confronted minority groups. He is not concerned with the opinion of others on either his party or himself (Dalton,2003). His main ambition was to withdraw the UK from the EU by requesting a referendum. UKIP argued that leaving the EU would lead to the problem-solving of controlling the immigration influx and that it would cut taxes for the middle-class. On the 23rd of June 2016, the referendum was held in order to decide whether the UK should leave or remain in the EU. More than 30 million people voted and the referendum turnout was 71,8 per cent. After Brexit, Farage resigned as the leader of UKIP as he claimed to have 'achieved his political ambition' (Hunt & Wheeler, 2014). The UKIP lost its leader and quickly searched for another leader. However, the next leader would be less successful than Farage.

In November 2016, Paul Andrew Nuttall became the new leader of the UKIP. Until 2004, he was a member of the Conservative Party but he disagreed on their position concerning the EU. Therefore, Nuttall decided to join the UKIP instead. Nuttall has been described as the 'major threat' to labour's core vote. He is known for several hard-line views and he expresses these views in an extreme manner. First of all, he suggested that the National Health service should be privatized and that the numbers of abortions should be limited. Moreover, he is an advocate for banning the burqa and he believes that there should not be any restrictions on the right of Christians to express religious discrimination (Bienkov, 2016). These radical statements and actions are often compared with the statements that Wilders makes in the Netherlands.

3. Research methodology

This chapter sets out the research methodology for the dissertation. The aim of this research was to analyse the relationship between populism and the UKIP and to put this relationship in a broader perspective. The main research question *''To what extent can we consider the UKIP as a populist party''* is a comparative research question. The following sections explain which methods were used to conduct the research in order to answer the central research question.

3.1 Type of research

The central research question *''To what extent can we consider the UKIP as a populist party?''* is a comparative research question. The first two sub-questions: *''What are the policies and ideology of the UKIP?''* and *''What is the voter base of the UKIP?''* have a descriptive nature. The reason for the first and second sub-question being descriptive was that both sub-questions described the findings on the ideology of UKIP, the policies and the demographics of the UKIP's voters. This gave more insight into the 'populist' characteristics that the UKIP possesses.

The third sub-question, *''What is the degree of populism in the party manifestos of the UKIP, the BNP and the Conservative Party?''* was answered by the computer-based analysis and partly by the classical content analysis. The UKIP and the Conservative Party have won seats during the parliamentary election in 2015. Nonetheless, the BNP did not succeed to win any seats during the parliamentary election in 2015. Despite this outcome, the BNP was selected because this party is considered to be a populist party together with the UKIP (Kessel, 2015). The two content analysis methods showed whether the UKIP has the same political populist discourse as the BNP or a more neutral political discourse such as the Conservative Party.

The fourth question, *''What is the degree of populism in the UKIP Statement of Principles and UKIP election pamphlet?''* was constructed for the following reasons. UKIP's party manifesto was specifically created for the parliamentary elections in 2015. On the contrary, the political party platform sets out the main ideas that the party is based upon. Therefore, one can argue that the political party platform is less sensitive to the political context. In 2014 the UKIP produced an election pamphlet, this document was also compared with the two other documents as this allowed a deeper analysis of the UKIP.

3.1.2 Case selection: multiple case design

This study focused on multiple cases in the UK, but particularly on the UKIP. One of the main reasons to select the UK and the UKIP was UKIP's role in Brexit. Farage, the former leader of UKIP, has actively participated in the realisation of Brexit. He created unrest among the conservative parties and eventually, former Prime Minister Cameron promised a referendum. The UKIP has been

very successful and the UK vote share changed with 9,5% since 2010. This means that the UKIP party has been influential in the governing of the country and in the policy making of the country.

The first unit of analysis were the party manifestos of the UKIP, the BNP, and the Conservative Party. The second unit of analysis were the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet of 2014. Zainal argues (2007) that the multiple case design ''Helps raise the level of confidence in the robustness of the method''(p.2). Therefore, it could be argued that a multiple case design is more reliable in a two content analysis.

Current literature seems to validate the view that the UKIP is the biggest populist party in the UK. Therefore, the expected outcome based on the literature was that the UKIP has the same degree of populism or a higher degree of populism than the BNP in their documents. However, before such a conclusion can be drawn is it wise to compare the UKIP to the other two political parties.

3.2 Method: measuring the degree of populism

In this research, the degree of populism was measured by means of content analysis with the use of Pauwels and Rooduijn's dictionary (2010). According to Pauwels and Rooduijn (2010), ''The reason is that content analysis is an appropriate technique for measuring the ideas of political parties in different countries and different time periods'' (p.7). In this field of research, one can identify two content analysis methods to analyse political texts, namely computer-based analysis and classical content analysis.

3.2.1 Operationalization: Pauwels and Rooduijn's dictionary

This dissertation made use of a pre-constructed and tested dictionary-based approach created by Pauwels and Rooduijn (2010). Laver and Garry were one of the first researchers to create a dictionary in this field of research. Laver and Garry (2000) define their dictionary as ''Allocating words to the categories using a combination of priori and empirical criteria''(p.626.) Pauwels and Rooduijn's dictionary also contains four categories that characterize the concept of populism. These four categories include populism, exclusionism, people and anti-elitism. This dictionary has been used because it successfully summarizes the characteristics of populism. These categories focus on the concept of 'the people' against 'the other.' However, the category 'people' and 'anti-elitism' cannot be solely measured by the computer-based analysis. As Pauwels and Rooduijn state (2010) ''The computer cannot distinguish between references to the people'' (p.11). Therefore the word 'people' in the 'people' category had to be analysed by means of the classical content analysis. Moreover, it is impossible to formulate every word that could refer to anti-elitism before the research is started (Pauwels and Rooduijn, 2010). Therefore, the 'anti-elitism' category also had to be analysed by means of classical content analysis.

3.2.2 The computer-based content analysis and operationalization

The first step in the computer-based content analysis is that the researcher designs a dictionary that contains different categories. Each category contains words that are allocated to the different categories, therefore the unit of measurement is the 'word.' In this case, the pre-constructed and tested dictionary of Pauwels and Rooduijn has been used. As Pauwels (2011) claims, ''Only words that had a clear theoretical relationship with the concept of populism were retained in the dictionary''(p.103). In the computer-based analysis, three categories of the dictionary were used to determine the populist discourse of the political party: populism, exclusionism and people.

The dictionary is reliable because Pauwels and Rooduijn have used the dictionary to measure the degree of populism in the party manifestos of political parties in the Netherlands and in the UK. In the second stage, the dictionary was applied to the party manifestos of the UKIP, the BNP and the Conservative Party. Moreover, the dictionary was applied to the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet. The dictionary functioned as a codebook and the documents were coded by the computer program Yoskioder.

3.2.3 The classical content analysis and operationalization

The second method in the two content analysis is the classical content analysis. This is a coding strategy in which trained coders analyse texts by the use of a codebook. After extensive research, the researcher operationalized the concepts that he wishes to measure in the texts and a codebook is constructed. Most of the time the unit of measurement is not the whole text because the whole text contains too much information to code at once. The unit of measurement can include chapters, paragraphs, sentences and words (Pauwels and Rooduijn, 2010). After the unit of measurement is determined, the codebook is applied to the texts and the concept is measured.

The 'people' category has first been analysed by the computer-based analysis and the word 'people' has been analysed by human coding. The fourth category that was analysed in the research was 'anti-elitism.' This category had to be analysed by means of classical content analysis, because according to Pauwels and Rooduijn (2010), ''Not every word that could possibly refer to anti-elitism does indeed always refer to it''(p.11). In the typical classical content analysis, the documents are analysed by trained coders by the use of a codebook. However, in this research, the classical content analysis was conducted by the researcher of this dissertation.

Pauwels and Rooduijn created a definition for anti-elitism and this definition was used as a codebook in the analysis. Pauwels and Rooduijn (2010) used the following definition of anti-elitism in their codebook ''It is only anti-elitist if it concerns an elite in general, or if a specific government, political party, company, medium or organization is clearly portrayed as a representative of an elite in general''(p.25). The unit of measurement in the classical content analysis was the paragraph because

the coder focusses on the arguments that are made within the paragraph. With this definition in mind, the 'anti-elitism' paragraphs were selected in the documents. Eventually, the percentage of the 'anti-elitism' paragraphs in every document was computed.

3.2.4 The computer-based content analysis vs the classical content analysis

This dissertation mainly utilized the computer-based analysis, because it was more efficient than the classical content analysis. Normally, the classical content analysis is conducted by a group of extensively trained coders. The Comparative Manifesto Project has analysed party manifestos to study the political preferences in 5 continents with the support of coders from 50 different countries (Manifesto Project, 2017). However, Pauwels (2011) has argued that ''Populism has not been included in the coding scheme of the Comparative Manifesto project (p.102). Therefore, there is no priori data on populism in this field of research.

It would have been very time consuming to conduct classical content analysis in all four categories. Too many documents had to be analysed for this research. Moreover, the disadvantages of classical content analysis are that coders might be subjective and the costs are very high (Pauwels, 2011). In addition, the classical content analysis could only be conducted by the researcher of this dissertation. Therefore, there was a preference for the computer-based analysis in this research.

The computer measures the results in an objective manner, while the classical content analysis is more subjective. Moreover, the computer-content analysis has lower costs and can be achieved in a smaller time frame (Kuipers, 2011). Therefore, this dissertation used computer-content analysis with the use of Yoskioder. This computer program measured the three categories from Pauwels and Rooduijn's dictionary in the party manifestos, the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet.

3.3 Limitations

In the computer-based analysis, the words were used as data to measure the degree of populism, exclusionism and people in the documents. Nonetheless, the dictionary did not measure populism via pictures and images in the documents.

In the classical content analysis, the reliability of the results is considered low. Normally, the classical content analysis is coded by extensively trained coders. However, a classical content analysis is very time consuming and it is very expensive to hire trained coders. Therefore, the classical content analysis could only be conducted by one researcher, and therefore the results were more subjective than the computer-based analysis.

In summary, this dissertation consists of a descriptive multiple case study. It focussed on the UK and more particularly on the UKIP. The pre-constructed and tested dictionary approach of Pauwels and

Rooduijn was applied and conducted by means of the computer-based analysis. The category anti-elitism was measured by the classical content analysis. The research question was answered by a comparative analysis.

