Understanding right-wing populist frames in health policy and the media: A case study of the FPÖ´s position on Austria's smoke-free policy

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Contribution

Dr Eleanor Brooks, Dr Sudeepa Abeysinghe, and Dr Kaveri Qureshi substantially contributed to the formulation of the research question and methodology of this dissertation.

Index

Abbreviations

FCTC – Framework Convention on Tobacco Control

FPÖ – Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Austrian Freedom Party)

ÖVP – Österreichische Volks Partei (Austrian People´s Party)

RWPP – Right-wing populist party/parties

SPÖ – Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (Austrian Social-democratic Party)

WHO – World Health Organization

Abstract

Even though right-wing populist parties (RWPP) are increasingly influential in Western Europe, their position on public health issues has not yet been thoroughly researched. This dissertation aims to fill this lacuna by focusing on the case of the RWPP FPÖ (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs) and its opposition to Austria´s smoke-free policy. Previous research indicates that RWPP receive a lot of positive coverage in the media. In the case of the Austrian smoke-free policy, a representation of RWPP ideas in the media could allow the FPÖ to reframe the public debate. Drawing on four public speeches by FPÖ politicians and twenty-nine newspaper articles on the policy, this dissertation used frame analysis to investigate how the FPÖ framed the smoke-free policy and the extent to which newspaper articles reflect these frames. The analysis yielded that FPÖ politicians used authoritarian, populist, and libertarian frames to argue against the implementation of the smoke-free policy. These frames were not reflected in newspaper reports that focused mainly on the practical aspects of the policy implementation. However, in contrast to health advocates and politicians supporting the policy, FPÖ politicians were overrepresented in newspaper reports. These findings illustrate the importance of effective counter-framing by health advocates.

General introduction

Public health is not value-free (Pomerleau and McKee, 2005). Political ideologies and beliefs influence which policies are deemed acceptable to improve population health. Therefore, it is crucial to understand political ideas and their communication in the field of public health. This dissertation focuses on the ideas of an important but until now largely neglected, actor in the public health arena: Right-wing populist parties (RWPP).

RWPP are on the rise in Western Europe and have an increasing influence on policymaking. However, no research has yet investigated which positions RWPP hold in the field of health policy. This dissertation aims to fill this research gap by using the case study of the Austrian right-wing populist FPÖ´s stance on Austria's smoke-free policy that was introduced in November 2019. This case study was chosen for two reasons. First, the FPÖ is regarded as one of the most successful RWPP in Europe (Rathgeb, 2020), and second, it has had considerable influence on tobacco control policy in Austria in the past (Falkenbach and Greer, 2018).

Furthermore, previous research suggests that the Austrian media overrepresents the FPÖ (Art, 2007), which could mean that its right-wing populist ideas about health policy get a lot of traction. Since the media influences to a large extent how citizens understand and evaluate health policy (Nagelhout *et al.*, 2011), this dissertation will also focus on the representation of right-wing populist ideas in newspaper articles about the smoke-free policy. Accordingly, this dissertation aims to investigate how the FPÖ framed the smoke-free places policy and to what extent these frames were reflected in newspaper reports on the policy.

To understand the FPÖ´s position in the debate on the smoke-free policy, this dissertation employs frame analysis as a method. Frame analysis can offer insights into the ideas and values that inform political decisions (Beland, 2005; Smith, 2013). Accordingly, the framing of FPÖ politicians of the smoke-free policy will be investigated. Frame analysis will also be applied to analyse newspaper reports on the smoke-free policy in order to find out to what extent the FPÖ´s frames are reflected in the media.

This dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter one offers background information on RWPP, especially the FPÖ and its role in Austrian tobacco control. Chapter two gives an overview of the research questions that guide this dissertation and the methodology chosen to answer these questions. The results of the frame analysis will be presented in Chapter three.

Then, the implications and limitations of the results will be discussed in Chapter four. Finally, a conclusion based on the findings of this dissertation will be drawn.

Chapter 1: Background and Context

1.1 RWPP: Definition and role in Austria

RWPP have become increasingly important in European politics. Nevertheless, their definition and characteristics are contended in the academic literature. This chapter will first define right-wing populism and then discuss the characteristics of the right-wing populist FPÖ in Austria, especially its relationship with the print media.

1.1.1 Defining right-wing populism

Even though this century has seen a rise in populist movements across Europe, the definition of populism is contested. Originally, populism was known as a rather positive political movement in the 19th century that demanded the involvement of the people in the government (Kaltwasser *et al.*, 2017). Similar to populist movements today, earlier populists opposed the dominance of a political elite that ignored the interests of the people in politics (ibid). This dichotomy of the people vs. the elite is still seen as the central feature of populism today. Nevertheless, this is the only commonality of modern populist movements, as they widely differ in their political goals and are not based on one common belief, which disqualifies the view of populism as an ideology (Aslanidis, 2016). Indeed, Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013) conceptualize populism as a 'thin-centred ideology' because populist movements do not have distinctive values or political agendas. For this reason, this paper uses an ideational approach to populism, defining it as a set of ideas (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2013) that understand "society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, '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).

But who are the people? This concept becomes clearer when looking at right-wing populism specifically. Because populist politics lack content, Mudde and Kaltwasser (2013) argue that populism is always attached to a dominant ideology. In right-wing populism, ideas about the people vs. the elite are combined with nativism (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2018). This movement is based on "the preference for native-born people of a given society" by "those individuals who consider themselves to be the original inhabitants or rightful citizens of a given region or nation" (Fernandez, 2013, p. 1). If understood as a combination of ideas, right-wing populism has two dimensions: A populist people vs. elite (down/up) dimension and a nativist member vs. outsider (in/out) dimension (De Cleen, 2018). Based on these theoretical considerations, this work defines right-wing populism as *a set of ideas that*

highlights a) the difference of the people and elite, and b) excludes specific groups from being part of the people.

1.1.2 The FPÖ in Austria

Right-wing populism has been characteristic for a plethora of political parties in Western Europe that have grown in the 1990s and early 2000s. According to Mudde and Kaltwasser (2018), RWPP differ substantially across regions, which is why this dissertation will focus on the characteristics of the Austrian FPÖ in this chapter. The FPÖ (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs/Austrian Freedom Party) is perhaps the most successful European RWPP. Founded in 1955, the FPÖ has its roots in national socialism but began to use populist rhetoric in the 1980s, thus becoming increasingly successful with anti-immigration slogans (Wodak, 2013). In 2000, Austria's conservative party (ÖVP) formed a government coalition with the FPÖ, making the FPÖ one of a few European RWPP in government (Falkenbach and Greer, 2018). After an unsuccessful term, the FPÖ was strengthened in the opposition and became the third strongest force in the 2017 elections, again forming a coalition with the ÖVP. After the so-called Ibiza affair, a political scandal involving then-FPÖ leader Strache, the FPÖ had to leave the coalition in 2019. At the moment, the FPÖ is the third-strongest force in the Austrian parliament.

1.1.2.1 FPÖ rhetoric and media coverage

Since this dissertation will investigate right-wing populist frames, it is essential to summarize the literature on FPÖ rhetoric and discourse. Wodak (2013) observes that the FPÖ uses a 'discourse of fear' to portray Muslim immigrants and refugees as threatening the Austrian people. Specifically, Austrian culture, lifestyle, and identity are framed as under threat (Heinisch and Werner, 2019). Furthermore, the FPÖ depicts itself as the voice of the people using the 'argumentum ad populum', the rhetorical portrayal of the FPÖ as a legitimate representative of the people (Wodak, 2013). The FPÖ also defines who the people are, that it claims to represent: "Pensioners, (…) Austrian families (with children), rural inhabitants and farmers, as well as police and soldiers" (Heinisch and Werner, 2019, p. 438). The group of voters the FPÖ is most appealing to are male blue-collar voters from rural parts of Austria, which shows that the claim of representation has some credibility (Heinisch and Werner, 2019). A second dominant theme in the FPÖ´s communication is the 'arrogance of ignorance'; the rejection of an intellectual and political elite on a national, European, and global level (Schröter and Thome, 2020). This goes hand in hand with the focus on weaknesses and the corruptness of political opponents (ibid). The FPÖ´s unusual and

aggressive political style sets it apart from other parties, which generates attention, as can be seen in the next paragraph.

The FPÖ is characterized by the personalization of politics, with a celebrity culture around the eloquent and handsome party leaders (Hayek, 2012; Wodak, 2013). Through their colloquial speech and non-traditional appearance, FPÖ politicians stand out from the political establishment (Schmuck, Matthes and Boomgaarden, 2016). According to academic opinion, this makes the party a popular target for media reports, which ensures public attention to the FPÖ´s every move. For example, Art (2007) shows that the tabloid newspaper *Kronen Zeitung* contributed to the FPÖ´s success in the 2000 election through its positive portrayal of then-FPÖ leader Haider. In addition, Haider was overrepresented in the *Kronen Zeitung´s* reports before the election. Moreover, even newspapers that do not support the FPÖ are stuck in what Wodak (2013, p.32) calls a right-wing populist "Perpetuum mobile"; Journalists have to report on their opinion, else RWPP present themselves as victims of an elitist and one-sided media. When newspapers report on RWPP, however, they reproduce right-wing populist discourse and normalise it slightly. As Plasser and Ulram (2003, p. 27) point out, "the FPÖ is where the action is – and where the action is, we find the media." Based on this observation, the authors argue that the Austrian press has become an unintentional mouthpiece for the FPÖ, thus, enabling the FPÖ to reshape Austria´s political discourse. The recent 'Ibiza affair' indicates that the FPÖ is aware of the importance of the media for its success. In this scandal, FPÖ leader Strache was filmed agreeing to Russian collaborators wanting to buy up the *Kronen Zeitung* to influence the next election (Rathgeb, 2020). Furthermore, some authors assert that media reports themselves have become more populist. A study by Rooduijn (2014) demonstrates that populist messages in the media have increased in Western Europe over the last twenty years. On the other hand, newer empirical evaluations could not find populist tendencies in the tabloid press (Akkerman, 2011; Wettstein *et al.*, 2018), highlighting the need for further research. The findings cited in this paragraph indicate that the FPÖ generates media attention and, therefore, could substantially shape the Austrian political debate.

1.1.3 Right-wing populist framing

This dissertation aims to investigate whether the FPÖ manages to shape media discourse on health policy. In order to do so, frame analysis was chosen as a method. In this dissertation, framing is defined as a "strategic and deliberate activity aimed at generating public support for specific policy ideas" (Beland, 2005, p. 11). In other words, framing can influence what is perceived as a problem, how this problem is perceived, and what action needs to be taken to tackle the problem (Van Hulst and Yanow, 2016). Beland's definition assumes that framing is

intentionally used by political or media actors, which makes frame analysis a gateway to investigating the opinions and ideas of different political actors.

