

T.C.
Turkish-German University
Institute for Social Sciences
Department of European and International Relations

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Anti-Turkish Discourse of
Austrian Freedom Party**

MASTER'S THESIS

Sercan UÇAR

ADVISOR
Dr. Enes BAYRAKLI

Istanbul, June 2018

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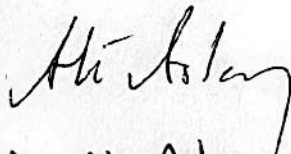
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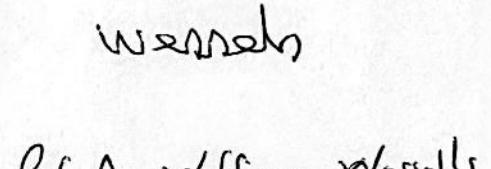
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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to analyse anti-Turkish discourse of Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) through using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Austria's far-right party has raised its popularity by making systematic hate campaign against Turkey, Turkish community and other Muslim minority groups in Austria. In addition to FPÖ, Austria's hostility toward Turkey has become more remarkable in recent years that cannot be interpreted separate from growing influence of Austrian far-right wing party. Therefore, this thesis intends to give a critical overview about anti-Turkish discourse of the FPÖ in the light of historical developments and current challenges. In general, this thesis is divided in three parts. In the first part, this thesis introduces CDA and reviews the models of CDA that were applied in the study. Second part analyses policies of the FPÖ and other mainstream parties in the past and today. While discussing anti-Turkish discourse in Austrian politics in view of the FPÖ, this thesis argues that anti-Turkish discourse covers several decades and have clear ties with historical encounters and conflicts. In the last part, models of CDA are applied to discourses of the FPÖ in order to analyse these statements in a critical way.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Far right, Austrian Freedom Party, Populism, Discourse, Turkish Diaspora, European Union.

ÖZET

Bu tez, Avusturya Özgürlük Partisi'nin Türkiye karşıtı söylemlerini eleştirel söylem analizinin yöntemlerini kullanarak incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Avusturya aşırı sağ partisi Türkiye'ye, Avusturya'da yaşayan Türklere ve diğer Müslüman azınlık gruplara karşı sistematik olarak nefret kampanyası yürüterek oylarını önemli derecede arttırmıştır. Avusturya'nın Türkiye'ye karşı düşmanca tutumu son yıllarda yeni bir boyut kazanmıştır. Bu durum Avusturya aşırı sağının artan yükselişinden bağımsız olarak açıklanamaz. Bu bakımdan, bu tez aşırı sağın Türkiye karşıtı söylemleri hakkında tarihsel gelişmeleri de dikkate alarak eleştirel bir değerlendirme yapmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu çalışma genel olarak üç ana bölüme ayrılmıştır. İlk bölümde, eleştirel söylem analizi ve modelleri incelenmiştir. İkinci bölümde ise Avusturya ana akım partilerinin Türkiye'ye karşı tutumları tarihsel ve güncel bir bakış açısıyla ele alınmıştır. Burada karşımıza çıkan husus Türkiye karşıtlığının Avusturya'da geniş bir dönemi kapsadığı ve tarihte yaşanan çatışmalarla doğrudan ilişkili olduğudur. Son bölümde ise eleştirel söylem analizinin çeşitli yöntemleri aşırı sağın kullandığı söylemlere uygulanmış ve bu ideolojik söylemler eleştirel olarak incelenmiştir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, Aşırı sağ, Avusturya Özgürlük Partisi, Populizm, Söylem, Türk Diasporası, Avrupa Birliği.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfD	: Alternative for Germany
AK Party	: Justice and Development Party
BZÖ	: Alliance for the Future of Austria
DF	: Danish People's Party
EU	: European Union
FN	: National Front
FPÖ	: Austrian Freedom Party
KPÖ	: Austrian Communist Party
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NDP	: National Democratic Party
NSDAP	: National Socialist German Workers' Party
ÖVP	: Austrian People's Party
PVV	: Party for Freedom
SA	: Storm Troopers
SPÖ	: Social Democratic Party of Austria
SS	: Protection Squadron
SVP	: Swiss People's Party
SRP	: Social Reich Party
USA	: United States of America
USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
VdU	: League of Independents

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1. Introduction

Political parties are indispensable part of all democratic political systems. They are taking relevant roles in democracies, including the influence of public opinion. Turkey became an important actor in global affairs in the post-cold war era. Parallel to that, Turkey's growing influence over its diaspora and beyond triggered widespread fears among some of European parties and politicians. One of these parties is undoubtedly Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) that is systematically attacking Turkey and Turkish community for years. In fact, the FPÖ can be seen as one of the most successful European far right political party, which have been labelled as "populist", 'right-wing radical', 'right-wing extremist', 'neo-fascist', or 'neo-Nazi'.¹ The rhetoric of this party experienced substantial change since it entered into Austrian politics in 1950s, which was called as '*dritte Lager*' (Third Camp) following Socialist and Conservative Party. The fact is that anti-Turkey and islamophobic discourse of FPÖ became more aggressive since 2005, when current party chairman Heinz Christian Strache took control of party's leadership. Before that period Austrian far rights were involved in several racist or nationalist disputes most of them was bound up with anti-Semitism but also xenophobia.

Bilateral relations between Turkey and Austria build on historical encounters and war-like conflicts that date back to 13th century. The Ottoman Empire had been considered as powerful competitor of Habsburg Monarchy from 13th to the 18th century. Therefore, these centuries have been described as '*Türkenzeit*' (Turkish Time) in Austria's history.² As a matter of fact, 1st and 2nd Siege of Vienna by Ottomans was the prominent historical events for shaping Austrian people's view and presupposition towards Turkey. Especially, nationalist camp has continued misusing these historical events to encourage party supporters and to stabilise the basis in the Austrian community. As a small country in the Eastern Europe, Austria has different ethnic and religious minority groups. With regard to strong presence of foreigners in Austria, the far right and radical groups are using this multi-ethnic and cultural reality for their fearmongering. This situation provides a safe haven for far-rights and radical groups to impose their ideals in a clear way. In fact, many Austrians associate the FPÖ with racism, even with neo-Nazism today, because, the party's first two leaders from 1956 to 1978 were former National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) officers, who were involved in a set of scandals during their official posts.³

¹ Richard Luther, Kurt (2000): Austria: A Democracy under Threat from the Freedom Party? Parliamentary Affairs Review, Vienna, 426-442.

² Gruber, Stephan (2011): Das Osmanische Reich – Neue Großmacht in Südosteuropa, www.habsburger.net/de/kapitel/das-osmanische-reich-neue-grossmacht-suedosteuropa (accessed 07.05.2018)

³ Shuster, Simon (2016): European Politics Are Swinging to the Right, <http://time.com/4504010/europe-politics-swing-right/> (accessed 13.04.2018)

In the light of the growing populism and threat perception in European countries, the FPÖ is copying the discourses of its European counterparts. However, in the party program of the FPÖ there are two main discourses, which shape party's course in particular, namely anti-Turkish discourse and Islamophobia. Both are being misused by far right to develop substantial hate campaign against Turkey, Turkish community and Muslim minority groups in Austria. As a matter of fact, the FPÖ has positioned itself against Turkey and Turkish people when the party was divided into two camps due to internal party disputes in 2005. It is obvious that Turkish people are portrayed in the party program of the FPÖ as an out-group that have been involving in anti-integration, violence, extremism and other criminal activities. These strategies and tactics of far rights are being practiced through using various discursive tactics in general.

Furthermore, it has been argued that anti-Turkey rhetoric of the FPÖ has taken a new dimension in the light of current challenges between the EU and Turkey as well as Turkey's referendum on constitutional change held in April 2017. During and after the referendum on constitutional change in Turkey, FPÖ's chairman and other high-profile party officers have made a set of statements, in which they sought to accuse, demonize and stigmatise Turkey in view of forthcoming referendum and ongoing crackdown on terrorism in and out of Turkey. Certainly, most of these statements are relating to ideological and discursive strategies. Although re-enactment and expansion of far-right nationalist ideology has been banned in Austrian Constitution (BVG),⁴ and strictly monitored by the Austrian *Verfassungsschutz* (Domestic Intelligence Service), far right Populist Party's existence has been accepted as a "political normality" in Austria.⁵

More importantly, anti-Turkey discourse has been multiplied due to strengthened populism co-opted by other main Austrian politicians of Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ), Austrian People's Party (ÖVP), and the Green Party (Die Grünen). By joining of main political parties to anti-Turkey and islamahobic rhetoric, the issue has taken a new dimension that paved the way for deepening of anti-Turkish discourse and rhetoric in view of current challenges. In this sense, this thesis will make use of CDA methods to discover this ideologically motivated anti-Turkish rhetoric of Austria's far-right Freedom Party.

⁴ Ucakar, Karl/Gschiegl, Stefan (2010): Das Politische System Österreichs und die EU, Vienna University, Faculty Publ. Vienna, 57-80

⁵ Pelinka, Anton (2010): Der Preis der Salonfähigkeit, Österreichs Rechtsextremismus im internationalen Vergleich, Central European University Budapest, University Press, 2

1.1. Purpose of Thesis

This master thesis seeks to analyse why and how Austrian Freedom Party is performing anti-Turkish discourse and how they are making use of national dynamics and historical events by using discursive strategies to demonize Turkey and Turkish people in general. As a matter of course, parallel to the increase of populist and extremist movements, the field of populism and extremism studies has developed in recent years rapidly. Therefore, this thesis offers a critical analysis on a purely ideological discourse of the Austria's far right party towards Turkey. Main aim of this thesis is based on articulation of anti-Turkey and anti-Turkish discourse practised overwhelmingly by the FPÖ and party officers in general. This thesis basically argues that increasing anti-Turkish attitudes in Austrian politic is mainly related to populist behaviour of the FPÖ, as it can be simply recognised in the historical environment of this party.

From a historical viewpoint, the Austria's far right party and its members played a vital role in deepening of anti-Turkish discourse in Austrian politic. Instead pushing for a diplomatic solution to the conflicts between Austria and Turkey, the FPÖ prioritized purely ideological course towards Turkey. In this sense, through conducting CDA, this study is taking a basic reference to the analysis of anti-Turkish discourse of the FPÖ, which has mainly coincided with anti-Muslim rhetoric in Austria as well.

Furthermore, this thesis argues that this study might offer a clear light on ideological messages of far-right and their ideological purpose used to determine anti-Turkey and anti-Turkish discourse. Thanks to growing popularity of far-right party in Austria, xenophobia, discrimination, islamophobia as well as anti-Turkish rhetoric have reached record levels in Austria, which gave reason to deepened polarisation and even to racist attacks against Turks and Turkish institutions in that country. Through analysing current developments and policies of the FPÖ, I intended to reveal hidden messages and power relations of the FPÖ that are used to attack Turkey and Turkish people in recent years. This study will also throw light on current cooperation and interaction between both the Austria and Turkey. In doing so, the main objective of the thesis grounded on the fact to exploit, research and criticise anti-Turkish as well as islamphobic discourse that has been orchestrated by the FPÖ. All of ideological messages, power relations of anti-Turkish remarks of the FPÖ will be searched and analysed through conducting various models of critical discourse analysis.

1.2. Terminology

The term ‘discourse’ has been used in various parts of society, which is generally relating to internal and international affairs as an academic term. In this study, connection of discourse and ideology of particular importance. The term is rooted in phrase ‘discursus’ that basically means discuss, speak, speak out etc. Furthermore, the term has been widely used by anthropologist, linguist as well as sociologist in scientific studies. Similarly to that, British based dictionary Merriam-Webster defines discourse as “the capacity of orderly thought or procedure”, “verbal interchange of ideas”, “formal and orderly and usually extended expression of thought on a subject” and as “a mode of organising knowledge, ideas, or experience that is rooted in language and its concrete contexts (such as history or institution).”⁶ In that sense, discourse is strongly connected with power relations rather than being an expression of societal practice. On the other hand, ideology can be defined as “the integrated assertions, theories and aims that constitute a socio-political program.”⁷ Also, ideology is defined in Oxford Dictionary as “a system of ideas and ideals, especially one which forms the basis of economic or political theory and policy” and as “the set of beliefs characteristic of a social group or individual.”⁸ Additionally, important scholar of CDA Van Dijk defines the term in his study as follows: “discourse is not only analysed as an autonomous verbal object but also as situated interaction, as a social practice or as a type of communication in a social, cultural, historical or political situation.”⁹ According to him, discourse must not be evaluated only under linguistical perspective but also it is relating to events or social phenomenon.

1.3. Literature Review

Since the early 1980s, a body of scholarship has grown around the study of populism and far right movements. Apparently, the term, as a nationalist ideology, has gained academic importance in recent years thanks to growing popularity and increase in electorates in many European countries. Despite this increasing academic orientation on the subject, singular cases and contents remained mostly untouched, such as the FPÖ in Austria, PVV in the Netherlands or AfD in Germany and direct target groups of these parties like religious and ethnic communities. Although academic studies on populism and far right nationalism became popular recently, many studies dealing with Austria’s FPÖ and its rhetoric have

⁶ Merriam Webster, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ideology> (accessed 10.02.2018)

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Oxford Dictionary, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ideology> (accessed 10.02.2018)

⁹ Van Dijk, Teun. (2008). *Discourse and power*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan

received little attention in Turkey. One of these studies is Aysegül Er's thesis about far right parties in Austria, France and Denmark, in which she basically focused on historical development and audience of these parties. In doing so, discursive strategies, tactics and hidden messages of these parties, which have been practised to attack minority groups in each country, such as Turkish people, remained quietly untouched. By doing so, it was not possible to focus on single issues to explore how they are performing xenophobic and racist campaigns regarding to single country or unique ethnic group in or out of related country. In this study, I basically aimed to fill this vacuum by taking anti-Turkish discourse of the FPÖ as a case study and by analysing anti-Turkish remarks of the party by means of different models of critical discourse analysis.

In addition, Dr. Enes Bayraklı and Dr. Farid Hafez have worked on this field and they made important studies by publishing annual reports on xenophobia and islamophobia. In a recent study, they indicated a political shift of western countries from liberal values to far-right and extremist ideology. For instance, they argued in their European Islamophobia Report that Islamophobia poses a real threat to the democracy and democratic values of the Europe. Thereby, it seems to be an essential issue, which would lead to destruction of social peace and coexistence of various cultures, religions and ethnicities within the European society.¹⁰ Furthermore, Bayraklı argues that there has been significant tendency towards right wing parties in Europe, which can be interestingly found in the party programs of main centre-right, left wing or liberal political parties of Europe.¹¹

These studies were of particular importance for me to understand ideological landscape of the FPÖ. The FPÖ in Austria had always been strikly against to Turkish migrants in Austria and the party made use of strong presence of Turkish diaspora to mobilise its electorates and ideology within Austrian society. Obviously, as refugee influx has risen to higher levels as a result of civil war and internal conflicts in the Middle East, it gave birth to a new form of discourse of the FPÖ to extend its hate propaganda towards refugees. In regard to increase in unemployment rate in Austria, far-right wing Populist Party sought to hold a well-known strategy to depict refugees as leading factor of unemployment rates in Austria.

¹⁰ Bayraklı, Enes/Hafez, Farid (2017): The State of Islamophobia in Europe, In: European Islamophobia Report 2016, <http://www.islamophobiaeurope.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/AUSTRIA.pdf> (accessed 10.12.2017)

¹¹ Bayraklı, Enes (2017) Batı Siyaseti Sağa Kayıyor, <http://www.setav.org/bati-siyaseti-saga-kayiyor/> (accessed 09.04.2018)

1.4. Methodology

The research design of this study is mainly based on primary literature review and analysis of official and formal documents, debates, political and academic previous studies published about far right populism and extremism, as well as speeches/interviews and articles of state officials. The articles, which were analysed through CDA, were chosen by Advanced Search Option in the FPÖ's official homepage by giving the keywords, such as '*Türkei*', '*Türken*', '*Immigration*', '*Islam*', '*Islamisierung*', '*Türkei und die EU*' etc.

In order to deepen my research, I used sets of publications on this topic, including various databases of universities and publications of different think tanks and research institutions. A descriptive analytic method of research based on Critical discourse analysis of Norman Fairclough and as well as van Dijk's ideological discourse analysis framework model are conducted in this thesis to achieve a sufficient understanding of the issue and to reveal hidden ideological messages of far right party. Furthermore, in order to conduct CDA in the text, all the speeches and publications on FPÖ's website are translated from German into English.

2. Theoretical Framework: Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been developed during 1970s, when a set of scholars, e.g. Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun Van Dijk, decided to broaden discourse analysis on a critical perspective. It has been argued that language is used to influence spreading ideological beliefs. On one hand, CDA focuses as a part of other sciences on the interrelations between language, power, and ideology. On the other hand, it could be seen as a multidisciplinary phenomenon, which deals with language as "a form of social practice."¹² At that point, CDA focuses critically on public speeches and text messages (e.g. political speeches, advertisement, newspaper, official document etc.), in order to reveal ideological messages, which were hidden from people through using discursive tactics. In this sense, scholars of CDA Van Dijk, Fairclough and Wodak set to investigate basic structures and analysed "how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse."¹³ Through exercising power relations in a discourse, main target is to reveal hidden messages in a given text, discourse or speech.

In addition to this concept, Fairclough worked on the interactions between textual and sociocultural analysis. Textual analysis indicates to inside of a text while socio-cultural

¹² Fairclough, Norman (2010): Critical Discourse Analysis, The Critical Study of Language 2. Publ, Longman London.

¹³ Berger, Arthur Asa (2016): A Discourse on Discourse Studies, Springer Science, Publ. New York, 3

analysis focuses mainly on lacks and absence in a text. In that sense, it has been argued that language is a “social practice” that focuses on studying and analysing of written and spoken discourse with the aim to explore the sources of “power, dominance, and inequality.”¹⁴ All of them share the similar idea that political discourse composed of ideological concepts even if it was given by politicians, political activists or social groups. Moreover, all of them are functioning together to influence the public opinion in order to get rid of some elements in the society.

Under this perspective, CDA is being mainly used to define, interpret, and explain language and society. The main objective of critical discourse analysis refers to “critically analyse those who are in power, those who are responsible, and those who have the means and opportunity”¹⁵ Similarly to Van Dijk’s conception, the questions like “Who is doing the talking? And who is being addressed”¹⁶ are of particular interest within textual analysis. By doing so, Van Dijk underlines the importance of dialogicality in a communication as well as building societal structures through language use. By doing so, CDA is seeking to utilize of language in institutional context and communication between language, power, and ideology. Furthermore, it is important to indicate that various discourse positions relate to the same discourse ground structure within a discourse system. Hereby, Fairclough and Wodak summarize basic elements of CDA in the following points:

- “CDA addresses social problems
- Power relations are discursive
- Discourse constitutes society and culture
- Discourse does ideological work
- Discourse is historical
- The link between text and society is mediated
- Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
- Discourse is a form of social action”¹⁷

CDA has been conducted in sets of areas from racial inequality, misuse of political and institutional power, and to gender inequality. Following chapter will cover basic overview of models of important scholars of CDA, which are used in this study. As a matter of fact, three

¹⁴ Van Dijk, Teun A. (2001): Critical Discourse Analysis, In The Handbook of Discourse Analysis, ed. by D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, and H. Hamilton. Oxford: Blackwell.

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Fairclough, Norman and Wodak, Ruth. (1997): Critical Discourse Analysis, In T. van Dijk (Ed.), Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary Introduction pp. 258-284. London: Sage.

discourses model of Fairclough has been used as a tool to analyse and formulate texts, speeches issued by members of the Austrian far-right wing Freedom Party in the various stages, while Van Dijk's three-squared model has been utilised during the analysis of interpretation part of contextual analysis.

2.1. Norman Fairclough

Norman Fairclough dealt in his studies with the analysis of interactions of three elements in particular. These elements are Language, Ideology and Power, which are strictly bound together in terms of ideological strategy or tactics in language use. According to Fairclough, ideology is a theoretical category developed within capitalist theories to direct the social class struggle. He argues generally that relation between language and ideology has to be conceptualised over research on discourse and socio-cultural change. Hereby, he also underlined power as important figure in language use. Fairclough represents in his study so called three-dimensional context in discourse analysis, which related to text, discursive practice and social practice. According to him, context of discourse is referring to connection of three analytical traditions. So, description part is analysed through a set of sub-categories like nominalisation, deixis, metaphors, semantic ambiguity, speech acts, and adjectives. Fairclough focuses on the following three-dimensional model, through which he provides a strong concept of discourse in language. The three sub-categories of CDA approach can be listed thus:

- “Description: CDA focuses on the textual-linguistic features of the materials. The researcher adopts the participants’ categories in his/her description but he needs to make his/her interpretive framework explicit.
- Interpretation: it is about the way in which participants arrive at some kind of understanding of discourse on the basis of their cognitive, social and ideological resources.
- Explanation: it is about the researcher drawing on social theory in order to reveal the ideological underpinnings of interpretive procedures. Social theory creates the distance necessary to move from ‘non-critical’ to ‘critical’ discourse analysis.”¹⁸

Fairclough divides CDA into three sub-categories, in which he investigates each approach with different models. Indeed, Fairclough's model emphasises that the researchers dealing with CDA should focus on three-dimensions: description, interpretation, and explanation. In addition to that, Fairclough introduced so-called ten-question model, which can be useful to

¹⁸ Blommaert, Jan (2005): *Discourse*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

analyse grammatical discursive strategies. This model divided as vocabulary, grammar and textual structure into three sub-categories.