4. Findings

4.1 Policies and ideologies of the UKIP

The UKIP is situated on the centre-right in a political context and describes itself as a patriotic party (UKIP,2015). Patriotic in a sense, that the party is proud of the UK and firmly believes that the country is better off without being a member of the EU. The UKIP (2010) has expressed its strong view in a policy statement named 'Restoring Britishness':

''Britain and Britishness are in trouble. They are being attacked and undermined, both externally and internally. They are threatened by the European Union (EU) and corporatist Americanised pressure from without, and betrayed by misguided politically correct ideology, extremist Islam and errant nationalism from within''(p.5).

However, in 2010 the party manifesto stated that the party believed in ''Civic nationalism, which is open and inclusive to anyone, who wishes to identify with Britain, regardless of ethnic or religious background'' (UKIP, 2010). Nonetheless, this statement got corrected after Farage was elected as the leader of the party in 2010. Farage stated that the UKIP party is a liberal and anti-racism party and not a nationalist party (Vuroninen, 2015). Therefore, there seems to be a paradox in the ideology of UKIP. When a closer look was taken into the party manifestos between the years 2010 and 2015, it does not seem to be clear whether the party identifies itself as a patriotic or nationalistic party.

Notwithstanding this paradox, UKIP strongly expresses itself as a Eurosceptic party. According to Scheider, UKIP fits best into the 'rejecting Euroscepticism' category as the party is not in favour of any kind of multilateral cooperation, not even when reduced to economic cooperation (p.24). Their main goal is to create an independent UK by withdrawing from the EU. This means that they want to give the power back to Westminster. In the 2015 party manifesto, UKIP claimed that they would save £9 billion a year in net contributions to the European Budget by leaving the EU (UKIP, 2014;2015). UKIP actively highlights the benefits of withdrawing from the EU.

Another important key-policy is immigration, and UKIP wants to reform the immigration system. First of all, they want to take back control of the British borders. Second of all, immigrants who enter the UK have to be financially independent for five years, because this will enable the unemployed population to find work. New migrants, have to make tax and insurance contributions for five years before they can apply for permanent residence and become eligible to claim UK benefits. UKIP wants to manage immigration by establishing a Migration Control Commission (MCC) that will oversee the Australian-style points-based system. This system will manage the number of skills and people that are coming to the UK (UKIP, 2015). However, according to MEPs and analysts, the MCC would be damaging for the Freedom of Movement within the EU, because it would also extend the proposal to EU citizens (Gaffey, 2015). UKIP possesses a great sense of nativism with their

immigration policy. This policy would entail that the nation should be mainly inhabited by Britons and not by minority groups. The security against threats from 'outsiders' is highlighted in this policy.

Another highlighted policy in the 2015 party manifesto concerns foreign security. UKIP states that it wants the UK to leave the EU so that it can distance itself from the European Court of Justice. This would presumably help the UK to stop foreign criminals from entering the country, as well as giving the state the right to deport terrorists and career criminals and implement whole-life sentences. The armed forces should be rebuilt so that it can still fulfil the terms of the NATO membership (UKIP, 2015). Authoritarianism seems to play an important role because the UKIP wants to adopt policies that contribute to the security against threats from 'the outsiders.'

On a social note, social benefits will only be given to the British nationals and those who have resided in the UK for five years. They want to establish a Sovereign Wealth Fund from tax profits and generate a social care fund. In this way, older people will be provided with better healthcare and better facilities. Finally, child benefits will only be paid to children who are UK-citizens and custody care will be 50/50 between spouses after a divorce (UKIP, 2015). UKIP mainly focuses on the needs of the British people, because they claim that the Britons have been neglected too long by the 'previous governments.'

A voting reform should be taking place so that every vote sincerely counts. They want to achieve this by introducing a new proportional voting system. This system will deliver a parliament that is a true reflection of the number of votes cast (UKIP, 2015). The proportional voting system is a typical form of anti-elitism in which the minority parties and independent candidates get a much better chance at being elected, and provides the possibility of ending the 'ruling dynasty' of the three main parties (Tonbridge Grammar School, 2015). UKIP typically want to close the gap between the voters and the representatives and give back the power to 'the people' by establishing a new democratic system.

Giving jobs only to the British people will battle unemployment. British businesses get the opportunity to employ British citizens first. In this new process, there is a restricted access to EURES, which prevents employers to look for cheap labourers overseas (UKIP, 2015). UKIP does not want to give job offers to the 'outsiders' and they highlight the importance of protection of the British borders.

The UKIP wants to celebrate 'Britishness' by reinvigorating British culture and values. This means that UKIP wants to promote the British culture and take pride in Britain. Everyone who is open to the British values and culture is welcome in Britain, regardless of ethnic and religious backgrounds. They want to promote the English language by publishing official documents solely in English since English will bind the British society together (UKIP, 2015). According to Counterpoint, UKIP's

success is largely based on promoting their symbolic measures. For instance, by making St George Day a national holiday or the wider symbolism of Britain exiting the EU and regaining its status as an independent country (Counterpoint, n.d.). A majority of British people feel that they have lost their identity by being a member of the EU. UKIP wants to celebrate 'Britishness' again to show that Britain is a strong independent force that can survive on its own.

UKIP's party manifesto possesses a high degree of populism since they have clear policies on immigration, unemployment, social care and national identity. All their policies are linked to Euroscepticism and they mainly argue that the withdrawal from the EU would be the solution for the vast majority of the issues faced by the UK. Moreover, they widen the gap between 'the people' and 'the others' and they seem to blame the minorities for the crises in the country.

4.2. UKIPS Support

UKIP's support base increased due to the following three motives. First of all, the party was born as a single-issue party, which was mainly centred on Euroscepticism. Secondly, the strong opposition to immigration and its effects on the British society and economy. Thirdly, the dissatisfaction with the work strategy of established political parties in Westminster.

According to Whitaker (2011), ''UKIP has been most successful in southern England and parts of the Midlands, particularly in rural and coastal areas, but has performed less well in Scotland and in northern English cities''(p. 4). Ford and Goodwin, claim that this group can be seen as the 'left behind' group that can be described as the older working-class, white voters, who lack educational qualifications. They are trying to adapt to the new modern post-industrial economy (Ford, R & Goodwin, M). In addition, Whitaker claims that UKIP may be more successful in rural England because they are against the EU's Common Agriculture and Common Fisheries policies (Whitaker, 2011). A lot of farmers have lost their jobs during the membership of the EU.

Ford and Goodwin describe the second group of voters as another 'left behind' group who has strong opinions on contemporary topics such as race and immigration, national identity, gender, rights, for the same-sex couples, Europe and ethnic diversity. Once, this outlook was considered to be more mainstream. However, over time this has changed and this outlook is perceived as intolerant by the younger educated people (Ford & Goodwin, 2014). Research on attitudes towards the EU has shown that younger people are more open towards integration and are therefore more likely to vote on parties who allow this. According to Martin and Smith (2004),''Its emotional message that it will stand up for people who have been left by the mainstream political parties to deal with long-term poverty and social exclusion is one that directly addresses an entirely rational and very real fear''(p.2). Therefore, its appeal is great among the 'left behind' groups.

5. Findings: the two content analysis method

The two content analysis methods have been applied to the election manifestos of the UKIP, the BNP, the Conservative Party and to the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet. The UKIP and the BNP are considered to be populist parties and the Conservative Party is to be considered as a mainstream party. Therefore, this content analysis made it possible to assess whether the suspected populist parties, UKIP in particular, score higher on the populist scale.

Populism	Exclusionism	People
deceit	Koran	Britain
betray	asylum*	British
absurd*	border*	Britons
arrogant*	foreign*	citizen
promis*	halal*	communit*
promise*	illegal*	electorate
capitul*	immigr*	nation
corrupt*	islam*	national
Direct	muslim*	people
elite*	refugee*	population
establishm*	scarf*	public
ruling*		society
Caste		
Class		
Mafia		
freedom of expression		
Undemocratic		
particrat*		
politic*		
Propaganda		
referend*		
regime*		
Shameless		
shame*		
Admit		
tradition*		
Westminster		

Table 1: *Pauwels and Rooduijn's (2010) dictionary used in the computer-based analysis*

All documents were partly analysed by means of computer-based analysis and classical content analysis. *Table 1* represents the dictionary that was used in the measurement of populism through computer-based analysis. Several words were allocated to the different dictionary categories and this dictionary is equivalent to the codebook in a classical-content analysis. Researcher Pauwels has

conducted extensive research on measuring the degree of populism in official documents. Together with Rooduijn, he developed a list of words for the categories populism, exclusionism and people.

The first two categories were analysed by means of computer-based analysis. The third category 'people' has also been analysed by the computer-based analysis, however, the category 'people' was analysed by means of human coding. The word 'people' can be interpreted in different ways because the authors do not refer to 'the people' if they talk about the sub-groups within their 'people' such as the elderly, the young or people in general. Therefore, human coding was necessary for the word 'people.' The fourth category 'anti-elitism' has been analysed through classical content analysis, because it is hard to detect via computer-based analysis. A combination of the two content analysis had to be made because classical content analysis also takes contextual matters into account. Therefore, the results ensure more reliability.

Section 5.1 focuses on the results of the party manifestos of the UKIP, the Conservative Party and the BNP per category. Each category highlights the scores of the three parties and show how they have used the different words in their party manifestos. Section 5.2 focusses on the results of the classical content analysis in the party manifestos. Section 6.1 looks at the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet, because this shows whether there is a pattern of populism in all official documents of the UKIP. Section 6.2 focusses on the classical content analysis in the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet. These methods conclude whether the UKIP is a political party with a populist discourse.

