



**Proposal Acronym:**  
**DATIS**

**Proposal Title:**

**Data for Inclusive Societies: Foes and Friends of Inclusiveness in contemporary  
Greece**

**D4.5: Multi-method paper on the factors that drive inclusive and/or exclusive  
individual attitudes**

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**Greece 2.0**  
NATIONAL RECOVERY AND RESILIENCE PLAN



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## Introduction

The overarching goal of DATIS project Data for Inclusive Societies: Foes and Friends of Inclusiveness in contemporary Greece is to study the foes and friends of inclusive societies in contemporary Greece by implementing an innovative empirical research design. DATIS is a data - driven project with the aim to explore both theoretically and empirically the enemies and the supporters of inclusive societies by focusing both on parties and political elites, as well as on citizens. In a broader perspective, the goal of DATIS is to create various “indeces of inclusiveness”. At the core of the project are the causes and the consequences of adopting hostile attitudes towards other groups of the society both among political elites and citizens.

Moreover, DATIS tries to shed light on possible interactions between the micro (citizens) and the meso level (political parties) and the adoption of these attitudes. In order to explore further this research direction, we hypothesize that there are some driving factors that might facilitate or impede the rise of these attitudes. On one hand, DATIS focuses on the rise of populist attitudes both from the supply and the demand side of electoral competition and on the other hand, on the development of solidarity among Greek citizens. Therefore, our research direction is more oriented to the subfields of political sociology and political methodology with the ultimate goal of providing concrete proposals regarding the measurement of “inclusiveness” taking into account the complexity of the term (see next section). This perspective offers a thorough understanding of how social structures, political ideologies and group identities interact and influence each other within Greek society. Examining this interplay from this point is decisive for fostering social cohesion and reducing the negative impacts of polarization in the community.

## Friends and Foes of Inclusive Societies

As stated earlier, one of the objectives of the DATIS Project is to identify enemies of inclusiveness, who, for the purposes of the project, are political forces that express and promote animosity towards specific groups and identities. Notwithstanding the immense variety of populist variants across the globe, certain populist actors and parties may operate as a crucial breeding ground of such animosity towards several groups. So, we hypothesize that one of the main threats to inclusive societies, which undergoes in-depth examination in this project,

proposing ways to rigorously map its potentially harmful variants in order to deal with them effectively, is populism. However, before defining the relationship between populism and polarization between social groups, some characteristics of the concepts of populism and group-based polarization must be defined.

In the last decades there have been several references and definitions of the concept of populism. One of the theories that have dominated the texture and meaning of populism is the one that considers populism as an ideational approach". According to this theory, populism as an ideology divides society into two distinct competing groups: the people and the elite (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2017). According to this theory of populism, the people are a homogeneous social group that has good will but is poor and helpless, while the elites are a corrupt social group that has selfish interests and does not care about the popular will. At the same time, the theory is a pillar for the emergence of other ideologies within its domain. So different varieties of populism arise like, left-wing populism, right-wing populism etc.

In recent years, the rise of populist parties and populist leaders to power has led studies to a new path of searching for the relationship between populism and the emergence and strengthening of polarization in societies between different social groups. For example, looking at the case of the recent pandemic and the emergence of different social blocs supporting or not supporting anti-Covid-19 measures, Farias et al., (2022) argue that cases of populist leaders such as Bolsonaro in Brazil have reinforced polarization between different social blocs. Something similar we examined in DATIS' project, but this time in the light of inclusive societies. The recent government measure in favor of same-sex marriage has opened up wide debates in public discourse, while the assertion of other measures in favor of more 'open' societies or opposition to them are issues of everyday debate. From a scientific perspective, however, we would like to examine in depth the support or not for behavioral societies and the possible embodiment of this support and positive or negative sentiments in specific social blocs, while looking for their relation to the emergence of populist discourse.

## Social Attitudes

In this section, we present selected findings drawn from two research papers that are currently submitted and intended for future publication in scientific journals. The results discussed here

highlight key empirical patterns and analytical insights that are central to the broader research agenda of the project, without aiming to provide the full set of analyses that will be reported in the finalized papers. Their inclusion at this stage serves to illustrate their relevance and complementarity with the other findings presented in this report, and to offer a coherent interpretive framework for understanding the social attitudes under investigation.

## Social Attitudes Towards Same-Sex Families

Although family life today is more diverse and inclusive, social attitudes towards same-sex parenting remain contested and continue to evolve. These attitudinal shifts are shaped not only by demographic changes but also by broader political and ideological dynamics. Political elites, parties, and public discourse significantly influence how societies perceive and evaluate non-traditional families, reflecting deeper transformations in cultural values, economic structures, and religious influences (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005).

Political ideologies act as mediators of social change, often creating points of tension. Political conflict increasingly centers on moral and cultural issues, including family diversity, gender equality, and LGBTQ+ rights, as conservative and populist parties across Europe and beyond mobilize narratives of "traditional values" and "family protection" to resist progressive change (Kuhar & Paternotte, 2017).

