

## ***The Greek Voter According to HelpMeVote 2015***

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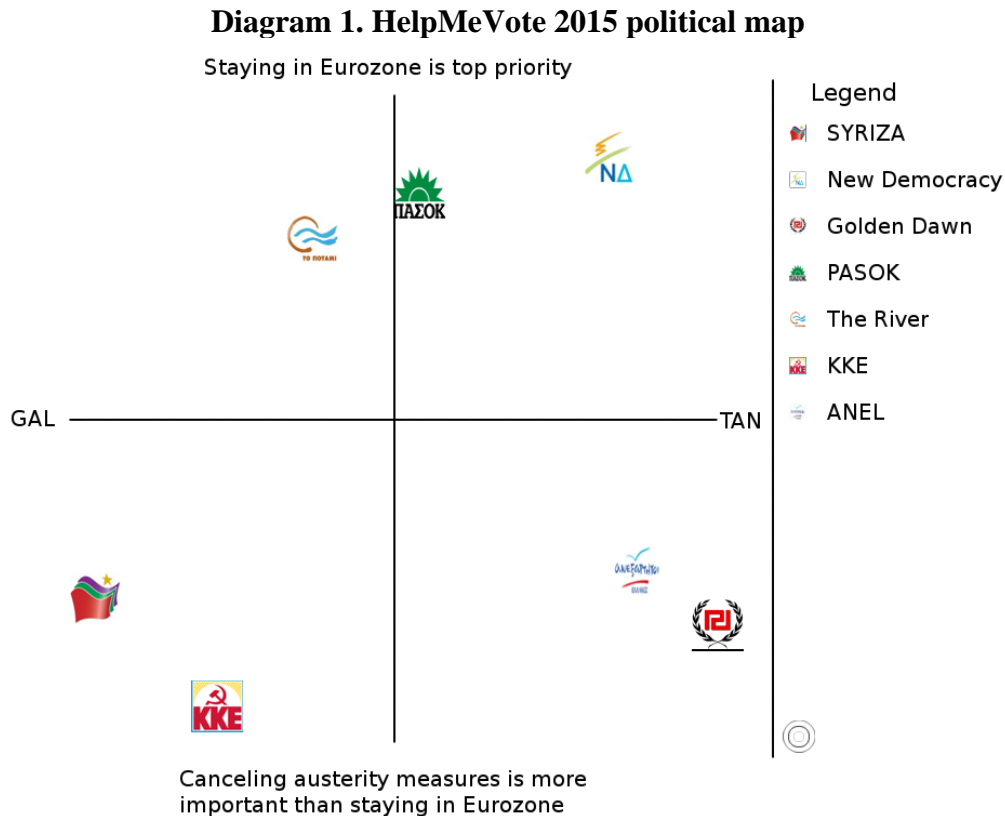
HelpMeVote 2015 is a Greek Voting Advice Application that was completed more than 570000 times in the period from its official beginning (07/01/2015) until the Election Day (25/01/2015). Following the cleaning techniques provided by Andreadis (2012, 2014) the cleaned dataset includes 543870 cases. The number of citizens who have participated in the Greek Parliamentary Elections of January 2015 is 6330786. Thus, if we suppose that all HelpMeVote users have used it only once and that almost all of them have participated in the elections, then we can estimate that HelpMeVote users are circa 8.6% of those who participated in the Greek Parliamentary Elections of January 2015.

HelpMeVote 2015 includes 31 statements that reflect the major dimensions of electoral competition. 20 statements have been used in HelpMeVote 2012 (Andreadis, 2013), 6 statements have been translated from the Core Questionnaire of the Comparative Candidate Survey (CCS) Module II (2013-2018) (CCS, April 2013), 3 statements have been developed within the Team Populism (Hawkins, Riding, & Mudde, 2012; Akkerman, Mudde & Zaslove, 2013) and the Populismus project led by Yannis Stavrakakis and 2 statements are totally new and reflect two issues of the public debate.

The 20 statements used in HelpMeVote 2015 out of about 40 that have been used in the two versions of HelpMeVote 2012 (May and June) have been selected on the basis of two criteria: i) old issues which have lost their importance on the electoral agenda have been excluded, ii) the discrimination power of each issue was re-examined against the data which have been collected by the users of HelpMeVote 2012, i.e. it was checked whether voters of different parties have significantly different positions; issues that failed to pass this test for most pairs of parties were deleted. It should be noted that many of the statements that have been used in the previous versions of HelpMeVote were based on items included in major international political and social surveys and in the literature related with party positions, party mapping and the dimensions of political competition (Benoit and Laver, 2006; Evans, Heath and Lalljee, 1996; Heath, Evans and Martin, 1994, Andreadis, Teperoglou and Tsatsanis, 2011). In HelpMeVote 2012 we also included issues which were asked in Greek public opinion polls and which are related with the views regarding the management of the debt, and attitudes towards the memoranda and the Troika, because the polls had revealed that these issues would play an important role in shaping the behavior of Greek voters for the 2012 elections.

For the HelpMeVote 2015 political map, the results are presented in a two-axes X-Y plot. The horizontal axis depicts the position of parties in the GAL: (Green, Alternative, Libertarian) vs TAN: (Traditional, Authoritarian, Nationalist) dimension (Hooghe, Marks, & Wilson, 2002). The axis is based on socio-cultural issues. The second (vertical) axis captures the juxtaposition of the parties regarding the management of the debt, country's commitments to its lenders and the attitudes towards the European Union. At the top of the axis we can find parties that support

that staying in the Eurozone should be a top priority for Greece (pro-European); at the bottom of the axis we can find the opposite view (anti-Troika), i.e. that we should cancel the austerity measure immediately even if this means that we would risk getting out of the Eurozone (see Diagram 1).



Most of the statements used in HelpMeVote have been classified as follows: if a statement expresses a GAL position, it is classified as GAL-oriented. With the same method, other statements have been classified as TAN-oriented. For the statements that are more related to the vertical axis we have used the labels "pro-European" (used for statements expressing ideas that would be supported by parties that appear near the top of the diagram) and "anti-Troika" for statements expressing opposite ideas. However, the vertical axis also includes the statements that refer to economic left/right and to populism. The inclusion of economic left/right issues in the vertical axis was done because the analysis of HelpMeVote 2012 data has shown that the economic left/right dimension has been aligned with the pro-European/anti-Troika dimension. For similar results based on ELNES 2012 (Andreadis, Chadjipadelis, Teperoglou, 2014) see (Freire et al, 2014; Tsatsanis, Freire & Tsirbas, 2014).

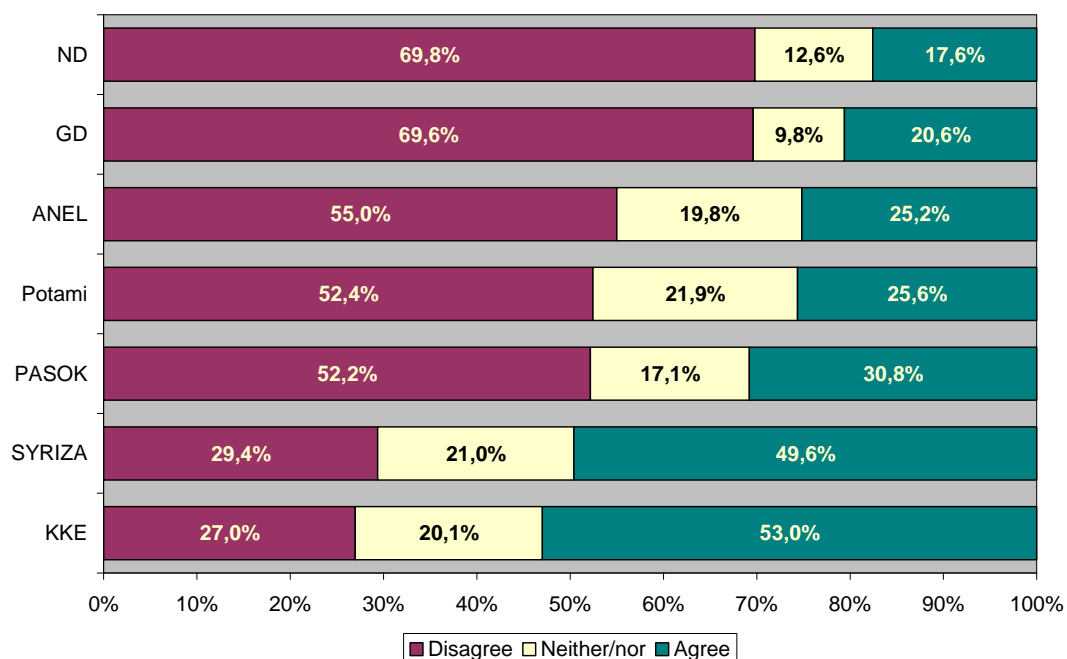
The position of the parties on the diagram is determined by the following procedure: The answers are coded as follows: -1: Strongly disagree, -0.5: Disagree, 0: Neither agree nor disagree, 0.5: Agree and 1: Strongly agree. Then, to determine the position of the voter on the GAL - TAN axis, the sum of all the answers to GAL-oriented questions is subtracted by the sum of all responses to TAN-oriented questions. The result is divided by the number of all GAL or TAN oriented questions. The result is a