5.1 Findings: the computer-based analysis in the party manifestos of the UKIP, the Conservative Party and the BNP
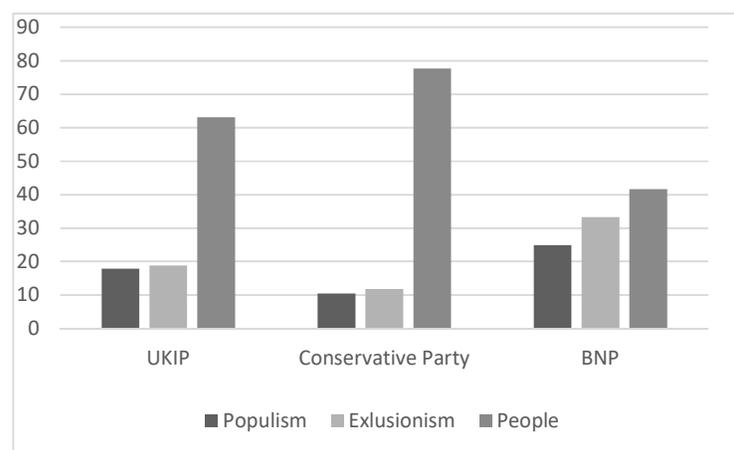

Figure 2: *The degree of populism, exclusionism and people: results of the computer-based analysis*

5.1.1 Populism

Figure 2 represents the computer-based analysis of the third sub-question. First of all, the category populism was measured in the party manifestos. The dictionary found 98 words in the UKIP party manifesto, 50 words in the Conservative Party manifesto and 9 words in the BNP party manifesto that were related to the category populism. The results of this dictionary suggest that words 'politic*' and 'referend' where the most popular words within this category. In the UKIP party manifesto, 40 words were related to the word 'politic*' and 10 words were related to 'referend*.' The Conservative Party manifesto related 15 words to the word 'politic*' and 14 words linked to 'referend*.' The BNP manifesto scored the lowest in this category and counted the word 'politic*' 6 times and unlike the other manifesto's it did not use the word 'referend*.'Despite the higher word count in the UKIP manifesto, the BNP has a higher percentage of populism in their party manifesto (25%).

The UKIP had the highest word count in the category populism. The results share that the UKIP has a lot of criticism on other political parties and on British politics in general. One prominent example that confirmed this notion was the 'Leave campaign.' The campaign was set up by Farage and its main aim was to convince the British people to vote for the withdrawal from the EU. The study shows that the word 'politic' mostly referred to 'political' in the UKIP party manifesto. For instance, the UKIP party manifesto states, (2015) ''What we do have a problem with is the uncontrolled, politically-driven immigration that has been promoted and sustained by the Labour and the Conservatives''(p10.). In this context, the UKIP shows that they disagree with the approach of the current establishment and that they want to characterize the Labour party and the Conservative Party as the 'other.' In contrast, the Conservative Party uses the term 'political' in a different way. The Conservative Party states (2015) ''Our strong support for the political institutions established over the past two decades as a result of the Various Agreements will continue''(p.71). This statement shows that the Conservative Party mainly used the term 'political' in a Conservative fashion. It is typical for a Conservative Party to emphasize the value of traditional institutions. The BNP uses the term 'political' in a similar way as the UKIP. The BNP states (2016) ''This Public Holiday will be celebrated every year in Trafalgar Square, London with proper English flags, instead of meaningless and politically correct 'red flags' – favoured by Boris Johnson''(p.2). In can be stated that they mock the political correctness of the mayor.

The second term that was frequently used is 'referend.' In their party manifesto, the UKIP stated (2015) ''Our new immigration policies will begin when we confirm our intention to leave the EU with an 'out' vote in a national referendum''(p.14). This statement confirms that the UKIP is a Eurosceptic party and it confirms the notion that they can only solve the problems of the British people by withdrawing from the EU. Interestingly, the Conservative Party did the same statement (2015) ''Only the Conservative Party will deliver real change and real choice on Europe, with an in-

out referendum by the end of 2017''(p.74). This proves that most British parties were already Eurosceptic before Brexit took place in June 2016.

5.1.2 Exclusionism

The second category of the dictionary measured the number of words that were related to exclusionism. The results indicated that UKIP scored highest in this category with 104 words. The Conservative Party used 56 words and the BNP 12 words. The most popular words within this category were related to the words 'foreign' and, 'immigration' or 'immigrant.' The computer-based analysis showed that the UKIP used the word 'immigr*' 46 times, while the Conservative Party used this word 22 times and the BNP 5 times. Moreover, the word 'foreign*' was used 30 times by the UKI, 11 times by the Conservative Party and 4 times by the BNP.

Research proves that the UKIP portrays immigration as a harmful threat to British society. As the UKIP Party manifesto states (2015) ''Evidence from the EU and the UK Parliament's Treasury Select Committee reveals how immigration has driven down wages and to job losses for the British workers''(p.11). This statement confirms that UKIP creates a difference between 'the people' and the 'other' and this difference can be portrayed as a form of resentment. According to Bertz (2002), 'Resentments usually involve the attribution of blame and the demand for compensation of some kind and play a particular role in the initial mobilization phase of populist movements''(p.12). Likewise, the UKIP blames immigration, and indirectly immigrants, for the crises in the country. The Conservative Party seems to view immigration in a more objective manner. The Conservative Party manifesto states (2015) ''When immigration is out of control, it puts pressure on schools, hospitals and transport; and it can cause social pressures if communities find it hard to integrate''(p. 31). They do state that immigration can be problematic for the country, however, they also shed light on the social pressures for 'the other.' Therefore, the Conservative Party portrays less resentment towards the immigrants themselves. More importantly, they deliver criticism on the immigration process, thus, it can be considered as 'system negativity.' Whereas, the BNP blames the EU for the current immigration policy. The BNP (2015) states ''Current immigration policy is determined primarily by the EU (a key reason for our opposition to Britain's membership) and central government, we will take all measures within the Mayor's power to protect and advance the interests of indigenous Londoners and members of legally settled minorities who contribute the common good''(p.3). In brief, they do not criticize 'the others' by blaming the minority groups, because they do blame the EU. In this case, the EU is portrayed as an institution of 'the elite.'

5.1.3 People

The final category relates to all words that can be used to indicate 'the people.' The results of the computer-based analysis indicate that the Conservative Party scored highest in this category. They scored highest on the word 'people' (149 times) while the UKIP mentioned the word 'people' 81 times and the BNP 3 times. A closer look had to be taken into the adjectives that were used in front of the word 'people,' because the word can be used in several ways and they can express a different meaning. This analysis had to be conducted by human coding.

Categories	UKIP		Conservative Party		BNP	
People	N	%	N	%	N	%
British people/ the people	14	17,3	20	13,4	1	33,33
Young people	6	7,4	22	14,7	0	
Older/elderly/retired people	8	9,9	0	0	0	
Local people	5	6,2	7	4,7	1	33,3
Disabled/ vulnerable people	3	3,7	5	3,5	0	
Poor/homeless	3	3,7	0	0	0	
Hardworking/working	0	0	5	3,3	0	
General	42	51,8	90	60,4	1	33,3
Total	**81**	**100**	**149**	**100**	**3**	**100**

Table 3: *measuring the word 'people' in the 'people' category: results of human coding*

Table 3 shows that the UKIP linked the word 'people' to the 'British people' and 'the people' 14 times. This suggests that 17,3% of the word 'people' link to the British people and population. In the party manifesto of the Conservative Party, the word 'people' linked to the British people/the people for 13,4% while they scored highest in targeting 'the young people' (14,8%). In contrast, the BNP party manifesto only counted the word 'people' 3 times with an adjective. In the content-analysis, the only words that were directly related to the 'British people' and 'the people' were taken into consideration in the category people.

Literature shows that the usage of 'the people' is highly important in populist communication. As Meny and Surel suggested, the first condition of populism is highlighting 'the people' because a feeling of community is created (Mény and Surel, 2002). As a result, the populist leaders may use the term 'the people' to distance the minority group from the majority group in society. As the UKIP states (2015) ''In many ways, this is where UKIP came from: a feeling that successive governments were no longer representing the will of the British people'' (p. 3). In this statement, the UKIP portrays the successive government as 'the other' and the British people as 'the people.' Therefore they widen the gap between the British people and their government. Interestingly, the Conservative Party focused mostly on the 'young people.' The Conservatives effectively targeted young voters

with their policies. The Conservative Party manifesto shows that they want to manage the National Health Service (NHS), control immigration, improve housing affordability, improve the education system and that they want to make the welfare system fairer. Surprisingly, the BNP did not use 'the people' as much throughout their manifesto and they mostly related to the sub-groups within 'the people.'

Furthermore, the results show that the UKIP scored highest in addressing the UK and the British nationality in their party manifesto. They mentioned 'Britain' 91 times and 'British' 96 times. While the Conservative Party mentioned 'Britain' 74 times and 'British' 56 times, and the BNP mentioned 'Britain' 3 times and 'British' 3 times. UKIP expressed a clear sense of nationalism throughout their party manifesto. For instance, the UKIP states (2015)''If only all politicians could believe in Britain as UKIP does. If only they could share our positive vision of Britain as a proud, independent, sovereign nation, a country respected on the world stage, a major player in global trade, with influence and authority when it comes to tackling the pressing international issues of the day''(p.5). The UKIP party manifesto portrays Britain as a strong and independent nation and they criticize other parties for not taking pride in their country. However, their highlighted sense of nationalism also requires turning away from 'the others.' Likewise, the Conservative Party expresses their wishes for a strong British society. However, they also show respect for the minority groups that live in the British society. The Conservative manifesto states (2015) ''We want people to integrate fully into British society, but that does not mean they should have to give up the things they hold dear in their religion''(p.57). This statement highlights the Conservative point of view on the immigration crisis. They do not try to create a gap between 'the people' and 'the other' like the UKIP does. Again, the BNP rarely addressed the UK throughout the party manifesto.

