

Appendix 1: Selected Keywords for Coding the Populist Themes

<i>Code Names</i>	<i>Keywords</i>
<i>General will</i>	<p>People's will – national will Absolute sovereignty Non-intervention in domestic affairs Autonomy and absolutism in decision-making process Popular consent Symmetrical and equal relations with mutual respect Right of authority (executive power) Elections and referendums</p>
<i>Bilateralism</i>	<p>Discrediting multilateralism State-centrism Bilateral relations Referring to European countries rather than EU members Ignoring/targeting EU organs Focusing on bilateral relations with selected European states</p>
<i>Diversification</i>	<p>Relations with alternative powers: Russia, China, Iran Relations with non-Western countries and regions Other regional initiatives</p>
<i>New Turkey</i>	<p>Old Turkey Passivism and old syndromes A new and strong Turkey Constructive and decisive country Foreign policy activism Regional power/global actor Pro-activism and independence Turkey-centrism</p>
<i>Anti-elitism</i>	<p>Anti-status-quo orientation Creating a link between the establishment and foreign forces Criminalising the opposition by branding them as terrorists Fight against tutelage Opposition to top-down politics and separation from the people. Minimising the role of bureaucracy</p>
<i>Positive partisanship</i>	<p>National resurrection and rising Identity (Turkish and Muslim) seen as blessing The glorification of Turkish civilisation and history Historical heroism and fighting spirit Existential importance of elections Call for unity and solidarity Independence and survival Majoritarianism</p>
<i>Negative partisanship</i>	<p>Internal and external threats Securitisation Antagonisation Conspiracy theories Threat from terrorism and separatism Imperialism Inside collaborators</p>
<i>People-centrism</i>	<p>Nativism and nationalism The protection of a great civilisation Ottoman legacy and historical references References to Turkishness and Islam Being the hope of oppressed peoples and the protector of innocents Citizens' rights and interests: relative and kin groups, especially Turkish immigrants in Europe and Turkish Cypriots Unity and integrity with the nation Representing the leader/party as a servant of the nation</p>
<i>Personalisation</i>	<p>Use of Twitter Meetings with foreign leaders</p>

	<p>Categorising leaders as friend or foe</p> <p>Undiplomatic/emotional expressions</p> <p>Chauvinism; use of historical analogies</p> <p>Comparing the leader's discourse with key actors and institutions (centralisation)</p>
--	---

Appendix 2: Samples of Coding

<i>Populist Themes</i>	<i>Samples of Coding</i>
<i>General will</i>	<p>When asked about the possibility of restoring the death penalty in Turkey, Erdogan said it depended on the will of the Turkish people: "If we are in a democratic state, then the people have the final say. And the people, what are they saying? They want the death penalty to be reinstated."</p> <p>"What's it to you?", the Turkish president said, referring to European parliamentarians. "Is the European Parliament in charge of this country or is the government in charge of this country?"</p> <p>As the AK Party, we have eradicated the syndromes that have undermined our country's self-confidence and bound its foreign policy to the vision we have presented.</p>
<i>Bilateralism</i>	<p>Turkey's bilateral relations with European countries are developing in line with Turkey's strategic EU membership goal, but independent of the political strains that accompany this process. At the same time, economic and commercial ties with Europe are strengthening. European countries are important trading partners of Turkey.</p> <p>The state visit we made to Germany last week was instrumental in mutual confirmation of our will to direct our relations in a new and positive direction. Again, in the past months, we had a visit to England, where we agreed to strengthen our cooperation with our counterparts. The positive voices rising from various European countries regarding relations with Turkey are a harbinger of bright days ahead.</p>
<i>Diversification</i>	<p>Why shouldn't Turkey be in the Shanghai Five? I said this to (Russian President) Mr Putin, to (Kazakh President) Nazarbayev, to those who are in the Shanghai Five now.</p> <p>We shared Turkey's approach to regional and global issues, its projects and solution proposals in our bilateral meetings with the leaders of the Netherlands, China, Japan, Chile, Russia, Argentina, the USA, and the UK.</p> <p>Just as we cannot turn our backs on Iraq, Syria, the Caucasus, Central Asia, the Balkans and Eastern Europe, we also do not have the right to ignore North Africa, Central Africa, and South Asia.</p>
<i>New Turkey</i>	<p>And they need to know this: there is now a new Turkey, that is, a Turkey that takes the initiative in its region, is a party to global issues, and demands equal relations with its allies, and our allies will get used to this.</p> <p>Turkey is strengthening and deepening its status as a regional centre of attraction, a focal point, and a centre of international relations. We are building a new language and a new world vision together with all actors, parties, and groups that adopt a positive approach both in our region and in global politics.</p>
<i>Anti-elitism</i>	<p>We have never deviated from the path of democracy and law while fighting against tutelage, confronting the attacks of terrorist organisations from within and outside our borders, challenging coups, and breaking international sieges ... Everyone with a little conscience and understanding already knows that the intention of the European and American cabals who do this is not to defend freedoms; they act with other agendas.</p> <p>It is insufficient to carry out the decision-making and implementation process in foreign policy with only the participation of the bureaucracy. Turkey's influence and power in</p>