2.2. Teun A. Van Dijk

According to Van Dijk's Ideological Discourse Analysis, there is a set of framework to analyse ideological and discursive strategy within a text. Van Dijk lists these strategies as follows:

- “Self-identity descriptions
- Negative lexicalisations
- Hyperbole
- Negative comparison
- Generalisation
- Concretisation
- Warning
- Norm and value violation
- Presupposition
- Vagueness
- Alliteration
- Apparent honesty move
- Apparent altruism move
- Comparison move
- Irony/sarcasm”¹⁹

Ideological analysis of language and discourse is mainly utilised by human and social scientist to clear up sentences, which remain mostly uncovered by people. On the other hand, van Dijk analyses the following strategy called as the ideological square, which is being used to demonize the others' act in a negative way, while seeking to characterise own acts positively:

- “Emphasize our good things
- Emphasize their bad things
- De-emphasize our bad things
- De-emphasize their good things.”²⁰

¹⁹ Van Dijk, Teun A.: Ideological Discourse Analysis, University of Amsterdam

Van Dijk argues that discursive structures come into effect in exercising ideological beliefs. Therefore, according to Van Dijk's model, the basic aim of all ideological discourse is composed of making contributions to define their acts in a positive way, while characterising others' activities negatively. Ideological square model of van Dijk makes major contribution in gaining deep understanding of rhetoric of Austria's far right party and its policies targeting Turkey and Turkish people in particular. Van Dijk explains the importance of discourse reproduction and challenge of domination, which goes ahead with the study and critique of social inequality.

According to him, critical discourse analysis focuses on the discourse dimensions of power abuse, inequality and injustice. Furthermore, similarly to Fairclough, Van Dijk is dealing primarily with holistic conception of CDA, as he divides the study in two categories, such as micro-level and macro-level of analysis. According to van Dijk, micro-level analysis deals with linguistic patterns, discourse, verbal interaction and communication, whereas terms like power, dominance and inequality as civil groups have been located in the macro-level analysis as thematic and schematic. Whereas thematic part focuses on head title, title, under title, spot, photographs, instruction of text, schematic part analyses main events, presentations forms, results, background and basic informations, actors and sources. In this regard, van Dijk's three level of analysis will be very useful in analysing of FPÖ's press releases and speeches of party officials. Both macro and micro level of analysis are seeking to reveal hidden messages of a text and to explain its exact meanings.

3. Austria's Political System and National Identity

Austria's political system is composed of two heads of state, namely a State President and a Chancellor. Whereas State President is elected directly by Austrian people for six-year term, Chancellor has been considered as head of federal government. The State President nominates the chancellor and other members of the government to build the government. Additionally, Austria's parliamentary system is based on two-chamber principle such as the Nationalrat (Dominant House) and Bundesrat (Upper House). While the Nationalrat consists of 183 members, who are elected directly for four-year term, Bundestag includes 62 members, who are sent by regional parliaments. In comparison to Bundestag, the Nationalrat is playing

²⁰ Ibid

eminent role in taking legislative functions and bringing no confidence vote towards the federal government, where Bundestag's role remains mainly limited.²¹

Austria's history shows a set of breaks and discontinuity over the years. Especially, the term 'Austria' went through substantial changes between the years 1866/1867 and 1945. Following the World War I, Austria had been transformed into First Republic from monarchical system, when Austrian Empire came to an abrupt end at the end of war. In the aftermath, Second Austrian Republic has been established with the initiatives of allies and political parties following World War II. For this reason, Austria has been described as '*verspätete Nation*' (Belated Nation), which is relating to difficulties of nation building process of Austria from 1918 to 1945.²² In regard to development of nationalist camp in Austria, two historical events are of particular relevance: the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire and defeat of Austria against Prussia in Königgratz in 1866.²³ More importantly, the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire led many Austrian people to think about the unity of German State and German identity.

Although Austria played a significant role in establishing of *Deutscher Bund* in 1815, the idea to construct a national state remained as a prominent factor in the eyes of Austrians. As a consequence of defeat against Prussia in 1866, Austria decided to withdraw from the *Deutscher Bund*, which led German nationals to take the measures in order to save the German character of the Monarchy against eventual threats by Slavic population of the Empire. Members of 'nationalist camp' struggled to save national interests and its defence, when they refused to take supports from the government. In regard to these occurrences, basic thoughts and ideals of German nationalism were kept alive by liberal intelligentsia, namely academicians. As a result of that, Austrian institutions like universities were affected by national thoughts like *Burschenschaften*, which was fighting against authoritarian governance of Chancellor Metternich in that time. Apparently, the national camp was demanding the grounding of a free, democratic and united *German Reich*.²⁴ As it has been noted, Austria faced two important factors: the establishment of a unified German national state or maintaining Habsburg Monarchy. Major reason for difficulties in building-up a nation seems to be found in the lack or belated development of democratic traditions in Austria. Most

²¹ Ucakar, Karl/Gschiegl, Stefan (2009) *Das Politische System Österreichs und die EU*, Vienna University, Faculty Publ. Vienna, 57-80

²² Knapp, Marion (2005) *Österreichische Kulturpolitik und das Bild der Kulturnation: Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in der Kulturpolitik des Bundes seit 1945*, Peter Lang Publ. 43

²³ Berchtold, Klaus (1967): *Österreichische Parteiprogramme 1868-1966*, Wien, 80

²⁴ Ibid

importantly, the defeat of the revolution in 1848 brought negative consequences for Austrian identity and insufficient self-confidence to Austrian people.²⁵

Anton Pelinka argued in his book that establishment of the First and Second Austrian Republic shows similarities in its structure and characteristics. Especially, Second Republic was a result of supreme decision of allies that were thought to bring democratic order to Austria following the defeat of NS-Regime following the World War II.²⁶ In this sense, one of the significant factors, which paved the way for the emergence of the far-right party, was its enduring claim of being defender of Austrian nation and national identity.

Importantly, Austria's party system and establishment of democratic order is going back until the last three decades of Austrian Empire. The term '*Parteienstaatlichkeit*' (Party State), which is relating to power of political parties in shaping political system and nation-building process, was emerged during this period of Empire. Indeed, lager mentality that refers to the division of Austrian parties in three basic camps (Conservatives, Socialist and Nationalist) was developed during this period of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Regarding to party structure in the post-war period, Lipset and Rokkan's famous division can be applied to the Austria's mainstream party basis: "the owner-worker, the church-state, the urban-rural and centre-periphery cleavages"²⁷ While the ÖVP appealed to catholic conservative and owner electorates, who were living in rural areas, the SPÖ's electorates consisted overwhelmingly of working-class and seculars, who were living in city centres in general. It can be argued that this socio-structural division, as a result of increasing popularity of the FPÖ, has lost its relevance. Nowadays, Austrian political parties are mostly referring to actual challenges, such as immigration, Islam, Turkey, unemployment and EU-scepticism to mobilise their electorates. In this sense, far-right Populist Party characterises itself as the defender against destructive elements, which emerged due to disappearing of borders as a consequence of globalisation. Therefore, they are strongly opposing the multi-cultural society and assuming that these elements endanger national interests and values. In order to do that, they generally select a target group, which differs from in-group due to different ethnic or religious characters. This other (enemy) image, imposed by far-rights through using ideological and discursive strategies, causes then to isolation, attacks and violence towards out-group members. During Haider's leadership, this out-group was Jewish

²⁵ Knapp, Marion (2005) Österreichische Kulturpolitik und das Bild der Kulturation: Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in der Kulturpolitik des Bundes seit 1945, Peter Lang Publ. 45

²⁶ Pelinka, Anton/Sieglinda Rosenberger, Österreichische Politik, Grundlagen, Strukturen, Trends, Publ.3, 65-76

²⁷ Lipset, Seymour M/Stein, Rokkan (1967): Cleavages Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction, In: Seymour M. Lipset/Stein, Rokkan (eds.): Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives, New York: Free Press, 1-64

community in Austria and state of Israel. However, under the leadership of HC Strache, the FPÖ has begun to shift this policy towards Turkey and Turkish community.

3.1. Austrian National Identity and the FPÖ

In regard to emergence of Austrian identity under the influence of third camp, three major periods seem to be of particular importance. First period continued until the end of World War I. The second period goes from the collapse of Habsburg Monarchy to the End of World War II. More importantly, the period after the World War II played an important role in forming Austrian identity and nation building process. All of these periods have played an eminent role to form and establish pro-nationalist camp in Austria.

The fact is that the FPÖ has showed a pro-nationalistic character since its establishment as a representation of third camp in Austria. Historically, its predecessor were also referring to nationalist appeals in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which depicted itself as defenders of German and nationalist character of Austria. Thanks to its enduring nationalist appeal, the Austrian far-right Populist Party is being characterised as one of the successful far-right parties in Europe.

It is a fact that nationalism, as an ideology, has a long history in Austria's political system. This period will be analysed in following parts in details. The fact is that far right Populist Party has made use of these forms of nationalism to denigrate and to discriminate out-group within Austrian society. This ideology plays also in the FPÖ's party program a significant role since its establishment. In fact, Austria's far right party is consciously misusing nationalist claims to legitimise its constant attacks against Turkish and Muslim minority groups in Austria. It is obvious that nationalism, as an ideological term, requires the other, namely an out-group to define them with non-identity elements and to put their legitimacy within society in question. The FPÖ's enduring appeal to Turkey, Turkish and Muslim community takes a direct connection to this fact.

3.2. Establishing of National Identity in the Austrian Monarchy

The Austrian Empire, which was established due to association of various lands in 1804, was showing a multi-ethnic character as it covered almost all middle and central European states.²⁸

The Austrian Empire was governed with strict absolutism for a long time in the absence of basic human rights. Regarding to this system, Austrian absolutism was relating neither to power restrictions nor parliamentary rule or existence. Just after a set of successful attempts taken by Austrian citizens, the Austrian Empire was transformed into a ‘constitutional Monarchy,’ in which substantial power of Monarch remained untouched, while citizens earned a set of basic rights in political issues.²⁹

The fact is that in the Monarchy era, struggles to build up a unique Austrian nation were not successful because of multi-ethnic and multi-national character as well as ongoing conflicts with other nations. In addition to that, during the Napoleonic wars, Austrian Monarch insisted on constructing a national identity in order to prevent the negative effects of increasing nationalism. The slogan “*Österreich über alles, wenn es nur will*”³⁰ (Austria above all, if only she wills it) was used during the conflict against Ottomans found a new usage to accept all people under a nation in 1648. Although these efforts enabled the Monarchy to construct a national character, the attempts failed due to strong authoritarianism of the Austrian Monarch in that time. As a single issue, Austrian national identity has been accepted by only parts of the society, which was basically characterised as conservative and dynastic. Indeed, it was not successful to integrate all German-speaking citizens into the Monarchy, whereby only army, bureaucracy and autocracy had identified themselves with the Habsburg Monarchy.³¹

Moreover, the historical events that began with German revolution in 1848 and ended in the unification of Germany led to increasing German nationalism in Austria. Especially, after Austria was defeated by Prusians in 1866, German nationalism had gained ground within the Austrian society.³² The unification with Hungarians in 1867 and the establishment of Austrian-Hungarian Empire led to substantial nationalist tendencies in Austria against

²⁸ Pelinka, Anton/Sieglinda Rosenberger, *Österreichs Politik, Grundlagen, Strukturen, Trends*, Publ.3, p.65-76

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ Gross-Hoffinger, Anton Johann (1838): *Österreich Über Alles: Eine zeitgemäße Betrachtung bei Gelegenheit der feierlichen Krönung Sr. Majestät Kaiser Ferdinands des Ersten als König des venetianischen Königreiches*, <https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=f9NJAAAACAAJ&pg=PT8&lpg=PT8&dq=österreich+über+alles&source=bl&ots=KxLkqsA5L9&sig=um30XlsO3lKnGIs3-V6QgSMu-io&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwj-> (accessed 13.10.2017)

³¹ Knapp, Marion (2005) *Österreichische Kulturpolitik und das Bild der Kulturation: Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in der Kulturpolitik des Bundes seit 1945*, Peter Lang Publ. 45

³² Morrissey, Jill (2012) *The Republic of Austria: A State without a Nation*, cited in: Er, Ayşegül (2014): *A Comparative Analysis of the Far Right Parties in Europe: National Front in France, Freedom Party of Austria and Danish People’s Party*, Middle East Technical University, 46

Hungarians. In that sense, it can be argued that Austrian nationals were giving priority to a unique national state instead of living with Hungarians in a multi-ethnic nation. In this sense, Ernst Hanisch speaks in his book of double concepts of German-speaking Austrians: a strong German identity shaped by German origin, language, education system, literature, communication and on the other hand, a slight Austrian identity belonged to Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that was shaped by dynastic symbols.³³

3.3.The Era from the Collapse of the Monarchy to World War II

During this period, Austrian national identity was strictly influenced by the collapse of the Austrian Empire in 1918. In the aftermath of that, first Austrian Republic had been constructed by the initiatives of mainstream political parties. However, the new emerged Austrian state faced series of national disputes that led the republic to an abrupt end. This short period can be presumably analysed under the perspective of strong German nationalism, as many Austrians identified themselves as German during this period. Also, it can be claimed that Austrians were confronted with an identity problem after the collapse of the Austrian Empire due to multi-ethnic and nationalistic character as well as cultural diversity of the Empire. As a result of that, Austrians overwhelmingly felt belonged to the German nation during this period. In fact, Austria, as a newly established state, sought substantial support from an economic and socially strong Germany.

Therefore, pro-German Austrians decided to get closer to German nation due to strong historical and cultural ties. In order to do that, in September 1920, 17 parties and 12 election groups came under the name of “*Grossdeutsche Volkspartei* (Great German People’s Party) together. The party was mainly consisted of the German nationalist parties like All German, German radicals, as well as National Democratic Party, which emerged in the Monarchy era.³⁴ In 1922, another nationalist party *Landbund* came into existence, where the party shared similar policies with *Grossdeutsche Volkspartei* on foreign affairs, such as getting closer to German Reich and struggle against common enemies like Social democrats and Communists. However, the Party lost its popularity and mandats rapidly.

When the Nazis decided to annex Austria in 1938, it was easy for some Austrians to accept the National Socialists. The Republic had been called as ‘Republic of German-Austria’, which had been later annexed to the German Reich according to a common decision

³³ Hanisch, Ernst (2005): *Der Lange Schatten des Staates: Österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte in 20. Jahrhundert*, Carl Ueberreuter Publ., 89-163

³⁴ Dostal, Tristan (1995): “Die Grossdeutsche Volkspartei”, In: Talos, E./Dachs, H./Hanisch, E/Staudinger A. (Publ.): *Handbuch des politischen Systems Österreichs. Die erste Republik 1918-1933*, Vienna, p.195-206

of Austro-German parliamentary members.³⁵ Here, it can be said that leading political elites have not believed in viability of this small state Austria. The annexation of Austria to the German Reich in March 1938 accepted by the majority of Austrian people and celebrated by a huge demonstration in Vienna's famous Heldenplatz.³⁶ This decision brought the country's independence to an end, which continued until the liberation of Austria by Allies. Some scholars assess the annexation of Austria to the German Reich as a major development in the construction of an Austrian state after 1945 and emergence of independent Austrian identity.

3.4.The Era after the World War II

The presence of German Reich came to an end in April 1945. However, Austria, as a liberated state, remained occupied by the troops of France, Great Britain, the USA and the USSR. During this period, Austria was governed by a *provisorische Staatsregierung* (Temporary State Government), which was regarded as a temporary government for transformation to a stable democratic order. The temporary government consisted of the representatives of SPÖ, ÖVP und KPÖ that took over executive and legislative functions until holding next parliamentary elections. From now on, de-nazification process started in Austria, in which 536.000 registered former NS members were affected negatively. Among other things, Austria took steps to exclude former NSDAP members from voting and employment rights and imposed them severe financial obligations.³⁷

This period played a vital role in constructing of Austrian national identity, when Austria distanced itself from German identity. For example, in Austria, NSDAP was supported by a large number of people, when the Nazis invaded Austria and declared Austria as a part of the German Reich. However, with the end of war, Austria has been recognised as the "first land to fall victim of Hitler's aggressive politics" according to the Moscow Declaration in 1943.³⁸ It could be said that Austria aimed after the defeat of Nazis to set up a national identity in order to get accepted in post-war order. It is obvious that positive economic development, socio-structural welfare and international position contributed to establishment of positive Austrian identity.

³⁵ Pelinka, Anton/Sieglinda Rosenberger, *Österreiche Politik, Grundlagen, Strukturen, Trends*, Publ.3, p.65-76

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Manoschek, Walter/Geldmacher T. (2006): *Vergangenheitspolitik*, In: Dachs, H./Gerlich, P/Gottweis, H./Kramer, Helmut/Müller, W.C./Talos, E (Publ): *Politik in Österreich. Das Handbuch*, Vienna, p.577-593

³⁸ Ucakar, Karl/Gschiegl, Stefan (2009) *Das Politische System Österreichs und die EU*, Facultas Publ. Vienna, 57-80

The second Austrian Republic has been established in 1945 and aimed to eliminate the Nazis from political arena and to conceptualise a general national identity. In 1955, Austria announced its neutrality, which imposed the country substantial limitations on participating at military actions and restrictions on military bases in the country. Four occupying countries signed the so-called ‘Austrian State Treaty’, which came into existence following the Warsaw Pact. From now on, Austria was recognised as an independent state, it was neither part of the NATO, nor Warsaw Pact due this State Treaty.³⁹ All these measures could be considered as substantial milestones to achieve post-war normalisation and disassociation of Austria from German nationalism.

During this period, Austrian political system faced with significant changes, when new nationalist movements came into emergence. For instance, on 26 March 1949, former Austrian NSDAP officials formed a nationalist party ‘VdU’ in order to offer national camp a political platform.

The fact is that Austria could not manage building an Austrian identity following the emancipation from the German Reich. However, the country has continued identifying itself as a *Kulturgroßmacht* (Cultural Big Power), which had been announced by Austrian State President Miklas in 1928. President Miklas announced following statements in that time: “even if Austria had lost its great power function in Europe, it will continue as a cultural big power of Europe, namely as a country of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.”⁴⁰

4. Populism: A Conceptual Perspective

In the academic literature, there are a set of definitions of populism regarding to its scope and conceptualization. In addition to that, many scholars point out to the lack on a clear theoretical framework of the term. In this sense, many scholars define populism as a “thin-ideology/discourse or a political strategy/leadership style.”⁴¹ In reference to the core ideas and appeals, there are two major categories to emphasise main claims of populist parties: firstly, “antagonism between the pure people and the elites” and secondly “moral and normative supremacy of popular will,”⁴² which is also present in the FPÖ’s program. In this context

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Knapp, Marion (2005) *Österreichische Kulturpolitik und das Bild der Kulturation: Kontinuität und Diskontinuität in der Kulturpolitik des Bundes seit 1945*, Peter Lang Publ. 49

⁴¹ Yabancı, Bilge (2016): *Populism as the Problem Child of Democracy*, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 16:4, 591-617

⁴² Ibid

Political scientists define radical right wing parties as a political unity that shows xenophobic anti-migration elements. Similarly, far right wing parties are characterised by a complexity of ideological differentiation e.g. populism, anti-Europeanism, anti-Islamism, nationalism, authoritarianism.

Regarding to growing EU scepticism in Europe, many political experts prophesied triumph of far right populist parties in the national and regional elections referencing to the growing scepticism toward mainstream parties. The Brexit referendum and triumph of Donald Trump in the USA presidential election proved this populist wave across the globe. However, in last national elections, this populist effect did not earn wide-ranging success in contrast to these assumptions. For instance, The Dutch Premier Minister Mark Rutter defeated populist, far right extremist rival Geert Wilders in the Netherlands. In the aftermath, Emmanuel Macron's new-founded liberal party 'La République En Marche' earned great success against far right Populist and EU-critic Marine Le Pen's Party in France, where it pursued a strong pro-EU course. Only in Germany, AfD entered German Bundestag with a limited election success. Apparently, these far-right parties found widespread support by stimulating populism, anti-immigration and xenophobic campaign. It is a fact that the far-right populist parties became a major player in national politics in almost all European countries by shifting from the periphery to centre and by becoming integral to the political landscape in Europe.⁴³ Hence, European Commission President Jean Claude Juncker indicated to this fact, when he spoke of "galloping populism"⁴⁴ as an existential political threat to the future of the EU.

4.1.FPÖ as a Far-Right Populist Party in Austria

It is no exaggeration to say that far-right Freedom Party determines Austria's foreign and domestic policy after it took important positions in the newly formed coalition government. The party has been a significant player in Austrian politics over the years. Also, during migration crisis in 2015, Austria's far right party stood out with xenophobic and anti-Muslim statements that enabled the party to enter the government. Unlike many far right movements in Europe, Austria's far rights became a part in the coalition government and secured many posts, including interior, defence and foreign ministries in Austria. Many far right movements gained strong support in votes across the globe by emphasising EU-scepticism, anti-migrant and xenophobic discourses. However, the FPÖ mainly oriented itself towards Austrian

⁴³ Bayraklı, Enes/Hafez, Farid (2018): European Islamophobia Report 2017, SETA Foundation

⁴⁴ Stearns, Jonathan (2017): Juncker Tells EU to Seize 'Window of Opportunity' After Brexit, <https://www.bloomberg.com/amp/news/articles/2017-09-13/europe-rebounds-politically-with-trade-investment-policy-push> (accessed 24.11.2017)

patriotism on the basis of anti-immigration from Islamic countries and anti-Turkish rhetoric in particular.

According to Austrian political scientist Anton Pelinka, the Austrian far-right party is differing from other European far-right parties like Northern League in Italy or Denmark's Populist Party through its particular continuity for decades.⁴⁵ Because, its personal and structural establishment dates back to the late 19th century, when *deutschnationaler Lager* (German nationalistic camp) came into existence.

The far right movements share same objectives on issues like anti-immigration, patriotism and antagonism towards minority groups. For instance, Austria's far right wing FPÖ shares similar objects including constant hostility against Turkey and Muslim minority. Through increasing influx of refugees from Arabic and Middle-Eastern countries since the outbreak of Arab Spring in 2010, they earned essential support and popularity within Austria. This anti-liberal and fascist orientation of far right populist parties lead other mainstream parties to adapt their policies on sensible issues, such as immigration, Islam and refugees. .