number with values ranging from -1 (extreme GAL) to +1 (extreme TAN) and it is used as the abscissa of the point. The ordinate of the point is calculated in a similar way (using the questions related to the vertical axis).

## The right for temporary leaves from prison is more important than the risk of escape

This is a new statement in HelpMeVote 2015. It is GAL-oriented and it reflects an intense public debate that took place a few weeks before the elections. The statement 'The right for temporary leaves from prison is more important than the risk of escape' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 53% agree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 50% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of ND (circa 70% disagree with it) and the voters of GD (circa 70% disagree with it).

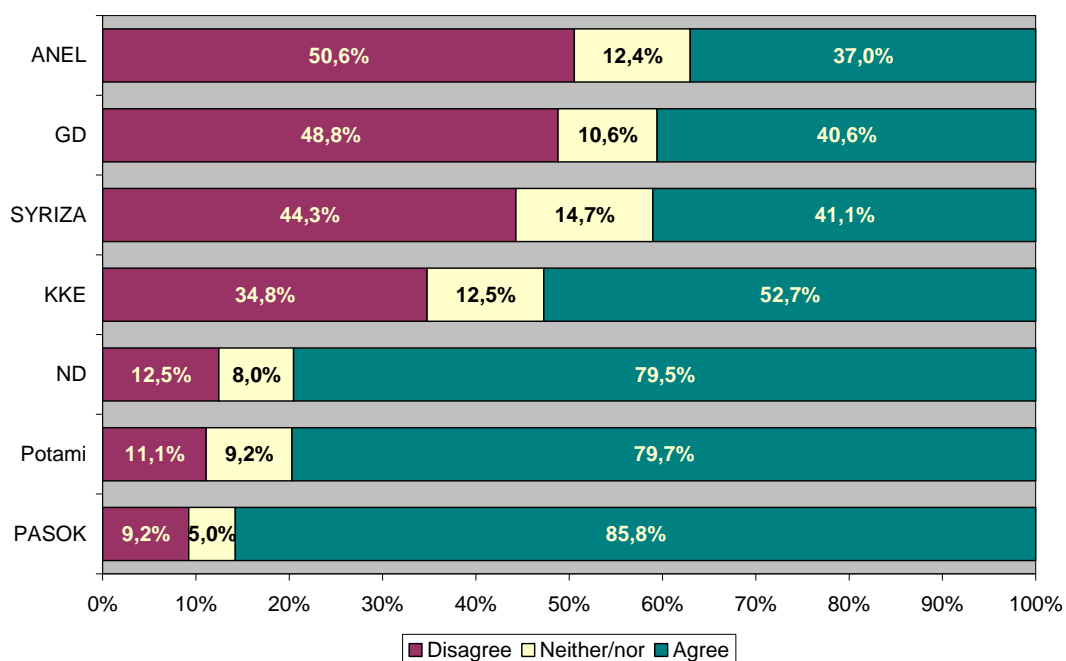
Diagram 2. The right for temporary leaves from prison is more important than the risk of escape. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## The Memorandum has not caused the economic crisis; the economic crisis has resulted in the Memorandum

This is a new statement in HelpMeVote 2015. It is pro-European oriented and it was often used by the government parties of ND and PASOK. The statement 'The Memorandum has not caused the economic crisis; the economic crisis has resulted in the Memorandum' is supported by the voters of PASOK (circa 86% agree with it) and the voters of Potami (circa 80% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of ANEL (circa 51% disagree with it) and the voters of GD (circa 49% disagree with it).

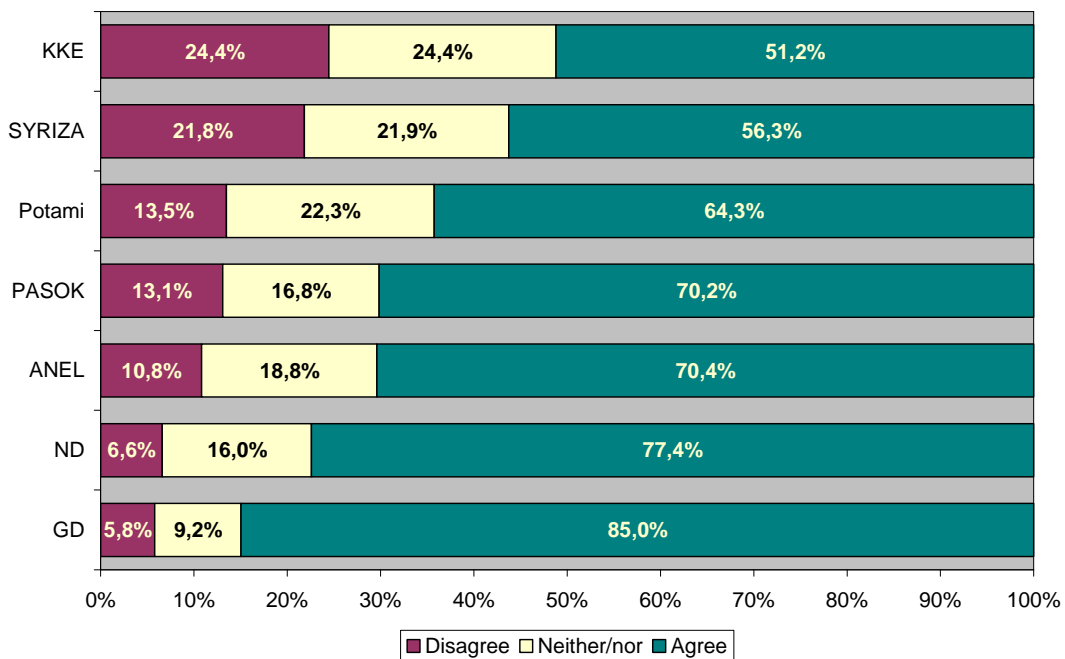
Diagram 3. 'The Memorandum has not caused the economic crisis; the economic crisis has resulted in the Memorandum. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences

This is a new statement in HelpMeVote 2015 and it was copied by the CCS II core questionnaire. It was used as a TAN oriented statement, but it seems that it is supported by the voters of all parties. The statement 'People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences.' is supported more by the voters of GD (circa 85% agree with it) and the voters of ND (circa 77% agree with it), and it is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 51% agree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 56% agree with it).

