WELFARE CHAUVINISM IN THE BALTICS

Authors: Monta Jaunarāja
Eva Linda Poiša

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Monta Jaunarāja

and

Eva Linda Poiša

Supervisor: Dominik Gerber

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Abstract

Populism is an ideology that divides the society into "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite" (Mudde, 2004), and welfare chauvinism – the view that not all members of society are entitled to the same welfare benefits - is a common idea among such parties. With populism and populist parties increasingly gaining popularity and influence, it is important to know which social groups will be favoured and which disregarded in the respective policies.

In this paper, we look at how welfare chauvinism is present in the policies of right-wing populist parties in the Baltics, looking for both regional commonalities and country-level dissimilarities, expecting that differences in the welfare state regimes will cause different welfare chauvinism outcomes in each country. Textual content analysis is performed on the party programmes to observe the proposed welfare policies and record the attitudes towards the various social groups.

We find that despite having different welfare state regimes, there are few distinctions between the Baltic countries in how welfare chauvinism is present in party policies. It can be concluded that the studied welfare policies are mostly influenced by authoritarianism ideology, with the most favoured groups being pensioners and the traditional families. Additionally, we see that the parties show low focus on immigration issues – something that is quite different from such parties in other regions – and only a few policies are influenced by anti-elitism, even though such attitudes are portrayed by most parties within our sample.

1. Introduction

The number of populistic parties and their popularity among voters has grown in recent years - this trend can be observed all across Europe, the Baltic states being no exception. With populist parties increasingly gaining popularity and influence, it is important for voters to see how such parties approach the question of welfare and know what benefits they can expect. Hence, this research will study the welfare policies of right-wing populist parties in the Baltics with the aim to see which social groups these policies would favour and which - disregard.

Populism can be defined as an ideology that divides people into two distinct groups – "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite" (Mudde, 2004, p.543). Such authors as Mudde (2007) state the radical right-wing populists to be the only new party family that has shown success in the European region and defend the relevance of the topic by claims of such ideology being a threat to democracy. Muller (2016) explains that populists are also anti-pluralist, since they often claim they are the only ones that truly and honestly represent the people. Anti-elitism and anti-pluralism are the main cornerstones of populism that will be used in this work.

A widespread idea among the populist parties is the notion of welfare chauvinism – the view that not all members of society are equally entitled to the same welfare benefits (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2016). As Ennser-Jedenastik (2016) explains, populist parties are not so much concerned with the scope of the welfare state, but rather with who gets these welfare benefits. While most authors consider welfare chauvinism to be primarily concerned with immigration issues only, we will distance ourselves from the mainstream meaning of the term and adopt a wider definition of welfare chauvinism that deals with other social groups as well in order to study the level of exclusionism that populist parties propose for each segment.

While multiple authors have already researched populism in the Baltics, the previous works have focused on aspects such as different forms of populism or the causes for its emergence. We plan to further the discussion by digging deeper into right-wing populist party welfare policies, which is something that has not been explored in much detail but should be better understood in order to know what can be expected from such parties in this region in terms of welfare for different parts of society.

The Baltics is a particularly interesting region to study due to differences from other European countries. While it is typical for a right-wing populist party to have a strong focus on anti-immigration policies, the level of immigration to the Baltics is very

low, shifting the focus away from this issue. Instead, such parties in this region are known to focus on citizens of other ethnicities, e.g. the Russians (Petsinis, 2019). Having this in mind, the importance of such research is clear, since the findings in other countries cannot always be directly applied here.

In academia, the Baltic states are often approached as a homogenous group with very few internal differences. While in many aspects this is quite true, there are also important differences that could impact the ways populism is present in each country and how welfare policies are approached. The welfare systems of all three countries have not developed in the same way since the fall of the communist regime - each country approaches questions of welfare and social insurance differently (Aidukaite, 2018). We expect that the differences in welfare regimes will cause welfare policies of populist parties in each nation to differ, thus making for an interesting comparative study.

We will cover those populist parties in the Baltics that have gained seats in the parliament (reached at least 5% of votes). Within our region of interest, all such parties are right-wing, letting us focus our research on right-wing populism specifically. We will then study the welfare policies those parties have proposed in the latest elections in each respective country.

We plan to rely on existing research papers for the purpose of welfare regime classification and utilize ready-made datasets such as the Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index (2019) to identify the populist parties of interest. In addition to using existing studies, we will perform a textual content analysis of the selected party programmes and look for any references to welfare policies and the social groups they affect. For each party, we will record whether it is in favour or against welfare for a specific group, or whether it takes a neutral/mixed stance. We will then determine which social groups populist parties see as more deserving of welfare claims than others. Using this methodology, we plan to answer the following research question:

How is welfare chauvinism present in the policies of right-wing populist parties in the Baltics?

The paper will have the following structure: Section 2 will examine the existing literature on the topic, describing the main concepts and exploring the background of populism and welfare politics in the Baltic states. Section 3 will cover the methodology of all parts of our research, from obtaining data to using it to classify parties and their proposals. The obtained results will be covered in section 4. Section 5 will be dedicated

to the analysis and discussion of our findings and is where the final answer to our research question will be found, while section 6 will finalize the paper with the main conclusions.

2. Literature review

2.1. Populism

Populism and populist parties have seen an increase in both popularity and influence in many parts of the world, including Europe and the Baltic states. According to data published on The Atlas (2017), the average share of votes given to European populist parties has gradually gone from around 10% in 1990 to as much as 18% in 2017. Greve (2019) explains that, even though the voting patterns and the level of formal power of the populist parties vary across countries, the parties have had a noticeable influence towards the ideas and views of policymakers.

The most popular recent examples of political activity associated with populism include Brexit, the reasons for which include a general dislike of the free movement of labour across EU countries (Greve, 2019) and the viewpoint that decision-making is done too far away from the public and the EU can be blamed for the country's issues. Another popular example is the election of Donald Trump as the president of the US – it is also considered an outcome of the growing support of populism due to the distinct them versus us ideology applied (Greve, 2019).

While populism has certainly become a buzzword that is widely used both by journalists and the general public, it can still generate some confusion and uncertainty regarding its meaning. Not only its definitions sometimes differ between authors, but it can also refer to different things across different world regions (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017). Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017) propose that the uncertainty may be partially caused by the fact that the populists themselves usually do not use this label to describe themselves, and the term is instead used to describe others, most often with a negative undertone. It results in the term being used to describe a wide range of observations, as the users themselves see fit. It is vital for the purpose of this research to thoroughly understand the concept of populism, to agree on a definition and to explore the different types and defining characteristics that have been offered and discussed by various experts.

Mudde (2004) offers the following definition of **populism**: "[...] **an ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people**" (Mudde, 2004, p. 543). Populists see their ideology as the complete opposite of

elitism and pluralism; they portray the elites as corrupt and as not working in accordance with the will of the public, therefore, the anti-elitist stance is necessary for emphasizing the centrality of the people (Mudde, 2004). As the populists claim that the elite is exploiting the people, it implies that the public has shared values and interests and they can be viewed as a single homogenous entity. While some academics see this as an issue that disregards the differences between various classes within society, others choose not to focus on this aspect when studying populism (Rooduijn, 2013).

In addition to that, Muller (2016) argues that, while the anti-elitism is a necessary condition in order to be considered a populist, it is not a sufficient one. He explains it by stating that otherwise, anyone who criticizes those in power would be a populist. The author adds that, in order to really be defined as a populist, one should also be anti-pluralist since populists tend to declare that they are the only ones that truly and honestly represent the people (Muller, 2016).

Populism as an ideology focuses on a limited range of notions, unlike full ideologies such as liberalism or socialism, and therefore should be considered a thin ideology (or a thin-centred ideology) (Rooduijn & Pauwels, 2011). As Mudde (2004) explains, it holds only "[...] a restricted core attached to a narrower range of political concepts" (Mudde, 2004, p. 544), the core being the people. Consequently, populism in practice is often combined and interacts with other existing ideologies; it cannot be used alone since it is not sufficient for putting together a clear policy proposal that deals with all crucial political matters (Stanley, 2008). For that reason, analysis of populism and populist parties requires also identifying and analysing the other involved ideologies and how populism interacts with them.

Rooduijn (2013) proposes four core features that he believes define populism – (1) people-centrism, (2) anti-elitism, (3) perceiving the people as a homogenous group, and, what was not seen as a core element by the other authors, (4) proclaiming a severe crisis. He explains that a political, cultural or economic crisis is proclaimed by populists in order to justify and emphasize the anti-elitist and exclusionist stance. By portraying the situation as being in threat or unacceptable for the citizens, populists can further rationalize the urgent need for a political power that would finally work for the people and fix the situation.

In addition to the four main defining characteristics, Rooduijn (2013) also outlines exclusionism as an idea that is often present in populist agendas. He explains that often certain social groups are viewed with a negative attitude, similarly as the

elites. The groups can be excluded from the homogenous crowd of the 'pure people' and be deemed a threat that the public needs to be in some way protected against. Such groups of exclusion are often non-natives, the unemployed, or even individuals with a different religion or ethnicity (Rooduijn, 2013).

Rooduijn (2013) describes the general style that characterizes populism as using simple language, communicating with the public in a direct manner, polarization, and creating themselves an image of an outsider. He states that these features are used to further differentiate the populist parties from the elite and make them appear as more integrated within the general public. Mudde (2004) agrees that populists commonly have distinct stylistic features that help them gain and maintain their success, however, he states that these features do not define populism as such; instead, they enable and help to promote it.

In this work, we choose to accept the definition put forward by Mudde (2004) and focus on anti-elitism and anti-pluralism as the main aspects that define populism, since they are highlighted and agreed upon by most authors and offer a suitable framework for viewing and studying the chosen political parties.

It is worth noting that populism is not compatible with non-democratic forms of governance. Populism is considered to be a product of democracy - it focuses on the same principles and ideals, aiming to give the power to the people (Urbinati, 2018). Muller (2016) even explains it as "a degraded form of democracy that promises to make good on democracy's highest ideals" (p.16). It is necessary that the needs of the people are the main priority and the system should be questioned for the sake of the public's interests (Urbinati, 2018).

At the same time, populism is often seen as a threat to democracy, which may be one of the reasons why it has gained such attention from political experts and disciples alike. Muller (2016) explains that pluralism is crucial for the existence of democracy since it involves attempting to create a fair world for an incredibly diverse range of people, where everyone should be represented equally. Populism, on the other hand, promotes exclusionism, supporting only a subset of people and positioning other political agents as the enemy. This creates an interesting situation, where the threat to democracy is actually derived from democracy itself.

In line with the general definitions of populism, the characteristics that will be used as the main identifiers of a populist party throughout this paper are: **speaking and acting for the people**, **having an anti-elite attitude**, and **seeing the public as a**

uniform group with no significant differences between the individuals, except for a couple of distinct categories that are to be excluded and deemed undeserving of the same benefits as others (Jagers and Walgrave, 2007).

2.2. Populism in the Baltics

Populism has been a feature of politics in the Baltics since the fall of the Soviet Union, but, like in many countries across the continent, its prominence has increased in the past few years. Notable work on populism in the three Baltic states has been done by authors such as Auers, Balcere, Patiksnis and others. We hope to further the understanding of populism and its various characteristics in the three countries by exploring how populist parties approach welfare, something that has not been deeply explored in the past.

