



The Far-Right Protest Observatory

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CFP - Comparative Far-Right Protest database

Documentation file

V1-2026

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Abstract

This document contains information on the production of the Protest Event Analysis (PEA) of newspaper articles that cover 10 European countries and the time period from 2008 until 2021. The dataset stems from the work of the CFP research teams at Sciences Po, C-REX and Université Libre de Bruxelles, from May 2020 until December 2023. Data collection has received funding from the Center for Research on Extremism at the University of Oslo, the EU's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 883620, and the French National Foundation of Political Science grant No. SAB20202021.

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PROTEST EVENT ANALYSIS

The study of protest politics has a well-established tradition in the field of social sciences. One of the primary methodologies employed in this area is protest event analysis, which constitutes a form of content analysis. This approach enables a systematic collection, quantification, and analysis of substantial volumes of data related to political protests taking place over time and across different countries (Hutter 2014a; 2014b).

In this study, the fundamental unit of observation is a protest event promoted by far-right political actors, which is defined by specific attributes such as a time, location, and the particular form of protest action. We understand a protest event as: *A collective, public action with the explicit purpose of expressing critique or dissent, and/or advancing societal or political demands via non-institutional channels and/or non-electoral means*, and we address specifically the broad and composite category of far-right collective actors, which includes both ‘radical’ and ‘extreme’ right actors differentiated by their ‘hostile’ or ‘oppositional’ attitude towards democratic principles (Mudde 2007).

In contrast with previous works that applied sampling techniques to reduce the coding workload, we sought to ensure the accuracy and relevance of the data we gathered, to have extensive coverage of far-right protest activities in the period and countries covered. We thus opted for an actor-centered data collection strategy, which implied identifying and collecting information specifically related to far-right political actors by using their *exact names* as search criteria. In essence, our strategy involved utilizing the names of far-right political organizations as part of complex boolean search strings for data retrieval. This strategy was inspired by previous successful implementations (Castelli Gattinara, Froio, and Pirro 2022; Pirro et al. 2021) and was grounded in both the collective knowledge of our research team and insights provided by country experts.

The main source to identify and code protest events by the far-right are newspaper articles from the printed press. We opted for the printed press because the comparative design covering several European countries made accessibility a primary concern, and thus the national press preferable to other sources such as agency dispatches and police reports (Hutter 2014). Since we wanted to employ sources that were as comparable as possible, we opted for one quality newspaper per country. Following previous examples, we chose the main liberal outlet in each country: these are considered particularly suited for comparative studies because they mirror the debates in a detailed manner and influence the editorial decisions of a wide range of other news organizations (Kriesi et al. 2012).

The data collection and coding for the CFP dataset involved three successive steps: 1) a set of preliminary tasks operated by the research team with the support of country experts¹; 2) the selection of news sources and the extraction of the raw data; and 3) the actual coding operations, performed by dedicated language-proficient coders for each country². The following sections provide a technical overview of the data generation process and overview the main choices, rules and standards for data coding and imputation. We first describe the preliminary procedure for identification of relevant far-right collective actors, news sources and country-specific keywords, and the process of semi-automated extraction of the raw data. Subsequently, we present various steps of the manual coding process and the main coding items used in the present volume, and the intercoder reliability protocol.

COUNTRY-EXPERT TASKS AND SEMI-AUTOMATED DATA EXTRACTION

The first step in the process involved identifying the most suitable news outlets to be used as a source in each country and constructing country-specific search strings to identify far-right protest events.

The identification of newspapers was performed in tandem with country experts and considered the following criteria: a) Continuous publication throughout 2008-2021; b) daily publication (Monday to Saturday); c) High quality and mass readership (no tabloids); d) Moderate political orientation (not very conservative nor extremely left-wing); e) Coverage of the entire national territory; f) Independent (no government-led or house organs); and g) availability and digital accessibility online. The national newspapers used for data collection are listed in **Table A1** below.³

Table A1. National newspaper and archives used for data collection

Country	Newspaper	Archive
Austria	Die Presse	Factiva
Belgium	De Morgen (Flanders)	GoBelga
	Le Soir (Wallonia)	Europresse
France	Le Monde	Europresse
Germany	Tageszeitung	Factiva

¹ Austria: Manès Weisskircher; Belgium: Léonie de Jonge; France: Caterina Froio; Germany: Manès Weisskircher; Italy: Pietro Castelli Gattinara; Netherlands: Léonie de Jonge; Norway: Anders Jupskås; Poland: Kacper Rekawek; Spain: Carles Viñas Gracia; Sweden: Mattias Wahlström.

² We wish to thank the incredible team of research assistants involved in the CFP project: Emilien Fargues, Cristina Gjelsten, Michiel Bartelds, Katarzyna Ster, Eleonora Guseletova, Giulia Cuoppo, and Gard Dietrichson, whose dedication was instrumental in collecting, managing and cleaning the data.

³ In Belgium, we selected newspapers from each relevant region, ensuring representation from both Flanders and Wallonia.