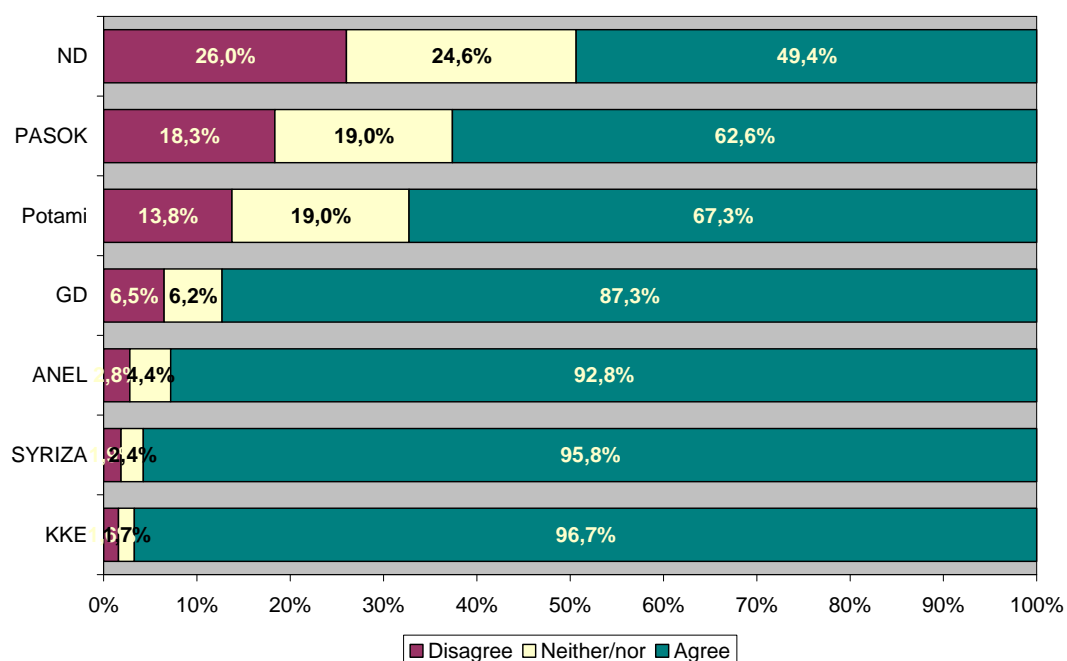
Diagram 4. People who break the law should be given stiffer sentences. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## Popular demands are today ignored in favour of what benefits the establishment

This is a new statement in HelpMeVote 2015 and it was developed in co-operation with the populism project led by professor Stavrakakis. It was used as an anti-Troika oriented statement, but it seems that it is supported by the voters of almost all parties. The statement 'Popular demands are today ignored in favour of what benefits the establishment' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 97% agree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 96% agree with it). This statement is less supported by the voters of ND (circa 49% agree with it) and the voters of PASOK (circa 63% agree with it).

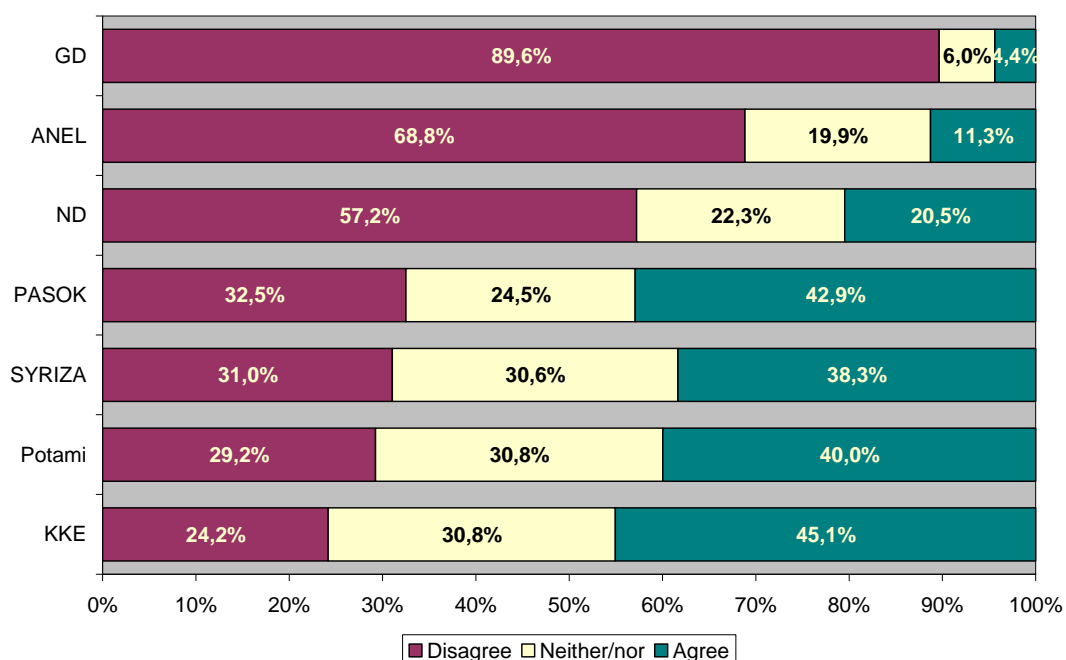
Diagram 5. Popular demands are today ignored in favour of what benefits the establishment. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## Immigrants are good for Greek economy

This is a new statement in HelpMeVote 2015 and it was copied by CCS II core questionnaire. It was used as a GAL oriented statement, but it does not reach the absolute majority among the voters of any of the Greek parliamentary parties. The statement 'Immigrants are good for [country's] economy.' is supported more by the voters of KKE (circa 45% agree with it) the voters of PASOK (circa 43% agree with it) and the voters of Potami (circa 40% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of GD (circa 90% disagree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 69% disagree with it). It is interesting that although SYRIZA is the most pro-immigrant parliamentary party in Greece, the voters of SYRIZA are split into 3 almost equal groups (31% disagree, 31% neither agree nor disagree and 38% agree with the aforementioned statement).

Diagram 6. Immigrants are good for Greek economy. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party

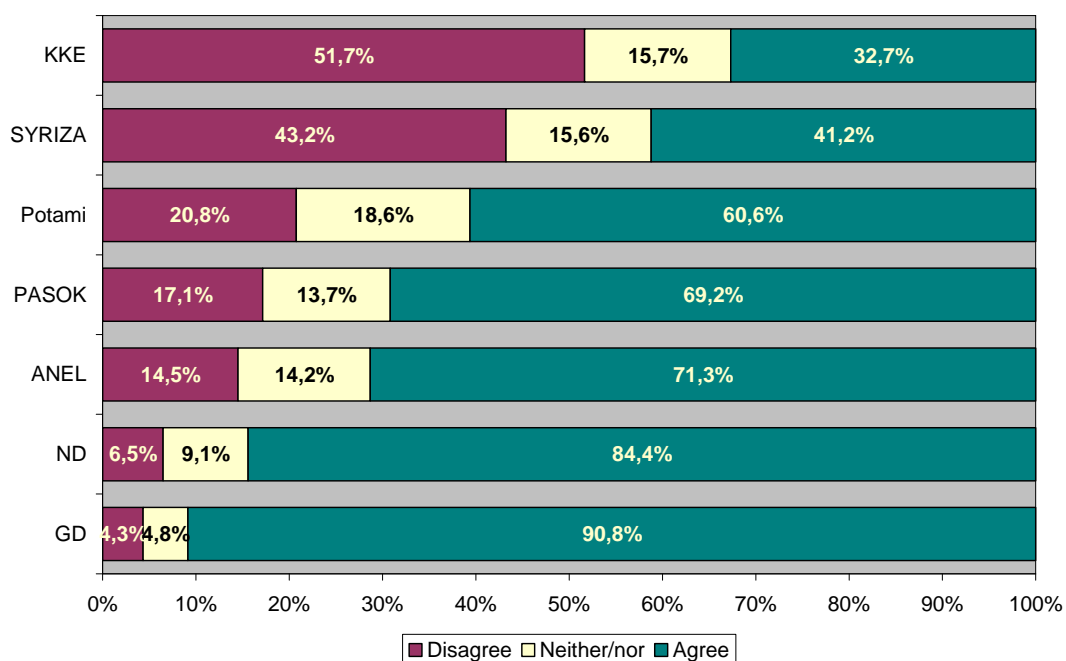




## The police should use stricter enforcement measures to protect the property of citizens

This is a TAN oriented statement that was used again in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'The police should use stricter enforcement measures to protect the property of citizens.' is supported by the voters of GD (circa 91% agree with it) and the voters of ND (circa 84% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 52% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 43% disagree with it).