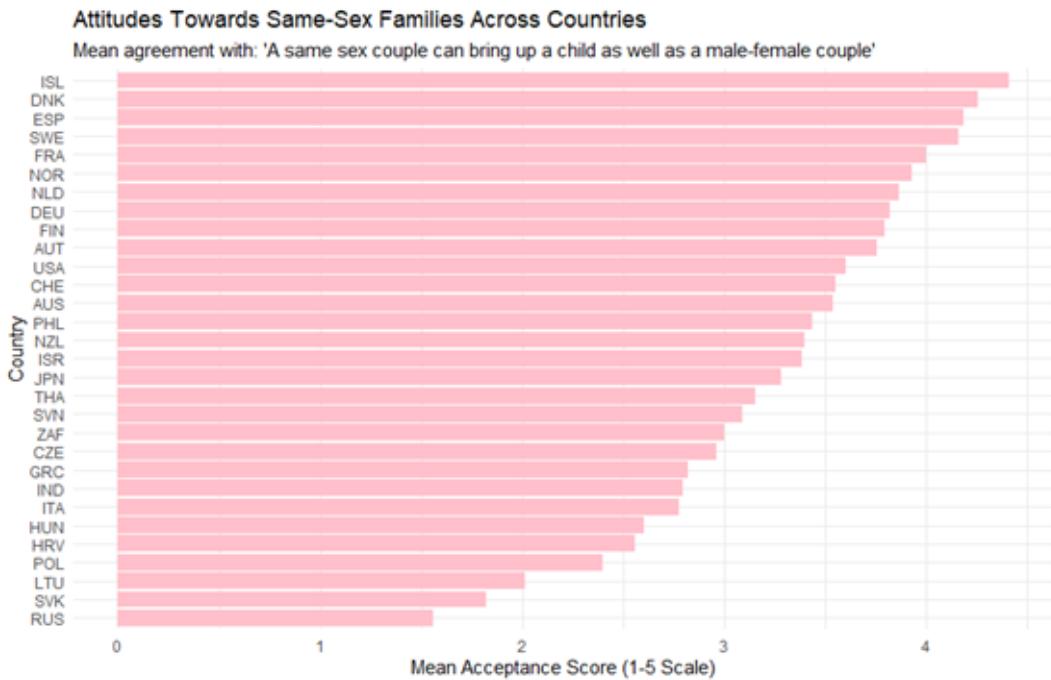


Figure 1. Attitudes towards same-sex families by country (ISSP 2022)

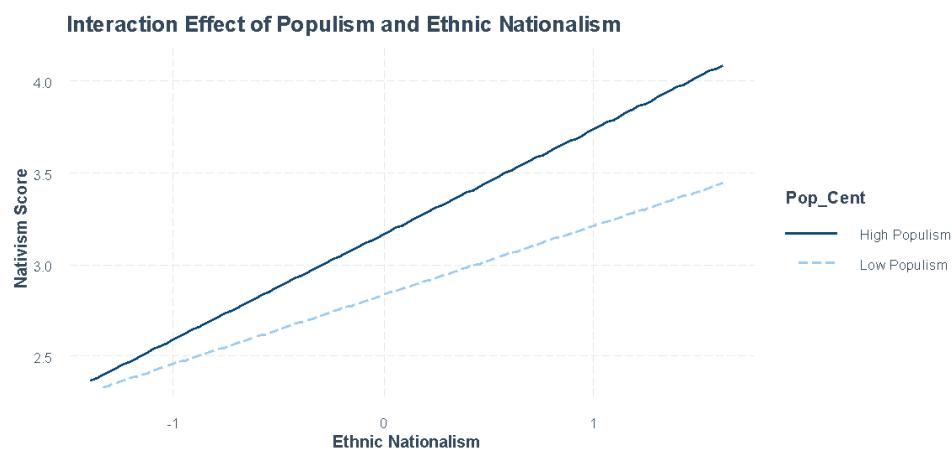
Greece is positioned in the lower-middle range of the distribution, exhibiting noticeably lower acceptance than most Western European and Nordic societies, yet somewhat higher levels than the most conservative Eastern European countries. The Greek public appears divided: while a portion of the population expresses neutral or moderately supportive attitudes, overall acceptance remains below the European average. This pattern reflects a gradual but uneven transformation of Greek public opinion concerning LGBTQ+ issues, a trend that is documented by national reporting. At the same time, legal and policy developments in Greece over recent years, including the legal recognition of same-sex partnerships and recent legislative changes on marriage and parental rights, show institutional progress that has at times outpaced changes in attitudes.

## The Mobilization of Resentment: How Populism Radicalizes Ethnic Nationalism into Nativism

In contemporary political discourse, the terms ethnic nationalism, nativism, and populism are frequently used interchangeably, often leading to conceptual confusion. While these concepts share "elective affinities" and frequently co-occur in the political landscape of the radical right,

they represent distinct phenomena with unique logics (Bonikowski et al., 2019). The recent resurgence of exclusionary politics in Western democracies has led scholars to term this convergence "Nativist Populism" or "Neo-Nationalism" (Bergmann, 2020).

Building on the theoretical distinction between the "vertical" axis of populism and the "horizontal" axis of nationalism, we argue that populism is not merely an addition to nationalism but a catalyst. Using the newly released ISSP 2023 data, we test the "Mobilization Hypothesis": that the impact of ethnic national identity on anti-immigrant attitudes is significantly amplified when paired with high populist anti-elitism.



*Figure 2. Interaction Effect of Populism and Ethnic Nationalism*

Plotting the interaction reveals a distinct "fanning" pattern:

- Low Populism: Among respondents who trust the political system (Low Populism), the relationship between Ethnic Nationalism and Nativism is positive but moderate. These "dormant nationalists" value ancestry but do not view immigrants as an existential threat.
- High Populism: Among respondents with high anti-elite sentiment (High Populism), the slope creates a steep ascent. For this group, high Ethnic Nationalism translates into extreme Nativism. The combination of exclusionary identity and anti-establishment grievance creates a "siege mentality."

## Congruence Mass vs Elite Level

The overarching goal of the DATIS project (Data for Inclusive Societies: Foes and Friends of Inclusiveness in Contemporary Greece) is to study the foes and friends of inclusive societies in Greece through an innovative, data-driven empirical research design. DATIS explores—both theoretically and empirically—the drivers, expressions, and consequences of exclusionary attitudes by focusing simultaneously on political parties and elites (meso level) and citizens (micro level). In this broader perspective, a central ambition of the project is to develop an “index of inclusiveness” that captures how supportive or hostile different actors are toward equal participation and recognition of social groups in contemporary Greek society. At the core of this agenda lies the investigation of the causes and consequences of hostile attitudes toward other social groups, as well as the potential interactions between elites and citizens in shaping, legitimizing, or amplifying such attitudes. To advance this research direction, DATIS examines driving forces that may facilitate or impede exclusionary orientations—most notably the rise of populist attitudes (on both the supply and demand sides of electoral competition) and the development of solidarity among Greek citizens—while contributing methodological proposals for measuring inclusiveness in a conceptually nuanced way.