4.2. Influence of the FPÖ on the Nation Building Process in Austria

During 1980s Austria went through significant political developments that shaped country's national image especially. Candidacy of Kurt Waldheim from ÖVP for Austrian Presidency, who was well known with his former close relationship with the Nazis, triggered particular outrage. Especially, Waldheim's remarks on Austria's role in World War II, who claimed that Austria conducted its duty due to circumstances of that time under the rule of German dictatorship,⁴⁶ had been defined as a legitimisation attempt of Holocaust and enhancing anti-Semitism. The FPÖ saw this occurrence as an opportunity to stabilise pro-nationalist ideals within the party by distancing liberals from party ranges.

It's a fact that German identity and culture became more apparent in Austria, when the FPÖ was founded and then entered into Austrian political system. This orientation became more apparent, as Jörg Haider took control of party leadership in 1986. Haider was best known with his defence of Austria's role during World War II and country's Nazi past in contrast to the government policy. During this period, the FPÖ defined itself as patriotic party, which stood for national power and interest as well as will of Austrian citizens in the first line. For this reason, the far right party has begun to make use of patriotic and populist

⁴⁵ Pelinka, Anton (2010): *Der Preis der Salonfähigkeit, Österreichs Rechtsextremismus im internationalen Vergleich*, Central European University Budapest, University Press.

⁴⁶ Er, Aysegül (2014): *A Comparative Analysis of the Far Right Parties in Europe: National Front in France, Freedom Party of Austria and Danish People's Party*, Master's Thesis, Middle East Technical University.

messages during election slogans, such as *Österreich zuerst* (Austria First) and *immer wieder Österreich* (Austria again and again) which is the Freedom Party's anthem.

In fact, former Nazi officers established the VdU (Verband der Unabhängigen), which dissolved itself in order to join the FPÖ in 1950s. As it has been mentioned above, the FPÖ has always ignored the claims that the party is an extrem right movement. Instead, they characterise themselves as 'right wing or as homeland party,' that stands by European values, democracy and human rights. Nevertheless, FPÖ's former leader Haider's remarks on Jews were main reason to characterise the FPÖ as a racist and anti-Semitic party during Haider's party leadership. His anti-Semitic remarks like "Our soldiers were not criminals, but rather they were victims," and describing "concentration camp, as punishment camp"⁴⁷ have been interpreted as substantial affiliation and sympathy with National Socialism.

Moreover, The FPÖ's permanent appeal to Austrian people and its use nationalist statements and slogans such as 'national interests', 'cultural values', 'the will of Austrian people' are key issues, to associate the party with populist elements and to describe it as far right movement. On the other hand, these statements are substantial indicator for populist antagonism used to mobilize people against those groups, who are differing from members of in-groups in view of national, cultural and historical diversities. The FPÖ has made use of these catchy slogans during and before election campaigns in Austria in order to pit Austrian nationals against other groups, namely against Turkey and Turkish people in particular.

5. Historical Perspective of anti-Turkey Discourse in Austria

This part deals with historical perspective of bilateral relations between Austria and Turkey and systematic use of anti-Turkey discourse within the FPÖ ranges that have begun in early 2005. It is interesting that anti-Turkish discourse seems to take a new dimension in Austrian politic following the start of Syrian civil war in 2011, when other mainstream parties joined anti-Turkey rhetoric of the FPÖ. In the light of this fact, I will try to give an overview over anti-Turkish discourse of other Austrian mainstream political parties, as main focus is directed towards the far-right populist FPÖ. The main aim of this chapter is the analysis of anti-Turkish statements made by Austrian politicians.

⁴⁷ Ibid

5.1.A Brief History of Anti-Turkish Discourse

Conflicts and encounters between Ottoman Empire and Austrian Empire have played a vital role in constructing current policies of both nations. As it has been noted, there had been war-like conflicts and encounters between both states. However, there had been peaceful occurrences over the years. For example, Austria was one of the first countries with Germany that sent, due to invitation of the Turkish government, academicians to Turkey in order to contribute to modernization of entire infrastructure and higher education system of Turkey in 1923.⁴⁸ The Austrian Republic and Turkish Republic has continued to shape bilateral relations following the dissolution of Ottoman Empire and Austrian Empire at the end of World War I. In this sense, both nations signed 'Friendship Agreement' in 1924 to strengthen bilateral relations in the inter-war era as a result of being in the same alliance during World War I.⁴⁹

As a matter of fact, the Europe is going through substantial internal and external troubles in last decades. One of main internal troubles is undoubtedly racism, xenophobia and islamophobia that are overwhelmingly effecting ethnic or religious minority groups in Europe. Turkey is one of these countries, which has encountered with anti-Turkish discourses due to its stronger diaspora in these countries. As a result of this fact, Turkish people in Europe are facing xenophobic, racist and islamophobic attacks and campaigns in recent years headed by far right populist parties in particular. In following, this situation will be presented in the example of Austria.

5.1.1. Historical Background: Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire

It is very obvious that conflicts and encounters between Habsburgs and Ottomans has played a key role in establishing anti-Turkish rhetoric within Austrian society. For instance, İrfan Kokdaş points out to the historical relevance of Donau region in the eyes of Europeans and Austrian people. According to him, in the late of 15th century, Donau river was inspired as political and religious parameter in commercial and economic circles of Habsburg and Eastern European states. Studies of Narrenschiff published in 1459 and Evrona Regina published in early 16th century indicated to this fact that Donau region was considered as holy symbol of Christ community and its defence was particular relevance against ongoing advance of Ottomans towards this region.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Reisman, Arnold (2008): The Modernization of Turkey by Austrian Refugees 1933-1945, Modern Austrian Literature and Culture Association, 2008, 58

⁴⁹ Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Relations between Turkey and Austria, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-austria.en.mfa> (accessed 14.04.2018)

⁵⁰ Kokdaş İrfan (2015): 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Aşağı Tuna'da Habsburg Politikaları ve Tuna Nehir Ticaretinde İmparatorluklar Arası Rekabet, İzmir Kâtip Çelebi University, OÜSBAD

As a consequence of that, Christian community in Europe remained prepared for eventual threats by Ottomans in practical and mental manner. This situation, then, resulted in expansion of enemy image against Turkey and Turkish community. In regard to historical developments of Turkey and Austria, there were wars between the Austrian Empire and the Ottoman Empire in 1529 and 1683. These conflicts between two parts cannot be disregarded while working on current relationship and troubles of two states. Because, historical events have been playing an significant role and they are a predominant factor in current affairs. In first attempt in 1529, Suleiman the Magnificent failed at the door of Vienna, when he intended to conquer Vienna. In the aftermath, as the Sultan made way again to Vienna in 1532, he was confronted with strong defence of the Crusaders. Under the rule of Kara Mustapha, the Ottoman Empire sought to conquer Vienna again in 1683, which continued almost two months,⁵¹ but ended with Ottoman's withdrawal from Austria. As it has been noted, these wars, which have shaped Austrian people's view toward Turkey, are of particular importance in analysing historical and actual anti-Turkish position of Austria. It is obvious that these military conflicts played an important role in constructing enemy image towards the Ottomans as well as Turkey, which has been seen as successor of Ottoman Empire. Such historical events are kept alive by Austrian people through enduring appeal of far right party officers in general.

5.1.2. Anti-Turkey Discourse in the Habsburg Monarchy

The conflicts between Habsburgs and Ottomans began in year 1526 and continued until the First World War, when both nations collapsed at the end of this war. Before this period, there had been important developments between both sides. One of the most important developments is the signature of Zsitvatorok Peace Agreement. The Agreement of Zsitvatorok signed on 11 November 1606 opened the door for Habsburg Monarchy toward Orient and Middle East, when the long lasting conflict since 1593 between the Holy Roman Empire and Ottoman Empire ended up with signing peace treaty. In the view of Austrians, Ottoman's territory had been of particular interest. Indeed, Emperor Franz Joseph said at his arrival on the orient: "Wir waren im eigentlichen Oriente" (we were in the exact orient) when he arrived to Beirut in 1869.⁵²

⁵¹ Matschke, Klaus-Peter (2004): *Das Kreuz und der Halbmond, die Geschichte der Türkenkriege*, Artemis&Winkler, Düsseldorf/Zurich 348-373

⁵² Fischer, Robert-Tarek (2006): *Österreich im Nahen Osten, Die Grossmachtpolitik der Habsburgermonarchie im arabischen Orient 1633-1918*, Böhlau Publ. Vienna

The Ottoman Empire and Habsburg Monarchy were involved in substantial conflicts and encounters that continued until the First World War. As a matter of course, these conflicts played an eminent role in shaping relationship between Turkey and Austria. As an indicator for that we can look at speeches of Austrian politicians. Because, in the eyes of many Austrians, Turkey has been seen as successor of the Ottoman Empire. In that regard, Folk songs depicting Turkish people as criminal have gone through generations to trigger negative impact on mind of new generations. Also, following folk song is originally coming from the region Carinthia in Austria, where former chief of far-right FPÖ Haider served as governor. It is contested with negative connotations, had been firstly recorded during World War I. In the song, hostility towards Turkey, Turkish people, and soldiers is clearly to be seen. It tries to define Turks as those, who involved in destruction of cities, desecrate of holy places such as churches and cemeteries, violence against pregnant women, and massacre of Austrian kids, etc. By invoking past occurrences, they are aiming in the first line to establish a widespread negative Turkish image.

“Es war a mal oa türkischar Mann, (Once, there was a Turkish men)
is wahr und nit darlogn, (It is true and it is not exaggerated)
er ist mit viel hundarttausnd Mann (He with one hundred thousand of men)
ins Kaiserland gezogn. (Marched into Empire)

Er marschirt boa Tag und Nacht (He marched day and night)
Marschirt wohl vür oaneuges Haus, (He marched for the only house)
Sei Bummerin loaßt er krachn, (He wanted to sound his bell in St. Stephen’s Cathedral)
Der Türk ziacht in de Kearchn hinein (the Turk came into churches)
De kearchn werd’n Türkn sei Roßstall sein, (Churches will be Turkish or horse stable)
In der Kerchn knian zwoa schwangeri Fraun, (two pregnant women kneeled in the church)
Oa junger Knab kniatao dabei... (A boy child kneeled there)

De warn eahm wohl darschrocknb schnea weiß (People stood with fear snow white)
Als wia das is gescheagn, (As we beaten them)
Und wia’s de Fohn schon fliagn segn (We see our flag flying and blessing)
Wohl über de heachsti Ringmauer⁵³ (Well on the curtain wall)

⁵³ Buchmann, Bertrand Michael (1983): Türkenlieder: Zu den Türkenkriegen und besonders zur zweiten Wiener Türkenbelagerung, 1. Publ. Böhlau, Vienna, 13-35

In Austria there are folk songs, statues, monuments in churches and cities which constantly remind the historical confrontations with the Ottoman Empire. The above mentioned folk song depicts Turks as ‘barbarians, killers or even rapists,’ who destroyed Austrian cities and committed crimes. By stigmatising and labelling the Turks with these negative images, they are creating a substantial enemy image of Turks from a historical perspective that seek to destroy Austrian culture and values. In doing so, they are aiming to point out to an enduring fight between both nations. On the other hand, it demonstrates the cultural, social and religious differences to portray the others in a negative way, which according to van Dijk model serve to emphasise the bad things and de-emphasise the good things of the Turks.

During the period of the enlightenment, Austria’s position towards Turkey was aligned with positive changes and developments. Stereotype of enemy image lost its popularity and Islam had been regarded positively in many respects.⁵⁴ Furthermore, both Austria and Turkey were involved in a set of cooperations from the military to the arts. However, it can be argued that Austria’s stance toward Turkey remained oppositional over the centuries. As a matter of fact, such developments were unsuccessful as it failed to affect all Austrian people positively instead of covering only Austrian elites. As a result of attempts to demonise Turkish people, vast majority of Austrians have had negative impacts towards Turkey in general that continued until today. Apparently, given such kind of rhetoric Austria’s far-right drew a nationalist barrier against good institutional ties with Turkey.

Hereby, it is important to note that Anti-Turkish rhetoric in Austria has been maintained since the first armed conflicts broke out in the 14th century. Far right formations are generally seeking to stereotype Muslim community not only in Austria but elsewhere in Europe. For example, Austria’s far right party has often announced that it prefers submissive and more European Bosnian Muslim instead of the Oriental Turkish Muslim enemy.⁵⁵ Indeed, anti-Turkish discourse has had ultimately a direct connection with the growth of Islamophobia within the Austrian society over the years. In that sense, Austria’s far-right populist party depicted conflicts between Habsburgs and Ottomans as ‘east versus west or Islam versus Christianity’, in order to mobilise Austrian nationals and to depict Turkish people negatively.

⁵⁴ Raho, Anthony Benedict: Kulturkampf statt AusländerInnenthema? Die Thematisierung des Islams in Wahlkämpfen der FPÖ, Diplomarbeit, Vienna University, Vienna

⁵⁵ Hafez, Farid (2016): Islamophobia in Austria: National Report 2015, In: Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez, European Islamophobia Report 2015, Istanbul, SETA Foundation, 16

5.2. Anti-Turkey Discourse in the Agenda of Austrian Mainstream Parties

In the Austrian parliament there are currently five political parties, including Austrian People's Party, Austrian Social Democratic Party, Austrian Freedom Party, NEOS (the New Austria), and Peter Pilz List. During the parliamentary election campaign, the FPÖ, ÖVP, and to some extent SPÖ and Greens used anti-Turkish rhetoric extensively. As an example for this, the FPÖ and other mainstream parties issued a common statement, in which they criticised Turkey on its counter terrorism operations and its crackdown on terror sympathisers and members in and out of Turkey. Recently, Turkey's EU Affairs Minister Ömer Çelik pointed to this raising hostility of Austria against Turkey and said "Austria's stance against Turkey has turned from oppositional to hostile."⁵⁶ Turkish Ministers statement came as a response to Austrian Chancellor Sebastian Kurz's constant appeal on European leaders to stop Turkey's EU accession negotiations.

One can observe that the anti-Turkish and racist remarks are strictly gaining ground in Austria and being used not only by the far-right Populist Party but also by centre right and centre left parties.. This indicates that the anti-Turkish and populist discourse of the FPÖ is being co-opted by other mainstream political parties in Austria.⁵⁷ The most remarkable thing is hereby the Austria's stance toward Turkey's EU membership. As a matter of fact, Austria is one of the European countries that is strongly opposing to Turkey's EU membership bid for a quite long time. Instead of full-membership Austria favours a privileged partnership with Turkey.⁵⁸

In view of Turkey's cross border operations in Syria, Austria's far right party and other mainstream parties made an announcement, in which they demanded immediate stop of military intervention in Syria. In case of keeping on military offensive in Syria they warned Turkey of cancellation of Turkey's accession negotiations with the EU.⁵⁹

The last parliamentary election in Austria in 2017 can be seen as a useful barometer for the success of the far right populists, as they emerged out as third largest political camp just behind the conservatives and socialists. Interestingly, both ÖVP and FPÖ are well known with their enduring anti-Turkey and islamophobic rhetoric in recent years. In parallel to these

⁵⁶ Hürriyet Daily News (2018): Austrian Stance 'More Hostile Than Oppositional', <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/austrian-stance-more-hostile-than-oppositional-says-turkeys-eu-minister-129788> (last access 11.04.2018)

⁵⁷ Bayraklı, Enes/Hafez, Farid (2018): European Islamophobia Report 2017, SETA Foundation,

⁵⁸ Belafi, Matthias (2007): Eine Grosse Koalition gegen die Türkei: der europapolitische Kurs der österreichischen Bundesregierung, Bertelsmann Forschungsgruppe, Faculty of Social Science, Munich University, 4

⁵⁹ FPÖ (2016): Parteien setzen ein Zeichen gegen Erdoğan, <https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/parteien-setzen-ein-zeichen-gegen-erdogan/> (accessed 20.04.2018)

facts, there are more than 100 statements published on the FPÖ's official homepage in last year that show clear hostility towards Turkey and Turkish community. Each of these statements consider Turks and Muslims as an 'internal and external threat, to security and social order or dishonest and anti-modern.' These ideological statements and texts have been provided by far-right Freedom Party chairman HC Strache or other high-ranking FPÖ politicians. As a matter of fact, through providing such racist statements and discourses they aim basically to justify the discrimination and pressures against Turkish people as well as Muslim community in Austria. Anti-Turkish discourse can be found in almost all programmes of mainstream Austrian parties.

This policy are being pursued directly or indirectly, such as by rejecting Turkish activities in the country. Indeed, this aspect was more aggressive during the Turkish President Erdogan's visit organised before the constitutional referendum in April 2017. Many Austrian politicians opposed Turkish President's meeting with Turkish people living in Austria. For example, Austrian Chancellor and ÖVP's leader Sebastian Kurz announced, when he was Foreign Minister at that time: "We clearly reject bringing the Turkish campaign to Austria, which causes to polarisation."⁶⁰

The above statement shows clearly that anti-Turkish discourse is playing a vital role in shaping mainstream political parties course of Austria. Ironically, while they are turning blind eye to some groups such as PKK within their borders, which are listed as terrorist organisation by EU and USA, banning of Turkish politicians to meet Turkish people in Austria is incomprehensible. Tragically, this anti-Turkish rhetoric of Austrian politicians has reached to higher levels in recent years.

Indeed, it would be said that far right and other party members are preparing their party program by mainly focusing on immigrants, who are mostly originating from developing countries like Turkey, Morocco, Egypt, and Iran etc. It is a fact that all political parties in Austria whether far-right or other mainstream parties share much or less a similar position and argument on the issue of Turkey and Turkish community in Austria.

In this regard, the presence of Turkey's diaspora in Austria takes a prominent function in the hate campaigns headed by far right party. Although Turkish population located in third place after German and Serbian citizens living in Austria, the FPÖ and other mainstream political parties have constructed anti-immigrant policy on the presence of Turkish diaspora to

⁶⁰ BBC (2017): Turkey Referendum: Erdoğan Rallies not Welcome in Austria, <https://www.google.at/amp/s/www.bbc.com/news/amp/world-europe-39105683> (last access 04.03.2018)

a large extent. One of the reason behind this policy is the historical conflicts between Austria and Turkey.

Especially, far right Austrian Freedom Party set to make profits from this perspective by enhancing anti-Turkish discourse. In doing so, they managed to form a coalition government with the ÖVP following the election in late 2017. This far right Freedom Party is attacking Turkey on every occasion and seeking to characterise Turkish population as an outsider group in Austria. According to them, the EU has to suspend membership talks with Turkey and to end financial aid programs to Turkey. Also, in the light of recent political occurrences, it would be realistic to assume that the new established Austrian government headed by populist Sebastian Kurz and HC Strache, who are well-known with their fierce anti Turkey and anti migrant discourse, will drive the country on the edge of “islamophobia, xenophobia and isolationism.”⁶¹

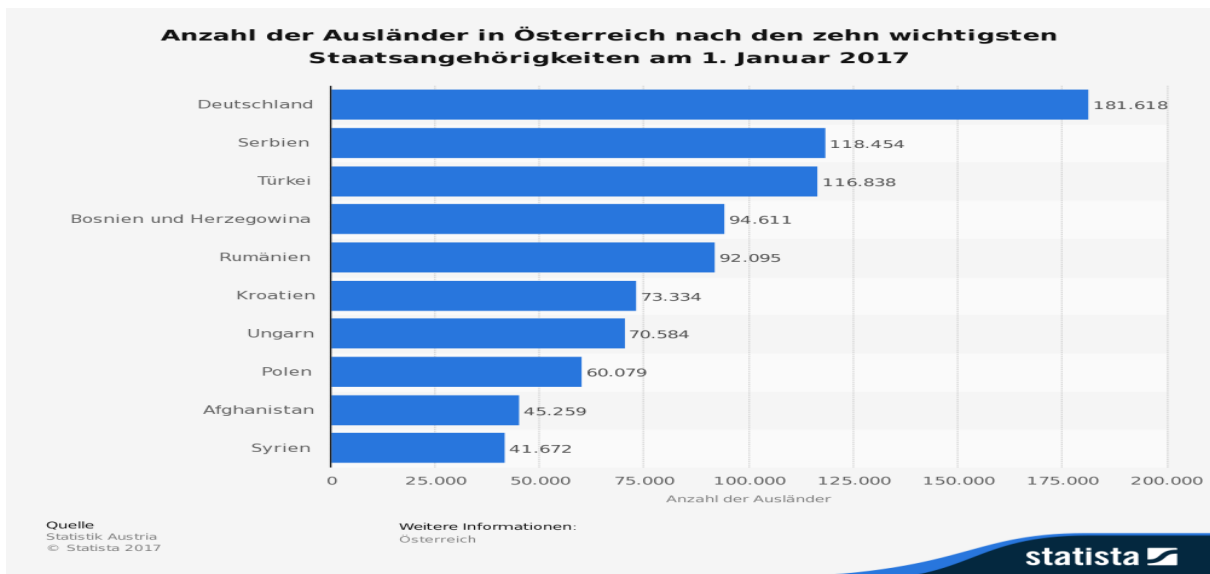
As a matter of fact, other Austrian parties like SPÖ, ÖVP and Greens are also following the steps of FPÖ in order to stop the shift to FPÖ from their party basis. However to a large extent they were not successful since FPÖ gained access to the Austrian Parliament in November 2017 replacing the SPÖ in the coalition government.

It is obvious that far-right Freedom Party has re-oriented its course generally following the consequences of coalition government with ÖVP in 2000. During this time, they were pursuing anti-Semitic discourse targeting Jewish community in Austria. However, it came to a paradigm change with the HC Strache’s take-over of the FPÖ’s leadership. After that period, they started a systematical hate campaign against Turkish people and Muslim immigrants in the country.

Turkish people started to migrate to European countries following the request of European countries to take ‘guest workers’ from Turkey. First agreement is accomplished with Germany in 1961, then Austria, the Netherlands and Belgium followed in 1964. Currently, more than 300.000 Turks or people with Turkish origin are living in Austria. Another factor of Turkish migration based on political upheavals in Turkey such as Military coup in 1980. Population of Turkish people increased in these countries also due to family reunification and marriage over the years. The FPÖ considers this growing population trend of Turkish and Muslim people as a risk for Austria’s future and call for precautions to eliminate and prevent migrant increase in country by imposing restrictions on immigration and social benefits in Austria.