Italy	La Repubblica	Factiva
Netherlands	De Volkskrant	Lexis Uni
Norway	Aftenposten	Retriever
Poland	Gazeta Wyborcza	Lexis Uni
Spain	El Pais	Factiva
Sweden	Dagens Nyheter	Retriever

The building of country-specific search strings required defining a list of relevant far-right collective actors and selecting appropriate protest-related keywords. For each country, the research assistants were tasked with translating an initial set of protest-related keywords used to identify protest episodes in newspaper articles. In parallel, the research team developed an initial list of relevant actors that was sent to country experts for validation and refining.⁴ This list includes all relevant “collective actors” that: (a) endorse a far-right - nativist and authoritarian - ideology, including both extreme and radical-populist variants; b) are recognizable as collective political groups, excluding single individuals (e.g., Anders Breivik) or loosely defined, non-political communities (e.g., “bikers”); (c) engage in political action, including political parties (e.g., Front National) and street organizations (e.g., PEGIDA), but excluding think tanks or intellectual groups; and (d) operate or have operated at the national level, including local actors that have influenced national politics and debates during the period of analysis.⁵ This list of actors formed the core of the initial keyword string and was progressively expanded through snowball sampling as additional actors emerged during coding.

The full list of country-specific search keywords (prior to snowballing) is provided in **Table A2** below. Research assistants applied the Boolean keyword strings to national newspapers, saving the retrieved articles as PDFs (or equivalent) in dedicated country folders. Files were named according to the country, newspaper title, and period covered. To refine the search, RAs first reviewed a sample of retrieved articles based on feedback from country experts, identifying search terms that produced false positives or missed relevant content. After reporting to the coding supervisor, the search string was

⁴ When relevant, country experts also suggested key events that were particularly significant for far-right mobilization in their respective countries, ensuring their inclusion in the coding process. The following were used as examples of relevant events: Hungary: 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); Italy: the National Memorial Day of the Exiles and Foibe (10/02), anniversaries of Fascist events, e.g. birth of Mussolini, foundation of the Fascist Party (23/03) and the March on Rome (28/19); commemorations of the death of far-right activists (e.g. Sergio Ramelli 29/04).

⁵ To refine the search process, a language-proficient expert reviewed the list to identify any names that could generate false positives or unintended results in keyword searches.

adjusted as needed. Once this iterative process was completed, the full database was downloaded, and coding could begin.

Table A2. List of actor names and keywords used in search strings

Country	Search string
Austria	Pegida, Identitäre Bewegung, Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs, FPÖ, Bündnis Zukunft Österreich, BZÖ, Die Bunten, Arbeitsgemeinschaft für demokratische Politik, AFP, Burschenschaft Olympia, Nationale Volkspartei, NVP, Identitären, IBÖ, Ulrichsberggemeinschaft, protest*, demonstr*, gedenk*, Aufmarsch, marsch*, Gewalt, Besetzung, Aktion, Kundgebung, Krawall*, gewalttätig*, Ausschreitung*.
Belgium	<i>Flanders:</i> protest*, demonstr*, herdenk*, verzamel*, geweld*, Blood and Honour, Blood & Honour, Nieuw-Solidaristisch Alternatief, Pegida Vlaanderen, Autonome Nationalisten, Vlaamse Verdedigings Liga, Forza Ninove, Make Vlaanderen Great Again, SOS Democratie, S.O.S. Democratie, Right Wing Resistance, Vlaams Legioen, Project Thule, Project Yggdrasi, Vlaamse Wolven, Jera, Nationale Beweging, Nation Movement, Lidem, Libéraux democrates, Mouvement réformateur, Mouvement réformateur des libéraux bruxellois, Libertaire Direct Démocratique, Libertair Direct Democratisch, Vlaams Belang, Nationale Democratie, Démocratie Nationale, Debout Les Belges!, Parti Communautaire National-européen, Bloed Bodem Eer en Trouw, Feuerkrieg Division, Volksunie, Jeune Europe, Front Democratique des Francophones, Front Nouveau de Belgique, Force Nationale, FNationale, Voorpost, Katholiek Vlaams Hoogstudentenverbond, Nationalistische Studentenvereniging, VLOTT, Vlaams Liberaal Onafhankelijk Tolerant Transparant, Schild en Vrienden, Schild & Vrienden OR Louvain-le-mec. <i>Wallonia:</i> Wallonie d'abord, Vlaams Nationaal Jeugdverband, Ijzerwake, Nationalistische Studenten Vereniging, Identitaires Ardenne, Schild & Vrienden, Voorpost, Terre et Peuple, Belgique et Chrétienté, Debout les Belges!, Debout les Belges, Project Thule, Vlaams Legioen, Vlaamse Legioen, Project Yggdrasil, Valeurs Nationales, En Colere, Droits & Libertes, L'Eveil NOT Nation Movement, Lidem, Libéraux democrats, Mouvement réformateur, Mouvement réformateur des libéraux bruxellois, Libertaire, Direct, Démocratique, Libertair, Direct, Democratisch, National Democratie, Democratie Nationale, Debout Les Belges, Parti Communautaire National-européen, Bloed, Bodem, Eer en Trouw, Vlaams Belang, Intérêt flamand, Feuerkrieg Division, Volksunie, Jeune Europe, Front Democratique des Francophones, Front Nouveau de Belgique, Force Nationale, FNationale, Katholiek Vlaams Hoogstudentenverbond, Nationalistische Studentenvereniging, VLOTT, Vlaams Liberaal Onafhankelijk Tolerant Transparant, Schild en Vrienden, Louvain-le-mec, protest*, demonstr*, manifest*, mobilis*, commémor*, réunion*, réuniss*, contestation*, marche*, assemblée*, rassembl*, occup*, cortège*, incident*, action*, rally*, rallye*, rallier*, révolte*, défilé*, festival*.
France	Action Française, Adsav, Parti pour l'organisation de la Bretagne libre, Alsace d'abord, Blood and Honour, Sang et Honneur, Breiz Atao, Bretagne Toujours, Charlemagne Hammerskins, Chrétienté-Solidarité, Civitas, France Jeunesse Civitas, Cocarde étudiante, Combat 18, Debout la France, Deus Vult, Dissidence Française, égalité et reconciliation, Fondation Lejeune, Fraternité Saint-Pie X, Front National de la Jeunesse, Génération Nation, Génération identitaire, Groupe Union Défense, Bastion Social, Institut de sciences sociales, économiques et politiques, Jeune Alsace, Jeunesses

