

DEPTARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNDER RUSSIAN INFLUENCE?

A quantitative study on the effect of euroscepticism on European peripheral parties' voting behaviour

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Abstract

For nearly two decades, Europe was considered a stable and peaceful continent. Following

several crises, including the annexation of Crimea and Brexit, the future of European

integration is being questioned. Despite being on different sides of the ideological spectrum,

European far right and far left political parties have one characteristic in common with each

other and Russia: euroscepticism. This thesis aims at examining the effect of euroscepticism

on peripheral parties' voting behaviour in votes in the European Parliament that can

undermine Russia and Russia's interests and objectives. The hypothesis claims that the higher

the degree of euroscepticism, the more likely is the peripheral party to vote in line with

Russia's interests.

This theory is tested quantitatively and an OLS multivariate regression analysis is conducted.

The results show, after introducing five control variables, that euroscepticism has no

significant effect on peripheral parties voting behaviour in votes regarding Russia. However,

the analysis shows that parties holding a government position are less likely to vote in line

with Russia's interests and parties that show anti-establishment senitments are more likely to

vote in line with Russia's interests. This knowledge is important, in order to understand

which potential influence Russia can have on European peripheral parties.

Keywords: Russia, European Union, information warfare, information operations, voting

behaviour, eurosceptism, far right, far left, quantitative, regression

2

Table of Contents

Abs	tract.		2		
Abb	revia	tions	4		
1	Intro	oduction	6		
2	2 Aim and research questions				
3	Prev	ious research	12		
3.	.1 I	nformation - a soft power tool	12		
	3.1.1	Information – A Russian soft power tool	14		
3.	.2 I	Russia's interests in the European Union	17		
	3.2.1	Russia's great power discourse	17		
	3.2.2	EU-Russia relations	18		
	3.2.3	European integration	19		
	3.2.4	(In)dependence on Russian energy	20		
4	The	ory	21		
4.	.1 I	Euroscepticism – crossing ideological boundaries	21		
4.	.2 I	Euroscepticism and European peripheral parties	24		
5	Meth	nodology and data	27		
5.	.1 (Case selection and sampling	28		
5.	.2 \	Variables and data	30		
	5.2.1	Dependent variable: Voting behaviour	30		
	5.2.2	Independent variable: Euroscepticism	31		
	5.2.3	Control variables	33		
6	Resu	ılts	36		
6.	.1 I	Preliminary statistics	36		
6.		Regression models			
7		cluding discussion			
8 Bibliography					
		z 1			
		: 2			
App	Appendix 3				

Abbreviations

AA Association Agreement

AET The Other Europe with Tsipras (*L'Altra Europa con Tsipras*)

AfD Alternative for Germany (Alternative für Deutschland)

AKEL Progressive Party of Working People (*Anorthotikó Kómma*

Ergazómenou Laoú)

BE Left Bloc (Bloco de Esquerda)

CDU Unitary Democratic Coalition (Coligação Democrática

Unitária)

CIS Commonwealth of Independent States

DCFTA Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area

DF Danish People's Party (Dansk Folkeparti)

EaP Eastern Partnership

EC European Community

ECU Eurasian Customs Union

EEAS European Union External Action Service

EFFD Europe of Freedom and Democracy

EL The Party of European Left

ENF Europe of Nations and Freedom

EP European Parliament

EU European Union

FG Left Front (Front de gauche)

FN National Front (Front National)

FPÖ Freedom Party of Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs)

Greens/EFA Greens-European Free Alliance

GUE/NGL European United Left/Nordic Green Left

IGO Intergovernmental organization

IP Plural Left (La Izquierda Plural)

IU United Left (Izquierda Unida)

ISIL Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

KKE Communist Party of Greece (Kommounistikó Kómma Elládas)

LAE Popular Unity (*Laïkí Enótita*)

LGBT Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender

LN North League (*Lega Nord*)

MEP Member of the European Parliament

NA National Alliance "All For Latvia!" - "For Fatherland and

Freedom/LNNK (Nacionālā apvienība ,, Visu Latvijai!" –

"Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK")

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGO Non-governmental organization

NI Non-Instricts

National Democratic Party of Germany **NPD**

(Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands)

PCA Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation

PCF French Communist Party (Parti communiste français) **PCP**

Portuguese Communist Party (Coligação Democrática

Unitária)

PEV Ecologist Party "The Greens" (Partido Ecologista "Os

Verdes")

PG Left Party (France) (Parti de Gauche)

PM Perceptions management

PS Finns Party (*Perussuomalaiset*)

PVV Party for Freedom (Partij voor de Vrijheid)

RTRussia Today

SACEUR Supreme Allied Commander Europe

Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna) SD

SF Socialist People's Party (Socialistisk Folkeparti)

SP Socialist Party (Socialistische Partij)

TT Order and Justice (*Partija tvarka ir teisingumas*)

TTIP Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership

UI United Left (*Izquierda Unida*)

UKIP UK Independence Party

V Left Party (Sweden) (Vänsterpartiet)

VAS Left Alliance (Vasemmistoliitto)

VBFlemish Interest (*Vlaams Belang*)

Popular Association – Golden Dawn (*Laïkós Sýndesmos* – XA

Chrysí Avgí)

1 Introduction

For nearly two decades after the end of the Cold War, Europe was characterized as a peaceful and politically stable continent and the European Union (EU) was seen as a successful model for regional integration (Veebel & Markus 2015).

This perception of Europe would remain for nearly two decades. Then came the Eurozone crisis in 2009, in the wake of the global financial crisis of 2007-08, the Ukraine crises in 2014 and the refugee crisis in 2015. All of these events have made Europeans question the future of Europe and nationalistic forces are gaining ground all over Europe. Crisis after crisis and challenge after challenge has started to erode member states' solidarity and belief in the EU's capacity to solve common issues (Trauner 2016; Veebel & Markus 2015). The latest blow to the European project came on 23 June 2016 when the British people decided on leaving the EU and initiated the so called 'Brexit'. This reflects the distrust many Europeans feel for the European institutions (Erlanger 2016).

The geopolitical map started to change in Europe on 18 March 2014. This was the day when Russia annexed Crimea, a peninsula that had belonged to Ukraine since 1954. (Ukraine: Putin signs Crimea annexation 2014). For several months before this event, Ukraine had been in a state of political turmoil. Ukraine had the intention to sign the Ukraine-European Union Association Agreement (AA), which initiates an association between the EU and countries in the so called Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries (EEAS 2016a): Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine (EEAS 2016b). In the case of Ukraine, the AA would also establish a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) with the European Union (EEAS 2016a). On 21 November 2013, Ukraine's former President Viktor Yanikovych decided not to sign it, and to instead form closer ties with Russia. This sparked a demonstration among pro-EU protesters, known as the 'Euromaidan', which led to Yanikovych removal in February 2014. Pro-Russian separatists began a bloody secession for the Crimean peninsula (Chance 2014; Grytsenko 2014) that became a reality in March 2014. The war between pro-Russian separatists, provided with Russian military support, and the Ukrainian government forces in Eastern Ukraine is still ongoing today (Walker 2015).

During the process, which led up to the annexation, so called proxies, who assisted in promoting Russia's foreign policy abroad, helped spark the uprising among pro-Russian

separatists in Crimea through soft power cohesion (Lutsevych 2016). Lutsevych (2016) claims that the proxies were disguised as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) under Russian law and funded by the government in order to undermine the EU and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and to promote Russian values and objectives.

Since 2014, it has been reported that Russia might be using proxies from inside the EU, in order to represent the Russian narrative of Europe's overwhelming challenges and to undermine the European project and NATO from within (Schindler 2016). For example, Western representatives have claimed that Russia tries to "exacerbate the refugee crisis and use it as a weapon to divide the transatlantic alliance and undermine the European project" and that Russia is "deliberately weaponizing migration in an attempt to overwhelm European structures and break European resolve". Jones (2016) reports that according to European politicians, diplomats and intelligence agencies, Russia's involvement in Syria is an example of this.

European far right political parties, that often are skeptical towards immigration, tend to find Russia's narrative about e.g. the refugee crisis alluring and since 2014, several media reports claim that there is a connection between Russia and the European far right political parties, if not direct than indirect (see Foster 2016; Klapsis 2015; Political Capital Policy Research and Consulting Institute 2014; Schindler 2016). According to Foster (2016), information operations have been traced in various countries in Europe and France, the Netherlands, Hungary, Austria and Czech Republic are mentioned as specific examples. Wagstyl (2016) mentions an example of a story that Russian media spread in January 2016, around the same time that it was discovered that several women had been sexually assaulted by men of Middle Eastern or Northern African heritage in Cologne. Russian media reported that a Russian-German 13-year old girl had been raped by men of that same heritage. This caused unrest amongst the Germans, especially amongst the Russian-Germans, and support for the far right party Alternative for Germany (AfD) increased (Wagstyl 2016). According to Boffey (2014) and Harding (2014), funding received by far right parties can also be traced back to Russia. France's far right party National Front (FN) has confirmed that it has lent 9,4 million euros from a Russian bank and has openly showed support for Russia's domestic and foreign

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¹ United States Senator John McCain, speech at the Munich Security Conference, Germany on 14 February 2016

² U.S. Air Force General Philip Breedlove, speech in the Senate Armed Services Committee, Washington D.C, USA, on 25 February 2016.

policies (Harding 2014). For the election in Crimea in March 2014, Russia invited election observers. Several European far right political parties participated, e.g. the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), Belgian Flemish Interest (VB), FN, Hungarian Jobbik and Italian North League (LN) (Klapsis 2015) as well as the German far left party Die Linke (Orenstein 2014).

Harding (2014) (see also Klapsis 2015; Political Capital Policy Research and Consulting Institute 2014) claims that the fascination that the European far right parties have with Russia is partly based on ideology - nationalism and conservatism - but mostly because they share a common denominator: skepticism toward the EU. The European far left political parties also share skepticism towards the EU with Russia and the far right parties. Boffey (2016) notes this as well and claims that by creating allies from political parties in the periphery of the left-right political spectrum, Russia will be able to increase its influence in the EU. It would also be able to undermine NATO, ultimately revoke the economic sanctions imposed on Russia after the annexation of Crimea (Boffey 2016) and ensure that the EU does not find alternatives to Russian energy (Foster 2016; Orenstein 2014).

This thesis will examine which effect euroscepticism, defined as an opposition to the EU as a result of scepticism towards the process of European integration (Halikiopoulou et al. 2012; Taggart 1998), as a common denominator of Russia and the European far right and left political parties, influences these parties voting behavior in the European Parliament (EP) in votes regarding Russia and Russia's interests and objectives. As stated by Makarychev and Yatsyk (2014) it is important for European policy makers and academia to try to understand Russia's narratives and motives, in order to develop proper policies. Today, peripheral parties do not have power to substantially effect EU policies in the EP. However, Klapsis (2015) and Orenstein (2014) state that many far right parties are enjoying electoral success in the EP elections, which means that an increased amount of the Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are representatives for their opinions. In Appendix 1, a table of all included far right and far left political parties used in this thesis are included. This table also shows which political group in the EP these parties belong to and includes a comparison of their electoral success in the 2009 and 2014 EP elections. Far right parties like FPÖ, Danish People's Party (DF), FN, UK Independence Party (UKIP) and Greece's Golden Dawn (XA) have increased their seats in the EP in the 2014 EP election as well as far left parties like Greece's SYRIZA, Spain's United Left (UI) and Podemos and Portugal's Portuguese Communist Party (PCP). These parties can be seen as challengers of the EU's cohesion.

This study is an important addition to the existing literature as it will give an insight to European voters about what consequences their votes in European Parliament elections might have for the peace and stability in Europe. Their voting behaviour on an EU level might also reflect the way that they try to affect policies on a national level (Klapsis 2015). Polyakova (2014) claims that the development on an EU level can reflect important national developments. She mentions the UK Independence Party (UKIP) as an example of a party that has not received much influence on a national level but yet more in the EP. Politics in the EU can at a later stage lead to shift on a national level as well (Polyakova 2014).

As for this study's further contribution to academia, currently only a few studies exist on the connection between Russia and far right political parties and as Klapsis (2015) highlights, this is a newly discovered issue, which captures that what academic research is currently missing to a large extent. This phenomenon is much more widely covered by journalists (Klapsis 2015). Other studies (see Klapsis 2015; Laruelle 2015) have only focussed on a limited amount of European far right parties, some of which do not have a seat in the EP like the Bulgarian party Attack. The aim of this thesis is to look at all European peripheral parties with at least one seat in the EP, both to the far right and left. This will be done quantitatively and will be the first study of its kind trying to understand and explain the voting behaviour among peripheral parties, with regards to resolutions on Russia and Russia's interests. Previous studies (see Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016; Klapsis 2015; Laruelle et al. 2015) have only examined the linkage between Russia and far right and left parties by studying a smaller amount of political parties qualitatively with the use of e.g. manifestos and statements (see Klapsis 2015). Note that only one study exists (see Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016) where both far right and left are included.

From now on far right and left parties will be called peripheral parties, which reflect their position on the left-right political spectrum, in accordance with Taggart's concept (1998). Throughout this thesis, the word 'far' serves as an umbrella term, under which 'radical' and 'extreme' fall. As Mudde (2007) explains, radical parties stand up for democracy but are critical about its liberal nature, whereas extreme parties are not democratic in the sense that they oppose that power is derived from the people (Mudde 2007:31).