⁶¹ Duran, Burhanettin (2017): Austrian Elections and pre-2019 Westernism in Turkey, <https://www.dailysabah.com/columns/duran-burhanettin/2017/10/19/austrian-elections-and-pre-2019-westernism-in-turkey> (accessed 20.10.2017)

Figure: 1. The number of Foreigners in Austria According to Ten Relevant Countries



Source: Statista⁶²

The following graphic shows the number of people with a migration background living in Austria. According to figure, Turkish origin migrants occupy the third place after Germans and Serbs. These three countries make the half of migrants in Austria. Other minority groups in Austria consist of eastern European countries, such as Hungary, Romania and Poland. Refugees from Syria and Afghanistan migrated to Austria in recent years due to internal conflicts or ongoing civil war in their home country. The figure above illustrates multi-ethnic and national character of Austria. However the far-right extremist party is getting more support from different parts of society by enhancing hate speeches and campaigns against minority groups, namely Turks in particular.

5.2.1. Austrian People's Party

Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) is being characterized as Christian democratic and centre-right party in Austria, which has dominated Austrian politics with the SPÖ since the establishment of Second Republic. In its official homepage, Conservative party characterises itself as defender and representative of all Austrian citizens, as it has been depicted as 'People's Party' and it avoids a single ideological orientation. In the party program 1945 conservatism, liberalism, democracy and Austrian nation have been determined as major values of the ÖVP, for which the party stands.⁶³ Furthermore, The ÖVP defines itself as a Christian democratic

⁶² Statista (2018): <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/293019/umfrage/auslaender-in-oesterreich-nach-staatsangehoerigkeit/> (accessed 12.03.2018)

⁶³ ÖVP (2018): Geschichte von ÖVP, <https://www.oevp.at/Die-Geschichte> (accessed 12.03.2018)

party, a party of liberal constitutional state and an open society, a party of eco-social market economy as well as a party of Austrian people. In regard to party's stance toward Turkey, It can be said that ÖVP has changed its stance toward Turkey fundamentally after current Chancellor Sebastian Kurz took over party's leadership. Before that period, the party has determined its Turkey's policy in accordance with EC resolutions. Although the party positioned itself as center-right, recently, one can observe a shift to far right populist ideology, where the party officials are using populist policies like restrictions on immigration, opposing Turkey's EU membership and so on.

Historically, there has been always an opposition to Turkish membership to the EU within ÖVP circles. For instance, many policy-makers including party members of ÖVP were demanding to bring Turkey's Membership to a referendum in case of eventual membership, keeping accession negotiations with an 'immediate suspension button' or giving a special status to Turkey instead of full Membership. Main reason behind this concern was ÖVP's leaders' fears about the reaction of Austrian people toward Turkey's Membership,⁶⁴ mass migration, unemployment and an increase in crime rates, which is all associated with a Turkish membership to the EU.

In 2015 the party underwent substantial changes after the resignation of Reinhold Mitterlehner. Sebastian Kurz, who served as foreign minister in SPÖ/ÖVP government, has taken office as new party leader. It is a fact that new party leader has strengthened party's course on anti-Turkey agenda and adopted the far right Freedom party's anti-Turkish discourse. During his post in Foreign Ministry, he became prominent with enduring appeal for tougher border controls, better integration of immigrants, preventing of political Islam. For this reason, the ÖVP referred to the slogans like "*Zeit für Neues*" (Time for Something New) to mobilise electorates, who were unsatisfied with current policies of political administration. In this sense, party leader Kurz made use of basic populist ideals of the FPÖ on immigration, anti-Turkey and anti-Turkish discourse as well as islamophobia in particular. We can consider how anti-Turkish remarks reached to high levels after the Kurz's takeover of party leadership. For instance, current ÖVP leader and Austrian Premier Minister Sebastian Kurz made in 2016 before Turkish constitutional referendum a statement, in which he called Turkish people to leave the country, who made use of their democratic right to vote in elections in Turkey: "Those who wants to engage in Turkey's politic, is free to leave our country."⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Sabine, Strasser (2008) Europe's Other: Nationalism, transnationals and contested Images of Turkey in Austria, In: European Societies, Middle East Technical University, Taylor Francis Publ. 2008, 177-195

⁶⁵ ORF (2017): Kurz in ZIB 2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u2f813rHou0> (accessed 18.03.2018)

Although demonstration and meeting right is one of existential elements of a democratic state, Austria took initiatives to ban election rallies of Turkish politicians in the country.⁶⁶ While ÖVP's chief Kurz put a blind eye to terrorist activities of PKK in Austria, he is struggling to ban peaceful Turkish demonstration and meeting of Turkish politicians in Austrian cities.

This statement illustrates presuppositions of ÖVP chef and current Austrian Chancellor towards Turkey. The ÖVP leader and chancellor Kurz involved in sets of anti-Turkish and islamophobic remarks in recent years. For example, his remarks like “bringing Syrian refugees to their homeland after settling them in a Greek island”, “ban of veiling for Muslim women”⁶⁷ are just a few example of ÖVP leader's racist discourse.

5.2.2. Social Democratic Party of Austria

Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ) can be characterised as centre-left political party in Austria, which emerged as successor of Social Democratic Party that was the front-runner with ÖVP in constructing of first and second Austrian Republic. From the standpoint of Socialist Party of Austria, social welfare and labour conditions are of particular importance. The Austrian socialists were accepted as main political party that was trying to avoid discrimination of migrants defending their exclusive rights in almost all political and social platforms. In the current nexus, however, one can find an increasing anti-Turkish and islamophobic discourse within the socialist ranges that multiplied with leadership change. Moreover, the main reason for this re-orientation is the FPÖ's xenophobic and populist appeal that has found wide-ranging support in the Austrian society. For instance, parallel to other mainstream parties in Austria, party chairman and former Chancellor Christian Kern wanted the European Union to end accession talks with Turkey under the pretext of democratic and economic deficits in Turkey. It is also interesting that this demand had been announced following the failed coup attempt and Turkey's crackdown on members of Gulenist Terror Organisation (FETÖ). Additionally, the SPÖ has decidedly rejected full-membership bid of Turkey to the EU. Instead, they were demanding to offer a special status to Turkey as a strategic partner in order to deal on different levels with the European countries. One can claim that Socialists were in line with public opinion and is tracking ÖVP's policy in view of Turkey. By the way, there are some pro-Turkey politicians within SPÖ circles. So, former Austrian Federal President Heinz Fischer and current Mayor of Vienna Michael Häupl were

⁶⁶ Fritzl, Martin/Özkan Duygu (2017): Gesetz gegen türkische Wahlkampfauftritte, <https://diepresse.com/home/innenpolitik/5179955/Gesetz-gegen-tuerkische-Auftritte> (accessed 15.04.2018)

⁶⁷ Bayraklı, Enes (2017): Avusturya Seçimlerini Kim Kazandı? <http://www.setav.org/avusturya-secimlerini-kim-kazandi/> (accessed 10.04.2018)

in favour of Turkey's EU membership bid in contrast to party basis and many high-ranking officials.⁶⁸ Indeed, after the takeover of Party's leadership by Christian Kern, the party started to criticise EU-Turkey relations. For instance, in a meeting of the heads of state or government of the EU-Member States in Brussels, SPÖ's leader Kern demanded to stop accession negotiations with Turkey and he supported suspension of financial aids to Turkey. SPÖ chef Kern said:

“We have a clear position, and for a long time, we kept in mind that accession negotiations need to be stopped. Heads of states or governments agreed to cut financial aids to Turkey in the first line. (...) It needs a new regulation of relations. From Austrian perspective, it is a step towards correct direction, which is also fair for Turkey in reality.”⁶⁹

The EU makes financial aids to candidate countries in order to adopt them and simplify their accession process. Demands, such as stop of financial aids to Turkey, can be understood as SPÖ's growing hostility toward Turkey. On the other hand, in regard to Turkey's fight against terrorist groups, Josef Weidenholzer an Austrian politician and Member of the European Parliament from Austria held a speech in the EP, where he commented Turkey's fight against terrorist group as follows: “Turkey's intervention in Afrin is disturbing and paradox.”⁷⁰ . Many of SPÖ officials are using same discursive strategy with far-right by deligitimizing the acts of Turkey and victimizing the terrorist groups.

These examples indicates same discursive strategy, which aims to harm Turkey and Turkish people in general. Through growing impact of the right-wing Populist Party, a window of opportunity is opened for Socialist Party to follow the discourse and campaign of them. Following the parliamentary election on October 2017, the SPÖ decided to restore the regulation that was set up in the party program in 1987 to prevent SPÖ forming a coalition government with far-right populist FPÖ.⁷¹ In the aftermaths of this decision, Austria's former Chancellor and current SPÖ leader Christian Kern urged to European leaders to end Turkey's EU accession talks under the pretext of democratic and economic deficits in Turkey.

⁶⁸ Sabine, Strasser (2008) Europe's Other: Nationalism, transnationals and contested Images of Turkey in Austria, In: European Societies, Middle East Technical University, Taylor Francis Publ. 2008, 177-195

⁶⁹ SPÖ (2017): Kern Demands New-Regulation of Relation to Turkey, <https://spoe.at/storyeu-gipfel---kern-fordert-neuordnung-der-beziehungen-zur-tuerkei> (accessed 15.03.2018)

⁷⁰ SPÖ (2017): Weidenholzer zur Menschenrechtslage Türkei, <https://spoe.at/search/node/t%C3%BCrkei> (accessed 24.04.2018)

⁷¹ Bayraklı, Enes (2017): Avusturya Seçimlerini Kim Kazandı? <http://www.setav.org/avusturya-secimlerini-kim-kazandi/> (accessed 10.03.2018)

5.2.3. The Green Party

The Green Party is a political party in Austria, which has been represented in Austrian parliament for nearly three decades. However, last parliamentary election held on October 2017 brought Green's parliamentary representation to the end, when the party could not manage to reach 4% barrier to enter the Austrian parliament. In its party program, Green Party is standing for stability in the economy, saving of climate and nature, fair division of income and labour as well as societal solidarity.⁷²

In addition, there are a number of politicians with Turkish origin within the Green Party, who stands out interestingly with their hostility toward Turkey, let alone backing Turkey or defending Turkish people in Austria. As an example, there have been substantial evidences to show anti-Turkish discourse within the party range, such as Berivan Aslan, Efgani Dönmez. As an example, former party member Efgani Dönmez revealed his hostility toward Turkey and Turkish community in Austria by making a ridiculous demand to the Austrian government to send all Turkish people, who participated in a demonstration to show their solidarity with Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, back to Turkey with a 'One Way Ticket.' Also, in the aftermath, he meant that these people, who show solidarity with Turkish President, have no place in Europe and Austria.⁷³ This anti-Turkish rhetoric of Dönmez about Turkey's President and Turkish people angered many party officers, however, he kept on holding party membership until the end of his post. Such anti-Turkish remarks by Green politicians are not unusual, if we give a look at speeches of other high-ranking party officials.

The Green Party wants to bring Turkey's accession to the EU to an immediate end due to so-called lacks on human and minority rights in Turkey, where it is continuing to criticise Turkey's fights against terrorist groups. Additionally, the Austrian Green Party has sought to describe PKK activities harmless, while they are criticising Turkish government in fight against Terrorist groups. For example, leader of Austrian Green Party releases periodically statements about developments in Turkey. In recently revealed statement, Eva Glawischnig pointed out:

⁷² Gruene (2018): Party program, <https://www.gruene.at/partei/programm/parteiprogramm> (accessed 11.03.2018)

⁷³ Die Presse (2013): Grüner: Erdogan-Anhänger haben hier nichts verloren, https://diepresse.com/home/politik/innenpolitik/1419421/Gruener_ErdoganAnhaenger-haben-hier-nichts-verloren (accessed 19.04.2018)

“Austria should pressure the EU to suspend accession negotiations with Turkey and financial aids to Turkey Turkey has to be pressured to open peace talks with Kurdish PKK and to release immediately all jailed HDP Members.”⁷⁴

It is very interesting that the Green Party that declares itself as human right activist is openly defending a terrorist group that caused to death of thousand innocent peoples in Turkey over the years. Especially, their enduring threat to suspend Turkey’s EU accession process, financial aid program, and constant criticism of Turkey’s fight against terrorist groups shows that Green Party is also hostile against Turkey.

5.2.4. The NEOS and Liste Pilz

The NEOS (Neue Österreich) entered the parliament with the parliamentary elections held on 29 September 2013. The party favours liberal approaches and seeks to address young Austrians especially, which are unhappy with party system in Austria. The party earned respectful results with elections in 2013 and they are represented in Austrian parliament since then. The party follows a similar position in anti-Turkish rhetoric, but its impact remains mainly ineffective.

The newly grounded Liste Pilz’s chef Peter Pilz entered Austrian politic with rapid anti Turkish and islamophobic remarks. So, before parliamentary elections in 2017, Pilz claimed that around 500 Turkish and Islamic spies are illegally working in Austria. According to him, Austrian government has to bring concrete steps against Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Turkish spy activities in Austria.⁷⁵ By providing such baseless claims towards Turkey, he aims to mobilise Austrian electorates similarly to the far-right party.

5.3.Strengthened anti-Turkey Rhetoric after 2010

It is obvious that Austria’s far right party has strengthened its rhetoric on Turkey in view of the developments in recent years. The emergence of Syrian civil war, EU-Turkey refugee agreement and failed coup attempt in Turkey were essential during this period. After failed coup attempt in Turkey on July 2016, the right-wing Populist Party’s chairman HC Strache

⁷⁴ Grünen: Türkei (2017): Gemeinsame Linie Österreichs Gefordert
<https://www.gruene.at/themen/aussenpolitik/tuerkei-gemeinsame-linie-oesterreichs-gefordert> (accessed 26.03.2018)

⁷⁵ Kurier (2017): Pilz Demands Strong Activity towards Erdogan,
<https://www.google.at/amp/s/m.kurier.at/amp/politik/inland/wahl/pilz-fordert-scharfes-vorgehen-gegen-erdogan-spitzel-in-oesterreich/286.966.847> (accessed 15.03.2018)

made an announcement, where he compared 15 July coup attempt, with Hitler's Reichstag fire in the Nazi Germany. In addition to this statement FPÖ's leader HC Strache said:

“Dramatically, we have experienced such mechanisms elsewhere before, such as with the Reichstag fire, in the wake of which total power was seized. (...) And now too, one has the impression that a bit of steering occurred.”⁷⁶

It is very interesting that far-right populist leader HC Strache has continued to ignore the fact, where Turkish people prevented a military coup. Instead, he tried to stigmatise Turkish people's struggle for saving the democratic order in the country. On the other hand Austrian far right Freedom Party showed its anti-Turkey position by stigmatising Turkey's counter-terrorism fight by supporting members of terror organisations. Indeed, they avoided to condemn coup plotters and appealed the EU stopping of accession negotiations with Turkey immediately due to Turkey's fight against terror groups and its members.

Furthermore, another target of far right Populist Party is the refugee agreement signed between the EU and Turkey in March 2015 in order to stop illegal crossing of the European borders and to save the lives of refugees. Additionally, General Secretary and delegation member of the FPÖ in the European Parliament criticised the EU-Turkey refugee agreement that has come into effect on 16 March following the migration influx in the European countries. According to him, with this agreement „the EU was brought to its knees”⁷⁷ completely because, the agreement saw financial aid programm to Turkey in response to taking refugees from European states. In regard to ongoing partnership, Turkey was presumably obliged to help Europe's challenges automatically, noted FPÖ's Vilimsky. By indicating to this claim, Harald Vilimsky seeks to put visa-liberation promise for Turkish citizens in question. Furthermore, he continued to express his criticism about Turkey's membership to the EU and bilateral relations between two sides. According to him, the refugee agreement of the EU with Turkey may be a catastrophic mistake committed by European leaders. Because, by doing so, they gave the Turkish President Erdogan their consent to pursue undemocratic developments, limitations on freedom of expression and press, human rights, as well as situation of minority groups in the country.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Reuters (2017): Austrian far-right leader likens Turkish coup to Reichstag fire, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-eu-austria-fpo/austrian-far-right-leader-likens-turkish-coup-to-reichstag-fire-idUSKCN10H0BP> (last access 12.04.2018)

⁷⁷ FPÖ (2015): Vilimsky: Türkische Erpressung lässt die EU in die Knie gehen, <https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/vilimsky-tuerkische-erpressung-laesst-eu-in-die-knie-gehen-1/> (24.12.2017)

⁷⁸ Ibid

More significantly, Referendum in Turkey on constitutional change was a watershed event in formulation of anti-Turkish discourse in almost all stages of Austrian politic. In that period, we can simply list a set of examples, which provide severe evidence on anti-Turkish discourse of Austria's mainstream political parties.

In the aftermath of constitutional referendum in Turkey, FPÖ officials raised their discursive attacks against Turkish people and Turkish government vehemently. For instance FPÖ's Strache published in his Facebook post a statement in which he said, "over 70% of Turks living in Austria voted for Erdoğan-Diktatur."⁷⁹ In his Facebook post he made assumptions on ongoing integration problems and demands of immediate return of Turks to their homeland Turkey.

6. FPÖ in Austria: A Brief History

The FPÖ went through a paradigm change following the internal party disputes and division into two camps in early 2005. In that period, Austria's far right party began to change party's orientation from anti-Semitic discourse to anti-Turkish and Islamophobic discourse when current leader of the FPÖ HC Strache took control of the party leadership. In contrast to former party leader Jörg Haider, who served as party leader from 1986 to 2005, Strache focused overwhelmingly on issues like immigration, Muslims and Turkish migrants. Accordingly, the FPÖ plays a key role in articulation of anti-Turkish discourse before any election campaign in Austria, in which it tries to bring direct connections between Islam and Turkey. For example, FPÖ's former General Secretary said:

"The Christian occident is a clear message to ongoing accession talks of Turkey with the EU. According to us, the FPÖ, Turkey's EU accession negotiations should be suspended in an immediate way. (...) Additionally, so-called anti-discrimination rules and similar things are good example that paves the way for expansion of Islam within the European society. By doing so, Islamisation has been imposed under the pretext of tolerance. We are aware of these substantial threats, and we as Freedom Party is unique party which stands for the interests of Austrian people."⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Munter, Steffen: FPÖ-Chef Strache: Erdogan-Türken sollen zurückgehen-Auch in Deutschland Handeln gefordert-Merkel weiter im "Realitätsrausch", <https://www.epochtimes.de/politik/deutschland/fpoe-chef-strache-erdogan-tuerken-sollen-zurueckgehen-auch-in-deutschland-handeln-gefordert-merkel-weiter-im-realitaetsrausch-a2099099.html>, (accessed 19.April 2017)

⁸⁰ Herbert, Kickl: Kickl zur EU Mitgliedschaft der Türkei, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=28Qvy1yUi-Q&feature=related>– (accessed 02.09.2017)

General Secretar Herbert Kickl underlined hereby two significant points of FPÖ's Islam discourse: The rejection of EU-Membership of Turkey on one hand and the perceived of Islamisation of Europe. It is a fact that these racist statements have found always a strong place in election campaigns of far-right Populist Party, and far right members accuse other mainstream Austrian parties of acting against the will of Austrian people, if they oppose FPÖ's policies. Indeed, it was a discursive strategy of the FPÖ to force Austria's mainstream political parties to comply with its racist, radicalist and populist rhetoric.

6.1.Establishment of the FPÖ as a National Camp

The FPÖ was founded by former Nazis in 1950s and routinely has to expel and suspend members, who were associated with Neo-nazi ideology. The party is predecessor of former VdU that was built up by senior officials of NSDAP to offer them a political platform. One of main objective of VdU was the re-establishment and the acceptance of nationalist identity and ideals within the Austrian society. After six years of its establishment, the party joined to *Freiheitliche Partei* (Freedom Party) in 7 April 1956. This German nationalist party gained 11,6% of votes and 16 mandats in Austrian parliament following its first election attendance, in which it was not allowed to participate as political unity but as *wahlwerbende Partei* (Election Advertisement Party) because of restrictions of *allierter Rat* (*allied council*) towards re-establishment of Nazi members.

1955 seems to be a turning point for pro-nationalist camp, when former agriculture Minister in NS Regime Seyss-Inguard and Anton Reinthaller began the initiative to establish a new national camp. After constructing the "*Freiheitspartei*" (Freedom Party), the VdU dissolved itself in 1956 and joined into the newly established Austrian Freedom Party.

In April 1956, in the first party congress of the FPÖ, Anton Reinthaller had been elected as first party leader, who was an important figure in Austrian National Socialism as a famous NS officer. After his death in 1958, again a former SS-officer, Friedrich Peter took control of party leadership.

The vast majority of the FPÖ heading figures were either a soldier during the World War II or they were central figures in the ranks of NSDAP, such as within the circles of *Schutzstaffel* (SS) and *Sturmabteilung* (SA).⁸¹ At Linzer party assembly in 1980 Norbert Steger had been elected as new party leader, who was characterized as liberal one in contrast to his nationalist competitor. Between 1960 and 1983 FPÖ dealt with widening its theme

⁸¹ Perchinig, Bernhard (1983): National oder Liberal: Die Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, In: Gerlich, P./Müller, W.C.(Publ): Zwischen Koalition and Konkurrenz. Österreichs Parteien seit 1945, Vienna. P.69-90

spectrum in order to appeal to large number of Austrians. This new program seemed to be effective in the support of minority government that was created with SPÖ in 1970, as well as joining to the governments in the years 1983 and 1986.

However such undertakings had turned out to be unsuccessful in terms of election results as it caused debates within the party. Only in 1986 Jörg Haider, who was the leader of right wing, beat liberal wing headed by Norbert Steger.⁸² From now on, the FPÖ was defined pro-nationalist camp in Austria following the withdrawal of liberal wing completely.