Data on populist party performance, size and changes help one to gain some perspective on how populism has developed, grown and manifested itself in the three Baltic states over time. Figure 1 shows the share of votes that populist parties have won in elections in each country over the past years[1].

The figure highlights the growing popularity of populist parties, and populism's apparent rise in all three countries in this decade (less in Lithuania, where populist sentiments were the highest after the 2008 financial crisis). The data also shows how differently populist support among voters has grown in each country, and how its salience in politics has been very different - populism has been a prominent feature of Latvian politics for almost three decades, while in Estonia, it gained traction among voters only in the 2010s. In Lithuania, the popularity of populist parties among voters has been quite volatile, but, similar to Estonia and Latvia, has been high in the last decade. Appendix B shows the seats held in parliament by populist parties in the time period between 1993 and 2019, which allows one to see how votes for populist parties translate into real seats, which populist parties have had the most influence in parliament and how it has developed over time.

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[1] Parties represented in the data:

Lithuania: Tvarka ir Teisingumas, Lietuvos Centro Partija, Jaunoji Lietuva, Lietuvių Tautininkų Sąjunga;

Latvia: Nacionāla Apvienība Visu Latvijai! - Tēvzemei un Brivibai/LNNK, Kam Pieder Valsts?, Tēvzemei un Brīvībai, Visu Latvijai;

Estonia: Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond, Eesti Iseseisvuspartei

Figure 1. Right Wing Populist Party Vote Share by Country, %, 1992-2019
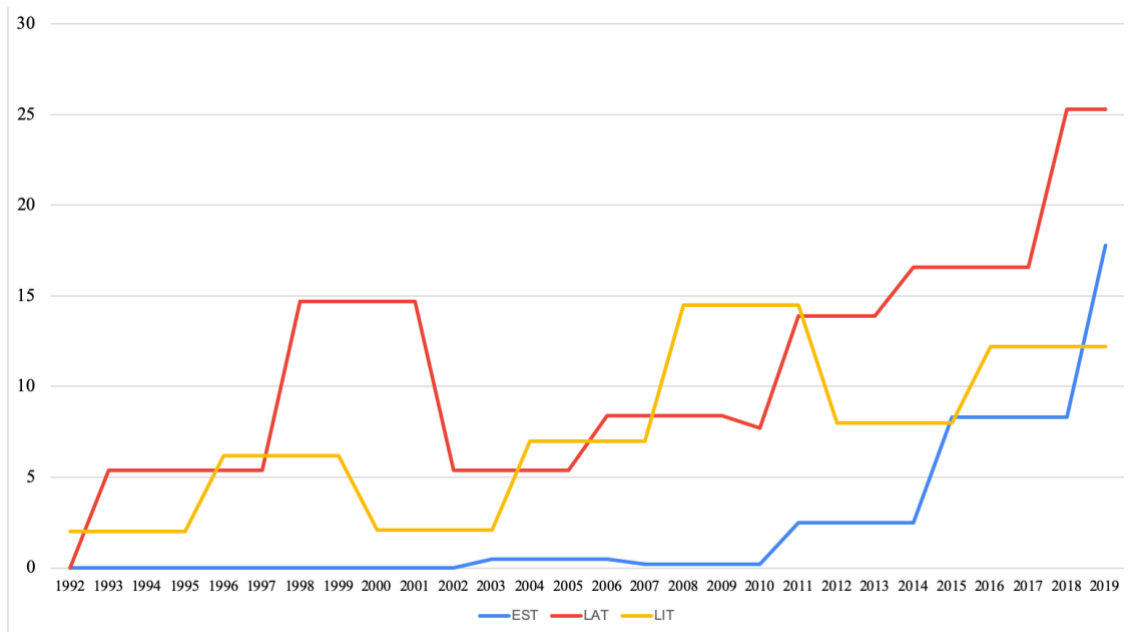
Created by the authors, using data from Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index (2019) (Appendix A)

When considering the literature on the topic of populism in the Baltic States, the 2012 research report titled "Populism in the Baltics" is one of the most thorough works (Jakobson, Balcere, Loone, Nurk, Saarts & Zakeviciute 2012). An important takeaway from this work is that populism itself, its "efficiency" and scope differ across the three Baltic states, with the authors emphasising that, when discussing populism, the Baltic states should not be treated as a homogenous group. The report highlights these findings, among others:

- Populism is the most widespread and effective in Lithuania, with the "style" of populism being practised in Lithuania more closely resembling that of central Europe;
- In all the countries, "populism is stronger in "policy" dimension rather than "identity construction" dimension" (p. 4);
- The anti-elite focus, an important feature of populism, is present in all three countries, with the "guilty" groups being politicians, oligarchs and large business owners, and the establishment;
- There is some antagonism against Russian speakers in Latvia and Estonia, which are, unsurprisingly, the two countries with the largest Russian speaking population.

As Auers and Kasekamp (2013) point out, the shape of nativism is different in The Baltics than in Western Europe, where nativist sentiments are largely focused against immigrants, while in the Baltics - not so much. This can be explained by the absence of immigration on a notable scale in this region, unlike in Western Europe, where high levels of immigration are fuelling populist sentiment. In Estonia and Latvia, these nativist feelings are mostly directed towards the Russian speakers that emigrated to the Baltic states in the Soviet years. Balcere (2011) makes a similar conclusion when comparing Baltic populism to that of Western European parties - while there are similarities, such as anti-elite sentiments and centrality of the people, Baltic populism lacks anti-immigrant attitudes and the strong nativism that is characteristic of Western populist parties. That is not to say that there is a lack of anti-immigration and anti-multiculturalism stances - these are still issues discussed in Latvian politics and addressed by populist politicians.

The high level of political distrust in the Region, as Auers (2018) points out, has always created a breeding ground for populist sentiments, starting from the fall of the Soviet Union, where economic hardships, political instability and growth in inequality gave way for populist movements to gain traction. Another upswing in political distrust and larger distrust in institutions occurred after the 2008 financial crisis, which hit the region very hard. Auers concludes that: "[...] populism is firmly entrenched in political parties (and more broadly in the party systems) in Latvia and Lithuania, although less so in Estonia. [...]. Continuing high levels of anti-establishment feeling in Latvia and Lithuania means that populism will likely remain a political tactic into the future" (p. 353). These conclusions, combined with those presented in the Populism Research Report, show that high levels of political distrust are a reason for the growth in populist sentiment, and antagonism towards the political system and elites are an important feature of populism in the Baltics. Our research approaches the growth of populism in the region from another perspective, showing how welfare systems, instead of anti-establishment sentiments and political distrust, cause different populist outcomes in the three Baltic countries, filling the missing link between populism and welfare systems that currently exist in the body of work on populism in the Baltic states.

In his 2017 work, Auers finds these two major themes in the content of populist parties in the Baltics:

(1) The domestic political system is failing due to corruption and incompetence;

(2) International elites and organisations are undermining domestic political sovereignty (p. 163).

Another common feature of populist politics in the Baltics is the view that international forces are trying to impose foreign values on traditional Baltic views, with the latest recent example being the refugee crisis, during which populist politicians stated that European organisations are trying to press multiculturalism on society (Auers, 2017).

Overall there seems to be common agreement that populism in the Baltics is characterised by strong anti-elite focus and critique of the current political landscape, antagonism towards international institutions and multiculturalism, and some form of anti-immigrant and nativist feelings, although not as strong as can be usually found in populist parties in Western Europe. While there are similar features, populist parties across the three countries are not the same, with there being some particular country-specific characteristics, and the popularity of populist parties being different in each of the three Baltic states.

2.3. Welfare Chauvinism

Ennser-Jedenastik (2016) explains that populist parties are typically not so much concerned with the scope of the welfare state, but rather with who gets the welfare benefits, which is why welfare chauvinism is widespread among these types of parties. Many right-wing political parties have voiced criticism of the idea that welfare benefits should be allocated to everyone in the country, irrespective of one's background. They believe that the entitlements should go to the natives only, and in some European countries (e.g. Denmark) this idea has greatly influenced their welfare policies (De Koster, Achterberg & van der Waal, 2012).

Jørgensen & Thomsen (2016) define **welfare chauvinism** as "[…] **unwillingness to grant the same entitlements to all people in a society**" (Jørgensen & Thomsen, 2016, p. 4), and describe a welfare chauvinism "scale", ranging from weak to strong chauvinism. Weak-form welfare chauvinism includes welfare being allocated on the basis of contribution, while strong-form welfare chauvinism is rooted in anti-immigrant sentiments, considering only the natives deserving of welfare claims.

Greve (2019) argues that this trend might be partially caused by the negative perception of the worker migration within the EU that has led to such buzzwords as

'welfare tourism' and 'welfare magnetism'. The growing worldwide migration and refugees migrating to EU countries are putting more and more pressure on welfare states, also impacting the beliefs and behaviour of the public (Greve, 2019).

Indeed, such an attitude has been found among the general public in Europe, with various groups of natives, such as the elderly or the disabled, deemed more deserving of the available benefits than immigrants (De Koster et al., 2012). Greve (2019) agrees that there has been an upsurge of anti-immigrant attitudes and the population is increasingly supporting "parties with a negative stance towards migrants and a focus on support for welfare to the deserving native population" (p.1). This suggests that the welfare chauvinistic agenda of the populist parties are appealing to the voters and explains the growing support for such parties.

It is important to note that while it may seem like the parties are advocating for reducing the welfare state (often through tax and duty reduction), in reality, they may actually be in favour of increased welfare benefits as long as they go to the social groups that they see as deserving. That way, the welfare benefits are simply redistributed, and the party supporters can greatly benefit from the change (Greve, 2019; De Koster et al., 2012).

While most authors consider welfare chauvinism to be primarily concerned with immigration issues only, we choose to include other social groups besides the immigrants in our research and study the level of exclusionism that populist parties propose for each segment. Therefore, for the purpose of this research, we will distance ourselves from the mainstream meaning of the term and adopt a wider definition of welfare chauvinism that deals with other social groups as well.

The logic of welfare chauvinism can be used to judge a variety social groups, for instance, the unemployed, or others that do not fit within the cultural norms of a country, e.g. those of a different religion or sexual orientation, meaning that this can easily be applied to the native population as well. One possible reason for separating even the natives into deserving/ undeserving groups may be the fear that some members of society may exploit the system for their own benefit (Greve, 2019).

This leads to what De Koster et al. (2012) have called "welfare populism" – the criticism of the welfare state and its institutions, that is in line with the general anti-establishment attitude present among populists. The main concern among welfare populists is that the welfare state is unsuccessful at supporting the common people who really need and deserve the said benefits. They talk about "welfare scroungers" who

exploit the system and benefit from the hard work of the honest "common man" (De Koster et al., 2012).

This offers the parties additional means for appealing to 'the people' - by stating that their voters are the ones truly deserving of the benefits and that the current welfare state is not attending to their needs since it is allocating the resources to the undeserving social groups that abuse and exploit the system. Therefore, it can be seen that welfare populism in combination with welfare chauvinism offers a powerful tool for populist parties to appeal to their voters and influence the nation's welfare policies.

2.4. Party Policy Classifications

Mudde (2007) has developed the categorization of populist party ideologies that we will use in our work, namely, nativism, authoritarianism and populism, which we will name anti-elitism, and discusses how these ideologies can influence party socioeconomic policies. Ennser-Jedenastik (2016) created a classification of welfare policies based on these three ideological perspectives in order to see which ideology prevails in the welfare policy profile of the Austrian Freedom Party. We will use the same classification in this paper, using it to approach, categorize and analyse social welfare policies of populist parties in the Baltics, observing how (and if) these dimensions differ between countries and to what extent. To do so, it is important to understand each of these ideological influences and see the implications they have for welfare policies.

