Radical Right Wing Populism of

the Lega Nord: The Framing of Muslims

By

Gulzat Baialieva

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Political Science

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science

Supervisor: Carsten Schneider

Budapest, Hungary

2015

CEU eTD Collection

Abstract

The thesis combines two approaches of populism in radical right, first as an ideology, and second as a political communication. Making first attempts to introduce the case of the Lega Nord, the thesis project seeks to answer how salient is anti-Islamic rhetoric within the anti-immigration agenda. In my thesis I bring the Italian case and examine how the Lega Nord's anti-immigration agenda addresses the issues of Islam. Specifically, the empirical analyses are focused on measuring and explaining the dimensions of anti-Muslim immigration framing. The news and statements from the party's official webpage are the primary sources. The content analysis of these data allows looking at the framing immigration and Muslim immigration. The anti-immigrant agenda setting of the Lega Nord has been observed to focus on the Muslim migrant groups. However, the extent to which party's Islamophobia overshadows its general anti-immigration position hasn't been measured. The present research seeks to explain the Lega Nord's framing of the anti-Muslim issue. Applying content analysis of the party's anti-immigration agenda for last 15 months, the thesis identified that anti-Muslim rhetoric occupies 61% of the party's general anti-immigration materials. The frames produced by the Lega Nord's radical right populism have been embedded on two dimensions: law and order and cultural. On the law-and-order dimension the party significantly emphasizes emergency issues (pragmatic category) making up 79% of anti-Muslim frames. On the cultural dimension, 21% of the anti-Muslim frames concern nativist frames.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my children: Aybike, Aykut, Ayluna. They stimulated me to finish these studies and this thesis.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Carsten Schneider for his guidance. His supportive supervision and keen comments helped me in writing of this thesis. I am especially thankful for his virtual availability and quick replies. Besides my supervisor, I would like to thank Academic Writing Instructor at CEU John Harbord whose insightful structural feedback directed me in formatting ideas.

My sincere thanks go to my friends – researchers at European University Institute. I am grateful to Silvia Aiuvalasit and Chiara Milan who corrected my translations of the Italian texts. Pietro Gattinara and Lorenzo Cini provided the Italian political context during our conversations and commented on earlier versions of the research. I especially want to underline my friends Veronica Paulou and Chiara Milan for their encouragement and immense support not only in academic aspects but also in giving a care and love to my children residing in Florence. The painstaking stay away from my small kids and move to Budapest was eased by long-term visit of my mother-in-law Roza Mukasheva. She temporarily replaced me for my children and took good care of them.

Last but not the least, there is one person who influenced on this re-route in academic development and engagement with the political science. It is my husband (who prefers to remain anonymous) made my current study possible. I am thankful for him not only for his strong support in my studies and thesis writing but for his ability to raise three kids in parallel with his own doctoral research.

Contents

List of Figures and Tables

Introduction

Radical right wing populist parties in Europe have gained significant electoral successes in the last two decades. In some countries, notably in the Netherlands and Austria, electoral campaigns and everyday public opinion making brought right wing populist parties to coalitional governments or/and gained them solid positions in parliaments. By focusing on few controversial issues, they skilfully reach conservative voters and challenge the mainstream parties in the electoral arena. Prominent among these issues is the immigration problem which has become high on the agenda in practically all economically developed European countries. Yet the main target of the radical right parties' anti-immigration framing is specifically Muslim immigrants and sometimes even citizens of Muslim origin. Although Muslim immigrants do not constitute majority among overall immigrant populations in most of European countries, the radical right wing populists have usually portrayed them as a major threat to "native" European societies.

With the construction of Islam as a danger and terrorism being religiously framed, Muslims have been generally depicted as out-groups. These stereotypical discourses about Islam and Muslims, especially framed by the radical right parties are hardly new. The fear of Muslims and political emphasis on Islam as a threat intensified after external shocks such as 9/11 in 2001, the attack on London transport network on 7 July in 2005, and this year the Charlie Hebdo gunmen attacks in Paris.[1] These events present favourable discursive and political opportunity structures for the radical right populist parties on politicizing salient issues. The presence of Muslims and visibility of Islam in Europe invigorate the hasty change in political

---

[1] Gunmen attack of a French weekly satirical magazine office for the publication of caricatures insulting some Muslims took place in Paris on 7 January, 2015.

agenda of right wing parties (Bunzl 2005). Islam and the Muslim immigration continue to be politically salient and strategically portrayed as the "Other" by the populist right in Europe (Betz and Meret 2009; Zúquete 2008). This change in the xenophobic populist rhetoric deserves further scholarly attention.

In my thesis I bring the Italian case and examine how the Lega Nord's anti-immigration agenda addresses the issues of Islam. Specifically, the empirical analyses are focused on measuring and explaining the dimensions of anti-Muslim immigration framing. The thesis combines two approaches of populism in radical right, first as an ideology, and second as a political communication. Making first attempts to introduce the case of the Lega Nord, the thesis project seeks to answer how salient is anti-Islamic rhetoric[2] within the anti-immigration agenda. The main research question is How do the Lega Nord's political actors frame an issue of Muslim immigration?

The populism literature[3] shows that with the new wave of immigration in Europe, classic anti-Semite populism has been traded for a new enemy – the migrants. Yet the making of the scapegoat has not stopped there and further development in anti-immigration sentiments has been shaping a new "Other" – the Muslims. Williams (2010) analysing the Islamic "Other" in radical right party's programmatic orientation in Belgium, Austria, Germany, France and Britain points out that populism and the European identity crisis account for the change in the populist rhetoric (2010, 111):

---

[2] I regard Islamic rhetoric as "Islamophobia" since the populist exclusivist Lega Nord party holds negative position towards immigration and Islam.
[3] See Hans-Georg Betz, "Against the 'Green Totalitarianism:' Anti-Islamic Nativism in Contemporary Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe," in Christiana Schori Liang, ed., *Europe for the Europeans: the Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right* (New York: Ashgate, 2007); Roger Eatwell, "Community Cohesion and Cumulative Extremism in Contemporary Britain." *Political Quarterly* 77(2): 204–16 (2006).

> Radical right-wing party programmatic orientations have moderated and their appeals have broadened. The out-groups and immigrant enemies of the postwar era have been superseded, especially as anti-Semitism has been traded for anti-Muslim Islamophobia. Populism is explored in its potential causal logic for observed changes.

This quote manifests a role of radical right populism in reflecting on salient issues and selecting a new scapegoat. Similarly, Dolezal, Helbling & Hutter (2010) stress the role of radical right populism and issue-specific positions in way Muslims are framed. Other comparative case studies by Didier Ruedin and Joost Berkhout (2012) focus on how Muslims are categorized by the anti-immigration parties. Their cases include seven European countries Austria, Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. Interestingly, their research findings show that the Muslim migrants are perceived and framed differently from other migrants. The

While the existing studies concentrate on the Western European countries, they neglect Southern Europe. The scholarly works focusing on populist parties' depiction of the Muslims have not included Italy's remarkably radical right populist party – the Northern League for the Independence of Padania (hereafter Lega Nord[4]). The case of Italy is interesting because the pattern of immigration in Italy is different. Moreover, the ways the Lega Nord has been responding to immigration and especially with the increasing illegal landings through the seas the party's reaction can shed a new light. Hence, this project contributes to the existing literature by presenting the Italian case of the framing strategies of Islam and Muslim migrants. The timeframe of this thesis is from 2014 to the March 2015. This period covers the Lega Nord under its new leader Matteo Salvini.

---

[4] The shorter name of the party in Italian is Lega or La Lega, however, "the Lega Nord" is commonly used in the English language publications.

Of Italy's 60 million populations, in total Muslims constitute only 3%[5] of the population while the general number of immigrants is 8% ("Demografia in Cifre" 2014). However the Lega Nord has been putting a greater focus on Islam and Muslim immigration when talking about immigration issues. The question is why Muslims get more attention than non-Muslim immigrants. It is therefore valuable to analyse anti-immigration agenda in general to detect how salient anti-Muslim rhetoric is. Is Muslim immigration is indeed covered more than non-Muslim immigration or it is just a false perception? How does the Lega Nord frame the dimensions and categories of Islam and Muslims in Italy? The present work addresses these questions.

The Lega Nord has drawn extensive scholarly attention and many theoretical and empirical studies exist explaining its emergence in Italian politics, its "ethno-populism" and electoral success, its "political opportunism" and anti-immigration position (Cento Bull and Gilbert 2001; Zaslove 2004; McDonnell 2006; Passarelli 2013; Zaslove 2008; Rydgren 2004; Gold 2003). However, although its anti-Islamic sentiments have long been observed, no studies have focused on Muslim immigration. And no analysis has been made to identify how salient anti-Muslim immigration is within general anti-immigration discourse. Therefore, this work examines the anti-immigration party focusing on its position towards Muslim immigration. The Lega Nord has long been observed to emphasize Italy's northern cultural homogeneity, however the out-group shifted from Southern Italians to gypsies, then to migrants. Though the party's anti-Islamic position is known, how strong it is and whether Muslim migration occupies special place in their anti-immigration rhetoric haven't been researched. No one has looked at how populism of the Lega Nord responds to the features of country-specific Muslim immigration. The Italian context is interesting to look at right now when the country is in the forefront of the immigration crisis. The Lega Nord might bring new insight for the

---

[5] http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/01/15/5-facts-about-the-muslim-population-in-europe/

existing knowledge. Particular features of immigration and the strength of Lega Nord's populism can be rationale on the novel framing dimensions of the Muslim immigration.

Lega Nord's radical right populism uses associations of Muslims as culturally and religiously dangerous. For example, in January after the Charlie Hebdo attack, the Lega Nord organized a campaign in Milan against Islamic fundamentalism. During one of the campaigns Salvini delivered a speech sending a message of treating Muslims as a terrorists and dangerous countrymen: "Islam is dangerous: there are millions of people around the world and even in our lands who are ready to slaughter and kill in the name of Islam ". He then said that Islam "is not like other religions and should not be treated like other religions…Before granting any space such as mosques you have to think about it 18 times…Those who do not understand they make a favor to terrorists."[6]

Salvini's statement hints that the security and emergency issues are closely related to their strategies to frame Muslims as something to be afraid of. Yet, one statement of one leader is not sufficient to measure the party's framing strategies. For this reason the content analysis of the party materials for 15 months, January 2014 to March 2015 will be examined. This timeframe for analysis has been selected for two reasons. Firstly, it is related to major change in leadership. Matteo Salvini, young charismatic leader, Federal Secretary of the Lega Nord took the power in December 2013. His intraparty reforms and program to extend its influence southward is an unexpected act from the regionalist northern party. By the end of 2014 he had established a sister party named "*Noi con Salvini*" (NcS, "Us wth Salvini"). If he is changing the Lega Nord's anti-southern agenda, how else the party is going to polarize the people? Just by increasing its well-known anti-immigration position or by carving out a new

---

[6] My personal translation. See the original in Italian: "L'Islam è pericoloso: nel nome dell'Islam ci sono milioni di persone in giro per il mondo e anche sui pianerottoli di casa nostra pronti a sgozzare e a uccidere… Lo ha detto l'Islam "non è come le altre religioni e non va trattato come le altre religioni… Prima di concedere qualsiasi spazio come le moschee bisogna pensarci 18 volte …Chi non lo capisce fa un favore ai terroristi".http://www.liberoquotidiano.it/news/politica/11741106/Lega-Nord--Matteo-Salvini-.html

enemy? Second logic for choosing 2014-2015 is linked to the puzzle. This time period has been marked by important immigration-related events. The year of 2014 was full of events connected to migration and Muslims. Reported ship wreckage, illegal landings, refugees and asylum seekers from North Africa to Italy, naval rescue-operation Mare Nostrum and Triton offer good opportunities for the Lega Nord's agenda-setting. Late 2014 and early 2015 also generated external shocks such as ISIS activities and Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris.

It is important to take a snapshot of this combination of critical events: a change of party leadership and a retreat from regionalism accompanied by intensification of immigration. I use primary sources from the party's official webpage ww.leganord.org. The units of analysis are general anti-immigration news and statements by the Lega Nord's political actors. Because the party has a strong anti-Muslim immigration position the thesis focuses on how salient the Muslims issue is. I use the news materials published by the Lega Nord on daily basis. Each item of news and statements they post are classified thematically. Since I select the party news classified as *Immigrazione* (Immigration), the Islamic and Muslim issues are connected to Muslim immigration respectively.

The salience of anti-Muslim immigration rhetoric will be examined within the anti-immigration texts. Instead of sampling Islam specific news, I collected general anti-immigration publications. This choice of the material helps to avoid the selection bias. Therefore, examination of how much space anti-Islamic frames take is based on the anti-immigration texts. After measuring Islam-related immigration, I categorize its frames and find out which categories are preoccupy the party more so as to identify how they frame Islam and Muslims.

Quantitative text analysis also allows us looking at the dynamic of framing immigration and Muslim immigration. In total, for 15 months 1650 news have been published on their

website. The news and statements entitled *Immigrazione* were closely examined for the content. Some news had very short statement and short notices from their social media posts. That's why I intentionally looked for the expanded texts containing at least one big paragraph. There are 351 lengthier anti-immigration news and statements spotted. I use the whole population of anti-immigration texts. I acknowledge that other party news on other classifications may reflect on the immigration and/or Muslims. However, working on richer and expanded materials as used for current thesis makes content analysis more valid.

Gattinara's (2014) empirical research on the immigration issues and framing in Italy partially guides the research design of my thesis. Alongside this, Popping's (2000) theoretical works on research strategies in text analysis and his Spitta software program have been applied. This automated computer-based program allows proceeding with the statistical analysis and yield the dimensions and frames based on the units of analysis. Primarily methodological work using text analysis is comprised of the manual search of the party website's news section to identify the population of texts; selection of anti-immigration statements and news for last 15 months. After data collection, the content of text was examined to construct a codebook. The methodological implications and the empirical analysis will be expanded in chapter 5 and chapter 6.