Within this framework, we operationalize gender-related inclusiveness to assess congruence between elites and the mass public by constructing an Inclusiveness Index that can be applied identically to both political elites and voters. The index is based on five attitudinal items capturing endorsement of traditional gender roles and gendered hierarchies: (D3a) “When a mother works for pay, the children suffer,” (D3b) “On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do,” (D3c) “A university education is more important for a boy than for a girl,” (D3d) “On the whole, men make better business executives than women do,” and (D3e) “Being a housewife is just as fulfilling as working for pay.”

These items were selected because they correspond closely to the empirical patterns documented in the ISSP 2022 module on Family and Changing Gender Roles, which highlights enduring ambivalence toward gender equality. While women’s participation in paid work is often normalized at a general level, ISSP 2022 shows that acceptance remains conditional, especially when employment intersects with motherhood: substantial shares of

respondents continue to associate maternal employment—particularly when children are young—with harm to children and deterioration of family life, reflecting persistent and asymmetrical caregiving expectations.

This combination of egalitarian discourse with deeply embedded care norms makes it essential to capture both private-sphere moralization of women's work–family roles (D3a, D3e) and public-sphere beliefs about women's legitimacy in leadership and opportunity structures (D3b, D3c, D3d). After harmonizing the coding direction so that higher values consistently indicate more inclusive, gender-egalitarian attitudes, we combine responses into a single scale that enables direct comparisons of inclusiveness between elites and citizens, thereby supporting systematic analysis of elite–mass congruence and its links to broader ideological orientations, populist attitudes, and solidarity within Greek society.

Table 1 presents mean levels of the inclusivity index among voters and candidates across five major political parties in Greece. A clear and consistent pattern emerges: in all parties, candidates exhibit higher levels of inclusivity than their respective voters. This finding points to a systematic elite–mass gap, suggesting that political candidates tend to adopt more inclusive attitudes than those prevailing among their electoral bases.

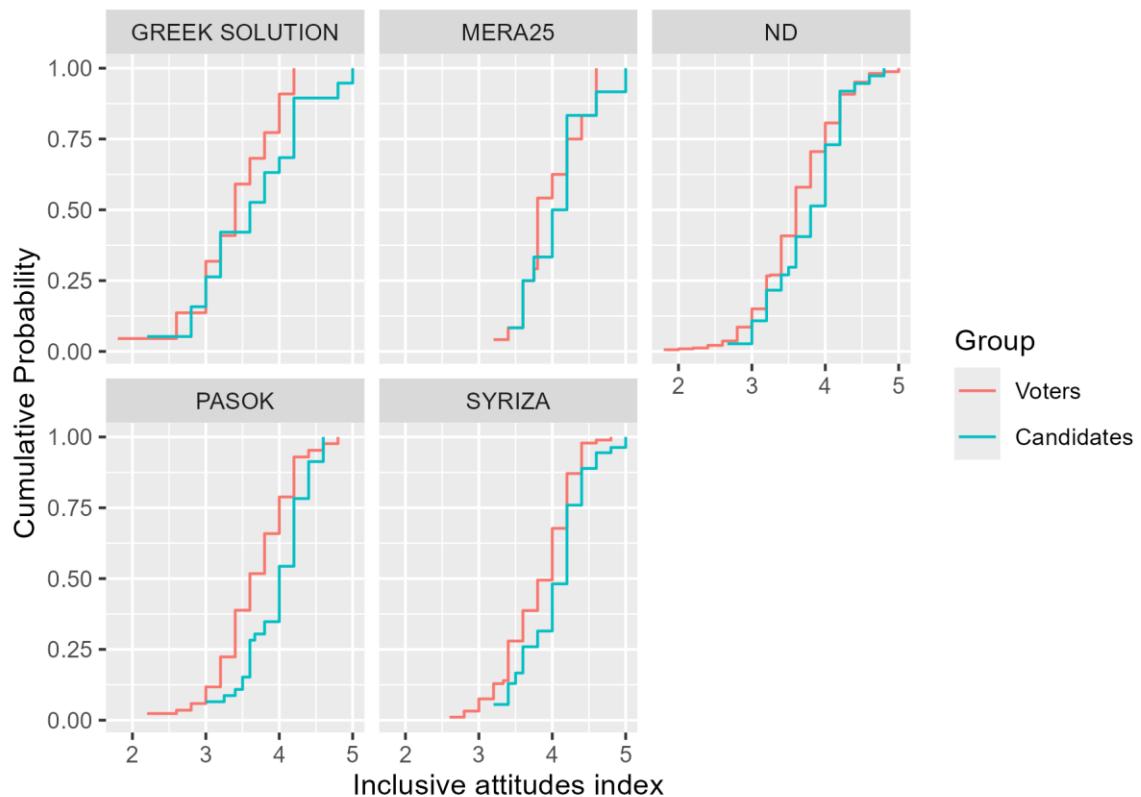
In terms of cross-party differences, the highest levels of inclusivity are observed among both voters and candidates of SYRIZA and MERA25, which is in line with their broadly progressive ideological profiles. In the case of MERA25 in particular, inclusivity scores are high for both groups, indicating a relatively limited divergence between party elites and voters. By contrast, Greek Solution records the lowest levels of inclusivity among both voters and candidates, although even here candidates appear noticeably more inclusive than their supporters.