While the term "authoritarianism" is usually associated with non-democratic forms of government, it is not the case here; rather, it is defined "in line with the dominant tradition in social psychology and the Frankfurter Schule" (Mudde, 2007, p.22), with authoritarianism being interpreted as a tendency to be submissive, obedient, glorify authority and order and punish those outside of the group (Mudde, 2007). In terms of populism, **authoritarianism translates into the belief in an orderly, structured society that values traditional family values and work, where any steps away from the system - law, order and strict moral norms - are to be punished**.

Ennser-Jedenastik (2016) takes this concept and turns it into specific welfare policy groups that fall under this facet of right-wing populism ideology: elders, the traditional family, the sick and the disabled are deserving of welfare benefits, while the unemployed and free riders should be exempt. Elders, for example, are to be helped because their participation in the labour market is hindered due to their age, but they have shown willingness to work throughout their lifetimes; the traditional family is to

be supported as it fosters the traditional norms of society and encourages reproduction (Ennser-Jedenastik, 2016). The sick and disabled are to be helped due to their limited ability to participate in the labour market - the assumption holds that this group of people would be willing to work, but are unable to, thus they are deserving of benefits. It is clear now why the unemployed are punished - they are encouraging a society where the importance of labour is not respected and these people reap the gains (welfare benefits) without having done the work to earn them (Ennser-Jedenastik, 2016).

The concept of nativism is more self-explanatory and is often more notable in the policies of right-wing populist parties. According to Ennser-Jedenastik (2016), **nativism is: "[...] a xenophobic version of nationalism. It argues that the nation state should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group – whichever way defined. The native group is usually delineated along ethnic lines, but can also be determined by race or religion**" (p.4). This is what is usually referred to as welfare chauvinism, as explained in the previous section. Clearly, under this ideology, one can expect populists to find immigrants undeserving of welfare benefits, and natives to be deserving; Ennser-Jedenastik (2016) uses these two groups, namely, the native population and non-natives in his analysis.

The third feature of populism party welfare policies is populism. This feature encompasses what most authors agree on to be one of the main features of populism - the idea that the ruling elites are dishonest and corrupt, emphasising the battle between "the people" (however defined) and "the elite". As explained in the previous section, this is also known as welfare populism: "It combines economically egalitarian stances with the view that the welfare state is no longer capable of delivering help to the truly needy, but has become a self-serving tool in the hands of bureaucrats" (Ennser-Jedenastik, 2016, p. 6). **In terms of welfare policies, populism translates into the belief that the ruling political classes should be stripped of privileges and gains, and taxpayer money should be used to help "the people"** (Ennser-Jedenastik, 2016). Under this ideological perspective, the common man, one of "the people" is the one who is deserving of welfare benefits, while politicians, the elite and privileged insiders are the undeserving groups (Ennser-Jedenastik, 2016). To avoid confusion, we will term the "populism" category "anti-elitism", as this is what the author intended - policies aimed at diminishing the exploitation of the welfare system by the political elites - and this way any mix-ups between populism itself and the subcategory labelled "populism" can be avoided.

2.5. *Welfare System Classifications*

One cannot discuss welfare states without mentioning Esping-Andersen's "The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism" (1990), a work of notable influence on the way comparative analysis of welfare states is being addressed. Since its release, this work has become a standard approach for classifying welfare states; due to the prominence and popularity of this typology, we choose to use it in our work. Esping-Andersen's classification, applicable to developed capitalist nations, is based on the relationship between family, market and the state, and how the interaction between these three aspects create distinct welfare system clusters, namely, liberal, conservative-corporatist and socio-democratic.

Liberal welfare states are classified by "means-tested assistance, modest universal transfers, or modest social-insurance plans" (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 26). Welfare benefits are mostly given to low-income working-class representatives and receiving entitlement itself is difficult and often stigmatised. Common-Law countries such as Canada, Australia and the United States are archetypal representatives of liberal welfare regime states.

The conservative-corporatist welfare state demonstrates a strong emphasis on social class and "the preservation of status differentials" (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.27), thus recipient rights are based on social status and class. Under this regime, the market plays a marginal role, and the redistributive effect of the welfare system is small since social class directly impacts the size and allocation of benefits. Since corporatist regimes are often present in countries with a large church influence, traditional familyhood has an influence on the welfare system. Welfare benefits are crafted in a way that encourages motherhood and sustains the typical wife-husband roles, and the state intervenes only when the family's capacity to help its members is exhausted. Countries such as France, Germany and Austria fall under this welfare state regime.

As Esping-Andersen (1990) explains, the cluster of countries that represent the **socio-democratic welfare state** regime is the smallest of the three. In these countries, the development of the welfare state and social reform has been directly influenced by the development of socio-democratic ideals and political systems. Under this regime, "Rather than tolerate a dualism between state and market, between working class and middle class, the social democrats pursued a welfare state that would promote an equality of the highest standards, not an equality of minimal needs as was pursued elsewhere. This implied, first, that services and benefits be upgraded to levels

commensurate with even the most discriminating tastes of the new middle classes; and, second, that equality be furnished by guaranteeing workers full participation in the quality of rights enjoyed by the better-off" (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p.27). Esping-Andersen argues that there is no clear case of a socio-democratic welfare state, but Scandinavian countries are the best representatives of this cluster.

He considers two important effects of the welfare state - decommodification and stratification. De-commodification refers to the idea that one can uphold an acceptable standard of living without relying on the market - without turning labour into commodities (in capitalist societies - money), people are able to secure a livelihood and some services and goods are given as right. A high degree of de-commodification allows individuals to choose to leave the labour market. Esping-Andersen argues that the mere existence of social assistance or insurance does not mean decommodification effects are present - if social assistance is stigmatised, small and difficult to obtain, only those most desperate will use them, essentially having close to no effect on workers' reliance on the labour market.

Many authors would say that the welfare system helps to create a less stratified society by lowering inequalities. Esping-Andersen, however, argues that the welfare system is in itself a system of stratification, an "[...] active force in the ordering of social relations" (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 23). By stigmatising the recipients of poor-relief and means-tested social insurance or by assigning specific assistance to different wage earner groups to emphasise their differences, social stratification is deepened.

Under the liberal regime, decommodification is minimised due to the labour market's necessity to rely on the market, and stratification is deepened, crating stratas that are "a blend of a relative equality of poverty among state-welfare recipients, market differentiated welfare among the majorities, and a class-political dualism between the two" (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 27). Under the conservative-corporatist regime, de-commodification is weak, and stratification is strong, mostly based on occupation and status. Under the socio-democratic regime, clearly, the degree of decommodification is the highest and stratification is the smallest.

2.6. Welfare System Effects on Welfare Chauvinism

Welfare chauvinism takes on different shapes and characteristics in countries with different welfare systems. One would expect, and the literature supports that in states with more comprehensive welfare systems welfare chauvinism is less present, while in

countries with a smaller and less universal welfare regime, the wish to limit benefits to certain groups is more present.

Van Der Waal & De Koster (2013) try to define "three worlds of welfare chauvinism" - explore how welfare chauvinism is present in different countries based on where they fall in the Esping-Andersen (1990) classification. They describe the typical hypothesis present in many works that state that people in countries with a socio-democratic welfare system are the most willing to share benefits, followed, respectively, by the conservative-corporatist and liberal welfare systems. Crepaz & Damron (2008) agree, stating that "In universal welfare states there is very little possibility of labelling receivers of welfare support. [...] whereas means-tested or targeted systems are designed to separate the "needy" from the well-to-do, the deserving from the "undeserving," and so on" (p.445). Larsen (2008), who explores how welfare systems affect public support, finds that public support for welfare benefits is dependent on three dimensions: 1) Degree of universalism, 2) Degree of job opportunities, 3) Difference in economic resources between the "bottom" and "the majority". **The author finds evidence of higher support for welfare policy in sociodemocratic welfare states (mostly explained by the absence of the need to distinguish between welfare recipients) and lower support in liberal states (welfare recipients need to fulfil much more extensive deservingness criteria)**.

Van Der Waal & De Koster (2013), using methodology by Larsen (2008) find two distinct "states" of welfare chauvinism (in the narrow sense - focusing on migrants only). According to the authors, the liberal and conservative-corporatist regimes show very similar levels of welfare chauvinism, while the socio-democratic regime stands alone as the regime with the least amount of welfare chauvinism present. They demonstrate that:

(1) in countries where welfare is the most dependent on means-testing, the level of welfare chauvinism is the highest;

(2) the level of unemployment and the strictness of employment regulation has no effect on different levels of welfare chauvinism;

(3) The level of economic inequality has an effect on the level of welfare chauvinism - higher inequality means higher level of welfare chauvinism.

The authors, along with the others mentioned, show a clear link between welfare regimes and welfare chauvinism, and overall support for welfare policy, with more

universal welfare regimes with lower levels of stratification creating less welfare chauvinism outcomes. We expect to see such differences between the Baltic states.

2.7. Welfare Systems in the Baltics

When classifying the welfare systems of the three Baltic countries based on Esping-Andersen's typology, the opinions of authors differ. Many papers, especially ones from the 1990s and 2000s that discuss the welfare regimes of post-communist countries, label the development of welfare systems in these states as moving towards the liberal welfare regime (see Ferge, 1997; Bohle, 2007; Lendvai, 2008). Some have gone beyond the three welfare state systems proposed by Esping-Andersen and classify the three countries as a group based on the communist history of the region, for example, Fenger (2007), who deems the welfare systems of the Baltic country block to be of "Former-USSR type". According to him, the welfare systems resemble those of the conservative-corporatist type, but the low level of trust and low governmental programme variable scores move the three countries away from the Western-European conservative-corporatist counterparts, creating a distinct group of its own.

A notable body of work on Baltic welfare systems has been done by Aidukaite (2004, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2018, 2019), covering the Baltic welfare systems since the fall of the communist regime until now, highlighting the differences that have appeared between the three countries over time. For our research, Aidukaite's works are an important source of information for understanding the contemporary welfare systems of the three Baltic countries, since, as aforementioned, many of the older papers that attempt to classify the welfare systems of the three countries do not go beyond labelling them "post-communist" without exploring any differences between the three states. Aidukaite is one of the very few authors who have attempted to classify these countries' welfare systems in the 2010's - at least two decades after Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia regained independence after the fall of the Soviet Union. One could argue that now enough time has passed for the three states to have developed stable welfare systems with their own characteristics, which allows research like that by Aidukaite to be more thorough and meaningful and show how the Baltic countries have each developed different welfare systems.

In her more contemporary works, she has arrived at the conclusion that Lithuania falls closest to the liberal regime, Estonia - to the sociodemocratic, and Latvia - to the conservative-corporatist (2018, 2019), but with all three countries'

regimes being a mix of characteristics of the possible classifications. Aidukaite (2018) shows that "in all three countries eligibility for social benefits and services is mainly based on labour force participation, and earnings-related benefits are provided with minimum and maximum ceilings implemented. However, in Latvia and Estonia, one may find more elements of universalism where eligibility is based on citizenship/residency and flat-rate benefits are provided. In Lithuania, one may find more benefits and services where eligibility is based on proven need, and the level of benefits is minimal" (p. 7).