	<p>Hitlériennes, Jeunesses Nationalistes, L'Oeuvre française, Les Identitaires, Bloc Identitaire, Mouvement Social Européen, Ligue du Sud, Manif Pour Tous, Marche pour la vie, Mouvement National Républicain, Nissa Rebela, Nomad 88, Parti de la France, Parti National Radical, Parti National Liberal, Parti Nationaliste Français, Printemps français, Rassemblement étudiant de droite, Renaissance Catholique, Renouveau Français, Riposte Laïque, Résistance Républicaine, SIEL, SOS Chrétiens d'orient, Troisième Voie, Union Populaire Républicaine, Zouaves Paris, protest*, demonstr*, manifest*, mobilis*, commémor*, réunion*, réuniss*, contestation*, marche*, assemblée*, occup*, cortège*, incident*, action*, rallye*, rallye*, rallier*, révolte*, défilé*, festival*.</p> <p><i>Separate search strings were used for Front National and Rassemblement National, due to the name change and the fact that this is a major national political party.</i></p>
Germany	<p>AfD, Alternative für Deutschland, Bürgerbewegung Pax Europa, Bürgerbewegung Pro Chemnitz, Bürgerbewegung pro Köln, Bürgerwehr Freital, Der III. Weg, Der Dritte Weg, Die Rechte, Die Republikaner, Deutsche Volksunion, DVU, Ein Prozent für unser Land, HoGeSa, Hooligans gegen Salafisten, Identitäre Bewegung, Junge Alternative, NPD, Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, PEGIDA, Zukunft Heimat, protest*, demonstr*, gedenk*, versamm*, *marsch*, gewalt*, besetz*, Kundgebung, Ausschreitung*, krawall.</p>
Italy	<p>Lega, Lega Nord, Fratelli d'Italia, CasaPound, Casa Pound, Forza Nuova, Generazione Identitaria, Lealtà Azione, Veneto Fronte Skinhead, Fiamma Tricolore, Alternativa Sociale, Movimento Idea Sociale, Casaggi, Fronte Nazionale, Nuovo Ordine Nazionale, Ragazzi d'Italia, Fronte Sociale Nazionale, Movimento Nazionale, Rete dei Patrioti, Fascismo e Libertà, Do.Ra., Militia, Avanguardia Nazionale, Hammerskin, Rivolta Nazionale, Manipolo d'Avanguardia, Storace, Blocco Studentesco, Azione Studentesca, Lotta Studentesca, Gioventù Nazionale, manifesta*, corteo, sit-in, commem,a*, fiaccolat*, sfilat*, assemble*, marcia*, scontr*, aggression*, occupazion*, protest*, radun*, scontr*, violenz*.</p>
Netherlands	<p>FvD, Forum voor Democratie, PVV, Partij voor de Vrijheid, JA21, Erkenbrand, Nederlandse VolksUnie, NVU, Pegida, Blood & Honour, Blood and Honour, Combat18, Combat 18, Voorpost, Identitair Verzet, Zwarte Pieten Actiegroep, Dutch Defense League, Rechts in Verzet, Nationalistische Volksbeweging, AZC Alert, AZC-Alert, Nijmegen Rechtsaf, Pro Patria, Demonstranten tegen gemeenten, Anti Terreur Brigade, Kameraadschap Noord-Nederland, Soldiers of Odin, Vizier op Links, de Vrijheidsbeweging Nederland, Dutch Survivors, Nederland in Opstand, De Nationale Stormvereniging, National Socialist Dutch Movement, Partij voor behoud van de Nederlandse Identiteit, Wij zijn Nederland, Neerlands Patriottisch Front, Nationaal Socialistische Aktie, Identiteit Nederland, Hollandse Traditiegroep, Stop Antifa terreur, Young activist together, Dutch Self Defense Army, Ulfhednar, Netwerk Nationale Socialisten, protest*, demonstr*, herdenk*, verzamel*, geweld*.</p>
Norway	<p>Vigrid, Nasjonalsosialistiske Bevegelse, Norsk Forsvarsallianse, Norwegian Defense League, Den Nordiske motsdansbevegelsen, Stopp islamisering av Norge, SIAN, Selvstendighetspartiet, Norsk Ungdom*, Alliansen, Pegida, Nordisk Styrke, protest*, demonstr*, manifestasjon*, marker*, minne*, samle*, møter opp, møte opp*, møtt opp, protestmarsj*, protesttog*, vold*, forsamling*, oppta*, opptok*, ta til gatene, tok til gatene, aksjon*, opprør*, opptøy*.</p>