New Democracy and PASOK–Movement for Change occupy intermediate positions on the inclusivity scale. However, PASOK stands out for exhibiting a comparatively larger gap between voters and candidates, suggesting a stronger differentiation between elite positions and mass attitudes within the party. Table 1 highlights both meaningful ideological variation across parties and a broader tendency for political representatives to hold more inclusive views than their voters, with important implications for understanding patterns of political

representation and social attitudes.

*Table 1. Mean Inclusivity by Party*

Party	Voters (Mean Inclusivity)	Candidates (Mean Inclusivity)
COALITION OF THE RADICAL LEFT (SYRIZA)	3.81	4.04
EUROPEAN REALISTIC DISOBEDIENCE FRONT (MERA25)	3.97	4.06
GREEK SOLUTION	3.37	3.62
NEW DEMOCRACY (ND)	3.62	3.77
PASOK–MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE (KINAL)	3.66	3.97



*Figure 3. Congruence between Voters and Political Elites by Party*

Greek Solution and MERA25: the voter and candidate curves are largely overlapping. This indicates a high level of representational accuracy (High Congruence). The candidates' commitment to inclusiveness matches the expectations and values of their base (Candidates reflect voter values) Statistically, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov (K-S) distance between these two

curves is minimal, suggesting that the "elite" and the "base" are in ideological lockstep on this issue.

PASOK, SYRIZA (and ND but with smaller K-S distances) The candidate curve is shifted to the right of the voter curve. The candidates consistently score higher on the Inclusiveness Index than the voters of their party. This suggests a "top-down" approach to inclusiveness. The political leadership or candidates are more progressive or inclusive than their constituency. This gap may indicate that candidates are attempting to lead their voters toward more inclusive positions, or that the party's candidate selection process prioritizes inclusiveness more than the voters do.

## The Supply Side: Dimensions of Inclusivity in Greek Party Politics in 2024

The preceding section demonstrated how citizens' inclusivity (or exclusivity) attitudes are rooted in their individual-level predispositions but also influenced by the broader social and political environment and their group-related cues. This section of the report focuses on the role of political parties to offer a descriptive account of how political parties in Greece engaged with group appeals, ahead of the 2024 European Parliament (EP) elections. This focus is premised on well-established the role of political parties in shaping voters' preferences (Bullock, 2020) and aims to shed light into patterns (how much, when, which, etc.) of parties' appeals to different social groups, their references to specific identities, and the resulting boundaries of solidarity that emerge.

To do so, we rely on data produced by DATIS through the coding of party manifestos. The remainder of this section is structured as follows. In the next subsection, we lay out the aims and scope of this part of the multi-method report in more detail. Then, we briefly outline the data and methodology, before presenting a selection of key findings. The concluding section summarizes the contribution and discusses its implications.

### Aims and Scope

This section investigates how Greek political parties engage with dimensions of inclusiveness in their party platforms, by drawing on a newly compiled DATIS dataset of coded manifestos (D3.3 Separate datasets for coded and original manifestos-coded). The overarching aim is to complement the individual-level analysis of the survey data with the meso/party-level perspective, in the context of the DATIS multi-method report, by way of a descriptive analysis.

It conceptualizes party positions on inclusiveness as a relational, group-specific concept, articulated through parties' appeal (negative or positive) towards different social groups, as can be defined by gender, education, occupational domain, sexual orientation, ethnic origin, citizenship, or disability status, among others. Parties, thus, can be classified as inclusive, or not, with reference to specific groups. In this sense, this section conceptualizes and sets out to instigate party-based inclusivity attitudes not as a broad ideological orientation, but a set of group-specific positions, primarily.

In this context, party manifestos are especially well suited to pursue this line of inquiry, as they are the authoritative reference for official party positions, and outline their policy positions and priorities. For the purposes of this report, we shall look into four interrelated dimensions of party-based inclusivity to shed light on the phenomenon's supply side. First, this section will focus on group salience, to ask which groups political parties tend to appeal to in their manifestos, and how that may vary across parties. Second, it will also examine the valence attached to group appeals, to gauge the overall inclusivity orientation, by social group, and across parties.

These two core aspects of inclusivity shall then be complemented, by an investigation of parties' patterns of selective inclusivity, as well as the framing of solidarity across level of governance. In so doing, this section will be able to provide a comprehensive account of how different political parties may differentially prioritize solidarity to different social groups, and whether this solidarity is framed as national, European, or global-level concern. By answering this research question, this section will be able to classify parties into distinct classes of inclusiveness and speak to the friends and foes of inclusivity question that sits at the core of the DATIS project.

## Data and Methodology

To empirically pursue these research questions, this part of the report draws on data from DATIS Deliverable 3.3 (coded manifesto data). As explained above, party manifestos represent the most authoritative source to capture and quantify party positions, as they are created to be the reference source of their policy platforms. In what follows, we will briefly elaborate on the source documents, code process, and analysis coding deployed in this section.

### Data Source

For the purposes of DATIS, our aim was to cover all elections taking place within the project's span. This refers, in the end, only to the EP Elections of June 2024. In terms of case selection, we include all parties that secured parliamentary representation, and for which we could find either complete manifestos or a functionally equivalent document. Consequently, the data are comprised of the following parties: New Democracy (ND), Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras (SYRIZA), Panhellenic Socialist Movement/ Movement for Change (PASOK/KINAL), Democratic Patriotic Movement (NIKI), Kommounistiko Komma Ellados (KKE), and Foni Logikis (Voice of Reason). Table 1 presents the type of document used for each party.