Aidukaite (2018) also shows that Lithuania has more extensive means-tested social assistance than Estonia or Latvia, but the qualifying conditions are much stricter, with recipients having to pass an income test, a property test and an assets test, while in the two other countries one must only need to pass the income test to qualify for social assistance. The countries differ significantly in family benefits, although all have benefits systems similar to those found in many Western European countries: Estonia has a notably more generous family and child support system than the two Baltic counterparts, with Lithuanian parents receiving benefits on a means-tested basis and social insurance contributions, while Latvia has a strongly prevailing universal family support scheme in place, offering support both based on earnings and universal childcare benefits. All three countries have low unemployment benefits when compared to other EU countries, with both the size and the duration of benefits being small. Nevertheless, one can say Estonia has the most generous unemployment benefits, followed by Latvia and then Lithuania. Pensions, a pressing issue for the ageing Baltic population, are operating under a privatized system in all three countries, under a three-pillar system, with only the first pillar being state-managed, with the size of pensions being dependent on taxes or current contribution. The overall level of average pensions in the Baltic states is very low compared to the EU average, forcing many old-age people to live in relative poverty, with Estonia offering the highest average level of pensions and Lithuania - the lowest.

These facts demonstrate how Lithuania, with emphasis on means-tested and pay-as-you-go assistance schemes, low unemployment benefits and small family assistance approaches the liberal regime the closest. Estonia, with more universal assistance systems in place is the closest to the socio-democratic model, and Latvia, with a strong emphasis on family benefits and a mix of means-tested and universal assistance,

approaches the corporatist model. A summary of all 3 countries' welfare systems can be seen in Appendix D.

2.8. Electoral Procedures in Each Country & Party System Characteristics

In all three Baltic countries, the parliament has developed to serve very similar functions, with the electoral procedures being quite alike as well, with the small exception of Lithuania which follows a parallel voting system. In all three countries, the parliament serves as the legislative arm of the political branch - enacting referendums, adapting the constitution, adopting laws, calling for the presidential election, appointing ministers and heads of state organisations, appointing heads of the constitutional court, approving the budget, and others, as explained in the constitution of each respective country.

In Estonia, the Riigikogu is composed of 101 seats and elected for four years; in Latvia, the Saeima is composed of 100 seats and is elected for four years; in Lithuania, the Seimas consists of 141 seats, elected, also, for four years. As aforementioned, in Lithuania, the Seimas is elected in a mixed-system procedure - 71 members are elected through single-member constituencies, while in the "multi-member constituency 70 Members of the Seimas are elected according to the proportional system of election" (Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, 1992). Since in both Latvia and Estonia the parliament is elected based on proportional representation, when considering Lithuanian election results, we chose to focus only on the 70 seats that are elected through proportional representation.

In all three countries, a party can get seats in the parliament if it reaches the 5% of votes threshold. In our analysis, we choose to consider only parties that have reached this threshold. This limits our sample to those populist parties that have gained enough traction with their proposed policies and party ideology to have a possibility to exert their influence in parliament.

3. Methodology

Since the main purpose of this paper is to find out whether and how welfare chauvinism is present in the welfare policies of populist parties in the Baltics, there are three main data types needed for us to be able to answer our research question:

(1) Data that will allow us to measure and define populism, so as to be able to decide which parties to investigate further;

(2) Data that will allow us to discriminate between different welfare states in the three countries;

(3) Data that will allow us to see the welfare policies of the parties we choose to focus on, so as to be able to see whether and how welfare chauvinism is present in the policies of these parties.

For the first needed data type, we plan to use the Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index (2019), retrieved from: https://populismindex.com/. Using this data is advantageous, as it reflects data from a large time span, and the data set, available for download, is continually updated, thus containing the newest and most relevant information. We find the Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index to be the best source for our purposes, when compared to other populism measures or indexes, such as those by The Institute for Global Change, The Guardian, Bloomberg, etc. The aforementioned populism indexes, as well as many others, either do not have contemporary data, do not contain a sufficient list of political parties from the region, or, most often, exclude the Baltics altogether; the Timbro index is the strongest in all of these fronts, which is why we consider it to be the best measure for our case.

The report classifies parties based on their position on the political spectrum, ideology, and finally, their categorization, which deems whether the party is populist or not. The methodology behind the data set is explained in Appendix H.

The methodology combines many of the sources typically used to measure populism, such as Chapel Hill Expert Survey Data (see, e.g., Schwarzbözl & Fatke (2017); Polk et al. (2017)) and party manifesto analysis (see, e.g., Rooduijn (2009); Rooduijn & Pauwels (2011)). By using this dataset, we avoid multiple problems:

(1) The Chapel Hill Expert Survey offers data for all three countries only for 2014 and lacks important variables for populism analysis that were only introduced in 2017. We consider this data to be too dated and too incomplete for our purpose,

as it might not reflect certain party stances, changes in them, and does not include all parties we wish to investigate;

(2) Party manifestos can offer too little information for one to be able to make a grounded decision on whether a party is populist;

(3) It is unrealistic to analyse all party-related literature, such as news articles alongside all party published documents, without risking missing some important points. It can be indefinite and ambiguous, and, since our research focuses on countries whose native languages we do not speak, some nuances in the texts can be lost in translation.

Appendix C shows which parties from Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia are populist according to the data set. Since we will only consider parties that reached the 5% voting threshold in the latest parliamentary elections in each respective country, the party list we will consider in our work will be smaller than the list in Appendix C. To see which parties we will consider for further analysis based on election results, and their share of votes received in the latest elections, see Appendix E.

For the second needed data type - something that will allow us to classify welfare regimes according to Esping-Andersen (1990) as explained in the literature review, we will rely on existing research papers. The most thorough work on welfare systems in the Baltics has been done by Aidukaite (2018; 2019). In her 2019 paper, she concludes that: "If we try to place the social protection systems of the three countries into Esping-Andersen's welfare state regime typology, we may find a combination of features from different regimes. However, the low protection of children and the unemployed in Lithuania makes it more similar to the liberal welfare state regime, while Estonia, with its generous policies for children and families, comes closer to the social democratic model. Latvia resembles the conservative-corporatist regime with modest benefits to children and a heavy reliance on social insurance programs" (p. 17). We will rely on this paper's analysis, supplemented by others, to draw conclusions about the welfare systems of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

For the third data type - the welfare policies of our chosen populistic parties, we will rely on extended political program analysis and Chapel Hill Expert Survey data as an additional source where applicable. We plan to use all available information on the party websites related to their political goals, plans and proposals, going beyond the standardized party manifestos, in order to expand the information pool and be able to

find out more about the welfare policies of the chosen parties. We will use a translator for texts that are available only in Estonian or Lithuanian languages.

For analysing welfare proposals (in order to understand whether welfare chauvinism is present in the policies of a specific party), our approach will follow that of Ennser-Jedenastik (2016); his paper examines the attitude of a populist party towards different social groups over time in Austria by analysing the party's welfare policy proposals, separating the policies based on where they fit within the populist ideology, and defining their stance towards the various social groups. When examining references to welfare policies in party electoral programmes, we will record whether the party is in favour (+) or against (-) welfare for a specific group, or whether it takes a neutral/mixed stance (/) (for example, if the party alludes to a group on different occasions, once being in favour and other times against welfare improvements for this group). If a party has no stance towards specific group, we record it as a zero (0). We will then separate the various welfare claims depending on whether they fall under authoritarian, nativist or anti-elitist ideology, as explained in the literature review, and observe which social groups populist parties see as more deserving of welfare claims than others. We will look at which is the prevailing ideology (authoritarianism, nativism or anti-elitism), because of the implications they have on how the parties approach welfare as such and which social groups are prioritized. Using this methodological approach allows us to easily categorize welfare stances without having to describe each one separately by welfare items, which would add little benefit and a lot of unneeded complexity to the text. Since we are more concerned with *attitude* towards specific *groups*, we believe using the structure proposed by Ennser-Jedenastik would be valuable and fitting in our work.

To exemplify the proposed methodology:

This information can be found on the webpage of Nacionālā Apvienība, one of the Latvian populist parties we include in our analysis:

1. "NA piedāvātais risinājums paredz kardinālu pabalstu samazinājumu patvēruma meklētājiem, tādējādi nodrošinot taisnīgu attieksmi pret visiem Latvijā dzīvojošajiem."

Translation: "the solution proposed by NA entails a drastic reduction in benefits for asylum seekers, thus ensuring a fair attitude for all those living in Latvia"

(Nacionala Apvieniba, 2015). From this we can conclude that the party does not support welfare benefits to asylum seekers; we would record this as a "-".

2. "Prioritāri un lielākā apmērā palielināt valsts sociālā nodrošinājuma pabalsta apmēru cilvēkiem ar invaliditāti."

Translation: "Increase, as a matter of priority, the amount of state social security benefits for people with disabilities" (Nacionala Apvieniba, n.d., b). We conclude that the party supports welfare benefits for the disabled, and we record it as "+".

Based on these 2 examples we can summarize the party's attitude in the following manner:

Ideology	Social group	Attitude
Nativism	Asylum seekers	-
Authoritarianism	The disabled	+

While the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (n.d.) data does not give us a precise answer on the welfare policies a party has towards a specific social group, it allows us to understand the party's attitude towards it; that serves as a good guide for us to understand how the party is likely to treat a specific group. In this case, the data confirms the party's negative attitude towards immigrants (see Appendix F).

Multiple methods are available for analysing policies of populist parties and determining which parties are populist; nevertheless, we see our chosen methodology to be the most applicable in our case. Other authors have used text coding in their analysis, inputting large amounts of text or audio data in a computer programme, which looks for certain words or word combinations. We chose not to take this approach, ir order to avoid creating a database of words and phrases that does not translate equally well across all three languages; additionally, some of our parties of interest use language that is vague and/or contain specific nuances when describing their policies or ideals - something a computer programme would not be able to pick up as effectively as a human.

3.1. Limitations

One has to address the limitations of the content analysis approach we are proposing. In cases of ambiguity, the interpretation is left to the reader, which can skew our understanding of a party's policy. The use of a translator, is, of course, in itself an opportunity to misunderstand certain ideas, and the precision and interpretation is left to the translator. We also expect that there will be parties who do not address the question of welfare regarding many social groups; for example, while a certain party might have a very negative attitude towards, say, immigrants, they might not state that immigrants do not deserve welfare benefits. Thus, we have to refrain from creating false positives - spinning a party's perceived attitude into policy proposals to fit our aims where it is not really so.

Our proposed methodology and data source selection to choose which populist parties will be included in our analysis creates a small sample size; for Estonia, for example, conclusions about welfare chauvinism in the country will have to be drawn from analysing one party. While choosing a different methodology to classify parties might have yielded a larger sample size and thus more content for analysis and discussion, we believe our methodology and choice of parties yields us the highest quality sample for the analysis, as described in the methodology section above.

4. Results

4.1. Populist Parties in the Baltics

According to the Timbro Authoritarian Populism (TAP) index (2019), there are 6
populist parties in the three Baltic countries: 1 party in Estonia, 2 in Latvia and 3 in
Lithuania. The parties are listed in Table 1 below.