The FPÖ, as pro-nationalist camp, was successful to appeal to Austrians from different parts of society and the party showed a strong continuity over the years. Therefore, according to Austrian political scientist Anton Pelinka, their existence has been accepted as a political normality in Austria in contrast to former groups like *Sozialistische Reichspartei* (SRP), which was banned in Germany in 1952 and *Nationaldemokratische Partei* (NDP), which was dissolved by Austrian authorities in 1988.

6.2. The FPÖ Headed by Jörg Haider

Jörg Haider, who took over the party leadership in 1986, sought changing the FPÖ's internal structure. Firstly, he distanced liberals from the FPÖ and succeeded in bringing right wings and nationalist into party's significant positions. Before that period, the FPÖ was characterised as a party, which was standing for 'economic liberalism' and 'pro-German nationalism'.⁸³ Furthermore, Haider decided to broaden party spectrum rather than focusing on small parts of Austrian society, which led the FPÖ to become a mass party. In late 1980s and early 1990s FPÖ gained significant number of supporters (e.g. worker basis from conservatives and the SPÖ and than middle class of the society). The FPÖ had formed new basis and spoke out a large number of society especially young Austrians, and people with less educational background. In these years, the FPÖ profited from dissatisfaction of Austrians with political establishment in Austria. The FPÖ wanted to be accepted as a modern movement that prioritise direct democracy and political competition. These motives were of significant interest in the elections 1990, 1994, 1995 and 1999, before the rise of the 'migrant issue'. During Haider presidency, the FPÖ evolved as a nationalist homeland party, which was standing for Austrian interests.

⁸² Dachs, Herbert, (e.g.) (2006), *Politik in Österreich*, Vienna, Vienna University Press, 365

⁸³ Aichholzer, Julian/Kritzinger, Sylvia/Wagner, Markus/Zeglovits, Eva (2014): How has Radical Right Support Transformed Established Political Conflicts? *The Case of Austria*, *West European Politics*, 37:1, 113-137

Another existential problem the FPÖ faced under the leadership of Jörg Haider was the struggle to form a coalition government with the ÖVP that raised scepticism over FPÖ's policies. Despite the calls to Austrian politicians to avoid right wing extremism in the country, both ÖVP and FPÖ decided to form a coalition government in February 2000. Former Austrian ambassador to London and senior diplomat of Austria for relations with the European Union described this development as "the greatest crisis the country has experienced since 1945".⁸⁴ Because, the EU and other western countries sent Austria stark warnings, which threatened to isolate the country if the FPÖ remains in the coalition government.

This crisis led to a transformation and paradigm change in the party. Interestingly, during this transition period, there was a substantial undertaking towards anti-Muslim rhetoric and remarks by far-right officials.

6.3. Entrance of the Far-right Party into the Austrian Government

In that period two events played a particular role: sanctions of the EU against Austria and Haider's previous statements legitimising Hitler's Nazi regime. In the first phase, Jörg Haider aimed to reshape party's image as a new, innovative changing political power that is challenging inactivity of the old system parties by presenting himself young and dynamic figure. He underlined in the campaigns Austrians' dissatisfaction with mainstream political parties, lack political moral, wasting of tax money. In so doing, FPÖ's chef Haider aimed to mobilise Austrian society for his party. On the other hand, he was referring to structural problems in sensible matters like fight against corruption and criminality, immigration problems as well as preventing of wasting of public sources.⁸⁵ He was serving as *Landeshauptmann* (governor) of Carinthia, when the FPÖ formed a coalition government with the ÖVP by replacing Social Democrats in the coalition government. The FPÖ was represented with eight ministers in the government. Interestingly, for the first time since the end of WW II a far-right party became a part of the government in Western Europe that resulted in an isolation of Austria from global politics.

In regard to forthcoming coalition with far-right party, a spokesperson for French President Jacques Chirac said: "we must take concrete action if this happens"⁸⁶ Then, the EU

⁸⁴ Tschofen, Frank (2012): VdU, FPÖ, LIF, BZÖ: Die vielen Gesichter des Dritten Lagers, Parteigründungen und Parteiabspaltungen im Dritten Lager seit 1945, Master's Thesis, Vienna University, Vienna

⁸⁵ Pelinka, Anton/Plasser, Fritz. (1988): Compared to What? Das österreichische Parteiensystem im internationalen Vergleich, In: Pelinka, A/Plasser, F.(Publ): Das österreichische Parteiensystem, Vienna, 17-34

⁸⁶ Fairlamb, David (2000): Austria: Is the European Union Fanning Right-Wing Flames? International Outlook, Business Week, February 2000, p.66

announced that “its members would bring to an end all contacts with any government, in which Freedom Party is a part of the government reminding ‘Europe must make sure that all its members share its common ideals’.”⁸⁷ As a result of this coalition, Austria faced an international isolation. For instance, “the European Union moved to suspend Austria’s membership. Israel and the United States recalled their ambassadors. Canada’s foreign minister, ‘soft power’ advocate Lloyd Axworthy, declared softly that Austria is ‘on probation.’ Economic, cultural and tourism boycotts have begun.”⁸⁸ During that period, fourteen members of the EU suspended their cooperation with Austria in a common accord.

FPÖ’s participation in the coalition government in 2000 was the starting point of internal party conflicts, which resulted at the end in the creation of BZÖ. Following the parliamentary election in October 2017, the FPÖ became a part in governing coalition in Austria. However, this time the both national and international reaction towards far right coalition government has been considerably low. Instead, just a few social groups and activists showed their displeasure towards the governing coalition in Austria.

It is also interesting that former leader of the FPÖ Jörg Haider was in favour of Turkey’s accession to the EU and he supported Turkey’s EU membership in Austrian politics strongly. However, referendum on the EU constitution (Lisbon Treaty) was the turning point for Haider’s course towards Turkey’s accession to the bloc. After EU-Constitution had been rejected in referendum by France and the Netherlands, FPÖ’s chief Haider changed his view on Turkey’s EU membership bid and began to campaign against accession talks with Turkey.⁸⁹ Indeed, scepticism against the EU and its institutions within the European community has played an essential role in re-orientation of Haider’s position on Turkey. Following the establishment of BZÖ, the FPÖ had begun immediately to bring populist discourses into play with the aim to mobilise its party basis around anti-Muslim and anti-immigration discourses.⁹⁰

In this sense, Vienna local elections were overwhelmingly determined by aggressive campaigns of the FPÖ’s election slogans that pursued anti-foreigner and anti-Muslim remarks in Austria. Furthermore, the FPÖ has begun to associate frequently the raising of criminality within Austrian society with the failed migration policy.

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Grace, Kevin Michael (2000): *Eclectica*, The Report, February 2000, 30-31

⁸⁹ Sabine, Strasser (2008) *Europe’s Other: Nationalism, transnationals and contested Images of Turkey in Austria*, In: *European Societies*, Middle East Technical University, Taylor Francis Publ. 2008, 177-195

⁹⁰ Luther, Kurt R. (2006): *Strategien und (Fehl-)verhalten: Die Freiheitlichen und die Regierungen Schüssel I und II*, In Talos, E/Fink, M. (Publ): *Schwarz-Blau. Eine Bilanz des Neu-Regierens*, Vienna, p.19-37

6.4.Re-Orientation of the FPÖ under HC Strache

It has to be underlined that FPÖ's party congress in 2005 has paved the way for increase of anti-Turkish and islamophobic rhetoric within the party circles, when HC Strache and his team took control of party leadership. HC Strache became the Party leader in this Congress, who has positioned himself against Turkey, Turkish people and Muslims in general. During Haider's leadership, the FPÖ restrained from anti-Turkish remarks. Despite quite peaceful Turkish and Muslim presence in Austria for a long time, right-wing Populist Party switched, in particular with the takeover of Strache, to anti Turkish and Muslim discourse. FPÖ started use similar discourses of other far-right Populist parties in Europe that is referring to incompatibility of Islam with democracy, culture and human rights. Apparently, HC Strache set to orient party's policy towards young Austrians. In order to do that, far right populist leader pointed out to so-called islamisation of Austria by attacking Turkish community in Austria. This policy was more aggressive in the party's election slogans and campaigns. Catchy slogans like 'Vienna must not become Istanbul' were put up in the streets of Vienna.

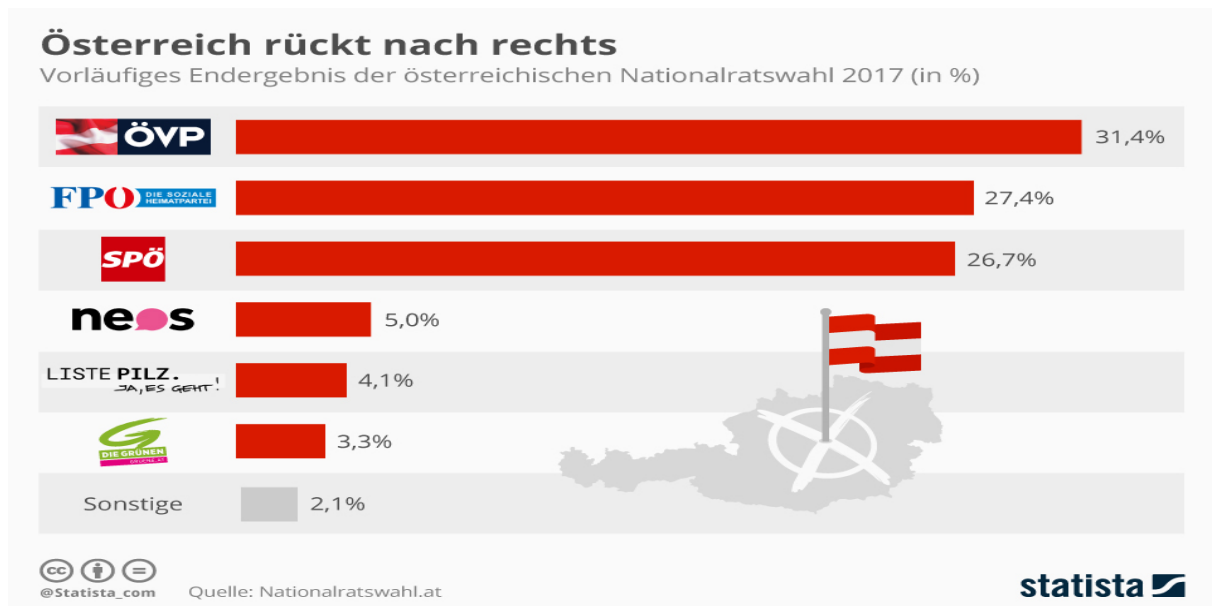
6.4.1. New Friend and Enemy Rhetoric

Similarly to all far right populist movements, the FPÖ makes use of accusatory remarks towards foreigners and refugees in the country. This ideas has been spread by fearmongering such as migrants will take your jobs, Muslims threaten your culture and internal security, and Islam is limiting your ability to speak openly.

As a matter of fact, Austria experienced a paradigm shift in recent years, what became also apparent in the party rhetoric in a clear way. This situation can be interpreted as a paradigm change towards far right populism in all European countries, where other mainstream political parties, whether they show conservative or social character, are designing their policies in accordance with far right populist discourse.⁹¹ On the other hand, this growing hostility towards foreigners and Turkish minority group in Austria could be considered as an existential threat to multi-cultural and ethnical basis of European civilization. It also will have substantial influence on European politics as the voters began to shift to far-right populist ideology. For instance, the far-right Freedom Party has continued an anti Turkish and islamophobic discourse in its Party programme in order to portrey them as violent, barbaric and intolerant in European countries. In doing so, they earned considerable support in Austria. The below figure illustrates Austria's shift toward right in recent elections.

⁹¹ Bayraklı, Enes (2017): Batı Siyaseti Sağa Kayıyor, <http://www.setav.org/bati-siyaseti-saga-kayiyor/> (accessed 10.03.2018)

Figure: 2. Austria Shifts to Right



Source: Statista⁹²

Through considering the current situation, it would be optimistic to assume that Austria could manage to minimize far right populism threat. Because, “As recently as a couple years ago, it was a taboo in Austria to support FPÖ publically or to say ‘I voted for FPÖ’.”⁹³ Nowadays, this taboo became normality in Austria, which basically harms liberal values of the country.. The FPÖ put into practice a set of regulations which impose restrictions on immigrants and foreigners in Austria. Far right populist HC Strache announced his satisfaction after the discussions about the law banning headscarves and veils in Austrian schools started:

“Another election campaign promise of freedoms will be put into practice soon.”⁹⁴

During the election campaign, banning of headscarves in Austrian public schools and veiling in public spheres was one of the prominent promises of the FPÖ to bring into effect immediately following the elections. Furthermore, it would be said that far right Freedom Party started a direct threat to the existence of Muslim and Turkish minority groups by limiting their substantial rights in Austria.

⁹² Statista (2017): <https://de.statista.com/infografik/11486/ergebnis-nationalratswahl-in-oesterreich/> (accessed 21.01.2018)

⁹³ Shuster, Simon (2016): European Politics Are Swinging to the Right, <http://time.com/4504010/europe-politics-swing-right/> (last access 13.04.2018)

⁹⁴ FPÖ (2018): Kopftuchverbot im Kindesalter: FPÖ-Wahlversprechen wird umgesetzt, <https://www.fpoe.at/artikel/kopftuchverbot-im-kindesalter-fpoe-wahlversprechen-wird-umgesetzt/> (accessed 12.01.2018)

7. Islamophobia and anti-Turkish Discourse as Central Party Program

7.1 Anti-Turkish Discourse in the FPÖ's Party Program

Anti-liberal movements are shaping the European politics in recent years due to increasing populism. Apparently, there is a trend towards discrimination of Muslims in many Western countries. Viewing from a general perspective, anti-Muslim rhetoric has grown across the globe. Austria's far right party seems to be an important actor to spread anti-Muslim rhetoric all across the Europe. As a concret example, the chairman of the Austrian far right called for a ban on wearing of all Islamic symbols in Austrian schools and demended a constitution change to limit religious practices of Muslim community like ban of burqa and headscarve, closing of Turkish mosques, extradition of imams in Austria. It is a fact that by pursuing an islamophobic discourse FPÖ increased its votes nearly by 10 percent in last ten years.

Meanwhile, far right populist HC Strache is appealing to other European leaders not to get further diplomatic ties with Turkey. On the other hand, far right populist leader rejects also calling Turkey as a key partner by EU leaders. Instead, he defined cooperation with Turkey as 'dictatorial keypartner.'⁹⁵ It is interesting that FPÖ's chef criticises the EU leaders because of cooperating and accomplishing deals with Turkey. It is clear that chairman of the FPÖ considers Turkey as an existential threat to the EU.

Indeed, Turkey's EU membership bid has been a target of FPÖ for decades. In his parliamentary speech in 2014 far right party's leader claimed that Turkey is not a part of the EU because of historical, geographical and cultural traditions.⁹⁶ Referring to Turkish diaspora in Austria and Turkish ambassador's involvement in specific issues, he said further that "Austria is not the colony of Turkey." Therefore, it has no right, according to far right leader, to involve in "backing Turkish community in Austria."⁹⁷ This statement shows Strache's presupposition towards Turkey and Turkish community in Austria. In his speech, Strache made use of some elements of discursive tactics to influence Austrian nationalists to attract them to his party as well as to raise sensibility for Austrian interests. HC Strache emphasised in his speech, among other things, following themes, which are directly relating to populist narratives: our nation, internal regulations, headscarve/veil, Turkey's EU membership, Austrian nationals and migration influx.

⁹⁵ FPÖ (2017): Brüssels Wahl: Hart gegenüber den Briten, aber Knieweich zu Erdogan, <https://www.fpo.e.at/artikel/bruessels-wahl-hart-gegenueber-den-briten-aber-knieweich-zu-erdogan/> (accessed 20.11.2017)

⁹⁶ OTS (2010): FPÖ: Strache fordert Abbruch der EU-Beitrittsverhandlungen mit der Türkei, <https://www.ots.at/presseaussendung/OTS0143/fpoe-strache-fordert-abbruch-der-eu-beitrittsverhandlungen-mit-der-tuerkei> (accessed 19.04.2018)

⁹⁷ Ibid

Far right Freedom Party wanted to describe itself a unique political party of Austria that stands for national interests and values. Through emphasising anti-Turkish discourse, the far right Freedom Party is earning more popularity in Austria. The FPÖ is one of the most popular and successful far right parties of Europe regarding to election results and party members. In regard to internal and external troubles of the EU and migration crisis in 2015, it was not a surprise that FPÖ takes third place after both conservatives and socialists. The party had increased its popularity through using actual problems and focusing on the topics, like immigration, anti Turkish and islamophobic discourse.

Through looking at the party's history, we can clearly see how former party officials focused on anti-Semitic discourse and targeted Jewish community in Austria. As a result of this discourse, far right was isolated in Austria. Interestingly, same ideological discourse is being used today against Turkish and Muslim community.

During the election campaigns in October 2005, the FPÖ made use of ideological statements and advertisements to attack Turkish community in Austria. Anti-Turkish and islamophobic slogans, such as *Freie Frauen statt Kopftuchzwang* (Free woman instead of enforced veiling), 'Pummerin statt Muezzin' giving priority to Christian church against Islam and stressing the priority of the Occidental culture, became apparent all around the Austria's capital Vienna.

Another example targeting Muslim and Turkish community is the election slogan provided by the FPÖ during the parliamentary elections in 2010 '*wir schützen freie Frauen*' (We Defend Free Women) in regard to Turkish and Muslim women wearing headscarves or veils. As a consequence of hate campaign headed by the FPÖ and other mainstream parties in year 2017 256 islamophobic cases in Austria are reported, in which Turkish people and Muslims are victimised by racist and far-right attacks.⁹⁸ Recently, these hate crimes committed by far right populists are showing a growing tendency across the European countries and most of the racist acts against Muslim communities remain uncovered and undetected in most cases.

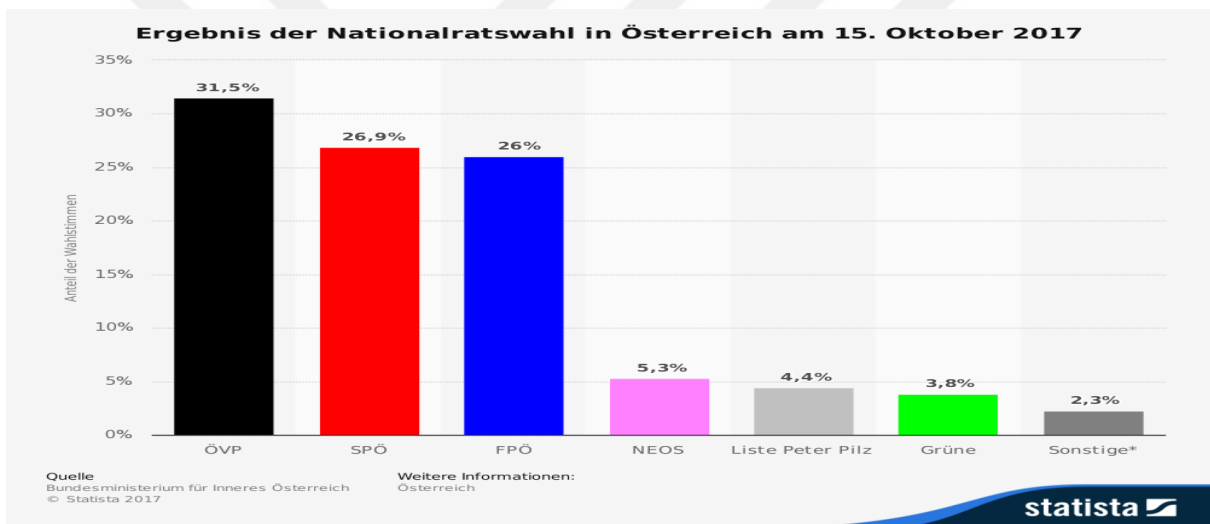
The below graphic illustrates last parliamentary election result, in which the FPÖ is located as almost second dominant party at same height with the SPÖ. This election result proves that populism will endanger the presence of socialist party in Austria in a near future. Turkey, a candidate state for the EU, is being depicted as a country in the midst of islamisation process. Members of the FPÖ are arguing that if Turkey becomes a member of

⁹⁸ Bayraklı, Enes/Hafez, Farid (2018): European Islamophobia Report, <http://www.setav.org/infografik-sayilarla-avrupada-islamofobi/>

the EU, the bloc and Austria will confront with substantial troubles, such as cost explosion, mass immigration, and influx of Islamists to the EU. This threat is mostly going with islamisation of Austria and Europe. This way the FPÖ has continued to keep alive old anti-Muslim image and Turkish streotyp.

In parallel to this discourse, Austria’s far-right leader HC Strache made an interesting statement in a party congress in May 2006, where he claimed to “dress his battle uniform in case of a new-Turkish siege to Vienna.”⁹⁹ This statement indicates to general presupposition towards Turkey and Turkish community in Austria by defining peaceful presence of Turkish people in Austria as a permanent risk for the country. In following figure, we can see parliamentary election results in Austria held on October 2017.

Figure: 3. Results of Legislative Election in Austria on 15 October 2017



Source: Statista¹⁰⁰

Following the legislative election on 15 October 2017, far right Freedom Party and Austrian People’s Party (ÖVP) agreed to for a coalition government, where the FPÖ became junior partner in governing coalition. The coalition government of the conservative People’s Party and far right populist Freedom Party took office in December 2017.