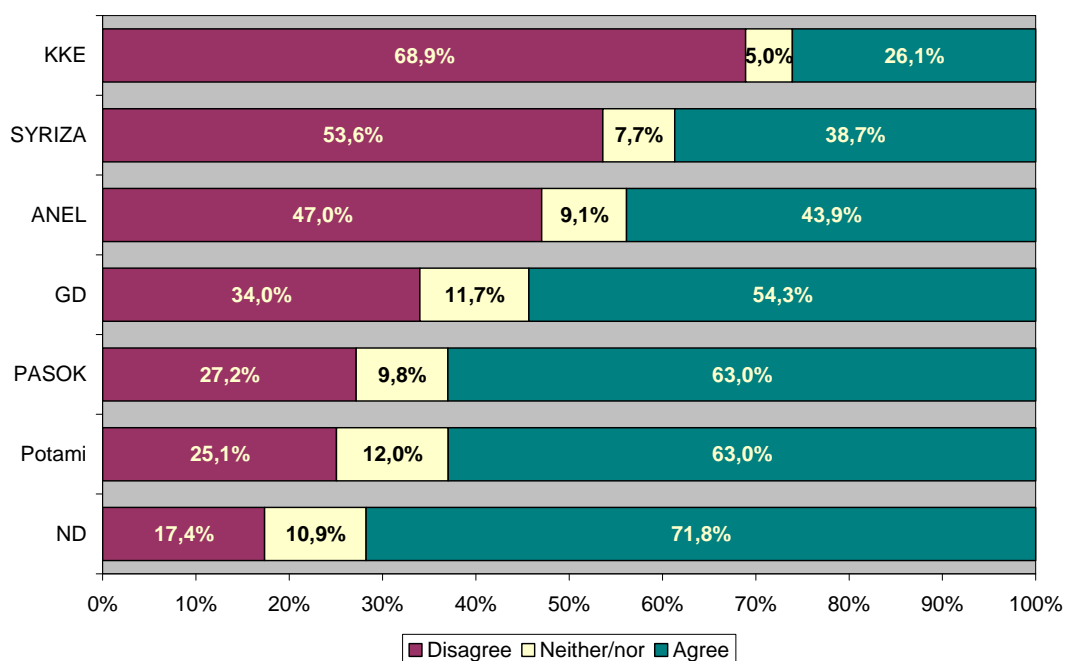
Diagram 7. The police should use stricter enforcement measures to protect the property of citizens. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## We should have more flexible forms of work in order to combat unemployment

This is a right-oriented statement that was used again in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'We should have more flexible forms of work in order to combat unemployment.' is supported by the voters of ND (circa 72% agree with it) and the voters of Potami and PASOK (circa 63% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 69% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 54% disagree with it).

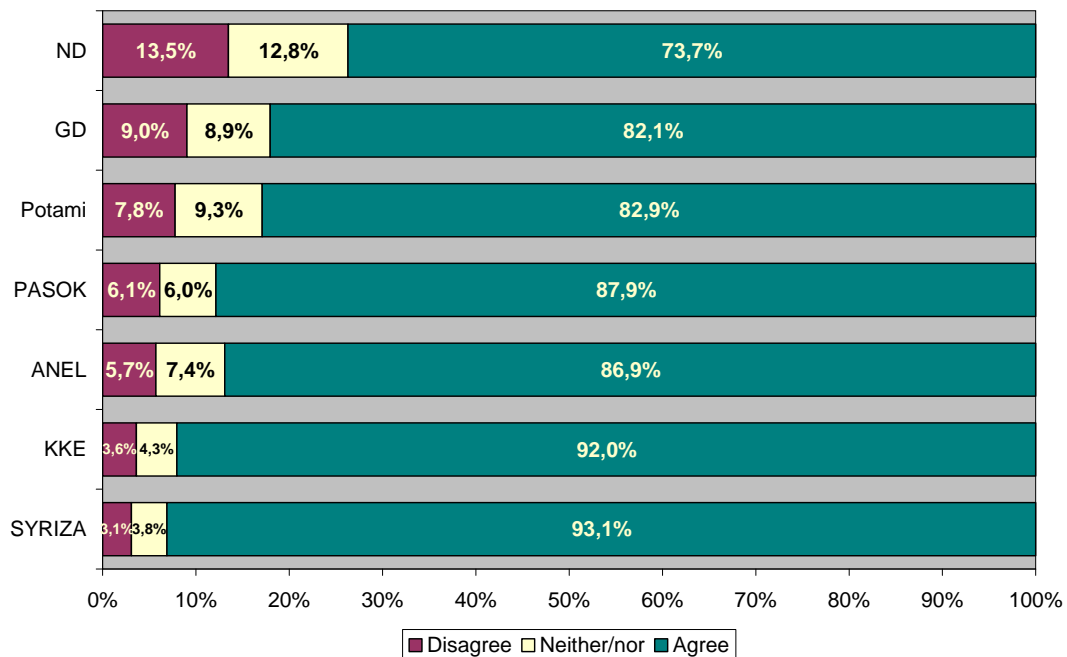
Diagram 8. We should have more flexible forms of work in order to combat unemployment. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## The government should take measures to reduce income inequalities

This is a new statement in HelpMeVote 2015 and it was copied by the CCS II core questionnaire. It was used as a left-oriented statement, but it seems that it is supported by the voters of all parties. The statement 'The government should take measures to reduce income inequalities' is supported by the voters of SYRIZA (circa 93% agree with it) and the voters of KKE (circa 92% agree with it). This statement is less supported by the voters of ND (circa 74% agree with it).

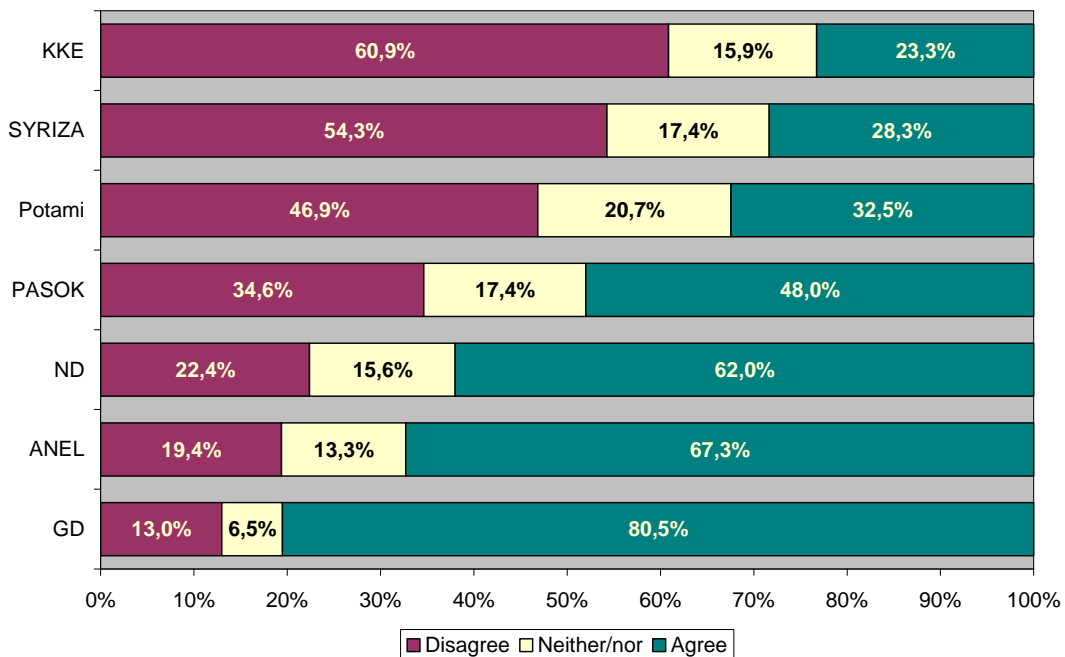
Diagram 9. The government should take measures to reduce income inequalities. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## Defense spending should not be reduced to avoid becoming a vulnerable country

This is a TAN-oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'Defense spending should not be reduced to avoid becoming a vulnerable country.' is supported by the voters of GD (circa 81% agree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 67% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 61% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 54% disagree with it).

