

**The Ideology of Far-Left Populism in Greece:
Blame, victimhood and revenge in the discourse of Greek anarchists**

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APPENDIX: CODING SHEET FOR CONTENT ANALYSIS

| | | | | | |
|----|------------|---------|--------------------------------|----------|------------------------------------|
| 0 | Item Code | | 1 | Source | December 2008 Artefact / ANHΞYXIA* |
| 2A | Length | | 2B | Page No. | |
| 3 | Item Title | | | | |
| 4 | Author | Unknown | Anonymous / uses collective ID | | Eponymous |
| | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|----|--|-----|----|------------------------------|--|
| 5 | Do the authors make specific demands ? | | | | |
| | NO | YES | | | |
| 6 | Do the authors put forward a manifesto of values or broad agenda for the future? | | | | |
| | NO | YES | | | |
| 7 | Do the authors use the murder of Grigoropoulos as a justification for reaction/riots? | | | | |
| | NO | YES | | | |
| 8 | Do the authors imply/argue that the Grigoropoulos murder is indicative of, or due to, a broader political crisis or social malaise? | | | | |
| | NO | YES | | | |
| 9A | Do the authors make a distinction between “ us ” (use of first person) and “ them ” (use of third person)? | | 9B | If YES, who is us ? | |
| | NO | YES | | If YES, who is them ? | |

| Institutions / Social Agents (Mark with X if applicable) (Type keywords used) | 10. Blame (explicit attribution of active responsibility for the crisis) | 11. Delegitimization (implicit / explicit rejection of value or legitimacy) | 12. Targeting (call for resistance or non-violent / violent action against specific institution) |
|--|--|---|--|
| A. Democracy | | | |
| B. Power / System / Regime | | | |
| C. Society | | | |
| D. State / State Authorities | | | |
| E. Police / Judicial System | | | |
| F. Public Sector | | | |
| G. Politicians | | | |
| H. Government | | | |
| I. Political parties | | | |
| J. PM | | | |
| K. Ministers | | | |
| L. Parliament | | | |
| M. Citizens / People | | | |
| N. Elections | | | |
| O. EU / International Orgs | | | |
| P. Private sector / banks | | | |
| Q. Media / Journalists | | | |
| R. Other named individuals | | | |

| Institutions / Social Agents | 13. Innocence (explicit / implicit references to innocence and evidence of blame avoidance) | 14. Victimhood (explicit references, including keywords used) |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|
| A. Democracy | | |
| B. Power / System / Regime | | |
| C. Society | | |
| D. State / State Authorities | | |
| E. Police / Judicial System | | |
| F. Public Sector | | |
| G. Politicians | | |
| H. Government | | |
| I. Political parties | | |
| J. PM | | |
| K. Ministers | | |
| L. Parliament | | |
| M. Citizens / People | | |
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| O. EU / International Orgs | | |
| P. Private sector / banks | | |
| Q. Media / Journalists | | |
| R. Other named individuals | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|-----|---|-------------------------|-----|
| 15 | Denial of individual civic responsibility and appropriation of social agency? | | Keywords indicating inefficacy of individual citizens and appropriation of social agency by extremist collectives | | |
| | NO | YES | | | |
| 16 | Appropriation of “general will” / broader society / justice | | Keywords (including assumptions if explicit) | | |
| | NO | YES | | | |
| 17 | Explicit legitimization of revenge ? | | Keywords | | |
| | NO | YES | | | |
| 18 | Stance towards violence | | A. Mentioning police/state violence | NO | YES |
| | | | B. If the author(s) mention violence already perpetrated by the rioters, what is their overall stance towards that past violence? (no mention = leave blank) | 1 – Condemn | |
| | | | | 2 – Condone | |
| | | | | 3 – Celebrate | |
| | | | C. Do the author(s) make a call to violence? | 1 – No call to violence | |
| | | | | 2 – Yes: Only Implicit | |
| 3 – Yes: Explicit | | | | | |
| G. Types of violence encouraged (if stated) | | | | | |
| 19 | Other evidence or rhetorical techniques of building an identity or imagined community | | | | |

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|----|--|--|
| 20 | Other points / notes not captured by previous coding categories relating to key themes | |
|----|--|--|

* All artefacts sampled, coded and analysed in this study were published in:
Kyriakopoulos, A. and Gourgouris, E. (2009) *Unrest: A chronicle of the impulsive in December 2008* [Ανησυχία: Μια καταγραφή του αυθόρμητου τον Δεκέμβριο του 2008], Athens: Kastaniotis.
The book is freely available as an e-book at http://issuu.com/kastaniotis_editions/docs/anisixia