Table 1. List of populist parties in the Baltics

PARTY	FULL PARTY NAME	COUNTRY	POSITION	CATEGORY	FOUNDED
EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	**EST**	RIGHT	right-wing populism	2012
NA	Nacionala Apvieniba Visu Latvijai! - Tevzemei un Brivibai/LNNK	**LAT**	RIGHT	right-wing populism	2010
KPV LV	Kam pieder valsts?	**LAT**	RIGHT	right-wing populism	2016
TT	Tvarka ir Teisingumas	**LIT**	RIGHT	right-wing populism	2002
LCP	Lietuvos Centro Partija	**LIT**	RIGHT	right-wing populism	2003
JL	Jaunoji Lietuva	**LIT**	RIGHT	right-wing populism	2009

Created by the authors, using data from Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index (2019)

The list is narrowed according to our demands for us to investigate the party:

(1) The party is still active as a separate entity in the latest parliamentary elections
in each respective country;

(2) The party is right wing, according to the TAP Index;

(3) The party reached at least 5% of votes in the latest parliamentary elections in the
respective country (the list of parties can be seen in Appendix C).

These specifications narrow the list down to 5 parties, namely:

- Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond
- Nacionala Apvieniba Visu Latvijai! - Tevzemei un Brivibai/LNNK
- Kam Pieder Valsts? LV
- Tvarka ir Teisingumas
- Lietuvos Centro Partija

Our specifications eliminate only one of the parties from the list. According to the TAP index (2019), there are no left-wing populist parties in either of the three countries. Additionally, All the parties, except Jaunoji Lietuva are represented in parliament, highlighting the popularity of such parties among voters.

The 5 parties listed above will be the basis of our analysis of populist party policies.

4.2. Populist Party Policies

4.2.1. Estonia

Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond

The one party representing the Estonian populists, Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond, or EKRE for short, is a national conservative right-wing party. It has risen in popularity during the last decade, gaining 18% of the votes in the latest parliamentary elections in 2019 (see Appendix E). The party is often perceived as far-right, racist and radical, especially in the popular media (see, e.g. The Guardian, 2019), highlighting the contrast between Estonia's liberal political scene and the heavily right-leaning political stance of EKRE.

EKRE's policies and role as a populist party has been explored before. Petsinis (2019) explains how the party's strategy of campaigning with a strong focus on anti-immigration, identity politics and nativism has established the party as a strong player in Estonian politics. This hints at what can be expected from the party's welfare policy profile - strong support for Estonian families and no support for non-natives. EKRE itself describes their main goals as " [...] to activate the citizens of the Republic of

Estonia and to realize their will in the state administration, so as to ensure the security of the people and the state against both internal and external enemies, the survival and development of the independent Republic of Estonia as a nation state, the creation of a living environment necessary for the survival of the Estonian language and culture" (EKRE, n.d.). Based on this description, we can see typical characteristics of populism - a call to action trying to mobilise the people, and claiming the party represents the interests of the people; we can expect the party's policies to feature elements of anti-elitism.

Table 2 illustrates the welfare policy profile of EKRE, showing the party's attitude to specific groups under the three ideologies discussed in the literature review. The party's 2019 Parliamentary election program and the Conservative Program found on the party's website served as the basis for our analysis of their welfare policies.

Table 2: Welfare Policy Profile of EKRE

Ideology	Group	Attitude
Nativism	Natives	+
	Foreigners	0
Authoritarianism	Families	+
	Pensioners	+
	The Sick	+
	The Disabled	+
	The Unemployed	0
Anti-elitism	Politicians	-
	Civil Servants	-
	Privileged Insiders	0

Created by the authors, using data from EKRE, (n.d.)

One can see that EKRE's welfare policy profile strongly coincides with all the populist party ideologies discussed in the literature section:

(1) The party shows strong support for native Estonians;
(2) The party shows support for increased welfare benefits to families, the sick, the disabled and elderly people - strong in authoritarian ideology;
(3) The party suggests decreasing benefits to politicians and civil servants.

EKRE does not have any proposed welfare policies for the unemployed or privileged insiders.

4.2.2. Latvia

The Latvian populist front is represented by 2 parties - Nacionālā Apvienība (NA) and Kam Pieder Valsts? LV (KPV LV). The parties are quite different, with NA having been a prominent participant in Latvian politics for a decade, with a focus on a strong nationalist message, while KPV LV is a new party that quickly rose to fame, mostly due to the party's strong anti-establishment stance (Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019).

Nacionālā Apvienība

Nacionālā Apvienība (NA) is a nationalist party that has been a strong player in Latvian politics in some shape for many years. The party is made up of 2 nationalist parties that merged in 2010 - Visu Latvijai! and Tēvzemei un Brīvībai/LNNK, which itself is a party that merged 2 others in 1997 (Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019). The party advocates on a strong nationalist and Latvian culture focused platform, and this seems to resonate with voters - NA has gained seats in parliament in every election since the party's inception and has not held less than 10 seats in the last 3 parliaments (Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019).

Table 3: Welfare Policy Profile of Nacionālā Apvienība

Ideology	Group	Attitude
Nativism	Natives	+
	Foreigners	-
Authoritarianism	Families	+
	Pensioners	+
	The Sick	+
	The Disabled	+
	The Unemployed	0
Anti-elitism	Politicians	0
	Civil Servants	0
	Privileged Insiders	0

Created by the authors, using data from Nacionālā Apvienība (2015; n.d., a, b)

The party emphasises Latvian culture, language and the nation itself as the main values. One of their goals is to increase the proportion of natives living in Latvia and they strongly oppose any immigration policy that would work against it. The party has shown incentives to reduce welfare benefits for asylum seekers, stating that it is unfair towards the native population if the benefits for foreigners exceed those of natives (Nacionālā Apvienība, 2015). They are also against pro-Russian forces in the government and claim to work towards limiting Russian propaganda in the media. Moreover, they advocate Latvian language as the main language used in education and labour market, further highlighting their anti-immigration stance and their support for the natives and the national values, traditions and heritage (Nacionālā Apvienība, n.d., a).

Nacionālā Apvienība has a strong focus on family as one of the most important values and strongly supports parents, pensioners, children and the disabled in various aspects, e.g. with monetary benefits, additional medical support, free meals in schools,

housing support, etc. They also work towards improved accessibility of quality healthcare and increased financing and compensation for various medications (Nacionālā Apvienība, n.d., c). The party mentions some support policies for the unemployed, but only in the context of family, e.g. benefits for unemployed parents taking care of a child. No other specific benefits or other proposals with regard to the unemployed have been suggested by the party, so this cannot be considered to portray the party's attitude towards the unemployed specifically. These attitudes are summarised in Table 3.

Chapel Hill Expert Survey data (Appendix F) confirms NA's anti-immigration stance, with the party's restrictive immigration policies and high opposition to support for ethnic minorities and multiculturalism. They have been ranked to be somewhat neutral regarding the salience of their anti-elite and anti-establishment stance, while having some salience towards corruption issues in politics. They have not proposed any welfare policies aimed specifically towards politicians or civil servants, so we do not record these attitudes towards these groups with regard to welfare.

KPV LV

Kam Pieder Valsts? LV (KPV LV) is a Latvian right-wing party established in 2016. It received significant support and gained 16 seats in the 2018 elections (Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019). It is known for their profound anti-establishment attitude. The party claims to be the only party that knows how to achieve real change, as it is said in the party's homepage (KPV LV, n.d., b). These details fit with the populist party characteristics discussed in the literature.

Table 4: Welfare Policy Profile of KPV LV

Ideology	Group	Attitude
Nativism	Natives	0
	Foreigners	0
Authoritarianism	Families	0
	Pensioners	+
	The Sick	0
	The Disabled	0
	The Unemployed	0
Anti-elitism	Politicians	0
	Civil Servants	0
	Privileged Insiders	0

Created by the authors, using data from KPV LV (n.d., a, b, c)

The party aims to achieve growth of Latvia's native population, so their proposed policies are meant to work towards higher birth rates, less people leaving the country, and more returning. That being so, the family is a vital focus point for this party as well. KPV LV plans to support the families by altering the current system and dedicating more resources to schools and kindergartens. The party also proposes working towards better healthcare by improving the quality and availability of family doctors and achieving lower prices of medication by implementing changes in the industry (KPV LV, n.d., a; b).

KPV LV has stated the opinion that all state-provided education in Latvia needs to be in Latvian, similarly to NA emphasizing that it would promote and support the local culture, traditions and values. Promoting the use of Latvian language is one of the ways how the party is supporting the natives and the national identity (KPV LV, n.d., b).

The party portrays a very strong anti-elite attitude, criticising the existing system and the actions of those in power. They propose such actions as eliminating the coalition council, reducing the number of ministers, and significantly changing the model of public administration (KPV LV, n.d., b).

All that being said, KPV LV does not specify any welfare policies aimed towards the discussed groups, and mostly propose implementing changes through other factors, such as governance structures and other changes in the industry of interest. As it is portrayed in Table 4, the only social group for which the party suggests increased welfare benefits are the pensioners. In other words, the only area where this party has any welfare proposals is the pension system, which, in the light of Latvia's classification in the Esping-Andersen (1990) typology, is not surprising.

4.2.3. Lithuania

The Lithuanian populist block is represented by 2 parties - Partija Tvarka ir Teisingumas (TT) and the Lithuanian Center Party (LCP). LCP participated in the latest election in a coalition with the Lithuanan Pensioners party, forming the "anti-corruption" coalition. Despite the party being a part of a coalition, we still choose to consider it for our analysis, taking into account the party's role as the domineering party between the two, not only based on LCP's larger size, but also LCP's success in the 2019 municipal elections, and the fact that the party's leader holds the only seat in the parliament the coalition gained (Diena LT, 2019).

Partija Tvarka ir Teisingumas

Tvarka ir Teisingumas was formed in 2004 by combining two existing parties, following the president's at the time, Rolandas Pakšas, removal from office (Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019), with the aim of reducing the backlash that Pakšas lead party, the Liberal Democratic Party, faced after his impeachment scandal. TT advocates "nationalism, social order, and Christian values" (Political Handbook of the World 2018-2019, p. 952); the party has consistently performed well in polls, gaining parliament seats in every election since the party's inception, but has been dropping in popularity among voters over time, reaching an all-time low in 2016.

Table 5: Welfare Policy Profile of Tvarka ir Teisingumas

Ideology	Group	Attitude
Nativism	Natives	+
	Foreigners	0
Authoritarianism	Families	+
	Pensioners	+
	The Sick	+
	The Disabled	+
	The Unemployed	-
Anti-elitism	Politicians	0
	Civil Servants	0
	Privileged Insiders	0

Made by the authors, using data from Tvarka ir Teisingumas (n.d.)

As it is shown in Table 5, TT's welfare policies are most strongly influenced by authoritarianism ideology, with the party showing support for groups under this ideology exactly in line with the theory - increased benefits to families, pensioners, the disabled and the sick, while limiting support for the unemployed. Despite the party's strong nativism-driven campaign messages, the party does not have any policies directed at decreasing welfare for non-natives. TT also supports native migrants by offering benefits to those who return to live in Lithuania. A similar situation can be seen with policies that fall under anti-elitism - even though TT expresses strong anti-elitism sentiments, no welfare policies directed at politicians or other types of civil servants are proposed.

