Codebook for Protest Event Analysis
Far-Right Protest in Europe (FARPE)
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The codebook draws on the standard coding procedures of Protest Event Analysis (PEA) developed in the projects Europub, MERCI, Eurislam, and SOM, and later applications by Pietro Castelli Gattinara for the Charlie Hebdo debate (2018) as well as Andrea Pirro and colleagues for the transformation of the Movement for a Better Hungary (2019). It applies coding rules to the study of far-right protest in Europe (2008-2018), which are presented below. Data collection is funded by the Centre for Research on Extremism (C-REX), University of Oslo.

PART 1 – OVERVIEW OF THE CODING PROCESS

The study seeks to ascertain whether, when, and how the far right engages in contentious politics. The unit of analysis is the **protest event**. We understand a protest event as a collective, public action, organised by a far-right actor (e.g. political party, social movement, group), with the explicit purpose of expressing critique or dissent, and/or advancing societal or political demands.

The codebook provides guidelines for identifying and coding protest events. Data will be retrieved by triangulating two types of sources: a) national quality newspaper databases; and b) party/movement/group official websites. Since the project covers several countries in Europe, each coder will take care of their individual country case in close collaboration with the coding supervisors. The coding process entails three successive steps.

1) **Preliminary country-specific tasks**

1a. Translation of country-specific keywords
As a first step, each coder must develop the set of keywords that will be used to identify the protest events from newspaper and online data. Keywords must include the *name of the actor* to be searched, and a set of language-specific keywords for protest events. Use the following ones as examples:

- <u>English</u>**:** *Name of actor* AND (protest*; demonstrat*; commemorat*; gather*; public assembly; verb accounting for marching; violence; occupation; action; rally; riot)
- <u>French:</u> *Name of actor* AND (manifestation; manif; cortege; demonstration; commémoration; assemblée; march*; défil*; violence; affrontement; occupation; squat; action; rassemblement; émeute)
- <u>Italian:</u> *Name of actor* AND (manifestazion*; corte*; sit-in; commemorazion*; fiaccolat*; assemble*; marcia*; scontr*; aggression*; occupazion*; protest*; radun*)

The language-specific set of keywords must be sent to the coding supervisor for approval. As a general rule, there is no need to use accents and special characters; they will be automatically detected by the search engine.

1b. Identify country specific events
As a second step, the coders shall list all those events that might bear particular relevance for the far right in the country under investigation. In close collaboration with the supervisor, coders must thus think of *specific events* in which the far right is likely to mobilise, in order to make sure that these events are included in the coding. For example, in Hungary, the list of relevant events would include the following: 1848 Revolution celebration (15/03); Jobbik's May Day celebration (01/05); Day of National Unity (04/06); Magyar Sziget Festival (July); St. Stephen's Day (20/08), etc. In Italy, the list would include institutional celebrations such as the National Memorial Day of the Exiles and Foibe (10/02), anniversaries of Fascist events – the foundation of the Fascist Party (23/03) and the of the March on Rome (28/19) – or commemorations of the death of far-right activists (e.g. Sergio Ramelli 29/04).

1c. Identify sources: newspaper and website
The third task is to check the availability of newspaper and website sources in each country. Coders should identify the official website(s) of the organisation(s) under scrutiny. Coders must in particular check if the websites: a) have an internal search engine allowing keyword searches and, if so, Boolean searches (i.e. relying on *the combination* of keywords through the use of 'AND', 'OR', or 'NOT" operators – such as the ones of the Google advanced search function); and b) provide information covering the period 2008-2018.

In selecting the newspapers to be used as sources, coders will refer to their coding supervisor to discuss the most suitable news outlet in each country. Newspapers should provide a reliable source of information about far-right protest. They should be independent newspapers of public record with a nationwide scope of coverage and readership. Hence, priority must be given to *daily national quality newspapers* published regularly during the decade 2008-2018.

Wherever possible, other things being equal, priority should be given to newspapers that have a reputation for, or have been more sensitive to, consistent and detailed coverage of far-right actors and social movements. The preliminary list of selected newspapers includes: *Die Tageszeitung* (or alternatively *Suddeutsche Zeitung*) for Germany; *Le Monde* for France; *La Repubblica* for Italy; *The Guardian* for Britain; *Die Presse* for Austria; *Dagens Nyheter* (or alternatively *Svenska Dagbladet*) for Sweden. Coders will check if their institution has access to the Factiva database for mainstream quality news outlets for the country under scrutiny, through the period 2008-2018. A brief description of the available sources must be sent for approval.