Moreover, framing does not remain without consequences. There is a multitude of evidence that shows that framing can influence public perception of politics and the policy-process itself (Boydstun *et al.*, 2014). Through successful framing, politicians can steer the discussion on specific aspects of a policy, and thus "reframing becomes an integral part of policy change" (Campbell, 2002, p. 28). On the other hand, when new policies are not effectively framed, their success can easily be impaired by political opponents (Campbell, 2002). Essentially, framing is part of a "struggle over meaning" (Vliegenthart and van Zoonen, 2011, p. 105) in the public debate. This is especially true for health policymaking, which is often informed by ideological positions (Koon, Hawkins and Mayhew, 2016) and deeply-rooted cultural beliefs, such as that smoking belongs in bars (Handley, 2009). With regard to tobacco control policies, the media has been a crucial influence on their success or failure (Davis *et al.*, 1998). For example, empirical evidence shows that media frames of the Dutch smoke-free policy significantly influenced smokers´ opinions on the ban (Nagelhout *et al.*, 2011).

Research indicates that RWPP have been successful in reframing the discourse in other political arenas, such as welfare policy, in order to legitimize exclusionary policies (Nordensvard and Ketola, 2015). By focusing on specific aspects of the debate, RWPP can invoke normative concepts of what a policy should look like in the eyes of the public (Nordensvard and Ketola, 2015). Thus, RWPP can influence policymaking without being in government (Caiani and Della Porta, 2011) and mobilize voters (Rydgren, 2008). For this reason, it is substantial to identify dominant frames in a debate to understand the underlying beliefs about health policy that they transport. While some research exists on right-wing populist frames of immigration and welfare policy (Rydgren, 2008; Caiani and Della Porta, 2011; Nordensvard and Ketola, 2015), the next chapter demonstrates that right-wing populist influence on health policy has been largely ignored.

1.1.4 Right-wing populist influence on health policy: Scoping the literature

Despite the significance of RWPP in European politics, not much is known about their influence on health policymaking. While a growing body of literature focuses on right-wing populist influence on welfare policy, the impact of these policies on health has been neglected (Rinaldi and Bekker, 2019). This chapter offers a brief summary of the literature on (right-wing) populist influence on health policy.

Speed and Mannion (2017) identify two threats of 'post-truth populism' for health policy. First, they argue that the exclusionary policies of populist leaders could widen health inequalities, and second, that the disdain of populists for experts could jeopardize evidence-based health policy. The multitude of published commentaries on this article illustrates how contested the concept of populism and its effects on health policy are. One commentator questions the use of the term 'post-truth' because of its conceptional unclarity (Powell, 2017). In a similar vein, De Cleen (2018) criticises that even though the authors use the term 'post-truth populism,' they focus on right-wing populism and not populism from the left, that could have a very different impact on health policy. This view is also shared by Taggart (2018), who argues that left-wing populism might positively influence health policymaking. Halikiopoulou (2018) comments that an emphasis on far-right populist parties is beneficial in understanding recent trends in European health policy, especially welfare policies. They point out that RWPP exploit worker´s insecurities and that "it is precisely the platform of discriminatory health and welfare policies that wins these parties their votes" (Halikiopoulou, 2018, p. 197). On the other hand, commentator Schrecker (2017) sees the strategy of "manufacturing uncertainty" (p. 674) by rejecting scientific evidence as a key to the success of RWPP. Outside of the debate on Speed and Mannion's article, this strategy is also observed in an analysis of right-wing populist anti-vaccine discourse in Poland (Żuk and Żuk, 2020). The authors find that right-wing populist discourse on vaccines rejects medical expertise as generated by a corrupt medical elite that is steered by pharmaceutical companies.

Other authors focus on the impact of RWPP on global health policy. Macgregor-Bowles and Bowles (2017) argue that the rise of 'right-wing anti-globalisation populism' could negatively impact global health by restricting trade, xenophobia, limiting the budget for social policies, and ignoring climate change. Similarly, Eckermann (2017) focuses on the challenge that populism, which the author does not further define, poses for global cooperation in health promotion.

Perhaps the clearest overview over the effects of European RWPP on health policymaking is given by Falkenbach and Greer (2018) who assess that RWPP de-emphasize health policy and focus on exclusionary welfare policy and national security. Not in line with these results, however, is their observation that in Austria, the "clearest impact" of the right-wing populist FPÖ was on tobacco control (Falkenbach and Greer, 2018, p. 17). A second review summarizes the literature on RWPP and their effect on welfare policies (Rinaldi and Bekker, 2020). It finds that right-wing populist welfare policy presumably negatively affects

population health, however, this effect can be mediated by the characteristics of the political system. More specifically, European RWPP usually do no oppose welfare policies per se but want to exclude non-native groups from the welfare state (Nordensvard and Ketola, 2015). Finally, Greer (2017) identifies the anti-democratic and authoritarian leanings of RWPP as a serious threat to transparent and equitable health policy.

To summarize the literature viewed here, RWPP could influence national health policy through exclusionary welfare policies and the rejection of medical expertise. Furthermore, global health policy could be negatively influenced by the renunciation of international cooperation by RWPP. Lastly, RWPP are seen as a threat to the process of democratic health policymaking. Beyond that, two observations can be made about the academic literature on right-wing populist influence on health policy. First, few articles have been published on the topic, a minority of which are empirical case studies. Second, the concept of populism is very contested within the health policy literature and few authors build upon existing theoretical frameworks of populism. Based on these observations, this dissertation will aim to advance the academic debate on RWPP in health policymaking by researching right-wing populist framing in an important, but until now neglected, field of right-wing populist influence: Tobacco control.

1.2 Smoke-free places policies in Austria

This chapter will give a comprehensive overview of the FPÖ´s role in Austria´s smoke-free policy debate and will summarize previous literature on the health benefits of smoke-free policies as well as their framing in the media.

1.2.1 Evidence

There is a wealth of evidence that demonstrates the health benefits of smoke-free places policies. A Cochrane systematic review shows that smoke-free policies reduce mortality from smoking-related diseases, such as cardiovascular and heart disease (Frazer *et al.*, 2016). Furthermore, meta-analyses indicate that smoke-free legislation substantially reduces morbidity and mortality of children (Been *et al.*, 2014) as well as grown-ups (Tan and Glantz, 2012) caused by passive-smoking. For this reason, the WHO´s Framework Convention on Tobacco Control (FCTC) recommends the implementation of smoke-free places to combat the high mortality associated with smoking and passive-smoking (Hyland, Barnoya and Corral, 2012). Evidence from countries that have implemented smoke-free policies shows widespread public support for such measures (Currie and Clancy, 2011). In contrast to arguments by the tobacco industry, it is evident that smoke-free places policies do not adversely affect

businesses (Hahn, 2010). In summary, smoke-free policies are an effective and highly-beneficial public health intervention.

1.2.2 Case study: FPÖ and tobacco control

As Falkenbach and Greer (2018, p. 17) point out, in their 2017 term, the FPÖ introduced some substantial cuts to welfare policies, "but perhaps the clearest impact of the FPÖ is in tobacco control." For a long time, Austria was known as 'the Ashtray of Europe' for its lax smoking policies that allowed teenagers aged 16 and older to smoke and did not restrict smoking in restaurants and bars (Muttarak, Steiber and Gallus, 2015). Even though Austria has ratified the FCTC, it was the lowest-ranked European country on the Tobacco Control Scale, an instrument that documents national tobacco policies (Joossens and Raw, 2016), until recently. Specifically, Austrian legislation allowed smoking in small restaurants, while bigger places were required to have a separate smoking area (Burki, 2018). However, compliance with this partial-ban was insufficient and the dissatisfaction among the public as well as restaurant-owners with the partial-ban was high (Reichmann and Sommersguter-Reichmann, 2012). Indeed, even in 2006, a majority of Austrians were in favour of a complete smoking ban in public places (Neuberger, 2011).

In 2015, a coalition of the social-democratic SPÖ (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs) and conservative ÖPV (Österreichische Volks-Partei) passed legislation to introduce a smoke-free places policy that should have been implemented in 2018. However, before the policy could be introduced, the FPÖ became the third strongest force in the 2017 election and formed a coalition with the ÖVP. The scrapping of the smoking policy was one of the main topics in the FPÖ´s election campaign. As Ennser-Jedenastik (2017) observes, this topic was not chosen without a rationale, as more FPÖ voters are smokers than in any other party. Furthermore, most Austrian gastronomes were against the ban and, therefore, likely to vote for the FPÖ (ibid). This is especially true as the FPÖ was the only party against the ban, thus 'owning' this policy issue. Even though the ÖVP had wanted to introduce the smoke-free places policy, it agreed to the FPÖ´s demands. The active lobbying of the tobacco industry was probably influential in this decision (Neuberger, 2018a). In 2018, the Austrian parliament voted to overturn the policy. Fortunately for public health, the FPÖ´s term in government ended abruptly in 2019 over the so-called 'Ibiza affair' in which chain-smoking FPÖ leader Strache was filmed in the involvement of a corruption scandal. The new government of ÖVP and Green Party finally introduced the smoke-free places policy on November 1st 2019. For an overview of the Austrian smoke-free policy development, see Figure one.

Figure 1: Smoke-free places policies and government in Austria from 2000 to 2019.
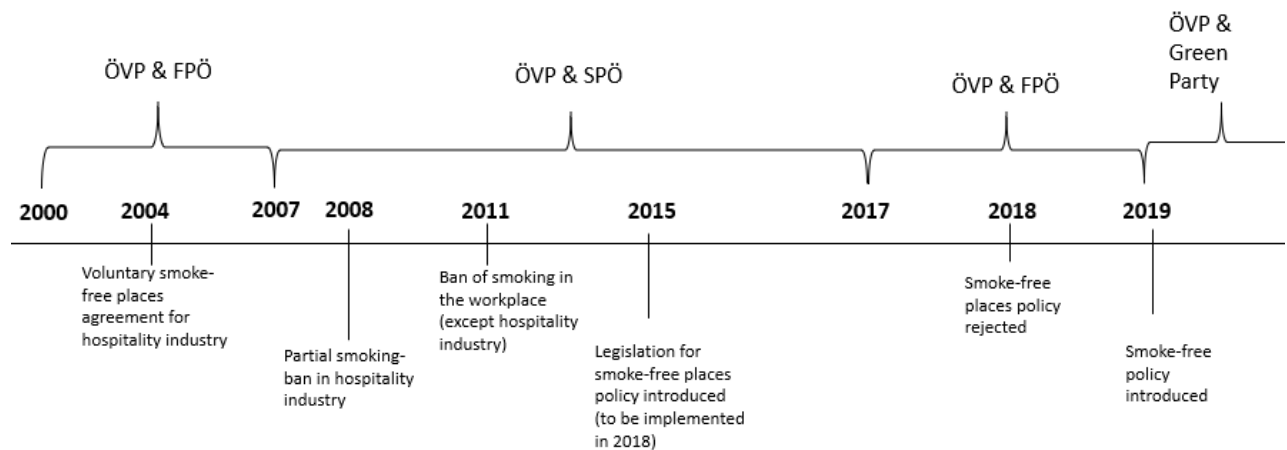
Nevertheless, the new policy was not introduced without heated public debate. In comparison to other European countries, where smoke-free policies received wide public support (Howell, 2005), Austria saw mixed reactions. For example, ex-FPÖ leader Strache spoke at a smoker´s demonstration in November 2019, with seven-hundred people protesting the ban (Lausch, 2019). A demonstration initiated by owners of shisha bars, which had to be closed under the new law, attracted even more protestors (Ichner and Seiser, 2019). Furthermore, a website calling for an unofficial referendum on the law so that "the parliament must deal with the will of the people and hopefully take the people's decision seriously" (Initiative Gemeinsam Entscheiden, 2020) can be found online. On the other hand, the new policy saw immense support from national and international health experts and some of the public (Burki, 2019). The FPÖ's influence on the smoke-free policy and the public debate make it a fitting case study to explore the impact of right-wing populist ideas on health policy.