Poland	Konfederacja, Marsz Niepodległości, Młodzież Wszechpolska, Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski, Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, Ruch Narodowy, Marsz Patriotów, Szturm, Szturmowcy, Czarny Blok, Zadruga, Autonomiczni Nacjonaliści/Autonom, Niklot, Rodzima Wiara, Narodowy Świt, Falanga, Praca Polska, Zmiana, protest*, demonstr*, obchody, zgromadz*, marsz*, przemarsz, defil*, przemoc*, okup*, zajęcie, przejście, akcj*, wiec*, zamieszki, rozruchy, starcie.
Spain	Hazteoir, VOX, Democracia Nacional, Espana 2000, plataforma respeto, alianza nacional, falange Espanola de las JONS, La Falange, La Espana en Marcha, Plataforma per Catalunya, Soberania y Libertad, Frente Nacional Identitario, Partido Nacional-Socialista Obrero Espanol, Movimiento Social Republicano, Alternativa Espanola, Solidaridad, Hogar Social Madrid, Bastion Frontal, Casal Tramuntana, Blood & Honour Espana, Brotherhood 28, Hammerskins Espana, Ultras Sur, Suburbios Firm, Angeles del Infierno, protesta*, manifesta, conmemora*, reunir*, congrega*, marcha*, violento* / violencia*, asamblea publica, ocupa*, okupa*, irrupcion*, irrumpir*, accion*, rally*, concentracion*, mitin*, motin*, revuelta*, disturbio*.
Sweden	Sverigedemokraterna, Alternativ for Sverige, Sverigedemokratisk Ungdom, Ungsvenskarna, Salemfonden, Folkfronten, Nordiska motstandsrorelsen, Svenska motstandsrorelsen, Nordisk Styrka, Fria nationalister, Nationaldemokraterna, Nationaldemokratisk Ungdom, Nordisk Ungdom, Soldiers of Odin, Blood & Honour, "Blood and Honour, Nationalsocialistisk front, Nordiska nationalsocialister, Svenskarnas parti, Nordiska Forbundet, Combat 18, Sveriges Nationella Ungdomsforbund, protest*, demonstr*, hedra*, ära*, hylla*, samla*, marsch*, våld*, offentlig församling*, offentlig sammankomst*, ockup*, aktion*, handling*, politisk samling*, politisk möte*, politisk samverkan*, upplopp*, uppror*, kravall*.

THE MANUAL CODING PROCESS

The coding process required coders to review all articles and identify far-right protest events based on a dedicated codebook. The process followed a structured approach to ensure consistency and accuracy.

First, coders had to identify events. Protest events were considered only if they met a specific definition: they had to be public, collective actions organized by far-right actors, such as political parties, social movements, or informal groups, with the explicit aim of expressing dissent or advancing political or societal demands through non-institutional and non-electoral means. Institutional activities, such as internal congresses or election-related campaigning, were excluded, as were private events and online actions unless they provoked public debate, legal action, or police intervention. Whenever doubts arose about whether an event qualified as a protest, coders consulted their supervisor, who could escalate the case to the Principal Investigator for a final decision (two-step verification process).

Second, coders had to decide upon the attribution of protest events to far-right collective actors. Once a protest event was identified, coders determined whether it

could be attributed to a known far-right group. Events were included if they were organized by, and/or involved, far-right collective actors, but also if the perpetrators remained unknown but the events clearly expressed far-right ideology, such as acts of vandalism with ideological messaging. Actions carried out by individual group members without official endorsement were considered only when they were politically motivated, while events involving individuals loosely associated with a far-right group were included if there was sufficient evidence linking them to the organization, such as past participation in previous activities or the use of political symbols. Even in cases where organizations denied responsibility or perpetrators remained unidentified, events could still be coded as far-right if their intent and message were confirmed. As with protest identification, unclear cases were reviewed through a two-step verification process.

As a third step, coders proceeded with the actual coding of protest events based on the 23 variables included in the coding manual. The full list of codes and detailed coder tasks are outlined in the next section. Also in this case, coders were invited to highlight borderline cases and coding uncertainty to allow two-step verification with the supervisor and the PI.

INTERCODER RELIABILITY MEASURES

Since multiple researchers participated in the coding process, reliability tests were conducted to ensure consistency across coders (Berkhout et al. 2012). Since coders first selected relevant protest events from newspaper articles sourced through Factiva, Lexis-Nexis, and other national archives, and then applied the project codebook to code these events, we performed two distinct tests of intercoder reliability: selection bias and description bias.

The first test evaluated selection bias by asking coders to identify relevant events within a sample of eight articles, some of which included false positives—events that should not have been coded. The second test examined description bias by having coders classify the selected events using the 23 variables defined in the codebook. The results showed strong consistency in both event identification and event description. The Krippendorff alpha for event identification was 0.806, while the reliability scores for coding event actors and event details were 0.956 and 0.841, respectively. Across the full dataset, the overall Krippendorff alpha was 0.803, confirming a high level of agreement among coders.