According to Braghiroli and Makarychev (2016) the peripheral political parties show a tendency to adapt their narratives in a way, which aligns with Russia's foreign policy. This

includes undermining the EU and NATO and limiting the EU's influence in the EaP countries. However, these parties will not be called pro-Russian throughout this thesis, as this might exaggerate the connection. A direct connection cannot and will not be examined in this thesis. Therefore, calling these parties "sensitive to Russia's interests" (Braghiroli & Makarychev's 2016:217) is more suiting. It is also important to note that just because the peripheral parties and Russia generate similar narratives, it does not mean that these parties necessarily run Russia's errands in the EU. Stories like these are mostly based on Western media reporting and claiming this would not have a positive effect on EU-Russia relations. Klapsis (2015) calls it an "unofficial alliance" (Klapsis 2015:15), which is a basic assumption throughout this thesis. However, the results of this study will show if the possibility exists that these parties are or might become influenced by Russia. Finally, for the sake of transparency, the author of this thesis is a Swedish national and could therefore be claimed to generate a European and/or Western perspective.

2 Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to understand and explain why peripheral parties vote the way they do in the EP. A shared euroscepticism unites Russia and the European peripheral parties, which makes them share the objective to undermine the EU and hinder further European integration. With the common characteristic – euroscepticism - this thesis will try to explain the voting behaviour amongst these peripheral parties, when it comes to votes on resolutions that regard and undermine Russia and/or Russia's interests and objectives. It is a basic assumption throughout this thesis that Russia and the European peripheral parties share the objective to undermine the EU, which opens up for the possibility for Russia to influence these parties with Russian soft power tools. Whether this connection already exists today, will be up for speculation in this thesis, but the knowledge can prepare policy makers and European voters that such a connection can occur.

The aim of this thesis generates the following research question:

➤ What effect does the degree of euroscepticism have on European peripheral parties' voting behaviour in European parliament votes that, directly or indirectly, regard Russia and/or Russia's interests and objectives?

The following hypothesis will be tested in order to see if it can answer the research question and derives from the theoretical discussion that will be displayed later in this thesis:

H1: The higher the degree of euroscepticism, the more likely is the peripheral party to vote in line with Russia's interests.

As will be discussed in more detail in the methodology and data section below, all European far right and far left political parties (EU-28) will be included as long as they hold at least one seat in the EP. These parties are listed in appendix 1. The votes on resolutions all regard four Russian interests and/or objections: 1. further European integration, 2. (in)dependence on Russian energy, 3. encouragement of economic sanctions against Russia and 4. criticism of Russia and/or Russia's actions in Ukraine.

3 Previous research

This section will present previous research with the aim of providing a contextual background that explains how Russia could and would want to affect European peripheral parties. This is presented in order to show in which wider context peripheral parties's voting behaviour should be understood. First, the concept of soft power and how information can be seen as a soft power tool will be explained. Then, the Russian usage of information as a soft power tool will be discussed. This section ends with a sub-section explaining the nature of EU-Russia relations and Russia's interests in the EU, which will help in the development of the dependent variable for the upcoming quantitative analysis and increase the understanding of why Russia would want to influence European peripheral parties.

3.1 Information - a soft power tool

In 1990, Joseph Nye fathered the concept of Soft Power, which he predicted to become more important in a post-Cold War era (Nye 1990). Nye describes power as follows:

Power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes you want. One can affect others' behaviour in three main ways: threats of coercion ("sticks"), inducement and payments ("carrots"), and attraction that makes others want what you want (Nye 2008:94).

As the quote states, in order to affect others to act in accordance with your own interests and objectives, power can be wielded through coercion, economic incentives or attraction. In accordance with Nye's framework, power through coercion and economic incentives are expressions of hard power. Hard power is often measured in the amount of military capabilities that a state has in comparison to other states, with the ultimate goal of creating a balance of power (Nye 1990). Nye (2008) argues, that states cannot rely only on hard power tools but that a so called 'smart power strategy' must also lean on soft power tools. Nye (2008) explains soft power as follows:

A country may obtain the outcomes it wants in world politics because other countries want to follow it, admiring its values, emulating its example, and/or aspiring to its level of prosperity and openness. In this sense it is important to set the agenda and attract others in world politics, and not only to force them to change through the threat or use of military or economic weapons. This soft power – getting others to want the outcomes you want – co-opts people rather than coerces them (Nye 2008:94).

Nye (208) describes four soft power tools: culture, domestic political values, including ideology (Nye 1990), and domestic and foreign policies (Nye 2008). As will be shown later

in this thesis, the two latter are applicable to Russia's influence on European peripheral political parties. Political values seem credible when they are lived up to in both domestic as well as in foreign settings and foreign policies when they are perceived as being legitimate and showing moral authority.

In comparison to hard power, not only states can influence other states with soft power. Also other actors are referees and receivers of soft power (Nye 1990; Nye 2008), as can be seen in table 1. This is explained by the spread of and rapid development of modern technology, which has initiated the information era that currently characterizes how the world interacts. However, it is not the spreading of information that is challenging for governments, media outlets, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and companies but rather the competition for the attraction of the receivers when information is abundant. A referee with extensive soft power manages to get the receivers to see its information as credible and legitimate, and succeeds in aligning the interest of others with its own (Nye 2008). This is what Russia is trying to do, as will be explained below. Peripheral political parties can be or become receivers of soft power, while Russia is the referee. As explained, whether Russia is successful in this will not be established in this thesis, but by explaining the voting behaviour of European peripheral parties, the possibility for Russia to influence these parties will be understood.

Sources of Soft Power	Referees for Credibility or Legitimacy	Receivers of Soft Power	
Foreign policies	Governments, media, NGOs, IGOs	Foreign governments and publics	
Domestic values and policies	Media, NGOs, IGOs	Foreign governments and publics	
High culture	Governments, NGOs, IGOs	Foreign governments and publics	
Pop culture	Media, markets	Foreign publics	

Table 1. Summarizing table of Nye's definition of soft power tools, referees and receivers (Nye 2008:107).

Nye (2008) and Yablokov (2015) see soft power as an important part of public diplomacy, which Yablokov defines as a "way of engaging foreign individuals, communities and governments in support of national objectives and foreign policies of an international actor stimulated by the development of global communication" (Yablokov 2015:303).

3.1.1 Information – A Russian soft power tool

Russia has used information as a soft power tool to annex Crimea (Ambrosio 2016). According to Galeotti (2016) and Snegovaya (2015) information operations³ is a soft power tool based on disinformation campaigns, the spread of propaganda and subversion. These are used in order to be able to deny, deceive and conceal current objectives, get the strategic advantage and shape agendas in a cost-effective manner (Galeotti 2016; Snegovaya 2015). This relates to Nye's (1990) assumption that hard power is too costly in a post-Cold War era, e.g. because of the threat of mutual destruction considering e.g. nuclear weapons, whereas soft power tools are cost-effective. More precisely, Snegovaya defines information operations as "means of conveying to a partner or an opponent specially prepared information to incline him to voluntarily make the predetermined decision desired by the initiator of the action" (Snegovaya 2015:10). This definition aligns well with Nye's soft power concept i.e. that a referee aims at aligning the receiver's interests and objectives with its own. Ambrosio (2016) introduces a similar approach that explains how and why perceptions are framed in a certain way in order to achieve current objectives. Perception management seeks to "create a selfinterested narrative to define the contours of debate, justify one's actions at home and abroad, and provides those actions with legal and normative legitimacy" (Ambrosio 2016:468).

Information operations can be understood as a part of the broader concept of hybrid warfare. Hybrid warfare became an important concept to understand after it was used for the annexation of Crimea on 18 March 2014, which European decision-makers neither foresaw nor were able to respond to (e.g. Bachmann & Gunneriusson 2015; Galeotti 2016; McIntosh 2015; Snegovaya 2015). Hybrid warfare⁴ implies a usage of a combination of conventional and unconventional warfare tactics, such as regular and irregular forces, economic warfare, cyber attacks, diplomacy and information warfare (Bunde & Oroz 2015). One can also claim that hybrid warfare applies both hard and soft power tools, which Nye calls "smart power" (Nye 2008:108). Ultimately, the adversary becomes confused as the line between war and peace gets blurred (Bachmann & Gunneriusson 2015), which hinders countermeasures (Snegovaya 2016).

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³ Other terms include 'information warfare' (e.g. Snegovaya 2015) and 'perception management' (Ambrosio 2016).

⁴ Other occurring terms: 'full-spectrum warfare', 'non-linear war', 'new-generation warfare' (Galeotti 2016).

Trying to achieve objectives and interests through aligning others interests with your own is not a new phenomenon – not to Russia, European countries or the U.S. Already in 1883, France tried to restore its credibility and reputation following the defeat in the Franco-Russian war through the spread of French culture. Other examples include, but are not limited to, Germany and the United Kingdom trying to establish a good reputation in the U.S. before the American involvement in World War I. Another example is the radio broadcasting in the 1920s and 1930s to spread the ideologies of Fascism, Nazism and Communism abroad, which the U.S. tried to counter in countries and regions that could be perceptible to this information. Today, the United Kingdom and the U.S. use the BBC World Service and the U.S. Information Agency respectively, in order to spread information and to remain reputable. As for Russia, information has been used as a soft power tool since the Soviet times in the 1950s. In post-Cold War times, Russia used it in the 2008 Russia-Georgia conflict (Snegovaya 2015; Yablokov 2015) and in the conflict in Eastern Ukraine. However, Yablokov (2015) notes that in comparison to the use of information during the times of the Soviet Union, in order to exploit ideological divisions between capitalism and communism, there are no strong ideological dimensions in current Russian information operations (Yablokov 2015).

As of today, the Russian media is to a large extent government-controlled (Galeotti 2016; Snegovaya 2015). These media outlets, e.g. e.g. *Russia Today* (since 2009 only called RT) and *Sputnik*, are also aiming on influencing global audiences by operating media outlets in foreign languages (Snegovaya 2015). Through these channels, Russia actively tries to undermine the West, in particular the U.S, divide the EU and NATO, and spread insecurity among the European publics (Galeotti 2016). McIntosh (2015) claims that Russian media alternates the perspective in order to mobilize public support for its own objectives.

This tactic was noted in Ukraine, when Russia aimed at preventing Ukraine deepening its cooperation with the EU and NATO (Snegovaya 2015). Ambrosio (2016) discusses how perception management was used in information operations to justify and legitimize the annexation of Crimea in March 2014, both domestically and abroad in order to handle the criticism from the West (see also Yablokov 2015). First, Russia claimed that the annexation was legitimate because it was a result of self-determination of the Crimean people to annex and accede to Russia. Second, Russia could claim Crimea on the basis of historical and cultural ties and because the transfer of Crimea under Soviet rule in 1954 was illegitimate.

Third, due to Western criticism, Russia accused the West of being anti-Russian. Galeotti (2016) adds that Russia accused Kiev of being neo-fascists. Other narratives include the shooting down of Malaysia Airlines flight 17, where Russia claimed that the U.S. might have been a part of a conspiracy (McIntosh 2015:304) and that the demonstrations in Kiev – the so called Euromaidan – were encouraged by the U.S. and which forced former pro-Russian President Yanukovich to resign (Polyakova 2014).

Yablokov (2015) studies the role of conspiracy theories in RT's media reporting and comes to the conclusion that RT aims at delegitimizing the U.S. domestic and foreign policy and tries to increase the trust and confidence in Russia in order to legitimize Russia's domestic and foreign policies. Since the adaptation of the Doctrine of Information Security in 2000, it has become more important for Russia to spread knowledge about Russian culture and to offer an alternative to Western media. The establishment of RT in 2005 was in line with these objectives. After the 2008 Russo-Georgian war, which got heavily criticized by the West Russia started to rethink its foreign policy tools. Targeting international audiences became crucial to Russia and RT was established in multiple foreign languages (Dias 2013; Yablokov 2015).

Snegovaya (2015) discusses the effect that Russian information, spread through Russian media outlets, can have on peripheral parties. According to her, European peripheral parties are being targeted with the aim of destabilizing the European political environment. By exploiting current European challenges and national vulnerabilities in Europe, Russia effects public sentiments, which often show a eurosceptical and anti U.S. narrative. European peripheral parties to both the political left and right are sensitive to this narrative as will be explained later in this thesis. Galeotti (2016) explains the intelligence agencies develop relationships with proxies as part of a long-term strategy, irrespective of ethnic or ideological ties. As mentioned by Yablokov (2015), ideology plays less of an important role now than during the Cold War when establishing a proxy-relationship, but Galeotti (2016) claims that there has to exist an ideological allure as well, although it might not be the most essential common denominator. Further, by adapting the media message, Russia is able to target different audiences without a strong ideological link (Yablokov 2015). It will be an assumption throughout this thesis that the common characteristic that both Russia, the far right and the far left share, is euroscepticism. Undermining and dissolving the EU is their

common strategy. Therefore, traditional left-right ideology is assumed to play less of a role in affecting peripheral parties voting behaviour.

3.2 Russia's interests in the European Union

3.2.1 Russia's great power discourse

In order to be able to understand Russia's interests in the EU and the dividing lines in EU-Russia relations, one must understand the overall driving force behind Russia's rhetoric and actions. This understanding is based on a great power discourse, which affects both domestic and foreign policy and which has always affected EU-Russia relations in the past (Makarychev & Yatsyk 2014; Smith 2014). It is important to Russia to be a great power in world politics and this trait is deeply rooted in the Russian identity. According to Smith (2014), it is important to understand the difference between considering oneself to be a great power and being considered as a great power by another. Smith (2014) claims that the difference lies in whether or not a state has acquired status or not and that status can only be acquired when a state gets recognised by others as a great power. She also explains that great powers usually share three characteristics: 1. they are to a high degree involved in conflicts and international politics, in which 2. they are considered important players, and 3. their great power status is valued and supported domestically (Smith 2014).