2) Coding newspaper articles

Using Factiva or available databases identified in step *1c.*, coders should perform keyword searches on national newspapers. They will read the articles returned and code *all protest events* involving the actor under scrutiny using the spreadsheet provided by the supervisors.

Example:

Free text search:	"Britain First" AND (protest* OR demonstrat* OR commemorate* OR gather* OR march* OR violent OR "public assembly" OR occup* OR action OR rally OR riot*)
Date:	Enter date range - from 01/01/2008 to 12/31/2018 // *Duplicates:* off
Source:	The Guardian (U.K.)

Notes:
- The same protest event might return in *several* articles. If an event has already been coded, it *must not* be coded another time. Each protest event retrieved from newspaper sources must be coded *only once* and only *integrated*, should any additional information arise from related search returns.
- Please, note that the date of the article does not necessarily coincide with the date of the protest! Articles may report of protests that have taken place in the past and/or will take place in the future.[1] If an exact date is not available, you can presume this from the text (e.g. "earlier this month" = 10 days before the date of the article; "last month" = one month before; "last year" = one year before date of article).
- A single newspaper article may contain information about *multiple* protest events. In this case, *each event* must be coded *as a separate unit* in the spreadsheet. Determining whether a social protest has to be coded as a single event or as multiple events, however, is not always straightforward. In this respect, we adhere to the guidelines developed in the Dynamics of Collective Action Project by Doug McAdam and colleagues (www.dynamicsofcollectiveaction.com). An event is coded as a single event if:
  o …it includes action that is mostly continuous, i.e. there are no gaps of more than 24 hours in time between a specific action and the following one;
  o …it is located within the same city or same part of the city and promoted by the same initiators/actor;
  o …it includes the same (or a subset of the same) participants whose goals are the same, such as in the case of a (single) national demonstration taking place in several cities.

3) Coding website information

The final step is to triangulate newspaper information with data from the official websites of far-right actors. Coders will have to use the keyword list mentioned in point 2) on the internal search engines of party websites (and/or Google advanced search function: see point 1c), and code *all protest events* described therein – i.e. *including those already coded from newspaper sources.*

Notes:
- The *same* protest event might be mentioned *several times* on the website of far-right actors. Each event must be coded *only once* and appropriately *integrated* should any additional details emerge from successive news items.
- Events that have already been coded from newspapers should be coded *again* – and they should be attributed the *same EVENTID number that it was used for newspaper coding.*[2] One of the purposes of the study is to measure the difference in the way in which an event is described by the media (newspapers) and its promoters (the far right). Hence, it is important that the events retrieved from the official websites of far-right actors are reported using *the information available on these websites.* Please, *do not simply replicate* the information retrieved from newspapers!

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[1] Events that will take place in the future shall be coded *only if there is sufficient evidence* that they will actually take place. Example 1: "CasaPound's militants will march in Rome tomorrow against the government" (code as protest: there is little doubt that the demonstration will take place). Example 2: "CasaPound is planning a demonstration next month in the South of Italy" (do not code as protest: there is not enough evidence here that the plan will eventually materialise).

[2] As a general rule, events retrieved from websites that take place in the same location and on the same day as events previously coded from newspapers can be considered *the same event* and attributed the same EVENTID number.

1. COUNTRYCODE

Case for which the coder is responsible. This should be the same for all protest events per country.

Select among the following values:

Values:
1   Austria
2   Bulgaria
3   Estonia
4   France
5   Germany
6   Greece
7   Poland
8   Slovakia
9   Sweden
10 UK
11 Hungary
12 Italy

2. SOURCE

Source from which the protest event is retrieved.

Specify whether the event is retrieved from newspapers or party websites:

Values:
1   Newspapers
2   Official website of far-right party/movement/group

3. EVENTID

Unique identifying number for event.

For each event that is coded, insert a progressive number starting from 1.

Values: progressive numbers starting from 1

Note: events coded from *both* newspapers *and* websites should be *given the same* ID number

4. EVENTDATE

Date of the event.[3]

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[3] If the article/website *does not mention* the date of the protest, the default option is to code it on the day before the article/post. Some exceptions apply: 1) In case the source does not state the exact date at which the protest took place but refers to it as "yesterday" / "last Wednesday" / "tomorrow" / "two weeks ago" / etc., then use a calendar application to code the *exact date*. 2) If the reference is too vague, code as follows: "a few days ago" – code the date that is 3 days prior to the date of the article/post.