Party	Type of Manifesto
ND	Policy Pamphlet
NIKI	Full Manifesto
PASOK/KINAL	Full Manifesto
SYRIZA	Full Manifesto
Voice of Reason	Party Leader Statement
KKE	Full Manifesto

**Table 1:** Type of Manifesto Code, by Party

## Coding Framework

Each document was partitioned into quasi-sentences, defined as discrete units of meaning, typically expressing a single policy position. This process of unitization follows the conventions of the Manifesto and Euromanifesto Projects, and allows for comparison of parties' ideological profiles, despite the potentially varying length of the corpus or the quasi-sentences themselves. Quasi-sentences were subsequently assigned a code, based on the Euromanifesto (EMCS V) coding scheme (Braun & Reinl, 2022), which is adapted to the study of EP elections, by taking into account the level of governance framing of each substantive policy code. It also captures the evaluative direction [positive/negative], to distinguish between support or opposition to all mentioned policy position.

Of particular interest, for this present analysis, are the Fabric of Society and Social Group domains (domains 8 and 9, accordingly) which capture parties' positions towards issues of traditional and non-traditional modes of societal organization, as well as appeals to both established and socially embedded, as well as contested and often marginalized social groups and communities. For example, labor groups, or agriculture-farmer communities, as well non-economic demographic groups, like women or the elderly, and underprivileged minority groups, including immigrants and sexual orientation minorities, among others.

Moreover, not all these categories form the EMCS framework are realized in our data. For this reason, the analyses presented below will focus on labor groups, agriculture and farmers, and immigrants and foreigners. For analytical clarity, we have recoded to merge all separate codes belonging to these categories, whenever multiple codes exist. In this way, we can meaningfully investigate party variation across these categories. Further to those substantive code, governance and valence level identifiers were used, as appropriate, to facilitate more theoretically nuanced research questions.

## Analytical Strategy

The analysis consists of a descriptive investigation of cross-party trends across dimension of inclusivity. In particular, the analysis focuses on exploring how group salience, inclusionary

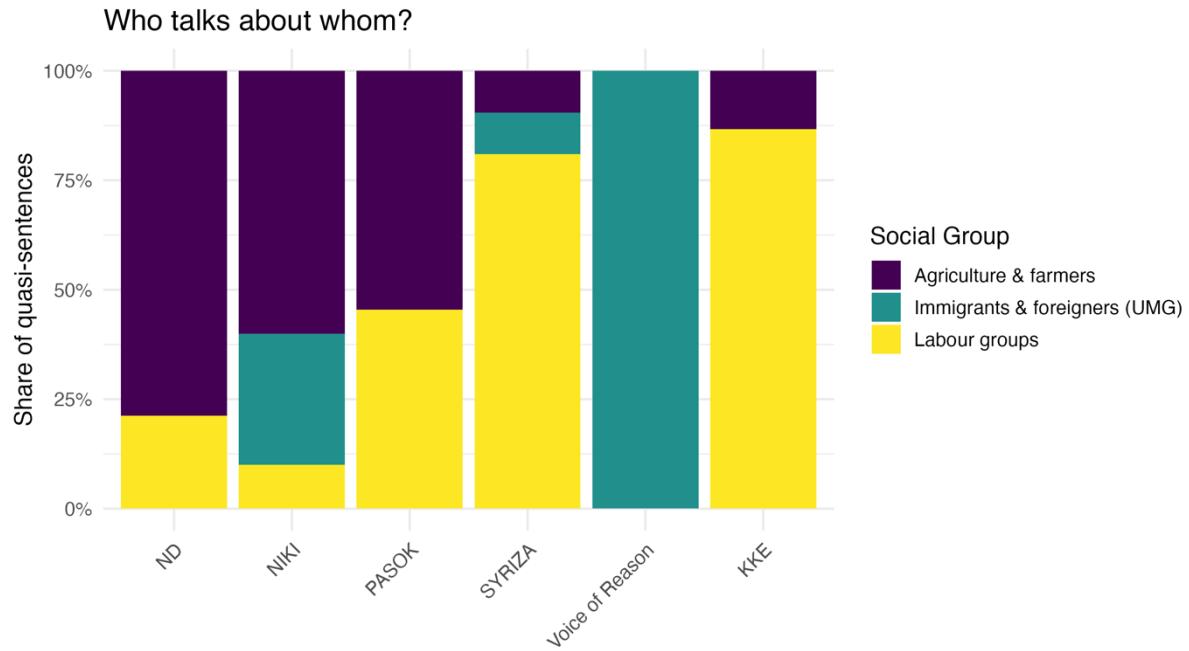
valence, selective inclusion, level of governance framing might vary between parties, across different social groups.

We operationalize group salience as the share of quasi-sentences devoted to each social group within a party's total number of group-related statements, to capture the relative emphasis devoted by each party to different social groups, accounting for differences in manifesto length or social group appeals. Through this perspective we aim to also gauge whether parties adopt a broad or narrow-selective inclusionary strategy.

In the next step, to capture the inclusionary valence, we construct an inclusion index, by calculating the difference between positive and negative group-appeals, for each group, divided by their sum. In this scale [-1: +1], a positive score denotes a predominantly positive references for each social group. By the same token, negative values indicate an exclusionary disposition, and values close to zero a neutral or balanced one. Finally, this report will explore the governance-level framing of inclusion, to examine whether solidarity is framed as primarily a national or supranational responsibility.

## Key Findings

To begin exploring the patterns of party positions towards social inclusion, group salience is, perhaps, the most natural starting point. Figure 4 plots the within-party distribution of attention across social groups (labor groups, farmers and agriculture-based communities, and immigrants and foreigners) as a share of the total group-related quasi sentences.



*Figure 4. Group Appeal Salience*

It's easy to see how parties vary immensely on both who, and how much, they tend to appeal on. Specifically, New Democracy appears to primarily target Agriculture professionals and farmers. Appeals towards these groups comprise around eight out of ten of the party's references to social groups. The remaining group appeals are directed to labor groups. The same is mostly the case for PASOK, albeit in a different equilibrium. PASOK splits its attention more equally, with around six out of ten group appeals directed to farmers, and all the remaining towards labor groups.