After the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia's great power status vanished rapidly, however, Russia's great power identity did not. Russia's involvement in conflicts, e.g. the first and second Chechen wars in the 1990s (Smith 2014), the 2008 Russo-Georgian war and the ongoing 2014 war in Eastern Ukraine (Makarychev & Yatsyk 2014) as well as the Russian military involvement in the Syrian Civil War, are all examples of this (Yablokov 2015). Russia is not necessarily anti-Western, however, it wants to be seen as an equal and it wants to balance the power between Europe and the U.S – a so called "concert of great powers" (Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016:217).

Simultaneously, it has become important to Russia to distance itself from the West. Russia highly values its sovereignty and claims to be fighting for other peoples' right to sovereignty. As shown, this rhetoric has been used in the annexation of Crimea in order to legitimize Russian actions (Makarychev & Yatsyk 2014).

3.2.2 EU-Russia relations

After the annexation of Crimea and the ongoing war in Eastern Ukraine, EU-Russian relations have reached a low-point. Haukkala (2015) claims that the annexation was an intended act by Russia in order to break free from the EU's institutional arrangements. Haukkala (2015) and Makarychev and Yatsyk (2014) attest to the rocky relationship between Russia and the EU, ever since the end of the Cold War. In the beginning of the 1990s, the EU set up cooperative, irreversible structures with Russia. By doing this, the EU thought it would be able to tie Russia to the EU, both culturally and economically and to tie Russia to promises of devotion to democracy and human rights, which could ensure a peaceful and stable Europe. Russia thinks that these structures were unilaterally imposed on them and opposed further integration between 1994 and 2000. Meanwhile, Russia established a new foreign policy with an increased focus on its sphere of influence, sovereignty and equal partnership with the EU. Several military conflicts, like the Russian involvement in the two wars in Chechnya and the EU's support for the NATO-led military invention in Kosovo against Serbia, caused further disagreements. In the beginning of the 2000s, Russia showed an interest for further Europeanization. This soon changed, when the EU began to question Russia's devotion to democracy, as Russia centralized the president's power to the expense of undermining checks and balances, in order to handle internal and external challenges such as Chechen separatism and terrorism (Haukkala 2015). Russia also experienced economic growth between 2000 and 2007, which decreased the dependence on the EU (Dias 2013).

Today, Russia's dislike for the EU institutions rests on four characteristics of the EU. First, its liberal culture, which ensures LGBT persons social rights and relies on what they call 'American' culture. Russia knows that as long as this liberal culture defines Europe, Russia will not be considered an equal partner, which is not in line with their ambition to be seen as a great power in world politics. Second, Russia dislikes the inefficiency and bureaucracy of the EU system. Third, according to Russia the EU is too perceptible to influences and interference from the U.S. and NATO and thus requires outdistancing. Last, Russia claims that fascism is fostering in Europe e.g. in the Baltic States and Ukraine (Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016).

3.2.3 European integration

An EU initiative called the Eastern Partnership (EaP) was launched in 2009 in order to promote values like democracy and human rights in countries like Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine (Haukkala 2015). These belong to Russia's traditional sphere of influence and Russia disagreed with these countries preferring cooperation with the EU instead of cooperation with Russia (Dias 2013). Russia also saw this as a way for the EU to undermine Russia as a regional power in Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus. One year later, in 2010, Russia established the Eurasian Customs Union (ECU) together with Belarus and Kazakhstan as an alternative to the EU's liberal discourse and in order to institutionalize Russia's sphere of influence. This sphere of influence, which the EU calls their shared neighbourhood, is a source of disagreements in the EU-Russia relations. As an example, Dias (2013) claims that the war in Eastern Ukraine can be seen as a proxy war between the EU and Russia in the fight for a neighbourhood that they do not like to be share, as influencing these countries means establishing international security and economic growth. With less legitimacy and support for the EU and Russia's contracting economy, it has become even more important to influence these countries. For Russia it is also needed to keep internal cohesion and relevance as a great power (Dias 2013; Trenin 2009). Russia wants to be respected in its sphere of influence. This applies to the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which includes countries such as Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine, especially since the accession of the Baltic States and Poland into NATO. NATO moving further to the East is seen as a threat to Russia. Crucial to Russia is also to protect ethnic-Russians in their sphere of influence⁵ (Trenin 2009).

As mentioned, Russia's sphere of influence, also called the shared neighbourhood by the EU, has been a source of disagreements between the EU and Russia. In November 2013, the Eastern Partnership Summit was held in Vilnius, Lithuania and the decisions made there can be said to have led up to the annexation of Crimea and the war in Eastern Ukraine. During the summit, the EU decided to increase its cooperation with Armenia, Moldova, Georgia and Ukraine, i.e. countries in Russia's sphere of influence, by signing the Association Agreements' (AA). These paved the way for the more comprehensive 'Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area' (DCFTA). To keep these countries from signing the AAs,

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⁵ Trenin (2009) calls this 'sphere of interests', as today Russia is only interested in certain sectors, e.g. political, military or economic sector, and not whole countries as during the Cold war.

Russia put political and economic pressure on them by using these countries dependence on Russian energy as leverage and implementing economic sanctions on certain goods. The Ukrainian President Yanukovych was offered several economic incentives on Russian natural gas, preferential loans and trade agreements. The result was that only Georgia and Moldova signed their AAs (Haukkala 2015). After the Euromaidan, the annexation of Crimea and President Yanukovych's resignation, Ukraine's new President Petro Poroshensko ratified the AA in September 2014 (Haukkala 2015).

3.2.4 (In)dependence on Russian energy

Energy is one of the means to which Russia proves itself to be a great power, together with military capabilities and information. As seen in several countries in Russia's sphere of influence, Russia can use energy to put pressure or encourage countries to align with Russia's interests. For this to continue, countries need to remain dependent on Russian energy resources and Europe is to a large degree dependent on Russian energy, especially natural gas. Krickovic (2015) sees a classic security dilemma in EU-Russia energy relations, which means that when one of them decreases the interdependence on the other's energy supply, the other needs to do the same. Interdependence between actors is often claimed to foster cooperation and dialogue, according to Krickovic (2015), but because of Russia's actions in Ukraine, the EU has tried to decrease its dependence on Russian energy resources. The EU has confirmed this in the 2014 European Union Energy Security Strateg. This puts Russia in a situation which negatively affects its economic situation as well as threatens its security because of less cooperation (Krickovic 2015).

4 Theory

This section will present the limited research that exists on the connection between European peripheral parties and Russia and their common denominator – euroscepticism – with the aim of theoretically being able to explore what effect euroscepticism can have on peripheral parties voting behaviour in EP votes on resolutions regarding Russia's interests. Peripheral parties' relationship with euroscepticism will also be explored.

4.1 Euroscepticism – crossing ideological boundaries

The previous chapters have discussed how information can be used and adapted in order to influence various actors, including European peripheral political parties, in order for them to act as Russia's proxies in the European parliament. This has been done in order to explore which potential influence Russia can have on these parties. As mentioned, there is more research, as well as media reporting, on far right parties' connection to Russia than with far left parties. However, some previous research briefly mentions that both far right and left parties can have common objectives with Russia, like undermining and dissolving the EU, based on their shared euroscepticism. Braghiroli and Makarychev (2016) provides the only article where both far right and left parties are considered showing similar objectives with Russia, although they are on the completely different sides of the political left-right spectrum. Their research will be supported by Klapsis (2015), an analysis by the Political Capital Institute (2014), Orenstein (2014) and Polyakova (2014), which all discuss the far right parties' similarities to Russia.

Braghiroli and Makarychev (2016) confirm that it is important for Russia to have allies within the EU, who can assist in setting Russia's agenda. They have studied peripheral parties, which sympathize with Russia, in the European parliament. They come to the conclusion that these parties are more perceptible to Russian influence compared to mainstream parties. This is in line with the main assumption of this thesis. The following table describes four different 'fears' and 'truths' of Russia that the country expresses rhetorically and then concludes whether, and to what degree, the peripheral political parties agree with these. The fears are globalization, immigration and U.S. hegemony. The truths are

based on romanticizing the past days of the nation states. These truths and fear attract European peripheral political parties (Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016).

	Conservatism	Sovereignty and National Interests	Anti-U.S.	Defeater of Fascism
Far	Largely consonant	Consonant	Consonant	Divergent
Right				
Far Left	Radically divergent	Controversial	Consonant	Consonant

Table 2. Summary of the dimensions of Russia's hegemonic discourse and its influence on far right and far left political parties (Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016:228)

Previous literature captures that the cooperation between Russia and European peripheral political parties works because of mutual benefits. However, the Russian narrative is shaped in such a way that attracts political parties. Klapsis' (2015) conclusion about the connection between Russia and far right political parties is that this is true. He claims that cooperation is formed on the basis of a common strategy as well as an ideological allure, which is accomplished through positive attention in media outlets like RT (Klapsis 2015). Braghiroli and Makarychev (2016) call this 'trans-ideology' and define it as "an attitude towards boosting political influence by pragmatically and intermittently breaching the boundaries of ideologies and political doctrines" (Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016:214). As captured in previous chapters, this is done by smart use of communications strategies.

Russia uses different communication strategies in order to attract both the far right and left political parties and some examples will be given: 1. Russia's anti-fascist agenda attracts the far left but not the far right. The far left associates Fascism and Nazism with modern racism, intolerance and xenophobia, which they strongly oppose. The Soviet Union's anti-fascist agenda of the past and the experience of the Soviet Union defeating the Nazis during the Second World War gives this narrative credibility. 2. The far right agrees with Russia's conservative values and dislikes EU's liberal values like handing social rights to LGBT persons and striving to far from traditional and Christian values (Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016; Klapsis 2015; Polyakova 2014). The far left political parties, on the other hand, oppose conservatism and the European United Left/Nordic Green left (GUE/NGL) group in the European Parliament has criticized Russia for its treatment of LGBT persons. 3. Russia's devotion to national sovereignty and national interests is appealing to the European far right political parties. Parties like Front National (FN) have criticized the EU for pressuring the pro-Russian Ukrainian President Yanukovich to leave his seat, which is seen as interference

in states domestic affairs and an undermining of sovereignty. The far left is divided in this question (Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016).

As the examples above show, ideologically, the far right and left are very different, but Russia manages maximize external political support because of skilful communication strategies, which are not affected by huge ideological differences. The common denominator between Russia and the peripheral political parties is, according to Braghiroli and Makarychev (2016), that they share an opposition against the liberal discourse of the EU as well as NATO. This captures that euroscepticism can be an explanation to why peripheral parties can show similar voting behaviour. Peripheral political parties, both to the far right and left, are criticizing the EU for letting the U.S. interfere in European politics and countries. As an example, Heinz-Christian Strache from the far right Freedom Party of Austria has criticized the EU for running the U.S. errands in Ukraine in order to oppose Russia. The far right is critical of EU's supranational integration, which comes with liberal, multicultural and capitalist values. The far left tends to associate the EU and NATO with an American imperialistic agenda, which threatens global peace and security and undermines Europe's relations with Russia. An expression of this was when the European Political Party 'Party of the European Left' (EL) criticized the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), which they see as undermining the cooperation with Russia and China in order to strengthen further cooperation with the U.S. (Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016). The approach towards national sovereignty and European integration differs amongst the far left parties, according to Braghiroli and Makarychev (2016). Far left political parties opposing the EU and European integration often has its roots in thinking that the EU is ineffective and capitalistic. They are not against European cooperation per se, because they are not for nationalism based on ethnical grounds as the far right. However, they want to reform the EU. Certain political parties within GUE/NGL have opposed the economic sanctions against Russia, because of its negative effect on the Russian people. They have also claimed that the conflict in Ukraine could be a case of Western imperialism. The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) has criticized the EU for interfering in the referendum of Crimea. Some far left parties find Russia's action less damaging than the influence of the EU and the U.S. (Braghiroli & Makarychev 2016).

This discussion shows that the connection between Russia and peripheral parties are not mainly based on shared ideology but shared Euroscepticism. This generates the following hypothesis:

H1: The higher the degree of euroscepticism, the more likely is the peripheral party to vote in line with Russia's interests.

4.2 Euroscepticism and European peripheral parties

As seen in the discussion above, the far right and the far left are eurosceptical for different reasons but eurosceptical nonetheless. Euroscepticism is defined as an opposition to the EU as a result of scepticism towards the process of European integration (Halikiopoulou et al. 2012; Taggart 1998). According to Taggart (1998) there are different reasons for political parties to oppose the EU. First, a party is negative about the general idea of European integration and therefore opposes the EU and second, a party does not show negativity towards European integration but finds that the EU is not the right project to handle integration because it is too inclusive. The third option is that European integration is opposed because the project is to exclusive to achieve desirable European integration. Within the framework of euroscepticism, it is important to note that political parties can be eurosceptical to different extents (Elsas and Brug 2015: Taggart 1998).

Scholars (e.g. Elsas and Brug 2015; Taggart 1998) agree that there is a clear correlation between ideology and euroscepticism. As ideologies are politically constructed, euroscepticism among certain party families can also change over time (Elsas & Brug 2015). As parties are governed by ideologies, they can be classified into different party families and this also applies to euroscepticism, according to Taggart (1998). Before, eurosceptical parties were often small, oppositional protest parties outside the government (Taggart 1998). These included mostly peripheral parties to the left and right. Hooghe, Marks and Wilson (2002) claim, in line with the discussion above, that euroscepticism is a strategy for these parties, as they want to challenge current structures. Today, larger, mainstream parties are much more dependent on their support. Therefore, several eurosceptical parties in Europe have or are now part of a minority government. As a result of the different crises of the European Union

in the last couple of years, European politics have become more central in domestic politics (Taggart & Szczerbiak 2012).