Chapel Hill Expert Survey data affirms and clarifies the attitudes TT has for various social groups (see Appendix G). The party ranks high in anti-elitism salience - something that is an important part of TT's campaign strategy. Balcere (2011) agrees

that the party rose to prominence and attracted voters mainly due to their anti-elitist stance. The Chapel Hill Expert Survey measure GALTAN shows where a party lies on the libertarian/ postmaterialist-centrist-traditional/ authoritarian spectrum. TT ranks quite high, illustrating their proximity to authoritarianism ideology. This coincides with the party's welfare policies - authoritarianism is the strongest of the three ideological influences.

Interestingly, TT ranks low (3.6) in the redistribution variable, indicating that the party supports economic redistribution; this however, is not too apparent in the party's welfare policies, which do not indicate that the party is attempting to specifically support low-income people in order to encourage distribution.

Lietuvos Centro Partija

LCP was established in 2003 and has always been a centrist-oriented party. The party has had little electoral success, only gaining seats in the latest parliamentary election. In 2019, LCP changed their name to Centre Party "Welfare Lithuania", to emphasise the party's interest in establishing Lithuania as a welfare state - in support to the same idea by the new president Gatinas Nauseda who took office in July 2019 (LCP, 2018).

LCP states that the biggest threat to Lithuania is political polarisation - the divide between the left and the right. They campaign strongly on the message that political centrism and moderatism is key for successful development of the country: "Political bipolarity does not strengthen the Lithuanian state. A third force is needed. [...] Centrist politics are the politics needed to build a civil society in the nation state. In this sense, it responds to the most pressing interests of both the world and Lithuania. Centralism conceptually corrects traditional left and right ideologies. Left ideology regards work as a major factor in life; right - wealth. Centralism sees both values - work and wealth - as irreplaceable and believes that only their integration can become the foundation of a welfare society" (LCP, n.d.). Topics such as personal freedom, people-centrism, wealth and national identity are prevalent in the party's ideological profile.

According to LCP's political program, the party:

- "believes in the individuality of a person, in their mind and good will;
- works to promote human freedom and responsibility, and their highest manifestations - personal integrity and public confidence;

- draws on the nation and its values as meaningful to each individual's decision, their way of life and their goals;
- seeks to develop a state based on the agreement to protect the natural rights of the people - to believe, think, decide, speak, choose and act independently;
- guarantees constitutional democracy, decentralization and separation of powers, the rule of law in public administration and the public life of citizens, and respect for moral self-determination in private;
- denies and rejects ideological dictation" (LCP, n.d.).

Table 6: Welfare Policy Profile of Lietuvos Centro Partija

Ideology	Group	Attitude
Nativism	Natives	+
	Foreigners	/
Authoritarianism	Families	+
	Pensioners	+
	The Sick	+
	The Disabled	+
	The Unemployed	+
Anti-elitism	Politicians	0
	Civil Servants	0
	Privileged Insiders	0

Made by the authors, using data from Lietuvos Centro Partija (n.d.)

Despite the party's recent name change, LCP's welfare policy profile is quite narrow (Table 6). The party advocates for an expanded welfare state, but does not directly address many groups, and for the groups they do address, there are fewer policies than could be found in the manifestos of other parties. According to LCP, "[...] the party's main goal measures to reduce income inequality". (LCP, 2018).

Despite the lack of welfare policies, the party has an extensive policy profile to improve the well-being of citizens, especially in low-income areas, such as free public transport, improved infrastructure, cheap housing projects, new parks and free recreation centres and art/sports lessons, etc.

5. Analysis & Discussion

5.1. Estonia

EKRE, the sole representative of the Estonian populist party block, checks all the boxes of a RWPP's ideology profile, having all three ideologies present in the party's welfare policies. One can easily see, however, that the welfare policies are most heavily influenced by the authoritarian ideology. This is not surprising, since a lot of EKRE's appeal to voters is explained by the party's conservative social policies (Petsinis, 2019) - very well present in their welfare policies, which aim to support classic mother-father family roles and encourage having children, while ensuring higher living standards for elders, disabled and sick people.

The group most strongly supported by the party (e.g. the most welfare policies for this group, and this group is mentioned the most) is families. EKRE's proposed family welfare policies cover a wide range of various types of support, for example:

- "We support young families in establishing a home by providing benefits depending on the number of children - we create a state a credit system that gives a young family a loan and clears a certain amount of debt at birth";
- "Introducing a fairer parental benefit system, increasing child and family benefit rates";
- "Larger benefits for families with children in education" (Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond, n.d.)

Like all parties in our sample, EKRE strongly supports elders, promising to increase pensions and relate them to the number of children raised. The party also supports increased welfare benefits to sick and/or disabled people, mostly focused on reducing the costs of medical care, for example: "We consider it necessary to launch a system of social benefits for people with disabilities that takes into account the individual needs and connects the financial support system with the rehabilitation system." (EKRE, n.d.). The unemployed is the only group not addressed in any welfare policies under the authoritarianism ideology.

EKRE is a strongly nativism-driven party, as explained by Petsinis (2019): "Since 2015, the refugee question has come to form a key component of EKRE's campaign. This acquires a greater significance considering that only 206 refugees from

Syria and Iraq had settled in Estonia by March 2018". Despite this, and the party's negative attitudes towards both immigrants and the Russian minority population of Estonia, EKRE does not have any welfare policies against non-natives; all the while, the party strongly advocated for reduced immigration into the country, harsher background checks and a tight policy on naturalisation. Nevertheless, the party does support native citizens by granting benefits to any Estonians returning home from life abroad.

EKRE is one of the rare populist parties from our sample that have a clearly defined welfare approach for political representatives. The party wishes to "eliminate any unjustified benefits and bonuses" for all state officials and "abolish the Riigikogu deputies' allowances and compensations" (EKRE, n.d.). EKRE makes these welfare claims, among other intentions of fighting corruption, such as drastically cutting the number and size of governmental organisations, reducing the number of politicians, ensuring transparency and limiting government expenditure - all to fight corruption and abuse of power.

These policies make sense in light of EKRE's strong anti-elitist stance, which is one of the reasons why the party is so popular among voters: "Focusing specifically on the Estonian context, Siim Trumm contends that anti-immigration sentiments and Euroscepticism were not of pivotal importance for the increased public support for EKRE in the 2015 parliamentary elections. Largely relying on quantitative data from a public survey conducted jointly by the Saar polling agency and Tartu University (2015), the author argues that the party's anti-establishment rhetoric and social conservatism had been a lot more topical for augmenting its popular appeal. Trumm summarizes the "average" EKRE voter as male and socially conservative with an anti-establishment disposition" (Petsinis, 2019).

5.2. Latvia

The two parties in Latvia show different tendencies; it is important to remember that KPV.LV is quite an outlier in our sample, with their lack of almost any welfare policies. Both parties show characteristics of an authoritarian ideology, with Nacionālā Apvienība proposing welfare benefits for all the covered groups except for the unemployed, and KPV LV, while only suggesting specific welfare policies for the pensioners, showing strong support for the families as well.

The parties do not, however, portray a negative stance towards the unemployed, which may be linked to their goals of less people leaving the country and more

returning, since economic incentives are a huge driver of the decision to emigrate (Hazans, 2019), and further discrimination of people struggling with finding a job may drive them away even more. Another possibility is that the parties do not view the unemployed as a separate category in the welfare state, thus not aiming policies towards them specifically, only speaking of them in relation to other groups such as unemployed parents.

While KPV LV shows a strong anti-establishment attitude, criticising the current politicians, their use of taxpayers' money, and the system itself, they do not propose welfare reduction for this group in their policies. NA, on the other hand, does not display a strong focus on this particular group. While anti-elitism as such is present among Latvian populist parties, it does not appear in their welfare policy proposals, making this the ideology that influences Latvia's welfare policies the least.

The declining native population of Latvia is a huge concern for both parties, so supporting the natives in various ways is an important aspect in their agendas. That being said, only Nacionālā Apvienība offers using welfare policies to solve the issue, proposing various increases in welfare benefits for the population, as well as reducing the benefits of asylum seekers so that they would not exceed the benefits of the natives, creating an unfair situation for the native taxpayers. KPV LV does not talk about immigrants at all, only focusing on ways of making the native population stay or return to Latvia using other means (not welfare policies).

Another important issue for both parties is the state of Latvian culture and heritage, with the concern that the large portion of Russians in Latvia is a threat to Latvian native language and values. While the parties do not suggest discriminating the Russian population in regard to their welfare benefits, this overall negative attitude towards a specific ethnicity fits with the theory of nativism.

These findings hint that, correspondingly to what was covered in the literature review, the large part of Russian citizens already within the population is a greater concern for Latvian populist parties than additional foreign immigrants. While NA supports limiting foreign immigration and their benefits, the nativism observed among the parties is more about preserving our culture and language and preventing the Russian language and influence from prevailing - an issue that, in this case, is not dealt with using welfare policies.

5.3. Lithuania

Authoritarianism is the strongest of all 3 ideological influences on the welfare policies of Lithuanian populist parties. Both parties show strong support for increased benefits for families and pensioners, as well as the sick and disabled. The only group the parties do not agree on is the unemployed and whether welfare to this group should be limited or increased. TT believes that unemployment benefits should be reduced, while LPC argues they should be increased. This is an interesting issue - the problem of the large unemployment rate in the country (especially outside large cities) is addressed by both parties, but while LCP believes larger benefits would help those unemployed and living in poverty, TT argues that unemployment benefits demotivate people from seeking work and thus should be decreased (Lietuvos Centro Partija, n.d.; Tvarka ir Teisingumas, n.d.).

Neither of the two Lithuanian populist parties have any policies directed at decreasing the welfare benefits of non-natives; TT has no policy for this group at all, and LCP takes a mixed stance - they believe that benefits to asylum seekers should be increased, while economic migrants should be stripped of their benefits. Nevertheless, both parties strongly support reduced immigration by lowering immigrant quotas and having stricter conditions for evaluating whether possible migrants are allowed to take residency (Lietuvos Centro Partija, n.d.; Tvarka ir Teisingumas, n.d.).

Both parties support the idea of giving benefits to Lithuanian emigrants returning back home. This approach is not surprising, considering the fact that Lithuania has a negative net migration score (Index Mundi, 2019), and keeping Lithuanians in the country and enticing emigrants to return is likely of larger priority that cutting benefits for the small number of immigrants that Lithuania receives (Eurostat, 2018b).

Anti-elitism in the welfare policies of Lithuanian populist parties is quite weak. This is a surprising outcome, since both parties have strong anti-elitism messages (interestingly, both claiming that the "clash" between the left and the right are a large concern for the country), and authors (Jakobson et al., 2012) agree that anti-elitism is strong in Lithuania. Both parties advocate for the reduction of the size of the Seimas, a decrease in the number of ministries, and greater political autonomy for regional municipalities. Both parties have a "call to action" - they think the Lithuanian people should participate in political decision-making and more power should be given to the public - both parties show strong evidence of people-centrism. TT even argues that the

government should be less powerful, and the president should have more political influence (Balcere, 2011).

5.4. Welfare Chauvinism in the Baltics – Overview

Authoritarianism is the leading ideology for populist parties in all three countries. While not all of the parties propose a specific welfare policy for all of the relevant groups, all parties portray a generally positive attitude towards most of them, with the only group receiving a mixed approach being the unemployed. It shows how the views on how to approach the unemployment issue differ significantly, with some believing that unemployment benefits are necessary to help those who are at risk of poverty because of it, while others say that such benefits would demotivate people from looking for a job, driving the unemployment rates up even more. Taking into account the fact that the emigration issues that these countries experience are fuelled partially by economic incentives (Hazans, 2019), the issue becomes even trickier.