"A week ago": code date as 7 days prior to the date of the article/post. "Two weeks ago" or "a couple of weeks ago": code 14 days prior to the article/post. "A month ago": 30 days prior to article/post. 3) In case there is *no* time reference at all, search the event on Google to find if any other source (i.e. another newspaper) specifies the date of the protest. *Only if you do not find any re-*

Report the date of the event using the following format:

Values: YYYYMMDD (e.g. 25 April 2017 > 20170425)

Note: the date of the protest *might not* coincide with the publication of newspaper articles.

5. URL
URL(s) of source(s).

Insert the URL(s) of the newspaper article/website page.

Notes: If multiple URLs are available, each URL should be separated by a semicolon (;) and a space. For newspaper data, you may use the title of the article if no URL is available.

6. PLACE
Place of the event.

Insert the name of the location(s) at which the event takes place.

Values: String variable (no predefined categories)

7. EVENTLEV
Level at which the protest event is organised.[4]

Select the category that best describes the level at which the protest takes place:

Values:
1   Local (district/town or province/region)
2   National (state level)
3   Supranational (including EU level)
99 Not specified/Unknown

Note: In case of multilevel event, insert the highest level.

8. NAMEACT
Name of the main far-right actor involved in the event.

Insert the exact name of the far-right actor involved:

Values: String variable (no predefined categories)

Note: Multiple choice allowed. A number of NAMEACT variables have been inserted by default in the spreadsheet provided (i.e. NAMEACT1, NAMEACT2, etc.). In all probability, not every variable will be filled for each event, but if there

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liable information about the date of the event from any other source, leave this variable blank.

[4] To code this variable, you should keep in mind the scope of *the main organisations* promoting the event, as well as *the scope of the claims* that they make. If international guests participate to an event by local actors that is mainly about local problems, then the event level is still local. If international and national organisations organise an event about EU issues, then the scope is supranational.

are more than five actors involved, please feel free to add as many additional NAMEACT variables as necessary.

Do not report the name of individuals; only report the name of the organisations to which they belong.

9.   TYPEACT

Type of far-right actor involved.

For each actor reported in NAMEACT, specify the corresponding category.

Values:
1   Political party[5]
2   Social movement organisation, civil society organisation, or other type of organisation (e.g. association, foundation, consumer/cultural/educational/legal/youth/women organisation, except militias)
3   Militia group or guard (armed or non-armed)
4   Informal groups, sport groups, and recreational groups
5   Music bands (e.g. 'national rock', 'identity rock')
6   Trade union and professional groups
7   Other group
99 Unknown

Note: *To any NAMEACT variable shall correspond a TYPEACT variable.*

10.   COUNTERMOB

Presence of *active* counter-protest by opposing actors against an event and/or the far-right actor that organised it.[6]

Describe the type of mobilisation choosing among the following categories:

Values:
0   No counter-mobilisation
1   Verbal counter-mobilisation (public statements against event or group)
2   Contentious counter-mobilisation (counter-actions, boycotts, confrontation/violence)
99 Unknown/no information available

11.   PROTFORM [7]

Main form of action[8] carried out during the protest.[9]

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[5] Distinguishing political parties from social movement organisations is not always straightforward, because some non-party organisations may occasionally run for elections. The criterion to distinguish the two is therefore that political parties *regularly field candidates for elections*, whereas (certain) social movement organisations (may) only do that *occasionally*.

[6] In case of counter-protests, *do not* code the name of the actors under the categories NAMEACT & TYPEACT. These variables *must be coded only for far-right actors* promoting an event and *should not be coded for counter-movements*.

[7] Whether or not an event qualifies as 'protest' (e.g. election campaigning) depends on the nature of the action. A simple signature collection or leafletting generally do not qualify as a protest event. Instead, actions such as sit-ins, commemorations and public assemblies might qualify as protest events *even if they take place within the framework of an election campaign*.

[8] If a protest implies *several forms of action* (e.g. when a public assembly evolves into a violent protest), the following priority rule apply: the more radical forms of protest (violent and confrontational) have priority over more moderate ones (demonstrative protests).