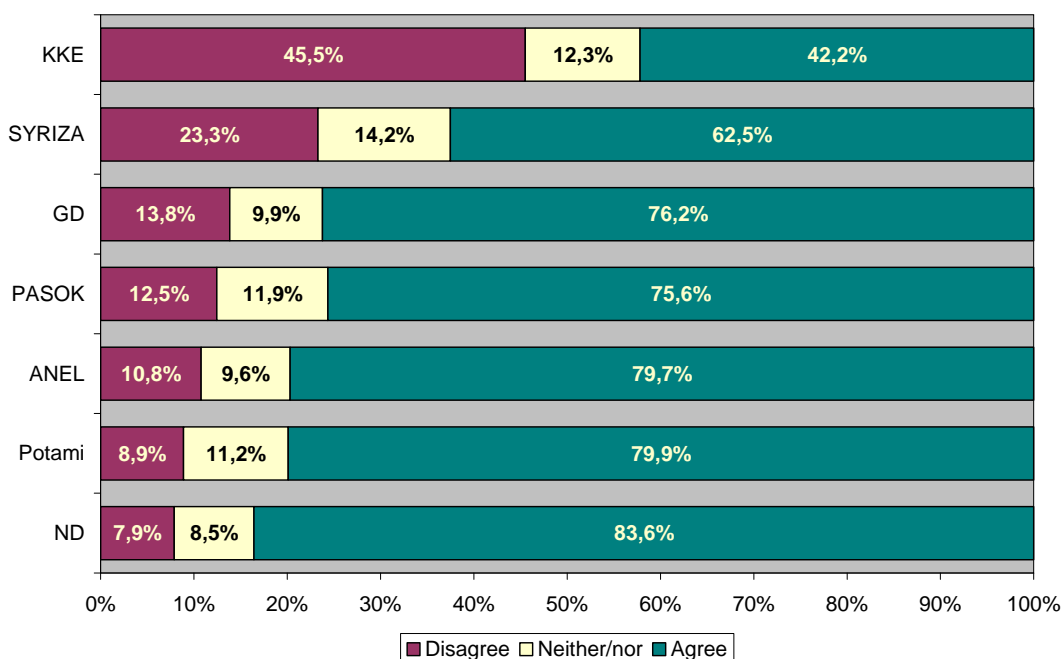
Diagram 10. Defense spending should not be reduced to avoid becoming a vulnerable country. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## The reduction of corporate taxes would have a positive impact on the development of the economy

This is a statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'The reduction of corporate taxes would have a positive impact on the development of the economy.' is supported by the voters of ND (circa 84% agree with it) and the voters of Potami (circa 80% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 46% disagree with it).

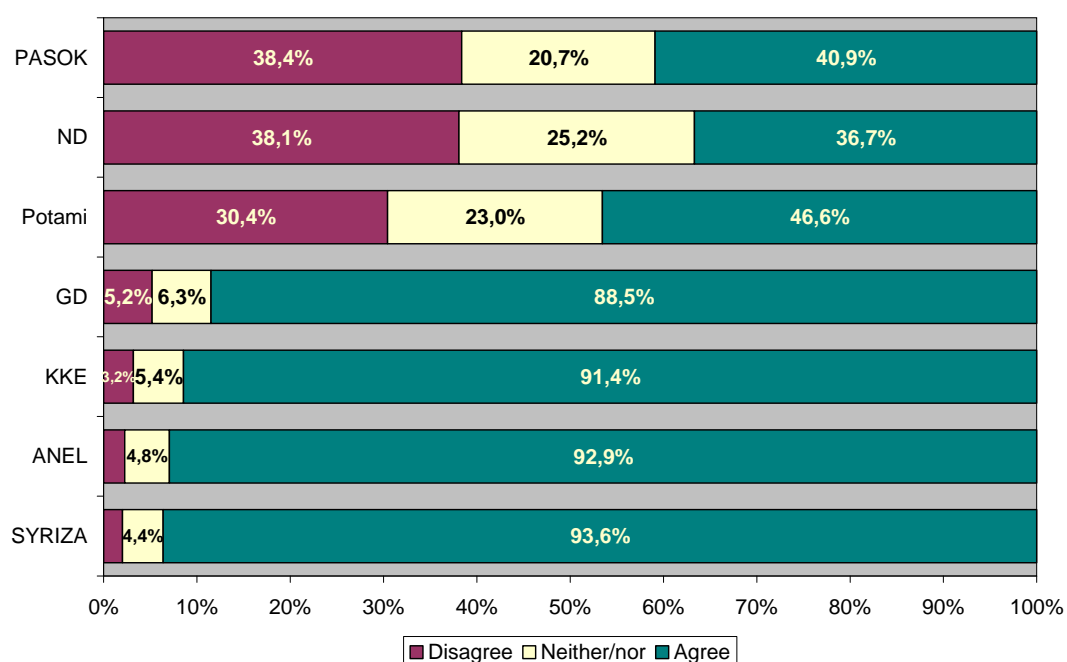
Diagram 11. The reduction of corporate taxes would have a positive impact on the development of the economy. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## With the Memoranda we accumulate debts without any visible benefits

This is an anti-Troika statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'With the Memoranda we accumulate debts without any visible benefits.' is supported by the voters of SYRIZA (circa 94% agree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 93% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of PASOK and the voters of ND (circa 38% of both parties disagree with it).

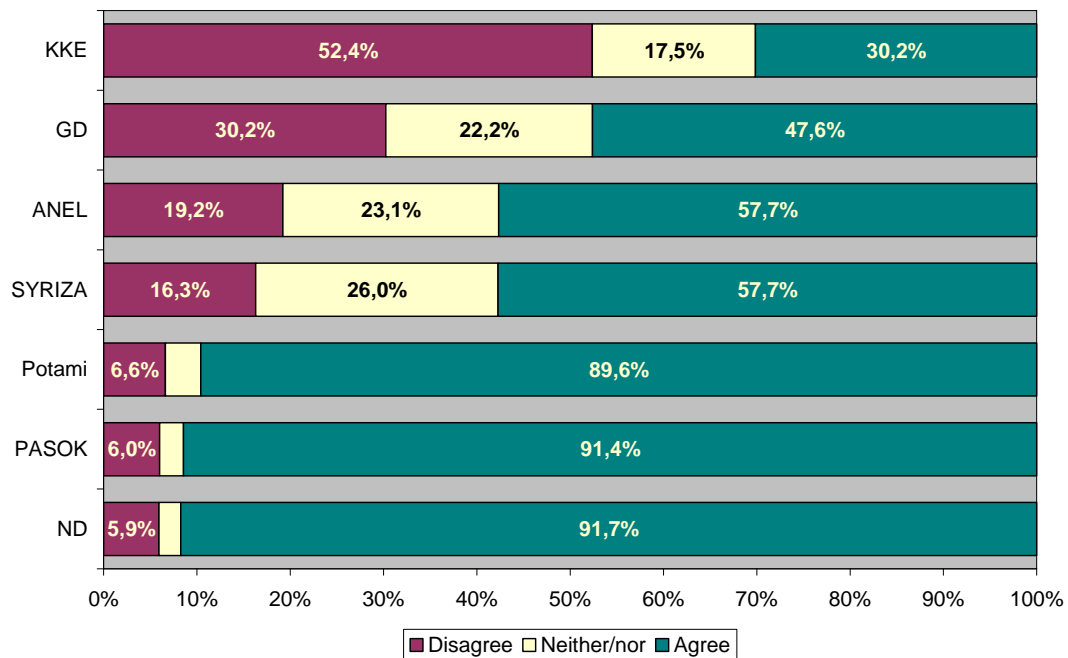
Diagram 12. With the Memoranda we accumulate debts without any visible benefits. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## It is better for Greece to be in the European Union rather than outside

This is a pro-European statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'It is better for Greece to be in the European Union rather than outside.' is supported by the voters of ND (circa 92% agree with it) and the voters of PASOK (circa 91% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 52% disagree with it) and the voters of GD (circa 30% disagree with it).