   The groups under authoritarianism ideology that receive the strongest support are the families and the pensioners, which is no surprise knowing the circumstances and the social and economic environment in the Baltics. There are various reasons for supporting the families, one of the main ones being the common issue of low birth rates and the declining population. Pensions are a prevailing welfare issue as well, and, in this region, promises of larger pensions are used as political campaign tactics quite often. Some of the factors that can explain this trend are:

(1) The problem of overall ageing of the population in these countries (World Bank Group, 2015), meaning both that the issue affects a relatively large number of people, and that a significant part of potential voters are members of this group;

(2) All 3 countries have some of the lowest pension levels in the EU (Euros per person at constant prices) (Eurostat, 2017);

(3) The Baltics have by far the highest rates of old age people living at the poverty line in the EU (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: At-risk-of-poverty Rate of Older People (60+), 2018
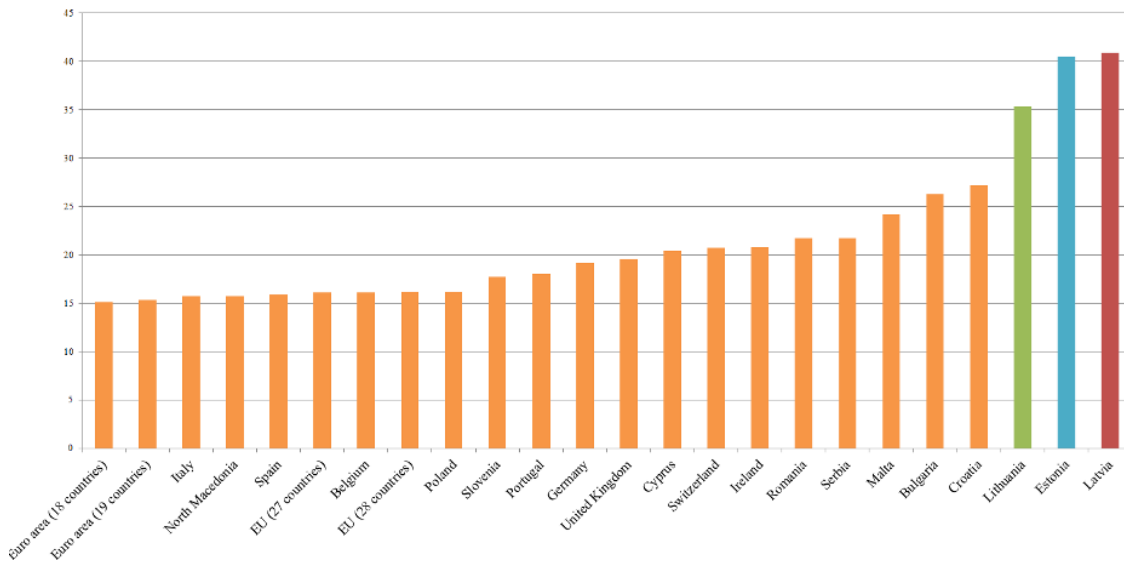
Created by the authors, using data from Eurostat (2018a)

Nativism, as explained in the literature review, takes a different form in the Baltics than it does in many Western European countries, due to the fact that the level of immigration to the Baltic countries is low, and that the region was touched by the refugee crisis to a significantly smaller degree than many other regions in Europe. This is also what we find during our research.

While all parties are against immigration to some extent, mostly through limiting refugee quotas and imposing harsher qualifying conditions for migrants, only two parties have actual welfare policies directed at non-natives. Although the parties may consider anti-immigrant sentiments to be an attractive campaign strategy, the issue does not seem to be of the highest importance, likely explained by the very small number of immigrants coming to the Baltics.

Instead of immigrants, the focus in this region is much stronger towards the ethnic minorities within the country (Petsinis, 2019). In Estonia and Latvia, the 2 countries with the highest population of Russian citizens, the ethnic tensions are the highest (Jakobson et al., 2012). Despite this, there is little that can be done from a welfare perspective, however nativist might be the views of a certain party, as discriminating a large ethnic group of legal citizens is very different from limiting the welfare benefits of immigrants and asylum seekers that are not naturalised. We find only a single example of welfare policies that address groups based on ethnicity, with EKRE proposing to abolish pensions for all ex-soldiers of the Soviet Union who are now Estonian residents.

All populist parties from the three countries agree that one of the most current problems the Baltic region is facing is emigration. The high number of emigrants, many of whom leave to seek better living conditions and higher salaries abroad, is a threat to the dwindling and ageing populations of all three states (EurekAlert, 2017). To solve this problem, several of the parties propose lump-sum benefits to natives returning home from life abroad.

Speaking of anti-elitism, it is interesting to note that even though most of the populist parties in our sample criticize the existing political regime, few address this topic in their welfare policies. Within our sample, the only country showing strong anti-elitism in their respective policies is Estonia, with EKRE - their only representative - promising to remove the benefits, bonuses and allowances for state officials and deputies, as they deem them unjustified. In the other two countries, all parties except for NA portray a strong anti-elitism attitude but propose other measures for dealing with the issue (e.g. reducing the number of ministers or offering greater power for municipalities), without proposing any welfare-related policies.

One could argue that the welfare states of the three countries, being a mix of all three welfare regimes proposed by Ennser-Jedenastik (1990), are quite similar, leading to relatively homogenous welfare policy proposals and thus resulting in no distinct differences in the welfare chauvinism outcomes. For example, Estonia, with its welfare regime being the closest to the sociodemocratic regime, would be expected to show the lowest level of welfare chauvinism. What we find, however, is that EKRE exhibits the highest level of welfare chauvinism instead, being the only party that has any welfare policies that fall under authoritarianism.

It is worth noting that the shared issue of emigration and a quickly ageing society and decreasing birth rates may also contribute to the similarity of the welfare policy profiles. Even if the differences in welfare states are significant enough to affect the outcomes, the fact that all three countries are working towards the same primary goals limits the extent to which the policies can differ from one another.

Furthermore, our findings support the argument that discussions of welfare policies are not popular among parties in the region due to the low level of overall welfare. Within our sample, even if the parties display a strong attitude towards a group, they rarely use welfare policies to tackle the issues they talk about and often choose other courses of action instead. This is most clearly seen in the case of KPV LV, with

the party voicing strong authoritarian and anti-elite opinions while proposing a welfare policy only for a single group - the pensioners.

Therefore, it could be argued that welfare chauvinism is not as prominent among the right-wing populist parties within the Baltics as it seems to be elsewhere. While the parties do show different attitudes towards the social groups overall - mostly fitting with the literature on right-wing populism - these attitudes rarely manifest in welfare policies.

Additionally, proposing an increase in welfare benefits for the favoured groups seems to be a more widespread approach than a decrease for the unfavoured ones (e.g. the foreigners or the elite), with some parties not proposing welfare reductions at all. Again, this finding can be connected to the generally low level of welfare in the region, limiting the extent to which the benefits could be further reduced.

6. Conclusions

The purpose of this paper was to study how welfare chauvinism is present in the policies of right-wing populist parties in the Baltics and see which social groups are favoured and which are dismissed in the respective policies. By examining this topic, we fill a research gap and provide information on what can be expected from populist parties in the region with regard to welfare for various groups, which is important due to the growing popularity and influence of such parties.

While we expected that the differences in welfare regimes would lead to different welfare policies in each nation, we found no proof of such outcome, concluding that the welfare regimes cannot be used to predict welfare chauvinism outcomes in the Baltics. Additionally, we found that welfare policies are a relatively rarely used tool among the analysed parties who mostly turn to other approaches to tackle the issues they are interested in. This led us to believe that welfare chauvinism is not that prominent in this region.

That being said, numerous welfare chauvinism trends could still be observed, and other useful conclusions drawn from the study. We find that welfare chauvinism in the Baltics is present mainly through policies that fall under the authoritarianism ideology; by far the most favoured groups are pensioners and traditional families, with the sick and disabled also receiving significant support.

It is apparent that an important drive for welfare policy proposals among the parties is the shared issue of emigration, with all parties agreeing that this is one of the main problems the region is facing. We find that the parties mostly attempt to battle it by campaigning for increased welfare benefits to natives who are living abroad, so as to entice them to return to their home country. Additionally, we confirm the expectations that nativism would take a different form here, with much lower focus on immigration issues than is typically expected from a right-wing populist party.

In line with the literature, we find that focus is instead shifted towards non-native citizens within the country, namely the Russian population in the cases of Latvia and Estonia. However, one should not worry about welfare reductions for this group - we find that such an approach is generally not taken. On a similar note, while anti-elitism is visible in the general attitudes of most parties within our sample, only one addresses it in their welfare policies – it is therefore the ideology that affects welfare policies in this region the least.

One can see that the Baltic states is an interesting region to study even with the overall low level of welfare. Multiple conclusions could be drawn that fit with and to some extent depict the situations within the countries, while also producing some atypical and even unexpected findings which show that no ready-made framework could be applied to reliably predict or explain the trends.

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8. Appendices

Appendix A. Right Wing Populist Party Vote Share in Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, 1992-2019

Country	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1998
EST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LAT	0	5,4	5,4	5,4	5,4	5,4	14,7	14,7
LIT	2	2	2	2	6,2	6,2	6,2	6,2

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
LIT	0	0	0	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,5	0,2	0,2	0,2
EST	14,7	14,7	5,4	5,4	5,4	5,4	8,4	8,4	8,4	8,4
LAT	2,1	2,1	2,1	2,1	7	7	7	7	14,5	14,5

Country	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
LIT	0,2	2,5	2,5	2,5	2,5	8,3	8,3	8,3	8,3	17,8
EST	7,7	13,9	13,9	13,9	16,6	16,6	16,6	16,6	25,3	25,3
LAT	14,5	14,5	8	8	8	8	12,2	12,2	12,2	12,2

Table A.1. Right Wing Populist Party Vote Share in Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, 1992-2019. From "Election Results All Parties" by the Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index (2019), retrieved October 29th, 2019 (https://populismindex.com/data/). In the public domain.

Appendix B. Seats in the Government, 1993-2019

PARTY	FULL PARTY NAME	COUNTRY	CATEGORY	FOUNDED	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	EST	right-wing populism	2012							
TB/LNNK	Tēvzemei un Brīvībai	LAT	right-wing populism	1993	6	6	14	14	14	17	17
NA	Nacionala apvieniba Visu Latvijai! - Tevze,ei un Brivibai/LNNK	LAT	right-wing populism	2010							
KPV LV	Kam pieder valsts?	LAT	right-wing populism	2016							
TT	Tvarka ir teisingumas	LIT	right-wing populism	2002							
LCP	Lietuvos Centro Partija	LIT	right-wing populism	2003							
JL	Jaunoji Lietuva	LIT	right-wing populism	2009							

PARTY	FULL PARTY NAME	COUNTRY	CATEGORY	FOUNDED	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	EST	right-wing populism	2012										
TB/LNNK	Tēvzemei un Brīvībai	LAT	right-wing populism	1993	17	17	7	7	7	7	8	8	8	8
NA	Nacionala apvieniba Visu Latvijai! - Tevze,ei un Brivibai/LNNK	LAT	right-wing populism	2010										
KPV LV	Kam pieder valsts?	LAT	right-wing populism	2016										
TT	Tvarka ir teisingumas	LIT	right-wing populism	2002					11	11	11	11	15	15
LCP	Lietuvos Centro Partija	LIT	right-wing populism	2003										
JL	Jaunoji Lietuva	LIT	right-wing populism	2009										

PARTY	FULL PARTY NAME	COUNTRY	CATEGORY	FOUNDED	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	EST	right-wing populism	2012						7	7	7	7	7
TB/LNNK	Tēvzemei un Brīvībai	LAT	right-wing populism	1993	2									
NA	Nacionala apvieniba Visu Latvijai! - Tevze,ei un Brivibai/LNNK	LAT	right-wing populism	2010		14	14	14	17	17	17	17	13	13
KPV LV	Kam pieder valsts?	LAT	right-wing populism	2016									16	16
TT	Tvarka ir teisingumas	LIT	right-wing populism	2002	15	15	11	11	11	11	8	8	8	8
LCP	Lietuvos Centro Partija	LIT	right-wing populism	2003							1	1	1	1
JL	Jaunoji Lietuva	LIT	right-wing populism	2009										

Table B.2. Seats in the Government, 1993-2019. From "Seats in Government" by the Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index (2019), retrieved October 29th, 2019 (https://populismindex.com/data/). In the public domain.