DETAILED CODER TASKS

Task 1: Identifying a protest event
We understand a protest event as “a collective, public action, organised by a far-right actor (e.g. political party, social movement, informal group), with the explicit purpose of expressing critique or dissent, and/or advancing societal or political demands via non-institutional channels and/or non-electoral means”.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– For instance, a simple referendum petition, or leafletting in the framework of an election campaign do not qualify as a protest event because they do not take place via non-institutional channels or non-electoral means. Similarly, events that are not public do not count as protest events, such as internal congresses and other events targeting members of the group only.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Yet, actions such as sit-ins, commemorations and public assemblies might qualify as protest events <i>even if they take place within the framework of an election campaign</i>.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Events such as conferences and meetings may be coded as a protest event, as long as they are of a non-electoral nature (e.g. party congresses should NOT be coded) and are sufficiently open and public.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Whether or not an event qualifies as ‘protest’ thus depends on the nature of the action, which should correspond to one of the repertoires included in the detailed list of specific action forms provided in the codebook.
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Only include <i>offline events</i>. Online action, such as hacking or mailbombing are not included in the coding process. The only exception to this is when threats or boycotts are communicated via online channels, but do reach the public sphere (i.e. are reported by the national media).
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Always report to your coding supervisor in case of doubt

Task 2: Attributing protest events to the far right
Coders must consider protest events only if a) these can be attributed to one of the groups under study or b) the action <u>clearly expresses</u> far right ideas and beliefs (e.g. swastika graffiti, dumping pig heads on asylum centre locations). The following rules apply:
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– 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).
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– If an event is perpetrated by individuals loosely associated to a far-right group, we consider it for coding 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.).
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Even when organizations might deny responsibility, or if the perpetrator has not been caught, you may code actions as far right if their intentions and message are clearly

of a far-right nature. Examples: spray painting swastika's on buildings, dumping pig heads on asylum center locations, arson or damaging of asylum locations.

Task 3: Protest events dates

Note that the date of the article/website page 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.

- 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).
- Events that will take place in the future shall be coded *only if there is sufficient evidence* that they will actually take place. *Only code events that will occur in the next seven days, unless you come across later evidence that the event has been cancelled.* 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 place⁶). 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).

Task 4: What to do if a protest event appears in multiple articles/webpages?

Coders might find information about the *same* protest event in *several* newspaper articles. The general rule is that each event should be coded only once in order to avoid duplications.

- NOTE: in cases where multiple newspaper articles refer to the same event but information is conflicting, base the coding on the most recent information. When in doubt, contact your supervisor.

Task 5: What to do if the same article contains multiple protest events?

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 protest has to be coded as a single event or as multiple events, however, is not always straightforward, as with demonstrations that last over several days (does it constitute a single event, or should it be coded as a separate event?). Accordingly, we set the following criteria. An event is coded as a single event if:

⁶ Be aware that announced protests may be cancelled. In case a protest event is cancelled before it begins, it should not be coded as a protest event. If an event is announced beforehand, it is likely that news media will report on it after it happened: make sure you do not code these two news reports as different events!

- It includes action that is mostly continuous. <u>Example</u> : <i>an occupation of a firm lasting for three days counts as one event if the occupiers never leave the site. If they occupy a site, leave for a day, and then return, these are two separate events.</i>
- It is located within the same city or same part of the city and promoted by the same initiators/actor. <u>Example</u> : <i>if a group sends some protestors in front of the national parliament whereas others in front of the government building – we code only one event.</i>
- 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. <u>Example</u> : <i>a national strike with demonstrations across three cities is coded as one event.</i>
– Always report to supervisor in case of doubt

Task 6: Snowball sampling

Once all the coding is done, coders will make a list of secondary actors that were found in the data, but were not included in the initial search string. These actors will then be included in the search string for the entire period, and the search will be run again to check if we have not overlooked any events.⁷

Cross-check the coded protest events with the key country events identified by the country experts, to ensure if their coding covered these events.

LIST OF CODES AND VARIABLE CODING INSTRUCTIONS

COUNTRYCODE
<i>Case for which the coder is responsible. This should be the same for all protest events per country.</i>
Austria
Belgium
France
Germany
Italy
Poland
The Netherlands
Norway
Spain
Sweden

⁷ Make sure that this Boolean search excludes articles that already have been coded using the NOT function. Ask your supervisor for assistance.

EVENTID
<i>Unique identifying number for event.</i>
<i>For each event that is coded, insert a progressive number starting from 1.</i>
Values: progressive numbers starting from 1

EVENTDATE
<i>Date of the event⁸⁹</i>
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.

PLACE
<i>Place of the event.¹⁰</i>
<i>Insert the name of the location(s) at which the event takes place.¹¹¹²</i>
Values: String variable (no predefined categories)

LAT, LONG
<i>Latitude and Longitude of place of events</i>
Numbered Lat1-LatX and Long1-LongX for events taking place in multiple locations

⁸ 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. In case the post refers to a month (‘the EDL demonstration in January’) code date as the 15th of the month. 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 reliable information about the date of the event from any other source, leave this variable blank.*

⁹ Do not code repeated events when the journalist states an event happens on a weekly/monthly/annual basis (in other words: do not code 20 events if the article refers to a ‘weekly’ event that occurred 20 weeks ago for the first time). Only code the first ever event of its kind, and the specific event(s) being covered in the newspaper content.

