

The Hellenic Panel Study, EES 2014

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The Hellenic Online Panel, European Election Study, 2014 was conducted as a web survey on a non-probability sample. Participants in Hellenic Online Panel, European Election Study, 2014 are volunteers who have indicated that they wish to participate in web surveys conducted by the Laboratory of Applied Political Research, Aristotle University Thessaloniki (Andreadis 2010). Most of the volunteers have registered after using the Greek Voting Advice Application *HelpMeVote* (Andreadis 2013). The following tables have been created after post-stratification adjustments on the dataset in order to reduce the bias of the estimates (Andreadis 2014).

Vote in EP elections

The electoral survey respondents who report that they voted is higher than the actual turnout in the election. The Hellenic Online Panel for European Election Study 2014 is using new question formats which try to capture both memory failure and social desirability bias (Belli et al. 1999; Zeglovits and Kritzinger 2014).

Table 1. Abstention and Voting in the EP election in May.

##	Frequency	Relative
## I did not vote in the EP election in May	94	0.067
## I thought about voting this time but didn't	17	0.012
## I usually vote but didn't this time	84	0.060
## I voted in the EP election in May	1196	0.860

The main reason Greek people have not participated in the European Election 2014 was a personal reason (e.g.: I was away from home, on vacation with my family, can not move to go to vote, I had no time, I was working, or other personal reasons, such as health problems). Only two other answers have been selected by a more than one out of 20 abstainers: "I am dissatisfied with the political system in general and/or I am not represented by any political party" (27.7%) and "The vote has no effect / Nothing will change if I go to vote" (10.5%). (Table 2)

Table 2. What were the main reasons you decided not to vote?

##	Reason.for.not.Voting	Rel.Frequency
## 1	Personal reasons	0.698
## 5	I am dissatisfied with politics generally	0.277
## 7	Vote does not change anything	0.105
## 4	Opposed to the European Union	0.031
## 10	Registration problems	0.022
## 2	Not interested in politics as such	0.022
## 8	Lack of electoral campaign	0.021
## 9	I rarely or never vote	0.006
## 3	Not interested in European matters	0.003
## 6	Did not know there were EP elections	0.000

The main reason for voting according to the respondents is because "It is the duty of every citizen" (67.3%).

Table 3. What were the main reasons you decided to vote?

##	Reason_for_Voting	Rel.Freq
## 1	It is the duty of every citizen	0.673
## 8	The vote counts / to change matters within the EU	0.459
## 7	Because I am a European citizen	0.300
## 2	I am in favor of the European Union	0.284
## 5	To express my dissatisfaction with the Greek government	0.272
## 3	I am interested in European issues	0.214
## 4	To express my displeasure to the European Union	0.179
## 6	To support the party that I always support	0.090

Table 4. Voters of the Coalition of Radical Left

##	Reason_for_Voting	Rel.Freq
## 1	It is the duty of every citizen	0.669
## 8	The vote counts / to change matters within the EU	0.519
## 5	To express my dissatisfaction with the Greek government	0.383
## 7	Because I am a European citizen	0.266
## 4	To express my displeasure to the European Union	0.181
## 3	I am interested in European issues	0.162
## 2	I am in favor of the European Union	0.135
## 6	To support the party that I always support	0.055

Of course, supporters of different parties vote for different reasons. While duty is selected by the majority in each group, the order of the rest reasons change dramatically. In the group of Voters of the Coalition of Radical Left the second most frequently selected reason for voting is because “The vote counts / to change matters within the EU” (51.9%) and “To express my dissatisfaction with the Greek government” (38.3%).

Table 5 Voters of New Democracy

##	Reason_for_Voting	Rel.Freq
## 1	It is the duty of every citizen	0.762
## 2	I am in favor of the European Union	0.537
## 7	Because I am a European citizen	0.459
## 8	The vote counts / to change matters within the EU	0.367
## 3	I am interested in European issues	0.330
## 6	To support the party that I always support	0.151
## 4	To express my displeasure to the European Union	0.050
## 5	To express my dissatisfaction with the Greek government	0.015

In the group of Voters of New Democracy the second most frequently selected reason for voting is because “I am in favor of the European Union” (53.7%) and “Because I am a European citizen” (45.9%).