1.2.3 Smoke-free places policy frames: Scoping the literature

The following paragraph gives a brief overview of previous research on the framing of smoke-free places policies in order to inform frame analysis in this dissertation. To begin, an analysis of frames employed by tobacco control opponents and proponents in the debate on smoke-free bars in Australia found that health advocates highlighted the health benefits of the policy and the problem of inequality in workplaces (Champion and Chapman, 2005). On the other hand, opponents of the Australian ban framed it as harmful for the economy, un-Australian, and out of touch with the cultural values of simple Australian men (ibid). A second relevant study investigated newspaper frames of a smoke-free policy in Greece, that has equally lax tobacco control measures as Austria. The authors identified five dominant

frames in newspapers (Kenterelidou, 2012); An economic, political, health, ideological, and an image frame, with the economic-frame being used the most and image-frame the least. Furthermore, the authors found that the policy was framed more in terms of economic losses than gains. They discuss that this could be due to the focus on the policy implementation and that a more positive framing might be found at other stages in the policy cycle. A dominant economic framing was also found in newspaper articles arguing against the smoke-free policy in Michigan (Kuiper *et al.*, 2013), New Jersey (Wackowski, Lewis and Hrywna, 2011), and in an analysis of reports on tobacco control policies in U.S newspapers over ten years (Menashe, 1998). Menashe (1998) did not only find that tobacco was framed as "a positive economic force" (p.321), but also that tobacco control measures were consistently portrayed as violating personal freedom.

The research reviewed here indicates that newspapers utilize economic, cultural, health, and ideological frames to report on smoke-free places policies. However, while some frames are consistently found across studies, it appears that different groups use different frames, which makes it crucial to investigate whose frames get replicated by the media. For example, Handley (2009) found that journalists in the U.S interviewed an equal number of advocates and proponents of smoke-free policies. Interestingly, their analysis concluded that frames by health advocates dominated the reports. This directly contrasts a study by Magzamen, Charlesworth, and Glantz (2001), who assess that arguments by the tobacco industry about freedom, negative economic impact, and feasibility of smoke-free bars dominated the media coverage in California. These studies highlight the importance of media attention to different actors in the field of health policy.

This scoping of previous literature has significant implications for the research conducted in this dissertation. First, it shows how important it is to investigate which actors are enabled by journalists to frame a debate. Second, the literature on smoke-free policy frames, that was reviewed here, is quite extensive, however, almost all articles focus on actors in advocacy positions (tobacco lobby, health advocates, hospitality industry). This implies that the investigation of politicians as framing-actors in tobacco control has been overlooked until now, supporting Cohen *et al.* (2000, p. 263) who claim that "health researchers have generally neglected political ideology in their studies of legislative outcomes related to tobacco control." By focusing on politicians´ frames, this dissertation can offer first insights into the ideological framing of smoke-free policies. Further, a majority of the cited literature stems from Anglo-Saxon countries. Research that investigates frames in tobacco control in German-

speaking areas is still outstanding. These considerations inform the research question and approach that will be presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This chapter highlights the rationale behind the chosen case study and methodology. It will explain how the research process was organized and what kind of data was used. Lastly, difficulties in the research process will be discussed.

2.1 Rationale

As was highlighted in Chapter one, there is a paucity of research on RWPP influence and ideas in health policy. This dissertation will focus on the case of the FPÖ in tobacco control in order to fill this research gap. The FPÖ´s role in tobacco control is interesting for numerous reasons. First, the FPÖ is the most successful RWPP in Western Europe, making it a relevant case study. Second, the FPÖ is the only party in Austria that voted against the smoke-free policy in 2019. Thus, the FPÖ 'owns' this standpoint and could reframe the discourse on this policy-issue, as other RWPP have done in the context of welfare and migration (Nordensvard and Ketola, 2015). Third, even though the minority position of the FPÖ in parliament secured the implementation of the smoke-free policy in 2019, the debate on the ban is long but over. Health advocates fear that the policy could be deterred once again if the FPÖ is re-elected (Burki, 2019). Furthermore, the FPÖ´s position in combination with the visible public protests against the policy could be detrimental to future efforts in tobacco control in Austria. Therefore, it is important to develop an understanding of the FPÖ´s position in tobacco control and health policy more generally. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 1.2.3, the media has a significant impact on how health policy is understood and accepted by the population. Since research indicates that the FPÖ gets considerable media attention, this dissertation will also focus on the connection between FPÖ frames and newspaper frames. Understanding the FPÖ´s framing of the smoke-free policy can advance our understanding of right-wing populist ideas in health policy, offer insights into the FPÖ´s influence on newspaper-reports of health policy, and can, therefore, inform future efforts of health advocates.

Based on these considerations, this dissertation aims to answer the following questions:

1. How does the FPÖ frame the smoke-free places policy?

   Objective a: Analyse frames of the policy in parliamentary and public speeches by the FPÖ

2. To what extent are right-wing populist frames reflected in newspaper reports on the smoke-free places policy?

   Objective b: Analyse frames in newspaper reports on the policy

Objective c: Assess whether FPÖ actors are represented more in newspaper articles than other political actors

Objective d: Compare newspaper frames and FPÖ frames

2.2 Methodical considerations

As Smith (2013, p. 382) points out, empirical research approaches often fall short of being able to explain different standpoints in the "Tobacco Wars." Instead, she argues that ideational approaches to policy research can offer insights into the different ideas that clash together in this highly contested field of health policy. Ideas, in this context, are understood as a part of a wider belief system or ideology (Beland, 2005; Peter, 2012)**.** One key method to access different ideas is to analyse the framing of a policy issue (Smith, 2013). Beland, (2005, p. 1) emphasizes that "when stressing the need to reform, and promoting new alternatives, policy entrepreneurs draw on existing ideological repertoires to frame these alternatives." Thus, frame analysis can advance our understanding of controversial political and ideological positions in health policy (Koon, Hawkins and Mayhew, 2016). Based on these considerations, this dissertation will employ frame analysis to understand right-wing populist ideas on smoke-free policy in Austria.

2.3 Research process

Objectives a and b

The research process was modelled on previous research by Champion and Chapman (2005), who investigated the framing of a smoke-free policy in Australia. Accordingly, data was first organized into themes, that then informed the frame analysis. Since the authors do not offer a further description of their approach to thematic analysis, this paper employed the step-by-step process for thematic analysis by Braun and Clarke (2006). First, the text was scanned for initial codes that were highlighted in different colours according to the topic that was discussed. All codes of the same colour were then collected in a second document and their underlying theme was identified. These themes were then reviewed for underlying frames. In line with the ideational approach (Smith, 2013), this paper organized frames according to the political ideas and values they represent. Some frames were straightforward, while others required an in-depth literature search on political ideologies. Since research on right-wing populist ideas in health policy is scarce, coding was inductive. It has to be noted that the data that was analysed in this dissertation is originally in German. Thus, the analysis was also

carried out in German. As the last step, the identified codes, themes, and frames were translated into English.

Objective c

Based on a methodical approach by Wackowski, Lewis, and Hrywna (2011), actors that were associated with the newspaper frames were also coded for quantitative estimation of the FPÖ´s representation in the debate. Actors could be individuals or organizations such as advocacy groups or parties that were either directly or indirectly quoted in an article. When the same actor was quoted more than once in the same article, this was not counted. The number of actors was then compared, with the specific question in mind whether the FPÖ was overrepresented in the debate.

Objective d

In order to assess whether FPÖ frames were reflected in the newspapers, the findings of both frame analyses were compared. It is important to note that this method will not be able to show a causal influence of FPÖ framing on newspaper framing. Nevertheless, it can help answer the question whether the FPÖ´s framing was reflected in articles or disproportionally featured in the debate. For an overview of the research process, see Figure two.

Figure 2: Research process for the newspaper analysis (all steps) and FPÖ frame analysis (steps one to three).
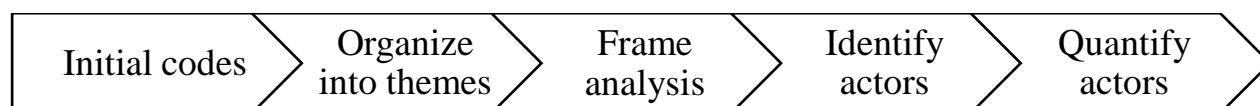
2.4 Data

2.4.1 FPÖ speeches

In order to understand the FPÖ´s positions on the smoke-free places policy, public speeches were chosen as data. The reason for this choice was that frames are often transported in public appearances by politicians as they generate a lot of attention (Campbell, 1998). This should be especially true for FPÖ politicians, who use a performative political style and generate a lot of media attention through their celebrity-like public appearances (Forchtner, Krzyżanowski and Wodak, 2013; Wodak, 2013). Specifically, three speeches by FPÖ politicians Peter Wurm, Maximilian Lindner, and Wolfgang Zanger in the parliamentary debate on the policy from June 2019 were chosen. This debate preceded the ballot on the smoke-free places policy. Transcripts of the speeches are available on the website of the Austrian parliament. In addition, one YouTube video of a public speech by ex-FPÖ leader Heinz-Cristian Strache on

a smoker's demonstration in November 2019 was selected for analysis and transcribed by hand.

2.4.2 Newspaper articles

For the newspaper analysis, the three most-read Austrian daily newspapers were chosen according to data on online-readers (Statista Research Department, 2019; Wikipedia, 2020). Free newspapers and online-only newspapers were not included, because these often do not focus on political topics. The tabloid newspaper *Kronen Zeitung* is the most-read newspaper in Austria and has been shown to support the FPÖ in the past (Art, 2007). *Der Standard* is a daily newspaper with a left-liberal political orientation that focuses on serious political themes (Lichtenberger, 2006). *Der Kurier* is a liberal broadsheet newspaper. It was decided to choose articles published in November for the analysis since the smoke-free policy was implemented on November 1st, and it was expected that newspapers would report on the new policy. All articles on the topic 'smoking-ban' published in November were collected via the newspapers´ online archives, as Austrian newspapers are not available via databases such as *Factiva* and *LexisLibrary*. More neutral terms such as 'smoking law,' 'tobacco control,' or 'non-smokers-protection law' were also tested but did not yield any results. Then, polls, questionnaires, videos, and articles with a paywall were excluded from the search. This left twenty-nine articles for the analysis (see Appendix A for a full overview of the articles). As can be seen in Table one, there is an equal representation of articles by tabloid and broadsheet newspapers. *Der Kurier* was underrepresented because most articles of this newspaper were not freely accessible.