¹⁰ Events in a foreign location (not the country of analysis) should only be included if at least one actor from the country of analysis participates. E.g. when coding the UK, if the EDL participates in a protest march in Germany, it will be included. If only the AfD is mentioned as the organizer/participant of an event, it will not be coded (regardless of location).

¹¹ This should be at the level of the city/town in which the event takes place, not neighbourhood/street.

¹² If the event is nation-wide or takes place across multiple locations, you can either note down all locations and separate them with a semi-colon, or code as **nation-wide**.

EVENTLEV
<i>Level at which the protest event is organised</i>
<i>Select the category that best describes the level at which the protest takes place:</i>
Local (district/town or province/region)
National (state level)
Supranational (including EU level)
Not specified/Unknown
<p>Notes: To decide whether an event is local, national or supranational, coders must first consider the scope of the issue at the core of the protest (local, national, supranational) and then assess a) the scope of the location of the protest and b) the scope of the mobilized actors.</p> <p>If a protest is about a <u>local issue</u> (e.g. the placement of a local asylum centre)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The event is coded as local when the <u>protest location is local</u> (e.g. next to the asylum centre), irrespective of the type of actors involved (e.g. local/national party leaders) - The event is coded as national when the <u>protest location is national</u> (e.g. across various locations or at a location of national significance such as the parliament), even if some/all of the involved actors are local. <p>If a protest is about a <u>national issue</u> (e.g. stop immigration to Norway)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The event is coded as national when the <u>main mobilized actors are national</u> (e.g. Sylvi Listhaug), even if the protest location is local (e.g. small towns in Norway), - The event is coded as local when <u>the protest location is local</u> (e.g. in one small town somewhere in Norway), and the <u>main actors are local</u> (e.g. Molde against migrants). <p>If a protest is about a <u>supranational issue</u> (e.g. EU regulations, Frontex)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The event is coded as supranational when it involves at least one <u>international or foreign national actor</u> (Polish far-right groups in Norway), AND it focuses on an <u>international issue</u> (e.g. international opposition against the EU).¹ - If no international or foreign actors are present, then the event should be coded as national or local (depending on the location/actors involved) <p>Note: In case of multilevel event, insert the highest level.</p>

NAMEACT¹³

¹³ When coding the NAMEACT variable, make sure you are consistent in naming the same organization in the same manner, and always use the full name of the organization, and not an acronym' (e.g. always state 'English Defense League' and not EDL).

Name of the main (far-right) actor involved in the event ¹⁴¹⁵¹⁶¹⁷
Insert the exact name of the (far-right) actor involved: ¹⁸¹⁹
<p>Values: String variable (no predefined categories)</p> <p>Some actors are not organizations with specific names, but rather unspecific or informal groups or unaffiliated individuals. In those cases, please make consistent use of the following specific terms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Football hooligans²⁰ • Neo-Nazis • Veterans • Lone actor • Neighbourhood association²¹
<p>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 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.</p>

ORGA CT
<p>Whether the far-right actor is the main organizer, or one of the organizers of the event.²²</p> <p>For each actor reported in NAMEACT, answer the following question: Is this actor an organizer of the protest event?</p>
Yes
No

¹⁴ Actors that should be coded include the far-right actors included in the search string, other far-right actors not included in the search string, as well as loosely organized groups involved in the protest (e.g. hooligans). ‘Local inhabitant’ or ‘citizens’ should NOT be coded as an actor.

¹⁵ If both a main political organization and their youth organization (e.g. FvD and ‘Jong FvdD’) participate in an event, code these actors separately.

¹⁶ “Whereas local and regional branches of a national political party should be coded as the main organization under NAMEACT, youth branches of a movement can be coded separately under their own name under NAMEACT.”

¹⁷ When dealing with unspecified foreign actors (e.g. ‘German patriots’ or ‘the Dutch far right’ attended a protest): code as unknown (nationality) under NAMEACT. E.g. ‘Unknown (Dutch)’.

¹⁸ If it is unclear what the name of the actor is, code as ‘Unknown’

¹⁹ Youth branches of a national political party are coded as the main party under NAMEACT.

²⁰ Note that we do not code chanting of football hooligans in stadiums, but we do code any protest event that occurs outside of the football stadium.

²¹ Only use this category when no clear local actor can be identified.

²² When this is not clear from the article, always code as unclear, and include any relevant information in the comments section.

Unclear

TYPEACT

Type of far-right actor involved.