Table 6 Voters of Golden Dawn

##	Reason_for_Voting	Rel.Freq
## 1	It is the duty of every citizen	0.712
## 5	To express my dissatisfaction with the Greek government	0.646
## 4	To express my displeasure to the European Union	0.481
## 8	The vote counts / to change matters within the EU	0.429
## 6	To support the party that I always support	0.106
## 3	I am interested in European issues	0.053
## 2	I am in favor of the European Union	0.044
## 7	Because I am a European citizen	0.024

Finally, in the group of Voters of Golden Dawn the second most frequently selected reason for voting is because “To express my dissatisfaction with the Greek government” (64.6%) and “To express my displeasure to the European Union” (48.1%), i.e. going to the polls is driven by anti-government and anti-EU feelings.

Table 7. Main criteria for vote choice

##	Party_selection_criteria	Rel.Freq
## 1	the party that I feel closest to	0.531
## 6	in order to renew the political personnel of the country	0.341
## 2	the party with respected and experienced candidates	0.261
## 7	to express my dissatisfaction with the entire political system	0.253
## 3	to overthrow the government and against the Memorandum	0.244
## 5	with European criteria	0.241
## 4	to support the government policies	0.089

Table 8. Voters of the Coalition of Radical Left

##	Reason_for_Voting	Rel.Freq
## 3	to overthrow the government and against the Memorandum	0.570
## 1	the party that I feel closest to	0.549
## 6	in order to renew the political personnel of the country	0.450
## 2	the party with respected and experienced candidates	0.232
## 7	to express my dissatisfaction with the entire political system	0.171
## 5	with European criteria	0.101
## 4	to support the government policies	0.000

Of course, supporters of different parties select their party for different reasons. While duty is selected by the majority in each group, the order of the rest reasons change dramatically. In the group of Voters of the Coalition of Radical Left the top 3 criteria are: “to overthrow the government and against the Memorandum” (57.0%), “the party that I feel closest to” (54.9%) and “in order to renew the political personnel of the country” (45.0%).

Table 9 Voters of New Democracy

##	Reason_for_Voting	Rel.Freq
## 1	the party that I feel closest to	0.663
## 5	with European criteria	0.426
## 4	to support the government policies	0.414
## 2	the party with respected and experienced candidates	0.338
## 6	in order to renew the political personnel of the country	0.029
## 3	to overthrow the government and against the Memorandum	0.003
## 7	to express my dissatisfaction with the entire political system	0.003

In the group of Voters of New Democracy the top 3 criteria are: “the party that I feel closest to” (66.3%), “with

European criteria” (42.6%) and “to support the government policies” (41.4%).

Table 10 Voters of Golden Dawn

##	Reason_for_Voting	Rel.Freq
## 7	to express my dissatisfaction with the entire political system	0.810
## 3	to overthrow the government and against the Memorandum	0.323
## 1	the party that I feel closest to	0.323
## 6	in order to renew the political personnel of the country	0.321
## 2	the party with respected and experienced candidates	0.079
## 5	with European criteria	0.012
## 4	to support the government policies	0.000

Finally, in the group of Voters of Golden Dawn the top 3 criteria are: “to express my dissatisfaction with the entire political system” (81.0%), “to overthrow the government and against the Memorandum” (32.3%) and “the party that I feel closest to” (32.3%), i.e. for Golden Dawn voters the most important motivation by far is their dissatisfaction with the entire political system.