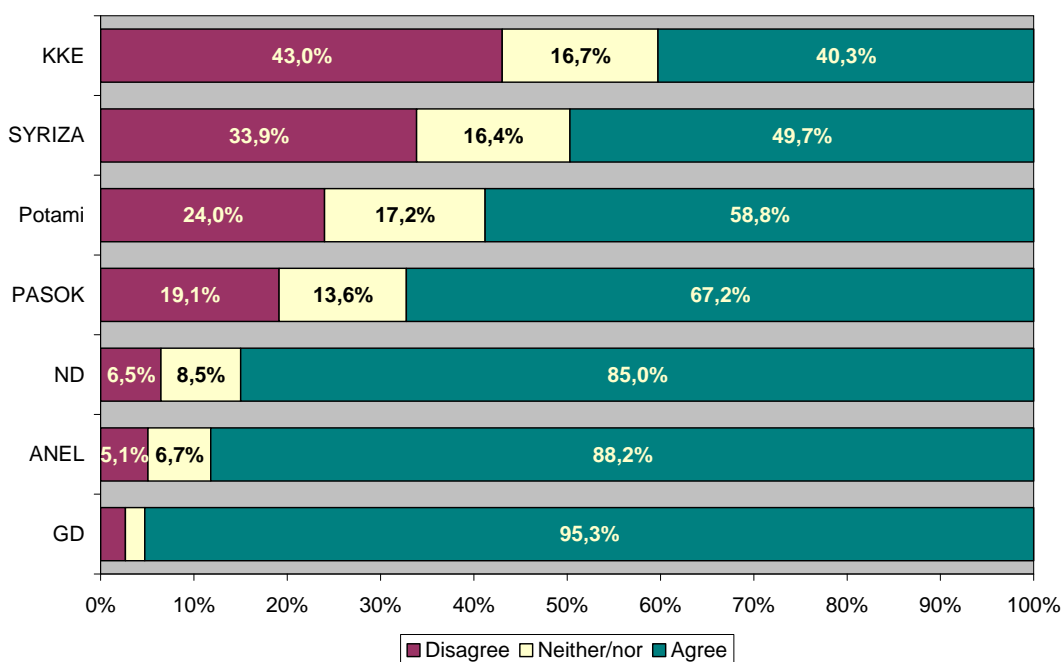
Diagram 13. It is better for Greece to be in the European Union rather than outside. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## The requirements for asylum and citizenship must be tightened

This is a TAN-oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'The requirements for asylum and citizenship must be tightened.' is supported by the voters of GD (circa 95% agree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 88% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 43% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 34% disagree with it).

Diagram 14. The requirements for asylum and citizenship must be tightened.  
Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party

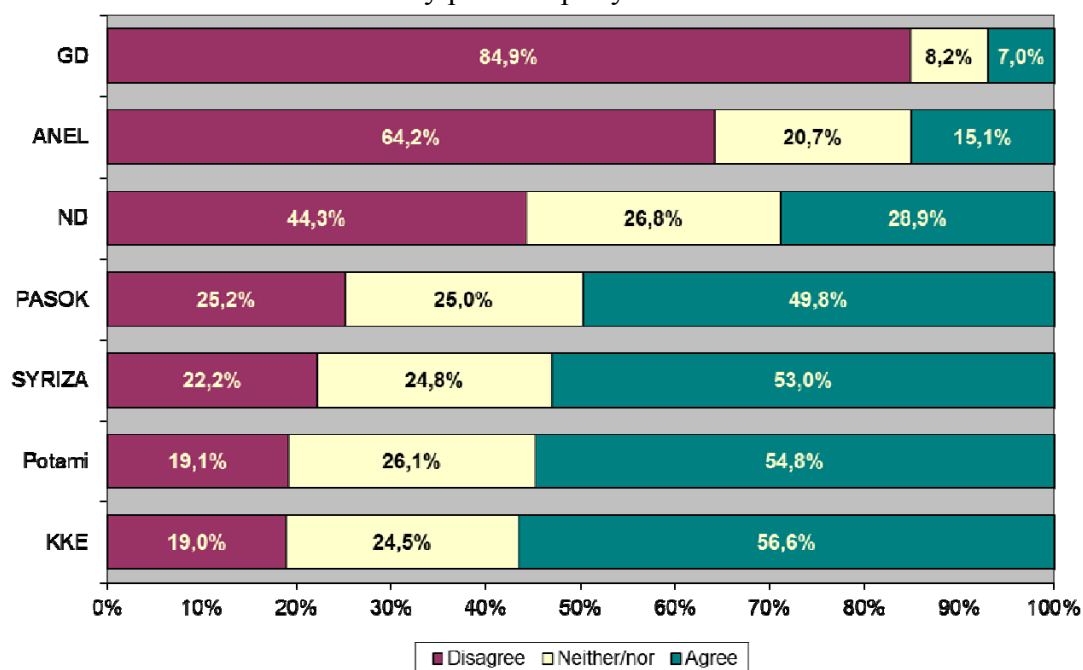




## The existence of multiculturalism in Greece is a positive phenomenon.

This is a GAL-oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'The existence of multiculturalism in Greece is a positive phenomenon.' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 57% agree with it) and the voters of Potami (circa 55% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of GD (circa 85% disagree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 64% disagree with it).

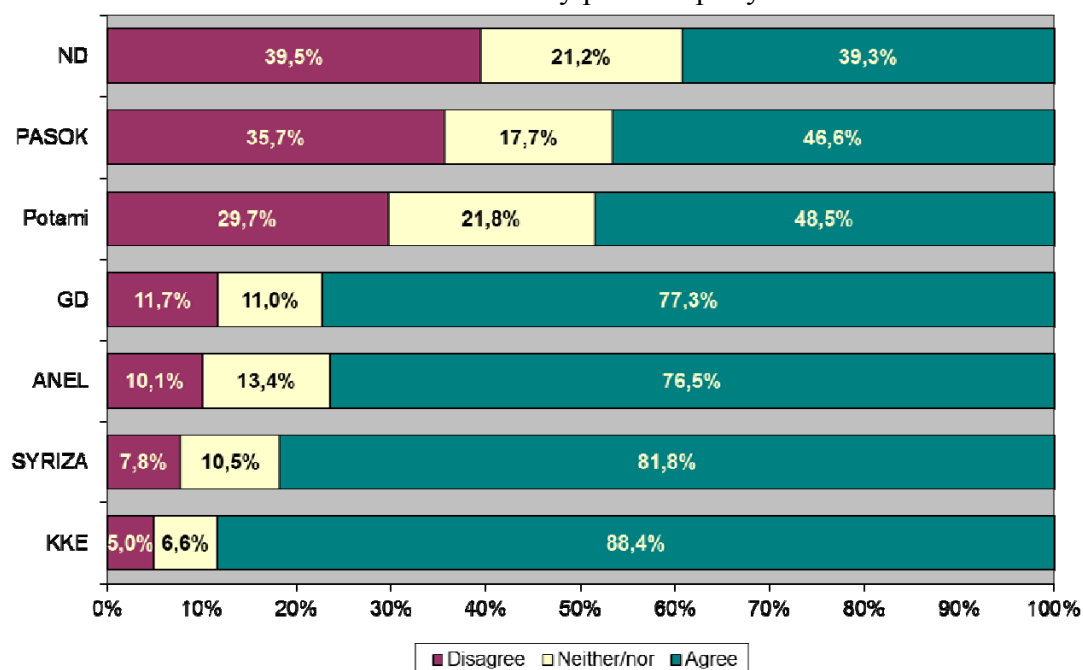
Diagram 15. The existence of multiculturalism in Greece is a positive phenomenon. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.

This is populism statement that has been developed within the Team Populism project (Hawkins, Riding, & Mudde, 2012) to measure populist attitudes. The statement 'The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 88% agree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 82% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of ND (circa 39% disagree with it) and the voters of PASOK (circa 36% disagree with it).