Appendix C. Populist Parties in the Baltics

PARTY	FULL PARTY NAME	COUNTRY	POSITION	AUT/EXT	IDEOLOGY	CATEGORY
EKRE	Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond	EST	RIGHT	Authoritarian	National conservatism, nationalism	right-wing populism
NA	Nacionala apvieniba Visu Latvijai! - Tevze,ei un Brivibai/LNNK	LAT	RIGHT	Authoritarian	nationalism	right-wing populism
KPV LV	Kam pieder valsts?	LAT	RIGHT	Authoritarian	populism, conservatism	right-wing populism
TB/LNNK	Tēvzemei un Brīvībai	LAT	RIGHT	Authoritarian	nationalism, national conservatism	right-wing populism
TT	Tvarka ir teisingumas	LIT	RIGHT	Authoritarian	national conservatism, nationalism, populism	right-wing populism
LCP	Lietuvos Centro Partija	LIT	RIGHT	Authoritarian	nationalism, euro-skepticism	right-wing populism
JL	Jaunoji Lietuva	LIT	RIGHT	Authoritarian	nationalism	right-wing populism
Frontas	Fronto partija	LIT	LEFT	Authoritarian	socialism, nationalism	left-wing populism

Table C.1. Populist Parties in the Baltics. From "Seats in Government" by the Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index (2019), retrieved October 29th, 2019, (https://populismindex.com/data/). In the public domain.

Appendix D. Welfare Systems in the Baltics

Country	Welfare regime type	Type of benefits	Characteristics
Lithuania	Liberal	Social assistance	Most extensive means-tested social assistance, very strict qualifying conditions - asset, property and income test
		Family benefits	All family benefits are means-tested
		Unemployment benefits	The least generous unemployment benefits
		Pensions	Lowest pensions, privatised pensions scheme, with only the first pillar being state- managed
Latvia	Conservative-corporatist	Social assistance	Less extensive means-tested social assistance, less strict qualifying conditions - income test only
		Family benefits	Universal family support scheme, with universal childcare benefits and means-tested family assistance
		Unemployment benefits	Low unemployment benefits

		Pensions	Low pensions, privatised pensions scheme, with only the first pillar being state- managed
Estonia	Socio-democratic	Social assistance	Less extensive means-tested social assistance, less strict qualifying conditions - income test only
		Family benefits	The most generous assistance scheme with universal family benefits
		Unemployment benefits	Highest unemployment benefits with the longest duration
		Pensions	Highest pensions, privatised pensions scheme, with only the first pillar being state- managed

Table D.1. Welfare Systems in the Baltics. Made by the authors, using data from Aidukaite (2018, 2019).

Appendix E. Vote Distribution in the Latest Elections

Parties from Estonia (election - 2019):

- Eesti Reformierakond - 29%
- Eesti Keskerakond - 23%
- Eesti Konservatiivne Rahvaerakond - 18%
- Isamaa Erakond 11%
- Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Erakond - 10%

Information retrieved from Valimised (2019), from:

https://rk2019.valimised.ee/en/election-result/election-result.html

Parties from Latvia (election - 2018):

- Saskaņa - 20%
- Kam Pieder Valsts? LV - 14%
- Jaunā Konservatīvā Partija - 14%
- Attīstībai! Par - 12%
- Nacionālā Apvienība - 11%
- Zaļo un Zemnieku Savienība - 10%

- Jaunā Vienotība - 7%

Information retrieved from Centrālā Vēlēšanu Komiteja (2018), from:
https://sv2018.cvk.lv/pub/ElectionResults

Parties from Lithuania (election - 2016)

- Tėvynės sąjunga-Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai - 22%
- Lietuvos valstiečių ir žaliųjų sąjunga - 22%
- LSDP - 14%
- Lietuvos Respublikos Liberalų sąjūdis - 9%
- LCP–LPP - 6%
- LLRA–KŠS - 6%
- Partija tvarka ir teisingumas, PTT - 5%

Information retrieved from The Central Electoral Commission of the Republic
of Lithuania (2016), from: https://www.vrk.lt/en/2016-
seimo/rezultatai?srcUrl=/rinkimai/102/1/1304/rezultatai/en/rezultataiDaugmVrt.html

Appendix F. Political Stance of Nacionālā Apvienība

Year	Variable	Score	Explanation
2014	ANTIELITE_SALIENCE	5	salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric 0 = Not important at all 10 = Extremely important
	ETHNIC_MINORITIES	8.8	0 = Strongly supports more rights for ethnic minorities 10 = Strongly opposes more rights for ethnic minorities
	MULTICULTURALISM	8	position on integration of immigrants and asylum seekers 0 = Strongly favours multiculturalism 10 = Strongly favours assimilation
	IMMIGRATE_POLICY	8.7	IMMIGRATE_POLICY = position on immigration policy.

			0 = Fully opposed to a restrictive policy on immigration 10 = Fully in favour of a restrictive policy on immigration
	CORRUPT_SALIENCE	6.9	CORRUPT_SALIENCE = salience of reducing political corruption. 0 = Not important at all 10 = Extremely important
	NATIONALISM	9.8	NATIONALISM = position towards nationalism. 0 = Strongly promotes cosmopolitan rather than nationalist conceptions of society 10 = Strongly promotes nationalist rather than cosmopolitan conceptions of society
	GALTAN	8.1	GALTAN = position of the party in 2014 in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. "Libertarian" or "postmaterialist" parties favour expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage, or greater democratic participation. "Traditional" or "authoritarian" parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues. 0 = Libertarian/Postmaterialist 5 = center 10 = Traditional/Authoritarian
	REDISTRIBUTION	5.9	position on redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor. 0 = Fully in favour of redistribution 10 = Fully opposed to redistribution

Table F.1. Political Stance of Nacionālā Apvienība. Made by the authors, using data from Chapel Hill Expert Survey (n.d.).

Appendix G. Political Stance of Tvarka ir Teisingumas

Year	Variable	Score	Explanation
2014	ANTIELITE_SALIENCE	7.5	salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric 0 = Not important at all 10 = Extremely important
	ETHNIC_MINORITIES	6.2	0 = Strongly supports more rights for ethnic minorities 10 = Strongly opposes more rights for ethnic minorities
	MULTICULTURALISM	7.5	position on integration of immigrants and asylum seekers 0 = Strongly favours multiculturalism 10 = Strongly favours assimilation
	IMMIGRATE_POLICY	6.5	IMMIGRATE_POLICY = position on immigration policy. 0 = Fully opposed to a restrictive policy on immigration 10 = Fully in favour of a restrictive policy on immigration
	CORRUPT_SALIENCE	6.3	CORRUPT_SALIENCE = salience of reducing political corruption. 0 = Not important at all 10 = Extremely important
	NATIONALISM	7.8	NATIONALISM = position towards nationalism. 0 = Strongly promotes cosmopolitan rather than nationalist conceptions of society 10 = Strongly promotes nationalist rather than cosmopolitan conceptions of society
	GALTAN	8.3	GALTAN = position of the party in 2014 in terms of their views on democratic freedoms and rights. "Libertarian" or "postmaterialist" parties favour expanded personal freedoms, for example, access to abortion, active euthanasia, same-sex marriage, or greater democratic

			participation. "Traditional" or "authoritarian" parties often reject these ideas; they value order, tradition, and stability, and believe that the government should be a firm moral authority on social and cultural issues. 0 = Libertarian/Postmaterialist 5 = center 10 = Traditional/Authoritarian
	REDISTRIBUTION	3.6	REDISTRIBUTION = position on redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor. 0 = Fully in favor of redistribution 10 = Fully opposed to redistribution

Table G.1. Political Stance of Tvarka ir Teisingumas. Made by the authors, using data from Chapel Hill Expert Survey (n.d.).

Appendix H. Methodology Behind the Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index (as explained by the authors of the index)

"Since the aim of the categorisation is to reflect deeply held ideological views of the party, the index relies heavily on secondary sources. To the extent that it has been possible, it follows typical and existing categorizations. Thus, a number of different sources have been used: scholarly literature on the European party system focusing in general on populist parties, as well as particular parties; ideological labels from internet sources such as parties-and-elections.eu and Wikipedia, and the expert study Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES), a quantitative summary of where parties belong on the left-to-right spectrum, combined with additional dimensions that serve to identify right-wing populists (but not left-wing populists) using, for instance, views on minority rights, immigration and multiculturalism.

[...]

Election results have been used to measure the demand for authoritarian populism. In total, 267 parties with at least 0.1 percent of the votes in any election in any of the thirty-three countries since 1980 are included in each respective category. A European mean value based on the previous election in each country is provided in order to give an easy-to-read overview of year-to-year changes. Thus, the Swedish election of 2014 provides the basis for the Swedish average also in 2015, 2016, and 2017. In other words, the index answers the question of how many voters picked an

authoritarian populist party at the turn of the year of the last election. Thus, the result will not depend on whether a certain country had an election in a given year, nor on the number of countries having an election in a given year.

Two different indicators have been used to measure weight. First, the absolute number of seats in the parliament. The index shows how many seats each party has held each year in each respective category. Obviously, this measure includes only those parties that have entered the parliament. Parties such as Front National and United Kingdom Independence Party have had relatively strong performances measured in share of total votes, but as a consequence of the election systems in France and Great Britain this has been only marginally reflected in parliamentary presence. The second indicator to measure weight is the role the party has in parliament. Four categories are used: a party may be part of the government, it may have a formal or informal role as parliamentary support for the government, it may be an opposition party or, finally, it may be an opposition party that is excluded from influence by formal or informal agreement among the other parties (such as the cordon sanitaire in Belgium against Vlaams Blok and Vlaams Belang or the December Agreement in Sweden against the Sweden Democrats).

In addition to compiling election results and parliament seats (a total of 153 parties have at any time won at least one seat), I have classified parties as "left" or "right", and "authoritarian" or "extreme." Left-right depends first and foremost on the classification provided by the parties themselves; when this has been problematic to apply I have used the most prevalent labels in secondary literature; in some especially difficult cases the label has been decided by the party's choice of partner. These cases, however, have been few enough to not affect the aggregated result."

Source: Timbro Authoritarian Populism Index (n.d.). Methodology. Retrieved on October 29th, 2019, from: https://populismindex.com/data/