Left/Right and European Unification

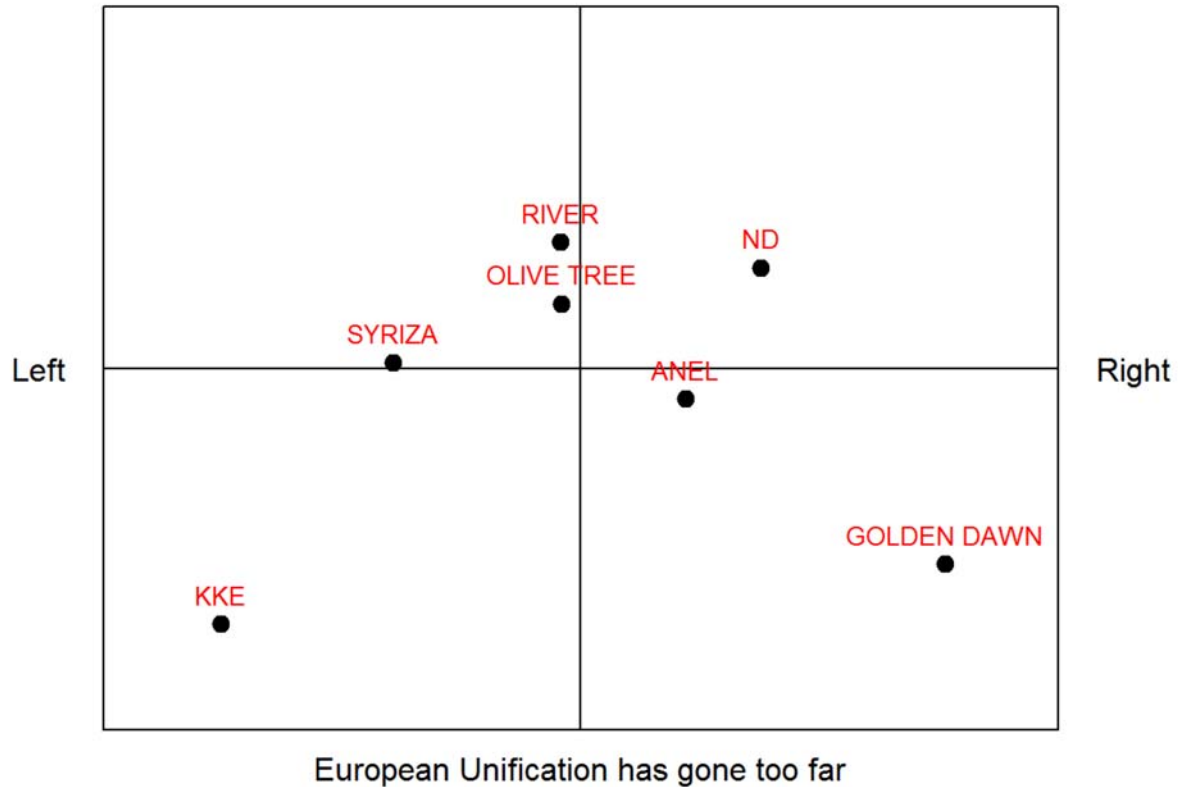
Opposition to European integration is pronounced in both the extreme left and extreme right, creating an inverted U-curve as it is in most European political systems (although lately in some European countries there are parties in the centre of the left–right scale which are placed lower on the EU integration scale (Bakker et al. 2012).

The study uses the general Left/Right scale, i.e. there is not a separate economic Left/Right dimension (role of the government in the economy, privatization, government spending, welfare state, etc) from a social Left/Right dimension i.e.(green/alternative/libertarian (GAL) supporting personal freedoms (e.g. access to abortion, same-sex marriage, etc), and greater democratic participation vs traditional/authoritarian/nationalist (TAN) supporting order, tradition, and stability.

European Integration/Unification is measured on a eleven-point scale from 0: Gone too far to 10: Push further. Values near 0 indicate preferences for actions to be taken to reduce the current level of unification while values near 10 indicate preferences for actions to be taken to increase the extent of unification (Eijk and Franklin 2004).