Chapter 1 gives contextual and conceptual debates on the dimensionality of immigration framing. Chapter 2 brings discussions on the rise of the radical right in broader context and locates the Lega Nord in the general trend. Phenomenon of populism and the Lega Nord's populism is presented in chapter 3. To understand the Muslim immigration chapter 4 provides certain features and dynamics of country-specific migration flows. Research design is expanded in chapter 5 and presents procedures of coding and data collection. Chapter 6

describes the categorization of dimensions and framing and presents the empirical results. Chapter 7 discusses empirical findings followed by the conclusion.

Chapter 1. Dimensionality of Muslim immigration framing

As anti-Muslim framing may concern a broad spectrum of issues, the examination of dimensions is necessary. It can explain which specific frames preoccupy the party position with regard to domestic political debates and collective action.

Recent studies show that Muslims have been turned into exclusively "cultural" category unlike other migrants who predominantly stay as a "class" category (Yilmaz 2015; Siebers and Dennissen 2015). Surprisingly, Muslim migrant groups have been distinguished by the right-wing actors from non-Muslim migrants. In the following section, I introduce the existing concepts and debates on the differences of dimensionality in framing immigration and Muslim immigration. After conceptualizing the dimensionality of immigration issues and anti-Muslim dimensions, I will build my own categorization of the issue dimensions.

1.1. Multi-dimensional immigration and one-dimensional Muslim immigration

With the globalization at work the national labour markets and economic sectors are not fixed to one country but rather have been internationalized. This internationalization is negatively perceived by the "losers" of globalization whose domestic economic sectors are getting stretched to remote countries. The presence of foreign workers on labor market challenges less-qualified locals who become 'protectionist' and intolerant towards labour migration (Kitschelt and McGann 2005; Kriesi 2012). Hence, on the economic dimension, from the point of economic prosperity, these "losers" see the migrants as the thieves of jobs draining the national welfare. On the cultural spectrum, labour migrants are perceived as a threat to local cultural values and norms. Generally the phenomenon of immigration is placed on two dimensions: economic and cultural. In contrast to this cleavage structure of immigration, Van

der Brug and Van Spanje (2009) reject the role of economic structures of the public demand and party supply. They propose the anti-immigration as situated on one dimension only. This dimension represents the major socio-cultural issue. Alternatively some research shows the contestations in perception of different migrant groups which is on cultural and religious dimension[7]. All in all, the political party's framing strategies of immigration issues in general are either one-dimensional or multi-dimensional. However, as discussed in the introduction, the framing of Muslim immigration has taken a special trajectory distinct from general immigration. In other words, the Muslim migrants are not framed through the prism of the economic spectrum unlike other non-Muslim groups embedded on socio-economic, cultural and other dimensions. Muslim immigration has been mainly politicized on the issues of cultural and religious difference, the securitization[8] issues have also been highlighted on policy-making level (Cesari 2009; Cherribi 2007).

The thesis builds the framing categorization on Gattinara's research on dimensions of immigration in Italy (2014). His in-depth content analysis of politicization of immigration in Italy presents three broad dimensions. This threefold categorization of the immigration frames follows the socio-economic, cultural-religious, law and order dimensions. However, as followed by the above discussion of existing research, the economic dimension is less relevant to categorize the anti-Muslim frames. Consequently, I conduct empirical analysis of the Lega Nord's Islam-related frames on the cultural-religious and law-order dimensions. In addition, the frames of the Lega Nord' politicization of Muslim immigration will be categorized to measure the salience of the frames. The working categorization of text analysis will be discussed in detail in the part of empirical analysis.

---

[7] See Yilmaz (2015); Siebers and Dennissen (2015); Silvestri (2005).
[8] For securitization theory, debates and securitization of Islam, see Floyd (2011), Guzzini (2011).

1.2. The Lega Nord's framing of Muslims on two dimensions

Recent studies on Muslim migrant groups in Europe which have rightly defined Muslim immigration as "cultural category" (Yilmaz 2015; Siebers and Dennissen 2015). Unlike previously defined anti-Muslim immigration dimension which is predominantly on cultural spectrum, the party seems to place more emphasis on the cliché that Islam is a threat and Muslims are dangerous. That's why one-dimensionality of Muslim immigration in other cases cannot alone explain the behavior of the Lega Nord. In the context of the Lega Nord there are more frames and additional dimension is needed. The security and emergency frames are necessary to be included on the law and order dimensions in the context of the Lega Nord's communication. The cultural dimension is not enough and cannot fully explain how the Muslim immigration is treated and how the party frames it.

To assess these two dimensions and to measure how the Lega Nord respond to Muslim immigration, the thesis examines the party's agency by looking at their diverse news and statements. Without sampling the Muslim-specific texts, I take whole population of party news related to anti-immigration issues in general. The population of texts which accounts for general immigration rhetoric avoids sample bias and allows examining Muslim migrant groups. Further, a detailed categorization can explain exactly which dimension and frames preoccupy the Lega Nord' anti-immigration position. In this sense, determination of party strategies in modeling the Muslim immigration is important. It can build a platform for future research on causal relationship of the public opinion with the political responsiveness. In addition, it has a contributing factor to the existing research on two levels. First, it introduces a new case to the existing theory Muslim immigration is distinct from general immigration.

Secondly, it expands categorization by placing anti-Muslim frames on two dimensions: cultural-religious and law-and-order spectrum.

My justification of including law and order dimension in addition to well-researched cultural aspect is simple. As demonstrated in previous discussions, besides emphasizing on religious and cultural difference, the Lega Nord actors still hold strong position on equating Islam and Muslims with terrorism. In the section of posters and archives of the Lega Nord's official websites (leganord.org, studentipadani.com; giovanipadani.leganord.org) and online newspaper Il Padano, one can find the visual data of party's past and present leaflets and posters.

Figure 1.2. Campaign poster against the Muslim immigration by the Lega Nord Basilicata.

"NO. Let's stop Islamic invasion."

Illustration 1.2 reads "No. Let's stop Islamic invasion! (No. Fermiamo l' Invasione Islamica!) and indicate the party's position against Islam. There are series of anti-Muslim mobilizations which cover different themes starting from the mosque debates, ban of halal food and Islamic

attire in Italy. Interesting posters and illustrations can be found at party's main official website and other regional representations. Among popular manifestations there are such campaigns and slogans which read: Islam wants to eliminate Christmas! (L'Islam vuole toglierci il Natale!); No to mosques! (No alla moschea!) ; Islam is attacking us! Let's defend ourselves! LÍslam ci Attaca! Difendiamoci! These messages show that party's anti-Islamic campaigns cover both the cultural and law and order issues. Another justification that Lega Nord's framing of Muslims lays on two dimensions comes from Testa and Armstrong's (2012) "moral panic" theory from sociological perspectives. They focused on the Lega Nord's ethno-populism and perception of Muslim groups. They show how Islam is negatively depicted to accentuate the superiority of the Padanian[9] identity. The authors (2012, 8) write:

> An important element of the LN construction of Islam is the clear distinction they seek to portray of the superior (Christian-Padanian) self and the evil (Islamic) Other. Islam is not only portrayed as a monolith but as a belief system synonymous with acts of terrorism (mainly against Christians), and a theocracy intent on undermining one of the most important values of the "true" Padano: the nuclear and extended family.

The quote shows how they strategically contrast Islamic "evil" with Padanian "Good". From their findings we can see that the Lega Nord equals the questions of Islam with the terrorism. However, focusing on party's regionalism only, they neglect the party's anti-immigration position. Their research is a good building block for constructing the categorization of constructing Muslims. Therefore, in addition to cultural aspect, the Lega Nord's framing of anti-Muslim immigration will be approached from the law and order dimension. Furthermore, these two dimensions on cultural and law and order spectrum will be atomized into frame categories. Operationalization and the procedure of categorization will be developed in the empirical part. Next three chapters are theoretically and empirically informed. They present academic discussions and literature review of the phenomenon of the radical right, populism

---

[9] *Padano* is geo-politically constructed "ethnic" identity for the Northern Italians promoted by the Lega Nord.

and immigration. Chapter 2 is aimed to locate the research topic in the context by introducing the debates and concepts of the radical right. Since the Italian context and the Lega Nord are not the isolated cases, the sections will cover the broader European trend with its relevance to Italy and vice versa. Chapter 3 discusses concepts of populism and radical right populist parties. Chapter 4 presents scholarly debates and developments about immigration issues.

Chapter 2. Rise of the Radical Right

The studies of the radical right start evolved from examining the post-war period of the Italian politics. Primarily, the classics of the party system literature were to understand grassroots for the phenomenon of fascism and Nazism. Later developments in economic and social spectrum such as Great Recession, globalization and population migration had notable impact on the change of political agenda in many countries, especially Europe (Eatwell 2006; Mudde 1999; 2007) .

The research on the radical right[10] in Europe is not new and can be traced back to the 1950s. Conventional propositions to explain the reasons and conditions for the rise of racial right are not always shared by scholars across disciplines. Some findings refer to the post-industrial economy, salience of socio-cultural cleavage dimension, economic crisis and unemployment, counter movement against the Left and Green parties (Kriesi 2012; Rydgren 2005). The diverse analysis from party politics, electoral politics and cleavage politics to social movements sparked heated debates on the phenomenon. Some scholars bind the phenomenon to the change of voting system, interaction in electoral system accounting for the structural factors in society (Kitschelt and McGann 2005; Norris 2005). Some emphasize the agency-based institutional change in party position and electoral constraints (Eatwell 2006; Betz 1994).

There is no consensual explanation of the causal mechanisms and factors which provoked the rise of radical right. Still many academic scholars perceive this change in European party systems as a crisis of and threat to democracy, liberalism and political stability(2005). Figure 2.1 shows a time-series graph borrowed from Norris (2005) and resents a good visualization

---

[10] Different adjectives are used by party politics scholars to the same phenomenon: "far-right", "extreme right", "radical right", I use the latter.

of the rise of the radical right. The countries of the presented radical right parties included to Norris' analysis are Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, Belgium and France. As the graph shows the rapid growth of the radical right parties come to the 1990s and keeps growing.

Figure 2.1. Mean vote for seven radical right parties in Western Europe, 1980-2004
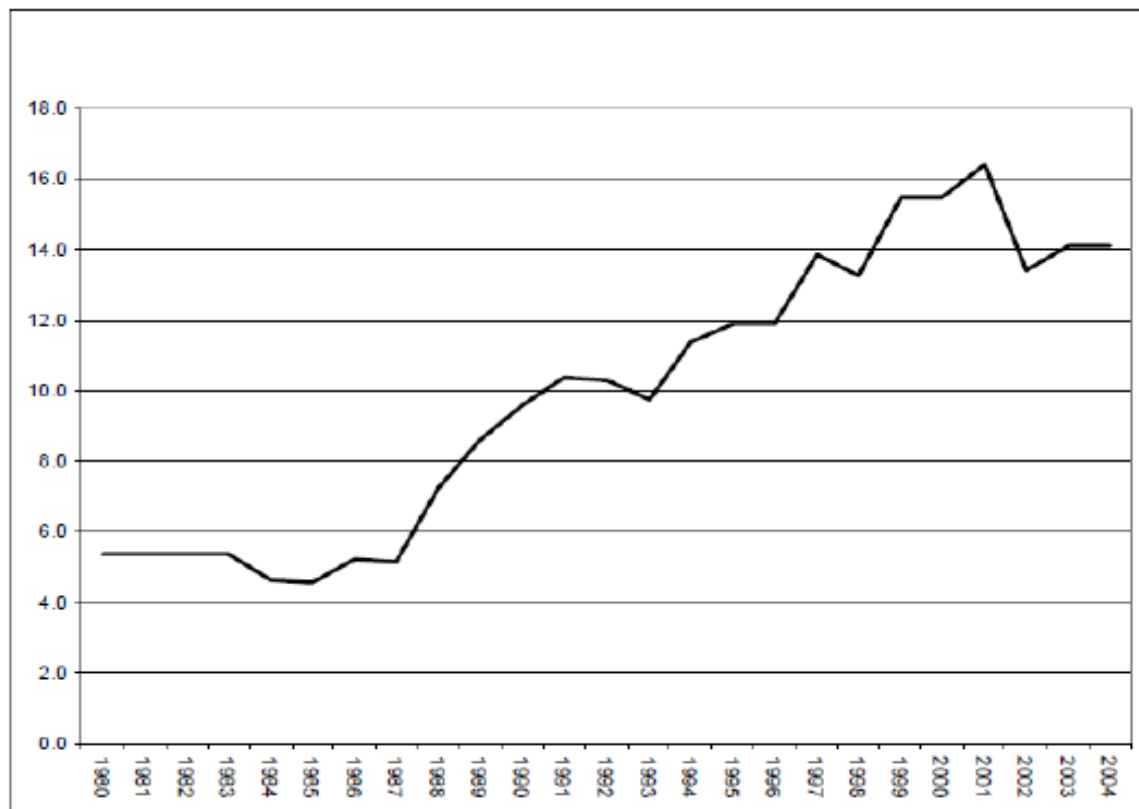
Source: Pippa Norris (2005, 8)

The Italian politics and party systems in general had two profound shifts. The first clear-cut change in the political institution was in the post-war period. The second shift occurred in the 1990s with the emergence of the phenomenal radical right movements. These shocking waves of illiberal movements and right-wing ideologies have been observed not only in Italy but throughout all European welfare states. It provoked many academic discussions which try to understand the supply and demand factors in the political arena and electoral market

(Norris 2005; Betz 1994; Eatwell 2006; Mair and Mudde 1998; Rydgren 2005). In the case of the Italian radical forces, one of the main causes is the distrust to the mainstream parties and the electoral system crisis (Cento Bull and Gilbert 2001). In the result, many parties lost their intermediary positions between state and citizens, people's trust in governments dramatically declined producing increase in voter volatility. This erosion[11] in 1990s in the party system accommodated the radical right forces when the Lega Nord could mobilize its voters and gain support.