Scholars (e.g. Elsas & Brug 2015; Halikiopoulou et al. 2012; Taggart 1998) tend to agree that euroscepticism is most common in the periphery of the party system in Western Europe, where ideology can be defined on a left-right dimension. Social democratic, Christian democratic, conservative, agrarian and liberal are rarely associated with euroscepticism. This means that euroscepticism is most common in party families with far right and far left ideology, which Taggart (1998) calls the "new populist and extreme left". As this relationship is politically constructed, it can change over time. According to Elsas and Brug (2015), euroscepticism used to be more common among far left and social democratic parties for socioeconomic reasons during the 1970s and 1980s. However, this has since changed since 1992, when far right parties also started to show euroscepticism as a result of sociocultural reasons (Elsas & Brug 2015). This means that the relationship between euroscepticism and left-right ideology has changed from linear to a u-curve (van Elsas & van der Brug 2015).

The far right and left party families are to be described as very ideologically different from each other but euroscepticism is a common denominator, which they share with each other and Russia. According to Taggart (1998), Halikiopoulou, Nanou and Vasilopoulou (2012) and Elsas and Brug (2015) this can be explained as the far right and far left party families having different reasons for why they are being eurosceptical, which also the discussion in the previous section showed. According to Elsas and Brug (2015) euroscepticism should be understood from a socioeconomic and sociocultural perspective.

Far right euroscepticism arose after the Maastricht treaty was signed in 1992, which gave rise to the EU as it is today, and increased economic and political integration in Europe (Elsas & Brug 2015). Taggart (1998) explains that far right parties tend to be eurosceptical because they think that the EU is too inclusive. This is related to their concern with e.g. immigration (Halikiopoulou et al. 2012; Taggart 1998). Far right parties are not eurosceptical because of socioeconomic but for sociocultural reasons. This means that they do not oppose the economic liberal discourse of the EU, but they believe that the multicultural discourse of the EU threatens the nations cultural values.

Far left euroscepticism can be traced back to the 1970s and 1980s, where not only far left parties, but also social democratic parties, showed euroscepticism (Elsas & Brug 2015). While far right parties tend to be eurosceptical because the EU is to too inclusive, far left parties think that the EU is too exclusive (Taggart 1998). This is related to the far left often having an internationalist approach included in their left wing ideology (Halikiopoulou et al. 2012). This means that far left parties are in favour of multiculturalism, but oppose European integration and the EU because of scepticism of its economic liberal discourse (Elsas & Brug 2015) defined by capitalism and a free market economy. They believe it threatens the economic and social rights of the collective (Halikiopoulou et al. 2012) and the national welfare state (Elsas & Brug 2015).

Elsas and van der Brug (2015) differs far right and left wing scepticism from each other by claiming that far left parties take on an 'anti-liberal euroscepticism' and far right parties a 'nationalism euroscepticism'. Halikiopoulou, Nanou and Vasilopoulou (2012) claim that nationalism, defined as the parties thinking that European integration is a "threat to the autonomy, unity and identity of the nation" (Halikiopoulou et al. 2012:506), is a common denominator among parties in the periphery (Halikiopoulou et al. 2012:506). However, these parties are nationalistic and eurosceptical for of different reasons. Far right parties tend to oppose immigration because it contests the national culture of the nation, which can be ethnical or because of linguistic values and characteristics. Even though the connection between nationalism and the left are usually seen as incompatible, Halikiopoulou, Nanou and Vasilopoulou (2012) claim that the far left party family tends to be nationalistic on civic grounds. While the far right wants to protect the nation, the far left wants to protect the popular classes against imperialism and the influence of great powers. Because of this they want the EU and NATO, which are seen as organizations promoting Western imperialism, to not interfere in states' autonomy and right to national self-determination.

The discussion above has shown that parties show signs of euroscepticism because of ideological reasons based on their views on socioeconomic and sociocultural reasons. Elsas and Brug (2015) and Halikiopoulou, Nanou and Vasilopoulou (2012) also suggest that parties in the periphery tend to show euroscepticism for strategic reasons, which are that they want to differ themselves from other mainstream parties. Therefore, they oppose European integration and the EU (Elsas & Brug 2015; Halikiopoulou et al. 2012).

5 Methodology and data

This study has the ambition to increase the understanding of why peripheral European political parties vote the way they do in votes regarding Russia and/or Russia's interests and objectives in the European Parliament. This knowledge will increase the understanding of which potential influence Russia can have on these political parties. The hypothesis presented, in line with the theory, is that the higher degree of euroscepticism the more likely is the peripheral party to vote in line with Russia's interests. This indicates that there is a positive correlation between euroscepticism and the way peripheral parties vote regarding these issues, which makes this study an explanatory, theory-testing study. These cases, European peripheral parties, are interesting to try to understand as one and the same population, as they ideologically are fundamentally different from each other but share euroscepticism as a common denominator – as they also do with Russia.

Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) multivariate regressions will be conducted in order to be able to see if there is a linear causal relationship between the peripheral parties degree of euroscepticism and their voting behaviour. Five control variables will be introduced, which will generate a total of six regression models.

Cross-sectional (CS) data will be used in the OLS multivariate regression analysis, which means that the population – peripheral parties – will be studied at a specific point of time. How the parties voted, will be an aggregated value distinguished from when the eighth European parliament assumed office on 1 July 2014 throughout the whole year of 2015. One and a half years have been used in order to get enough data (resolutions – see below) for it to measure what it is intended to measure i.e. how peripheral political parties vote in votes regarding Russia and Russia's interests. To few observations would not assure that. The rest of the data, except for if the party held a government position in 2014 and/or 2015, will be taken from data measured in 2014, but this should not be considered an issue as the parties will not have been able to change their policy positions in that short of a time. These years are considered interesting as these followed the annexation of Crimea, which changed the political climate in Europe.

Using cross-sectional data is considered the only option in this newly developed academic field and as the effect of euroscepticism on peripheral political parties has never been tested quantitatively before. Russia is not known to have used soft power influence on political parties until a few years ago, so a time-series (TS) or time-series-cross-sectional (TSCS) study would not be appropriate. A TSCS study is a favourable option to rule out reverse causality, however, this is not theoretically likely as voting behaviour should not be able to effect euroscepticism.

5.1 Case selection and sampling

A large-N study is to be conducted, where N should reach at least the number of 30 for the purpose of insuring statistical power. It is often occurring that peripheral parties are studied within Western Europe (often defined as EU-15), because of similar party systems, values and historical experiences. This has been considered for this thesis but due to the lack of Western European peripheral parties and data, it has not been possible to reach a sample size 30 cases (N=30) only looking at parties in Western Europe. Therefore the peripheral parties from all the 28 EU member states have been picked, as long as they are considered far right or far left and have a seat in parliament. The parties from the following countries are represented in this study: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

It has not only been a practical necessity to include all peripheral parties in the EU, but including all European peripheral parties partly generates good opportunities to generalize (Esaiasson et al. 2012:171) the results to a whole population - peripheral political parties - in a defined geographical area – Europe/the EU. Partly, it has also been a practical necessity in order to reach a sample of 30. However, it can prove challenging to choose which parties that are considered peripheral parties, or more precisely, far right and left parties (see Mudde 2007). Therefore, this decision-making process has to be explained. As pointed out in the introduction by Mudde (2007), the term 'far' is only an umbrella term for the democratic 'radical' right and left and the 'extreme', anti-democratic, right and left. Partly because of the importance of getting a large enough sample, parties from both these categories have had to be included. As none of these parties share the exact same ideological traits, this thesis will

work with the concept of "family resemblance", which was introduced by the Austrian-British philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein and is used by Mudde (2007). This concept is based on the idea that they at least share one ideological trait with the rest of the party family. This cannot only be euroscepticism, as this trait on its own would not make the parties peripheral.

To a large extent, the peripheral parties have been chosen on the basis of which party family they belong to and McElroy and Benoit's (2011) framework on left-right party positioning in the EP has helped with this decision. The European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL) is furthest to the left and this group includes all far left political parties except for the Socialist People's Party (SF), which belong to the Greens-European Free Alliance (Greens/EFA). SF was included on the basis of that it shares an historical connection to communism, which most political parties do in GUE/NGL and because it belongs to the political alliance (Nordic Green Left Alliance), together with e.g. Sweden's Left Party (V) and Finland's Left Alliance (VAS). Some far left belong to the Non-Instricts (NI), which means that they do not hold a position in one of the recognized political groups in the EP. The National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD), some MEPs of FN, Golden Dawn (XA) and Jobbik belong to this category and are all included in the sample because, as already mentioned, they are considered far right parties connected to Russia (Political Policy Research and Consulting Institute 2014). The Communist Party of Greece (KKE), which as an openly communist party (Communist Party of Greece 2016), is also a NI and is included in the sample.

The far right political parties have been more disunited. If they are not NI, they usually belong to one of three political groups in the EP: Europe of Nations and Freedom (ENF), which FPÖ, VB, Northern League (LN), the majority of the MEPs in FN, one of the MEPs in AfD and Party for Freedom (PVV) belong to; Europe of Freedom and Democracy (EFFD), which Sweden Democrats (SD), UKIP, Lithuania's Order and Justice (TT) and one MEP of AfD belong to; European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR), which Danish People's Party (DF), Finns Party (PS) and Latvia's National Alliance (NA). According to McElroy and Benoit's (2011) study, the ECR and EFFD belong to the far right of the political spectrum. Since their study was conducted, the ENF has formed and would be considered further to the right than the ECR and EFFD.

It is important to note that some parties, like the far left parties Italy's 'The Other Europe with Tsipras' and United Kingdom's Sinn Féin, have been excluded due to the lack of data. Eurosceptic factions (see Taggart & Szczerbiak 2008) within parties will not be included.

5.2 Variables and data

5.2.1 Dependent variable: Voting behaviour

It is important to note that how peripheral parties vote can be an expression of them sympathizing with Russia. However, this is not what is measured in this analysis and therefore it is only possible to claim that these parties might be or become influenced by Russia because they might have same strategic interests: euroscepticism. The dependent variable measures the voting behaviour among peripheral political parties in the European parliament in votes regarding Russia and/or Russia's interest and objectives in the European parliament.

Using the Manifesto Project Dataset (Volkens et al. 2014) was considered as it includes two variables that express negative or positive sentiments towards Russia. The Manifesto Project produces quantitative data on parties' policy positions by conducting content analyses on parties' electoral manifestos. This would have expressed the peripheral parties sympathises towards Russia in a more straightforward manner. However, this proved to be difficult, as the data did not show any sympathies in any direction. This is not surprising, as manifestos tend to show the party positions, which the political parties themselves have produced and want to show. As the Political Policy Research and Consulting Institute (2014) discusses, not all parties are openly supporting Russia but might be showing sympathies in practice, as in the example with the PVV.

The dependent variable has been based on resolutions that have been voted on and accepted in the European parliament from when the eighth European Parliament had its first meeting on 1 July 2014 until 31 December 2015. The fifteen resolutions have been picked based on four criterions (which are motivated in appendix 2):

1. They encourage further cooperation with and integration of Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia, which all belong to Russia's sphere of influence.

- 2. They regard energy security and want to decrease the EU member states or Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia's dependence on Russian energy.
- 3. They welcome the economic sanctions against Russia and/or Crimea, which began to be applied from March 2014.
- 4. They criticize Russia and/or Russia's actions in Ukraine.

Again, the resolutions selected have been accepted by a simple majority (Rules of Procedure: (8th parliament turn 2014) of the MEPs in the European Parliament. When the selected peripheral parties have voted against a resolution, i.e. in line with Russia's interests, they receive one point (see annex 1). Added together, this gives the dependent variable, vote_comb, and a maximum value of 15. A party that vote against Russia's interests in a resolution instead gets -1, but can only get the least the value 0. To summarize, the dependent variable, vote_comb, can get a value of 0-15 where 0 captures that the party votes against Russia's interests to a very high degree and 15 captures that a party votes in line with Russia's interests to a very high degree. In this way of establishing the dependent variable, abstaining from voting or not participating in the vote is not considered important. Abstaining from voting might be considered a statement in itself, however, this will be overlooked at is impossible to draw any conclusions from the parties choosing to abstain with a quantitative method.

As can be seen in the histogram of the dependent variable, vote_comb, presented in Appendix 3, the variable is slightly right skewed, which might affect the analysis. However, normal distribution is assumed as the variable is only slightly skewed.

5.2.2 Independent variable: Euroscepticism

As described, euroscepticism is defined as an opposition to the EU as a result of scepticism towards the process of European integration. This theoretical concept will be operationalized, with the variable eu_position from the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey (Bakker et al. 2015). The Manifesto Project Dataset also provides information on European political parties' stances towards political ideology, European integration and party positions. However, the Chapel Hill expert survey shows advantages in comparison to the Manifesto Project, as they include 337 political party experts' opinions party positioning (Bakker et al. 2015). When

only looking at manifestos, important nuances will get lost, as what the parties officially say in their manifestos might not reflect their true nature. The same applies for the Euromanifesto Project's Manifesto or Party Elite studies, which have never been options as they are not yet available for the 2014-2019 period. The Chapel Hill Expert Survey variable eu_position aligns with the theoretical concepts as it measures "overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration in 2014" (Bakker et al. 2015:12). Previous research has captured that euroscepticsm can be related to anti U.S. sentiments. However, this variable cannot be found in any datasets containing information on European parties' political positions and could therefore not be controlled for. This variable would have been a good control to test the relationship between euroscepticism and voting behaviour.

Previously, it has been claimed, in line with the hypothesis, that the higher the degree of euroscepticism the more likely is the peripheral party to vote in line with Russia's interests. This still applies, however, the way the variable eu_position is coded in the Chapel Hill Expert Survey dataset will show a negative relationship if the hypothesis is accepted. The variable is coded from 1 to 7, where 1 shows that the party strongly opposes European integration, 4 is neutral and 7, is strongly in favour of European integration. The coding will generate a variable which informs about the absence of scepticism towards European integration. After running the descriptive statistics and checking for normal distribution, the independent variable, eu_position, turns out to be right skewed and is therefore log-transformed. The variable is called ln eu position throughout the regression analysis.