	foreign policy will increase by ensuring the participation of the parliament and various segments of society in such decisions.
<i>Positive partisanship</i>	<p>We also say to those who threaten us with economic sanctions due to the developments in Syria: less goes to less, more goes to more. Well, we are the grandchildren of the nation who shared a bowl of soup in Çanakkale, and the grandchildren of those who wrote the Çanakkale Epic. For every wound you inflict on us, a much bigger wound will be inflicted on your economy. Our cut beard will grow back much thicker after a while, but it will not be that easy to compensate for your losses.</p> <p>I am calling out to our compatriots in Northern Cyprus, my Turkish brothers, these lands are yours, you need to protect these lands, and you need to protect the political will that protects these lands. If we were to put this literally, I believe the future in Cyprus will be very different.</p>
<i>Negative partisanship</i>	<p>Youth, let's know this very well: we do not accept a world where the strong is right, we accept a world where the right is strong, we need to focus on this. And we need to continue on our way with this understanding. Because the structure dominated by the powerful is not the structure of our understanding of civilisation, and we are absolutely against these imperialist structures and it is not possible for us to accept them.</p> <p>Look, since Operation Peace Spring began, nearly 700 actions have been carried out against our country by members of terrorist organisations abroad, especially in Europe. Most of them are with us in NATO, and most of them are our interlocutors in the European Union, with which we are currently negotiating ... 36 of our people were injured in the attacks. Again, many buildings, vehicles, and workplaces belonging to our country or our citizens were damaged in these attacks. Moreover, supporters of terrorist organisations carry out these attacks under the political and actual protection of European states. While the supporters of the terrorist organisation target our citizens, the security forces of those countries, instead of protecting the innocent, hold up their hands, allowing the other side to act more easily.</p>
<i>People-centrism</i>	<p>AK PARTİ is a human-centric political party. AK PARTİ believes that serving people is the most superior form of service. The objective of its work and activities is to offer happiness, peace, safety, and health to its people. AK PARTİ considers all of its people to be a big family named “the State of the Republic of Turkey” seated in the geographical area of “Turkey”, and also considers other states to be neighbour families seated within their respective borders. AK PARTİ believes that living together in peace is possible only if people are valued</p> <p>We have endeavoured to conduct a sincerely internalizing, multi-dimensional foreign policy. With these efforts, we have become a beacon of hope for the forgotten or excluded oppressed peoples of the world.</p>
<i>Personalisation</i>	<p>Today, we hosted the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, my dear friend, Mr. @markrutte, in Ankara.</p> <p>Today, in the eyes of billions of people, Europe is not the centre of democracy, human rights and freedoms, but the centre of oppression, violence, and Nazism. Please know this. Racist parties literally manipulate European leaders and administrations under their thumb. Europe no longer has anything left to say to the world or to us. We face a continent that is decaying in every respect.</p>