The newly-formed coalition announced its position towards Turkey in advance. So, it is interesting that their 180 pages coalition pact included a clear common point about a Turkish membership to the EU: “in no way approval to Turkey’s EU membership.”¹⁰¹ This

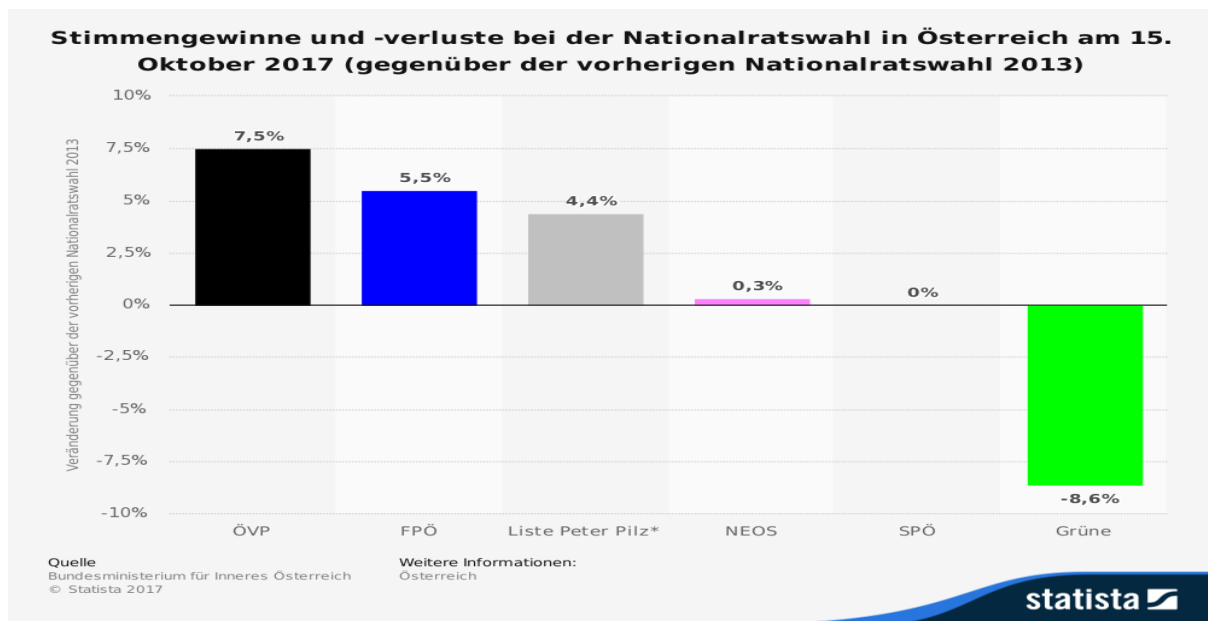
⁹⁹ Schiedel, Heribert (2011): *Extreme Rechte in Europa*, Steinbauer Verlag, Vienna, p.50-56

¹⁰⁰ Statista (2017): <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/761326/umfrage/ergebnis-der-nationalratswahl-in-oesterreich/> (accessed 10.03.2018)

¹⁰¹ Welt (2017): *Österreichs Pläne setzen die Freundschaft zur Türkei auf Spiel* <https://www.welt.de/politik/ausland/article171671993/Oesterreichs-Plaene-setzen-die-Freundschaft-zur-Tuerkei-auf-Spiel.html> (accessed 17.01.2018)

continuing anti-Turkey discourse of centre and far right parties seems likely to jeopardise bilateral relations between both states further and it will damage Turkey’s EU membership process. It is obvious that the far right party continues in Austria to get unprecedented supports in polls and elections despite many criticisms regarding to racial, xenophobic and anti-liberal approaches. The last parliamentary election has showed this growing populist trend in Europe in a clear way.

Figure: 4. In- and Decrease of Austrian Parties Compared to Previous Parliamentary Election



Source: Statista¹⁰²

The above figure shows us the increasing popularity of Austria’s far right party. According to public opinion, the party secured second place following the Austrian People’s Party. It’s very interesting that both parties are well known with their eminent anti-Turkish and islamophobic rhetoric. They are seeking to attract majority of Austrian people by characterising Turks and Muslims as others or an enemy of Austria.

It is also interesting that the Green Party has steadily lost its popularity among Austrians. What is more interesting is the fact that a substantial amount of votes of Green Party went to far right Freedom party. The FPÖ had carried a number of advertisings campaigns during the elections. In these election campaigns, Turkey was specifically targeted to attract national, radical or racist circles in Austria. According to the FPÖ, Islamism has gained tremendous popularity, when the AK Party came to power in Turkey. By doing so, the

¹⁰² Statista (2017) <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/761353/umfrage/gewinne-und-verluste-bei-der-nationalratswahl-in-oesterreich/> (accessed 12.03.2018)

FPÖ tries to define Muslims and Turkish people as misogynistic, anti-liberal and as fascist in some level. Therefore, according to HC Strache, Austria and Europe should "quickly put an end to this policy of Islamisation (...) otherwise we Austrians, we Europeans will come to an abrupt end."¹⁰³ Such discriminative statements by far right leader are simply racist messages and warning that targets minority groups within Austrian society.

7.2.FPÖ's Stance toward Islam in Austria

The negative stance of the FPÖ towards Islam based on a long history that was driven by a strong animosity and prejudice against Muslim community in Austria. Historically, rapid and substantial expansion of Islam in 7th century across the Mediterranean region had been considered as real threat for Christian Europe. In that sense, Edward Said noted: "Not for nothing did Islam come to symbolize terror, devastation, and the demonic hordes of hated barbarians. For Europe, Islam was a lasting trauma."¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, people from this region has been characterised as Muslim regardless to other identity remarks. Although Islamic culture influenced Christian Europe from the medieval times and contributed to its development significantly, Muslims have been seen as "enemy at the border."¹⁰⁵ In the light of this prejudice and animosity, the Austria's far-right party has positioned itself against people, who originally came from Oriental tradition.

The FPÖ is cultivating anti Muslim campaigns across the Europe and demanding restrictions towards Muslims in Austria like banning face veil for Muslim women and suspending of immigration from Muslim countries generally. Austria has legally recognised Islamic religion in 1912. Following the increasing Muslim presence in Austria, Islamic Council in Austria has been established, which regulates religious activities and Islamic issues in Austria.¹⁰⁶ As it has been explained, Austria's far-right party has combined its anti-Turkish rhetoric somehow with anti-Muslim campaigns. In a press conference, the FPÖ's Chairman HC Strache criticised Muslims and ruled out Turkey's EU membership as a Muslim country by using the following argument:

¹⁰³ Amanda, Erickson (2017): Austria's far-right party wants to 'ban' Islam, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2017/01/14/austrias-far-right-party-wants-to-ban-islam/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.87cd3212364f (last access 11.04.2018)

¹⁰⁴Said, Edward (2003), *Orientalism*, London, Said, Edward (2003), *Orientalism*, London; cited in Raho, Anthony Benedict: *Kulturkampf statt AusländerInnenthema?* Diplomarbeit, Vienna University, Vienna

¹⁰⁵ Hourani, Albert (1994): *Der Islam im europäischen Denken*, Frankfurt am Main, 17.

¹⁰⁶ Hafez, Farid (2016): *Islamophobia in Austria: National Report 2015*, In: Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez, *European Islamophobia Report 2015*, İstanbul, SETA, 2016.

“Political Islam is the fascism of today, and that is what we have to fight.”¹⁰⁷

According to him, Islam is to be seen as today’s fascism and therefore, it is legitimate and reasonable to fight against Islam and discriminate Muslims. These discriminatory discourse of far right party finds acceptance in Austria. Furthermore, it appears that far right party has normalised this anti-Muslim discourse within the Austrian society to legitimise its acts against Muslim community. In parallel to that, Austria’s far right Freedom Party is getting more support through stressing anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim discourse, such as closing European borders to Muslim migrants, immediate stop of Turkey’s accession talks with the EU, closing Islamic schools in Austria and limiting Muslim woman veils. These examples have been growing in today’s Austria thanks to FPÖ’s increase in votes. Populist movement strengthened its rhetoric toward Muslims when Syrian civil war broke out and a huge number of asylum seekers sought to cross the European borders in 2015. Amid this troubles, Austria’s far right party demanded closing the European borders for migrants, closing Islamic schools in Europe and banning Muslim woman from wearing headscarves.

Apparently, the FPÖ considers Islam as a religion, which is incompatible with Western values, tradition and culture. In their last claim, the far right politicians referred to a study published by Donau University Krems that was funded by the FPÖ. General Secretary of the FPÖ Herbert Kickl meant that the results of the study is alarming for Europe. Because, allegedly more than half of Muslim interviewers declared their pleasure with patriarchalism, honour killing, and anti-Semitism.¹⁰⁸ On the other hand, the report considers Muslim tradition out-dated and incompatible with Western culture and tradition. Furthermore, Kickl, in reference to the report, criticised the EU’s decision to take Muslim refugees into the EU, which, according to him, is an existential mistake for the EU. Kickl claimed that Jewish people has begun to move out of France because of failed migration policy and if Austrian government continues ongoing immigrant policy, same situation will be the case in Austria soon. However the FPÖ itself had been the strongest anti Semitic party in Europe during Haider’s party leadership, and many party members have been expelled or suspended because of anti-Semitic remarks over the years.

¹⁰⁷Shuster, Simon (2016): European Politics Are Swinging to the Right, <http://time.com/4504010/europe-politics-swing-right/> (accessed 13.04.2018)

¹⁰⁸ FPÖ (2017): Neue Islam-Studie malt düsteres Bild für Europa, <https://www.fpoe.at/suche/?id=501&L=0&q=donau+krems> (accessed 10.01.2018)

For example, FPÖ's General Secretar said that the EU made a significant mistake by offering Muslim refugees open door policy. In doing so, the European values and interests are endangered by European leaders. As a concrete example, he offers move of Jewish population out of France to re-emigrate to Israel as a result of compelling living standards. By the way, he sees future of multi-cultural society in Austria in danger due to increasing Muslim emigration which he sees as a result of EU's open door policy. In fact, the FPÖ was seeking to establish an enemy image in Austria towards Turkish and Muslim community for years that legitimated racist attacks and discriminations against minority groups. In order to practise this policy in a successful way, they made use of sets of slogans during the election campaigns over the years, in which Islam, Muslims, Turks and immigrants are targeted systematically.

The FPÖ's election placates and slogans published across Austria before and during the parliamentary elections 2006 shows us how Austria's far right party tries to put pressure on other mainstream parties in Austria. For instance, far right populist HC Strache systematically attack his political rival Michael Häupl with baseless accusations by describing him as major supporter of immigration from Islamic countries, while he was showing himself as patriotic and defender of national interest and Austrian people. Accordingly, the FPÖ has labeled migrants and foreigners, who lives in Austria for years, with negative remarks like major cause of unemployment rates, increasing crimes in the country and substantial decline in Social welfare of Austrian people.

For many years, Turkish people and Muslim community are enduring systemic abusive and offensive statements of the FPÖ officers that disrupt wellbeing of Turkish people. For example, FPÖ's local candidate Susanne Winter triggered anger in a election campaign, when she attacked cultural and traditional values of Turkish and Muslim people. In her speech, she meant that Prophet Mohammed should be considered as a 'child abuser' from a present-day perspective.¹⁰⁹ Tragically, this discourse of far right politician was welcomed by FPÖ officials. In fact, FPÖ politicians are making use of this discourse in order to trigger an anger among Muslim community in Austria. These racist remarks became a permanent attack on Muslims by FPÖ politicians.

On the other hand, in the depiction of FPÖ, which has been used during the election campaigns in Austria, chairman of the FPÖ HC Strache has been characterised as guardian of Vienna with the symbol of Stephansdom church, while his counterpart Michael Häupl from the SPÖ was depicted as supporter of migrants in Austria. By imposing negative image to

¹⁰⁹ Die Presse (2011): Susanne Winter Urteil wegen Verhetzung Bestaetigt, http://diepresse.com/home/politik/innenpolitik/488095/Susanne-Winter_Urteil-wegen-Verhetzung-bestaetigt (accessed 30.11.2017)

SPÖ's candidate, FPÖ's Strache tried to diminish the popularity of his political rival Häupl in the eyes of Austrian people. The FPÖ is rejecting Islamic tradition or practice in the country by giving the pretext such as historical, traditional and cultural contrast between West and East, 'Us' and 'Them'.

Viewed from a general perspective, far right party has been an important player in rejection of taking immigrant and refugees into country. However, this anti-Muslim and anti-Turkish discourse of the FPÖ will continue, unless the party finds acceptance in the Austrian community. It has been showed that the FPÖ built up an enemy image in Austria through making use of racist campaigns and slogans during and before the elections in Austria. Another discursive strategy they sought to trigger national vulnerability of Austrian people is its endeavour to distance Turkish and Muslim community from national and cultural values.

7.3. Islamophobia in the FPÖ's Party Program

Many scholars characterises the FPÖ as islamophobic party that campaigns against Muslim community not only in Austria, but also everywhere in Europe. In contrast to other far right movements, Austria's far right did not begin islamophobic campaign following the terrorist attacks on World Trade Center in USA. Instead, they dedicated themselves to islamophobic campaign following the terrorist attacks in Madrid and after the killing of an islamophobic Dutch film producer Theo van Gogh by a radical Islamist in 2004.¹¹⁰ Ongoing violence and attacks of IS terrorists committed across the Europe in recent years played also in the hands of FPÖ to extend hate campaign against Muslim community.

The FPÖ's main appeals are evolving around foreign domination and Islamisation threat of Austria. In this case, far right officers tried to depict Islam, and then Muslims, as antithesis of the Europe or European values and culture. In doing so, Muslims in his country are considered as an enemy and they were subject to systemic discrimination. The illustration of islamophobia can be simply combined with FPÖ's anti-Muslim rhetoric in which they are targeting Muslim minority groups, especially the Turkish community.

This successful policy enabled the FPÖ to become a part in governing coalition in Austria. In 2008, a resolution to ban Islamic minarets in different provinces of Austria has been adopted with FPÖ's initiative, which was copied from Swiss far right Party's initiative.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Schiedel, Heribert (2011): *Extreme Rechte in Europa*, Steinbauer Verlag, Vienna, 50-56

¹¹¹ Hafez, Farid (2016): *Islamophobia in Austria: National Report 2015*, In: Enes Bayrakli/Farid Hafez, *European Islamophobia Report 2015*, Istanbul, SETA

On the other hand, anti-Muslim rhetoric in Austria serves as a good example to understand how different circles in the country make a profit from islamophobic discourses and racist remarks over the years. For instance, academic studies and reports dealing with the situation of Muslim community and Islamic institutions have grown rapidly in recent years. In a report prepared by Austrian theologian Ednan Aslan with financial support of Austrian Integration and Foreign Ministry, Islamic kindergarten and institutions have been depicted negatively in order to put the legitimacy of these Islamic institutions in Austria in question.¹¹² Then, an Austrian magazine *Falter* has revealed that the report has been changed by high-ranking officers of ministry to depict Islamic kindergarten and institutions as dangerous places in which kids are radicalised and as part of a parallel in Austria.¹¹³

In the light of these occurrences, it can be stressed that anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim discourse of the FPÖ is going hand in hand with other mainstream political parties in Austria. Apparently, anti-Turkish rhetoric has been run in conjunction with basic terms like Islam, minority and human rights, criminality, immigration as well as nation and Austrian identity. Hereby, the FPÖ is struggling to profit from controversial issues like ‘Western values and culture’ or ‘we against you’. These ideological discourses and strategies of the FPÖ have been analysed in following part of the thesis in detail.

¹¹² Ichner, Bernhard (2016): Kindergärten im Visier der Behörde, <https://kurier.at/chronik/wien/kindergaerten-im-visier-der-behoerde/> (accessed 16.04.2018)

¹¹³ Bayraklı, Enes (2017): Bozacının Şahidi Şıracı, <http://www.setav.org/bozacinin-sahidi-siraci-sebastian-kurz-ve-ednan-aslan/> (accessed 15.03.2018)

8. Critical Discourse Analysis

Norman Fairclough's three way discussion model has been applied to the posts, publications and speeches of the FPÖ which have been generally derived from the official homepage of Austria's far right Populist Party. These postings, speeches and statements given by FPÖ officials, have been analysed through various models of CDA. In collecting FPÖ's ideological statements and speeches, one could get the implication that they are targeting in the first line their political enemy, Turkey, Turks and the Muslim community in Austria. On the other hand, they are also targeting ruling AK Party government, opposition parties in Turkey and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan through using discursive strategies. Though, in some parts of publications, they have made their anti-Turkey discourse visible in a clear way, in various official publications of the FPÖ, they preferred to use indirect or hidden discourse to attack Turkey and Turkish community. In following, you may find results and discussions of the research that composed of official statements, interviews and public speeches of FPÖ politicians. Following results and statements have been collected from different speeches and publications of the far right party, and have been carefully analysed by using CDA models of Fairclough and Van Dijk.

8.1. Description

Regarding to description part following results has been found out and then researched in detail in order to analyse FPÖ's anti-Turkish discourse by revealing hidden ideological messages and power relations of far rights. These statements have been used to target and attack the out-group members in and out of Austria, namely Turkey, Turkish people and Muslim minorities in particular.

8.1.1. Deixis

It is obvious that there are frequent mentions of the third person plural pronoun 'they', the second person plural pronoun 'you', the proximal demonstratives 'this', and these, the adverb recently, and as verbs the present, present perfect, the simple past tense. All of these grammatical figures indicate to polarisation, antagonism and hostility toward ideological distanced groups what they characterise as out-group in Austrian society. Through using the personal pronouns like 'they' and 'you', they are seeking to delegitimise or demonize others' activities in the society, who is being considered as an enemy or a direct threat to their ideals. They are seeking to distance themselves from Turkish community in regard to domestic culture and values. The Turks are, in their opinion, opposing to these elements of Austria. As

a matter of fact, by representing the Turks and Muslims as an other group by using the pronouns like ‘they and you’ or the demonstratives ‘this or these’, far right wing party is aiming to distance others from their ideological circle, which is regarded as enemies in the society according to far right. Turks and Muslims are formulated in terms of their ideology, culture, political orientation as a socio-political entity, a homogeneous group, who are not part of their society, namely ‘Us’. Following statement is a good example to give a basic overview over FPÖ’s discursive tactic to discriminate Turkish minority group from natives.

“We want to maintain and develop the diversity of the European high civilisation on the basis of occidental culture and Christian values.” (FPÖ, 13 February 2016)

“We are living in a Christian and enlightened country with its traditions and values that should be respected by Muslims.” (FPÖ, 10 April 2018)

These statements offer a concret prove on the major policy of the FPÖ to distance itself from other social and cultural groups, Turkish people in particular. They are distancing themselves from out-group members and parties through emphasising cultural and religious diversities. It has been one of the major objectives of the FPÖ to set a barrier against Turkish people to differ itself from minority groups, Turks, in Austria. Such third person usage is well-known discursive tactic provided by far-rights to discriminate out-group members within Austrian society. So, far-right Populist Party has chosen Turkish people to show them as an out-group by using third personal pronoun to dissociate Turkish minority from Austrian and other minority groupings in Austria. It is interesting that the FPÖ considers other minority groups as ‘US’ community whereas they are generally making use of this discursive strategy only on accusation and target of Turks and Muslims.

8.1.2. Nominalisation

In the texts and speeches published on the FPÖ’s website it can be detected major frequency of pronouns such as rapist, terrorist, economic refugees, barbarian, violent or enemy that basically came to use to demoralise, denigrate or put into question the presence of Turkish and Muslim community in Austria. In doing so, they are aiming in first line to legitimise their racist activities and accusations against Turkish minority group in Austria. In another case they spoke of a ‘Trojan horse’ to describe the presence of Turkish people living in Austria. Certainly, the used animal figure ‘Trojan horse’ is a historical character, which is relating to

foreign fighter hidden in the country in order to occupy and destruct it. By depicting Turkish people as hidden fighters in Austria, far right politicians are seeking to demonstrate them as direct threat to Austria's existence and to legalise their enduring discursive attacks on Turkish minority group in Austria. In addition to that, it had been revealed a set of other nominalisation figures used by the FPÖ politicians to affect Austrian people opinion on Turkish community negatively and stereotypically. All of these pronouns are used to degrade and drop the esteem of Turks and Muslim refugees in Austria. On the other hand, there are several fuzzy concepts and words in the analysed publications, which have been used to denigrate and demolish Turkish people living in Austria. I listed following statement, in which all sense of agency is concealed:

“The targeted deal with Turkey (...) historical catastrophe (...)” (FPÖ, 17 March 2016)

8.1.3. Metaphors

It is very obvious that there is a set of metaphors in the texts on FPÖ's official website targeting the out-groups, namely Turks and Muslims. Through analysing of official publications and speeches of the FPÖ, I came across with sets of pronouns, namely metaphors, which could have different meanings like 'trojan horse', 'magnet', 'grandchild of the Ottomans', 'bogus asylum seeker', 'economic migrant', 'moonlighting', 'horse trade', 'sultan', 'panacea', 'Greek gift', 'preparatory minister', 'long Arm of Erdogan', 'Erdogan's Army', 'Turkish kid martyrs'. Obviously, one of the most important metaphors used in the text is the 'Trojan horse' metaphor, which is used to describe the Turks and Muslims in Austria as hidden fighter. They are making use of such metaphors in order to gain on the ground and stabilize their position by stigmatising other group members through using ambivalent discourse and rhetoric. As a matter of fact, they are trying to pave the way for stabilizing their hostility against out-group members, namely Turks.

8.1.4. Adjectives

Through looking deeper in the publications, it is to be revealed that predicative adjectives are used to denigrate the Turkish people as well as attributive adjectives to characterise Turks with negative comments and speeches. These adjectives were presumably used to frighten the Turks and to put their existence in Austria at risk. It seems very interesting that almost all adjectives used in the text are commonly attributive, which are written to underline the things and define their claims as granted. The far right Populist Party is using attributive discourse to

define the others with negative connotations and to lay its enduring claims and hate speeches on a stable condition.