5.2 The classical content analysis

5.2.1 Anti-elitism

Classical content analysis has been conducted in the anti-elitism category. The classical content analysis is based on the definition that Rooduijn and Pauwels gave to anti-elitism. According to Rooduijn and Pauwels (2010), ''It is only anti-elitists if it concerns an elite in general, or if a specific government, political party, company, medium or organization is clearly portrayed as a representative of an elite in general'' (p.25). During the classical content analysis, these characteristics were taken into consideration and they had to be closely differentiated with 'system negativity.'
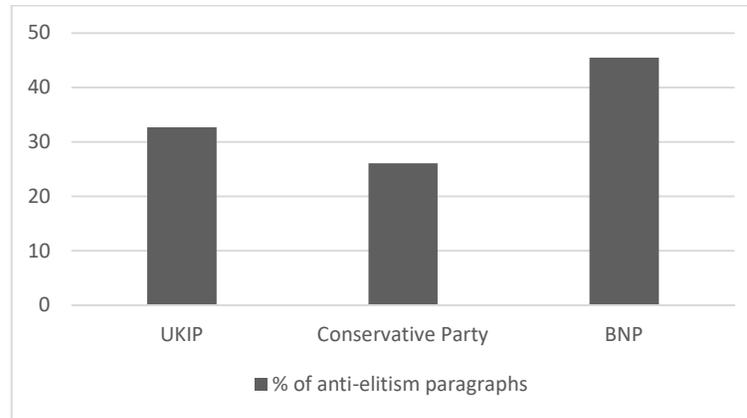
Figure 4: The degree of anti-elitism: results of the classical content analysis

The classical content analysis is in line with the computer-based analysis. The BNP scored highest in the classical content analysis. *Figure 4* shows that the BNP scored 45,5% in the anti-elitism category. The UKIP scored 32,7% and the Conservative Party scored 26,1%. The classical-content analysis method explained why the BNP scored highest. The BNP has the shortest party manifesto because it counts 11 paragraphs. On the other hand, the UKIP counts 153 paragraphs and the Conservative Party counts 161 paragraphs. This finding explains why the BNP scored highest in all categories because the populist discourse becomes more apparent in a smaller document.

The results suggest that the BNP manifesto does not show a harsh resentment towards 'the elite.' The BNP made clear that they are unhappy with the political correct interference of the establishment. While the UKIP (2015) directly attacks the establishment ''The other parties have their head stuck well and truly in the sand''(p.16). The content analysis shows that UKIP uses a critical tone directed at the political elite in their party manifesto. Lastly, the Conservative Party consistently attacks the Labour party and the EU. Literature suggests that the Labour party is their biggest opponent and the Conservative Party portrays the EU as a failing system. They do not necessarily see the other parties and the EU as an 'elite.'

6. Findings: two content analysis in the UKIP Statement of Principles and in the UKIP election pamphlet

6. 1 The computer-based analysis

Multiple documents of the UKIP were analysed in order to give a clearer overview of the party. If the UKIP is the most populist party in the UK one should be able to detect that there is a pattern of the populist themes in all documents.

At first glance, the results of the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet confirm that the UKIP is a political party with a populistic discourse. Both documents show that the amount of words in all the three categories is considerably high. The amount of words in the category 'populism' and 'exclusionism' also appears to be higher in comparison with the first analyses on the UKIP party manifesto.
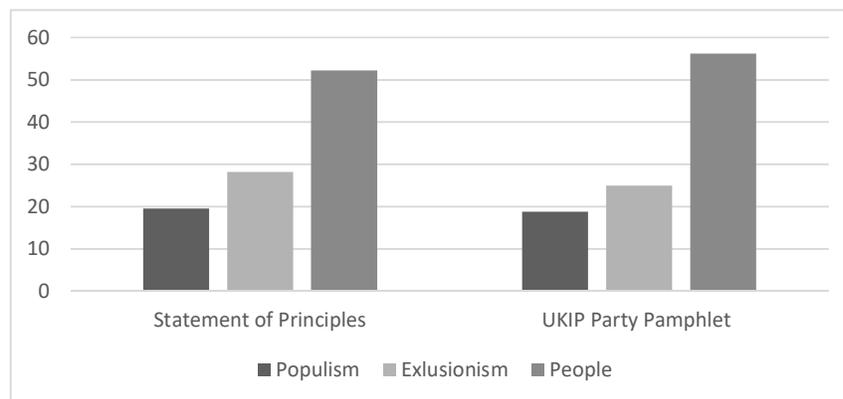
Figure 5: *The degree of populism, exclusionism and people: results of the computer-based analysis*

6.1.1 Populism

Figure 5 represents the fourth sub-question. Both documents scored lowest in the category populism. The dictionary found 9 words that were linked to the category of populism in the UKIP Statement of Principles. Within this category, the UKIP scored highest with the word 'politic*' (3 times) the other 5 words were: elite*, establishm*, referend*, regime* and tradition*. Of those words, 3 words were ridiculing the political correctness of the establishment. These include the following statement ''Free the police from the straitjacket of political correctness and 'targets'' and ''political correctness is stifling free speech'' (UKIP, 2015). Taking a closer look at the pamphlet shows that it used the word 'politic*' the most for 2 times and the other word that was used was the 'elite.* Most of the words revolve around the same topic: leaving the EU and creating a strong Britain again. Although the leaflet is a very short document, it is easily recognizable that the words are linked to the same populist issues as discussed in the UKIP Statement of Principles.

6.1.2 Exclusionism

The category exclusionism scored second in the computer-based analysis. In the UKIP Statement of Principles the word 'immigr*' was mentioned 7 times and the word 'foreign*' 3 times. Other words that were mentioned 1 time were illegal*, islam* and refugee*. The UKIP Statement of Principles primarily focuses on the negative effect of the immigration influx in the UK. For instance (2010), ''The tide of mass EU immigration has pushed down wages and restricted job opportunities''(p.3). Inherently, the UKIP party seems to blame the EU for the influx of immigrants. In the UKIP election pamphlet, the word 'immigr*' was used 2 times and the word 'border' 2 times. The other words of the category were not mentioned in the text. The pamphlet greatly focuses on the benefits of immigration control.

6.1.3 People

Both documents scored highest in the category people. Within this category, the UKIP Statement of Principles gave most attention the word 'national' (6 times) and to the word 'Britain' (5 times). UKIP (n.d.) ''UKIP is a patriotic party that believes in putting Britain first''(p.3). UKIP highlights that Britain has lost its national identity in by being a member of the EU. The word 'the people' and the 'public' were in third place with each 4 mentions. Again, UKIP claims that it is only possible to save 'the British people' if Britain withdraws from the EU and if the British people call for a more democratic system. In the UKIP party pamphlet the word 'people' was the most popular and it was mentioned 4 times. The word 'British' was the second most popular word and was mentioned 3 times. The pamphlet clearly states that the current establishment keeps ignoring the interest and the problems of 'the people.'

6.2 The classical content analysis

6.2.1 Anti-elitism
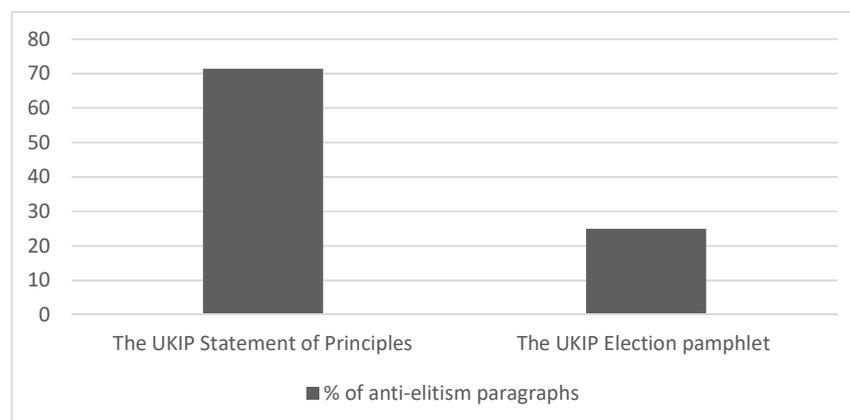
***Figure 6:** The degree of anti-elitism: results of the classical content analysis*

Figure 6 shows that the UKIP scored highest in the category anti-elitism. Since UKIP is portrayed as a populist party it is not surprising that the UKIP has a high degree of anti-elitism in their statement of principles. They criticize other politicians (2010) ''As crisis has followed crisis our politicians are seen to be impotent in the face of the dangers rearing up all around us'' and they blame the EU for being too dominant ''We do not have to be ruled by this regime to work with our European neighbours who depend on us for their markets''(p.3). They want to have an independent, free and fair Britain.

The UKIP election pamphlet is written by Farage and it states the downsides of the immigration crisis and the membership of the EU. He portrays himself as the man that has to stop the crises in the country 'enough is enough.' This form of communication makes Farage more appealing to his voters because he portrays himself as 'the common man.' This strategy is in accordance with other populist party leaders such as Wilders and Le Pen.

7. Discussion

The main aim of the research was to measure the degree of populism among the UKIP, the BNP and the Conservative Party using Pauwels and Rooduijn's dictionary. The two content analysis methods have been applied to the party manifestos of the political parties. Initially, computer-based coding was necessary and in a later stage, classical-content analysis has been conducted. This research tried to answer the four sub-questions first in order to be able to answer the main research question.

Initially, it was expected that the UKIP would score highest in the comparative content analysis. However, a more careful analysis revealed that the BNP scored highest in all categories. Nonetheless, some inconsistency had to be taken into consideration, because the party manifesto of the BNP only consisted of 11 paragraphs. While human coding showed that the UKIP counted 153 paragraphs in their party manifesto and the Conservative Party counted 161 paragraphs in their party manifesto. It is not surprising that the BNP scored highest in the category populism (25%) because they are known as one of the most radical right-wing party in Britain. They want to ensure the identity of the 'indigenous people of Britain and they want to stop as much 'non-white immigration' as possible. The UKIP is on the same page with this notion and scored second in the category populism (17,9%). In the category populism, they portray the current establishment and the other parties as 'the other.'

Secondly, the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet show great similarities with the UKIP party manifesto. All three documents score highest in the category people. They all highlight that the 'British people' have to take back the control of the elite. This is in line with Mudde's (2010) definition of populism as described in the literature review ''Populism is an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, the 'pure people' versus the 'corrupt elite,' and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté general of 'the people.'' This explains why UKIP mainly gets supported by the 'left behind' group. Their support base consists of the older-working class and the group of voters who have strong opinions on contemporary topics, such as race and immigration and national identity. These groups feel neglected by the mainstream political parties. UKIP successfully addresses the dissatisfaction with the established elite. All their documents highlight that change is on the way when the British people choose for a referendum. Moreover, all three documents seem to blame the immigration process for the crises in the country.