Select the form of action that best describes the protest event:

Values:

Demonstrative protests:
1   Public assembly
2   March, demonstration (legal and non-violent)
3   Vigil/picket
4   Direct and solidarity actions (e.g. food distribution, charity, direct interventions)
5   Online action (only if contentious, e.g. racist and hate speech; mail bombing, hackering)
6   Symbolic action (street theatre, masks, cultural performances etc.)

Confrontational protest
7   Non-authorised or illegal demonstration (if non-violent)
8   Boycott
9   Strike
10 Self-mutilation (e.g. hunger strike, suicide)
11 Blockade (e.g. road blocks, occupation of squares)
12 Occupation of buildings or similar
13 Disturbance of meetings (e.g. sabotage and interruption of public events, blitz)
14 Symbol confrontation (e.g. farmers dumping animal dung in front of a government building)

Violent protest
15 Threats (e.g. murder or beating, bomb threat)
16 Symbolic violence (e.g. burning puppets or flags, throwing eggs or paint)
17 Limited destruction of property (e.g. breaking windows)
18 Violent demonstration
19 Arson and bomb attacks, and other severe destruction of property
20 Physical violence against people (individual and collective: fights, brawls, political murder, etc.)
99 Other (specify in the following variable: 13. PROTHOTHER)

12.   PROTOTHER

Other forms of action not included in list.

If the main form of action of protest event is not included in list, please specify accordingly.

Values: String variable (no predefined categories)

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[9] When coding this variable, consider only events that can be attributed to one of the groups under study. Coders should not code events if there is *no sufficient evidence* linking an event to one of these organisations. Keep in mind that groups often condemn or deny responsibility for violent/confrontational episodes, while journalists might simply speculate about their involvement. The following rules apply: 1) Do not code events when the perpetrators are completely unknown and journalists simply speculate about their affiliation to a certain group. 2) If individual group members, without official support by their organisation, perpetrate a protest, consider it for coding only when it is politically motivated (e.g. we do not code brawls or bar fights involving far right militants motivated by domestic or personal issues). 3) If an event is perpetrated by individuals loosely associated to a far-right group, we consider it for coding only when there is some evidence linking them the group (e.g. wearing symbols of group; participated to other collective initiatives by the group; regular contacts with group members; used to be a member, etc.).

13. **ISSUE**

Main issue or theme of the protest event.

Select up to three themes describing the main topics explicitly addressed in the protest event:

Values:
1. National identity and culture
2. Immigration and multiculturalism
3. Security, order, law enforcement, and terrorism
4. National minorities abroad and irredentism
5. Roma population and Roma criminality
6. Jews, anti-Semitism, and anti-Zionism
7. Islam
8. Anti-communism and anti-Bolshevism
9. Anti-elitism and corruption (e.g. elites, technocracy, bankers, intellectuals)
10. Political opponents (e.g. parties and movements, leaders, NGOs, foundations)
11. Europe, European integration, and the EU (incl. the euro)
12. Home affairs and personal defence
13. Foreign policy (incl. pro-Palestine)
14. Industry, energy, agriculture, and the environment
15. Monetary politics and the economy (incl. taxes and taxation)
16. Banks
17. Welfare, retirement, and pension schemes
18. Healthcare
19. Justice
20. Civil rights (e.g. gender equality, abortion, same-sex marriage)
21. Youth
22. Education and IT
23. Family issues, religion, and Church-state relations
24. The media and the press
25. Freedom of speech and political correctness
26. Anniversaries and memory
27. Other (specify in the following variable: ISSUEOTHER)

Note: Multiple choice allowed. A number of ISSUE variables have been inserted by default in the spreadsheet provided (i.e. ISSUE1, ISSUE2, ISSUE3). In all probability, not every variable will be filled for each event, but if more than three issues are involved, mention the three most important ones).

14. **ISSUOTHER**

Other issues or themes not included in list.

If the main issues are not included in list, please specify accordingly:

Values: String variable (no predefined categories)

15. **EVENTDESCR**

General description of the event (in English).

In your own words, insert a short sentence that briefly describes the event.

Values: String variable (no predefined categories)

Note: E.g. "Jobbik marches against migration in Budapest"; "Britain First activists occupy a Mosque in Leeds"; "CasaPound clashes with police during anti-Roma demonstration in Rome".