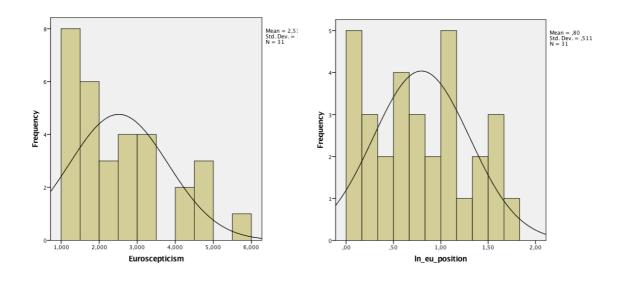


Figure 1. The independent variable euroscepticism before and after log-transformation.

5.2.3 Control variables

5.2.3.1 Nationalism

Halikiopoulou, Nanou and Vasilopoulou (2012) claim that both the far right and left euroscepticism can be explained by nationalism. The far right oppose European integration because of nationalism and the far left, which is associated with internationalism, oppose European integration because it is a neoliberal project. Halikiopoulou, Nanou and Vasilopoulou (2012) find that peripheral parties to the right and left are nationalist on territorial grounds but only far right parties give this an ethnical context. It is interesting to note that the Irish far left party Sinn Féin has a strong nationalistic agenda. Halikiopoulou, Nanou and Vasilopoulou (2012) also find that the higher the level of nationalism, the higher the level of euroscepticism. Already in this stage, a multicollinearity problem can be suspected, which will have to be tested in the preliminary analysis.

The variable nationalism from the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey will measure nationalism. It is measures from 0 to 10, where 0 means that the party prefers a cosmopolitan approach to society and 10 means that the party strongly prefers nationalism (Bakker et al. 2015:17). Cosmopolitanism reflects inclusiveness while nationalism reflects exclusiveness (Halikiopoulou et al. 2012). Choosing this dataset before others has the same advantages as with the variable chosen to measure euroscepticism. It is normally distributed, which can be seen in appendix 3, and is therefore not log-transformed.

5.2.3.2 Eastern Orthodox

The second variable that will be controlled for is Eastern Orthodoxy. Russia is a country where the Eastern Orthodox Church has a dominant influence. According to Biersack and O'Lear (2014) and Braghiroli and Makarychev (2016), Russia tries to use this common cultural and historical similarity in order to use soft power to influence Eastern Orthodox countries like Ukraine, Georgia and Greece to become more sensitive to Russia's interests. McIntosh (2015) says that Russian media especially highlights that liberal Europe actively promotes gay marriage for Eastern Orthodox audiences. This is therefore controlled for as a dummy variable. The data is not based on an already existing dataset, but has been put together manually based on the Pew Research Center's *Global Christianity report* (2011:31,

83). In the sample, Greece (88,3 %) and Cyprus (78 %) have an overwhelming majority of people who are Eastern Orthodox. All parties who have their base in these countries – XA, SYRIZA, KKE and the Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL) – will therefore get the value 1. The rest of the parties will be allocated value 0.

The variable is named east_orth and is a nominal variable. It has not been log-transformed, as there are no dummies that are normally distributed, due to fact that dummies can only possess two values -0 or 1.

5.2.3.3 Historical ties

This control variable will also be a manually put together dummy, where the value 1 captures that the party is from a country, which has either been a part of the Soviet Union, like Latvia and Lithuania, or a satellite state of the Soviet Union, like Poland, Czech Republic (as Czechoslovakia), Hungary and Germany (as East Germany i.e. the German Democratic Republic, DDR). This will be used as a control variable as these countries tend to have negative historical experiences of being coerced, dominated and in conflict with the Soviet Union, which today is Russia. One can assume that these countries are less likely to vote in line with Russia's interests and vote against anything that would undermine European institutions. Finland is mentioned as having negative historical experiences with Russia because of the Winter War in World War II (Laruelle 2015), but has in this study been assigned a value of 0, i.e. no historical experiences. This is done because one has to draw a line somewhere. With regards to the criteria set, the parties AfD, NPD, Latvia's National Alliance (NA), Lithuania's Order and Justice (TT), Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) and Die Linke.

The dummy is called hist ties and as this is a dummy, it has not been log-transformed.

5.2.3.4 Government position

"Euroscepticism has come in from the cold" (Taggart & Szczerbiak 2013:34), as Taggart and Szczerbiak (2013) claim. The fourth control variable is called govern and reflects whether the party is in a government position or not. Taggart and Szczerbiak (2013) come to the conclusion that eurosceptical parties, which most likely are found in the periphery parts of the

political spectrum, become more moderate in their euroscepticism when in a government position. If this is assumed to be the case, there will be less of an interest in voting in line with Russia's interests in the EP. The variable govern is a dummy. A party gets the value 1 if they held a position in their national government in 2014 and/or 2015 and 0 if they did not. The Finns Party (PS), NA, TT, SYRIZA and Sinn Féin got the value 1, as they all held government position in 2014 and/or 2015, which are the years the votes on the resolutions in the EP were studied. As this variable is a dummy, it was not log-transformed.

5.2.3.5 Anti-establishment

Being anti-establishment is often related to the concept of populism, which means critical towards the political establishment and the political elites (Rydgren 2005:413). Populism is common among European far right parties, but far left populism also exists (Mudde 2007). Previous research has suggested that peripheral parties are sceptical towards the European establishment and the elites working for the EU institutions and this should therefore be tested for. The variable nationalism from the 2014 Chapel Hill Expert Survey will measure anti-establishment and this dataset has the same advantages as with the variables for euroscepticism and nationalism. The variable measures "salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric" (Bakker et al. 2015:17), where 0 means sees no importance at all and 10 means that the party finds it extremely important. As the variable antielite_salience is close to normally distributed (see appendix 3), it is therefore not logtransformed.

6 Results

This section will present the results of the OLS multivariate regressions to see if there is a linear relationship between European peripheral parties' degree of euroscepticism (ln_eu_position) and these parties' voting behaviour (vote_comb) - measured as to what degree they vote in line with Russia's interests. This is labled 'votes' throughout the whole analysis, but reflects voting behaviour. A positive relationship is to be expected, in line with the hypothesis, but because of the way the variable ln_eu_position is coded, a negative relationship is to be expected from the regression models.

The results section will first start of by presenting the preliminary statistics. This includes a table with descriptive statistics that describes the variables, the correlation between the dependent variable and the independent variable, as well as with the interval control variables nationalism and anti-salience. This will detect multicollinearity, but a Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) test, where the dummy control variables east_orth, govern and hist_ties will be included to further test for multicollinearity. The preliminary statistics sub-section will finish off with a test for heteroscedacity.

In the following sub-section, the regressions – bi- and multivariate – will be ran, which generates six models containing the dependent and the independent variable as well as the give control variables.

6.1 Preliminary statistics

The following table describes the variables that will be used in the regression models. For all variables except one, ln_eu_position, the peripheral party holds more of the trait the higher the value. Also note that ln_eu_position has been log-transformed, thus show different values in the table than those described in the theory section.

Variable	Description of variable	N	Min	Max	Mean	SD
DV: Votes (vote_comb)	Interval: Degree to which the party votes in line with Russia's interests	31	0	14	7.06	4.99
IV: Euroscepticism (ln_eu_position)	Interval: Degree of absence of scepticism towards European integration	31	0.09	1.74	0.80	0.51
C1: Nationalism (nationalism)	Interval: Degree of nationalism	31	1.28	10	6.78	2.99
C2: Eastern Orthodox (east_orth)	Dummy (nominal): If the party is from a country that is predominantly Eastern Orthodox	31	0	1	.13	.341
C3: In government (govern)	Dummy (nominal): If the party holds a government position	31	0	1	.16	.374
C4: Historical ties (hist_ties)	Dummy (nominal): If the country has been a satellite state to or been a part of the Soviet Union	31	0	1	.19	.402
C5: Anti- establishment (antielite_salience)	Interval: Degree of anti- establishment and anti-elite rhetoric	31	2.90	10	7.62	1.93

Table 3. Descriptive statistics

Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient (Pearson's r) is used to establish if there is a bivariate correlation between the dependent variable, votes comb, and the independent variable, In eu position and between the control variables. This measurement is used when exploring the correlation between interval variables. It measures the linear association as well as the direction of the association between the independent and dependent variable. The value of -1 indicates a perfect linear negative association, while +1 indicates a perfect linear positive association, but this rarely occurs. If the value would be 0, no linear correlation can be traced (Esaiasson et al. 2012:366). The scatterplot below shows the correlation. The linear regression line shows how a perfect correlation would look like, which captures that this is not a perfect linear relationship although most peripheral parties position themselves around this line. Several outliers are shown: PS, DF, V, TT, VAS, SF and NA. The correlation coefficient -.541 shows that there is a significant (0,01 % significance level), negative correlation between euroscepticism and peripheral parties' voting behaviour in votes regarding Russia's interests, which is in line the hypothesis. The number is not very close to -1, which would indicate a perfect negative correlation. The correlation is significant correlation between votes and euroscepticism at a 0.01 level. The correlation coefficient is displayed in the table below.

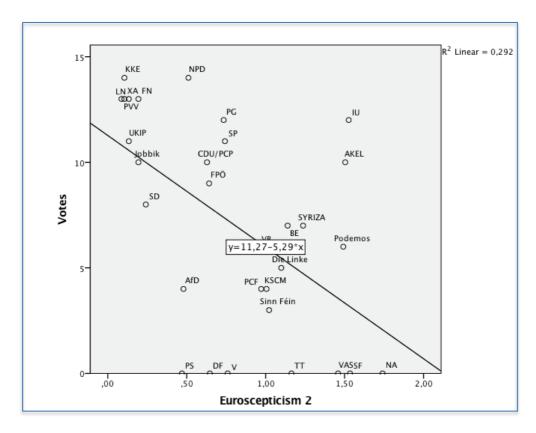


Figure 2. Scatter plot showing the correlation between euroscepticism and voting behaviour.

When introducing the control variables, it is important to take into account that three control variables are nominal variables. Pearson's r is not a suitable measurement for nominal variables. As explained previously, it is theoretically possible that a peripheral, eurosceptical party also show anti-establishment and nationalistic sentiments. It is therefore important to check for multicollinearity among the independent and control variables. If these show to covary too much, it will be difficult to distinguish which variable affects the dependent variable. Pearson's r has been used to measure the correlation between the interval variables. It is assumed that correlations above .80 are problematic, but as can be in the table below, no values are above .80. Therefore, multicollinearity is not assumed.

	vote_comb	ln_eu_position	nationalism	antielite_salience
vote_comb	1.000			
ln_eu_position	541	1.00		
nationalism	.174	543	1.00	
antielite_salience	548	626	.434	1.00

Table 4. Correlations matrix and a first test for multicollinearity.

To be on the safe side, a second test for multicollinearity is conducted, looking at the VIF and here the dummy variables are included. Field (2009:325) claim that VIF values higher than 5,

which gives a tolerance value of 0,2, are clear signs of multicollinearity. As can be seen in the table below, no VIF values are close to exceeding 5 and multicollinearity is assumed not to be an issue.

	Tolerance	VIF
In_eu_position	.527	1.899
nationalism	.837	1.195
east_orth	.844	1.185
govern	.727	1.375
hist_ties	.522	1.915
antielite_salience	.398	2.510

Table 5. Second test for multicollinearity, looking at VIF and tolerance levels.

As could be see in the scatter plot of the bivariate correlation above, there are outliers, which potentially can generate heteroscedacity. One important assumption when conducting an OLS regression specifically is that the errors are constant. This is called homoscedacity. If not, the standard errors for the coefficients will get higher or lower values than they should be, which will effect the significance levels. To test for heteroscedacity, a visualization approach is used to se that the. As can be seen in the scatterplot below, no specific shape, e.g. in the shape of a megaphone or hourglass, can be traced which means that the model works as well throughout the whole model. Homoscedacity is assumed.

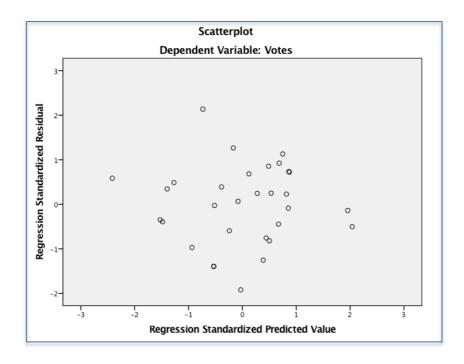


Figure 3. The scatter plot shows a visualization of homoscedacity.

Finally, extreme outliers have been looked for the interval variables vote_comb, ln_eu_position (which has been log-transformed and should therefore not show outliers), nationalism and antielite_salience. No extreme outliers have been found and will not be taken into consideration. The box-and-whiskers plots are presented in Appendix 3. As the dummies only show two values, 0 for no and 1 for yes, there are always extremities. Therefore, these are not examined for extreme outliers.

6.2 Regression models

The regressions are initiated by conducting a bivariate regression analysis, which will test the hypothesis that the higher the degree of euroscepticism, the more likely is the peripheral party to vote in line with Russia's interest. The bivariate regression constitutes model 1 in the table below.

