Hellenic Observatory / National Bank of Greece Research Tender 2-NBG2-2014: The Crisis and Political Extremism.

Project Title: Radicalising the mainstream? The rise of Golden Dawn and its impact on Greek party politics

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Final Report

Progress

We have now finalised the project, which consisted of coding Greek party manifestos over time and party leader speeches in four key dates in order to examine the rise of the Golden Dawn from a comparative perspective.

In the first stage of the project, we had recruited our first Research Assistant (Nikoleta Kiapidou, PhD student at the University of Sussex) in March 2015, paid by the University of Reading. This research assistant coded 22 manifestos of the major political parties over three electoral periods and was supervised by CoI Dr Sofia Vasilopoulou (please see Table 1 below, also in the interim report).

Table 1: Manifestos coded by RA1 (number of pages)

	Number of pages			
Political Party	**2015**	**2012**	**2009**	
SYRIZA	24	33	22	
PASOK	25	33	90	
ND	12	50		
LAOS	12	20	1	
KKE	32	20	15	
GD	16	24		
DIMAR	4	59		
ANEL	74	7		
POTAMI	51			**Grand**
KINIMA	6			**Total**
Total	**256**	**246**	**128**	**630**

In the second stage of the project, we recruited two Research Assistants to carry on with the coding of documents. The second research assistant Dimitris Sourvanos was recruited in June but due to an administrative delay in the inter-institutional collaboration argument his contract started on 3rd of August 2015 and ended on the 29th of January 2016. Dimitris Sourvanos coded 15 manifestos in total, 11 for major parties that have competed in elections between 2000-2007, one pending manifesto from 2009, the ND manifesto which also had to be typed in excel (see table 1) and double-coded 3 manifestos from 2009 so that we can ensure inter-coder reliability. In total Dimitris Sourvanos coded 884 pages spread over 209 hours. This

part of the project was supervised by CoI Dr Kyriaki Nanou and paid by the University of Nottingham.

Table 2: Manifestos coded by RA2 (number of pages)

| Political Party | Number of pages | | | | |
	2009	2007	2004	2000	Total
SYRIZA	22	1	7	42	
PASOK		123	130		
ND	43	152	184		
LAOS	1	96	14		
KKE	15	16	38		
Total	**81**	**388**	**373**	**42**	**884**

This second part of the project extended the time period under investigation in order to examine the policy agenda dynamics without the presence of Golden Dawn vs elections with the presence of Golden Dawn before and after 2009. In addition this enabled us to compare the impact of the Golden Dawn on the political agenda with that of LAOS. The second RA also trained under the CAP coding scheme. Dimitris Sourvanos coded a sample of the documents originally coded by RA1 to ensure inter-coder reliability. In addition to the standard CAP categories, we introduced cross-cutting categories related to nationalistic framing of policies to examine the indirect impact of extreme right parties' framing of issues on the agendas of mainstream parties which Sourvanos also used in his coding. The second research assistant in consultation with Dr Nanou updated and edited the Greek version of the CAP codebook by also adding specific examples across the different categories.

We recruited Nikoleta Kiapidou, PhD student at the University of Sussex as our third Research Assistant, in September 2015 to avoid additional training costs associated with the hire of a new research assistant. This part of the project was supervised by PI Dr Daphne Halikiopoulou and was paid by the University of Reading. Kiapidou coded party leader speeches during the signing of the three Memorandums of Understanding (2010, 2012 and 2015) as well as during the July 2015 Referendum. More specifically Kiapidou coded the following 24 speeches:
- Memorandum I (Karatzaferis, Papandreou, Papariga, Samaras, Tsipras)
- Memorandum II (Karatzaferis, Papandreou, Papariga, Samaras, Tsipras)
- Memorandum III (Gennimata, Kammenos, Koutsoumpas, Meimerakis, Michaloliakos, Theodorakis, Tsipras)
- Referendum (Gennimata, Kammenos, Koutsoumpas, Michaloliakos, Samaras, Theodorakis, Tsipras)

Table 3: Speeches coded by RA3 (number of pages)

| Number of pages | | | | | |
Party leader	MemorI	MemorII	MemorIII	REF2015	Total
Karatzaferis	3	4			
Papandreou	11	7			

Papariga	10	5			
Samaras	10	6		12	
Tsipras	6	5	9	10	
Gennimata			5	3	
Kammenos			3	11	
Koutsoumpas			7	7	
Meimarakis			5		
Michaloliakos			4	3	
Theodorakis			6	13	
Total	**40**	**27**	**39**	**59**	**165**

Additional coding: Nationalism

Given that our project's overall aim is to assess whether issue salience has changed as a result of the Golden Dawn's entry in the Greek party system, we also decided to code references to nationalism in party manifestos and leader speeches. We did so over time in order to see whether mentions to nationalism have increased in party manifestos since Golden Dawn's entry in Parliament in 2012. We have created an additional nationalism-specific codebook (available upon request), which draws upon categories of nationalism that we have identified in our previous collaborative work (Halikiopoulou et al. 2012).

These categories include:

1. *Ethnic*: The criteria for inclusion within a nation. A nation defined by characteristics such as language, creed or descent is by default exclusive. We measure the ethnic nationalism variable in terms of degree of open- ness and, more specifically, party positions on policies including multiculturalism, immigration, citizenship and tolerance of outsiders (such as opposition to foreign labour).
2. *Cultural*: The reproduction of the pattern of values that constitutes a nation, measured in terms of support for traditional values and a willingness to preserve the national way of life, including support for morality, religion, tradition and patriotism.
3. *Territorial*: The right to national self-determination within a specific and predefined territory measured in terms of support for territorial integrity, including the right to sovereignty, an independent foreign policy and support for strategic isolationism.
4. *Economic*: A common economy measured in terms of support for the national currency, protectionism, the maintenance of tariffs and restrictions on trade, and the maintenance of traditional means of production.