Table 1: Quantity of articles for each newspaper

Newspaper	Quantity of articles
Standard	10
Der Kurier	4
Kronen Zeitung	15

2.5 Reflection on the research process

The research process was not as linear as Figure two suggests. While the thematic analysis was quite straightforward, the identification of underlying frames proved more difficult. The reason for this was that this dissertation did not use an existing framework for the identification of the frames as suggested by Koon, Hawkins and Mayhew (2016). To the knowledge of the author, no framework for the analysis of underlying political ideas exists in

the public health literature. Thus, an innovative method was used and refined during the research process.

A further challenge was not to be led too much by personal (negative) expectations of right-wing populist politicians. As Menashe (1998) points out, frame analysis is a subjective undertaking, and this might be especially true for such a value-laden topic as tobacco control. To minimize the influence of personal opinion, other students looked over the analysis. Furthermore, most steps of the process were taken multiple times for each source, as more themes emerged with time. Finally, the translation of some German themes and frames into English proved difficult, as they transport unique German political ideas. This will be further discussed in the results section.

Chapter 3: Results

This chapter presents the results of the frame analysis of FPÖ speeches and newspaper articles.

3.1 Results of FPÖ speeches

To answer the question how the FPÖ framed the smoke-free policy (objective a), this sub-chapter will give an overview of the themes and frames that were identified in the FPÖ speeches.

3.1.1 Thematic Analysis of FPÖ speeches

The thematic analysis of the speeches by FPÖ politicians yielded eight different themes that will be briefly described here. Themes are arranged by the dominance of the themes in the debate, with the most dominant theme at the top. For an overview of the codes that informed the thematic analysis, see Appendix B.

Freedom

The most dominant theme used by FPÖ politicians was the theme *freedom*. All speakers portrayed smoking as personal freedom that would be inhibited by the policy. For example, speaker Wurm (2019, p. 70) argues that "it was clear to us that adults, free citizens in a free country can freely make this choice." Following this argumentation, the people are identified as responsible for their own health. By way of illustration, Lindner (2019, p. 74) claims, "I know what it means to let the citizen decide for himself." Accordingly, those advocating for the policy are portrayed as opposed to personal freedom and free choice.

Economy

Second, the *economy* theme highlights the alleged detrimental effect of the smoke-free policy on the economy, especially traditional pubs and rural inns. The FPÖ portrays themselves as the representatives of local pub-owners and hospitality workers. FPÖ politician Lindner even owns such a rural inn and proclaims: "I believe that this measure is really not useful or conducive to showing the innkeepers that they should continue, that their work is still worthwhile" (Lindner, 2019, p. 75). The speakers also cite statistics that half of the Austrian rural inns had to close in the last 40 years and claim that the regulation is one further form of "bureaucratic madness" (Wurm, 2019, p. 72) that will lead to the economic ruin of the Austrian hospitality industry.

Political elite

The theme of the *political elite* encompasses a distant group of politicians that has not reflected what the smoke-free policy means for the people. For example, phrases such as "the gentlemen who have decided this" (Strache, 2019) imply a group of powerful politicians that are neither acting in the interest of the people, nor consulting them. More specifically, the "former labour-party" (Wurm, 2019, p. 72) SPÖ and the ÖVP that has "no backbone" (Zanger, 2019, p. 78) are named as responsible actors that are part of this powerful group. The FPÖ politicians directly confront politicians responsible for the policy: "We will ask: Who betrayed you? - The ÖVP and the Social Democrats" (Wurm, 2019, p. 71). Furthermore, the EU is named as one actor that is to be blamed for this "dictatorship" (Zanger, 2019, p. 78). In summary, this theme is used to portray the Austrian government as a group of corrupt politicians not acting in the interest of the people.

Culture

The *culture* theme identifies smoking as part of Austrian culture and identity. Speaker Wurm (2019, p. 70) opens his speech with an analogy to the comic book Asterix and Obelix: "No, a small village defends itself steadfastly, wants to keep its freedom, its customs and its way of life as its inhabitants are used to." Smoking is depicted as cosy, sociable, fun, and, thus, as an essential part of Austrian culture. In their speeches, the FPÖ politicians highlight the rural Austrian culture and the alleged negative impact of the smoking ban for the rural community; The smoking ban "means that a whole culture will be carried to its grave" (Wurm, 2019, p. 71). The speakers also identify what does not belong to Austrian culture: Fast Food chains "like in the USA with cheap jobs" (Strache, 2019). Thus, this theme highlights the importance of smoking for the native Austrian culture.

The people

The theme of *the people* is very prominent in the speeches and often follows the argumentum ad populum: The FPÖ politicians portray themselves as the representatives for all Austrian citizens. For example, in his speech at the smoker's demonstration, Strache (2019) claims, "I am here as an affected citizen." A manifold of terms for *the people* is used such as 'natives', 'citizens', 'society' and 'residents' that are all supposedly affected by the ban (see Appendix B). Especially those citizens who are hardworking and live in rural parts of Austria are depicted as having to suffer the consequences of the policy. For example, the right to smoke in a bar is deemed essential for "those who stop for a beer and smoke a cigarette after work" (Strache, 2019).

Verbotskultur

Next, the theme *Verbotskultur* (prohibitive culture) was identified. This term could be roughly translated to 'nanny state'. However, beyond that, this German phrase is often used by populist politicians to denote a culture of political correctness that forbids everything. Accordingly, the smoke-free policy is associated with coercion, control, and regulations. The group responsible for this culture is described as a moralizing elite of "puritans, the Pharisees and the politically correct" (Wurm, 2019, p. 71). Thus, this theme portrays the policy as part of a wider culture of paternalistic government regulations.

Law and order

The speakers often invoked the *law and order* theme. According to the FPÖ, the smoking ban is "an encroachment on a highly personal right, on the right of ownership" (Zanger, 2019, p. 77). Further, the Austrian court is portrayed as the last barrier of the law against politicians: "The decision of the constitutional court - which otherwise is always placed at the very, very top – (…) is obviously not important for any parties except the FPÖ" (Zanger, 2019, p. 78). Thus, this theme portrays the ban as unjust and its implementation as unlawful.

Pseudo-science

Finally, a *pseudo-science* theme portrays the smoke-free policy as a project by a science elite that makes up evidence to justify a smoking ban. For example, speaker Wurm (2019, p. 73) claims that "there are no empirical studies that demonstrate the negative health effects of passive smoking" and "there is no scientific justification whatsoever for introducing this absolute, total ban on smoking in restaurants." He then cites medical studies that support the policy, only to proclaim that these studies are "scientific idiocy" (Wurm, 2019, p. 73).

3.1.2 Frame analysis of FPÖ speeches

Next, the identified themes were grouped in frames by their underlying political ideas. For an overview of all frames, see Table two.

The populist frame consists of four themes; *the opposition* and *pseudo-science* that identify a distant elite and the themes *culture* and *the people* that characterize Austrian citizens. Based on the definition by Mudde (2004) that populism contrasts 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite,' these themes can be summarized under a populist frame. Further, the FPÖ claims that these groups are responsible for the policy that is not in the interest of the common people. In this case, the common people are rural and hardworking Austrian citizens. FPÖ politicians also explicitly thematize the importance of smoking for the tradition and culture of the people they aim to represent. In contrast, un-Austrian culture, especially American Fast-

Food, is portrayed as benefitting from the smoke-free policy. It was debated whether the *culture* theme reflects a nativist framing; However, while the ingroup (Austrians) was specified, 'American fast-food chains' do not define a specific outgroup. Thus, the *culture* theme seems to reflect the populist frame better. In summary, the populist frame contrasts a corrupt elite responsible for the smoking ban with hardworking rural Austrian citizens and their culture.

The libertarian frame summarizes the *economy, Verbotskultur,* and *freedom* themes. According to Calman (2009, pp. 6 - 7), "the libertarian perspective finds that the authority of the state is limited to ensuring that members of the population are able to enjoy the 'natural' rights of man (…) without interference from others." The libertarian perspective is reflected in the smoke-free policy´s portrayal as violating personal freedom and the equation of the ban with a dictatorship. Furthermore, the theme *Verbotskultur* evokes the concern about a paternalistic state that is often expressed by libertarians (Carter, Entwistle and Little, 2015). This idea is also applied to the freedom of the economy from interference (Kukathas, 2015). By employing a libertarian frame, FPÖ politicians frame the policy as restricting personal freedom and hindering economic growth. It follows that health is seen as a personal responsibility, rather than the government´s obligation.

Finally, an authoritarian frame was identified as underlying the *law and order* theme. Authoritarianism, "believing in the value of obeying and valuing authority" (Falkenbach and Greer, 2018, p. 15), is one key feature of RWPP. By evoking ideas of law and order, the policy is framed as violating personal rights and national laws. The FPÖ portrays itself as the last defender of the citizens from the unjust law. Only the supreme court is depicted as an institution that would uphold the right of Austrian citizens.

Table 2: Frames identified in the analysis of FPÖ speeches.

Themes	Frame
Political Elite	Populism
Pseudo-Science	
The People	
Culture	
Economy	Libertarianism
Freedom	
Verbotskultur	

Themes	Frame
Law and Order	Authoritarianism

3.2 Newspaper Analysis

To answer the question how newspapers framed the smoke-free policy (objective b), this chapter will give an overview of the themes that were identified in the newspaper analysis and then indicate the underlying frames. Secondly, the actors that were represented in the debate will be analysed to find out whether the FPÖ was overrepresented (objective c).

3.2.1 Thematic Analysis of newspapers

This chapter will give an overview of the nine themes that were identified in the newspaper analysis arranged by their dominance. For an overview of the codes that informed the thematic analysis of the newspapers, see Appendix C.

Economic Impact

A dominant theme across all three newspapers was the theme of economic impact. This theme underpins all newspaper reports that discuss the financial significance of the policy. Most reports claim that the policy will result in a sales collapse for innkeepers, gastronomes, and owners of shisha-bars. Further, hospitality workers are identified as suffering the economic consequences of the policy. For example, the *Kurier* reports that on the night of the policy implementation, "streets and alleyways in notorious nightlife areas (…) were already empty very early" and that this "emptiness also prevails in many waiters´ wallets" (Schreiber and Seiser, 2019).