Initially, the Lega Nord entered the Italian politics as a political mobilization force in late 1980s ad in 1991 formalized into a party. Its campaign against the state mobilized the artisans and small business entrepreneurs in the northern part of Italy. In 1996 as a 'federalist, secessionist, populist' party, it promoted the idea of Padania propelling 'the Northern question' (Cento Bull and Gilbert 2001). Started as a regionalist, anti-Rome movement, the party has been putting more stress on the anti-immigration agenda. The Lega Nord is widely known for its anti-establishment focus with xenophobic position and demands for the independence of northern Italy, including Lombardy, Piedmont and the Veneto. For a long time it was led by charismatic and racist Umberto Bossi (1991-2012) who resigned after a corruption scandal (reference). The new leadership under Matteo Salvini (2013 -present) changed its purely regional position and attempt to mobilize the broader Italian audience focusing on anti-Muslim issues. The Lega Nord is classified as a populist radical right wing party in Italy. Its last vote share in the General Election of 2013 was 4.1%.

---

[11] The erosion in electoral support was considerably driven by the national anti-corruption investigation "Mani pulite" or "Clean hands".

Figure 2.2. The Lega Nord's electoral performance (1987–2010) (%).
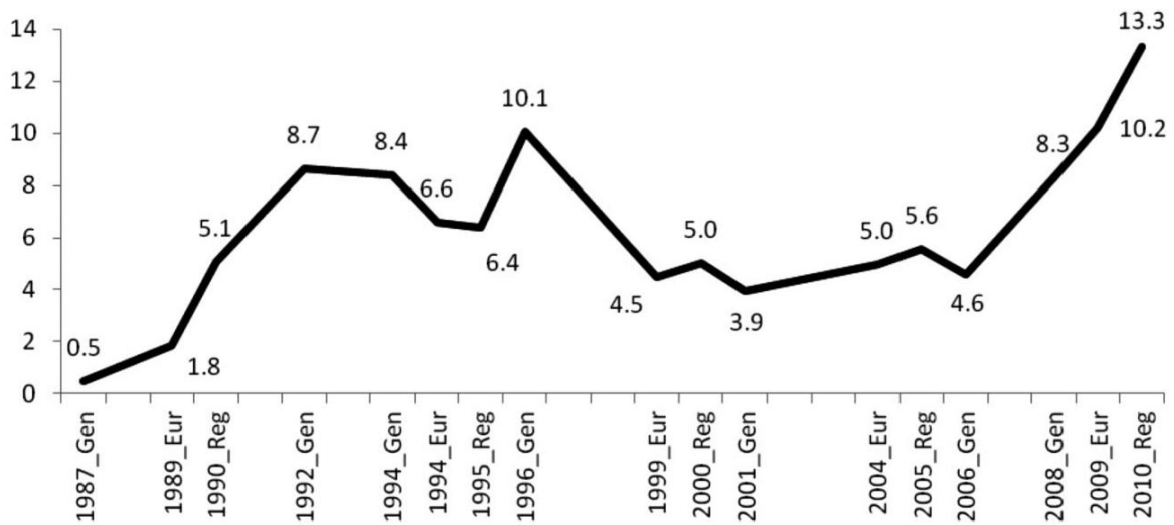
Note: In 1987 Lega Lombarda; in 1989 the Alleanza del Nord (Northern Alliance: LŁiga Veneta, Lega Lombarda, Piemonte Autonomista, Union Ligure, Lega Emiliano Romagnola, Alleanza Toscana).

Figure 2.2 demonstrates the electoral performance of the Lega Nord and its vote share % from 1987-2010. The graph includes the Regional, General and European elections.

A brief presentation has shown the characteristics of the Lega Nord ad its place in the context of the radical right emergence. More in-depth discussion of the Lega Nord' will be provided in a separate section. The radical right emergence has also produced another phenomenological ideology – populism, which is the subject of the next section.

18

Chapter 3. Populism and the Lega Nord

Contemporary Italian politics has developed remarkable radical populisms which evolved into political parties. The institutional crisis, changing party system are some of rationale accounted for accommodation of populist forces in Italy[12]. The nation's political arena produced two prominent radical populist parties. The most recent one led by a comedian Beppe Grillo Movimenti Cinque Stelle (M5S, Five Stars Movement) gained electoral success on its populist demagogy. Running its first general election in 2013, the M5S got 26.6% of the vote. Promoting a range of vaguely defined aims, the party has no clear position on the Right/Left political and economic spectrum. More research and findings of the peculiar features, populism and party positions of the M5S is yet to be proposed. Meanwhile, holding the radical right ideology, the selected case study - the Lega Nord is the oldest of populist mobilization forces in contemporary Italy.

3.1. What is populism?

The historical development of the phenomenon of populism does not connect us with the present-day populism. But in general, it shares the common features of populism such as "us"/"them" dichotomy, anti-elite position, politicize salient issue and a charismatic leader. The 19th century grassroots movements and populist emergence in Russia and the USA are considered to be the first waves of populism (Roberts 1997). The populist movements in both cases mobilized the people against the small elite. If the American People's Party struggled against capitalism, the Russian "narodniki" (agrarian populists) were demanding their peasant rights. Further, the 20th century produces the Latin American populist manifestations in 1940s-1950s. These populist forces under authoritarian leaders were mobilizing the people

---

[12] Ruzza, Fella 2011 http://www.palgrave-journals.com/ap/journal/v46/n2/pdf/ap20115a.pdf

against the external forces. In every time the types and forms of populism were distinct. The third wave of populism in 1990s is a so-called "new" populism in the European continent (Woods and Wejnert 2014). The main target messages of the contemporary populists are the immigration, tax and security on the left side (mainly in Latin America and the US[13]); and contemporary populism on right side (in Europe and some post-communist countries). A well-established body of literature has theoretically and empirically classified types, and characteristics of radical right populist parties in Latin America, US and Western Europe (Kriesi et al. 2006; 2008; Tella 1997; Kazin 1998; Mudde 2004). However, no final definition has been made making each study to conceptualize how to approach the populism.

Analyzing the forms of new populism in Europe Zaslove (2008) focuses on the opportunity structures which possibly are causal factors for rise of populism. His emphasizes on the post-industrialism, erosion of party politics, and consolidation of democracies. He suggests that the new populist nature of many European political parties can be regarded as a new party type. The cases of analysis are a combination of the left and right oriented parties: the French National Front (FN), the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), Italy's Forza Italia (FI) and the German Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). Furthermore, a big and innovative research looked at digital forms of populism[14]. In the era of technological development and creation of virtual civil society, populism is also being digitalized. The cross-country project "Digital Populism" made a great contribution to understand the rise of populist parties through online behavior. Although the right wing populism is fast growing academic subject it has a stronger emphasis on studying the Western and to less extent Southern European countries (Williams 2010; Alonso and Rovira Kaltwasser 2015; Hutter 2014).

---

[13] For the analysis of the left-wing populism in the US, see Skocpol and Williamson 2012; for the neoliberal left-wing populism in Latin America see de la Torre 2000, Ellner 2003
[14] http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/reports/new-face-digital-populism

3.1.1. Populist radical right parties and anti-immigration position

First to label the contemporary European radical right-wing parties as "populists" is a scholar on radical right parties Betz (1994). He emphasizes that today's radical right parties have a new oppositional character and strategic shifts to find new avenues of opposition. Various approaches to study populism were applied to a variety of contexts, different movements and parties to solve the problem of "awkward conceptual slipperiness," and to find the "common denominator" of populism (Taggart 2000, 1; Rooduijn 2014, 573). Conceptually, the researches of populism approach the phenomenon from the following angles: as an ideology and communication style (Deegan-Krause and Haughton, 2009) and as a political strategy (Jansen 2011). As an ideology, populism is a shallow, thin-centered political belief on the superficial level. As a discursive style, it is a political expression and dichotomies (good/evil, friend/enemy, elite/people). Finally, the behavior of populist movements and actors is a political strategy. Its strategic populist mobilization produces certain forms of political organization. There are many attempts to clearly define the phenomenon and they all are different. Pappas (2014, 2) offers his 'minimal' definition of populism as a "democratic illiberalism" which cannot be applied for the cases of populism in the non-democratic states. On the 'maximal' definition length, Philippe Schmitter (2006, 7) preserves all the important elements peculiar to populism:

"Populism is a political movement that draws its support across or with disregard for the lines of cleavage that are embodied in existing political formations and does so by focusing on the person of its leader who claims to be able to resolve a package of issues previously believed to be unattainable, incompatible or excluded."(2007: 6)

Schmitter's definition highlights widely acknowledged features of populism: the cleavage lines, the charismatic leader and promises to resolve the issues. Populism then as a political and social movement turns into formal organization continuing the life as a party. Accounting the criteria and features of populism, the Lega Nord party:

- believe that they represent true will of people;

- hold anti-elite, anti-establishment position;

- employ street language;

- change ideological orientation (re)setting agenda on salient issues;

- no clear programme;

- make broad claims and promises.

The populist position of radical right-wing parties is often distinguished in opposition to immigration. The main target of right-wing populist message of "us" and "them" has drawn immigrants as out-group enemies. Such populist anti-immigrant rhetoric is defined as exclusivist, nativist, and xenophobic (Mudde 2007; Ignazi 2003). Therefore, there are debates of the threat of radical-right populism for democracy (Albertazzi and McDonnell 2015). The debates generally concern the fact that the radical right-wing populists influence the mainstream parties, especially on the immigration issues. In case of the Lega Nord, its role on the immigration policies is crucial. The so-called Bossi-Fini law -a restrictive law against immigration was drafted by the Lega Nord's long-term leader Umberto Bossi.

The study of the Lega Nord's agenda-setting and framing of Muslim immigration brings a new angle of approaching populism. Belonging to the anti-immigration party family the Lega Nord is a good case to introduce to the existing studies of Muslim immigration.

3.1.2. Who is Lega Nord? The Lega Nord in the party family

The membership of the Lega Nord is in the party family is not univocal. The Lega Nord has definitional problems whether it should be kept separate as a regionalist populist party or it is a standard radical right populist party. Its party type has been identified differently by a number of works studying political parties and populism. Despite Norris (2005) accepts the ambiguity of Lega Nord's classification; she lists the party in the analysis of the radical right parties in Europe. Mudde (1999) included the party in his description of the "extreme right party family". Similarly, Rydgren (2005) conceptualized the Lega Nord as extreme right-wing populist. Zaslove (2004) described it as the radical right populist. He builds his conceptualization on Kitschelt and McGann's (2005) approaches to define Austrian and Swiss radical right as "new radical right" populism (FPÖ - Austrian Freedom party and SVP - Swiss People's party). Unlike the above categories of the Lega Nord, Albertazzi and McDonnel (2005) and McDonnel (2006) point out its regionalist populism to determine party's success. They examine Lega Nord's federalist critique, relationship to the heartland, immigration and globalization. Figure 3.1.2 visualizes the Lega Nord's vote gains from 1987 to 2014. The party's ups and downs can be linked to characteristics to the populist parties and their unsteady success. Nevertheless, the Lega Nord's 20 years electoral performance mean that it found its niche in Italy's political arena. Inarguably, the regional focus of the party's orientation brings them votes highly concentrated in the northern regions.

Figure 3.1.2. Lega Nord's performance at National and European elections 1987 to 2014.

VOTI PER LA LEGA NORD NELLE ELEZIONI NAZIONALI ED EUROPEE
(valori %).
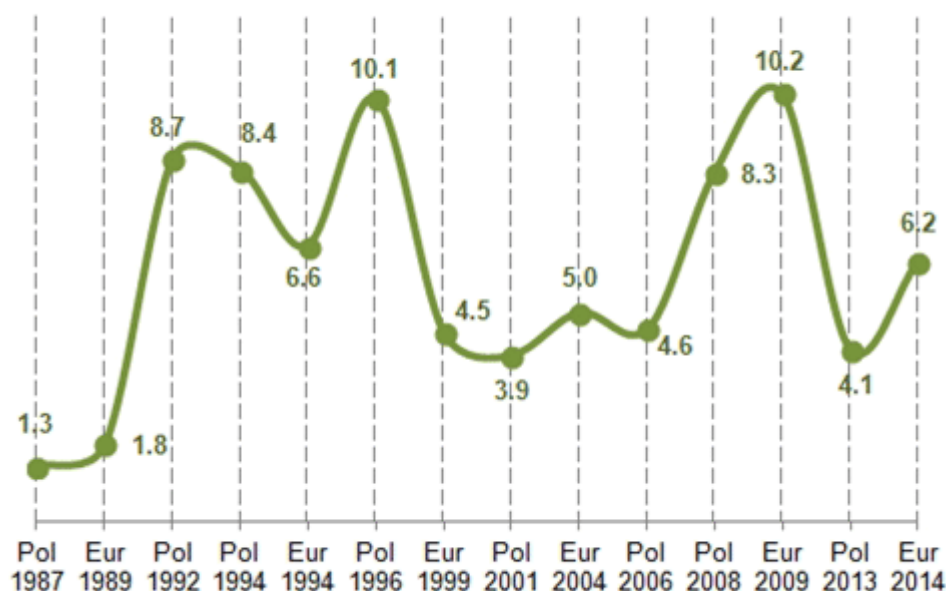
Fonte: Demos&Pi e Oss. Elettorale LaPolis (Univ. di Urbino) su dati del Ministero dell'Interno

Source: Demos & Pi at http://www.demos.it/a01003.php

Figure 3.1.3 illustrates distribution of geo-political support during the last European election 2014. The areas colored in dark green indicate the zones of the strongest support (reaching more than 9 .0 % of vote). The light green areas which reportedly cover the province from North to the centre of Italy indicate less strong support accounting for more than 2.6 % of votes. Southern islands and some provinces produced surprising results during the last European elections: 24.6% in Lampedusa, 5.1% in Ogliastra, Sardinia and 1.2% in Reggio Calabria. These results can be connected to Salvini's political orientation to unite with the southern regions.

Figure 3.1.3. Lega Nord's geopolitical support during the European election 2014.