KKE presents the inverse pattern, with nine out of ten of its group appeals directed towards labor groups, in line with its communist ideological profile, and a few references to famers. Not too dissimilar, SYRIZA also focus most of its attention on labor groups, which comprise around eight out of ten references, one out of ten to farmers. Interestingly, however, SYRIZA also devotes a small share of its group appeals, around 1/10<sup>th</sup> of them, to immigrants and foreigners, and is the only left or left-of-center party to do so.

Oppositely, the extreme right-wing NIKI party directs almost six out of ten group appeals to farmers, followed by around three out of ten to immigrants and immigration-related issues, directing the remainder to labor groups. This stands in stark contrast to its closest competitor,

Voice of Reason, whose appeals center entirely on immigrants. Another way of looking at the same distributions is presented in Figure 5 below.

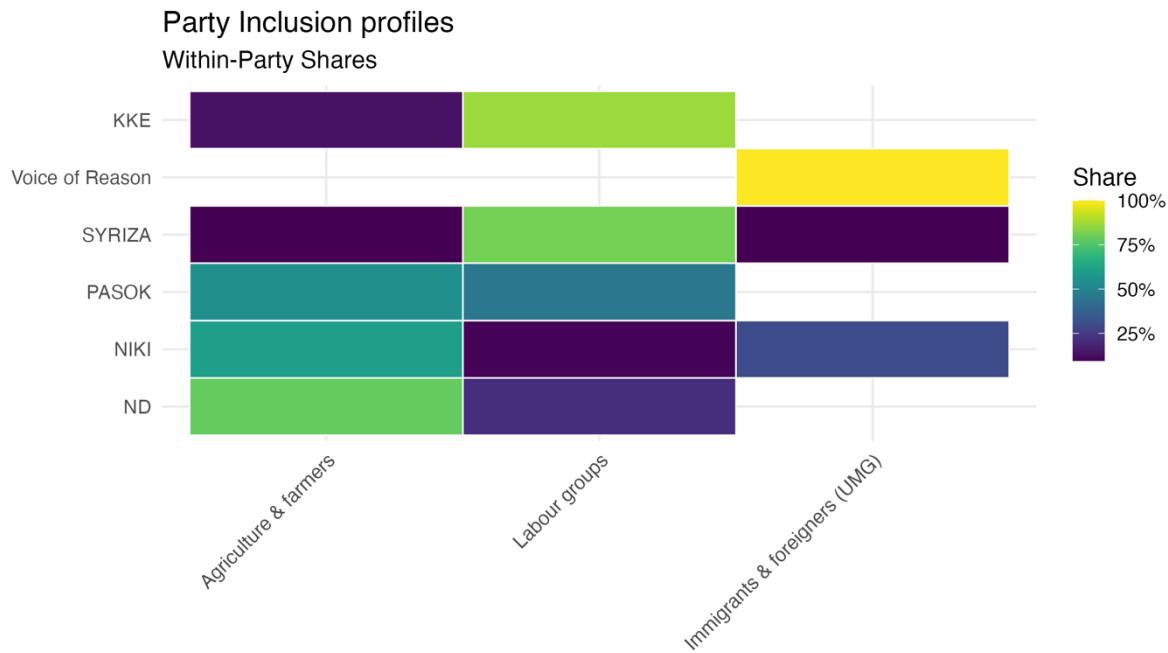


Figure 5. Party Inclusion Profiles

It's easier, in this visualization, to grasp the different inclusionary strategies that parties engage into. Based on our data, there seems to appear two modes of appealing to social groups. The most common, which we might call *selective appeal mode*, consists of parties focusing their attention on the constituencies they aim to represent. This ideal type matches the engagement strategies of ND, PASOK, and KKE. Second, the *niche appeal mode* captures parties that are solely focused on a single social group. The only realized case of this ideal type is Voice of Reason, with its undisrupted focus on immigrants. Finally, the *broad-appeal mode* describes parties that refer to a wide breadth of social groups, and is represented, in this specific context, by SYRIZA and NIKI.

At this point it's important to note that these emerging ideal types are constructed solely on the dimension of salience. They do not take into account the evaluative orientation, the valence of these appeals. To get a better understanding of not only who parties talk about, but also with what connotations they do so, Figure 6 captures the parties' normative stance, by plotting the difference between positive and negative appeals, across parties, for all focal social groups.