Pub atmosphere

Directly connected to the economy theme is the *pub atmosphere* theme. This theme encompasses newspaper reports on the impact of the ban on the atmosphere in bars. Some articles compare the atmosphere in bars before and after the policy introduction. Most articles portray smoking as a substantial part of Austrian pubs: "No matter in which corner of the pub the guests sit: The air is clouded, most of the guests smoke, as is customary in the Tschocherl" (Scherndl, 2019). A 'Tschocherl' is an Austrian colloquial term for a pub. Overall, this theme encompasses many traditional Austrian words for pubs, drinking, and smoking.

Law and Order

This theme highlights the new laws that accompany the smoke-free policy and their enforcement by the police. A majority of articles are interested in finding out whether Austrians comply with the new policy. For example, the *Kurier* reports that "the smoking ban has also led to a first arrest" (Schreiber and Seiser, 2019), while the *Standard* finds that "the official threat of heavy fines - 800 to 10,000 euros for landlords and 100 to 1000 euros for smoking guests - seems to work" (Fischer, 2019).

Feasibility

This theme encompasses the practical aspects of the new policy, for example, where smokers should smoke when it is cold outside. Under this theme, practical solutions for the smoking ban are discussed, as well as the negative implications such as dirty streets or noise. As an example, the *Standard* speculates, "it is to be expected that noise complaints from neighbours who want to have their peace and quiet at night will also increase" (Simoner, 2019). Solutions such as outdoor heating, protective shields from rain, and outdoor smoking areas are put forward by all newspapers.

Public Debate

This theme includes reports about the ongoing debate on the smoking ban of the Austrian public. Views that are in favour, as well as against the law, are summarized under this theme. For example, the *Krone* reports: "While some support the policy, there is still massive turmoil from the smoking party" (Kluck, 2019). The *Standard* quotes a guest who complains "I surely won't go outside if you can't smoke indoors," while another guest enthusiastically reports, "I used to smoke a pack in five hours when I was in the pub and yesterday only eight cigarettes!" (Scherndl, 2019). Therefore, this theme depicts the policy as contested among the Austrian public.

Resistance

This theme is comprised of reports on individuals who resist the smoking ban or talk about resisting it. Unsurprisingly, FPÖ politicians, as well as smokers and pub-owners, are cited under this theme. For instance, the *Krone* reports: "But not all restaurant owners immediately take the ban seriously" (Traby, Bauer and Gratzer, 2019). Another article recounts the arrest of two brothers who continued smoking inside despite the ban (Schneeberger, 2019b).

Resistant citizens are titled as rebels, unreasonable (Traby, Bauer and Gratzer, 2019) or petulant (Schneeberger, 2019a).

Verbotskultur

This theme portrays the policy as an imposition and restriction. For example, this theme encompasses articles on the tweet of a FPÖ politicians who calls the smoking ban a "non-smokers dictatorship" (no author, 2019a; Schneeberger, 2019a). Overall, this theme was found in few articles and only in direct quotes.

Health outcomes

This theme highlights the health risks of smoking and passive smoking and the positive outcomes of the smoking-ban, such as "623 fewer hospital stays within one week" (no author, 2019b). Furthermore, one article gives advice on how to stop smoking now that the smoking ban has been implemented. The authors argue that "anyone who stops smoking is doing himself some good" (Kluck, 2019). Under this theme, the policy is framed as protection for workers and non-smokers, rather than a ban.

Environment

This theme highlights the adverse effects of smoking on the environment, such as the dangers of toxic waste and air quality. For example, the *Kronen Zeitung* states that "anyone who smokes a cigarette is in some way complicit in the destruction of the planet's green lungs ...because rainforests are being cleared for tobacco plantations" (Perry and Steinkogler, 2019).

3.2.2 Frame analysis of newspapers

The themes were grouped into four underlying frames. For an overview of the identified frames, see Table three. It must be noted that most articles, which were investigated in this analysis, were reportages or interviews. In no article did the author directly express an opinion for or against the smoke-free policy. Overall, the newspaper frames reflect practical considerations more than abstract ideological ideas.

Table 3: Results of the frame analysis of newspaper articles.

Themes	Frames	Definition
Pub atmosphere **Economic impact**	Economic loss	The smoking ban is framed as a potential danger to the Austrian hospitality industry. Implications for the atmosphere in pubs as well as for sales are discussed. Implications are portrayed to be either negative or neutral, but never positive.
Law & Order **Feasibility**	Implementation	The implementation of the policy is framed as practically challenging. Specifically, this frame portrays the smoking ban as a challenge that gastronomes need to adapt to. Furthermore, the police need to control policy implementation.
Resistance **Public debate** **Verbotskultur**	Controversy	The policy is framed as highly controversial political issue among the public.
Health outcomes **Environment**	Health benefits	The policy is framed as having a positive impact on health and the environment.

3.2.3 Analysis of actors

Next, the actors that were quoted in the newspaper articles were counted in order to find out which role the FPÖ played in the media debate on the smoke-free policy. Figure three gives an overview of all seventy-three identified actors that were quoted in the newspaper articles. As shown in Figure three, representatives of the hospitality industry and the police were the most frequently cited actors. Actors framing the policy in terms of health were in the minority. Only one medical doctor was interviewed about the positive health impact of the policy. Furthermore, a psychologist was asked about advice on quitting smoking, and a scientist was cited worrying about the environmental impact of smoking. Advocates (for and against the ban) and politicians framed the policy in terms of public controversy.
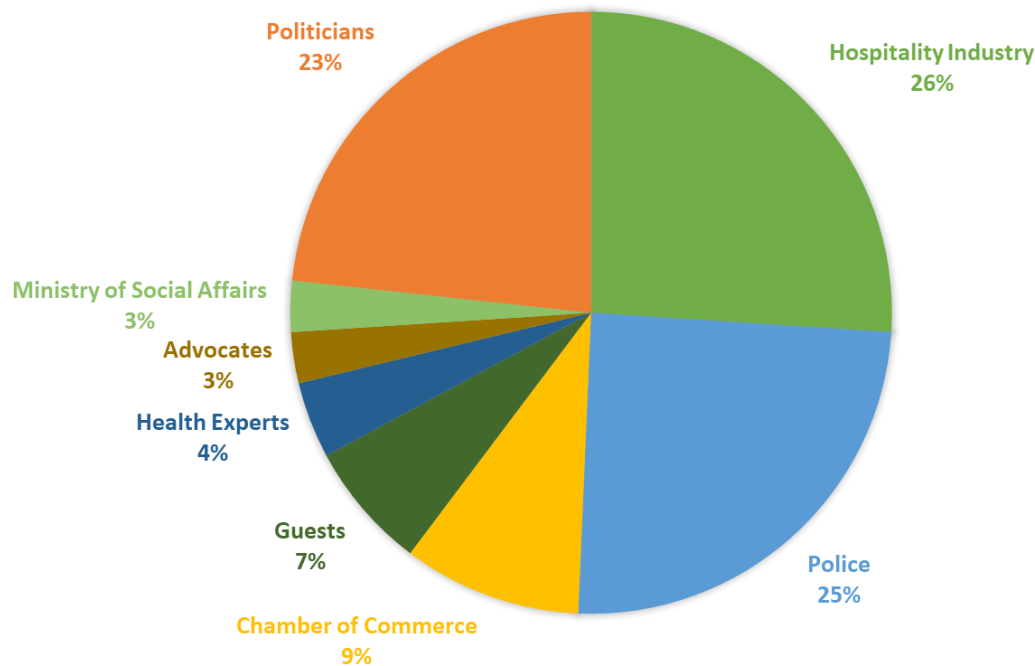
3.2.4 Analysis of political actors

Next, to answer the question of whether FPÖ politicians were overrepresented in relation to other political actors (objective c), the frequency of direct and indirect party quotes was counted. As can be seen in figure four, FPÖ politicians are cited more often than any other political actor. Most articles either focus on Strache´s speech at the smoker demonstration or cite a tweet by FPÖ politician Kohlbauer, who titled a picture of himself smoking in a bar "Fight the non-smokers dictatorship! #Resistance"(Schneeberger, 2019a). In contrast, SPÖ and ÖVP politicians were mostly questioned about the policy´s implementation. Only one SPÖ politicians framed the policy in terms of its positive implications for the health of Austrian citizens (Schwarz, 2019), while the rest focused on the feasibility of the policy. Overall, figure four demonstrates that FPÖ politicians are overrepresented in newspaper reports on the smoke-free places policy. In comparison to the distribution of parties in the Austrian parliament, where the FPÖ is only the third-strongest force, FPÖ politicians are clearly overrepresented in the newspaper reports on the smoke-free policy. Interestingly, the ÖVP, notwithstanding their position as the senior partner in the governmental coalition, is underrepresented in this debate. The ÖVP´s coalition partner, the Green Party, is not mentioned once in these articles.

Figure 4: *Percentage of cited political actors in newspaper articles. N = 17.*
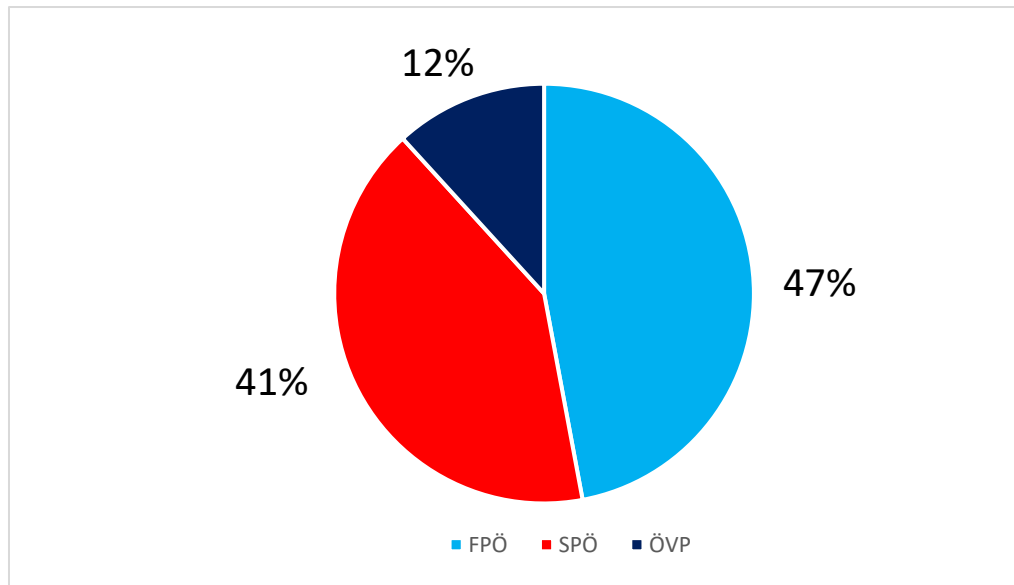
However, it must also be noted that overall, politicians were not a majority among the actors in the debate (see figure three). Thus, FPÖ politicians were not overrepresented among all actors.

3.3 Comparison

Finally, in order to assess whether right-wing populist frames were reflected in newspaper articles on the smoke-free policy, the identified frames and the FPÖ frames were compared (objective d). In general, the newspaper articles framed the policy in terms of practicality and impact on the economy. No article argued directly for or against the new policy, however, different voices in the debate were heard.