“Maintenance of border controls is completely correct.” (FPÖ, 12 April 2018)

“Islamist statements of İGGÖ is concerning.” (FPÖ, 10 April 2018)

“Turkey is not a European country”... (FPÖ 23 April 2018)

“Terror is the most brutal form of islamisation.” (FPÖ 23 March 2016)

8.1.5. Semantic ambiguity

Semantic ambiguity refers to a structural dilemma within a text that is generally to be found in more than one concept or meaning. In the analysed texts, it has been found out a set of words and concepts, which are especially bound with each other in view of structural design. In my view, by doing so, they are aiming to spread semantic ambiguity when they are speaking of Turks or Muslims in the country. As a concrete example, the use of pronouns like ‘criminal, threat, barbarian, criminality, parallel societies, radical immigrant Islamism, Öxit (Exit of Austria from the EU in case of Turkey’s EU membership), and liberal Muslims.’ This ambiguity in the speeches of far right wing party officials are directed the harassment and polarisation in order to frame and spread anti-Turkish rhetoric. In addition to that, discourse, which has been frequently used, have aggressive and accusatory meanings in particular. This discursive strategy has been provided by the far rights consciously to offer a pretext for their attacks and discrimination against minority groups, the Turks and Muslim in general.

8.1.6. Speech acts

The analysed publications and speeches include a set of words and statements, which are overwhelmingly connected with ideological messages to design public opinion over minority groups. For example, they are intentionally trying to give expressive and declaratory messages to attack Turks and Muslims where their main characters consists of representative and directive speeches. By doing so, they are targeting them through using accusatory directives. Surely, it is a common discursive strategy of far rights to target their enemy, namely Turkey and Turks through using direct messages or statements against existence of Turkish community in Austria. For example, they are trying to establish direct difference by emphasizing ethnical, cultural or religious diversity between Austria and Turkey. In that sense, they show Turkish people as a group that differs from their values and identity, namely in-group versus out-group. In this sense, the FPÖ’s Secretary General Vilimsky claimed

banning of presence of Turkish politicians in Austria due to forthcoming presidential election in Turkey on June 2018. Meanwhile, he said following ideological discourse toward Turkish politicians:

“The Christian occident is a clear message to ongoing accession talks of Turkey with the EU. According to us, the FPÖ, Turkey’s EU accession negotiations should be suspended in an immediate way. (...) Additionally, so-called anti-discrimination rules and similar things are good examples that pave the way for expansion of Islam within the European society. By doing so, Islamisation has been imposed under the pretext of tolerance. We are aware of these substantial threats, and we as Freedom Party is unique party which stands for the interests of Austrian people.” (FPÖ, 23 April 2018)

8.2. Interpretation

Teun A. Van Dijk’s model comes hereby into practice in order to interpret and analyse results derived from the publications of the FPÖ. Because of larger scope of this part of the thesis it has become more important to include all strategies enumerated by Teun van Dijk. These figures are negative lexicalisation, generalisation, compassion move, hyperbole, deixis, apparent altruism move, apparent honesty move, concretisation, alliteration, warning, norm and value violation and presupposition. Most of these strategies have been used in discourse of the FPÖ to attack Turkey and Turkish people.

8.2.1. Negative lexicalisation

As a matter of fact, the main aim of the far right to describe and attack Turkish people with negative images in order to advance their ideology and demonise others’ activities and legal existence in Austria. These acts are consisting of elements like “destroy, traumatize, terrorism, paralyzing fear, inflaming hatred, gangs, murky, poisoned, obsession, extremism etc.”¹¹⁴ As it could be seen, this discursive strategy aims to harm and accuse the out-group/enemy by lexicaling them with negative word selections. In the texts, I found out a set of discursive characters, which can be directly connected on such claims. During election campaigns, Turkey and Turkish population in Austria have been characterised as an enemy of Austria by FPÖ’s high profile officers. We can easily list these statements in following. The Austrian far right Populists referred to this discursive strategy in various statements and speeches in order to set up a public opinion and conscious about Turkey and Turkish community in Austria.

¹¹⁴ Van Dijk, Teun A.: Ideological Discourse Analysis, University of Amsterdam

“The EU-Turkey summit doesn’t bring a historical action plan, but rather a historical catastrophe. The EU mixed migration issue with Turkey’s accession talks to the EU. And so, with visa liberation for Turks, the EU lets bring itself in a long time pressure. (FPÖ, 30 November 2015)

The above illustration of Austria’s far right shows how they seek to spread anti-Turkish bigotry and hate campaign against Turkey and its functioning institutional order. Furthermore, Austria’s far right party criticised the EU because of Turkey summit and characterised it as ‘historical catastrophe’. In doing so, they want to deligitimise upcoming deals between the EU and Turkey. Of course, all of these discursive strategies play an essential role for far rights to depict Turkey and Turkish President negatively and stereotypically.

“In order to save the cultural identity of European people, stand up AGAINST mass immigration, Islamisation, Turkey’s EU accession, a multi-cultural society in Europe. (...) This mass immigration policy will lead to an increase of criminality in Austria.» (FPÖ, 01. May 2017)

As it can be clearly seen in the above statement, the FPÖ is seeking to label migrants and Turkish community as criminals and as a major cause of increase in criminal cases in Austria. By ignoring Turkish community’s peaceful existence in Austria for decades, they struggle to stigmatise and demonize their existence in Austria under the pretext of increasing criminality. The FPÖ tries to show the existence of Turkish population as unique cause for increasing criminality in the country. In doing so, they are aiming in the first line to normalise anti-Turkey discourse to target them further and to marginalise their legitimacy in Austria.

“The FPÖ will bring more proposals in view of Turkey to the European institutions and the Austrian parliament that include immediate stop of all financial contributions and aid programs to Turkey.” (FPÖ, 14 March 2018)

Through above remark they are announcing their enduring fight against Turkey as they intended to bring proposals to suspend financial aid given to Turkey in order to make the country integrable for eventual Membership to the EU. These financial aid programs have been offered to all candidate countries to the EU with the aim to integrate them to the EU.

Nowadays, the FPÖ has targeted this financial aids as a result of anti-Turkish position of the party.

“Had Erdoğan nominated himself personally for sultan, that means that EU membership for Turkey is already over and the EU understands that Turkey is not more an ally of the EU.” (FPÖ, 25 April 2017)

In the above illustration we can see another discursive strategy and tactic of the FPÖ that are used to bring anti-Turkish rhetoric to a high level. In that remarks, they are targeting Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan by depicting him as ‘Sultan,’ which invokes the conflicts between Ottoman Empire and Ausrian Empire.

“The FPÖ spoke out and will always speak out against Turkey’s accession to the EU in contrast to the SPÖ and ÖVP, we will not change our policies.” (FPÖ, 27. July 2017)

The context is clear: the FPÖ reject and will always reject Turkey’s membership to the EU. According to them, other mainstream Austrian parties are in favour of Turkey’s membership. However, the fact is to depict these parties as those, who disrespect Austrian interests.

“Unfortunately, there are 400.000 Muslims in Austria and half of them is turning to Islamic fundamentalism. Many Austrians perceive this situation as a Turkish problem.” (Presse, 11.09.2008)

The above illustration indicates to a press interview of Strache, in which he described Turkish culture and values as unacceptable in Austria. In this interview he also said that Islam does not has cultural legitimacy in Europe. Interestingly, far right leader shows the existence of Turkish people as leading factor for increasing fundamentalism. In doing so, far-right populist leader HC Strache seeks to delegitimise and ban the religious activity of Turkish people and Muslims in Austria.

8.2.2. Hyperbole

This strategy occurs when a speaker or author describes an event in an exaggerated manner to cause widespread bias and miscalculation against out-group members.

“If the government is not ready to recognise Armenian genocide committed by the Turks. Then, the parliament has to meddle in and organise a minute of silence. (...) The government closes the eyes to Turkish genocide on Armenian people.” (FPÖ, 16 April 2015)

As it can be clearly seen in the above the passage, the far right leader HC Strache accuse the Austrian government in view of historical disputes between Armania and Turkey. Far right leader holds Turkey responsible for a controversial historical issue in advance. Obviously, it is main figure of the FPÖ to characterise its enemies Turks/Muslims with negative elements and Armanian issue was of particular importance in this sense.

“The EU destroys itself now by taking a Trojan horse into the European Union.” (FPÖ, 30 November 2015)

The term ‘Trojan horse’ is indicating to historical event, in which the soldiers of an enemy were secretly infiltrated, a castle to destroy the country. Through comparing Turkey with this event, they try to conceptualize their claim and to legitimate their demands towards the Austrian government in the view of Turkey. According to them, Turks in Austria are to be understood as threat to Austrian values by defining them as Trojan horse, namely as foes of Austria. In doing so, the FPÖ tries to stop visa liberalization agreement between the EU and Turkey in order to keep Turkish people out entering in Austria and Europe. Because, the Turks are, as an out-group, a historical enemy of Austria.

“333. Anniversary of Vienna Siege: The FPÖ celebrated the end of Turkish siege. It was 333 years ago when the Ottomans were beaten and expelled from the doors of Vienna. Then, Vienna has been saved by the troops of Holy Roman Empire, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Republic of Venice and Papal state.” (FPÖ, 13 September 2016)

In this statement a historical event was depicted as major threat to the basis of the occident as it was a war/conflict between two states. Although same conflicts were accepted as usual in that time, by doing so the far rights are directly targeting Turkish people.

“The negotiations with Turkey are a shame for Europe. Visa-facilitation, billions aid programs, and facilitated accession talks would be political suicide. (...) Turkey deal ... admission of failure of the European Union.” (FPÖ, 09 March 2016)

Above illustration puts also in sight that the FPÖ seeks to criticise the refugee agreement between the EU and Turkey that is according to him, a political suicide for Europe. Because the EU accomplished the deal with an enemy, namely Turkey.

8.2.3. Compassion move

Compassion move is another discursive strategy used by the far right Populist Party to denigrate the out-group/enemy, namely Turkish people. This strategy is mainly based on the social vulnerability in order to enhance the sensibility in regard to acts of the others, caused by out-group actions. The Austrian extremists have made use of this tactic in some publications and speeches. In doing so, they are seeking to establish a victim profile in Austrian population regardless their exact acts. Austrian right-wing Populist Party is making use of this discursive strategy in order to depict Austrian people endangered as a result of others or out-group activities.

“The immigrants are taking our jobs away. More than 400.000 Austrians are actually unemployed and it increases monthly.” (FPÖ, 18 December 2014)

The above illustration shows a basic complaint or idea of Populist Party, which is bound up with a social weakness of society. Austria’s far right party claimed that the foreigners and immigrants, among them the Turks, are major reason for increase in unemployment in Austria. By doing so, they want to put into question the existence of migrants, such as Turkish community and other minority group.

“The start of EU’s visa-liberalisation process for Turkey is a black day for the Europe. Turkey’s visa liberation will lead the EU to an avalanche of problems.” (FPÖ, 04 May 2016)

The illustration of the agreement between the EU and Turkey as disadvantage is a general aim of the FPÖ in order to legalise itself on its claims. Obviously, Turkey have been criticised because of benefiting from this deal more compared to the European side. Furthermore, the deal, in their opinion, will cause substantial problems for the EU.

“Monitor rough Erdogan-Turks in Vienna: After the illegal organised demonstration at the weekend at which thousand Erdoğan supporters went through Vienna and devastated the

Kurdish institutions has showed the fact that their presence in Austria has to be under control.” (FPÖ, 19 July 2016)

In this statement the far right officials are seeking to depict Turkish people as a group that vandalised Vienna by attending in a demonstration. Nevertheless, they have ignored illegal acts and demonstrations of PKK supporters in Austria, in which many Turkish institutions were harmed by demonstrators. Instead, they aim to stigmatise a Turkish demonstration in Austria, while they ignore illegal and violent PKK activities. In addition to that, they want to create a victim image, in order to show that Turks and Turkish community are playing a major role in enhancing of internal conflicts in Austria.

“In Vienna... approximately 10.000 People with Turkish citizenship are living by taking tax revenues of Austrian citizens.” (FPÖ, 06 August 2016)

The above statement illustrates that the FPÖ officials targeted Turkish people under the pretext of taking tax revenues of domestic people. It is obvious that the FPÖ make accusation to Turkish people because of living with the tax money of Austrians. In doing so, they are depicting Austrian citizens as victims of Turkish community. Because, far right officer believes that Turkish people, as an out-group in Austria, have no legitimacy to get supported by the Austrian government.

“It seems to be clear that the tax revenues in AMS are overwhelmingly provided for education of unqualified immigrants. It is not acceptable that the Austrian people have to pay this payment while profiting from AMS courses slightly.” (FPÖ, 02 October 2017)

In th above statement we can clearly see that far-rights are also rejecting spendings provided by the Austrian government for the education of immigrants and foreigners in the country. In doing so, they seek to enhance vulnerability of Austrian people towards immigrants and foreigners in Austria.

„End with privileges for Turkish immigrants: the government should be interested in the well-being of Austrian people, and should not be in favour of Turkish immigrants, who are unwilling to integrate themselves.“ (FPÖ, 17 October 2014)

In this move, they seek to define themselves as patriotic ones, which stand for the interests of Austrians and not for others, namely the Turks and Muslims in the country. Far right party criticises Turkish people under the pretext of unwillingness to integrate.

“The interests that are represented by the Eurocrats from Brussels are not profitable to the citizens of the EU. Instead, Turkey would be beneficiary from the suspension of South Stream Pipeline-project. It shows clearly whom the embargo of the EU serves.” (FPÖ, 02 December 2014)

The above illustration shows another discursive strategy of the FPÖ that is brought into discussion in order to stigmatise the EU-Turkey deal. According to far rights, South Stream Pipeline Project of the EU was beneficial for Europeans, but it has been suspended by the EU officials. In doing so, they will give the impression that the EU has been acting on behalf of Turkey and Turkish people where they are putting the interests of Austrians and Europeans aside.

“In protect and in interests of our homeland Austria (...) thereby, the EU finally suspends all accession talks with Turkey. To stop all EU-Payments (to Turkey) immediately, suspend negotiations, stop immigration influx, withdraw illegally earned double citizenships, and ensure and protect our borders.” (Epochtime.de)

In the above illustration FPÖ makes advices to Austrian government and European politicians in view of forthcoming Turkish threat. By using the discursive strategy they tries to show Austrian interests in danger as a result of ongoing Turkish problems. Thereby, they are seeking to denounce Turkish people as risk and deligitimasing their activities in Austria where Turks have been labelled as dangerous entity to Austria's internal security and national unity.

8.2.4. Apparent altruism move

This is the another discursive strategy of the FPÖ to define itself interesting in the problems of the others on the contrary to previous compassion move. This strategy has been applied in some speeches and publications of the FPÖ. It aims to give a roadmap for others and make a set of assumptions to solve the problems of the others.

“Instead of driving into corner by Turkey and avoiding further self-abandonment by them, it has to be aimed for refugees to give aid program at Arabian peninsula and North Africa in order to establish emergency centres there to determine who has the right on asylum.” (FPÖ, 16 October 2015)

Through this discursive strategy the FPÖ struggled to show itself interested in the problems of refugees, which have been called as out-group in Austria by the FPÖ. Exact interest of far right officials is to hold them out of country instead taking refugees in Europe and giving them asylum right in long term.

“The effects of uncontrolled mass immigration have to be seen in political islam. ... political islam is the danger of this decade and we have to concern about it. ... the headscarve is the symbol of political islam and it is oppression of the women.” (FPÖ, 06 July 2015)

This statement of FPÖ’s leader Strache indicates to altruism of him toward Muslim women, who are being oppressed and victimized by political Islam according to far right officer. In doing so, he has aimed to depict himself as defender of rights of Muslim women in Austria.

“Hereby it don’t play any role that Turkey disrespects human rights, the opposition members are jailed without having legal court, journalists are blocked and Kurdish people are brutally persecuted.” (FPÖ, 17 July 2017)

Regarding to this statement the FPÖ aims to show its sympathy with the others, who is being mistreated in Turkey. In so doing, Austria’s far right wants to show itself as political unity which opposes oppression, mistreatment or discrimination by hiding their acts against minority groups in Austria.

8.2.5. Apparent honesty move

This discursive strategy has been used to prevent possible negative statements through emphasising the phrases like *Frankly... and we should not hide truth, and (...) and so on.*¹¹⁵ These phrases are used in various texts of the FPÖ.

¹¹⁵ Van Dijk, Teun A. (2006): Ideological Discourse Analysis, University of Amsterdam, <http://www.discourses.org/OldArticles/Ideological%20discourse%20analysis.pdf> (accessed 24 April 2018)

“Frankly, we insist on rapid and decisive stop of Turkey’s accession negotiations with the EU. Instead, Turkey has to be offered privileged partnership.” (Leitantrag 07. December 2017)

The above illustration shows that they are offering a privileged partnership to Turkey, instead accepting it as a full member within the EU. Their decisive aim in Turkey case was truthfulness of their ambitions towards Turkey. In doing so, they are saying that the FPÖ ‘frankly’ denies all negotiation talks with Turkey and offers a privileged partnership with Turkey.

“Turkey is neither cultural nor geographical part of the Europe, and because of that it should not be taken into the EU. Instead it has to be given partnership agreement in economic manner, but in no ways membership of the EU.” (FPÖ’s proposal)

In this statement we can clearly see that the FPÖ’s denial of Turkey’s membership to the EU is based on cultural and geographical reasons. Because Turkey, according to him, doesn’t belong to Europe, as it is different than Occidental culture. Instead of being a member of the EU, Turkey has to be offered privileged partnership. However, this is the other side of the coin. Because, the FPÖ, as it can be seen in previous official statements, is purely rejecting any Membership of Turkey to the EU.

8.2.6. Negative comparison

Negative comparison strategy is well-known tactic of the far right Populist Party to stigmatise out-group’s act with great historical events that took place in a brutal way in the past. This discursive strategy is being used generally to compare the others’ acts with a best-known examples in the past that had led to negative images. For instance, George Bush’s comparison Saddam Husseyin with Hitler appears to be best-known example on this issue. The FPÖ is making use of this strategy to disregard Turkish political leaders, such as Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Turkey’s other important leaders.

“Entirely absurd sanctions against Russia, but in Turkey’s case the EU ignores all issues. One has to raise the pressure in order to re-establish the democratic order there. Because, this coup attempt gives the impression of a fake-coup organised to close up the opposition completely. It reminds the Reichstag fire.” (FPÖ, 31 July 2016)

The above illustration shows clearly that the far right populist leader HC Strache tries to demonise Turkey and Turkish people by comparing failed coup attempt in July 2016 in which hundreds innocent people are killed or wounded by coup plotters, with Hitler's Reichstag fire in Germany's history. Hitler's Reichstag fire, which was committed by national socialists to accuse German communists and to shut down the opposition completely. The FPÖ sees failed coup attempt as an opportunity to deligitimise Turkey's democratic order and Turkey's counter-fight against terrorist groups. Certainly, the FPÖ's denial of coup attempt is relating to ideological aims to pressure the Turkish government. In order to do that, they are even throwing a blind eye to coup attempt on July 2016. As we explained above, this discursive strategy is main characteristic of the far right wing party to smear the others, namely its foes.

“While commemorating the victims of National Socialism quite rightly, the government closes its eyes to the atrocious genocide in Turkey.” (FPÖ, 16 April 2015)

Far right party makes pressure on the Austrian government to accept so-called Armenian tragedy which occurred during World War 1. Although this issue is controversial and has to be dealt by historians and Jurists, the FPÖ makes accusations towards Turkey in advance without referring to historical documents about the issue.

“The murdered and persecuted Jews are a warning and their memories are duty for us all not to allow such events again. Not to forget hereby is the Islamism; whose consequences have shown us in France began in 2015 and continues irregularly. Additionally, occurrences in Turkey may contribute to an increase in anti-Semitism crime.” (FPÖ, 8 November 2016)

This statement indicates that the FPÖ tries to make a direct connection between increase of anti-Semitism in Europe and its historical background. According to publication of the FPÖ, Turkish people, immigrants as well as developments in Turkey are playing an important role in rising of anti-Semitism in Europe. Although discriminatory discourse of far right movements play an eminent role in growing attacks and hate crimes towards Jewish community and other minority groups, the FPÖ officers are struggling to hide the truth.

8.2.7. Generalisation

This discursive strategy is to be found almost in all publications and speeches of the FPÖ to generalise one's failure to entire Turkey or Turkish people. It is a well-known discursive strategy used by Austrian far right to attack and target Turkish community in the view of a person's failure or miscalculation.

“The Association Agreement that puts member states of the EU and Turkey on an equal level has to be suspended immediately. (...) The Turks should not be provided the Austrian citizenship unless Ankara does not give the list to Austrian authorities, who has the dual citizenship.” (FPÖ, 06 August 2016)

In this illustration, it could be clearly seen that the FPÖ wants to bring a citizenship ban for all Turkish citizens whether they live in Austria or not. Although regulations of citizenship rights are determined in Austrian constitution, far rights disregard these constitutional regulations regarding to Turkish community in Austria. However, there is a double standard here. Because, new formed ÖVP-FPÖ coalition in Austria is currently working on a regulation to provide dual citizenship for all persons living in South Tirol¹¹⁶ despite Italy's rejection towards such proposal. Another important characteristic of FPÖ's claim is to be grounded in the suspending of the Association Agreement, which regulates the bilateral relations between the EU and Turkey for years. They wanted to suspend this agreement in order to open the legal basis for their anti-Turkish rhetoric in Austria.

“Hence, all Turks, who are insisting on Turkish citizenship after becoming an Austrian citizen, should automatically loss their Austrian citizenship right.” (FPÖ, 07 August 2017)

According to this statement all Turkish people, who hold dual citizenship are not to be seen an Austrian citizen. Although it is usual in other minority groups in Austria and is not the case in legal manner, far rights want impose these limitations on Turkish people.

“Legally, the Turks could have access after four years or five years presence in Austria to full access to entire legal employment rights. The FPÖ wants to cancel these special rules without further substitution.” (FPÖ, 01 May 2015)

¹¹⁶ Die Zeit (2017): Österreich will Doppelpass für Südtiroler, <https://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2017-12/doppelte-staatsbuergerschaft-oesterreich-suedtirol-angebot-italien-kritik> (accessed 01.18.2018)

The above statement is serving as a good example of generalization attempt of the FPÖ. In this statement they want to suspend *employment* rights for Turkish people in Austria. It is interesting that far right politicians seek to remove this working right for all Turkish citizens.