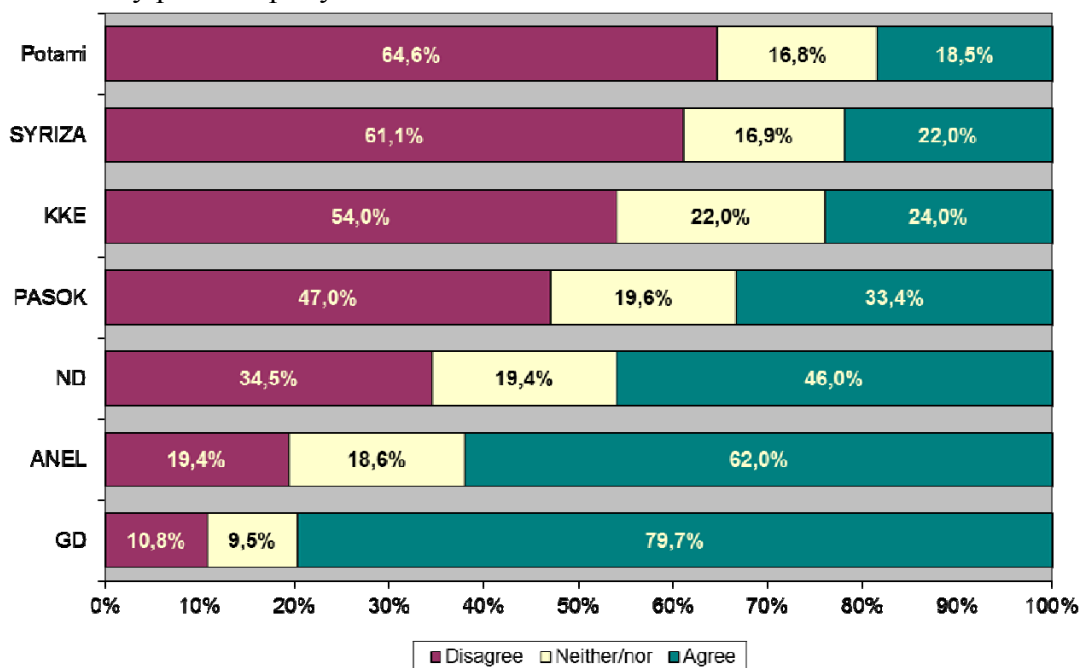
Diagram 16. The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law.

This is a new GAL-oriented statement in HelpMeVote 2015 and it was copied by the CCS II core questionnaire. The statement 'Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law.' is supported by the voters of GD (circa 80% agree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 62% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of Potami (circa 65% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 61% disagree with it)..

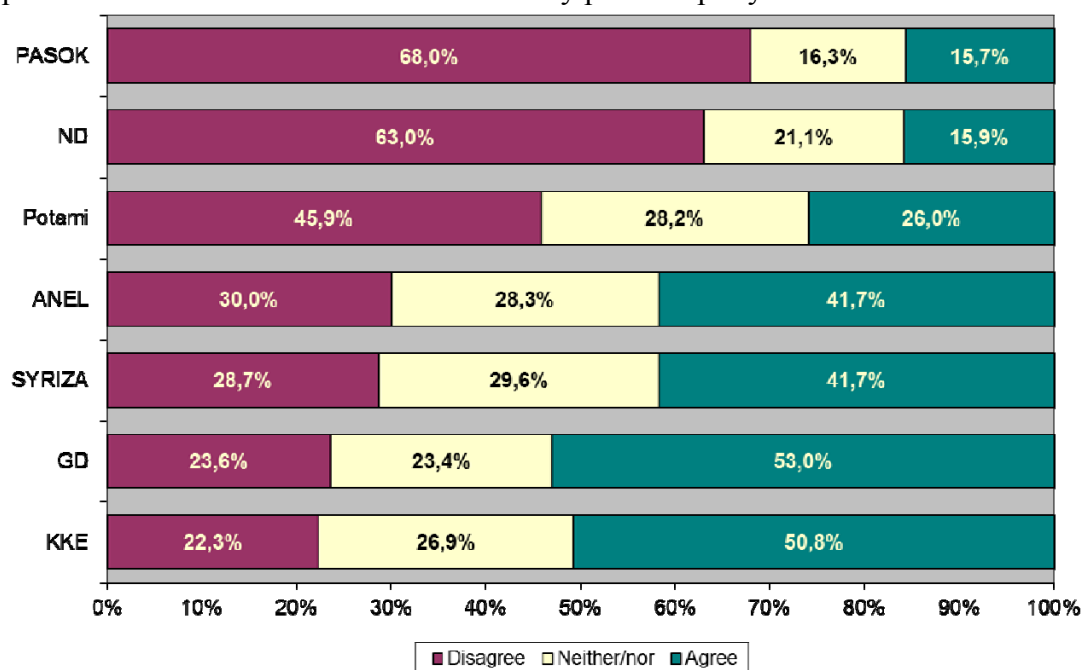
Diagram 17. Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## People can be better represented by a citizen than by an experienced politician.

This is populism statement that has been developed within the Team Populism project to measure populist attitudes. The statement 'People can be better represented by a citizen than by an experienced politician' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 51% agree with it) and the voters of GD (circa 53% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of PASOK (circa 68% disagree with it) and the voters of ND (circa 63% disagree with it).

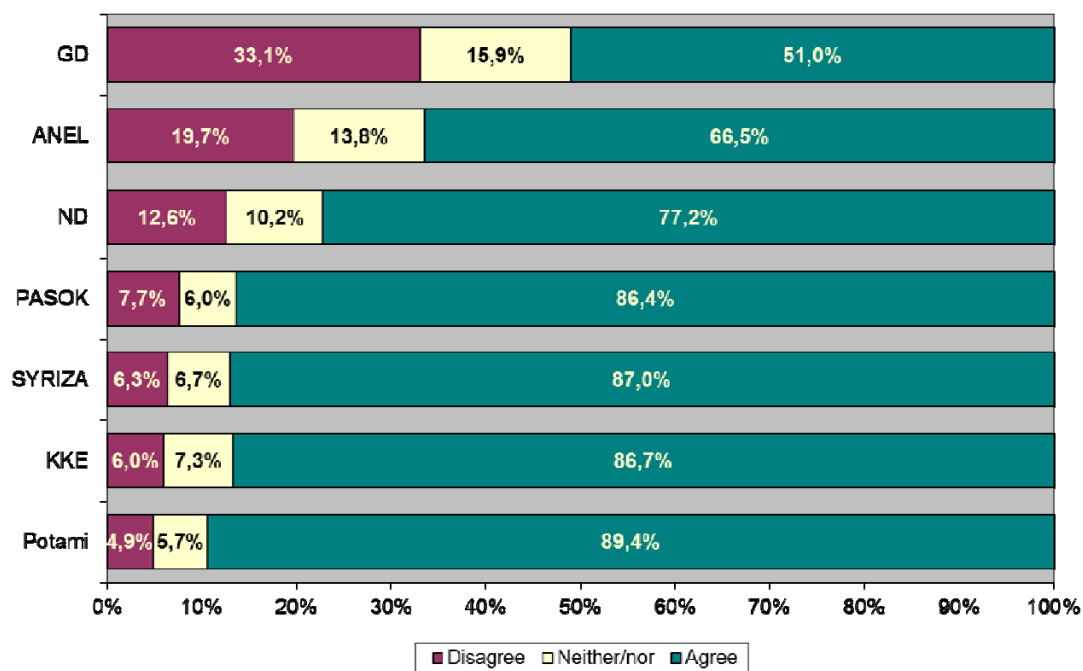
Diagram 18. People can be better represented by a citizen than by an experienced politician. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion.

This is a new GAL-oriented statement in HelpMeVote 2015 and it was copied by the CCS II core questionnaire. The statement 'Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion.' is supported by the voters of Potami (circa 89% agree with it) and the voters of KKE (circa 87% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of GD (circa 33% disagree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 20% disagree with it).