In contrast, the comparative content analysis confirms that the Conservative Party differs greatly from the two other political parties. The Conservative Party scores lowest in all categories, but 'the people' category. Human coding has been conducted on the word 'people' in this category because the word can express different meanings. It was found that the Conservative Party mostly targeted 'the young people' (22%) in their manifesto. This is in accordance with the leadership of Cameron

because literature states that he was the first Conservative Party leader that reached out to younger voters and female voters. Moreover, the Conservative Party is also very Eurosceptic in the party manifesto. Nonetheless, classical-content analysis proved that the party does not portray the EU as an elite. They deliberately criticize the EU by means of 'system negativity.' This concept should not be confused with anti-elitism because the meaning is different. According to Pauwels (2014), ''System negativity' only has fundamental criticism on the functioning or the power of the system or specific institutions''(p.197). Unlike the Conservative Party, the UKIP and the BNP both want to widen the gap between 'the people' and the 'the other' and they deliberately deliver harsh criticism on the other political parties and the EU as an established elite. There is a strong tone towards anti-elitism in the documents of both parties.

It is interesting to see that UKIP and the BNP repeatedly utilize the concept of 'the people' against 'the other' in their documents. In populist communication, the usage of 'the people' is highly important because populist leaders try to create a sense of belonging in a community and they exclude people who think differently. The excluded group is seen as 'the other' and they are blamed for the crises in a country. This seems to be of utmost importance for the populist parties because they want to close the gap between the voters and their representatives and give back the power to 'the people.' The differences between 'the people' and 'the other' can be perceived as a form of resentment. (Deiwiks, 2009). The UKIP and the BNP, show resentment to 'the other group' and as a result, the group is blamed for the current crises in the country. Both parties have great problems with the influx of immigrants and the membership of the EU. They want to change the political system and the society by creating radical statements and proposal, but in the end, most proposals are not reachable. As Canovan stated, the elites come to the realization that they have to bring back politics to 'the people' (Canovan, 2002). The UKIP successfully did this by campaigning for a referendum on the British EU membership. However, Farage resigned after the Brexit and the UKIP never came to power after this event. Eventually, they only stir up the political agenda and the political debate becomes interesting again.

The most striking outcome to emerge from the results is that all three parties proved to be highly Eurosceptic before Brexit took place in 2016. All three parties clearly stated that they wanted to break away from the EU and they all opt for a referendum. The UKIP and the BNP proved to be more Eurosceptic than the Conservative Party. However, in the end, the Conservative Party also wanted to break the ties with the EU. This confirms previous findings in the literature that the Conservative Party was afraid of the Eurosceptic tide. They felt especially threatened by the rising power of the UKIP and they gave in to the EU membership referendum. This concurs well with the Brexit that took place in 2016.

8. Conclusions

This section is devoted to the conclusion of this research, focussing on whether the UKIP is a populist party. This dissertation consulted three party manifestos, the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet. The literature review, provided in Chapter 2, established the background information on populism and the three political parties in the UK. The methodology chapter followed the literature review. The methodology section outlined the multiple case design and the two content analysis method that supported the research in the assessment of the measurement of populism in the documents. The findings chapter presented more insight into the policies of the UKIP and their voters base. Moreover, the findings chapter presented the outcome of the two content analysis method on the documents. Next came the discussion chapter after the results were presented. The literature review was combined with the results and carefully analysed. All chapter led to the conclusions below.

Firstly, when the party manifestos of the UKIP, the BNP and the Conservative Party were compared in the computer-based analysis, the BNP scored the highest percentage in the category populism (25%) and exclusionism (33,3%). The word 'people' in the category 'people' had to be thoroughly analysed by means of human coding, because the word could be used in several ways. Human coding showed that the BNP also scored highest with the usage of this word by addressing the 'British people.' In the classical content analysis, the BNP also scored highest in the anti-elitism category (45,4%). These results were not surprising because the BNP is often labelled as the most radical right-wing party in the UK. The BNP is known for their radical statements and they are often linked to a Neo-Nazi image. Therefore, they are not as popular as other British mainstream political parties and they only have the ability to stir up the political agenda.

The UKIP scored second in the comparative research. They scored 17,9% in the category populism, 18,9% in the exclusionism category and 17,3% addressed the 'British people.' These scores were still significantly high compared to the Conservative Party. Secondly, the UKIP Statement of Principles and the UKIP election pamphlet of 2014 scored a substantially high degree of populism (19,6% and 18,8%) and the scores in the other categories were even higher. In the classical content analysis the UKIP Statement of Principles contained 71,4% of anti-elitism and the UKIP election pamphlet 25%. This indicates that the UKIP has a populist political discourse because they score higher than the Conservative Party in all categories. However, the UKIP is not as radical as the BNP and they mainly focuses on the feelings of the 'left behind' group. The UKIP acknowledges the crisis' in the UK and they highlight that the power has to be given back to 'the people.'

The main research question ''To what extent can we consider the UKIP as a populist party?'' could be answered as follows. Scholarly literature and the findings show that UKIP could be considered a

populist party. The UKIP did not score highest in the two content analysis method because the BNP scored highest in all categories. Nonetheless, it could be stated that the UKIP can be portrayed as the most successful populist party in Britain because they have actually managed to break away from the sidelines in the British political context. In 2014, the party won the EU-elections with 4,3 million and 26,6 per cent of the national vote (Ford & Goodwin, 2014). Moreover, they had a big influence on the 'Leave Campaign' and they forced the Conservative Party to give in to a European membership referendum in 2016.

Considering the limits of the findings, this dissertation employed two content analysis methods. At first, the computer-based analysis was conducted with the computer program Yoshikoder. The computer-based analysis has the advantage of high reliability, however, the validity can be questioned. The computer treats the words as data and does not take the context of the word into account. Therefore, the word 'people' in the category 'people' was validated by means of human coding. In addition, the category 'anti-elitism' was validated by means of classical content analysis. The classical content analysis was made as transparent as possible, by including *Table 10, Table 11, Table 12, Table 13 and Table 14* with all the coded sentences of each paragraph.

9. Recommendations

For future research, it might be interesting to apply the computer-based analysis and the classical content in all categories that are to be measured in the documents. The computer-based analysis successfully used Pauwels and Rooduijn's pre-constructed dictionary. However, the computer-based analysis did not take the context of the words into consideration. Therefore, the results of the computer-based analysis can be overestimated and less reliable. The classical content analysis could have a look at the results of the computer-based analysis and determine whether the results are reliable and valid.

Therefore, the computer-based analysis is perfect for a first indication of the degree of populism among different political parties. It is a beneficial method because it operates very quickly and the costs are significantly low. After the computer-based analysis has been conducted, human coders can scan the relevant texts for all the words. While focussing on the selected words, they can determine whether a paragraph is actually a reference to one of the categories in the pre-constructed dictionary. In the end, the results will be more reliable when a combination of the computer-based method and the classical content method is consistently used in all categories of the dictionary

Moreover, it is also highly advisable to analyse the other forms of communication of the political party. Speeches, campaigns and election leaflets can give a greater insight into the political discourse of a party. They can support the populist discourse of a party because they are more up to date with the recent events in politics.

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11.Appendices

Appendix 1: Represent the results of the computer-based analysis in the party manifestos (Data figure 2)

Categories	UKIP		Conservative Party		BNP	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Populism	98	17,9	50	10,5	9	25
Exclusionism	104	18,9	56	11,8	12	33,3
People	346	63,1	369	77,7	15	41,7
Total	**548**	**100**	**475**	**100**	**36**	**100**

Appendix 2: Represent the results of the computer-based analysis in the statement of principles and UKIP party pamphlet (Data figure 3)

Categories	Statement of Principles		UKIP Party Pamphlet	
	N	%	N	%
Populism	9	19,6	3	18,8
Exclusionism	13	28,2	4	25
People	24	52,2	9	56,2
Total	**46**	**100**	**16**	**100**

Appendix 3: Classical content analysis of the category anti-elitism in the UKIP party manifesto

Pg. 3 paragraph 1	''On the major issues of the day - immigration, the economy, our health service and living standards – ***the establishment parties*** have repeatedly and knowingly raised the expectations of the public, only to let us down, time and time again'' (UKIP, 2015). ''In many ways, this is where UKIP came from: a feeling that ***successive governments*** were no longer representing the will of the British people'' (UKIP, 2015). ''If you believe in these things and that in this year, the 800th anniversary of Magna Carta, you believe we should seize the opportunity for real change in our politics; rebalance power ***from large corporations and big government institutions*** and put it back into the hands of the people of this country, then there really is only one choice'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg.5 paragraph 1	''If only ***all politicians*** could believe in Britain as UKIP does'' (UKIP, 2015).

	''Our manifesto also throws down the gauntlet to *those* who have ridiculed us, jeered at us and lied about our voters, our people and our policies'' (UKIP, 2015). ''While we see a free, prosperous, healthy, international future for Britain, *their cowardice* binds our country to a *failing super-state* that tells us what to do and does not listen to what we want'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 7 paragraph 1	''It hits the middle classes hardest, those who have worked to provide for their dependents, because *the wealthiest* almost always manage to avoid paying it'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 7 paragraph 3	''It is grossly unfair that a few *multi-national corporations*''(UKIP, 2015). ''They have been able to access all the benefits of our thriving British consumer market without making a proper contribution to the costs of British society'' (UKIP, 2015). ''UKIP will not allow *large companies* to continue getting away with paying zero or negligible corporation tax in Britain'' (UKIP, 2015). ''By restoring British tax sovereignty, which we lost when we signed up to the EU, we will end the practice of *businesses* paying tax in whichever EU or associated country *they* choose'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg.9 paragraph 1	''Preventing *MPs* claiming expenses that are not incurred wholly, exclusively and necessarily in the performance of their duties, like every other member of society'' (UKIP, 2015). ''**Government** has focused on the wrong spending priorities for far too long'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 10 paragraph 1	''What we do have a problem with is the uncontrolled, *politically-driven* immigration that has been promoted and sustained by *Labour and the Conservatives*'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg.11 paragraph 1	''Yet, instead of listening, *the old parties* have responded with insults and contempt: even our prime ministers have labelled good, decent people 'closet racists' and 'bigots''' (UKIP, 2015).