Lega Nord 2014
- Risultato rilevante (>2.6)
- Zone di forza (>9.0)

Source: Demos & Pi at http://www.demos.it/a01003.php
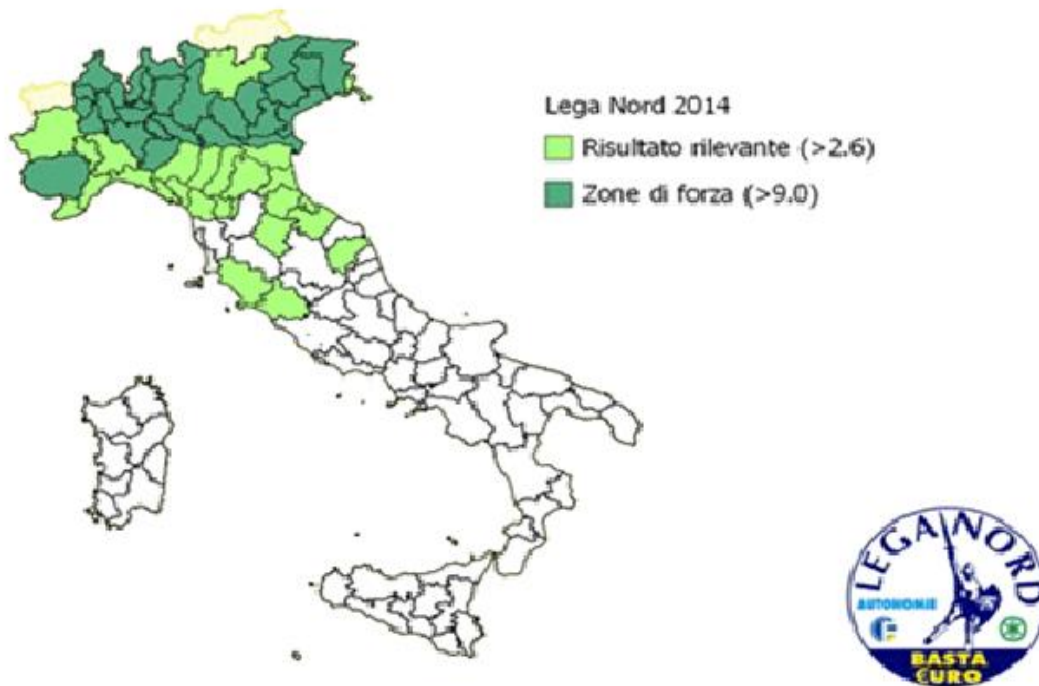
As can be drawn by discussions, though populism of Lega Nord is unanimous, its party type is controversial. Its "chameleonic" nature and leaps from one ideology to another make the Lega Nord to be categorized in different positions . Yet, this spectacular party has experienced more than one membership in the party family. As a secessionist and xenophobic party it is characterized as a radical right party. As a coalition party with Berlusconi's Forza Italia, it belonged to the mainstream right party in the government. With its anti-immigration position, the Lega Nord also qualifies for the anti-immigration party family.

Being aware of the ambiguity and the changing nature of the Lega Nord, however, I adopt Zaslove's definition arguing that the regionalist populism has been evading. This is especially

obvious with the recent intraparty change in leadership[15] and establishment of the Lega Nord's representation in the south of Italy.

Long-team leader Umberto Bossi resigned in April 2012, and for the short time the party was led by former Minister of the Interior, Roberto Maroni who was replaced by Matteo Salvini in 2013. Since Salvini's rise as the president of the party, the Lega Nord has been seen to build higher internal and cross-regional unity. In 2014 Salvini proposed to create a sister party for the southern regions. In late December a new party "Noi con Savini" (NcS) was was presented and launched to operate in the South of Italy. Salvini's speech[16] on February 8, 2015 at the Sicilian section of the party in Palermo is a signal of their end of their regionalist populism. He apologized for their past hostile rhetoric in relation to the southern regions and signals another U-turn in their populist rhetoric.

The inconsistent programmatic agency of populist parties are not surprising actions, they often re-focus on other salient themes and policies to mobilize the voters. As observed by Albertazzi and McDonnel (2010)[17], opportunistic communication strategies used by the Lega Nord make them stay in the government. The specificity of the Lega Nord as a single-issue party has been further examined by Passareli (2013). Indeed, the Lega Nord being supported on one all-encompassing issue with no clear ideology continues to gain success. Its anti-immigration position gains from various migration-related endogenous and exogenous events. In Italian context, the refugees, illegal landings and ship wreckages off southern islands, expenditures for the humanitarian operation programs "Mare Nostrum" and "Triton" to asylum seekers are favourable issues for the Lega Nord's populist agenda. These issues are a good opportunity for the Lega Nord to get more attention and play on emotions. The next

---

[15] http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-17703460
[16] http://noiconsalvini.org/matteo-salvini-le-profezie-dei-politologi-dove-puo-arrivare-al-sud/
[17] Their argument contrasts commonly perceived claims that populism inherently makes the parties live short in the government.

chapter familiarizes with the phenomenon of immigration with further focus on Muslim migrant groups. It discusses how the political parties and the Lega Nord take up the immigration issues.

Chapter 4. Migration flows and Muslim immigration

Large-scale population migration to European countries[18] has produced diverse contestations across the countries. However, the immigration issue has different dynamics of politicization by parties and movements in different receiving countries. In Italy migration flow has evolved relatively later than in Western European countries. The immigrations of today in Italy are commonly described as "new"[19]. The "new" flow of migrants is fixed at the middle of the 1970s. Having different structural mechanisms, the migratory influxes of the "new" immigration have different push and pull factors. The push factors such as war, famine and poverty in the countries of emigration. Thus, these migrations are viewed as of the poverty-stricken and deprived. The convergent views on this issue of contemporary immigrations accentuate subjective reasons and forms of globalization.

The immigration processes[20] in Italy in 1980s were characterized by a high tolerance toward and resulted in openness towards intercultural dialogue. However, the later decades have been characterized by increasingly tight controls and the securitization of immigration.

Figure 4 shows dynamics of migratory flows to Italy from 1985 to 2010. From this visual graph we learn the growing tendency of immigration with the peak and slight decrease at certain years. The highest number is in 2007, since then the growth halts and goes down.

---

[18] Support and Opposition to Migration (SOM) is a comparative research project studying the politicization of migration in 7 European countries. Funded by the European Commission as part of the Seventh Framework Programme, SOM is big collaborative and rich project; however it does not include Italy.

[19] The adjective "new" added to contemporary immigration phenomenon in Italy was used by Colombo and Sciortino (2004, 49)

[20] For the genesis of immigration and public discourse in Italy see Colombo and Sciortino (2004); for the types of migratory influx see Ambrosini (2001).

Figure 4. *Total inflow of foreign population in Italy 1985-2010 (in thousands of people)*
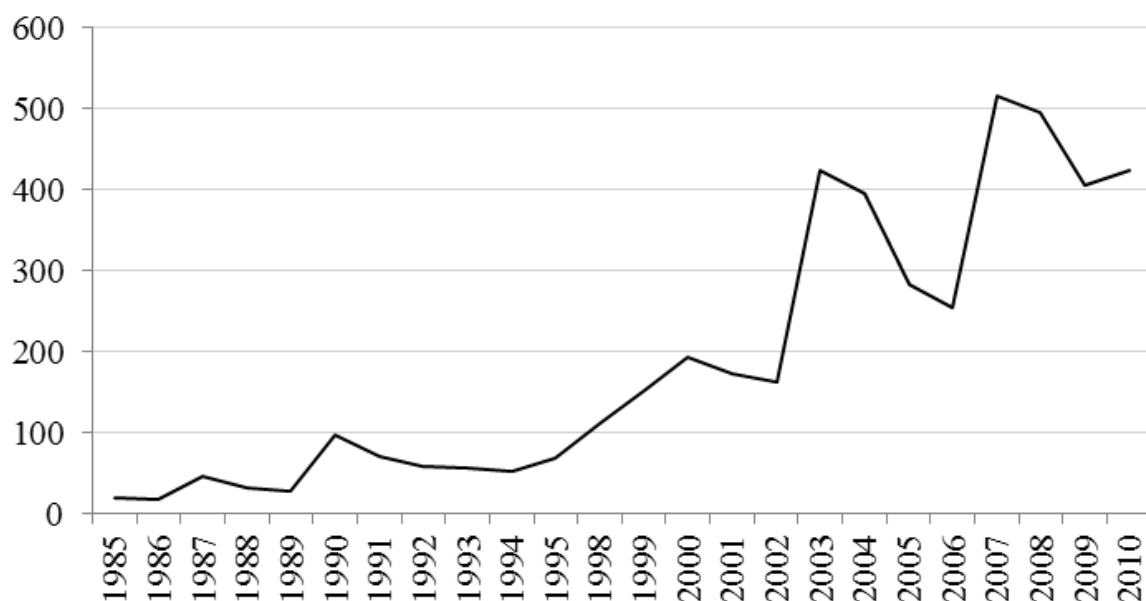
Source: OECD Stats 2010, available at www.stats.oecd.org

General discussion of immigration in 1980s concerned the protection of the rights of immigrants. The debates of immigration mainly dwelled on the labor relations and regulations[21]. In 1986 the first law on immigration was approved which was in favor of foreign workers' family reunification procedures. By 1990s the immigration issues started to be challenged by opposition parties from the radical right (*Movimento Sociale Italiano*) and small government coalition parties (*Partito Repubblicano Italiano*). They called for protectionism and a need to reconsider the "right to immigrate" (Ignazi 2003; 2005). Consequently, Italy's immigration policy making[22] has changed its trajectory and the so-called *Turco-Napolitano* law was approved. The new law introduced a quota system and called for tougher controls. Furthermore, with already tightened immigration rules in 2001

---

[21] King and Andall (1999) provide resourceful analysis of *e*volution of migratory system in Italy using official data from *ISTAT* (Italian National Institute for statistics), the national Census and other data from the *anagrafe* (municipal population records) and *permessi di soggiorno* (permits to stay).
[22] Insightful studies on making policies towards immigration in different European states have been published in the edited book by Zincone et al (2011) "Migration Policymaking in Europe: The dynamics of actors and contexts in past and present".

the center-right government headed by Berlusconi approved the *Bossi-Fini* law. This law was to regularize the immigration and forced detention of illegal migrants. Thus, The Lega Nord holding the anti-immigration position and populist in nature plays important role in country's anti-immigration policies [23] especially developing bigotry towards Muslims. The party continues to have relatively strong political and public influence. Its populist radical right ideology promotes some discriminatory actions against Muslims.

The very recent example of the Lega Nord's political weight in anti-immigration policy-making was marked this year. On January 27, 2015 the regional government commission in Italy's northern Lombardy region approved the anti-mosque bill (limiting building of non-Christian places of worship) submitted by the populist radical right, regionalist, anti-euro and anti-immigrant Lega Nord political party (the Northern League). The same month six colleges in the Friuli-Venezia Giulia region banned female students from wearing the hijab[24].

The party's actions and statements show that anti-immigrant expression is highly reflected in fear of mass immigration and 'Islamization' of Italian community, fear of the loss of unique national traditions and values.

Populism of the parties on the economic and political right is associated with their anti-immigration position. Their scapegoating plays on utilization of the political opportunities to find the objects to blame for frustrations and failures. The salient issues related to political Islam and Muslim immigration are candidates to polarize. Recent studies have brought evidence of how the right wing populists adopted new categorization in the anti-immigration issues that of Muslim "others" (Betz 2007; Eatwell 2006; Bunzl 2005; Williams 2010).

---

[23] Bossi-Fini Law
[24] Local newspaper Messaggero Veneto http://messaggeroveneto.gelocal.it/udine/cronaca/2015/02/16/news/il-caso-nella-bassa-1.10876777

Triggered by the political parties' strategy of populist appeals a shift in scapegoat is inevitable.

Thus, anti-immigration issue with gradual anti-Islamic rhetoric has become one of the important factors in proliferation of populist radical right parties. Still, what is interesting to know is how they are framed by the parties. How does this new agenda-making relate to party's position, how does it help them to programme political orientation? How Muslim migrants group can be different from non-Muslim migrants, what is the logic and what are the dimensions of such framing? How and who defines which issues are salient, is party leading the issue making or they are following the public? These are the questions which come to mind in understanding populist parties' political behaviour, communication styles and impact on opinion and policy making. However, to find the answers to these questions a set of systematic studies looking at different angles are necessary. The comparative perspective and the influence of the party on the anti-immigration policy making or its representation of the public opinion is not the scope of the thesis. I will rather measure and explain the communication style and framing dimensionality of the Lega Nord in the anti-Muslim issues.

On the line of political communication, a few attempts have been made to examine dimensions and framing strategies. The following subsection gives brief overview and existing scholarly discussions on the distinction of framing Muslim migrants. Before going into details of researched dimensions and frames, it is necessary to look at Muslims in European and Italian context.

### 4.1. Muslim immigration and Islamophobia

A large body of literature has produced empirical analyses of phenomenon of European Islam and Muslim communities, examining issues of a sense of belonging, negotiation of religion

and redefining cultural authenticity (Kuru 2008). Under conditions of globalization and the changing migration system, critical discourse of Muslims and Islamophobia is conceptualized as a western product. Politicization of Muslims, their ghettoization cannot bring the groups to mutual acceptance and integration in the new European context. Misrepresentation and mistreat of the situation will continuously be a source for cultural and political conflict. Muslims have standard proposition of merging the European and Islamic cultures, accommodation of epistemic communities and fuller integration between in-group and out-group societies.

There is no official demographic data on the number of Muslims in Italy. The census specify on the countries of origin only. Generally the most visible and most framed "out-group" is the North –African Muslims. Figure 4.1 shows the distribution and growth of the nationalities of the foreign residents in Italy. It presents that the largest Muslim group in Italy originates from Morocco. As one of the explanations of the increasing influx of Moroccan immigration, Gattinara points out the structural opportunities from receiving country (2014, 72):

> …[Italian] government introduced processes of collective regularization of foreign workers, by which Moroccan immigrants could legalize their status. In turn, these regularization campaigns led to a further increase in the size of Italy's Moroccan community in the late 1990s. Ever since, the number of Moroccan residents in Italy has grown steadily over time, with an increase of 100 thousand people every four years: 93,000 in 1996; 195,000 in 2000; and about 300,000 in 2005. According to the National Institute of Statistics (Istat), by 2013 there were over half a million Moroccan residents in Italy, especially in the North of the country (71%).