Position of parties according to their voters

Push European Unification further

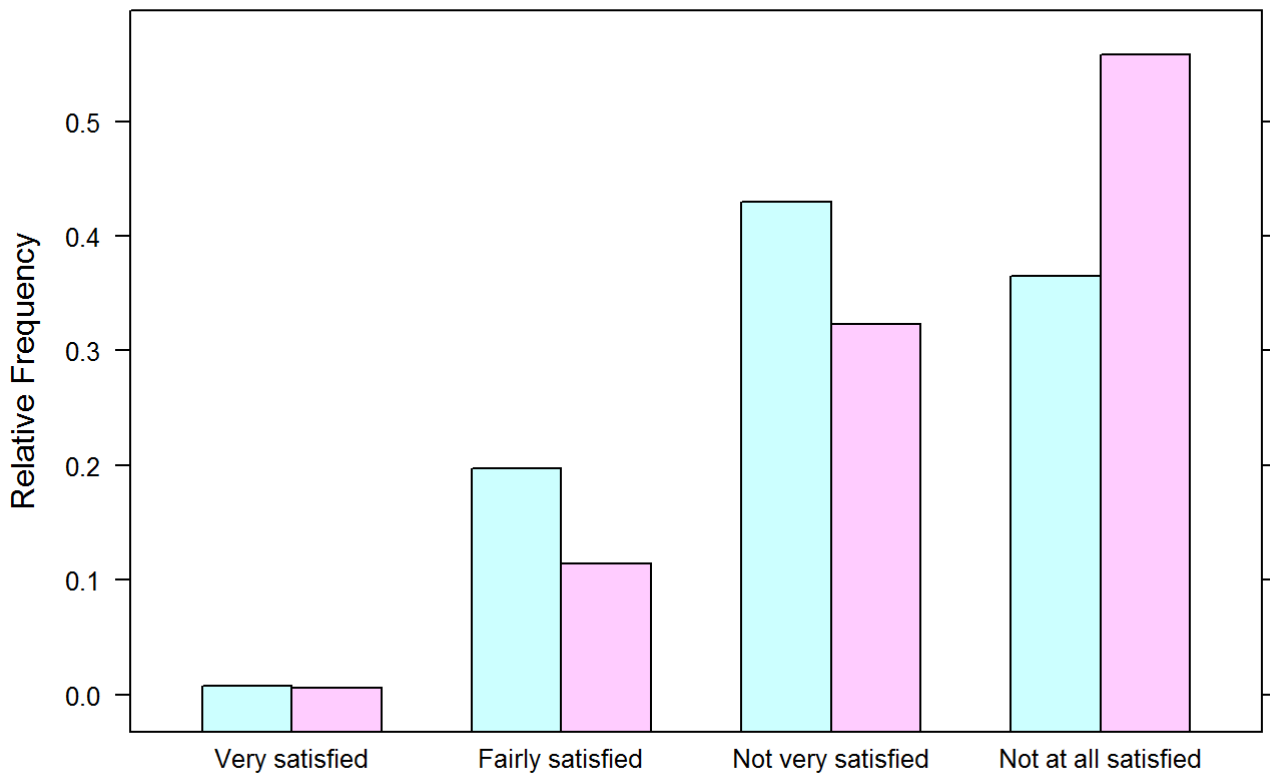


Plot 1 Position of parties according to their voters

Satisfaction with democracy and approval of government and EU

Karp, Banducci and Bowler (2003) argue that the financial difficulties of a country may have the effect of reducing citizen satisfaction with the way democracy works. To evaluate and to model the impact of the economy on satisfaction with democracy they use a misery index that combines measurements of inflation and unemployment. Using this index they conclude that satisfaction with the way democracy works is lower in poorer countries. Compatible with their conclusion is the finding that in a period of a deep crisis of the Greek economy, satisfaction with the way democracy works in Greece is very low. However, the percent of "Not at all satisfied" at the European level is much lower than the corresponding percent at the national level. (Plot 3)