	''**Our current immigration** rules ignore the wishes of the British people'' (UKIP, 2015). ''**They** discriminate in favour of EU citizens and against the rest of the world'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 12 paragraph 1	''We can never control immigration while we continue to be members of the **European Union**'' (UKIP, 2015). ''**Other political** parties will promise to control immigration, but while they continue to support the UK's membership of the EU, they are not being honest with the electorate'' (UKIP, 2015). ''**The old parties** already support blatant discrimination against Commonwealth countries, with whom Britain has traditionally had long and friendly relationships'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 15 paragraph 1	''The founding of the NHS in 1948 was a victory for the people but, sixty years on, it is the **NHS** itself that needs emergency care and nursing back to health'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Our ageing population; the dramatic increase in the numbers of people suffering chronic, long-term conditions; uncontrolled immigration, encouraged by **Labour** and continued under **the Tories**: any one of these pressures might have been enough to bring the NHS close to breaking point'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Combine these with **EU directives** that have prevented essential training and endless political interference and it is not difficult to understand why the NHS is in serious trouble'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Both **Labour** and **the Tories** have utterly failed our NHS by treating it as a political football instead of a cherished institution'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Patients are suffering because of poor policy, made all too often purely for reasons of **political expediency**'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Despite a chronic shortage of doctors, nurses and midwives, **David Cameron's government** wasted billions on a top-down reorganisation he promised would not happen'' (UKIP, 2015).

	''*Labour*, which squandered money on financing capital projects at credit card rates through private finance initiatives and giving service contracts worth billions of pounds to private companies when they were in power, are now promising to repeal the Health and Social Care Act, meaning yet more billions will be wasted re-organising the NHS all over again'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 16 paragraph 4	''UKIP is the only party that is truly willing to face up to the harsh reality of how health tourism and treating those ineligible is sapping the NHS of funds. *The other parties* have their heads stuck well and truly in the sand'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 17 paragraph 3	''When *short-sighted politicians* are desperate for votes, they make appalling decisions'' (UKIP, 2015). ''UKIP will not continue to privatise the NHS by the back door, as both *Labour* and *the Conservatives* have done'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 17 paragraph 4	''Numerous *EU Directives* prevent medical institutions from operating in the best interests of patients'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 19 paragraph 1	''It is scandalous that *the current care system* is failing those who most need our help. We believe putting back the investment that was taken away by the current government is more than expedient: it is our duty'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 19 paragraph 5	''We will not allow the *NHS or third parties* under contract to employ home care workers on zero hour contracts of any kind (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 21 paragraph 4	''*Rogue, unregulated operators* must not be allowed to take advantage of pensioners while lining their own pockets'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 23 paragraph 2	''*The Conservative* threat to withdraw Housing Benefit from the under-25s may cause even more suffering'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 25 paragraph 1	''The policies of *current and previous governments* have been counterproductive in many ways: over-regulation has helped create an acute shortage of places and voucher systems have contributed to pushing up the cost of childcare'' (UKIP, 2015).

Pg. 30 paragraph 2	''In stark contrast to ***the other main parties***, who have persistently campaigned against them, UKIP supports grammar schools'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 35 paragraph 1	''***The Tories*** promised 'localism,' in their 2010 Manifesto, saying they would give more power to local people but, in reality, their planning policies have stripped powers away from communities'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 37 paragraph 1	''***HS2*** will blight thousands of homes and wreak irreparable environmental damage across large tracts of central England'' (UKIP, 2015). ''***HS2*** is an unaffordable white elephant and, given other, far more pressing calls on public expenditure, such as the NHS, social care and defence, not to mention the need to reduce the deficit, it must face the axe'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 38 paragraph 1	''Their 'green' agenda does not make them friends of the earth; it makes them enemies of the people.'' (UKIP, 2015). ''***The three old parties*** collude to reinforce failing energy policies that will do nothing to reduce global emissions, but which will bring hardship to British families'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 39 paragraph 1	''Because the 2008 Climate Change Act, an Act rooted in ***EU folly***, drives up costs, undermines competitiveness and hits jobs and growth'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 39 paragraph 3	''***They*** have blighted landscapes and put money into the pockets of wealthy landowners and investors, while pushing up bills for the rest of us'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 41 paragraph 1	''These are just three examples of how interference from the ***EU*** leads to British job losses''(UKIP, 2015). ''British workers are suffering: ***Eurostat,*** the EU's own data service, revealed last year that EU migrants are more likely to be in work in Britain than Britons themselves'' (UKIP, 2015). ''If we add to this the downward pressure on wages that has resulted from mass immigration, it is clear remaining in the ***EU*** is not favourable to British workers'' (UKIP, 2015).

	''By leaving *the EU* and restricting immigration through the use of an Australian-style points based system, we will give back some hope to British workers for a brighter future'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 41 paragraph 4	''The report was nevertheless spun by the *pro-EU lobby*, which tried to suggest jobs 'linked' to EU trade, meant jobs were 'dependent' on EU membership'' (UKIP, 2015). ''*Sadly, unscrupulous politicians*, fully aware of the truth of the matter, still attempt to deceive'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 43 paragraph 1	''*Larger companies* who don't pay invoices on time, damage their cash flow'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 43 paragraph 3	''It is not acceptable for *big businesses* to exploit smaller firms by deliberately delaying payments and UKIP will take firm action to stop this practice'' (UKIP, 2015). ''UKIP will also end a growing practice whereby *large companies* extend their payment terms to small companies, by arranging for their supplier to take out a bank loan to facilitate their demands'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 46 paragraph 1	"Farmers like myself have everything to gain by leaving the *EU*'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 47 paragraph 4	''While we will *abolish excessive and unnecessary regulations and directives,* keeping those necessary to protect our environment, or replacing them with more appropriate controls, administered at national or local government level, will be a priority for us'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 49 paragraph 3	''*The EU* is just not interested in sustainable fishing'' (UKIP, 2015). ''We can only do this if we *escape the CFP* and introduce our own sustainable fishing practice (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 51 paragraph 2	''Heritage' was a dirty word in *Labour's* 'Cool Britannia'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Tony Blair moved the Department of National Heritage into the Department for Culture, Media and Sport and marginalised tourism by

	lumping it in with the responsibilities of the Minister for Sports and Equalities'' (UKIP, 2015). ''**The Conservatives'** bulldozer instincts kicked in when the Chancellor removed the zero rate of VAT on listed building repairs'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 55 paragraph 3	''**Unelected bureaucrats in Brussels and judges** in Strasbourg and Luxembourg, can ignore British fears about crime'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 56 paragraph 1	''**Politics** in Britain has become a **cartel**'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Many MPs only became MPs by working in the office of MPs'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Instead of answering outward to their constituents, too many MPs only answer to other **MPs in Westminster**'' (UKIP, 2015). ''UKIP will end the unfairness of **MPs** from devolved nations voting on English-only issues'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 57 paragraph 1 from 56	''With **party whips** wielding so much power, Parliament has grown supine and often spineless'' (UKIP, 2015). ''UKIP wants far reaching political reform to ensure that government answers properly to Parliament and that **Parliament** is accountable to the people'' (UKIP, 2015). ''UKIP will give voters real power to sack their MP and scrap the bogus Recall measures introduced by the **Tory-led Coalition**'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Open Primary ballots would help ensure candidates in winnable seats need not be **Westminster insiders**'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 57 paragraph 2	''We cannot allow '**banana republic'** voting fraud in Britain'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 59 paragraph 1	''Too often, **elected councillors** put party politics ahead of taxpayers when making decisions on these important matters'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Continue to give UKIP councillors the freedom to vote how they choose. We believe the community is their 'boss' and they will not be 'whipped' to bloc vote like councillors in **other political parties**'' (UKIP, 2015).

	''Oppose *the 'cabinet' system of governance*, which puts too much power in the hands of too few people and advocate a committee system which brings more openness, transparency and cross-party collaborative working'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 61 paragraph 1	''This clearly distinguishes us from the other parties, who have sought to denigrate our historic values of sovereignty, democracy, independence, patriotism and freedom by handing responsibility for *Governance over to the EU*'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 61 paragraph 3	''We need to take pride in our country again and claim back our heritage from the *'chattering classes'* who have denigrated our culture, highlighted our failings as a country, rather than celebrating our successes, and tried to make us ashamed to be British'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 62 paragraph 1	''Britain will continue to trade with the EU after Brexit and to say otherwise is a deliberate deceit on *the electors* of our country'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 63 paragraph 1 van pagina 62	''Is it astonishing how many *politicians* claim we are 'too small' to go it alone'' (UKIP, 2015). ''**These** blinkered doomsayers are not just unpatriotic, they are very, very wrong'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 63 paragraph 3	''The inconvenient truth for our *Europhile political class* is that political union offers no advantages to trade, although it may inhibit it'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 63 paragraph 4	''It is time to free Britain from the shackles of the *EU*'' (UKIP, 2015). ''We have a choice between a dying Europe and a vibrant, growing world; a choice between staying buried in *the bureaucratic nightmare of Brussels*, and resuming our proper place in the rest of the world'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 65 paragraph 1	''*The Conservatives'* ambition to recruit 30,000 personnel to the Territorial Army is failing'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 65 paragraph 7	''UKIP wholly opposes the creation of a *EU Army*'' (UKIP, 2015).

	''We will not tolerate British troops operating under **European command,** on British soil or elsewhere'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 67 paragraph 1	''Since 1997, ***Labour and the Conservative/Lib Dem Coalition*** have deployed our Armed Forced to conflicts in Afghanistan, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Libya and Iraq, while maintaining the 'War on Terror'' (UKIP, 2015). ''***They*** have caused social problems here at home and jaded the British public's attitude towards involvement in future conflicts'' (UKIP, 2015). ''It is yet another sign that our ***political leaders*** are willing to put our troops in harm's way at the behest of other country's political agendas'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 69 paragraph 1	''Despite this severe economic hardship, ***MPs and peers in all parties*** except UKIP voted to massively increase foreign aid expenditure, borrowing money that will increase the national debt we leave to our children'' (UKIP, 2015). ''***The old parties*** pushed ahead with this expenditure regardless, ignoring considerable evidence that the money spent on overseas aid is not well directed or controlled and that much is wasted, lost to corruption or handed to countries already wealthy enough to have their own space programmes, nuclear weapons and even overseas aid programmes of their own'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 69 paragraph 3	''***DFID*** has already shown itself to be wasteful and lacking in focus on aid outcomes, yet its budget has been protected from recent government cuts'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 70 paragraph 1	''What we actually joined was a ***supranational political union***'' (UKIP, 2015). ''***The tentacles of the EU*** stretch into almost every area of our national life'' (UKIP, 2015). ''On these and many other issues, our elected ***Westminster politicians*** are impotent'' (UKIP, 2015).