Figure 4.1. *Nationality of foreign-born residents (1981-2009, in thousands of people)*
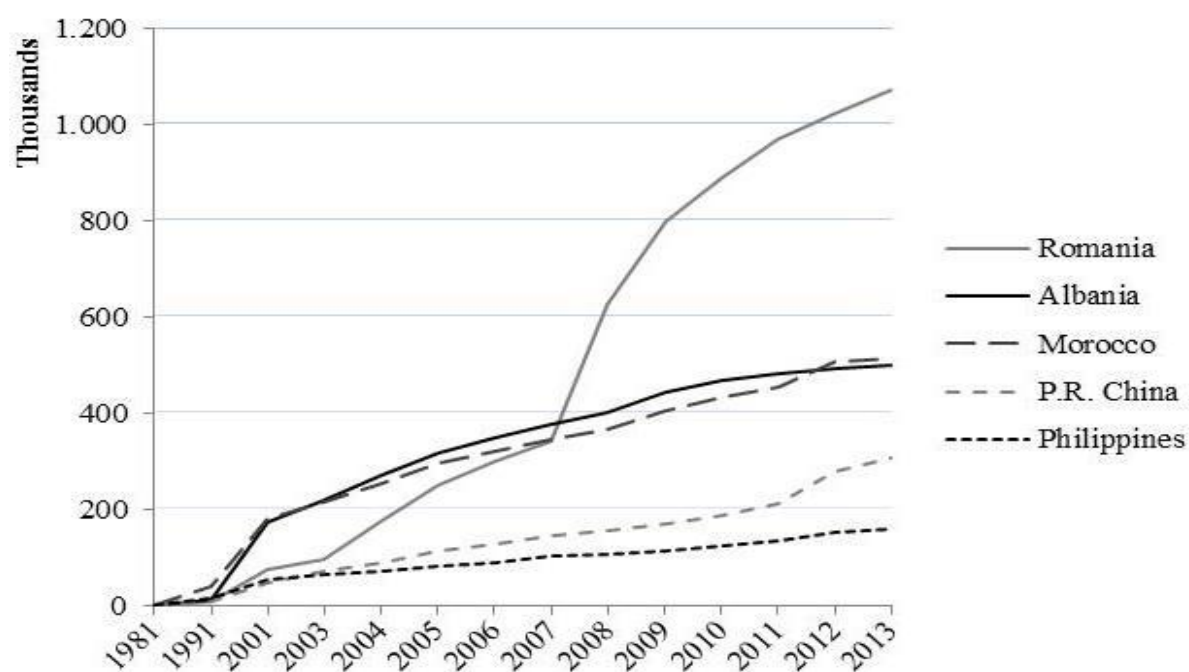
Source: Gattinara 2014:70

Comprehensive research on the 'visibility' of Islam (see (Allievi 2009), public discourse for or against the construction of minarets and mosques in Europe show the shifts of Muslims from invisible workers to visible Muslim migrants. Other findings on institutionalization of Islam (Silvestri 2012) in Italy and in all Europe show how the cultural and religious difference, architectural and aesthetics forms of some Muslim workers shaped different perceptions.

Focusing on Danish case, Yilmaz (2015) examines the transformation of the categories of immigration from class based to culture-based identifications. He shows how particularly Muslim immigration has become a cultural issue in contrast to immigration as labor issue which characterized workers as class category. On a similar line but with the detailed conceptualization of cultural exclusion of Muslim migrants, Siebers and Dennissen (2015)

33

research a 'cultural racism' towards Muslim migrants in the Netherlands. Focusing on migrant –hostile discourse they examine evidence of racism towards Muslims in Dutch politics and media. There is no strong support of presence of cultural racism in their empirical findings, thus they state that the Dutch anti-Muslim migrant discourse can be conceptualized as cultural fundamentalism.

Thus, the hostility towards Muslim migrants has been researched and is compared to anti-Semitism (Erdenir 2010; Williams 2010). Erdenir (2010) reflects on the increase of the anti-Islamic sentiments in Europe which has replaced anti-Judaist racism. Furthermore, he differentiates Islamophobia which is a fear of Islam as religion from 'Muslimophobia'-antagonism towards Muslims as residents in Europe. This is interesting but controversial observation which I don't have enough capacity to support or deconstruct. Accordingly, I do not distinguish Islamophobia and Muslimophobia and focus on a general framing of Islam and Muslims by Lega Nord. I interchangeably use Muslim and Islamic frames to refer to Lega Nord's negative rhetoric of Muslims in Italy.

Without taking the details of racialization, I follow Yilmaz's categorization of Muslim immigration. After making it clear that Muslim immigration has categories distinct from general immigration, my thesis sets its own categorization. Although, I agree with Yilmaz on cultural spectrum of discourse, additionally I include law and order dimension. These two dimensions help to define anti-Muslim frames based on the political statements produced by the Lega Nord. The research design explained in the following chapter 5 explains how the categorization and the coding procedures have been conducted.

Chapter 5. Research design and methodology

Method of content analysis is challenging not only in terms of semantic, linguistic and certain technical preparation and skills required but because it is crucial to know country-specific context. In applying content analysis, data collection and coding process is extremely important (Krippendorff 2013; Roberts 1997; Popping 2000). The puzzle and research question of preoccupation of the Lega Nord with Islam and Muslims, how the Lega Nord frame them can be studied through the text analysis. Step by step analysis of the party's agenda making through looking at their statements and news requires will be performed via computer-based text analysis. This helps to determine the salient issues and observe for the change in anti-immigration agenda over time. To pursue the research objectives, I make statistical analysis of the official news and statements from Lega Nord's website leganord.org. Units of analysis are the words from the categorized codebook. The word count is performed on the Spitta software program developed by Popping [25]. Based on the selected anti-immigration materials, I have constructed a codebook. The categorization of anti-immigration and Muslim dimensions into frames is theoretically and empirically informed.

The questions of the salient issues in anti-immigration rhetoric of the Lega Nord, the attention they place on anti-Islamic agenda are derived from the existing research on other populist anti-immigration parties. The content analysis of the Lega Nord's anti-immigration materials will:

1. measure anti-Islamic issues within the anti-immigration political agenda;

2. define distribution of dimensionality of anti-Muslim immigration;

3. determine proportions of anti-Muslim frames.

---

[25] Spitta is the acronym for Simple Program for Instrumental Thematic Text Analysis.

The anti-Muslim rhetoric is largely framed through the party propaganda, campaigns, posters and social media. As conceptualized in chapter on dimensionality, the cultural spectrum includes nativistic frames on identity-related category. The second dimension of law and order covers emergency issues lied on pragmatic category.

The study of the Lega Nord's anti-Muslim frames on two dimensions will add new case to the existing research. The party's political opportunism hints that Islam-specified focusing events influence on anti-Muslim agenda setting. In a nutshell, the empirical analyses of the party's anti-immigration news:

-reveals the salient issues within the anti-immigration political agenda;

- defines distribution of dimensionality of anti-Muslim immigration;

- determines the anti-Muslim frames.

I expect the following results:

1. The anti-immigration statements are less salient than anti-Muslim.

2. Reference to Islam on law-and-order dimension is more salient than cultural one.

2. The emergency issues positively correlate with the Islam-focusing events.

5.1. Selection of texts

The site for the data collection has been chosen pragmatically. Access to internet and availability of online access to data has made this research feasible. Initially I wanted to concentrate on various Italian newspapers and search for the news from the Lega Nord. But this strategy wouldn't create resourceful data and manifestation of real rhetoric. Since my task is to look from perspective of the party agency, I need to find reliable and rich data. I decided that the most reliable primary source of agenda making is party's official webpage www/leganord.org. It has a section of news called *Notizie* (publications) with subsection called *Le News* (the News) of the Lega Nord. Everyday this section is updated and uploads

important news, statements and notices of the party leaders and activists. Each news contains the date, information on the place and the source as well as where and by whom the news have been stated. Each publication in *Le News* also contain a picture of the author. Around 4-5 such news are uploaded in the section. The titles are given according to the classification of news. Any statement or news related to immigration comes with the news type, for example *Immigrazione*, and then goes the actual title.

Per one month there are about 110 posts containing variety of political issues. For 15 months which is the time framework of the current research paper the population of texts counts 1650 political statements. I have manually examined every post by clicking and expanding on the topic to get the context of the news which is often not too long texts (from one paragraph to 4-5 paragraphs). I have found 351 extended news and political statements thematically categorized as *Immigrazioni.* I selected all of them to conduct the quantitative text analysis. This data serves the purpose to examine salient issues in the anti-immigration rhetoric and analyze the Lega Nord's anti-Muslim framing.

5.2. The coding procedure

When defining the dimensions and coding the frames, I use Gattinara's (2014) categorization of immigration dimensions. But the socio-economic dimension will be omitted since it does not relate to the categorization of the Muslim migrants[26]. The logic derives from the review of the literature on the framing of the Muslim migrant groups in Europe by radical right. Dolezal, Helbling & Hutter (2010) conducted empirical research of public debates over Islam in Austria, Germany and Switzerland. They found out that the strength of right-wing populism has big impact on the politicization of Muslim immigration. On the same line, Didier Ruedin and Joost Berkhout (2012) focus on how Muslims are categorized by the anti-

---

[26] As discussed in the research problem section in chapter 1, the populisr radical right politisize the Muslim migrants on the cultural spectrum. See: Yilmaz 2015, Siebers and Dennissen 2014.

immigration populist parties. Looking at 7 European countries, they reveal that the Muslim migrants are perceived and framed differently from other migrants. Muslims as distinct groups can be "observed in the correlation between the use of identity frames and the targeting of Muslims as opposed to other migrant groups" (2012, 26).

Since the Muslim immigration has been spotted to be distinctly framed, the new studies started focusing on the spectrum of framing issues. The latest empirical studies show that today framing of Muslim immigration has been embedded in one dimension (cultural) unlike the general immigration issue which is multi-dimensional (socio-economic and cultural) (Siebers and Dennissen 2015; Yilmaz 2015). The above comparative studies show that the Muslim immigration has been identified as one-dimensional "cultural category". However, the reactive responses by the Lega Nord and their explicit anti-Muslim immigration campaigns and statements urge addition of another dimension – law and order. Therefore, in addition to the cultural/religious dimensions, I include the law and order one.

The units of analysis will also measure reference to such Muslim-specified events like illegal landings from the North Africa, Lampedusa and Mare Nostrum, external shocks like ISIS and Charlie Hebdo. From Gattinara's categorization I omit the Roma and Urban Issues in the dimension of law and order. The Anti-Muslim immigration frames are not embedded by these categories. The security and emergency issues will remain to analyze anti-Muslim frames. Taking into consideration empirical studies anti-Muslim agenda making by radical right populism described earlier, I use the cultural – religious spectrum. Located on this dimension, the findings show that Muslim migrants are framed as distinct group. On top of this, however, the Lega Nord anti-Muslim rhetoric seems to put greater emphasis on other dimension. Accentuating on the religiously framed terrorism and Muslim related events, the party

allegedly make claims on emergency issues. Their frames that Muslim immigration causes an increase in crime and threatens to country's security are placed on the law and order dimension.

I use instrumental approach in content analysis and use the text analysis software to create a data matrix. The Spitta program performs thematic analysis to denote occurrence of themes and concepts defined in the constructed codebook. I coded words and phrases on the defined frames and frame categories. Occurrences of themes on specified dimensions and frames over all units of analysis have been created in a separate system file. This data file with the variables has been used for statistical analysis. However, before performing the text analysis it is important to set up dictionary and a list of words to search. This software allows looking at the word frequency which can be entered as search entry. Furthermore, defining the themes should be followed by the numbers of the specific frames which should be unique. To avoid finding the confusing results there shouldn't be doubles in the search entries. Therefore, the working files for the text analysis are a text file, a themes file and a dictionary file.

The text file contains the population of text used for analysis. As mentioned earlier I used the anti-immigration news and statements. The official party website categorizes their posts according to the issues they reflect. I selected the ones entitled as "immigration". I acknowledge that other news and posts in their webpage contains the issues of Muslim immigration and Islam, however, the purpose is to identify the place of anti-Muslim rhetoric in the anti-immigration agenda. Inclusion of all the news would bring more evidence of the party's anti-Islam discursive practices.

The themes file includes the frames categorized for analysis of anti-Muslim dimensions. The detailed categorization is attached as appendix 1. The themes include the variables of general

immigration and Muslim immigration. The Muslim immigration has been further categorized into pragmatic and identity-related frames. These include the variables of nativistic frames, emergency issues and Muslim-focusing events referred in the immigration news. Lastly, the text analysis requires a dictionary file which provides a list of keywords used for the search entry. Appendix 2 presents construction of dictionary based on the variables.

Chapter 6. Empirical analysis

This empirical analysis of the Lega Nord's online news on anti-immigration examines the occurrence of anti-Muslim framing. The quantitative text analysis helps to identify the most resonant and salient frames articulated within immigration rhetoric. Additionally, the computerized method allows making visual statistical presentation of textual data. Determining the proportions, empirical analyses identify how Islam is framed on these two dimensions: cultural-religious and law and order. The pre-defined dimensions then are categorized into frames and frame categories.

The time framework for the content analysis of the party press releases is January 2014 to March 2015 (15 months). That's why the dynamic and occurrence of themes and frame distribution can be demonstrated. In the next section I first visualize conceptualization of dimensions, frames and frame categories. Then the subsection presents the results of the analysis and answers the complimentary research question how salient is anti-Muslim frames in the general anti-immigration party agenda.

6.1. Categorization of dimensions and frames

When conceptualize framing, there are important steps should be taken. Since operationalization may include different angles, I specify how categorization is built. My operationalization of the concept of framing relies on Entman's (1993, 53) definition:

"To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation."