The economy theme was shared among FPÖ politicians and newspaper articles. Both sources portray smoking as an essential part of Austrian pubs and the smoking-ban as potentially harmful to the hospitality industry. However, arguments about freedom or personal responsibility are absent in the newspaper reports, which indicates that the economy theme was framed differently in newspapers. Rather than a libertarian framing of economic issues as free enterprise, newspaper articles portrayed the policy in terms of economic loss. Nevertheless, the FPÖ´s focus on economic issues has the side-effect that the FPÖ was also depicted as an important actor in reports on the economy. For example, the *Standard* writes "it would come as no surprise if the FPÖ were to use the current vacuum to signal support to local gastronomes. The FPÖ has also recently announced a hotline for affected pub owners" (Simoner, 2019). Thus, while the FPÖ´s libertarian framing was not reflected in newspaper articles, the FPÖ is perceived as an important actor in this debate.

Secondly, the law and order theme was found in both newspaper articles and FPÖ speeches. The FPÖ uses this theme to argue about the rights to individual freedom that are taken away by the tobacco control policy. In contrast, the law and order theme in newspapers is used to highlight how the policy is implemented and regulated. Thus, the authoritarian framing of the FPÖ was not reflected in newspapers. Overall, a focus on the practicalities of the implementation of the ban was emphasized in the newspapers. While newspapers did not frame the policy in terms of ideology, they did portray it as a highly controversial topic. Under this controversy frame, FPÖ politicians were cited frequently. Ultimately, this framing gives the impression of smoke-free policies as unpopular among politicians and the public. Even though the newspaper frames do not reflect the FPÖ´s position, they also do not directly contradict or question these positions. Only the health frame could be seen as directly opposing the FPÖ´s ideas in this debate. However, as can be seen in figure three, this frame did not get a lot of attention in the newspaper reports. In summary, FPÖ politicians, but not their frames, were represented in newspaper articles on the smoke-free places policy in Austria.

3.4 Summary of results

To answer research question one, the analysis of the FPÖ´s speeches yielded that FPÖ politicians employed populist, libertarian, and authoritarian frames of the smoke-free policy. Second, the analysis of newspaper articles did not show that the media reflected FPÖ frames. However, it was demonstrated that FPÖ politicians made up a majority (47%) of the cited political actors, and thus, their frames did get some attention. Overall, actors framing the policy in terms of practical and economic outcomes were most common in the newspaper articles; Hospitality workers (26%) and the police (25%) were the most frequently cited actors. Even though this analysis did not focus on the representation of health advocates in newspaper articles, the finding that these were barely present in the media reports on the smoke-free policy is important, and thus, will be considered in the discussion. The next chapter will discuss the implications of the results.

Chapter 4: Discussion

This dissertation aimed to analyse how the right-wing populist FPÖ framed the Austrian smoke-free policy and to investigate the extent to which the FPÖ´s frames were reflected in newspaper reports on the policy. The analysis demonstrated that FPÖ politicians utilized populist, authoritarian, and libertarian frames in the debate on the smoke-free places policy. Furthermore, while newspapers did not directly reproduce FPÖ frames, the analysis yielded that the FPÖ got more media attention than other political parties. This chapter will first discuss to what extent the results of the frame analysis support previous research. Then, the implications of the FPÖ frames for health policy will be considered. Next, the relationship between the FPÖ and the media will be discussed. Finally, possible steps that health advocates can take to minimize right-wing populist impact on health policy will be suggested based on the findings of this dissertation.

4.1 Addition to existing findings: New or old strategies in the 'Tobacco Wars'?

While hardly any studies exist, which investigate right-wing populist positions in health policy, both right-wing populist rhetoric and pro-tobacco frames have been widely researched. This chapter explores the findings of this dissertation in light of the existing literature on framing strategies in tobacco control and right-wing populist discourse. Specifically, the findings will be compared with the literature summarized in Chapter one.

The FPÖ utilized a populist frame which portrays the smoke-free policy as elitist and threatening the local culture. This is not surprising as populism is the main characteristic of RWPP (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2018), and populist frames have been found in previous analyses of right-wing populist rhetoric (Caiani and Della Porta, 2011; Caiani and Kröll, 2017). Nevertheless, populist frames do not seem to play a role in smoke-free policy debates or the literature on tobacco control more generally. Only one other study has found frames that portray a smoke-free policy as opposing the culture of the local (Australian) people (Champion and Chapman, 2005). In contrast, the analysis at hand found that the FPÖ politicians frequently used the populist framing of the smoking ban as un-Austrian and even dangerous to Austrian culture. While this framing strategy is not widespread in debates on tobacco control, it is a prominent feature of right-wing populist debates. The FPÖ seeks to protect "national identities or a 'mythical' homeland" (Wodak, 2013, p. 25) against the influence of other cultures. Thus, the portrayal of smoking as Austrian can be seen as an extension of the FPÖ´s strategy to depict the unique Austrian culture as threatened by external influences. The populist frame also clearly defines who the people are that the FPÖ claims to

represent in the debate on tobacco control: Rural workers who smoke and traditional pub-owners. This is consistent with earlier research on the FPÖ´s representational claim by Heinisch and Werner (2019), who show that the FPÖ claims to represent blue-collar workers living in rural Austria. However, the majority of literature on the FPÖ focuses on the aspect of islamophobia (for example, Forchtner, Krzyżanowski and Wodak, 2013; Krzyżanowski, 2015), while this study has found an anti-American framing. This suggests that the FPÖ opportunistically chooses who to exclude from the Austrian people according to the usefulness in the political discourse.

The populist framing of the smoke-free places policy was found in combination with the political ideologies of libertarianism and authoritarianism. Thus, Mudde and Kaltwasser´s (2018) definition of populism as a thin ideology that attaches to more mature political ideologies is supported by this analysis. While authoritarianism is a common feature of right-wing populist rhetoric (Falkenbach and Greer, 2018), the role of libertarianism in right-wing populist discourse is contested within the academic literature. Kitschelt and McGann (1997) argue that a combination of liberalism, authoritarianism, and xenophobia is the 'winning formula' of RWPP. The FPÖ is an excellent example of the success of this strategy as it favoured libertarian economic policies in the election campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s (Kitschelt and McGann, 2016). However, it is debated whether this formula still prevails. As was discussed in Chapter 1.1.3, current RWPP lean towards exclusionary but expansive 'welfare chauvinist' policies (Rinaldi and Bekker, 2019) that benefit their native working-class voters. In contrast, a recent policy analysis could demonstrate that the FPÖ does not follow the welfare chauvinist trend of its European counterparts, but sticks to libertarian welfare-retrenchment policies (Rathgeb, 2020). The frame analysis of the FPÖ´s arguments in tobacco control supports the finding that the FPÖ maintains its liberal policies even in the field of health policy.

Libertarian frames about freedom, free choice, and the nanny state are also commonly used by the tobacco and hospitality industry to advocate against smoke-free policies (Menashe, 1998; Kenterelidou, 2012; Friedman *et al.*, 2015; Hoek, 2015). In addition, framing tobacco control measures as negatively impacting the economy is a strategy frequently employed by opponents of smoke-free policies (Champion and Chapman, 2005; Wackowski, Lewis and Hrywna, 2011). Milio (2000, cited by Cohen *et al.* (2000, p. 265)) summarizes these core values of the opposition against public health as the three Fs: Freedom, fairness, and free enterprise. Moreover, Menashe (1998) argues that these value-based frames are successful

because they are connected to beliefs, rather than arguments that can be rebutted. A libertarian framing shifts the debate towards abstract ideological debates about governmental control rather than health benefits (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). Indeed, research by Jacobson, Wasserman, and Raube (1993) indicates that reframing the debate in terms of freedom has been a successful strategy of the US tobacco industry in the past. The FPÖ shares these value-laden framing strategies. The implications of the FPÖ´s libertarian framing strategy will be discussed in the next chapter.

Likewise, claiming that scientific evidence on the health benefits of smoke-free legislation is 'junk science' is a popular strategy employed by the tobacco industry (Ong and Glantz, 2001). For example, this strategy was found in a frame analysis of commentary on tobacco control by Roth, Dunsby, and Bero (2003, p. 33) who conclude: "In an era marked by increasing public scepticism toward the authority of elite expertise, this type of counter-framing will probably continue to resonate strongly." This prediction seems to have been accurate for the Austrian debate as the FPÖ also questioned the quality of scientific evidence in support of the smoke-free legislation. Further, ignoring scientific evidence is increasingly seen as a core feature of right-wing populist discourse in Austria (Schröter and Thome, 2020). According to Waisbord (2018), this 'post-truth' stance can be explained by the nature of populism itself; There cannot be one version of the truth, as both the elite and the people have a profoundly different understanding of the world. Thus, questioning scientific evidence in the debate on the smoke-free policy can be seen as an extension of the populist distrust of elites. With this populist framing, old arguments about 'junk science' get a new legitimacy in the debate on tobacco control.

Last, an authoritarian framing of the smoke-free policy reveals another 'mature ideology' that is characteristic of RWPP overall (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2018) and the FPÖ specifically (McGann and Kitschelt, 2005). In the analysis at hand, the law was invoked as the last barrier against the alleged unlawfulness of the smoke-free policy. Other authors have also found that the FPÖ paints the picture of Austrian citizens being unjustly treated and needing protection (Heinisch and Werner, 2019). While an authoritarian frame is common in right-wing populist discourse, it is unique in tobacco control debates.

In summary, in the debate on the smoke-free policy, the FPÖ resorted to successful framing strategies of other pro-tobacco actors. Right-wing populist ideas about personal freedom and the rejection of scientific evidence seem to go hand-in-hand with framing strategies that are usually employed by the tobacco industry. What is more, the FPÖ utilized a populist and

authoritarian framing in the debate, thus staying true to the political core values of RWPP. As this chapter has illustrated, the findings of this dissertation support previous research on framing strategies and right-wing populist discourse. The next chapter will discuss the implications of these framing strategies for right-wing populist health policy.

4.2 Implications for right-wing populist health policy

This dissertation analysed right-wing populist framing in order to gain an insight into right-wing populist ideas in health policy. As was discussed previously, framing can influence the political debate (Nordensvard and Ketola, 2015) and which policy ideas are accepted as possible solutions (Van Hulst and Yanow, 2016). Furthermore, frame analysis can offer insights into underlying ideological and political beliefs (Beland, 2005; Smith, 2013). Understanding such beliefs is essential for public health experts to effectively engage in the political arena (Cohen *et al.*, 2000). For these reasons, this chapter will discuss the wider implications of the FPÖ´s smoke-free policy frames for health policy.