Satisfaction with democracy in EU
 Satisfaction with democracy in Greece



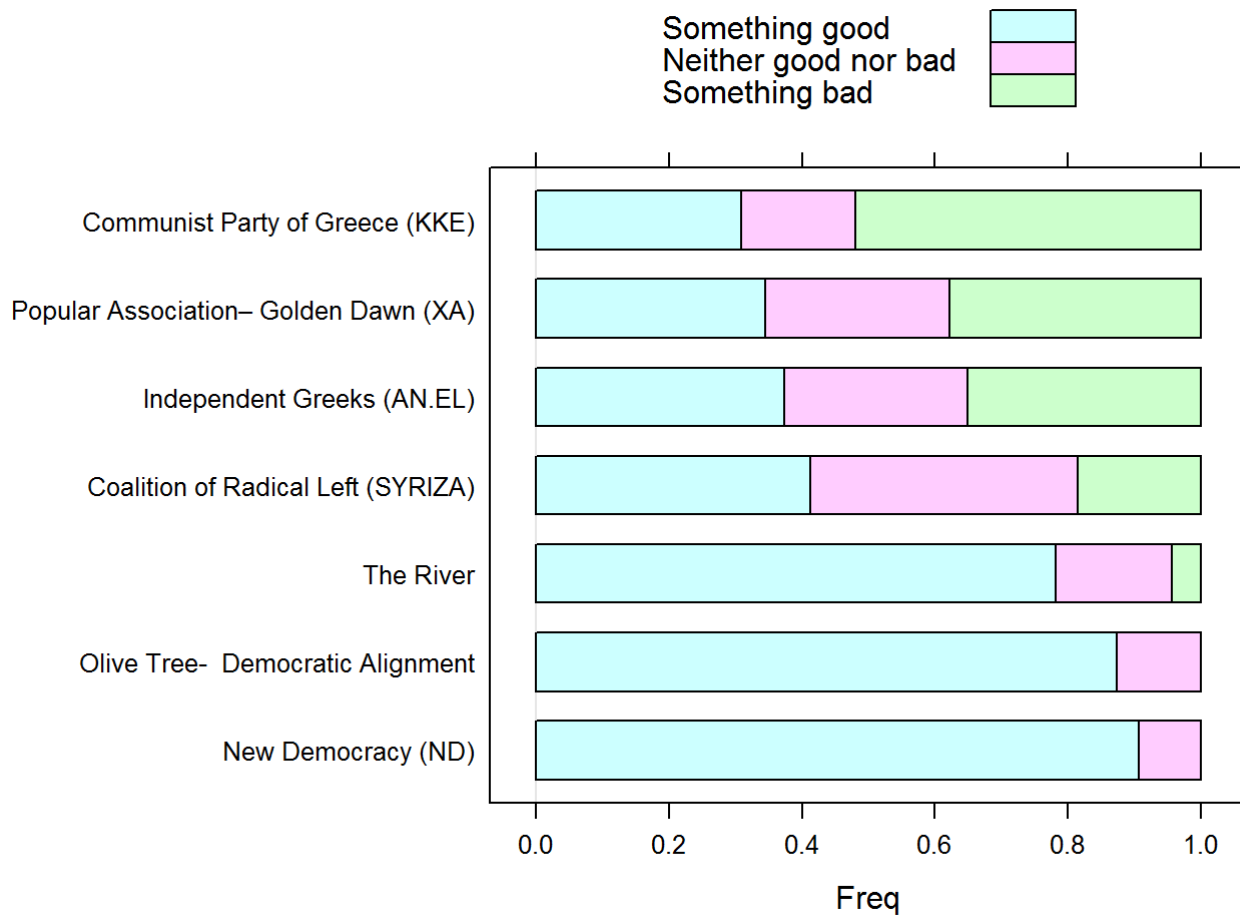
Plot 2 Satisfaction with the way democracy works in Greece and EU

Anderson and Guillory (1997) analyzing data from western Europe, argue that satisfaction with the way democracy works is different between winners and losers of the election. This happens for two reasons: i) voters of the party that won the elections, trying to support their party in government, are expected to assess with greater optimism and more lenient possible negative data on the economic situation of the country and ii) winners of the election are more likely to see the government implementing a policy that will protect their interests. Linde and Ekman (2003) confirm the difference between winners and losers of the elections in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Findings presented on Table 11 are compatible with these expectations.