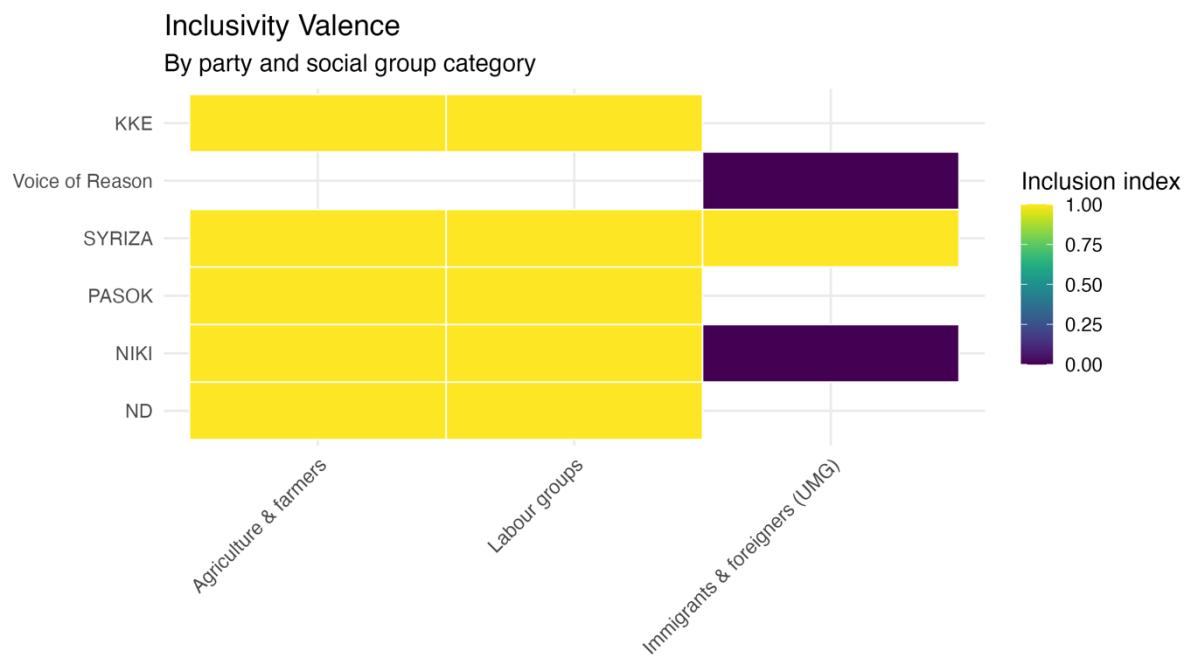


Figure 6. Inclusivity Valence

By looking at plot 3, we can, again, distinguish between distinct patterns of inclusion in party strategy. The first mode, which we might term *consistent inclusion*, represents the deployment of positive, only, connotations, to all groups it refers to. ND, PASOK, SYRIZA, and, KKE belong to this category, by being consistently inclusionary, albeit to different groups. This pattern of inclusion, in other words, consists of a positive evaluation of all mentioned social groups, despite potentially assigning different visibility to them. The second pattern, *polarized inclusion*, consists of a combination of positive and negative (i.e., inclusionary and exclusionary) group appeals, conditional on the social group. This ideal type is represented by NIKI. This party extends positive appeals to both farmers and labor groups but maintains a negative stance against immigrants. Third, the exclusionary-based pattern, positions itself in opposition to all groups it refers to, and is realized in our case by Voice of Reason, whose sole is comprised of opposition to immigration.

These exploratory, heuristic, attempts towards a typology are helpful in summarizing the key patterns distinguishing parties' inclusivity engagement, and are indicative of its multidimensional nature. Yet to better understand how these dimensions intersect, we can attempt to collapse them into a single, two-dimensional heuristic classification that capture both the salience and valence aspect of parties' group appeals.

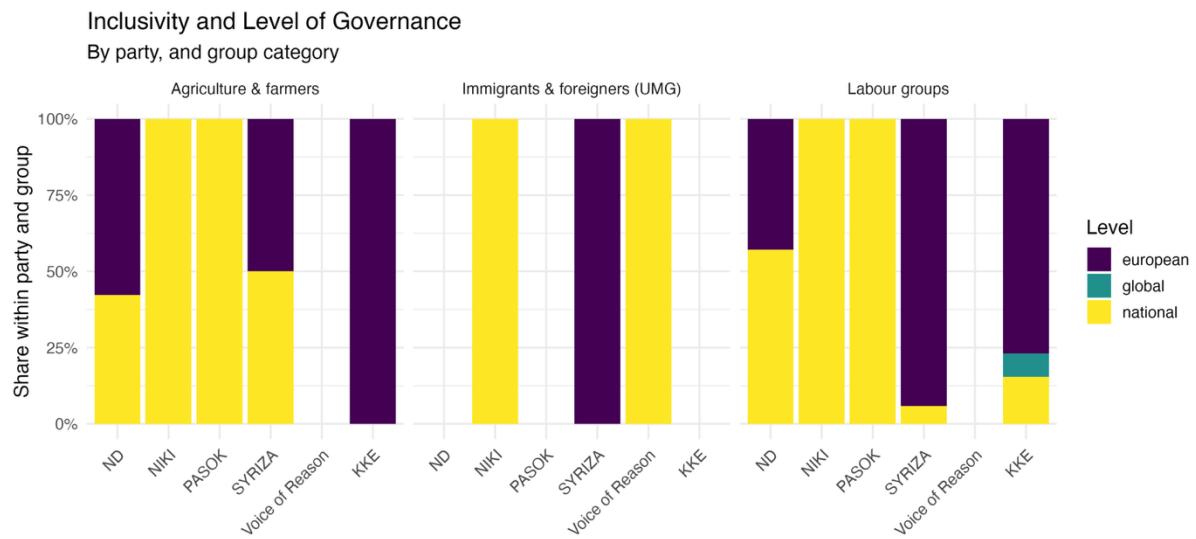
Table 2.A Heuristic Typology of Party Inclusiveness

Inclusionary Valence	Exclusionary/Ambivalent Valence
<b>Broad inclusion</b>	Universalistic inclusion
<b>Selective inclusion</b>	Targeted inclusion

Table 2 provides an overview of such a classification attempt. Based on these, one can distinguish between four broad patterns across the valence and salience dimension. The *universalistic inclusion* pattern captures the ideal type of a party that that combines broad group appeals with consistent positive valence. Then, the *targeted inclusion* combines positive valence but restricted to a narrower set of social groups. Third, the *broad-conflictual* discourse consists of a broad set of appeal, that can carry both a positive or negative connotation across groups. Finally, the *targeted exclusion/stigmatization* archetype, describes a party that systematically and negatively targets a specific or set of set of social groups.