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

Political party ²³

Social movement organisation, civil society organisation, or other type of organisation

(e.g. association, foundation, consumer/cultural/educational/legal/youth/women organisation, except militias) ²⁴

Militia group or guard (armed or non-armed)

Informal groups, sport groups, and recreational groups who do not have a clear name (e.g. football hooligans)

Music bands (e.g. 'national rock', 'identity rock')

Trade union and professional groups

Other group

Unknown

<i>Note: To any NAMEACT variable shall correspond a TYPEACT variable.</i>

SCOPEACTOR

For each actor present at the protest, determine whether they are a local, national, supranational or foreign national actor. ²⁵ For each actor reported in NAMEACT, there should be a corresponding value for SCOPEACTOR. A number of SCOPEACTOR variables will be inserted in the dataset by default (SCOPEACT1, SCOPEACT2, etc.)
--

Local – e.g. a local organization, e.g. small-town anti-immigration movement, a local branch of PEGIDA, neighbourhood patrol group, or a local political party (e.g. The Party for a Greener Frankfurt', etc.) ²⁶
--

National – e.g. a political party, national social movement/informal group (local or regional branches of a national political party will also be coded as national,

²³ 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.

²⁴ A social movement is a group of individuals who identify under a shared name. This means a social movement may or may not be a formal organization.

²⁵ If this is not clear, always use the unknown category, and include all relevant information in the comments section to discuss with your coding supervisor.

²⁶ A social movement is local when it clearly identifies as a local movement ('Newcastle First'), or exclusively focuses on local issues (e.g. no asylum seekers' centre in location X). Hence, this is DIFFERENT from the way in which regional branches of national political parties are coded.

whereas local or regional branches of a social movement , e.g. Dugida, are coded as local) ²⁷
Supranational – e.g. Alliance of European National Movements, or any other supranational far right movement
Foreign national – e.g. when a foreign far right actors participates in an event organized/attended by a national far right actor of the country that is being coded.
Unknown

PROTESTSIZE
The size of the protest, based on the number of protesters present at the event (does not include audience or counterprotesters). ^{28 29}
1 person only
2 to 15
16 to 50
51 to 100
101 to 500
501 to 1000
1001 to 10.000
More than 10.000
Unknown

COUNTERMOB

²⁷ Even when movements are very small (this often means its members live in the same region), they are national if they target national issues, and/or (implicitly) identify as a national movement (e.g. Dutch Identitarian movement)

²⁸ When determining protest size, prioritize the claims of official sources (e.g. police, local authorities) over claims of protesting groups themselves (e.g. in case the police says there were 20 protesters but a far right groups claims there were 100 protesters, 20 is prioritized). This only applies to coding newspaper content: when coding far right websites, note down the size indicated by the far right organization itself. In case far-right actors are only a part of the demonstration (e.g. yellow vests, farmer protests) code the size of the entire demonstration. In case the number is a border case between two categories (e.g. ‘500 protesters’), select the lower category of the two (in this case: 101 to 500 protesters).

²⁹ When it is unclear how many individuals participated in the protest, always code ‘Unknown’: do not try to guess.

Presence of active counter-protest by opposing actors against an event and/or the far-right actor that organised it. ³⁰ ³¹ Describe the type of mobilisation choosing among the following categories:
No counter-mobilisation
Low counter mobilisation – presence of counter-protesters, counter-actions at the protest location which did not involve violence and confrontation
High counter-mobilisation – violence and contentious confrontation between protesters and counter-protesters (e.g. direct clash, throwing objects, attempts to assault – even if prevented by police)
Unknown/no information available

POLICEINTERFERENCE
Interference of the police during the protest. ³²
No interference - e.g. police is present but does not interfere, or police is not present at all
Low interference – stopping and questioning protesters, removing them from the protest location, arrests without violence.
High interference – Police charges into protesters, uses violence or physically intervenes between protesters and counterprotesters. ³³
Unclear

PROTFORM³⁴
Main form of action ³⁵ carried out during the protest ³⁶ .

³⁰ 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.

³¹ Actions that happen on the way to/back from a right-wing event still count as counter mobilization.

³² When it is clear the police physically intervened/prevented violence between protesters and counter protesters, but it is unclear whether this was by using force/violence, code as low interference.

³³ If the police intervene with force, and hereby prevents a demonstration from becoming violent, POLICEINTERFERENCE may be coded as (2) high, but the PROTFORM can be a non-violent demonstration.

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ The rule for actions that involve multiple repertoires is always to focus on: a) The most contentious action; b) The primary action – the one that most characterises the event

³⁶ When coding this variable, consider only events that can be attributed to a far-right group, or if the event is a clear expression of far-right ideology (e.g. swastika, arson of asylum centre). The following rules apply:

Select the form of action that best describes the protest event:
Demonstrative protests
Public assembly ³⁷
March, demonstration (legal and non-violent) ³⁸
Vigil/picket ³⁹
Direct and solidarity actions (e.g. food distribution, charity, direct interventions)
Symbolic action (street theatre, masks, cultural performances etc.) ⁴⁰
Confrontational protest
Civil disobedience (active, non-violent refusal to follow government rules, e.g. refusing to wear a face mask)
Non-authorised or illegal demonstration (if non-violent)
Boycott
Strike
Self-mutilation (e.g. hunger strike, suicide)
Blockade (e.g. road blocks, occupation of squares)
Occupation of buildings or similar
Disturbance of meetings (e.g. sabotage and interruption of public events)

-
- 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).
 - If an event is perpetrated by individuals loosely associated to a far-right group, we consider it for coding 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.).
 - Even when organizations might deny responsibility, or if the perpetrator has not been caught, you may code actions as far right if their intentions and message are clearly of a far-right nature. Examples: spray painting swastika's on buildings, dumping pig heads on asylum center locations, arson or damaging of asylum locations.
 - Always report to your supervisor in case of doubt.