First, the populist frame shows a disregard of the FPÖ for political and scientific elites. Notably, the latter is important for health policy. Speed and Mannion (2017) suggest that 'post-truth populism' could be the end of evidence-based health policy. This speculation applies to the analysis at hand. In the parliamentary debate, FPÖ speakers lied outright about the evidence for smoke-free places policies. Further, they portrayed scientists as incompetent and the use of scientific results as politically motivated. In a previous study, Żuk and Żuk (2020) suggest that the distrust in scientists can explain the high numbers of vaccine hesitancy among voters of RWPP in Poland. Likewise, it seems plausible that the FPÖ´s populist framing could undermine public trust in health experts. Moreover, this frame implies that the FPÖ is a barrier to evidence-based policymaking in the field of health, which "may result in poorly designed and implemented health policies with potentially serious dysfunctional consequences" (Speed and Mannion, 2017, p. 250).

Furthermore, the use of a libertarian frame in the debate on smoke-free places has interesting implications. As can be seen in this debate, the FPÖ puts forward a libertarian perspective on tobacco control which rejects state intervention in health policy. This position is strengthened by framing the smoke-free policy as limiting personal freedom and economic growth and thus as a symbol for a prohibitive moralizing culture. This position can be detrimental to public health for numerous reasons. First, non-interventionist health policies allow corporations to reign freely. This is illustrated by studies that find that tobacco companies act in their financial interest, but not in the interest of public health when left without restrictions

(Brownell and Warner, 2009; Friedman, 2009). Without state influence, society has to bear the brunt of tobacco companies marketing strategies. Thus, profit becomes more important than the negative health effects of smoking, such as mortality rates associated with passive smoking. While the role of the tobacco industry in the Austrian smoke-free policy debacle is unclear, this analysis shows that the FPÖ´s framing of the issue opens the door to industry influence.

Second, a libertarian political position favours less intrusive public health measures, such as information campaigns, that have been shown to be widely ineffective (Calman, 2009). A central argument in this position is the nanny state argument, which was also found in this analysis, albeit in its German version. Hoek (2015) points out that politicians do not want to be associated with this negative term and, therefore, hesitate to implement public health measures. Thus, the nanny state argument is one of the strongest tools that can be employed in the fight against tobacco control (Hoek, 2015) and other arenas of health policy such as food policy, alcohol control, or gambling (Wiley, Berman and Blanke, 2013). Using it undermines democratic discussion (Coggon *et al.*, 2018) as "ideology continues to trump evidence" when health policy debates are framed from this standpoint (Hoek, 2015, pp. 1042–1043). Since the nanny state argument is well researched in the Anglo-Saxon context, future research should focus on the German equivalent 'Verbotskultur' and its use by right-wing populist politicians. Such research would likely highlight right-wing populist tactics in the unique context of Western European health policymaking. The occurrence of this theme in the present analysis suggests that the FPÖ rejects state intervention in the field of public health.

Moreover, the libertarian idea that health is a personal responsibility, an idea that was also expressed by the FPÖ speakers, shifts responsibility for health from the state to the people. Guttman and Ressler (2001, p. 119) argue that "an appeal to personal responsibility inherently assumes causal connections between people's deeds and health outcomes," which implies that individuals can get blamed for their health status. It follows that a focus on the individual neglects the social determinants that impact population health, thus widening health inequities between social classes, as shown by the following example. As in other higher-income countries, smoking and related health problems are more common among groups with a lower socio-economic status in Austria (Burkert and Freidl, 2019). Capewell and Graham (2010) demonstrate that such inequities can be effectively reduced by interventions on the population level, such as smoke-free policies. In contrast, individual-centred interventions are cost-intensive and disproportionally benefit groups with a higher socio-economic status. This

evidence suggests that while the FPÖ pretends to represent Austrian blue-collar workers, the FPÖ´s libertarian approach to health policy is not in the interest of this group.

The analysis of FPÖ frames in the smoke-free policy also yielded an authoritarian framing. The utilization of an authoritarian framing points towards the undemocratic governing style of RWPP since it could be used to override public interest in tobacco control (Greer, 2017). As has been discussed in the previous chapter, while tobacco companies frequently use libertarian arguments about personal freedom and the nanny state (Menashe, 1998; Magzamen, Charlesworth and Glantz, 2001), an authoritarian frame is uncommon in the literature on smoke-free places policy frames. However, authoritarianism is one of the main characteristics of right-wing populist rhetoric, hence it is not surprising to find this framing in the context of tobacco control. This frame likely offers more insight into the FPÖ´s overall ideas of political governance, than into concrete ideas about health policy.

In summary, The FPÖ´s libertarian framing of the smoke-free policy suggests that the FPÖ prefers a non-interventionist approach to health policy, that could be harmful to public health because it facilitates industry influence, favours inefficient public health measures, and might widen health inequalities. Overall, this libertarian non-interventionist position questions the very core idea of public health; That it is "justifiable to constrain the freedom of one individual to benefit the population as a whole" (Pomerleau and McKee, 2005, p. 10). In addition, the FPÖ´s populist and authoritarian framing suggests that right-wing populists jeopardize democratic and evidence-based health policymaking. However, the FPÖ is not in government anymore and, therefore, cannot directly influence health policymaking. Thus, the frames found in this analysis are only successful if they reach the public discourse and shift public opinion in the direction of the populist pro-smoking stance. The next chapter will discuss to what extent the FPÖ´s frames were reflected in the public debate.

4.3 The media and the FPÖ: Friend or Foe?

While some authors argue that the media portrays RWPP (Rooduijn, 2014), especially the FPÖ (Art, 2007; Forchtner, Krzyżanowski and Wodak, 2013), in a favourable light, Akkerman (2011) could demonstrate that this is not the case in the UK and the Netherlands. Her analysis did not yield an anti-elite bias in either broadsheet or tabloid newspapers. Similarly, Wettstein and colleagues (2018) could demonstrate that the FPÖ was not overrepresented in media reports on topics it 'owns' such as immigration. Likewise, this dissertation did not find that Austrian newspapers reflected right-wing populist frames of the smoke-free policy. In contrast to the FPÖ´s ideologically charged frames of the smoke-free

place's policy, newspapers focused on the policy's practical aspects. Even though some themes were used by both the FPÖ and the newspapers, their contexts differed.

However, while the media did not directly reflect right-wing populist frames, FPÖ politicians were overrepresented among the political actors cited in the newspapers. According to a framework of media populism by Wettstein *et al.* (2018), journalists can be gatekeepers for populist messages, who decide whether to report on populist politicians or not, or they can be originators of populism in the media by directly replicating populist messages. The findings of this study suggest that the Austrian media acted as a gatekeeper for the populist framing of the FPÖ. The overrepresentation of the FPÖ in newspaper reports can be attributed to the FPÖ´s effective public appearance and media communication. For example, a speech at a smokers' demonstration by FPÖ politician HC Strache was repeatedly cited in the newspapers. This supports earlier analyses that show that FPÖ politicians create public attention through their celebrity-style political performances (Wodak, 2013; Schmuck, Matthes and Boomgaarden, 2016). For example, one such performance is to rebelliously smoke in public. In the UK, right-wing populist Nigel Farage is frequently depicted with "a packet of fags" (Kelsey, 2016, p. 979), which serves as a symbol for his anti-nanny state position. Likewise, a tweet by FPÖ politician Leo Kohlbauer about resisting the smoking ban got a lot of attention in newspaper articles. Like Farage, Kohlbauer openly smoked a cigarette in the tweeted picture. This case also highlights that right-wing populist politicians use social media to bypass traditional media platforms and communicate directly with their voters (Engesser *et al.*, 2017). Moreover, as this analysis has shown, this tactic generates attention from traditional media. Likewise, other authors have found that the FPÖ has become increasingly independent from the traditional press by effectively utilizing social media (Schmuck, Matthes and Boomgaarden, 2016). The rising importance of social media could explain the diverging findings of this dissertation and an earlier study in which print newspapers are seen as instrumental in the FPÖ´s rise to political power (Art, 2007).

To further explore the FPÖ´s relationship with the media, future studies should investigate how health policy is framed in the FPÖ´s social media presence. Moreover, as it was beyond the scope of the analysis, this dissertation did not differentiate between broadsheet and tabloid newspapers. Since Mudde (2007) suggests that tabloid newspapers are more inclined to resort to a populist style, future studies should address this difference. Last, this discussion has shown that a differentiation of the role of the media as gatekeepers and originators of populist

messages based on the framework by Wettstein *et al.* (2018) can be useful in guiding future research.

In summary, this analysis yielded that FPÖ frames were not reflected by the media, contrasting previous research (Plasser and Ulram, 2003; Art, 2007). However, this analysis supports the assumption by Hayek (2012), Wodak (2013), and Schmuck, Matthes, and Boomgaarden (2016) that the FPÖ´s personalized style of communication and utilization of social media generates a lot of media attention. In contrast to the FPÖ, Chapter 3.4 demonstrated that actors framing the policy in terms of its benefits were underrepresented. This opens up the question of how health advocates and politicians can communicate more effectively with the media.

4.4 Implications for health advocacy in countries with RWPP

As was discussed above, even though newspapers do not directly reproduce these right-wing populist frames, they provide a platform for the FPÖ to share their ideas about health policy. Furthermore, it was proposed that these ideas are harmful to public health. Since RWPP are now an inherent part of the European political system, this chapter discusses how health advocates can minimize right-wing populist influence on health policymaking, especially in the field of tobacco control. Such solutions are not only relevant for Austria, but also for other EU countries such as Germany, where the successful RWPP AfD (Alternative für Deutschland) opposes the long outstanding comprehensive smoke-free places policy.

The analysis of actors in the newspaper reports on the smoke-free policy demonstrated that health advocates and medical experts were a minority among the cited actors in the debate. This aligns with Chapmans´ (2001) observation that public health researchers often neglect to advocate for policy change in the media. In the case of the Austrian smoke-free policy, this could have been one reason why the conversation was partly taken over by the FPÖ. Health advocacy strengthens the voices of experts in the democratic debate (Dorfman and Krasnow, 2014) and, therefore, should not be neglected in this specific area of right-wing populist influence. Furthermore, the analysis of the FPÖ´s speeches has shown that FPÖ politicians repeatedly lied about the evidence on passive smoking and smoke-free policies. Seeing more researchers and medical experts in the public debate could also re-establish trust in these groups among the public (van der Schee *et al.*, 2007). Based on these considerations, health advocates in Austria should utilize traditional- and social- media to make their message about the benefits of tobacco control policies heard.

However, it is important to point out that media advocacy cannot be the sole responsibility of a few engaged health experts. Neuberger and Pock (2009, p. 510) report that "the fight against business interest of the tobacco industry in Austria has been mainly left to volunteers." In contrast to other European countries, advocacy work is not expected or incentivized in Austrian universities. To strengthen public-health positions in political debates on tobacco control for the future, structures to support advocacy efforts should be in place in Austria.