Table 11 Not at all satisfied with democracy by party

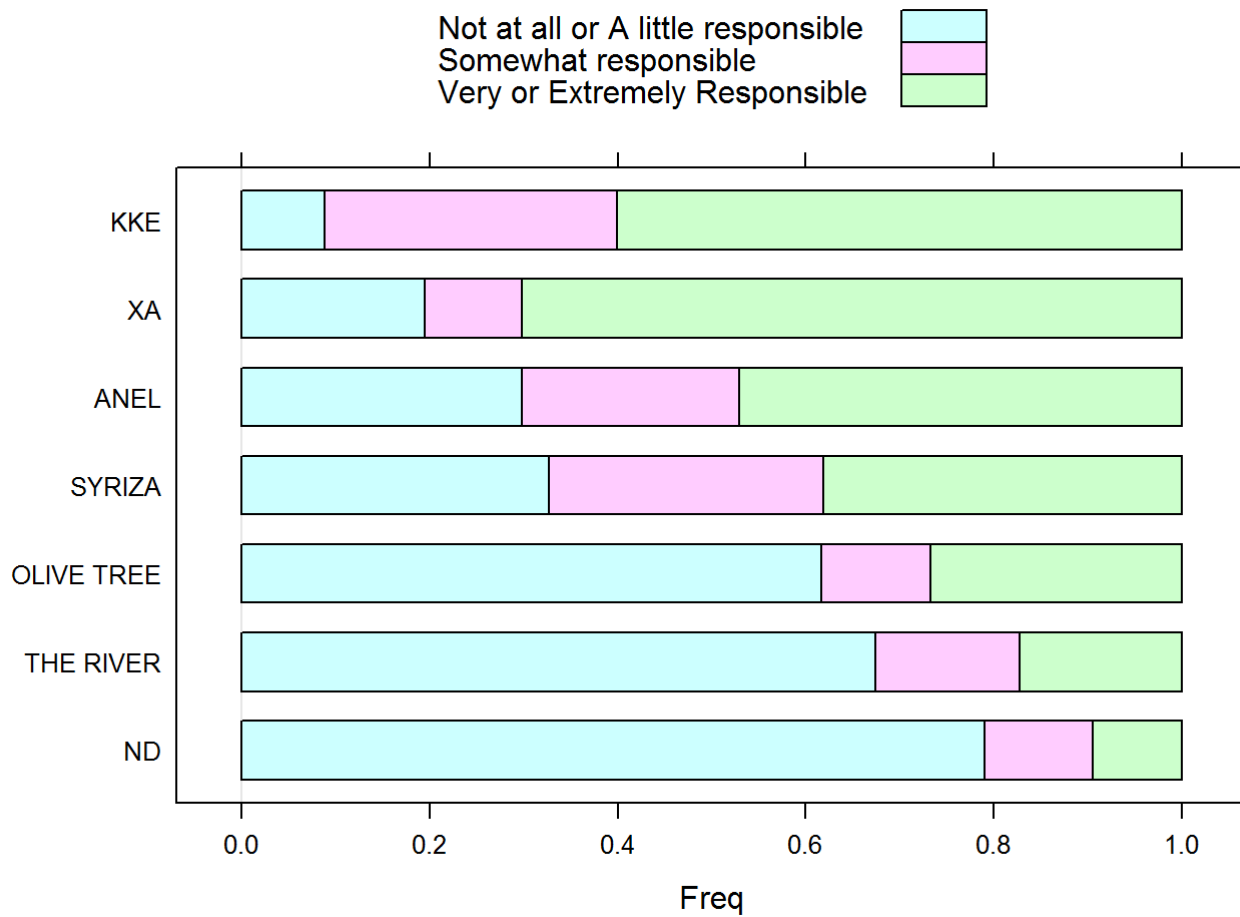
##	Not at all satisfied
## Coalition of Radical Left (SYRIZA)	0.757
## New Democracy (ND)	0.217
## Popular Association- Golden Dawn (XA)	0.848
## Olive Tree- Democratic Alignment	0.158
## The River	0.365
## Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	0.843
## Independent Greeks (AN.EL)	0.876