	''It is an ***out-of-sight, unaccountable, pan-European bureaucratic elite*** which has the final say and they do not consider Britain's best interests'' (UKIP, 2015). ''The ***European Parliament*** is no safeguard'' (UKIP, 2015). ''It is a ***sham democracy:*** our MEPs are not allowed to generate or re-visit existing legislation'' (UKIP, 2015). ''If the ***EU's*** plans for 'tax harmonisation' come to fruition, soon we may find we cannot even set our own taxes. What else is coming down the tracks?'' (UKIP, 2015). ''A British exit from the EU, 'Brexit,' is the only choice open to us, if we are to make our own laws and control our own destiny'' (UKIP, 2015). ''Unless we leave, our democracy, our law-making powers and our sovereignty will continue to be salami sliced away by ***the EU***'' (UKIP, 2015).
Pg. 71 paragraph 3	''British exit will be a huge relief for many other ***EU members***, who have known all along that the vast majority of the British people find the idea of political union with the rest of ***Europe abhorrent***'' (UKIP, 2015).

Source: *(UKIP, 2015)*

Appendix 4: Classical content analysis of the category anti-elitism in the Conservatives party manifesto

Pg. 9 paragraph 1 **Pg. 10 but paragraph 1 from pg.9**	''Five years ago, Britain was reeling from the chaos of ***Labour's Great Recession;*** in 2014 we were the fastest growing of all the major advanced economies – last year, we grew 75 per cent faster than Germany, three times faster than ***the Eurozone*** and seven times faster than France'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''And by establishing the independent Office for Budget Responsibility (OBR), we have ended – permanently – the ability of ***politicians*** to cook the books for ***political gain*** at the nation's expense'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''Or economic chaos under ***Labour***, with higher taxes, more debt and no plan to fix our public finances, create jobs or build a more secure economy'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 11 paragraph 1 but starts at pg. 10	''Total government spending as a share of our national income at the end of the next Parliament is forecast to be very slightly higher than in the year 2000, the year before ***Labour*** lost all control of spending and the national debt started its longest rise for hundreds of years'' (The Conservatives, 2015).

	''The richest are paying a greater share of income tax than in any of *Labour's* 13 years'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 11 paragraph 2	''Hardworking taxpayers supported the banks during the financial crisis and so the banks should in turn support them during the recovery – that is why we will keep the bank levy in place and restrict *established banks'* ability to pay less tax by offsetting their profits against past losses'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 16 paragraph 1	''Under *Labour*, road and rail were starved of resources, while too many people were stuck on the wrong side of the digital divide'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 16 paragraph 2	''Overall public investment will be higher on average over this decade, as a percentage of GDP, than under the whole period of the last **Labour** Government'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 16 paragraph 3	''We will support a fairer deal for taxpayers and commuters: we will keep commuter rail fares frozen in real terms for the whole of the next Parliament – regulated fares will only be able to rise by Retail Price Inflation, and *train operating companies* will not have any flexibility to raise ticket prices above this'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 19 paragraph 1	''Thanks to the success of our long-term economic plan, Britain is creating more jobs than the 27 other countries of *the European Union* put together'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
	''Neglected for 13 years under *Labour*, we have started the process of championing and connecting up the countryside'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
	''This is all at risk if the Labour Party forms the government. Their policies to spend more, borrow more and tax more would be catastrophic for Britain's businesses – and for all the families thrown back into the despair of joblessness and financial uncertainty'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 20 paragraph 2	''It is also not fair that taxpayers should have to pay for 18-21 year-olds on *Jobseeker's Allowance* to claim Housing Benefit in order to leave home'' (The Conservatives, 2015).

Pg. 21 paragraph 3	''**Under Labour**, women accounted for only one in eight FTSE 100 board members'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 23 paragraph 4	''We will liberate farmers from **red tape** by coordinating all visits through a single Farm Inspection Taskforce, which will involve farmers themselves and use data from existing industry schemes, such as Red Tractor'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 27 paragraph 1	''*Under Labour*, those who worked hard found more and more of their earnings taken away in tax to support a welfare system that allowed, and even encouraged, people to choose benefits when they could be earning a living'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''In the next Parliament, we will continue to reward hard work: raising the tax-free Personal Allowance'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 29 paragraph 3	''The 40p tax rate was only supposed to be paid by the best-off people in our country. But in the past couple of decades, far too many have been dragged into it'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 30 paragraph 1	''A welfare system that is fair to those who need it, and fair to those who pay for it too: stopping ***benefit cheats*** and ending ***welfare abuse***'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 31 paragraph 1	''Between 1997 and 2009, under ***the last Labour Government***, we had the largest influx of people Britain had ever see'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''We will then put these changes to the British people in a straight in-out referendum on our ***membership of the European Union*** by the end of 2017 (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 36 paragraph 4	''We will not allow ***state schools*** to make a profit'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 37 paragraph 4	''From September, we will go even further, abolishing the cap on higher education student numbers and removing an arbitrary ceiling on ambition'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 39 paragraph 1	''*Under Labour***,** micro-management from Whitehall clogged-up the system'' (The Conservatives, 2015).

	''**By the time Labour left office,** our cancer survival rates lagged far behind those of other countries, and more than 18,000 patients had been waiting for over a year to start their treatment'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 40 paragraph 2	''We will restore your right to access a specific, named GP – something that **Labour abolished**'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 40 paragraph 5	''People deserve patient-centred healthcare not more **bureaucracy**'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 44 paragraph 2	''That is why we froze the BBC licence fee and will keep it frozen, pending Charter renewal'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 47 paragraph 1	''The Big Society is a vision of a more engaged nation, one in which we take more responsibility for ourselves and our neighbours; communities working together, not depending on **remote and impersonal bureaucracies**'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 48 paragraph 3	''We will build on the posthumous pardon of Enigma codebreaker Alan Turing, who committed suicide following his conviction for gross indecency, with a broader measure to lift **the blight of outdated convictions of this nature**'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''Many others are dead and cannot correct this injustice themselves through the **legal process** we have introduced while in government'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 49 paragraph 1	''Save you money by cutting **government waste**'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''Government is the servant of the British people, not their master. That simple fact was forgotten when **Labour** was in power. Quangos grew in number, wasteful projects proliferated and the bureaucracy swelled – symptoms of a **Government** that believed it always knew best'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 51 paragraph 2	''We will continue to tackle all the **bureaucracy of Whitehall** that clogs the arteries of government'' (The Conservatives, 2015).

	''We will end taxpayer-funded six-figure payoffs for the ***best paid public sector workers***'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 51 paragraph 3	''In the next Parliament, we will address the unfairness of ***the current Parliamentary boundaries***, reduce the number of MPs to 600 to cut the cost of politics and make votes of more equal value'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 53 paragraph 1	''***Under Labour,*** housebuilding fell to its lowest peacetime level since the 1920s'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 54 paragraph 5	''***We have abolished the Labour Government's top-down Regional Strategies*** which sought to delete the Green Belt in and around 30 towns and cities and introduced a new Local Green Space planning designation which allows councils and neighbourhood plans to give added protection to valuable local green spaces'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 55 paragraph 2	''Whereas Labour wants to propose a new tax on family homes, we will help local authorities keep council tax low for hardworking taxpayers, and ensure residents can continue to veto high rises via a local referendum'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 56 paragraph 1	''***Labour*** never understood this. Our rural communities fell further behind urban areas; biodiversity suffered, with important species and habitats declining under their watch; and they failed to protect the Green Belt'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 57 paragraph 4	''We will oppose any resumption of ***commercial whaling***, and seek further measures at the EU and internationally to end shark-finning'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 58 paragraph 1	''National energy policy demands a willingness to take decisions today for the good of tomorrow'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''But ***Labour*** took the opposite approach. Power margins – the safety cushion we need to prevent blackouts – have fallen to record lows because of their historic failure to invest in new capacity. Domestic sources of oil and gas were unexploited'' (The Conservatives, 2015).

	''And **Labour** failed to deliver the next generation of energy projects that will help us keep the lights on, drive bills down and reduce carbon emissions'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''Where **Labour** was chronically short-termist, we have secured decent, affordable energy supplies not just for the coming years, but for the coming decades'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''Healthy competition, not ***short-termist political intervention***, is the best way to secure a good deal for consumers'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 60 paragraph 1	''Scrap the Human Rights Act and curtail the role of ***the European Court of Human Rights***, so that foreign criminals can be more easily deported from Britain'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''***Labour*** didn't trust our brilliant policemen and women, probation staff and prison officers to do their job, but tried to micromanage every police force from Whitehall, doing serious damage to officer morale, police discretion and forces' performance'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''And **Labour** failed to provide sufficient prison places: tens of thousands of prisoners were released early, putting the public at risk'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 62 paragraph 3	''We have stopped prisoners from having the vote, and have deported suspected terrorists such as Abu Qatada, despite all the problems created by ***Labour's human rights laws***'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''This will break the formal link between British courts and the European Court of Human Rights, and make our own Supreme Court the ultimate arbiter of human rights matters in the UK'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 67 paragraph 1	''Take the family home out of Inheritance Tax for all but the richest by raising the effective threshold for married couples and civil partners to £1 million'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''In office, ***Labour*** neglected the elderly. They raided pensions with a £150 billion stealth tax.