On the side of the Austrian government, this newspaper analysis implies a missed opportunity of the ÖVP and Green Party coalition to effectively communicate the positive aspects of the smoke-free places policy. Just one of the politicians, who were quoted in the newspaper articles, mentioned the policy´s positive health outcomes, while the others framed the policy in terms of implementation. The negative aspects of the policy, such as renovation costs for the hospitality industry, are automatically emphasized through this framing. This illustrates the need for Austrian health advocates and politicians to frame the debate in public health effectively. Austria still has a long way to go in tobacco control, and thus the 'Tobacco Wars' between right-wing populists and health advocates are long but over. Champion and Chapman (2005, p. 683) recommend that "advocates for smoke free bars and pubs need to anticipate the general and specific debating frames they will face in seeking to meet their case, and rehearse counteracting debating frames and arguments that they will meet in these conflicts if they are to best represent public health objectives." Based on the results of the analysis presented here, counter-frames to the FPÖ´s position in health policy will be suggested in the following paragraph.

A populist frame was found to be at the heart of the FPÖ´s portrayal of Austria's smoke-free policy. In order to counteract the FPÖ´s populist framing, a focus on the benefits of proposed policies for the people seems effective. If politicians communicate convincingly that the Austrian people will benefit from the policy and that most Austrians actually support the law (Neuberger, 2018b), the FPÖ´s claim to represent the people could be undermined. In this context, framing the smoke-free policy in terms of tackling health inequities could prove useful to highlight its benefit for the Austrian working-class. This framing would emphasize the benefit of smoke-free policies for all groups of the population and thus weaken the FPÖ´s claim that the smoke-free policy is a project by elitist politicians. Other authors have also suggested counter-frames to the freedom, fairness, and free enterprise arguments that are often brought forward in discussions on tobacco control (Menashe, 1998; Cohen *et al.*, 2000). Nevertheless, Siegel and Doner (2007) recommend that public health experts present a single,

coordinated, and uniform frame. Thus, a focus on the populist frame of the FPÖ seems advisable to not dilute the message brought forward by health experts.

In summary, to successfully counteract right-wing populist frames of tobacco control, health advocates need to seek the spotlight and reframe the debate on their terms. Further, these efforts would be more fruitful if Austrian universities and the government supported them. Politicians should not get caught up by questions of practicality, but focus on the benefits of tobacco control for the population. These strategies can help politicians and health advocates to prepare for the next fight in the 'Tobacco Wars' that is surely to come, as Austria has not yet fulfilled all of its obligations under the FCTC.

4.5 Limitations

Two limitations to the findings discussed above need to be mentioned. First of all, the time-frame of this analysis was limited to the month of November when the smoke-free places policy was introduced. Kenterelidou (2012) demonstrated that newspaper frames shortly after a smoke-free policy was introduced in Greece focused more on economic losses than at other times. This bias could also be evident in the analysis at hand. As was shown in Chapter 1.2.2, the debate on the smoke-free policy in Austria has been carried out for more than five years. While a long-term analysis could have offered a clearer picture of frames in the debate on the smoke-free policy, this was beyond the scope of this dissertation. Nevertheless, a possible time-effect should be kept in mind.

Furthermore, this dissertation only analysed right-wing populist frames but ignored the frames of other parties in the parliamentary debate. Hence, it is possible that effective counter-frames by the pro-policy parties were missed in the discussion in Chapter 4.4. Likewise, this dissertation assumed that health experts in Austria did not effectively engage in health advocacy in the media. However, it is possible that prior to the introduction of the smoke-free policy, more advocacy work took place. Further research should focus on the anti-tobacco wing in the debate on the smoke-free places policy to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the FPÖ´s opponents. In the end, it has to be noted that RWPP widely differ across Europe (Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2018) and, thus, the results discussed here should only be carefully translated to policy contexts outside of Austria.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that RWPP will continue to play an important role in European politics. Nevertheless, the role of RWPP in health policy has been neglected in the academic literature as of yet. This research gap was addressed in this project, which investigated the role of the right-wing populist FPÖ in the debate about Austria's smoke-free policy. Specifically, frame analysis was used to find out how the FPÖ framed the smoke-free policy and to what extent these frames were reflected in newspaper reports on the policy.

This dissertation had two key findings. First, the frame-analysis of FPÖ speeches yielded underlying populist, authoritarian, and libertarian frames of the smoke-free policy. Second, the analysis of newspaper articles on the policy demonstrated that FPÖ frames were not reflected in the newspaper articles, however, the FPÖ was a dominant political actor in newspaper reports on the smoke-free places policy.

The findings presented in this dissertation are relevant for numerous reasons. First, the discussion of the FPÖ´s right-wing populist frames yielded that the underlying ideas reflected by these frames could be detrimental for tobacco control policy and health policy more widely. Since RWPP are an indisputable power in Europe, politicians, as well as health advocates, need to strengthen their position against the right-wing populist influence in health policy. This is especially true since this analysis demonstrated an overrepresentation of FPÖ politicians among political actors in Austrian newspapers. Since media framing can influence the public opinion, as well as which policy solutions are deemed acceptable in the political debate, health advocates should seek to be represented more in the media and not leave the debate in the hands of right-wing populist politicians.

While many speculations exist about right-wing populist influence on health policy, this dissertation is the first to investigate right-wing populist ideas in health policy. Sylvia Tesh (1989, p.155) argued that "more powerful than vested interests, more subtle than science, political ideology has, in the end, the greatest influence on disease prevention policy." This quote and the results of this dissertation illustrate that public health is not value-free. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the values of political actors in health policy to implement effective and beneficial health policies.

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Appendix A: Newspaper articles

This appendix lists all newspaper articles that were included in the analysis.

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Appendix B: Identified codes for FPÖ speeches

Table 4: *Codes identified in FPÖ speeches. Please note that codes were translated from German to English. However, some words (in cursive) could not be translated as they are part of the Austrian dialect.*

Codes	Themes
constitutional court, regulation, constitutional, law, property rights, standing up for justice, personal rights, liberty, fundamental rights, basic rights, rights that have been robbed and stolen	Law and Order
Freedom, tolerance, maturity, mature enough, self-decision, adulthood, self-determination, freedom of choice, health as personal responsibility, external determination, control, live and let live, free choice	Freedom
customs, manner, culture, classical gastronomy, anti-fastfood, tradition, village, Inn, conviviality, country/nation, rural area, Austrian mentality, *Beisl*, cigarette, pipe, a beer, a cigarette, in peace, coffee, liquor, sociability, fun, passionate smoker, smoke-break, treat, come together, cosy, chat, homely people, smoking cigarette with Melange or whiskey	Culture
ban, absolute, total, anti-PC, protection of minorities, dictatorship, regulatory frenzy, mainstream, controls, conditions, prescribe, private(property), regulations, coercion, bureaucratic madness, puritans, the Pharisees and the politically correct, war, outlawed, how far?, into private living rooms, imposed, surveillance society, prohibition society, pretend, regulations, expropriated	Verbotskultur

pub deaths, employees; entrepreneurs, innkeepers, regulars, empty pubs, innkeepers, guests staying away, work, risk, lock up, shisha bars, clubs, cafes, business, premises, layoffs, turnover, profits, UK: thousands of pubs, owners	Economy
scientifically no justification at all, pseudo-scientific, clearly invalidated, expert hearing, no empirical study proving health effects of passive smoking, studies, mathematical formula, recent scientific study, scientific bullshit of a justification	Pseudo-science
population, residents, free citizens, citizens, FPÖ as the voice of the citizens, us, nation, natives, dear friends, I am here as affected citizen, society, *Volk*	The people
Consequence, straightforwardness, double standards, no backbone, gravediggers, betrayal, SPÖ, ÖVP, back and forth, campaigning of a very large daily newspaper, former workers' party, gentlemen who have decided this, have they thought about what it means for the society? EU dictatorship	Political elite

Appendix C: Identified codes for the newspaper articles

Table 5: *Codes identified in newspaper articles. Please note that codes were translated from German to English. However, some words (in cursive) could not be translated as they are part of the Austrian dialect.*

Codes	Themes
Landlords complain, loss of sales, empty early, waiters' wallets, suffering and joy among landlords, sales collapse, shisha bars, fighting for survival, angry landlords, local ban, restaurateurs, drop in sales, hit hard, business model, existence-threatening, fewer pubs, serious loss of sales, hits shisha bars with full broadside, nightclubs, bars, broke, business model, insolvency, bankruptcy proceedings, restaurateurs, existence, fear of losing guests, costs, hosts, Local, innkeepers, shisha bars, loss of sales, loss of turnover, loss of customers, loss of turnover	Economic Impact
Local, hosts, guests, local guests, go home earlier, emptiness, consume less, go home earlier, café, gastronomy, regular business, guests, smokers, regular guests, *Tschocherl, Beisl*, Smoke, *Stammbeisl*, Last Smoke Party, small, rustic, home, free cigarettes,	Pub atmosphere
control, penalty, punished, warned, Magistrate District Office, controls, adhere to it, loophole in the law, arrest, police officers, officials, questioned, exemplary implementation of the provisions of the protection of non-smokers, Market Office, federal law, Prohibition, Control, punishment, misdemeanor, allowed, may, strictly prohibited, compliance with the protection of non-smokers, responsible, controls, officials, market office, report, constitutional obligation, law, control, regulations, exemplary, compliance, penalties, recidivism, disregard for the protection of non-smokers, maximum penalty, focus controls, local controls, arrest, severe penalties, illegal smoking, unclear legislation, constitutional court, controlled, control, inspectors, complaints, law-abiding, official threat, legally relevant, violate law, violation, punished, high court, security, police	Law & Order
Smoke rebels, did not want to give up, fight the non-smoking dictate, #resistance, Facebook group against the smoking ban,	Resistance

demonstration, mobilize, protest, defy, anger, unreasonable people, illegally creative, circumventing regulations, stubborn, FPÖ, attacking police officers, rebels, is sent on, prohibition not to be taken seriously, resentment, most smokers just continued to smoke	
Smoke-policy poll, high waves, opponents and supporters, discussions, both sides, referendum, angry smokers, discuss, emotionally discussed, controversy, debate	Public Debate
positive effects, health, lung cancer ward, effects on health, fewer young people smoke, fewer people get sick, success, smoke-free phone, stop smoking, temptations, justification pressure, psychologists, craving attacks, quit smoking, hospitals, heart disease, dangers of passive smoking, children, adolescents, drastically reduce cigarette consumption, non-smoker protection, direct effects on health, health, positive effects, hospital stays less, how to quit smoking, do something good, stop craving, quit smoking, withdrawal symptoms, excitability, concentration problems and bad mood, physical and mental addiction, bad habits, carcinogenic enormous health risk, protection of non-smokers and workers, tortured lungs,	Health outcomes
poisonous environment, highly toxic, toxic poison cocktails, chemicals, toxic, fresh air	The environment
Smoker's paradise, precipitation, protection, heating devices, protect guests from cold, residents, garbage dumps, noise, make smoking more pleasant outside, insinuate, rain, noise complaints, neighbour, night, quiet, heating devices, cold, winter shanty, protection, tarpaulin	Feasability
Force, the compulsion to smoke outside when leaving, others don't want to be told what to do anymore, Non-smoking dictation, prohibition to think	Verbotskultur