The majority of voters of the two government parties “New Democracy”, “Olive Tree- Democratic Alignment” and the new political party “The River” believe that membership of the European Union is something good for Greece. In the group of voters of SYRIZA about 4 out of 10 believe that is good, 4 out of 10 are neutral and 2 out of 10 are negative. The most negative attitudes are observed in the group of the voters of the Communist Party of Greece (about 1 out of 2) (see Andreadis et al. 2014; Teperoglou, Freire, and Andreadis 2013).



Plot 3 Attitude towards European Union by political party

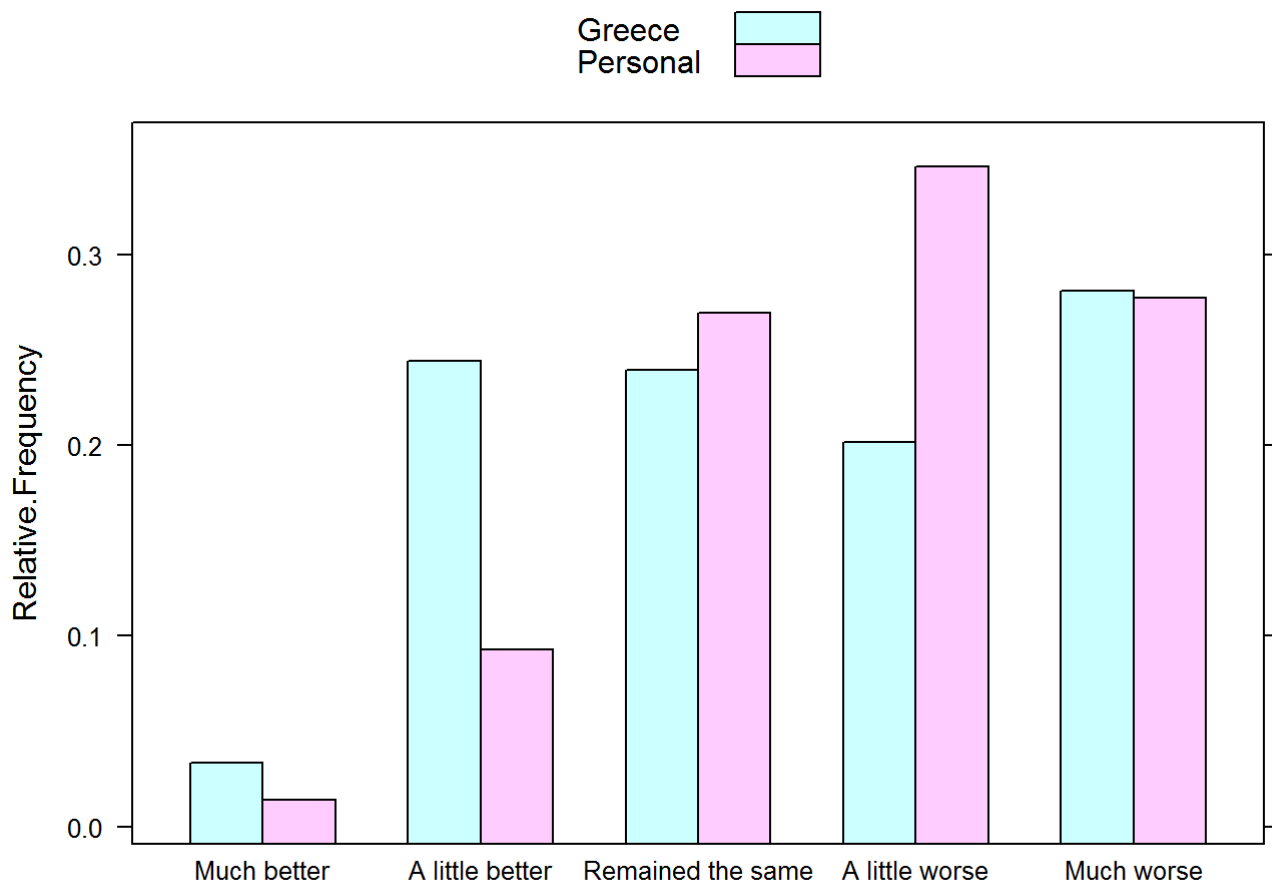
Plot 4 that displays the percentages of people who blame the integration of the country in the Eurozone for the financial crisis by political party reflects a similar finding. The majority of voters of the two government parties “New Democracy”, “Olive Tree- Democratic Alignment” and the majority of the new political party “The River” believe that the integration of the country in the Eurozone is not at all or a little responsible for the Greek financial crisis. The of SYRIZA and ANEL appear divided and finally the majority of voters of Golden Dawn and KKE think that the integration of the country in the Eurozone is very or extremely responsible for the Greek financial crisis.