Primarily the basic level of understanding "frames" traces back to Goffman (1974) and Minsky (1975). Since then their most general description and explanation of frameworks have evolved into various framing elements. This helps to identify the concepts which measure the issue position. For the fact that the Lega Nord is already known to have anti-immigration and anti-Muslim position, the typological framing analysis is not necessary.

When studying framing, the researchers also measure the negative or positive meaning making (Levin et al 1998). There is no need to measure the whether the issue is on positive or negative position. The political actors' deliberate use of populist language and xenophobic semantics affect the meaning making. The framing strategies of the Lega Nord towards immigration have long been known as exclusivist with anti-immigration position. Thus, the Lega Nord's frames of immigration issues carries negative connotation. The immigration framing and positionality of the Lega Nord have been defined, however there is a space to fill empirically. The facts that the Lega Nord holds negative position towards immigration issues releases from issue identification. Still, what is not known is its occupation on dimensions and the frames they are preoccupied. The following section demonstrates how the dimensions, frames and frame categories are operationalized. The empirical analysis and findings will follow after each step.

Gattinara's immigration dimensions and frames are built on the seminal typology of arguments developed by Habermas (1993): *pragmatic*, *identity-related* types of argumentation in discourse. The detailed categorization has been discussed in chapter 2 on dimensionality.
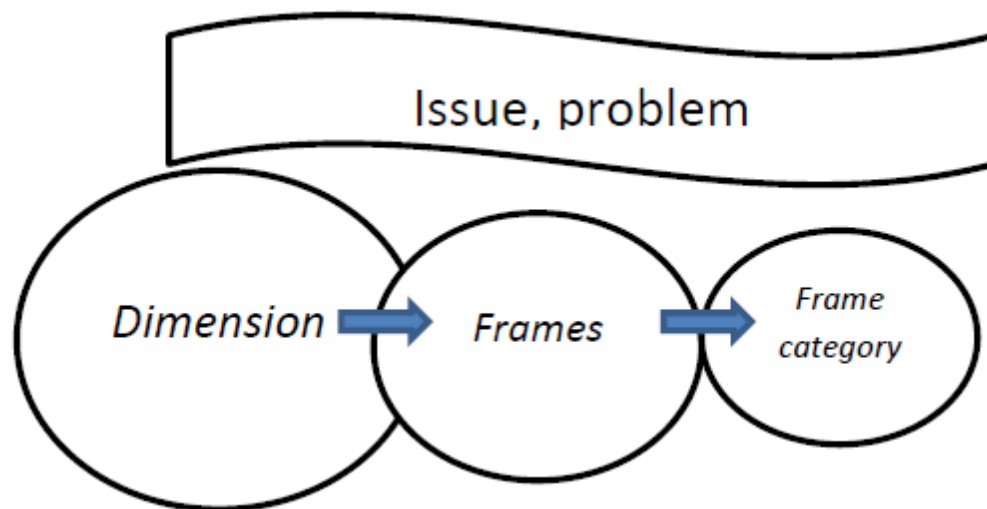
Figure 6.1.Structure of the issue framing.

Table 6.1a *Categorization of the anti-Muslim framing by the Lega Nord.*

Anti-Islam and anti-Muslim immigration			
Dimensions	*Frames*	*Frame category*	*Examples*
Cultural and religious	Nativistic frames (nationalism, xenophobia)	Identity-related	Muslim, burqa, mosque, Islamisti, marocchini,
Law and order	Emergency issues	Pragmatic	Refugee, asylum, Illegal migration, terrorism, Islamic militancy

Figure 6.1 visualizes the structure and shows the logic of how the issues are analysed. The issue and problem means anti-Muslim immigration issues which are known. Three circles followed show spectrum from big too small. The issue making constitutes the frame category

on a narrow level, on the broadest explains the dimensionality. Table 6.1a describes and gives examples of the categorization.
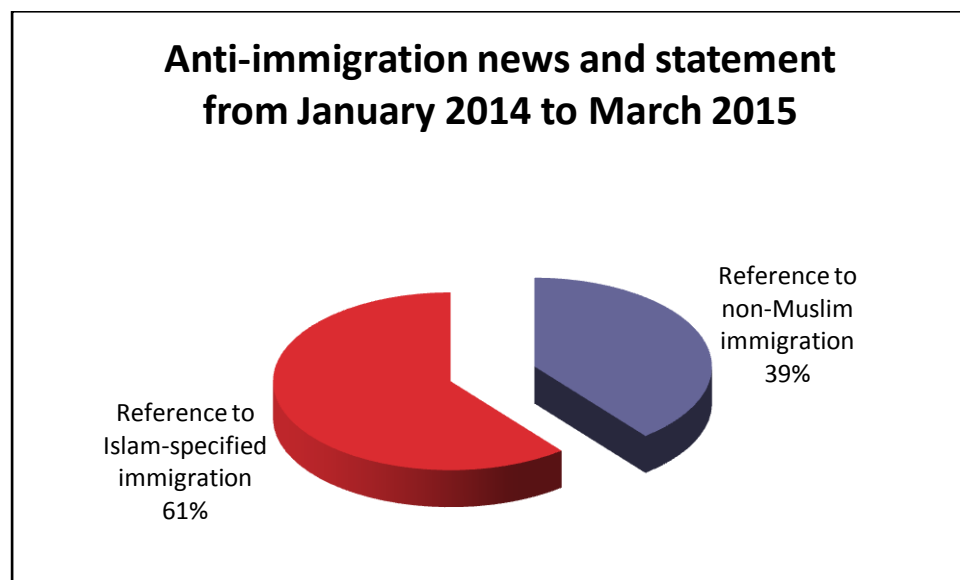
6.2. Empirical findings

Following its opportunistic nature and populist character, the Lega Nord set predictable results. Importantly, Salvini's turn towards the southern region despite long-term federalist fight questioned party's behaviour. How this is going to be developed needs time to observe. However, with the weakening its enemy-making with the south, they might strengthen or create a new one. Their increased hostile propaganda against Muslim migrants for the last two years generated expectations. Accounting for Lega Nord's opportunism, the structural opportunities connected to party's scapegoats (immigrants and Muslims) cannot stay unnoticed. Muslim specific unexpected events such as illegal landings from North Africa, ship wreckage on Italy's southern islands, external Islam-framed shocks ISIS attack and the Charli Hebdo can be exploited by the Lega Nord. But how and on which dimensions the party decide to frame is interesting to measure.

The recent research shows that unlike the non-Muslim migrant group, the Muslims in Europe are categorized on a cultural dimension. They are depicted as a big threat to culture, traditions and religion. However, based on the different discursive and opportunity structures, the Lega Nord emphasizes on the emergency and security issues more. Thus, the expectations the law and order dimension is still salient and occupies more space in general anti-Muslim rhetoric. The positive results can suggest that the Lega Nord is a different case and do not fit into the existing radical right anti-Muslim frames. It also can hint the strong opportunism of the party which readily hunt for the available dissonance. The answers to the questions how salient Islamic issues are in the anti-immigration agenda and how the Lega Nord frames Muslim migrants are shown in Figure 6.2. This pie chart shows the analysis of 351 anti-immigration

news and statements. It presents the references the Lega Nord's political actors made towards the non-Muslims (purple piece of pie) and Muslims (red).

Figure 6.2. The proportions of references in regard to Muslim and non-Muslim immigration.

Anti-immigration news and statement from January 2014 to March 2015

Reference to non-Muslim immigration 39%

Reference to Islam-specified immigration 61%

As can be seen from Figure 6.2 the references to Muslim immigration takes 61% and to non-Muslim immigration 39%. Undoubtedly, the anti-Muslim rhetoric is salient. To see the development of the dynamic in anti-Muslim frames I show the monthly analysis. It can explain the tendency of distribution and point to critical junctures in time. Figure 6.2.1. presents the distribution of the Muslim related and general immigration agenda over time.

Figure 6.2.1. Monthly dynamic of the Muslim and non-Muslim immigration rhetoric.
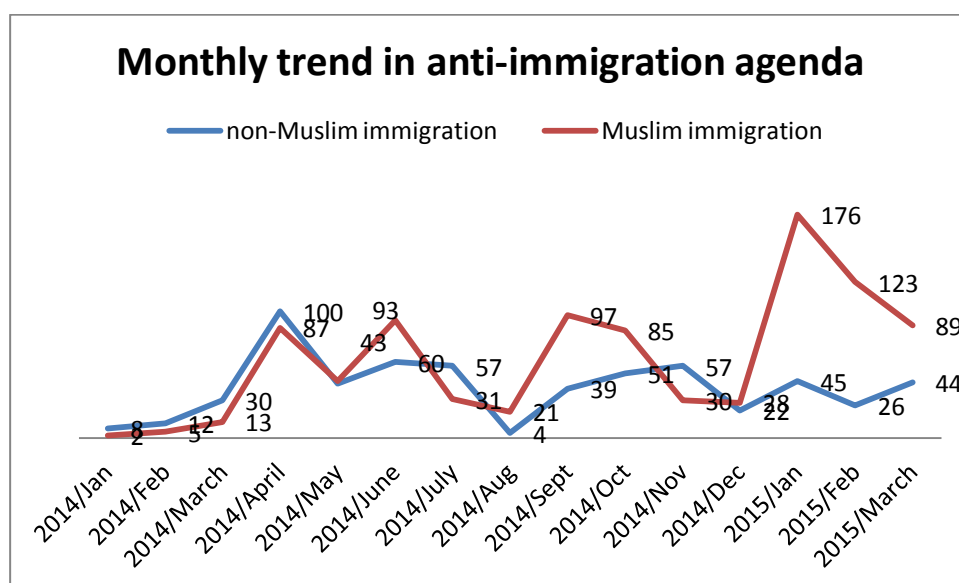

Monthly trend in anti-immigration agenda

Figure 6.2.1 show the monthly trend in Muslim and non-Muslim immigration rhetoric. The red line which refers to Islam and Muslims correlate with the general immigration rhetoric till April but then from late April up July, then from August to October 2014 there is a big difference. From late April to late May 2014 the reference to non-Muslim immigration has 43 word counts while the Muslim related words reach 93.

These time period from March to October 2014 accommodated the heated debate about the renewal of the rescue-operation program Mare Nostrum which offers the naval humanitarian aid to refugees. In one of the statements on April 29 in Rome, the Senate member, party leader Massimo Bitonci expressed his worry and linked the Mare Nostrum to the betrayal of security policies: "Mare Nostrum has encouraged illegal immigrants and smugglers. The minister Alfano has contempted the citizens failing the security policies that we have always carried out. We are facing unprecedented invasion with a million people ready to head for our

46

country. Many of them will end up in the criminal increasing crime and degradation of the northern cities."27

Therefore, internal and external Muslim-related events are connected to the agenda-setting. Significant emphasis and increase in anti-Muslim rhetoric correlate with the salient Islam-specific focusing events. September-October 2014 has also widely accommodated the claims and statement related to the functions of the ISIS that some Muslim migrants in Italy can be one of them. The party leaders called for tight control at borders and close surveillance of Muslim groups in Italy. January –February 2015news and anti-Muslim statements reaching 176 categorized words while non-Muslim immigration was mentioned 45 only. This news focused on the Charlie Hebdo shock and again targeted at Muslim immigrants in Italy.

After identifying that the expectations that anti-Muslim immigration agenda is more salient, I analyze the frame category of the anti-Muslim frame. The frames are laid on identity related (nationalism, xenophobia or nativistic) and pragmatic (emergency related) categories. If the Muslim migrants in other European contexts are formed largely on cultural and religious identity-related themes, the Italian context diversifies their image. Islam and Muslims are still stereotypically portrayed as a dangerous Other. For example in the political claim made by the party member Molteni regarding to the Mare Nostrum project, he linked it to the terrorism. This news was published in party's website in June 6, 2014 when the Interior Ministry Alfano reported about the suspension of the Mare Nostrum due to material reasons. Molteni equates the refugees with the terrorist and states that the Mare Nostrum is a business of Al Qaeda. He

---

27 My own translation. Original version of the news is in Italian is taken from leganord.com's Le News. Roma, 29 Aprile "Mare Nostrum ha favorito i clandestini e i trafficanti. Il ministro Alfano ha preso in giro i cittadini tradendo le politiche di sicurezza che abbiamo sempre portato avanti. Siamo di fronte a un'invasione senza precedenti con un milione di persone pronte a partire verso il nostro Paese. Molte di queste finiranno nelle fila della criminalità aumentando la delinquenza e degrado in tutte le città del Nord."

says: "Mare Nostrum confirms the real business of smugglers and Al Qaeda, Alfano sends a message...The interior minister once again didn't succeed, even after admitting the risk of possible terrorist infiltration, thus demonstrating that most of them disembark, of course not because they are just refugees… The country is receiving a humanitarian bomb and hordes of potential terrorists. The illegal immigrants, in a bunch of 3 000 people arrive everyday day. Mare Nostrum is a potential ferry to Al Qaeda."[28]

Figure 6.2.2. Proportion of anti-Muslim immigration frame categories.

Frame categories of anti-Muslim immigration

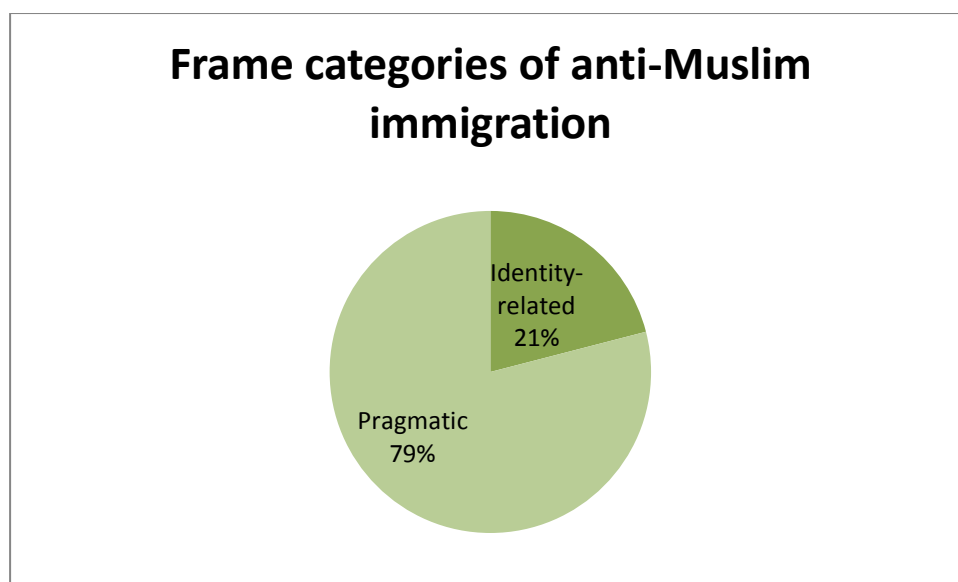- Identity-related 21%
- Pragmatic 79%

.