The PI Dr Daphne Halikiopoulou was responsible for creating this coding scheme, trained and supervised both RAs in this aspect of the project.

CAP training

RA2 (Sourvanos) was trained on the basis of CAP standardisation and the Greek version of the codebook which was created by RA1. The CAP aims to create a series of commonly coded databases focused on the policy content of government and

public agendas aimed at classifying agendas in accordance with the policies they address. A common master codebook harmonises data across countries and allows for accurate comparisons across all CAP datasets. It includes 19 major topic codes, including Macroeconomic Issues, Health, Labour and Employment, Education, Immigration and Refugee Issues, Law, and Crime, and Family Issues; and 200+ subtopics (e.g. military personnel or hospitals). Beyond the policy codes included in the codebook, the CAP project recognises national particularities and allows for project specific codebooks.

RA3 (Kiapidou) did not need additional training on the CAP coding scheme as she already trained during the first period of the project.

Activities

We established the Greek Team of the Comparative Agendas Project http://www.comparativeagendas.info/?page_id=244
The datasets, codebook and working papers will be posted on this page in due course. Through this website we will disseminate the data to the wider academic community and also to invite colleagues to explore the data and write short blog articles hosted on our website.

Based on the research conducted by our first research assistant, we presented a paper entitled 'Radicalising the mainstream? The rise of Golden Dawn and its impact on Greek party politics' in the Comparative Agendas Project Annual Conference held in Lisbon on June 22-24 2015.

We received helpful feedback from colleagues from the CAP project and we discussed potential extensions in terms of the coding of additional documents and methods of analysis most appropriate for the analysis of the CAP data.

This forum allowed us to place our research on Greece focusing on the extreme right in a comparative framework, through an internationally recognised network. We are forging closer ties with other CAP country teams and had a meeting with colleagues from the Spanish, Portuguese and Italian teams in order to look at the impact of the crisis in politics in these countries at the centre of the eurozone crisis.

A planned activity is the completion of the paper for publication in the *GreeSE Papers series* of the Hellenic Observatory on which we are currently working on and following this to present our findings at the LSE in accordance to the rules of the contract.

Budget (please see attached budget from the University of Reading, the inter-institutional agreement and the invoice from University of Nottingham)

The funding has now been depleted. In accordance to our original application and the inter-institutional collaboration agreement the University of Nottingham has invoiced the University of Reading for £2,743.46 (for further details please see our initial application).

Problems encountered

We ran into administrative delays during the spring/summer when signing the collaboration agreement between our three respective institutions, and this delayed the start date of our second research assistant (Dimitris Sourvanos). More specifically, the delay was due to staff changes and also key representatives of the institutions were on annual leave. We chased this, but unfortunately some of the circumstances were outside our control. As a result, we had to ask for a three-month extension of the project.

An additional problem we encountered was that the training under the CAP coding scheme and the coding of the party manifestos took much longer than we originally anticipated when we put together our original proposal. As a result the budget did not allow us to code other documents associated with the impact of the GD and LAOS on the political agendas that derive from legislative speeches relating to immigration debates but also media analysis and laws. Instead we coded speeches following the signing of the three Memorandums of Understanding as well as the July 2015 Referendum. This was a viable alternative both because of the relatively less time required to code these speeches, but also because they provided us with a good understanding of how these four critical junctures were addressed by the party leaders, thus substantively adding to the findings of the project.

Future plans

Planned outputs:

The findings from the project will be provided to the Hellenic Observatory for wider dissemination. In accordance with the call, we will make our findings available in the form of a publication in the *GreeSE Papers series* of the Hellenic Observatory (see abstract below):

Radicalising the mainstream? The rise of the extreme right and its impact on Greek party politics

This paper will focus on the extreme right-wing parties of Golden Dawn and LAOS and their impact on the dynamics of party competition in Greece. It addresses the following research questions: What has been the effect of the Golden Dawn and LAOS on party competition in Greece? Has their entry in the system influenced the policy agenda of other parties? If so, which policies have been affected and in which direction? Has the success of the Golden Dawn given rise to new dimensions of conflict in Greece, such as a cultural dimension, and has this affected the importance of the traditional left-right cleavage? This paper will analyse the ideological and programmatic agenda of the Golden Dawn and LAOS in contrast to the other parties in the Greek party system in five legislative elections (2004-2015) and code these documents through the CAP framework and through indirect effects on rising nationalist framing of policies.

We are also planning the preparation of three articles:

Article one: This article will focus on the evolution of the extreme right in Greece, both over time and in a comparative perspective. It will provide an ideological classification and mapping of the ideological profile of Golden Dawn in comparison to other extreme right-wing parties in Europe.

Article two: This article will examine impact of the success of the Golden Dawn on the Greek party system, focusing on the ways in which the main issue-dimensions and ideological nature of the party system have changed.

Article three: This article will examine the ways in which parties have responded to pressures on the four key policy areas examined in the project, i.e. immigration, culture, foreign policy and welfare.

Plan – make the dataset public

Another important output from the project will be the dataset produced. The final version of the dataset will be made available to the wider scholarly community for further analysis, and will be of interest to those studying parties, elections and political representation in Greece as well as those who undertake comparative analysis of political parties in Europe. As part of the wider CAP project, our findings will enable researchers to promote the study of Greek politics through an internationally recognized network of scholars.