DV: votes_comb	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
IV: In eu position	-5.288**	-6.186**	-5.698**	-3.668	-3.675	-1.388
	(1.528)	(1.825)	(1,787)	(1.847)	(1.903)	(2.051)
C1: nationalism		283	165	.122	.120	.018
		(.312)	(.309)	(.309)	(.324)	(.305)
C2: east_orth			3.908	4.973*	4.983*	3.851
			(2.279)	(2.144)	(2.211)	(2.120)
C3: govern				-5.131*	-5.140*	-6.018**
				(2.121)	(2.187)	(2.073)
C4: hist_ties					0.51	.444
					(1.916)	(1.792)
C5:						1.047*
antielite_salience						(.474)
Constant	11.270***	13.902***	12.210***	9.340**	9.350**	.459
	(1.437)	(3.241)	(3.286)	(3.250)	(3.350)	(5.080)
Adjusted R ²	.268	.263	.311	.416	.393	.474
N	31	31	31	31	31	31

Table 6. Regression models. *p<0.05** p<0.01***p<0.001. Standard Errors in parentheses.

After running the bivariate regression, model 1 supports the hypotheses that the higher the degree of euroscepticism, the more likely is the peripheral party to vote in line with Russia's interest and this causality is significant to a 0,01 % significance level. The relationship is negative, which was to be expected because of the variable ln_eu_position's coding, where the lower the value the more eurosceptical the peripheral party is. The number -5.288

indicates that an increase in one of the independent variable, leads to a decrease in approximately 5 in the dependent variable. This captures that the party is less likely to vote in line with Russia's interests the less eurosceptical it is.

The adjusted R² explains the variance between 0 and 1, where the higher the number the better. The adjusted R² has been chosen before R², as it takes into account the amount of independent and control variables included, which makes it a more cautious measurement. The number presented explains how the variance in the independent variable explains the variance in the dependent variable. In model 1 this indicates that 26,8 % of the variance in the dependent variable, vote_comb, can be explained by the independent variable, ln eu position.

In the following models 2-6, the control variables are included one by one, which makes it a multivariate regression analysis. Model 2 shows the effect of ln_eu_position on votes_comb under control for nationalism. When introducing this variable nationalism, the relationship between independent and the dependent variable remains negative and significant on a 0,01 % significance level. The negative effect of nationalism has on voting behaviour is not significant.

Model 3 introduces the dummy east_orth, which captures whether the party is from a country that is Eastern Orthodox. Dummies can be used in regression analysis, as they can be seen as interval variables as the steps are constant in length. The relationship between euroscepticism and voting behaviour still remains negative and significant. The variable east_orth has a positive, yet insignificant, effect on votes comb.

Model 4 introduces the control dummy govern. It can be seen in the table that euroscepticism no longer has a significant effect on voting behaviour when the variable govern, which means that parties hold a government position, is introduced. Although, the control variable govern and east_orth show a significant relationship with the dependent variable, negative and positive respectively, to a 0,05 % significance level.

In model 5, the variable hist_ties is introduced, which captures whether the peripheral parties are from countries that used to belong to or be a satellite state of the Soviet Union. However, the negative effect of euroscepticism on voting behaviour remains insignificant.

Model 6, when introducing the control variable antielite salience, captures an important change. First, the value of the b coefficient, which had been fairly steady since model 4, decreases from a value of -3.675 to -1.388, which means that an increase in 1 in the independent variable makes the dependent variable decrease 1.388. However, this relationship was proven not to be significant. Under control for antielite salience, the relationship between the variable govern and votes comb becomes more significant and increases in significance level from 0,05 % to 0,01 %. The b coefficient also increases in comparison to in model 4 and 5. The relationship between antielite salience and votes comb is significant to a 0,05 % significance level. After introducing all control variables, the variance in euroscepticism cannot explain the variance the peripheral parties' voting behaviour. This indicates that the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. However, antiestablishment sentiments and government position can act as predictors. Note that the constant becomes insignificant and decreases to .459 in model 6. This remains when only running a bivariate regression with the dependent variable vote comb and antielite salience. This is interpreted as the constant not being significantly far from origo, i.e. a value of 0, which means that votes comb simultaneously also is close to a value of 0. This does not weaken the model as the constant does not affect how the other independent and control variables are to be interpreted.

As a concluding remark, some variables do not have a significant effect on voting behaviour, but when looking at the ANOVA and the model summary, after having introduced all variables (attached in appendix 3), all models fit well together. The linear multivariate regression account for 47,4 % of the variance in the dependent variable to a significance level of 0,001 %.

7 Concluding discussion

The aim of this thesis was to be able the answer research question: What effect does the degree of euroscepticism have on the voting behaviour of peripheral parties in votes in the European parliament, which, directly or indirectly, regards Russia and Russia's interests and objectives? This was argued to be important in order to understand the potential influence Russia can have on these parties, which can affect EU policy making. Euroscepticism was argued to be the common denominator that Russia and peripheral parties to both the right and left of the political spectrum shared, which results in a common strategy to undermine the EU and hinder further European integration.

The theoretical discussion generated the following hypothesis, which was believed to answer the research question:

H1: The higher the degree of euroscepticism, the more likely is the peripheral party to vote in line with Russia's interests.

This hypothesis reflected a positive casual relationship between the variable euroscepticism and peripheral parties' voting behaviour, although it would be presented in the regression models as negative because of coding of the variable euroscepticism. The regression analysis presented six models. Throughout model 1 to 3, when not only the independent and dependent variables euroscepticism and voting behaviour had been introduced, but also the control variables nationalism and Eastern Orthodoxy, there seemed to be a negative causal relationship between the the degree of absence of scepticism towards European integration and the degree to which the parties vote in line with Russia's interests. This was in line with the hypothesis and expected, however, this changed throughout model 4 to 6 when the variables government position, historical ties and anti-establishment were introduced. The effect of euroscepticism on voting behaviour decreased and became insignificant.

In the sixth and final model, when all variables had been included, only two variables could individually be claimed to have an significant effect on voting behaviour, namely the fact that the peripheral party holds a government position and the parties' degree of anti-establishment sentiments. The variable government position showed a negative effect on the dependent

variable, which indicates that if the party holds a government position, it is less likely to vote in line with Russia's interests. As could be seen in the scatterplot capturing the correlation between euroscepticism and voting behaviour, there were several outliers that showed no signs of voting in line with Russia's interests. Many of these parties held a government position e.g. the Finns Party in Finland, Order and Justice in Lithuania and National Alliance in Latvia. This relationship has to be theorised further in future research, but this might be an indication of that parties in government do not feel the need to contest the European structures and institutions to the same degree and therefore declines to vote in line with Russia's interests. This in accordance with Hooghe, Marks and Wilson's (2002) discussion.

The degree of anti-establishment sentiments was showed to be a significant predictor of voting behaviour in votes regarding Russia's interests. This relationship should also be examined further in future research but it is an interesting finding that anti-establishment generates a significant relationship with voting behaviour, while euroscepticism does not. Although, one can argue that this is not surprising. If a party is eurosceptical, it is most likely also against the European political establishment. Braghiroli and Makarychev (2016) mentioned briefly that Russia is sometimes regarded as a better option, especially among the far left parties, when the only other option is the EU, NATO and the U.S. This could explain the voting behaviour and can still open up for Russia influencing these parties with soft Russian power. Therefore, this is an important finding. Far right political parties are most often associated with populism, but as far left parties also tended to vote in line with Russia's interests and against the mainstream parties, this might be an indication that this can also be a common denominator that deserves looking further into.

To make some concluding remarks on this study, it has been one of a kind as this is the first time a quantitative study has been conducted on this topic. Peripheral parties to the right and left have only been studied to a limited extent with regards to their sensitivety to Russian interests. The regressions were conducted and the model fitted well, which is an important finding in itself. However, as this is a new phenomenon, more qualitative studies should be done parallel to quantitative ones. For example, outliers were seen in the correlation scatter plot and the majority of these parties were from the Baltic Sea region and did not at all vote in line with Russia's interests. To try to explain this qualitatively would make the puzzle more complete, as only the well known parties like National Front (FN), Jobbik and Golden Dawn (XA) have been studied in depth before. If further quantitative studies were to be

conducted in the future, it would have been interesting to do a time-series-cross-sectional (TSCS) study to see if the voting behaviour has changed before versus after Ukraine or even before the 2008 Russo-Georgian war, which Polykova states (2014). The study conducted in this thesis can also be done again but with a different dataset and with anti U.S. sentiments as a variable. How these peripheral parties might act as Russian proxies on a national level, would also generate important knowledge.

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Appendix 1.

		EP political group	2009 EP election results	2014 EP election results
Austria	Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ)	ENF	12.71 % (2)	19.72% (4)
Belgium	Flemish Interest (VB)	ENF	9.85 % (2)	4.26 % (1)
Cyprus	Progressive Party of Working People (AKEL)	GUE/NGL	34.9 % (2)	26.98 % (2)
Czech Republic	Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM)	GUE/NGL	14.18 % (4)	10.98 % (3)
Denmark	Danish People's Party (DF)	ECR	14.8 % (2)	26.60 % (4)
Denmark	Socialist People's Party (SF)	Greens/EFA	15.4 % (2)	11.1 % (1)
Finland	Finns Party (PS)	ECR	9.79 % (1)	12.9 % (2)
Finland	Left Alliance (VAS)	GUE/NGL	5.9 % (0)	9.3 (1)
France	National Front (FN)	ENF/NI	6.3 % (3)	24.86 % (23)
France	Unitary Coalition/French Communist Party (CDU/PCF)	GUE/NGL	6.48% (5) as	6.33 % (3) as
France	Left Party (PG)	GUE/NGL	Left Front (PG)	PG
Germany	Alternative for Germany (AfD)	ENF/EFDD	-	7.10 % (7)
Germany	National Democratic Party of Germany (NPD)	NI	-	1 % (1)
Germany	Die Linke	GUE/NGL	7.5 % (8)	7.47 % (7)
Greece	Golden Dawn (XA)	NI		9.39 % (3)
Greece	Coalition of the Radical Left (Syriza)	GUE/NGL	4.7 % (1)	26.57 % (6)
Greece	Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	NI	8.35 % (2)	6.11 % (2)
Hungary	Jobbik, the Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik)	NI	14.77 % (3)	14.67 % (3)
Italy	North League (LN)	ENF	10.2 % (9)	6.15 % (5)
Ireland	Sinn Féin	GUE/NGL	11.24 % (0)	19.52 % (3)
Latvia	National Alliance "All For Latvia!" - "For Fatherland and Freedom/LNNK" (NA)	ECR		7.45 % (1)
Lithuania	Order and Justice (TT)	EFDD	12.22 % (2)	14.25 % (2)
Netherlands	Party for Freedom (PVV)	ENF	16.97 % (4)	13.32 % (4)
Netherlands	Socialist Party (SP)	GUE/NGL	7.1 % (2)	9.6 % (2)
Portugal	Portuguese Communist Party (PCP)	GUE/NGL	10.64 % (2)	13.71 % (3)
Portugal	Left Bloc (BE)	GUE/NGL	10.73 % (3)	4.93 % (1)
Spain	United Left (IU)	GUE/NGL	3.73 % (1) as a coalition	10.03 % (5)
Spain	Podemos	GUE/NGL		7.98 % (5)
Sweden	Sweden Democracts (SD)	EFDD	3.27 % (0)	9.67 % (2)
Sweden	Left Party (V)	GUE/NGL	5.66 % (1)	6.3 % (1)
United Kingdom	UK Independence Party (UKIP)	EFDD	16.09 % (13)	26.77 % (27)

Appendix 2.

Resolutions/Procedures	Criteria	Examples
1. 2015/2838(RSP) Russia, in Particular the Cases of Eston	European integration Dependence Russian	
Kohver, Oleg Sentsov	energy	
and Olexandr Kolchenko	Economic sanction	
	Criticism Russia	Strongly condems the non-fair trial of Estonian police officer Eston Kohver and the illegal sentencing of Oleg Sentsov and Olexandr Kolchenko. In Russia law and justice are being used as political instruments in breach of international law and standards. Strongly condems the violation of the territorial integrity of Ukraine and Estonia.
2. 2015/2036(INI) Stratogic Military	European integration	Providing Ukraine with defensive arms should be considered as well as the support to Ukraine in enhancing defence capabilities.
Strategic Military Situation in the Black Sea Basin following the illegal annexation of	Dependenc e Russian energy	emiancing defence capabilities.
Crimea	Economic sanction	The sanctions regime should against Russia should be <i>continued and strengthened</i> if Russia does not fully implement the Minsk ceasefire agreement.
	Criticism Russia	Firmly support the non-recognition of Russia's annexation of Crimea. Condemns the fact that Russia is providing direct and indirect support to the separatists groups in Ukraine, including in the form of weapons and recruitment and is concerned by reports of war crime.
3. 2015/2001(INI)	European integration	
Report on the State of EU-Russia relations	Dependenc e Russian energy	Firmly supports the swift creation of a European Energy Union in order to reduce considerably the dependence of individual Member States on external energy suppliers, particulary Russia.
	Economic sanction Criticism	Is deeply concerned by the restrictions on media
	Russia	and internet freedom.
4. 2015/2592(RSP)	European	

	integration	
	Dependenc	
Murder of Russian	e Russian	
Opposition Leader	energy	
Boris Nemtsov and the	Economic	
State of Democracy in	sanction	
Russia	Criticism	Strongly condems the killing of Boris Nemtsov and
	Russia	pays tribute to him as an opposition leader and
		leading critic of Putin. The political atmosphere
		which the Russian authorities have created has
		prepared for a fertile ground for muders, violence
		and pressure.
5 2014/2916(INI)	European	Welcomes warmly the signature of the AA as a
5. 2014/2816(INI)	-	
Danaut on the	integration	significant step forward in EU-Georgia relations,
Report on the		the ratification and embodying a <i>commitment to the</i>
Conclusion of the AA		path of political association and economic
with Georgia		integration. Georgia may apply to become a
		member if it adheres to the principles of
		democracy, respect for fundemental freedoms and
		human minority rights. Congratulates Georgia on
		having been able to sustain external pressure from
		Russia and redirect exports towards new markets.
	Dependenc	
	e Russian	
	energy	
	Economic	
	sanction	
	Criticism	Calls on Russia to respect fully the sovereignity
	Russia	and territorial integrity of Georgia.
6. 2014/0086(NLE)	European	Encourages the establishment of a DCFTA
,	integration	between Georgia and the EU, which enable a
Recommendation of AA		future closer to Europe.
with Georgia	Dependenc	J c creative _ m spec
,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	e Russian	
	energy	
	Economic	
	sanction	
	Criticism	
	Russia	
7 2014/0250(COD)		As the magnitus of Dynamic I and like a 1
7. 2014/0250(COD)	European	As the results of Russia's politically motivated
	integration	important bans against Moldova, as "an act of
Autonomous Trade		solidarity" and to improve trade relations between
Preferences for the		the EU and Moldova, ATP Regulations will be
Republic of Moldova		amended by introducing new duty-free tariff rate
	- ·	quotar for certain fruits.
	Dependenc	
	e Russian	
	energy	
	Economic	