“FPÖ demands the suspension of giving citizenships for Turks: Freedom Party is demanding the withdrawal of illegal dual citizenships given to Turks after Erdoğan’s coup referendum.”
(FPÖ, 27 April 2017)

FPÖ politicians brought its claim in the parliamentary session that foresees to restrict Turkish people holding Austrian citizenship. Though dual citizenship is a basic right of people, far right wants to cancel this right for all Turkish citizens.

“Erdogan leads Austrian Muslims: Erdogan’s arm extends over the ATIB and dispatched imams to all 63 mosques in Austria and controls de facto all Austrian Muslims.”
(FPÖ, 19 April 2018)

In brief, we can see another attempts of Austria’s far right party to generalise all Muslims in a negative way in Austria. Hereby, they are targeting Austrian Muslims by criticising Turkey and Turkish President over the existence of mosques in Austria.

8.2.8. Concretisation

Another discursive attempt is to describe the others acts in detail with the aim to visualise their bad things in the eyes of Austrian people. The aim is to show Turkish people’s acts as violation of interests of homeland country. In doing so, far-right Populist Party is trying to put the legitimacy of its enemies in Austria in question.

“From the results of Turkish constitutional referendum, it has to be drew right conclusions for Austria. As an immediate measure it should be established a legal status to suspend providing Austrian citizenship to all Turks, and the illegal dual citizenships have to be researched. ... Building of a Task-Force to check legal status of naturalisation of Turks and dual citizenship.” (25 April 2017)

In the above statement, far rights illustrate future relationship with Turkey in detail. It is interesting that they want to establish new regulations towards Turkish people after that have been conceptualised in a detailed roadmap of the FPÖ. So, they are seeking to concretise their claims and demands in order to enhance mass sensibility to this theme.

“If someone supports Erdoğan, when this Sultan arrived in Vienna for election campaign. They have to pack their bags and let’s go to Anatolia. Such people we don’t need in Austria.” (FPÖ, 01 May 2015)

In the above illustration we can clearly see that the FPÖ leader rejects the existence of all Turks, who support Turkish President. According to far right leader all Turks have to return to Turkey’.

8.2.9. Alliteration

This is a discursive strategy used to strengthen the emphasis of important concepts or words mentioned in the speeches or publications many times. It is also useful to analyse tabloid headlines or op-articles.

“On Sunday, thousands of Hamas-supporters, predominantly the Turks, protested against Israel. At the forefront there were rude anti Israel and anti-Semitic inflammatory propaganda in diverse Internet forums. Alone in the demonstration there had been a little bit anti-Semitism.” (FPÖ, 22 July 2014)

In above illustration of the FPÖ, the Turks are portreyed as racist and anti-Semitic. Because, they organized and participated in an anti-zionist rally. In this concept, the terms anti-Israel and anti-Semitism are used in similar manner to delegitimize the demonstration.

“We don’t need an upper limit or the upper limit to be reduced by half. Instead, we need zero immigration policy, actually minus immigration policy, because all illegal individuals and criminals belong outside of the country.” (Deutsche Welle)

Another example, in which Austria’s far-right party tries to delegitimise immigrants and refuges within the country by labelling them as criminals in advance, who came to Austria in legal or illegal way.

“End accession talks completely: the EU-Report on Turkey is opportunity to end Turkey’s accession negotiations with the EU finally. The Report ascertains what obvious is: severe regressions on rule of law, freedom of speech and independence of justice. Added to this state of emergence imposed on July 2016.” (FPÖ, 16 April 2018)

The above statement illustrates a set of ideological words used many times to strengthen the claim of the far right party. Certainly, ideologically contested words or meanings, such as rule of law, independence of justice, freedom of speech could be interpreted in same or similar conjuncture.

8.2.10. Warning

The following statement illustrates this discursive strategy, which is orchestrated to indicate to coming threat by others, namely Turks towards Austria and national interests. It is interesting that FPÖ identifies itself in these strategies as a basic group, which struggles to save national interests and values. It is obvious that major aim of this discursive strategy to mobilise its electorates by fearing them current and future challenges. Of course, the far-rights wants to give Austrian people much reason to doubt for their future.

“This can be also in Austria the case if this limitless immigration from Muslim country continues. (...) that would mean that actual majority society might has been replaced by the Muslim majority. (...) In order to avoid that, necessary measures should be applied.” (FPÖ, 10 August 2017)

According to above illustration, it would be underlined that Austria’s far-right wing Populist Party considers the existence of Muslims and Turkish people in Austria as a substantial threat and therefore, they want to bring sets of precautions in order to prevent this forthcoming danger from immigrants in Austria.

“The slinking islamisation of Austria: The failure on immigration-, Asylum-, and integration policy caused to the growing islamisation. (...) demand that the Islam should play a strong role in the society is affirmed by 38 and 74 per cent of new immigrated persons. 34 per cent of Turkish immigrants and 29 per cent of Austrian born Turks have affirmed.” (FPÖ, 18 August 2017)

The statement above clearly shows that far rights, in their accusation of Muslims and Turks, see as a major threat for the Austrian culture and values and they kept criticising and warning about its results.

“The way to surrender to the Islam: the proportion of Muslim population in Austria could approximately rise to 20 per cent in next 30 years. (...) With the majority of Turkish and Bosnian background people. And that might be the beginning of islamisation of Austria and the Europe.” (FPÖ, 07 December 2017)

The FPÖ considers Austrian future in danger in view of growing Muslim population from Turkey and other Muslim countries.

“For Turkish citizens ... I don't want that my daughter will anytime has to carry veil, because a would-be caliphate even in 21 decades wants it so.” (FPÖ, 01 May 2015)

The above statement is illustrating a well-known discursive strategy and tactic of the FPÖ to misuse anxiety of Austrian people. In doing so, FPÖ's leader aims to attack Turkish people under the pretext of forthcoming Islamization threat in Austria. Hereby, they are arguing that Turkish people will cause to expansion of radical Islamism and they will be major factor in determining living standards of Austrians. Even if Turkey is regarded as a modern country with the possibility of being a member state of the EU in future, these warnings have been deliberately brought into discussion to pit Austrian people's fear and anxiety towards Turkey.

“Turkey within the EU would encourage the Islamisation of Europe further. Then, radical Islamists would have what they wish for long times: a bridgehead to Western Europe. The establishment of parallel societies could further advance.” (FPÖ, 17 March 2017)

“The Turks put out their Islamic feelers to Austria. Erdoğan-Party wants to stand at elections in Vienna. ...”The emergence of Turkish attendance at federal state elections is impertinence on one hand and is a declaration of bankruptcy of integration policy of Red-Green on the other hand.” (Zeit.de)

It is obvious that FPÖ's leader warns of participation of a political party in local elections which is consisted of migrants with Turkish origin overwhelmingly. According to him, this new-established party put into risk Austrian political structure and Western values by introducing Islamic culture. In doing so, they send warning to Austrian community and Austrian government to prevent participation of Turkish party in forthcoming elections. Although the Party is referring to all Austrian people regardless of ethnic or religious differences, FPÖ is depicting it as Turkish or even Erdogan party.

“Quickly put an end to this policy of Islamisation (...) otherwise we Austrians, we Europeans will come to an abrupt end ...” (Deutsche Welle)

This discursive strategy is a clear tactic of the FPÖ to send warning to Austrian people in view of so-called forthcoming threat that occurs as a consequence of failed migration policy of ruling Austrian parties.

8.2.11. Norm and value violation

Another significant strategy is relating to the distinction attempt of the far rights between ‘Them’ and ‘Us’, namely the others. While ‘Us’ group gives respect to the values of the society, Them group is behaving disrespectful toward these values of the society.

“Vienna’s mosques ... incompatible with Austrian culture and values: Apparently, Austrian language, equality of women, as well as our culture are strictly denied. We have warned and demanded the strong controls and close-up in case of suspicion toward radical tendencies.” (FPÖ, 02 October 2017)

In this statement it can be clearly seen that FPÖ's leader Strache is targeting religious institutions of their enemies, namely Turks and Muslims by defining it as inconsistent with Austrian culture and values. According to him, Turks and Muslims are violating and disrespecting Austrian values.

“The proportion of foreign attacks on women has grown to 70 per cent: ... less interesting but shocking that in normal increase in foreign perpetrators on attacks on women that grew 70 percent in two years. SPÖ and ÖVP let these criminals get into country, which caused to concerning development.” (FPÖ, 03 September 2017)

Above illustration makes understandable that the immigrants in Austria are major cause of increasing attacks on women where the proportion of Austrians remains very slightly. In their opinion Turks are determined as an outgroup that was involved in criminal and violent activities. In this sense, they are characterised as those, who are disregarding common norms, values and rules within the country.

“Islamic image of women contrasts with domestic values: in our land lay the togetherness of women and men in the foreground. ... It seems that this isn't the case in Islam. ... Through importing such ideologies from the Middle East and Turkey, we wouldn't succeed in guaranteeing the equality of men and women in all social classes.” (FPÖ, 25 November 2015)

The above illustration is a good example to show how the far rights are using discursive strategy to attack their enemies, Turks, by depicting them as value breakers or irrespective to the domestic culture and social norms. By doing so, Austrian far right populist leader vows to dismantle Turkish community in Austria. It seems to be one of the important characteristics of the FPÖ to stigmatise the Turks and Muslims as people who break the law and rule and cause disorder within the society.

8.2.12. Presupposition

This discursive strategy is based on previous reviews or orders what are considered as good or bad in mind. Presupposition is a general discursive strategy used by the Austrian far rights for years. In regard to this strategy, they are holding on basic perspectives and presuppositions over out-groups in the country and they are developing their policies and discourses on these assumptions.

“There is no place for Turkey in the EU as a full member. (...) Despite elections, Turkey is not a democratic country. Basic and Human rights have not been respected and minority groups like Kurds, Christs, Alewites and Greeks are held under pressure.” (Gemeinderatsklub der FPÖ)

The above statement made by second state parliamentary President Johann Herzog from FPÖ ranges illustrates far rights basic view on Turkey and Turkish community. They are using presupptions to pressure and to degrade Turkish government regarding to so-called lacks on

civil and minority rights. In doing so, they are seeking to legitimise their anti-Turkish position on Turkey's EU accession process.

“Turkey cannot be member of the EU: Turkey is sweeping on the way of a dictatorial state. And this Turkey cannot be member of the EU. It has been given 4,8 billion euro since 2007. The result is also zero! Democratic principals are trampled under foot ... thousand of oppositions are jailed, death penalty might has been re-introducing, also, on World Women Day, rubber bullets were fired on Women, and Kurdish minority has been pressed.”
(FPÖ, 05 August 2016)

Above statement contains a number of presuppositions and prejudices towards Turkey that have been deliberately brought to accuse Turkey and Turkish people. Although Turkey has more stable democratic standards in international level and democratic elections are being periodically held, far rights do not give any importance, for them their enemy is undemocratic. On the other hand, Turkey's enduring struggle against PKK, which is recognised as terrorist group by the EU and the USA, is being biased by the FPÖ by defining Turkey's counter-terrorism fight as pressure of Kurdish people. In doing so, the FPÖ wants to stigmatise peaceful coexistence of various minority groups in Turkey.

“SPÖ and ÖVP advocate EU-Membership of Turkey and behave as stooge of US interests. In doing so, they approve advancement of mass immigration of Turks to Austria damaging their own people. (FPÖ, 08 September 2009)

This illustration serves as important tool to illustrate FPÖ's presupposition towards Turkey. Because, they announced their best known demand of stopping accession talks with Turkey and a referendum for this resolution, end of radical Islamism, and saving of Christ European Occident in same election advertisement. By doing so, they underline a long-awaited suspension of accession talks with Turkey. According to them, Turkey has an enormous population that are waiting for Turkey's Membership to the EU, which will then trigger unorderly mass immigration in the EU. This remark illustrates FPÖ's presupposition against Turkey and Turkish people.

8.3.Explanation/Evaluation

The above analysed official publications of the FPÖ derived from the official website, show anti-Turkish discourse of the Austrian Freedom Party in an understandable way. The speeches and texts of far rights indicated to substantial lacks of truth and reality. In doing so, they are revealing their hatred messages to the Turks and starting a verbal war on their enemies, namely Turkey and Turkish people.

As it has been analysed above in detail, the FPÖ might be considered as main unit in Austria that kept anti-Turkish rhetoric alive for years in Austria and elsewhere in Europe at different platforms. It is obvious that Austria has become a country, where the far right Populist Party has found free place to spread its hatred messages. The last parliamentary election results provide a substantial evidence for this fact, when the FPÖ has become a junior party in governing coalition through enhancing anti-Turkish, islamophobic, anti-immigrant as well as xenophobic discourse throughout the election campaign in Austria.

Furthermore, the above-analysed official statements of the FPÖ illustrate the fact that Austria's far rights are systematically conducting populist ideals to criticise Turkey and Turkish people. In order to that, they hold on presupposition and hostility towards Turkish government and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan regardless of truthfulness of issued statements. As a result of that, attacks against Turkish and Muslim minority groups have risen to significant levels by endangering their existence in this country.

This is due to fact that FPÖ is trying to depict Turkish existence as danger and a threat to Austrian culture and values in near future. In order to that, they are conducting sets of discursive strategies and tactics. Indeed, contributions of Austrian politicians belonging to other mainstream parties, like Socialists, Conservatives or Greens, played crucial role to deepen anti-Turkish rhetoric in Austria. Anti Turkey rhetoric has been overwhelmingly kept alive through different campaigns of the FPÖ and its leaders, including TV attendance, interviews, electoral campaigns, official publications etc.

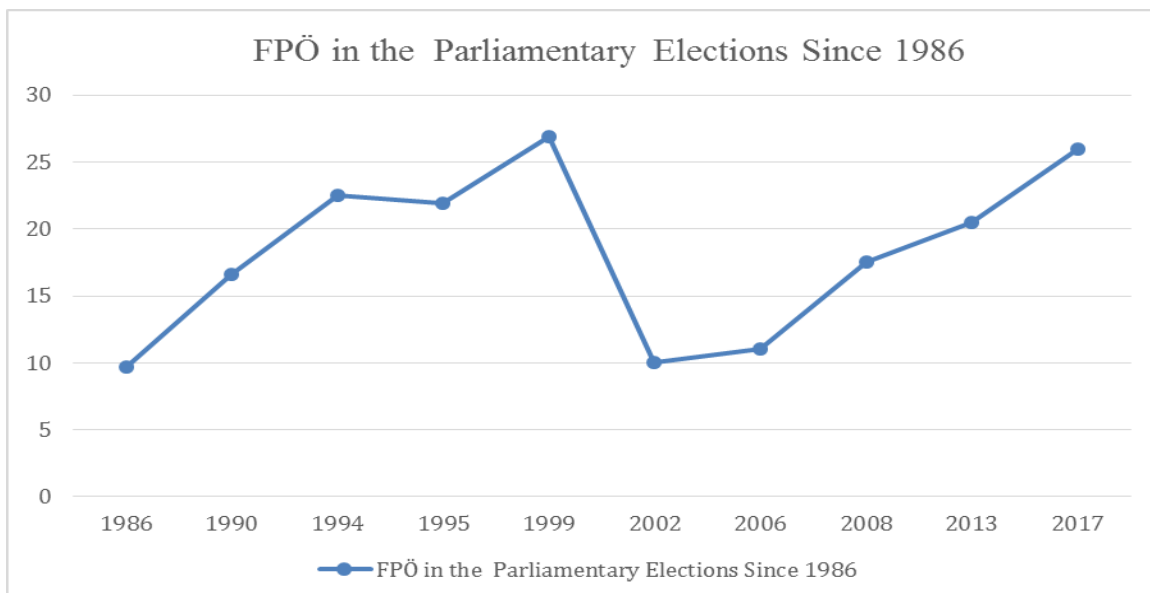
Furthermore, it would be said that there were substantial presuppositions against Turkey and Turkish people in Austria as a result of historical conflicts and encounters, which is based on a long history.

The far-right Populist Party has begun to move its hostility towards Turks and Muslims in 2005, when current party leader HC Strache took over FPÖ leadership. From then on, they are continuing to establish and to spread anti-Turkey and anti-Turkish discourse in Austrian community, which then caused to widespread miscalculations and animosity against Turkish minority group in Austria. Thanks to this anti-Turkish and anti-Muslim campaigns by far rights, racist attacks on Turkish people; their locals and institutions have reached to higher level.

Tragically, hatred messages spreaded by the far-rights can lead to polarisation and destruction of social values of society developed for along time in Europe. On the other hand, Austria’s far right party is gaining on popularity by continuing hate campaigns and populist rhetoric that is targeting in the first hand Turkey, Turkish population and Muslims in Austria.

Following graphic illustrates FPÖ’s raising popularity within Austrian society. It is very tragic that Austria’s far right party became a part of coalition government following the election results on October 2017, where he entered into Austrian parliament by getting nearly 26% of votes with 51 mandates. As it is visible in the above figure, the FPÖ has continued its increasing electoral success over last three decades and it is one of a few parties in Europe, which became a part of government second time in 17 years.

Figure: 5. FPÖ’s Parliamentary Election Results since 1986



Source: Interior Ministry of Austria¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Bundesministerium für Inneres: Nationalratswahlen, https://www.bmi.gv.at/412/Nationalratswahlen/Nationalratswahl_1999/start.aspx (last access 12.04.2018)

In the light of recent popularity of the FPÖ and general far-right support in Europe, it would be rational to suggest that racist attacks against Turkish people and Muslim community will continue to gain on the ground due to lack of domestic initiative to prevent national and far-right activities targeting minority groups in particular. Hereby, the EU should take the initiative to bring precautions in order to prevent racist, anti-Turkish and anti-liberal campaigns headed by European far right movements in general. As it has been noted above, the EU made use of this policy in its history, when it showed its displeasure by imposing sanctions to Austria in 2000, when Austria's far right party became a junior part in the coalition government.

Throughout the study, I sought to reveal Austrian far-right Freedom Party's ideological and discursive tactics of the FPÖ towards Turkey and Turkish people used to influence electorates and Austrian community. In general perspective, they are struggling to show Turks as an out-group, which are violent, uncivilized, fundamentalist, jihadists as well as a threat to the national interests and values of Austrian society. Through using the models of CDA, it has been showed that Austria's far right party is seeking to make a profit from ideological discursive strategies in order to legitimise its enduring attacks against Turkey and Turkish community in Austria.

9. Conclusion

To sum up, this thesis has attempted to analyse anti-Turkish discourse of Austria's far-right Populist Party in the light of historical and actual challenges. It has been argued that Turkey and Turkish people are depicted as a member of out-group, which is regarded as enemy of Austria from a historical viewpoint.

In order to reveal ideological discourse of the FPÖ, official statements and publications on the FPÖ's official Internet page are examined in detail through conducting the models of CDA. It appears to be relevant to stress that anti-Turkish discourse is basically taking a crucial role in mobilizing national circles in Austria.

Furthermore, this study has revealed that Austria's far right party has made use of all discursive strategies and tactics in order to depict Turkey and Turkish minority group in a negative way in the eyes of Austrian people by emphasizing historical and current challenges. On the other hand, it is a fact that Austria's anti-Turkish rhetoric has become an important element in Austria's foreign policy in recent years, and this policy turned into hostility towards Turkey at different platforms, in which Austria takes apart. This situation appears to be related to FPÖ's tremendous growth in Austria.

Apparently, the FPÖ is struggling to establish a general anti-Turkish rhetoric in Austria and elsewhere in Europe by depicting Turkey and Turkish people in negative a way, such as criminals, barbarians, unmodern or undemocratic. This situation has been generally practised with using ideological and discursive strategies, as it has been noted.

In the light of far right's popularity and rising anti-Turkish and islamophobic rhetoric, it will be harder for Turkish and Muslim minority groups to keep living in Austria. Especially, the FPÖ has introduced a set of new regulation to design the existential rights of foreigners, after it formed a coalition government with the ÖVP.

Also, it should be stressed that Turkey's growing influence in global affairs in the post cold-war era has been playing a key role in raising hostility towards Turkey, which has been systematically run by far right and some mainstream political parties in particular.

On the other hand, the EU poses a substantial risk in the light of inevitable increase in popularity of far right movements across the Europe. The EU leaders seem to be aware of this fact, as they indicated to forthcoming threat of far right movements in different speeches and press releases. However, the EU and its institutions may take more initiatives to avoid or minimize populist threat in Austria and elsewhere in Europe. Historically, the EU made use of this initiative, as the EU showed its displeasure towards Austria in 2000, when far rights became a part in governing coalition. Because, the FPÖ and other far right groups are best-known with their anti-EU and anti-system approaches over the years.

In regard to dealing with increasing populism threat, Austrian political scientist Anton Pelinka made a set of suggestions, which could be useful in preventing to normalise far right ideology in political platforms. For instance, he suggested two-types of method in order to eliminate or minimize far right populism threat in Austria. According to him, there has to be either ban of far-right extremists parties as means of police and judiciary force or it should be set up a "cordon sanitaire" that was used in France and Belgium especially.¹¹⁸ The first type was conducted in Austria and Germany previously to eliminate Neo-nazis from political platforms in the past, such as banning of two far right parties SRP (Social Reich Party) in Germany and NDP (National Democratic Party) in Austria. Second type is mainly useful in struggling with weak populism threat to isolate far right populist movements from political stages by cooperation of mainstream parties in given country.

To conclude, it would be said that the FPÖ's fascist ideals have played a decisive role in enhancing pre-existed hostility towards Turkey and Turkish community in Austria. Also, in

¹¹⁸ Pelinka, Anton (2010): *Der Preis der Salonfähigkeit, Österreichs Rechtsextremismus im internationalen Vergleich*, Central European University Budapest, University Press.

the light of increasing popularity of the FPÖ, other mainstream political parties in Austria (centre-right and centre-left) considered this trend as an opportunity to design their policies in accordance with discourse, which has been successfully used by Austria's far right party. In parallel, it can be argued that rising populist trends will make major contribution to racism and xenophobia, which endanger the existence of different minority groups and foreigners, especially Turks and Muslims, in Austria.



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