Figure 6.2.2. shows that the anti-Muslim frames largely cover the pragmatic category on emergency-related frames. The light green colored section of pie refers to the topics of terrorism, Islam as a threat to security, asylum seeking, and refugees pose emergency questions. This pragmatic category gets 79% of anti-Muslim immigration agenda while the dark green part on identity-related category takes 21%. This shows that the Lega Nord is significantly preoccupied with the pragmatic category.

---

[28] My own translation. Original version of the news is in Italian is taken from leganord.com's Le News. Guigno 6, Rome: "Mare Nostrum si conferma il vero business di scafisti e Al Qaida, Alfano batta un colpo". allarme del deputato leghista Nicola Molteni. "Il ministro dell'Interno ancora una volta non è pervenuto, nemmeno dopo aver ammesso il rischio di possibili infiltrazioni terroristiche, dimostrando così che in tanti sbarcano non certo perché 'profughi'". "Sul Paese si sta abbattendo una bomba umanitaria e potenziali orde di terroristi. I clandestini arrivano a 'colpi' di tremila al giorno. Mare Nostrum è un potenziale traghetto per Al Qaida".

As was structurally presented in the section of categorization (Figure 6.1., p.44), it is necessary to analyze the distribution of frames before we sum up the two dimensions of Muslim immigration. The analysis of frames on pragmatic (emergency frames) and identity-related category (nativistic) include one variable. The reference to Islam-focusing events in the anti-immigration news can partially explain the frames. Of course, *correlation is not causation* but we can see how the internal and external opportunity structures have been reflected by the Lega Nord political leaders.

The Figure 6.2.3. present the blue line standing for nativistic (identity-related category) frame and the red line indicating emergency frames. The green light is the most salient and refers to the Muslim –specific focusing events which is also laid on pragmatic category. There are two obvious not proportional lines in the frames. The red line in April and October 2014 is the most salient and explains that these periods were marked by important events. The whole year of 2014 created heated debates about the further destiny of the Mare Nostrum, the Lega Nord tried to influence the situation and intensified its negative reflection on the continuation of the operation. Most of party's news related to anti-immigration issues focused on the humanitarian programs. The frames distribution for January –February 2015, reportedly the shock from Paris attacks show that these three frames grow together. Most part of the news at this time related to the terrorist attacks and to the threat from Muslim migrants.

**Figure 6.2.3** Dynamic of anti-Muslim frame development.
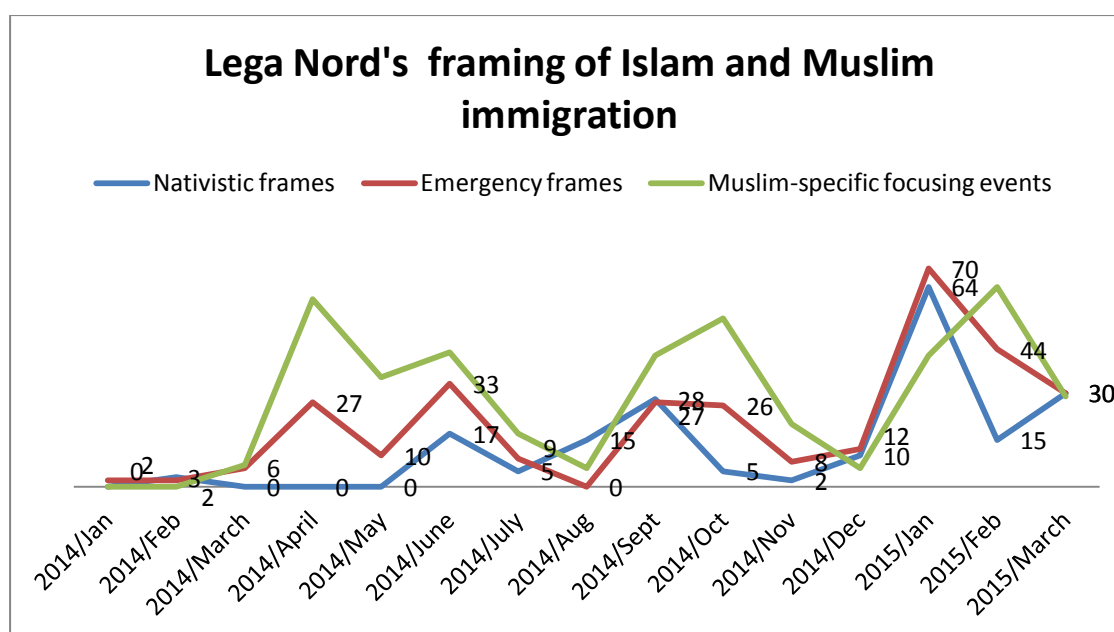
Another explanation for the increasing emphasis on Muslims in Figure 6.2.3 in the end of 2014 and beginning of 2015 is the anti-mosque debates. The Lega Nord held very strong opposition towards the regulation for mosque construction. By early 2015, the anti-mosque bill drafted by the Lega Nord was approved which indicates the party's power in restricting migrants and citizens' life. For example in October 8, 2014, a Parliament Member, the Lega Nord activist Guidesi warned mayors and local administrations. He described the acts in approving mosques are the "cultural suicide" that it will destroy Italian culture and values: "Each new mosque is a new step towards the cultural suicide… Providing spaces and subventions to those who have the purpose to erase our culture and our value-base is self-destructive."[29]

---

[29] Own translation. Original version of the news is in Italian taken from leganord.com's Le News. Rome, 8 Ottobre: "*Ogni nuova moschea è un nuovo passo verso il suicidio culturale". Il deputato leghista Guido Guidesi mette in guardia sindaci e amministrazioni territoriali: "Concedere spazi e agevolazioni a chi ha come unico obiettivo la cancellazione della nostra cultura e delle nostre basi valoriali è autodistruttivo".*

We learned from Figure 6.2.2. that the pragmatic category lies on the law and order dimension and reaches 79% of anti-Muslim issues. Figure 6.2.4. summarizes the categorization of the party's framing structure. The results show 21% of statements and news related to identity related, nativistic frames on cultural spectrum. On another spectrum, 79% reflects pragmatic category of emergency frames on law and order dimension. Figure 7.1. structuralizes the Muslim immigration framing by the Lega Nord.

Figure 7.1. Structure of the Lega Nord's anti-Muslim frames.
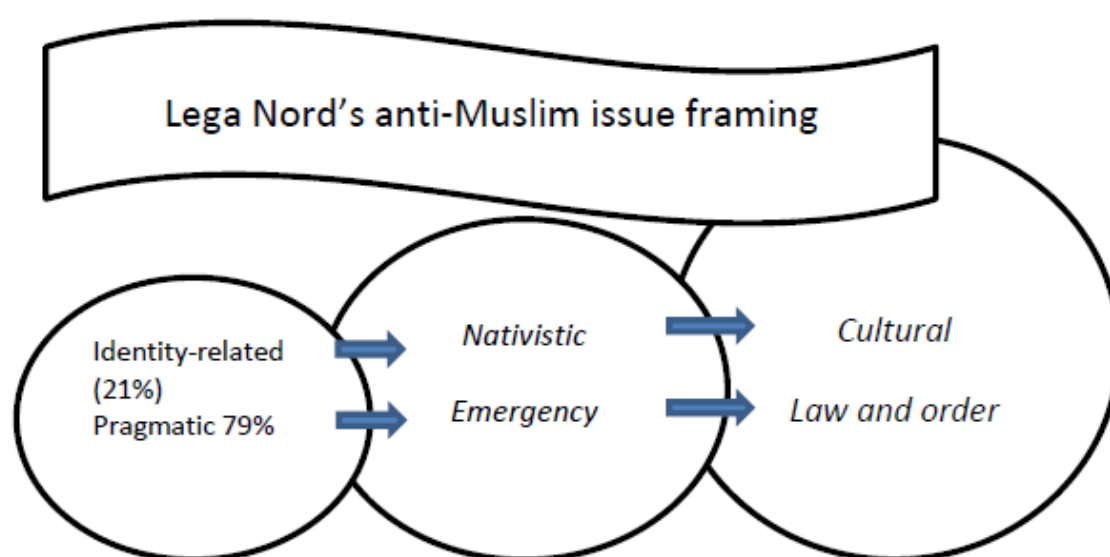
All the findings show that the Muslims are largely framed on the law and order dimension. This makes the framing strategy of the Lega Nord unique and do not fit to the existing theories that Muslim migrants in Europe are "cultural" category. Different discursive and political opportunity structures can be a rationale for this difference in fidnings. Largle concerned with the security and emergency issues, the Lega Nord puts an emphasis to the cultural and religious distinction of the Muslims to less extent. The Figure 7.2. presents two columns, the taller represents law and order dimension with 306 times reference to the

pragmatic categories. The smaller column refers to the cultural dimension of the anti-Muslim framing and shows 194 references to the identity-related issues.

Figure 7.2. Two dimension of the Lega Nord's anti-Muslim immigration.
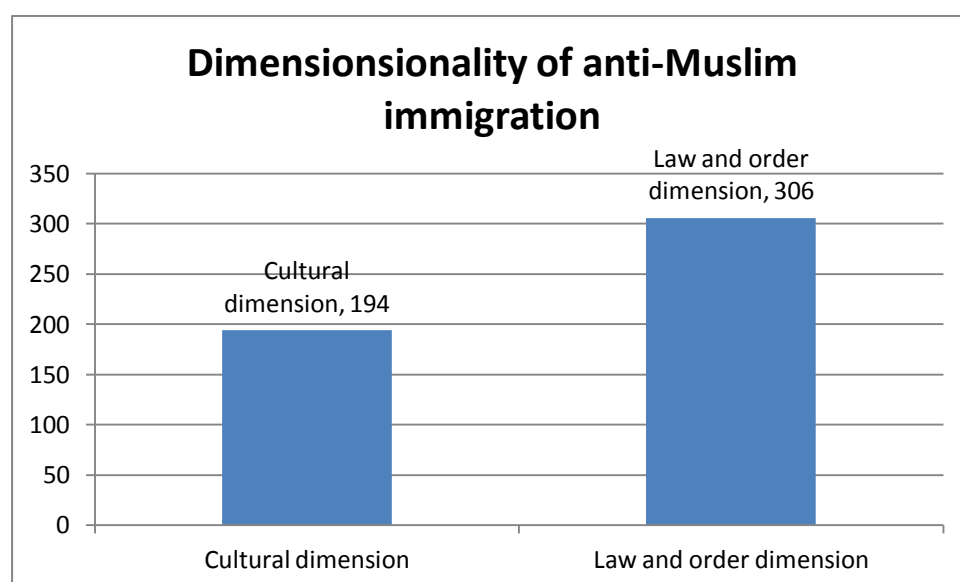
And what this framing and results of dimensions tell besides that the Lega Nord does not fit to other cases? What does being pragmatic mean based on the categorization of the law and order dimension? How different it from depicting the Muslims as a threat to culture and religious difference?

The law and order dimension is embedded by the *emergency frame* through stressing the alarmist tones. For example, the terrorism, legality, refugee, asylum seeking, national defence, conflicts, the safety of individuals. This dimension is pragmatic since the Lega Nord political actors address the immigration in terms of crime, terror etc. The main messages are placed around the discourses of potential criminality and terrorism.

Conclusion

Categorization of anti- Islam frames was consolidated by the theoretically-informed and empirically observed dimensions. The statistical results visualized several important findings: Lega Nord's anti-immigration rhetoric change, salience of the Muslim immigration and dimensionality of Muslim immigration framing. Anti-Islamic rhetoric of the Lega Nord is salient within its anti-immigration agenda. Reference to Muslim specified immigration is 61% while reference to general immigration is 39% of the population of texts from the party's anti-immigration statements and news. Analysis shows that the Lega Nord responds to the Muslim immigration predominantly framed on emergency issues. Islam and Muslims continue to be politicized by the party as a danger which threatens *the people*. With the significant emphasis on Muslim immigration embedded by the law an order dimension, the Lega Nord framing generates a new case. If the existing studies from other European cases reveal that Muslim migrants are framed predominantly on cultural dimension, the Lega Nord emphasizes the law and order dimension.

To clearly define the peculiar characteristics of the party and its populism, the conceptual part of the thesis has located the Lega Nord in the academic debates regarding the party's populism and anti-immigration position. Further, this study discussed the developments of the concepts and theories in the broader European context gradually narrowing down to the Italian case. This was especially necessary in avoiding definitional problems of the Lega Nord and its ambiguous membership in party family. Scholarly discussions and explanations of the rise of radical right, development of populism and the immigration issues in Italy contextualized the case.

Empirical analysis of the Italian case of the radical right populism and its framing strategies produced the results variant from the existing research. I relied on the findings from other European empirical studies. In the case of Denmark (Yilmaz, 2015) Muslim immigration is framed as culture-based identification in contrast to general immigration which is characterized as class category. Similarly, the Dutch case of Muslim immigration (Siebers and Dennissen, 2015) has been framed as cultural fundamentalism. The possible explanations for such different outcomes are the features of the party's populist communication style and different dynamics of Muslim immigration.

The studies reviewed pointed to the fact that the Muslim migrants have been framed by the anti-immigration populist parties as culturally and religiously distinct group. However, in the case of the Lega Nord the cultural dimension takes only 21% of anti-Muslim frames while 71% lies on the pragmatic category of the law and order spectrum. Why the results of the framing analysis of the Muslim immigration show different outcomes? Is it radical right populism or different Muslim migrant groups that stand for the variation? Although further in-depth study is necessary to find the answers and compare differences in these cases, the strength of the Lega Nord's populism and its political communication style can be rationale for preliminary explanation.