Such a classification presents a compelling lens for analyzing the Greek party system, as it offers a succinct depiction of the inclusiveness landscape. Based on this typology, and the data presented above, the most common pattern of inclusivity profile in Greece during the 2024 EP elections is the targeted inclusion. ND, PASOK, and KKE all follow this mode of group appeals, by focusing only on positive appeals towards their core constituencies. Then, NIKI represents the broad-conflictual pattern, by pledging support to farmers and labor groups, but opposing immigrants. Voice of Reason provides a case in point for the stigmatization archetype, by focusing on social issue through its opposition to immigrants. SYRIZA completes the typology by being an example of the universalistic inclusion pattern, combining broad social group appeals with exclusively positive connotations.

Finally, to consider the potential differences in solidarity framing, Figure 7 visualizes the how group salience varies by level of governance frame, across parties and social groups.



*Figure 7. Inclusivity by level of governance, across parties and social group category*

Unexpectedly, despite the inherent European aspect of the EP elections, the national level framing seems to overall dominate, across all parties and social group appeals. Yet, both SYRIZA and ND consistently emphasize the European level when framing labor group and farmer's issues. This is also true of KKE, whose framing is predominantly EU-anchored for all its group appeals. Interestingly, the national level completely dominates the framing of immigration for NIKI and Voice of Reason. By contrast, SYRIZA uses an exclusively European frame to discuss immigration and is the only non-right-wing party to do so.

## Results Summary

In summary, the data show that Greek parties differ systematically in the social groups they choose to give visibility to in their policy platforms. No party addresses all social groups equally, and their strategies reflect their core ideological orientations, with left -wing parties focusing relatively more on labor groups, and centrist, right-of-center on farmers. Most parties pursue selective inclusion strategies, by articulating positive appeals directed towards their primary constituencies. This is not true for immigrants, who get primarily targeted negatively by extreme right-wing parties. Only SYRIZA is the only left-wing party to engage with immigrants, and it does so with a positive connotation.

Well-embedded social groups, like farmers and labor groups comprise the main axis of group appeals, becoming the converging point of all parties. Oppositely, immigrants are the most

contested group and become an axis of party polarization, indicating that valence is highly group conditional. Combining the salience and valence perspectives into a single typology result in four distinct party inclusion-strategy profiles that help identify the friends and foes of inclusive societies in the contemporary Greek party system, wherein inclusion is still overwhelmingly framed at the national level, indicating that solidarity remains primarily national-level aspect of party discourse.

Taken together, our results suggest that party-based inclusiveness ahead of the 2024 EP elections was selective, conditional, and group-specific, rather than broad or uniform ally extended across groups.

## Limitations

Having presented these findings it's important to note that certain limitations arise out of this specific research design. First, all analyses refer to the 2024 EP contest, and it's impossible to note, at this point, whether they generalize into past and future elections. In other words, it's not evident whether these party inclusivity profiles represent stable party characteristics or derive from fluctuating electoral strategy and context considerations. Second, the analysis assumes that all analyzed texts are an equally adequate representation of party positions. Moreover, the unavailability of proper manifestos in some cases may have impinged in unpredictable ways on our results. Finally, despite high coding reliability, no coding process can claim to be completely valid.

## Conclusions

In this multi-method paper, we have presented illustrative findings derived from the ISSP 2022 and ISSP 2023 datasets. These results represent preliminary analyses and are part of papers that are currently in progress and planned for future publication within the broader framework of the DATIS project, with key findings indicating that political orientation plays an important role in shaping attitudes toward inclusive societies. The purpose of presenting these initial findings is to offer a first glimpse into the emerging patterns and dynamics of public attitudes toward inclusion and social groups in contemporary Greece.

The results of the congruence mass vs elite level reveal clear differences in representational dynamics across parties. For Greek Solution and MERA25, the strong overlap between voter and candidate distributions indicates high representational congruence, with candidates closely reflecting the inclusiveness values of their electoral base. In contrast, PASOK, SYRIZA, and—more modestly—New Democracy exhibit a consistent elite–mass gap, with candidates scoring higher on inclusiveness than their voters. This pattern points to a more top-down approach, in which party elites are more progressive than their constituencies and may seek to lead public opinion or are selected through processes that prioritize inclusiveness. Together, these findings highlight variation in how parties balance responsiveness and leadership on issues of social inclusion.

Furthermore, according to the analysis of inclusiveness in Greek party politics demonstrated that inclusiveness is multidimensional and group specific. It combines aspects of salience (the visibility and attention parties direct to different social groups), selectivity (the breadth of group targeting), and valence (the positive or negative evaluation of these groups). As a consequence, parties cannot be easily classified as inclusive or exclusionary overall. By contrast, they may simultaneously act as friends and foes of inclusion, depending on the social group under consideration.

For this reason, we have developed and applied an exploratory, multi-dimensional typology capturing these distinct aspects of party engagement with group appeals. Based on our findings, the 2024 Greek party system is characterized primarily by selective inclusion, with parties focusing and restricting solidarity to their specific target constituencies. A few exceptions, like SYRIZA’s comparatively broader and more universalistic inclusionary profile, and Voice of Reason’s targeted stigmatization of immigrants, highlight the central role of immigration as a polarizing axis of inclusion and exclusion, and help identify well-embedded and particularly marginalized social groups.

Crucially, among the wide range of social group categories available in the EMCS scheme, party attentions is concentrated on a limited subset (labor groups, farmers, and immigrants). Other underprivileged groups and minorities, like women, ethnic minorities, sexual orientation minorities remain largely invisible in party discourse as captured through manifesto texts, on the occasion of the 2024 EP election.

Future research could investigate the temporal stability of these inclusion profiles and draw on longitudinal data to develop more theoretically grounded typologies to further the study of party-based inclusiveness in Greece and beyond. Further, the link between party cues on inclusion and voter attitudes remains understudied, and experimental designs could help identify the relevant causal mechanisms.

By mapping out how parties engaged in group-based appeals in the 2024 European Parliament elections, this section advances DATIS' overarching aim of identifying the friends and foes of inclusive societies in Greece and complements the individual-level perspective presented in the preceding sections.

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