Plot 4 Blaming Euro for the financial crisis by political party

Economic conditions

Respondents were asked to evaluate the economic situation of Greece and their personal economic conditions and to compare to 12 months ago. Although, only 10.7% of the respondents answer that their personal economic situation has improved, the corresponding figure for the national economic situation is: 27.8%.



Plot 5 Personal and national economic conditions

Party Identification

Party identification has an impact on opinion and values, on perceptions of performance, on issue position, and on the vote itself (Johnston 2006). Survey respondents are asked if they feel close to a party. Those respondents who give a negative response are asked in a follow up question if they feel a little closer to one party compared to the others. Those respondents who give a positive answer to any of the aforementioned questions, they are asked to specify to which party and finally they are asked to assess the strength of the identification. (Blais et al. 2001)

The political party with the weaker identifiers is “The River” a political party that was formed a few weeks before the election.

Table 12 Strength of Party Identification by party

## Party	Strength		
	Very	Somewhat	Not Very
## New Democracy (ND)	0.305	0.425	0.271
## Coalition of Radical Left (SYRIZA)	0.228	0.533	0.239
## Panhellenic Social Movement (PASOK)	0.296	0.525	0.178
## Independent Greeks (AN.EL)	0.342	0.469	0.189
## Golden Dawn (XA)	0.280	0.524	0.196
## Communist Party of Greece (KKE)	0.299	0.558	0.143
## The River	0.159	0.556	0.285

Comparison with the 2012 Parliamentary Election

Table 13 Voter transitions 2012 - 2014

##	vote2014								
##	vote2012	SYRIZA	ND	XA	OLIVE TREE	THE RIVER	KKE	ANEL	Other
##	ND	0.021	0.726	0.061	0.013	0.119	NA	0.008	0.052
##	SYRIZA	0.780	NA	0.048	NA	0.057	0.020	0.005	0.076
##	PASOK	0.133	0.017	NA	0.667	0.113	NA	NA	0.065
##	ANEL	0.095	NA	0.117	NA	NA	NA	0.684	0.083
##	XA	NA	NA	0.707	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
##	DIMAR	0.128	NA	NA	0.032	0.376	NA	NA	0.431
##	KKE	0.184	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.611	NA	0.082
##	OTHER	0.093	0.059	0.021	NA	0.152	NA	NA	0.631

Table 13 displays the voter transition rates from the Parliamentary elections of 2012 to the election for the European Parliament of 2014. For the cells with less than 3 people in the unweighted sample, the estimate for the transition rate is unreliable. Instead of displaying an unreliable estimate, it was preferred to indicate that the estimate is not available (NA).

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