The time framework of last 15 months from January 2014 to March 2015 for the empirical analysis marks several critical events which can also be the factors of such results. It is the intraparty change, new leadership under Salvini and inclusion of South Italy to the Lega Nord's regionalist ideology. Loosening of the anti-Southern position may have been reflected in the intensification of the anti-immigration rhetoric. More important ciritical juncture during this time framework is the immigration crisis. Specifically, the reported ship wreckage,

illegal landings, refugees and asylum seekers from North Africa to Italy, naval rescue-operation Mare Nostrum and Triton. These Muslim- related focusing events offered good political and discursive opportunities for the Lega Nord. The salience of anti-Muslim rhetoric in the party's anti-immigration orientation brings another evidence of political opportunism of populist parties in general.

This empirical study has novel implication as it is. The findings can be applied in the policy paper recommendations. It can be used in looking at the framing strategies and effects of the Lega Nord in regard to Muslim immigration. However, the time constraint and depth of research in data collection and writing the MA thesis leaves certain space to further problematize the researched topic. How does the party respond or create the anti-immigration policies, how the Lega Nord's behavior reflect the public discourse? These are possible questions for future research. Since the thesis stays on the level of party agency, it does not investigate interaction between the Lega Nord and the public discourse towards Islam. To study the representational role of the Lega Nord and the extent to which it responds to public demand is equally important. The question of how public structure and party agency are mediated to the immigration issues and politicization of Islam in case of the Lega Nord can be addressed in further studies.

Appendix 1. Codebook of dimensions and frames for text analysis

Dimensions	Frames	Logic	Frame category
Cultural and religious - incompatibility of religions and cultures, political rights for Italians rather than immigrants	*Nativist issues*	Protection of national identity evolution of national identity	*Identity-related*
Law and order Refugee and shelter Illegal entry	*Emergency Issues*	Regularization, terrorism and Islam	*Pragmatic*

Dictionary

"immigra*" "migrant*", "stranier*", " 56 clandestine*", "Islam" "Musulman*" "Imam" "Moschea", "minaret*", "Jihad", "burqa", "maghrebin*" "magrebin*", "African*" "Lampedusa"

Appendix 2. List of keywords in the anti-immigration news

Variable 1 - *General immigration search entry*	Variable 3- *Islam-related emergency issues*
1 'immigration'	3 'terrorism'
1 'immigrant'	3 'terrorist'
1 'immigrants'	3 'terrorristic'
1 'migrant'	3 'extremism'
1 'clandestine'	3 'extremistic'
Variable 2 – *Islam-related identity issues*	3 'asylum'
2 'Islam'	3 'refugee'
2 'Islamic'	3 'invasion'
2 'islamization'	3 'landing'
2 'jihad'	Variable 4 – *Islam-specific focusing events*
2 'jihadist'	4 'isis'
2 'jihadisti'	4 'charlie hebdo'
2 'caliphate'	4 'boko haram'
2 'mosque'	4 'mare nostrum'
2 'mosques'	4 'triton'
2 'imam'	4 'lampeduza'
2 'imams'	4 'ebola'
2 'muslim'	4 'africa'
2 'muslims'	4 'libya'
2 'sharia'	4 'tunis'
	4 'nigeria'

Bibliography

Albertazzi, Daniele, and Duncan McDonnell. 2005. "The Lega Nord in the Second Berlusconi Government: In a League of Its Own." *West European Politics* 28 (5): 952–72. doi:10.1080/01402380500310600.

———. 2010. "The Lega Nord Back in Government." *West European Politics* 33 (6): 1318–40. doi:10.1080/01402382.2010.508911.

———. 2015. *Populists in Power*. Routledge Studies in Extremism and Democracy. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.

Allievi, Stefano. 2009. *Conflicts over Mosques in Europe: Policy Issues and Trends*. London: Alliance Publishing Trust.

Alonso, Sonia, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2015. "Spain: No Country for the Populist Radical Right?" *South European Society and Politics* 20 (1): 21–45. doi:10.1080/13608746.2014.985448.

Ambrosini, Murizio. 2001. "The Role of Immigrants in the Italian Labour Market." *International Migration* 39 (3): 61–83. doi:10.1111/1468-2435.00156.

Betz, Hans-Georg. 1994. *Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe*. New York: St. Martins Press.

———. 2007. "Against the 'Green Totalitarianism': Anti-Islamic Nativism in Contemporary Radical Right-Wing Populism in Western Europe." In *Europe for the Europeans: The Foreign and Security Policy of the Populist Radical Right*, edited by Christina Schori Liang, 33–54. Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Betz, Hans-Georg, and Susi Meret. 2009. "Revisiting Lepanto: The Political Mobilization against Islam in Contemporary Western Europe." *Patterns of Prejudice* 43 (3-4): 313–34. doi:10.1080/00313220903109235.

Bunzl, Matti. 2005. "Between Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Some Thoughts on the New Europe." *American Ethnologist* 32 (4): 499–508. doi:10.1525/ae.2005.32.4.499.

Cento Bull, Anna, and Mark Gilbert. 2001. *The Lega Nord and the Northern Question in Italian Politics*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave.

Cesari, Jocelyne. 2009. "The Securitization of Islam in Europe: The Changing Landscape of European Liberty and Security." Research Paper no. 15. http://www.libertysecurity.org/IMG/pdf_The_Securitisation_of_Islam_in_Europe.pdf.

Cherribi, Sam. 2007. "Politicians' Perceptions of the '"Muslim Problem"': The Dutch Example in European Context." In *Democracy and the New Religious Pluralism*, edited by Thomas F. Banchoff, 113–32. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Colombo, Asher, and Giuseppe Sciortino. 2004. "Italian Immigration: The Origins, Nature and Evolution of Italy's Migratory Systems." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9 (1): 49–70. doi:10.1080/1354571042000179182.

"Demografia in Cifre." 2014. demo.istat.it.

Dolezal, Martin, Marc Helbling, and Swen Hutter. 2010. "Debating Islam in Austria, Germany and Switzerland: Ethnic Citizenship, Church–State Relations and Right-Wing Populism." *West European Politics* 33 (2): 171–90. doi:10.1080/01402380903538773.

Eatwell, Roger. 2006. "Community Cohesion and Cumulative Extremism in Contemporary Britain." *The Political Quarterly* 77 (2): 204–16. doi:10.1111/j.1467-923X.2006.00763.x.

Entman, Robert M. 1993. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43 (4): 51–58. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x.

Erdenir, Burak. 2010. "Islamophobia qua Racial Discrimination." In *Muslims in 21st Century Europe: Structural and Cultural Perspectives*, edited by Anna Triandafyllidou, 27–44. Routledge/European Sociological Association Studies in European Societies 12. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge.

Floyd, R. 2011. "Can Securitization Theory Be Used in Normative Analysis? Towards a Just Securitization Theory." *Security Dialogue* 42 (4-5): 427–39. doi:10.1177/0967010611418712.

Gattinara, Pietro. 2014. "Electoral Debates on Integration and Immigration in Italian Local Elections. Milan, Prato and Rome Compared." Florence: Euroepean University Institute.

Gold, Thomas W. 2003. *The Lega Nord and Contemporary Politics in Italy*. 1. ed. Europe in Transition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Guzzini, S. 2011. "Securitization as a Causal Mechanism." *Security Dialogue* 42 (4-5): 329–41. doi:10.1177/0967010611419000.

Habermas, Jürgen. 1993. *Justification and application: remarks on discourse ethics*. Aus dem Dt. übers. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hutter, Sven. 2014. *Protesting Culture and Economics in Western Europe: New Cleavages in Left and Right Politics*. Social Movements, Protest, and Contention, volume 41. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ignazi, Piero. 2003. *Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe*. Comparative Politics. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press.

———. 2005. "Legitimation and Evolution on the Italian Right Wing: Social and Ideological Repositioning of *Alleanza Nazionale* and the *Lega Nord*." *South European Society and Politics* 10 (2): 333–49. doi:10.1080/13608740500135058.

Kazin, Michael. 1998. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. Rev. ed. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

King, Russell, and Jacqueline Andall. 1999. "The Geography and Economic Sociology of Recent Immigration to Italy." *Modern Italy* 4 (2): 135–58. doi:10.1080/13532949908454826.

Kitschelt, Herbert, and Anthony J. McGann. 2005. *The Radical Right in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. 1. paperback ed., [Nachdr.]. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, ed. 2008. *West European Politics in the Age of Globalization*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. , ed. 2012. *Political Conflict in Western Europe*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Kriesi, Hanspeter, Edgar Grande, Romain Lachat, Martin Dolezal, Simon Bornschier, and Timotheos Frey. 2006. "Globalization and the Transformation of the National Political Space: Six European Countries Compared." *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (6): 921–56. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00644.x.

Krippendorff, Klaus. 2013. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles ; London: SAGE.

Kuru, Ahmet T. 2008. "Secularism, State Policies, and Muslims in Europe: Analyzing French Exceptionalism." *Comparative Politics* 41 (1): 1–19. doi:10.5129/001041508X12911362383552.

Mair, Peter, and Cas Mudde. 1998. "THE PARTY FAMILY AND ITS STUDY." *Annual Review of Political Science* 1 (1): 211–29. doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.1.1.211.

McDonnell, Duncan. 2006. "A Weekend in Padania: Regionalist Populism and the Lega Nord." *Politics* 26 (2): 126–32. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9256.2006.00259.x.

Mudde, Cas. 1999. "The Single-issue Party Thesis: Extreme Right Parties and the Immigration Issue." *West European Politics* 22 (3): 182–97. doi:10.1080/01402389908425321.

———. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition* 39 (4): 542–63. doi:10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00135.x.

———. 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, Pippa. 2005. *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Electoral Market*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Pappas, Takis S. 2014. "Populist Democracies: Post-Authoritarian Greece and Post-Communist Hungary." *Government and Opposition* 49 (01): 1–23. doi:10.1017/gov.2013.21.

Passarelli, Gianluca. 2013. "Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe: The Case of the Italian Northern League." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 18 (1): 53–71. doi:10.1080/1354571X.2013.730273.

Popping, R. 2000. *Computer-Assisted Text Analysis*. New Technologies for Social Research. London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

Roberts, Carl W., ed. 1997. *Text Analysis for the Social Sciences: Methods for Drawing Statistical Inferences from Texts and Transcripts*. LEA's Communication Series. Mahwah NJ: Erlbaum.

Rooduijn, Matthijs. 2014. "The Nucleus of Populism: In Search of the Lowest Common Denominator." *Government and Opposition* 49 (04): 573–99. doi:10.1017/gov.2013.30.

Ruedin, Didier, and Joost Berkhout. 2012. "Patterns of Claims-Making on Civic Integration and Migration in Europe: Are Muslims Different?" *SSRN Electronic Journal*. doi:10.2139/ssrn.2054411.

Rydgren, Jens. 2004. "Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark." *West European Politics* 27 (3): 474–502. doi:10.1080/0140238042000228103.

———. 2005. "Is Extreme Right-Wing Populism Contagious? Explaining the Emergence of a New Party Family." *European Journal of Political Research* 44 (3): 413–37. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2005.00233.x.

Schmitter, Philippe. 2006. "A Balance Sheet of the Vices and Virtues of 'Populisms.'" In . European University Institute; Central European University.

Siebers, H., and M. H. Dennissen. 2015. "Is It Cultural Racism? Discursive Exclusion and Oppression of Migrants in the Netherlands." *Current Sociology* 63 (3): 470–89. doi:10.1177/0011392114552504.

Silvestri, Sara. 2005. "EU Relations with Islam in the Context of the EMP's Cultural Dialogue." *Mediterranean Politics* 10 (3): 385–405. doi:10.1080/13629390500289474.

———. 2012. "Institutionalising British and Italian Islam." In *Perceptions of Islam in Europe: Culture, Identity and the Muslim "Other,"* 159–94. Library of Modern Religion 14. London; New York: I.B. Tauris.

Taggart, Paul A. 2000. *Populism*. Concepts in the Social Sciences. Buckingham [England] ; Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Tella, Torcuato S. 1997. "Populism into the Twenty-First Century." *Government and Opposition* 32 (2): 187–200. doi:10.1111/j.1477-7053.1997.tb00157.x.

Testa, A., and G. Armstrong. 2012. "'We Are Against Islam!': The Lega Nord and the Islamic Folk Devil." *SAGE Open* 2 (4). doi:10.1177/2158244012467023.

Van Der Brug, Wouter, and Joost Van Spanje. 2009. "Immigration, Europe and the 'new' Cultural Dimension." *European Journal of Political Research* 48 (3): 309–34. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2009.00841.x.

Williams, Michelle Hale. 2010. "Can Leopards Change Their Spots? Between Xenophobia and Trans-Ethnic Populism among West European Far Right Parties." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 16 (1): 111–34. doi:10.1080/13537110903583385.

Woods, Dwayne, and Barbara Wejnert, eds. 2014. *The Many Faces of Populism: Current Perspectives / Edited by Dwayne Woods, Barbara Wejnert*. First edition. Research in Political Sociology 22. Bingley, UK: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Yilmaz, F. 2015. "From Immigrant Worker to Muslim Immigrant: Challenges for Feminism." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 22 (1): 37–52. doi:10.1177/1350506814532803.

Zaslove, Andrej. 2004. "The Dark Side of European Politics: Unmasking the Radical Right." *Journal of European Integration* 26 (1): 61–81. doi:10.1080/0703633042000197799.

———. 2008. "Here to Stay? Populism as a New Party Type." *European Review* 16 (03). doi:10.1017/S1062798708000288.

Zincone, Giovanna, Rinus Penninx, and Maren Borkert, eds. 2011. *Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Zúquete, José Pedro. 2008. "The European Extreme-Right and Islam: New Directions?" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13 (3): 321–44. doi:10.1080/13569310802377019.