³⁷ Meetings/seminars of far-right organizations should be coded if they have clear political aims that are not institutional/parliamentary and are sufficiently public. However, these events can be tricky and should be checked with the coding supervisor.

³⁸ When it is clear that the event was a demonstration, but no further information was provided about use of violence or whether the protest was legal, code as 2. March, demonstration (legal and non-violent).

³⁹ The difference between 2) March, demonstration and 3) Picket, vigil is that 2) is moving, whereas 3) is static (although vigils can in some cases be on the move as well).

⁴⁰ Book presentations of contentious books or screenings of contentious documentaries (e.g. that are of an Islamophobic or antisemitic nature) can be coded under symbolic action, if public assembly does not sufficiently cover their contentious nature.

Symbol confrontation (e.g. farmers dumping animal dung in front of a government building) ^{41,42,43}
Violent protests
Threats (e.g. murder or beating, bomb threat) ^{44,45,46}
Symbolic violence (e.g. burning puppets or flags, throwing eggs or paint)
Limited destruction of property (e.g. breaking windows) ⁴⁷
Violent demonstration (use of <u>collective violence</u> against another collective actor in the context of a march or demonstration) ⁴⁸
Arson and bomb attacks, and other severe destruction of property ⁴⁹
Physical violence against people (<u>individual or collective violence</u> , brawls, political murder, etc.) ⁵⁰
Other (specify in the following variable: 12. PROTHOTHER) ⁵¹

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)

⁴¹ Poster or flyer campaigns that are contentious (e.g. openly antisemitic, describe refugees as diseases), can be coded as symbol confrontation, dependent on how contentious their contents are.

⁴² In case of painting swastikas, racist slurs or other types of far-right writings that target minorities on buildings or other property, a) code as 14) symbol confrontation UNLESS 2) there is substantial damage to the property (e.g. in combination with the desecration of grave stones), in which case it can be coded as 17) limited destruction of property or in less severe cases, 16) symbolic violence.

⁴³ Insults may also be coded as a symbol confrontation.

⁴⁴ We can code statements (online/offline), posters etc. as a threat if they are a) directed towards an individual or a small group of individuals, b) threatening violence and c) relatively defined in terms of place/time (e.g. violence will happen soon, in this or that place).

⁴⁵ Doxxing should be coded as a threat.

⁴⁶ If there is a planned attack that is considered serious enough for arrests and there is some evidence (plots, weapons, explosives), it should be coded as a threat.

⁴⁷ When there is a reference to property (e.g. a car) being damaged, code as 17) Limited destruction of property. When the same car is referred to as destroyed, code as 19) Arson and bomb attacks, and other severe destruction of property.

⁴⁸ Code as a violent demonstration if right-wing actors engage in any form of violence, regardless of who initiated it (can also be counter-protesters or police)

⁴⁹ Throwing fireworks may be coded as 19) arson attack (if thrown against/into a building) or 20) physical violence (if directed at a person).

⁵⁰ When someone attempts to use physical violence against an individual, but is prevented from doing so (e.g. by the police) we still code this as (20) Physical violence against people.

⁵¹ When in doubt about the exact type of action, do not hesitate to use this code, and provide as much information as possible under 18. EVENTDESCR or 19. COMMENTS, in order to determine the correct code with your supervisor.

ISSUE
Main issue or theme of the protest event. Select up to three themes describing the main topics explicitly addressed in the protest event
National identity and culture
Immigration and multiculturalism
Security, order, law enforcement, and terrorism
National minorities abroad and irredentism
Roma population and Roma criminality
Jews, anti-Semitism, and anti-Zionism
Islam
Anti-communism and anti-Bolshevism
Anti-elitism and corruption (e.g. elites, technocracy, bankers, intellectuals)
Political opponents (e.g. parties and movements, leaders, NGOs, foundations)
Europe, European integration, and the EU (incl. the euro)
Home affairs and personal defence ⁵²
Foreign policy (incl. pro-Palestine)
Industry, energy, agriculture, and the environment
Monetary politics and the economy (incl. taxes and taxation)
Banks
Welfare, retirement, and pension schemes
Healthcare
Justice
Civil rights (e.g. individual freedom, gender equality, abortion, same-sex marriage)
Youth
Education and IT
Family issues, religion, and Church-state relations
The media and the press
Freedom of speech and political correctness
Anniversaries and memory
Other (specify in the following variable: ISSUEOTHER) ⁵³
<i>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).</i>

⁵² This category refers to issues related to the right of a person to defend themselves in their homes, or e.g. the right of shopkeepers to harm shoplifters.

⁵³ When a protest event is related to covid-19, always make sure of ISSUEOTHER, and enter the specific term: COVID. May be combined with one or two other issues from the list. (e.g. in case of anti-mask protests, this could be a combination of ISSUE1: ISSUEOTHER – COVID and ISSUE2: 20. Civil rights.

ISSUEOTHER
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). Try to include as much detail as possible, and discuss with your supervisor if this would fall under any of the standardized categories.