	''This year they increased pensions by a paltry 75 pence'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''And they did nothing to give people control over their savings and pensions, or to stop them from having to sell their homes to pay for care'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 71 paragraph 1	''And one fundamental unfairness remains today: ***Scottish MPs*** are able to cast the decisive vote on matters that only affected England and Wales, while English and Welsh MPs cannot vote on matters that only affect Scotland'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 72 paragraph 2	''We will end the manifest unfairness whereby ***Scotland*** is able to decide its own laws in devolved areas, only for ***Scottish MPs*** also to be able to have the potentially decisive say on similar matters that affect only England and Wales'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 74 paragraph 1	''For too long, your voice has been ignored on ***Europe***'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''Reform the workings of ***the EU***, which is too big, too bossy and too bureaucratic'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''Reclaim power from ***Brussels*** on your behalf and safeguard British interests in the Single Market'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''And it is time for the British people – ***not politicians*** – to have their say'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''***Labour*** failed to give you a choice on the EU. They handed over major new powers to Brussels without your consent, and gave away £7 billion of the British rebate'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''We took Britain out of Eurozone bailouts, including for Greece – the first ever return of powers from ***Brussels***'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''***The EU*** is too bureaucratic and too undemocratic. It interferes too much in our daily lives, and the scale of migration triggered by new members joining in recent years has had a real impact on local communities'' (The Conservatives, 2015).

	''No to a constant flow of power to **Brussels**. No to unnecessary interference. And no, of course, to the Euro, to participation in Eurozone bail-outs or notions like a European Army'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''So the choice at this election is clear: **Labour and the Liberal Democrats** won't give you a say over the EU'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 75 paragraph 3	''The integration of **the Eurozone** has raised acute questions for non-Eurozone countries like the United Kingdom'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''But we will not let the integration of **the Eurozone** jeopardise the integrity of the Single Market or in any way disadvantage the UK'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 75 paragraph 4	''We will reclaim powers from **Brussels**'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''We want to see powers flowing away from **Brussels**, not to it'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''We want national parliaments to be able to work together to block unwanted **European legislation**'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 75 paragraph 5	''We will scrap Labour's Human Rights Act and introduce a British Bill of Rights which will restore common sense to the application of human rights in the UK'' (The Conservatives, 2015).
Pg. 75 paragraph 6	''We want an **EU** that helps Britain move ahead, not one that holds us back'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''We have already succeeded in exempting our smallest businesses from new **EU regulations,** and kicked-off negotiations for a massive EU trade deal with the USA, which could be worth billions of pounds to the UK economy'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''So we will resist **EU** attempts to restrict legitimate financial services activities'' (The Conservatives, 2015). ''We will press for lower **EU spending**, further reform of the Common Agricultural Policy and Structural Funds, and for EU money to be focused on promoting jobs and growth'' (The Conservatives, 2015).

Pg. 77 paragraph 1	''*Labour's* Great Recession weakened Britain on the world stage'' (The Conservatives, 2015).

Source: (The Conservatives, 2015)

Appendix 5: Classical content analysis of the category anti-elitism in the BNP party manifesto

Pg 2. Paragraph 4	''End *politically correct interference* in police operations and restore colour blind policing so that everyone is treated equally'' (BNP, 2016). ''It's absurd that **Police and Crime Commissioners in England & Wales and the Mayor of London** can be members of any political party but Police Officers cannot'' (BNP, 2016).
Pg 2. Paragraph 6	''So-called 'white flight' from London has not happened by accident, it's a result of *successive governments* favouring and putting foreigners first at the expense of native Londoners'' (BNP, 2016).
Pg 3. Paragraph 1	''London is already overcrowded. All the *other political parties* will let in more – we'll shut the door'' (BNP, 2016). ''Current Immigration policy is determined primarily by *the EU* (a key reason for our opposition to Britain's membership) and central government, we will take all measures within the Mayor's power to protect and advance the interests of indigenous Londoners and members of legally settled minorities who contribute to the common good'' (BNP, 2016).
Pg 3. Paragraph 2	''Landlords should be allowed to decide whether their premises are smoking or non-smoking – let's do things the British way, *NOT the European way*'' (BNP, 2016).
Pg 3. Paragraph 5	''This Public Holiday will be celebrated every year in Trafalgar Square, London with proper English flags, instead of meaningless and *politically correct* 'red flags' – favoured by Boris Johnson'' (BNP, 2016).

Source: (BNP, 2016)

Appendix 6: Classical content analysis of the category anti-elitism in the UKIP Statement of Principles

Pg. 2 paragraph 1	''As crisis has followed crisis ***our politicians*** are seen to be impotent in the face of the dangers rearing up all around us'' (UKIP, n.d). ''Jobs are lost and services failing under a tide of immigration, pensions have been crippled and cash savings yield almost nothing. Millions are now without adequate means of existence. Fear of old age darkens the future. ***Parliament*** is held in contempt'' (UKIP, n.d). ''A gulf has opened between ***the ruling elite*** and the public'' (UKIP, n.d). ''Each of the establishment main parties are now Social Democrats and offer voters no real choice'' (UKIP, n.d). ''UKIP alone holds that the rescue of the British people depends on withdrawal from the ***EU*** to regain our self-governing democracy so allowing the relief of business from ***crushing regulation*** and the less well off from the burden of taxes, shutting off the flood of immigrants and freeing enterprise'' (UKIP, n.d).
Pg. 2 paragraph 2	''***Commissioners in Brussels dictate*** 75% of our laws. None can be repealed by Parliament. We cannot vote for those who make these laws – we cannot remove them'' (UKIP, n.d). ''***EU controls*** Immigration, Business and Employment, Financial Services, Fishing, Farming, Law and Order, Energy and Trade. It seeks now to control Foreign Affairs and Tax'' (UKIP, n.d). ''We do not have to be ruled by ***this regime*** to work with our European neighbours who depend on us for their markets'' (UKIP, n.d). ''Abolish ***the EU's bureaucratic VAT*** and replace it with a local sales tax to support Local Government finance and to make it accountable at the ballot box'' (UKIP, n.d).
Pg. 2 paragraph 3	''By leaving the EU we save over £45m a day plus £60bn a year due ***to EU trade barriers, business regulation, waste, fraud, administration costs and the destruction of our fishing industry***'' (UKIP, n.d).

	''Public spending is increasing and the Coalition's cuts do not scratch the surface of **Labour's deficit.** We must cut down Government if we are to return to a sound economy'' (UKIP, n.d). ''**EU 'renewable' energy rules** will double electricity bills by 2020'' (UKIP, n.d).
Pg. 3 paragraph 4	''Free the police force from the straitjacket of political correctness and targets'' (UKIP, n.d).
Pg. 3 paragraph 6	''**Multiculturalism** has split our society. **Political correctness** is stifling free speech'' (UKIP, n.d). ''To shore up the collapsing Euro the **EU** is now seeking to pull away the props of our national economy - control of taxation and spending'' (UKIP, n.d).

Source: (UKIP, n.d.)

Appendix 7: Classical content analysis of the category anti-elitism in the UKIP election pamphlet

Pg. 2 paragraph 1	''Commissioner Redin let the cat out of the bag when she admitted the plan was to create a **United States of Europe**'' (UKIP, 2014). ''That's despite what the people of Europe actually want, not that any of the **political elite** in this country or in **Brussels** really care about that'' (UKIP, 2014). ''**The EU** costs the UK 55 million a day just in membership fees, leaving a significant hole in the public purse, while the damage done to our national sovereignty, our pride and – dare I say – our patriotism is immense'' (UKIP, 2014). ''Only UKIP is prepared to pull out of the EU and rebuild a better relationship with Europe'' (UKIP, 2014).

Source: (UKIP, 2014)

Appendix 8: Student Ethics Form

<div style="text-align:center">

Student Ethics Form

European Studies
Student Ethics Form

</div>

Your name: Jara van der Velde

Supervisor: Mr. Funk

Instructions/checklist
Before completing this form you should read the APA Ethics Code
(http://www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx). If you are planning research with human subjects
you should also look at the sample consent form available in the Final Project and Dissertation
Guide.

a. [   ] Read section 3 that your supervisor will have to sign. Make sure that you cover all these
   issues in section 1.
b. [   ] Complete sections 1 and, if you are using human subjects, section 2, of this form, and sign
   it.
c. [   ] Ask your project supervisor to read these sections (and the draft consent form if you have
   one) and sign the form.
d. [ ] Append this signed form as an appendix to your dissertation.

Section 1. Project Outline (to be completed by student)

(i) Title of Project:
     The UKIP, the populist party in the United Kingdom? Measuring populism in comparative
     research: two content analysis methods.

(ii) Aims of project:
     The aim of the project is to determine whether the UKIP party can be considered as
     populist party.

(iii) Will you involve other people in your project – e.g. via formal or informal interviews,
      group discussions, questionnaires, internet surveys etc. (Note: if you are using data
      that has already been collected by another researcher – e.g. recordings or
      transcripts of conversations given to you by your supervisor, you should answer
      'NO' to this question.)

      NO

If no: you should now sign the statement below and return the form to your supervisor.
You have completed this form.

This project is not designed to include research with human subjects . I understand that I do not
have ethical clearance to interview people (formally or informally) about the topic of my research,
to carry out internet research (e.g. on chat rooms or discussion boards) or in any other way to use
people as subjects in my research.

Student's signature _____ .   date 18-12-2017
If yes: you should complete the rest of this form.

Section 2 Complete this section only if you answered YES to question (iii) above.

(i) What will the participants have to do? (v. brief outline of procedure):

(ii) What sort of people will the participants be and how will they be recruited?

(iii) What sort stimuli or materials will your participants be exposed to, tick the appropriate
     boxes and then state what they are in the space below?

Questionnaires[ ]; Pictures[ ]; Sounds [ ]; Words[ ]; Other[ ].

(iv) Consent: Informed consent must be obtained for all participants before they take part in
     your project. Either verbally or by means of an informed consent form you should state
     what participants will be doing, drawing attention to anything they could conceivably object
     to subsequently. You should also state how they can withdraw from the study at any time
     and the measures you are taking to ensure the confidentiality of data. A standard informed
     consent form is available in the Dissertation Manual.

(vi) What procedures will you follow in order to guarantee the confidentiality of
      participants' data?   Personal data (name, addresses etc.) should not be stored in such a
      way that they can be associated with the participant's data.

Student's signature: .... date: 18-12-17

Supervisor's signature (if satisfied with the proposed procedures): .... date: 18-12-17