	sanction	
	Criticism	
	Russia	
8. 2014/0154(NLE)	European	Gives its <i>consent</i> to renewal of the agreement,
	integration	which will <i>improve and intensify</i> cooperation.
Renewal of the	Dependenc	7 33 1
Agreement on	e Russian	
Cooperation in Science	energy	
and Technology with	Economic	
Ukraine	sanction	
	Criticism	
	Russia	
9. 2014/0083(NLE)	European	Gives its consent to the conclusion of the
· ·	integration	agreement and the DCFTA to eliminate all import
AA between the EU and		duties and prohibition of export duties on all goods
the Republic of		on the EU side.
Moldova	Dependenc	
	e Russian	
	energy	
	Economic	
	sanction	
	Criticism	
10 2014/2017/1919	Russia	W. I. I. d. Cd AA 1:1
10. 2014/2817(INI)	European	Warmly welcomes the signature of the AA, which
AA between the EU and	integration	is not a final goal in the EU-Moldova relations, as <i>Moldova may apply to become a member of the EU</i>
Moldova		provided it adheres to the principle of democracy,
Moldova		respects fundamentral freedoms and minority
		rights, and ensures rule of law. Fully supports the
		visa-free regime for Moldovan citizens.
	Dependenc	
	e Russian	
	energy	
	Economic	
	sanction	
	Criticism	Strongly deplores the continued use of trade by
	Russia	Russia as means to destablise the region by
		introducing several import bans on products from
		Moldova, in violation of Russia's WTO
		commitments. Is concerned over Russia's actions
		aimed at undermining the association process of
11 2014/0250(COD)	E	the EU's Eastern Neighbours.
11. 2014/0279(COD)	European	Recommendation of the extention of autonomous
Custom Duties on	integration	trade measures (ATMs) with Ukraine.
Goods Originating in	Dependenc e Russian	
Ukraine	energy	
O M WIIIC	Economic	
	sanction	
	Sunction	

	Criticism	
12. 2014/2841(RSP) Situation in Ukraine and State of Play of EURussia Relations	Russia European integration	Emphasises that the reform and <i>Association</i> agenda must proceed in parallel with the continued struggle to ensure Ukraine's territorial integrity and unity. Welcomes the simultaneous ratification of the AA/DCFTA.
	Dependenc e Russian energy	Calls on the Member States to cancel planned agreements with Russia in the energy sector.
	Economic sanction	Welcomes the EU decision to prohibit imports originating from Crimea. Supports the restrictive measures the EU adopted against Russia.
	Criticism Russia	Strongly condems Russia for waging an undeclared 'hybrid war' against Ukraine with the use of Russian forces and supporting illegally armed groups. Deplores that the ceasefire agreement is persistently violated by, mainly, Russian troops and separatist forces. Strongly condems the unlawful abduction of an Estonian couterintelligence officer from Estonian territory to Russia.
13. 2013/0151B(NLE) EU-Ukraine AA: Treatment of Third Country Nationals	European integration	Gives its <i>consent to conclusion of the AA</i> the EU and Ukraine, of the other part, as regards provisions relating to the treatment of third-country nationals legally employed as workers in the territory of the other party.
Legally Employed as Workers in the Territory of the Other	Dependenc e Russian energy	
Party	Economic sanction	
	Criticism Russia	
14. 2013/0151A(NLE)	European integration	Gives its <i>consent to conclusion</i> of the AA.
EU-Ukraine AA: With the Exception of the Treatment of Third	Dependenc e Russian energy	
Country Nationals Legally Employed as	Economic sanction	
Workers in the Territory of the Other Party	Criticism Russia	
15. 2014/2717(RSP) Situation in Ukraine	European integration	Welcomes the signing of the remaining provisions of the AA, including the DCFTA with Ukraine as well as Georgia and Moldova.
	Dependenc e Russian	Welcomes further sanctions against Russia including the energy sector. Further measures to

6	energy	lower the EU's dependency on Russian gas must be
	-1141 <i>B</i>)	a priority.
	Economic sanction	Welcomes the decision to prohibit the import goods from Crimea and Sevastopol. Welcomes the
		extension of the current sanctions to further 11 people and welcomes further sanctions against Russia, which should include the economic,
		financial and energy sectors and an arms and dual- use technology embargo; calls for a collective ban
	C	on the sale of arms to Russia.
	Criticism Russia	Condems Russia's aggression on Crimea as a grave violation under international law of Ukrainian
		sovereignity and territorial integrity. Considers the annexation of Crimea to be illegal and refuses to recognise Russian de facto rule on the peninsula.
		Deplores the <i>illegal detension</i> of Ukrainian air force navigator Nadija Savchenko in Russia.

		1. 2015/2838(RSP)	2. 2015/2036 (INI)	3. 2015/2001 (INI)	4. 2015/2592(RSP)	5. 2014/2816 (INI)	6. 2014/0086(NLE)	7. 2014/0250(COD)	8. 2014/0154(NLE)	9. 2014/0083(NLE)	10. 2014/2817(INI)	11. 2014/0279(COD)	12. 2014/2841(RSP)	13. 2013/0151B(NLE)	14. 2013/0151A(NLE)	15. 2014/2717(RSP)
Austria	Barbara Kappel (FPÖ)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Austria	Georg Mayer (FPÖ)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST			NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Austria	Franz Obermayr (FPÖ)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Austria	Harald Vilimsky (FPÖ)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO		ABST	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Belgium	Gerolf Annemans (VB)	ABST	NO	ABST	YES	NO	NO		YES	NO	NO	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO
Denmark	Jørn Dohrmann (DF)	YES	ABST	ABST	·	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES
Denmark	Morten Messerschmidt (DF) Anders Primdahl	YES		ABST	YES	YES	YES		YES	YES	YES	YES	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES
Denmark	Vistisen (DF)	YES		ABST	YES	YES	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES						
Finland	Jussi-Halla-Aho (PS)	YES	YES	YES	YES	·		YES	YES			YES	ABST	YES	YES	YES
Finland	Pirkko Ruohonen-Lerner (PS)		YES	YES												
Finland	Sampo Terho (PS)				YES	YES	ABST	YES	YES	YES						
France	Louis Aliot (FN) Marie-Christine Arnautu	NO	NO	NO	NO	·		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
France	(FN)	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
France	Nicolas Bay (FN)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Dominique Bilde (FN) Marie-Christine	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Boutonnet (FN)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Steeve Briois (FN)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Mireille D'Ornano (FN)	NO		YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Edouard Ferrand (FN)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Sylvie Goddyn (FN)	NO	NO	NO	NO			NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
France	Bruno Gollnisch (FN) Jean-François Jalkh	NO				NO	YES	NO	NO	NO						
France	(FN)	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO									
France	Gilles Lebreton (FN)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Jean-Marie Le Pen (FN)							NO	NO				YES	NO	NO	NO
France	Marine Le Pen (FN)	NO	NO	NO	NO			NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
France	Philippe Loiseau (FN)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Dominique Martin (FN)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Joëlle Melin (FN)	NO			NO	YES	NO	NO	NO							
France	Bernard Monot (FN)	NO	NO	·	NO	NO	NO									
France	Sophie Montel (FN)	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
France	Florian Philippot (FN) Myléne Troszczynski	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
France	(FN) Beatrix von Storch	NO	NO	NO	NO	, p.am	. P. am	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Germany	(AfD)	YES	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	NO	ABST	NO	NO	ABST	YES	NO	NO	
Germany	Marcus Pretzell (AfD)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	NO	ABST	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
Germany	Udo Voight (NPD) Georgios Epitideios		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO								
Greece	(Golden Dawn) Lampros Fountoulis	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
Greece	(Golden Dawn)	NO			NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO						

G.	Eleftherios Synadinos	NO		MO	MO	MO	NO	MO	NO	210	110	210	MEG	WO	210	NO
Greece Hungary	(Golden Dawn) Zoltán Balczó (Jobbik)	NO NO	NO	NO NO	NO ABST	NO NO	NO NO	NO ABST	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	YES YES	NO NO	NO ABST	NO NO
Hungary	Béla Kovács (Jobbik)	NO	NO NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	110	NO	YES	NO	ADSI	NO NO
	Krisztina Morvai (Jobbik)	NO	NO	NO	11001	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	ABST	.,0
Hungary Italy	Mara Bizzotto (LN)	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO	NO	YES	NO NO	NO NO	NO
	Mario Borghezio (LN)	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
,	Gianluca Buonnanno															
-	(LN)	NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	YES YES	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO
Italy Italy	Lorenzo Fontana (LN) Matteo Salvini (LN)	•	NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO NO	NO	NO NO	1 E3	NO NO	NO NO	NU
Latvia	Roberts Zīle (NA)	YES	YES	YES	NO			YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Lithuania	Rolandas Paksas (TT)	YES	ABST	ABST	YES					YES	YES					YES
Netherlan	, ,	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
ds Netherlan	Vicky Maeijer (PVV)															
ds Netherlan	Olaf Stuger (PVV)	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
ds	Auke Zijlstra (PVV)		NO					NO								
Netherlan ds	Marcel de Graaff (PVV)	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Netherlan ds	Hans Jansen (PVV)					NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Sweden	Peter Lundgren (SD)	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Sweden	Kristina Winberg (SD)	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO
	John Stuart Agnew (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO	YES		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO
United	,	ADSI								NO						
Kingdom United	Julia Reid (UKIP)	•	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO
	Tim Aker (UKIP)		NO	NO				NO _	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Kingdom	Jonathan Arnott (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO		ABST	NO	NO	NO
United Kingdom	Gerard Batten (UKIP)		NO	NO	YES					NO	NO	NO				NO
United Kingdom	Louise Bours (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO				NO	NO	NO	NO			NO	NO	
United	James Carver (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO
United Kingdom	David Coburn (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	·	.,0	1,0	NO
United					TLO	NO	NO						·	•		NO
Kingdom United	Jane Collins (UKIP) William (The Earl of)	ABST	NO	NO				NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	ABST	NO	NO	
Kingdom	Dartmouth (UKIP)			NO	·	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	NO				·
United Kingdom	Steven Woolfe (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO			NO	NO	NO
United Kingdom	Jill Seymour (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	
United	• • • • • •		.,,									1.0				NO
United	Bill Etheridge (UKIP)	ABST	·	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	•	ABST	NO	NO	NU
Kingdom United	Nigel Farage (UKIP)	ABST		NO				NO	NO	NO	NO			NO	NO	
Kingdom	Raymond Finch (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO			NO	NO	
United Kingdom																

United Kingdom	Roger Helmer (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	-	NO	_	-	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO
United Kingdom	Mike Hookem (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO	ABST	NO	ABST	NO	NO							
United Kingdom	Diane James (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO		NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO						
United Kingdom	Paul Nuttall (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO					NO	NO	NO			NO	NO	
United Kingdom	Patrick O'Flynn (UKIP)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO						
United Kingdom	Margot Parker (UKIP)	ABST				NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO

		1. 2015/2838(RSP)	2. 2015/2036(INI)	3. 2015/2001(INI)	4. 2015/2592(RSP)	5. 2014/2816(INI)	6. 2014/0086(NLE)	7. 2014/0250(C OD)	8. 2014/0154(NLE)	9. 2014/0083(NLE)	10. 2014/2817(I NI)	11. 2014/0279(C OD)	12. 2014/2841(R SP)	13. 2013/0151B(NLE)	14. 2013/0151A(NLE)	15. 2014/2717(R SP)
Austria	FPÖ	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO
Belgium	VB	ABST	NO	ABST	YES	NO	NO		ABST	NO	NO	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO
Denmark	DF	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	YES	ABST	0	ABST	YES						
Finland	PS	YES	YES	ABST	YES	YES	YES									
France	FN	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
Germany	AfD	YES*	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	NO	ABST	NO	NO	Tvetydigt: YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
Germany	NPD		NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO								
Greece	Golden Dawn	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
Hungary	Jobbik	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	ABST	NO
Italy	LN	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO									
Latvia	NA	YES	YES	YES			•	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Lithuania	TT	YES	ABST	ABST	YES			٠		YES	YES					YES
Netherland s	PVV	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Sweden	SD	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO
United Kingdom	UKIP	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO

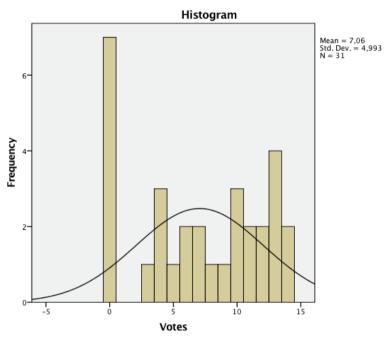
		1. 2015/2838(RSP)	2. 2015/2036 (INI)	3. 2015/2001 (INI)	4. 2015/2592(RSP)	5. 2014/2816 (INI)	6. 2014/0086(NLE)	7. 2014/0250(COD)	8. 2014/0154(NLE)	9. 2014/0083(NLE)	10. 2014/2817(INI)	11. 2014/0279(C OD)	12. 2014/2841(RSP)	13. 2013/0151B(NLE)	14. 2013/0151A(NLE)	15. 2014/2717(RSP)
Cyprus	Takis Hadjigeorgiou (AKEL) Neoklis Sylikiotis	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Cyprus	(AKEL)	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	ABST	YES	NO	YES	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO
Czech Republic Czech	Kateřina Konečná (KSCM)	•	NO	NO	NO			YES	YES	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Republic Czech	Jiří Maštálka (KSCM) Miloslav Ransdorf		NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	YES	YES	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Republic	(KSCM)		NO	NO	NO					NO	NO		ABST	NO	NO	NO
Denmark	Margrete Auken (SF) Merja Kyllönen (Left	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	YES	ABST	YES	YES	YES						
Finland	Alliance) Patrick Le Hyaric	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	ABST	ABST		NO	·	•	ABST	ABST	ABST	ABST	ABST
France	(PCF) Jean-Luc Mélenchon	٠	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO			ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
France	(PG)		NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Germany	Cornelia Ernst (Die Linke) Thomas Händel (Die	NO	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	·	NO	NO	NO		•	NO	NO	NO
Germany	Linke)	NO	NO	NO				·				·				
Germany	Sabine Lösing (Die Linke)	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	·		
Germany	Martina Michels (Die Linke)	NO	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	ABST		ABST	NO	NO	NO
Germany	Helmut Scholz (Die Linke)	NO	NO	NO	·	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Germany	Gabriele Zimmer (Die Linke) Fabio de Masi (Die	NO	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO
Germany	Linke)	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO		NO			ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Greece	Kostas Chrysognos (Syriza)	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Greece	Stelios Kouloglou (Syriza) Kostadinka Kuneva	•	NO	NO				YES								NO
Greece	(Syriza)			NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	ABST		NO	NO	NO	NO
Greece	Dimitrios Papadimoulis (Syriza) Manolis Glezos	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO
Greece	(Syriza)		NO	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	ABST	ABST		NO	NO	NO
Greece	Konstantinos Papadakis (KKE)	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Greece	Sotiros Zarianopoulos (KKE)		NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Ireland	Lynn Boylan (Sinn Féin)		NO	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	·	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	ABST	NO	NO	
Ireland	Matt Carthy (Sinn Féin)	YES	NO	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	ABST	NO	NO	
Ireland	Liadh Ni Riada (Sinn Féin)	YES	NO	ABST		·			NO	ABST	ABST	NO	ABST	NO	NO	
Netherla nds	Dennis de Jong (SP)	•	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	·	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Netherla nds	Anne-Marie Mineur (SP)		NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO		ABST	NO	NO	NO
Portugal	João Ferreira (CDU/PCP)	•	-	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Portugal	Miguel Viegas (CDU/PCP)			NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO

Portugal	Inês Cristina Zuber (CDU/PCP) Marisa Matias (Left	NO		NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO			ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Portugal	Bloc)	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Spain	Marina Albiol Guzmán (IU)	NO		NO	YES	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	NO
Spani	Javier Couso Permuy	NO		NO	TES	NO	NO	TLS	NO	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	NO
Spain	(IU)	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO
C	Paloma López	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO		NO			ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO
Spain	Bermejo (IU)	NO				NU	NO	•	NO	•	•					
Spain	Angela Vallina (IU)		NO	NO	NO					NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO
Spain	Pablo Echenique (Podemos)					ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Spain	Tania Gonzalez Peñas					Absi	Absi	1123	NO	NO	NO	Absi	Absi	NO	NO	NO
Spain	(Podemos)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
	Pablo Iglesias															
Spain	(Podemos)					ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Spain	Lola Sánchez Caldentey (Podemos)	ABST	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	
Бриш	Teresa Rodriguez-	ALDS I	110	110	TES	ABS1	71DG1	TLS	1.0	1,0	1,0	TIDOT	71BS1	110	110	
Spain	Rubio (Podemos)					ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
	Estefanía Torres															
Spain	Martínez (Podemos)	ABST	·	NO			-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-
Spain	Miguel Urbán Crespo (Podemos)	ABST	NO	NO	YES											
•			110			LDGT	MEG	MEG	VIDO	VIDO	MEG	VIDO				, DOT
Sweden	Malin Björk (V)	YES		ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	0	YES	YES	ABST

		1. 2015/2838(RSP)	2. 2015/2036(INI)	3. 2015/2001(INI)	4. 2015/2592(RSP)	5. 2014/2816(INI)	6. 2014/0086(NLE)	7. 2014/0250(C OD)	8. 2014/0154(NLE)	9. 2014/0083(NLE)	10. 2014/2817(I NI)	11. 2014/0279(C OD)	12. 2014/2841(R SP)	13. 2013/0151B(N LE)	14. 2013/0151A(NLE)	15. 2014/2717(R SP)
Cyprus	AKEL	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO*	ABST	YES	NO	Tvetydigt: NO	NO	ABST	Tvetydigt: NO	NO	NO	NO
Czech Republic	KSCM	·	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	YES	YES		NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Denmark	SF	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	YES	ABST	YES	YES	YES						
Finland	Left Alliance	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	ABST	ABST		NO			ABST	ABST	ABST	ABST	ABST
France	PCF		NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO			ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
France	PG		NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Germany	Die Linke	NO	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	0	0	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Greece	Syriza	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	0	0	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO
Greece	KKE	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Ireland Netherlan	Sinn Féin	YES	NO	ABST	YES	NO	ABST	YES	NO	0	0	NO	NO	NO	NO	
ds	SP		NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO		NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Portugal	CDU/P CP Left	NO		NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Portugal	Bloc	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Spain	IU	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	NO	NO	NO	NO
Spain	Podemo s	ABST	NO	NO	YES	ABST	ABST	YES	NO	NO	NO	ABST	ABST	NO	NO	NO
Sweden	V	YES		ABST	ABST	ABST	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	ABST	YES	YES	ABST

Appendix 3.

Variable vote_comb tested for normal distribution. Variable not log-transformed:

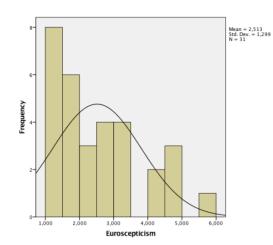


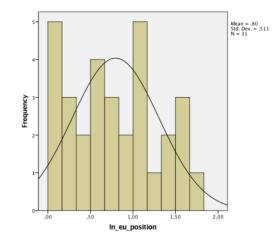
Frequency table for variable vote_comb:

v	n	т	ρ	۹
·	v	•	•	-

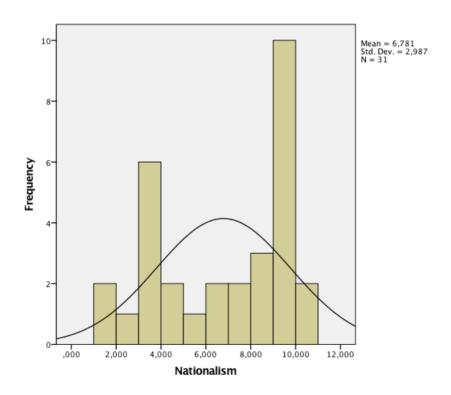
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	7	22,6	22,6	22,6
	3	1	3,2	3,2	25,8
	4	3	9,7	9,7	35,5
	5	1	3,2	3,2	38,7
	6	2	6,5	6,5	45,2
	7	2	6,5	6,5	51,6
	8	1	3,2	3,2	54,8
	9	1	3,2	3,2	58,1
	10	3	9,7	9,7	67,7
	11	2	6,5	6,5	74,2
	12	2	6,5	6,5	80,6
	13	4	12,9	12,9	93,5
	14	2	6,5	6,5	100,0
	Total	31	100,0	100,0	

Normal distribution and log-transformation of variable eu_position:

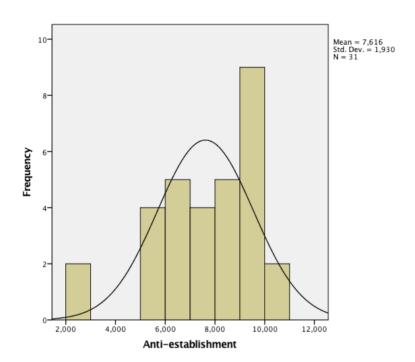




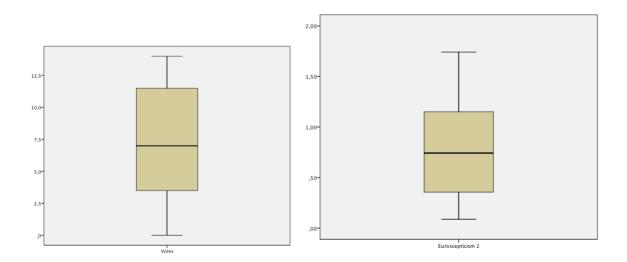
Test for normal distribution of variable nationalism. Variable not log-transformed:



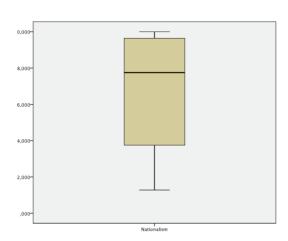
Test for normal distribution of variable antielite_salience. Variable not log-transformed:

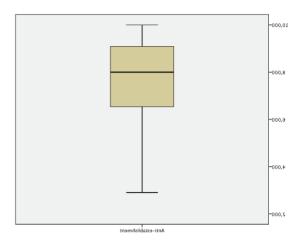


Control for outliers in variable vote_comb and ln_eu_position:

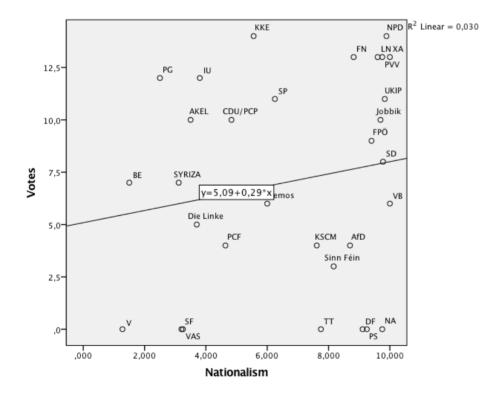


Control for outliers in variable nationalism and antielite_salience:

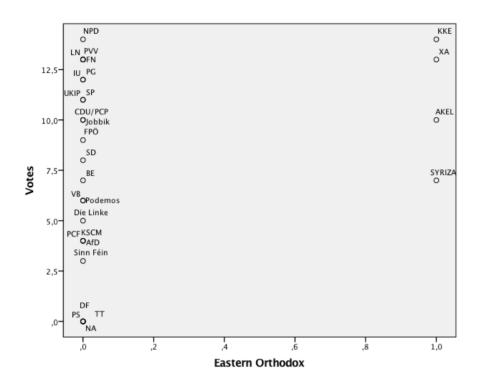




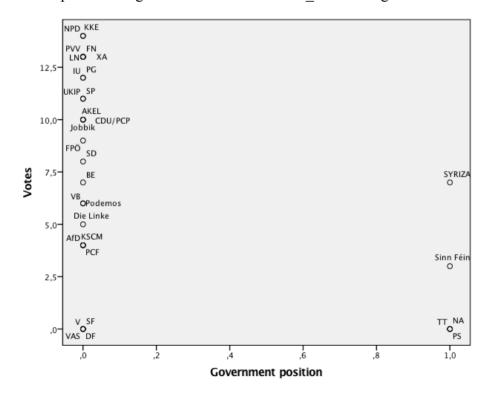
Scatter plot showing correlation between vote_comb and nationalism:



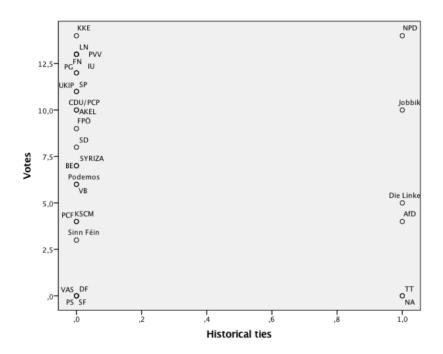
Scatter plot showing correlation between vote_comb and east_orth:



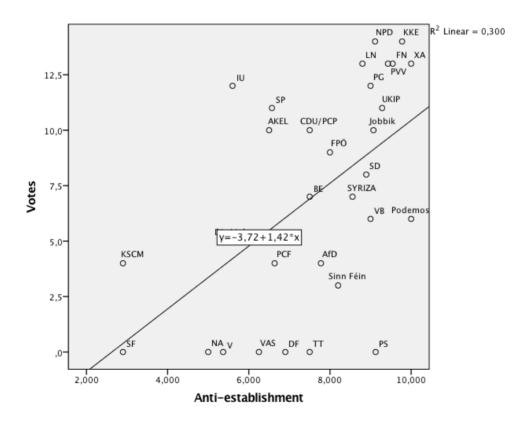
Scatter plot showing correlation between vote comb and govern:



Scatter plot showing correlation between vote comb and hist ties:



Scatter plot showing correlation between vote_comb and antielite_salience:



Model summary and ANOVA for model 6:

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	,761 ^a	,580	,474	3,620

a. Predictors: (Constant), Anti-establishment, Government position, Eastern Orthodox, Historical ties, Nationalism, Euroscepticism 2

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	433,445	6	72,241	5,514	,001 ^b
	Residual	314,426	24	13,101		
	Total	747,871	30			

- a. Dependent Variable: Votes
- b. Predictors: (Constant), Anti-establishment, Government position, Eastern Orthodox, Historical ties, Nationalism, Euroscepticism 2