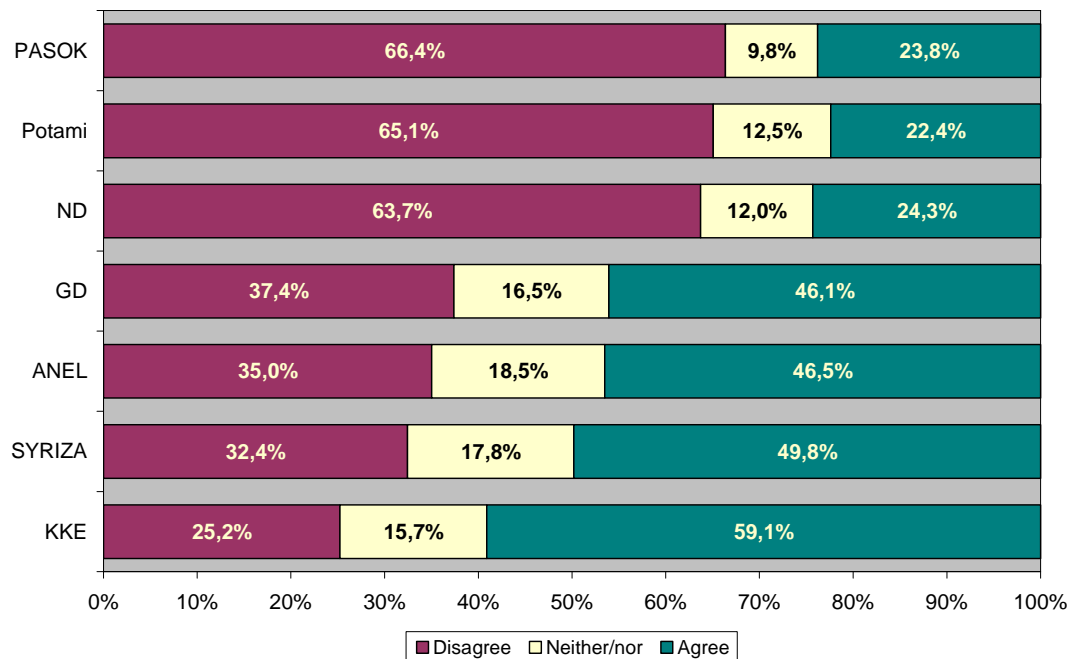
Diagram 19. Women should be free to decide on matters of abortion.. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## We should not apply any law that we feel is unfair.

This is an anti-Troika statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (June) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'We should not apply any law that we feel is unfair.' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 59% agree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 50% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of PASOK (circa 66% disagree with it) and the voters of Potami (circa 65% disagree with it).

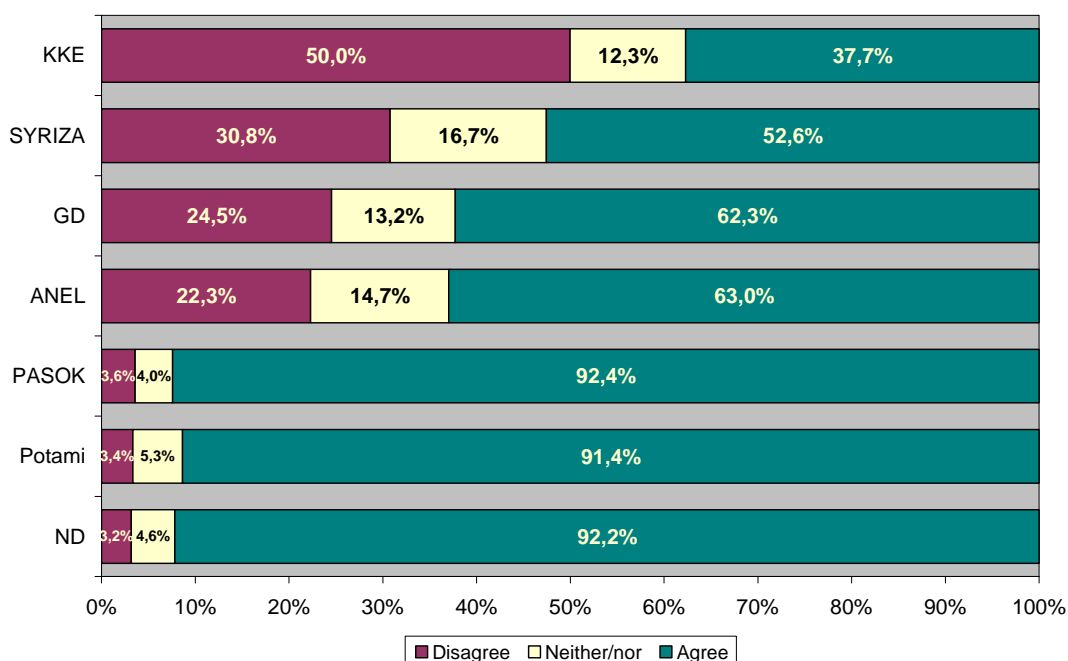
Diagram 20. We should not apply any law that we feel is unfair. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## We ought to have done many of the changes provisioned in the Memoranda on our own long ago

This is a pro-European statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'We ought to have done many of the changes provisioned in the Memoranda on our own long ago.' is supported by the voters of ND (circa 92% agree with it) and the voters of Potami (circa 91% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 50% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 31% disagree with it).

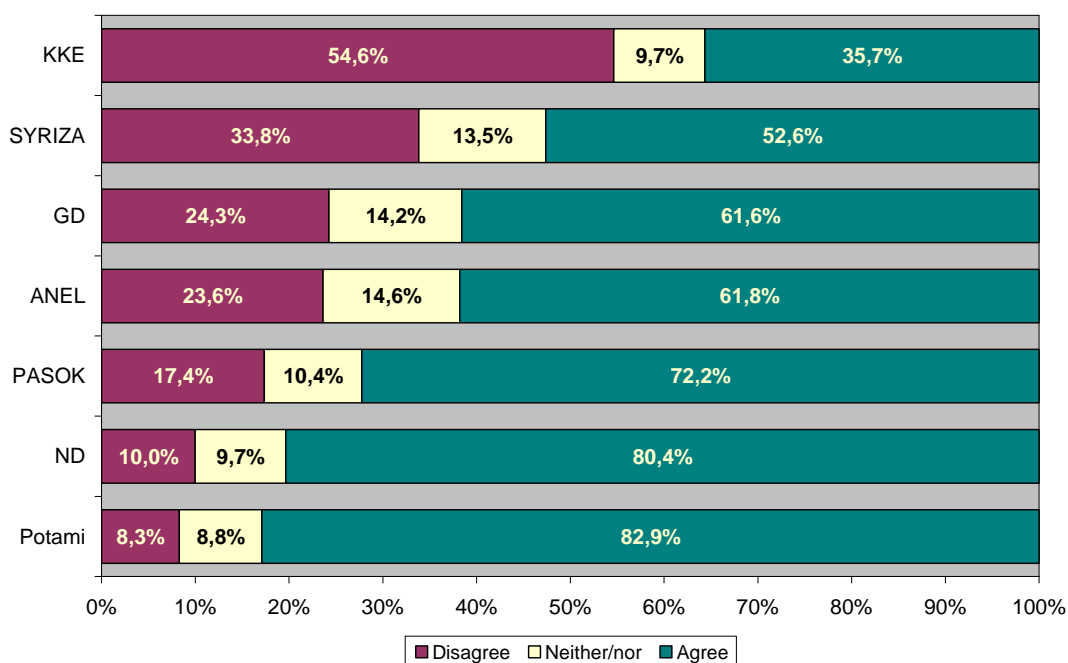
Diagram 21. We ought to have done many of the changes provisioned in the Memoranda on our own long ago. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## It must be possible to operate non-governmental, non-profit institutions of higher education

This is a right-oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'It must be possible to operate non-governmental, non-profit institutions of higher education.' is supported by the voters of Potami (circa 83% agree with it) and the voters of ND (circa 80% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 55% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 34% disagree with it).

Diagram 22. It must be possible to operate non-governmental, non-profit institutions of higher education. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party

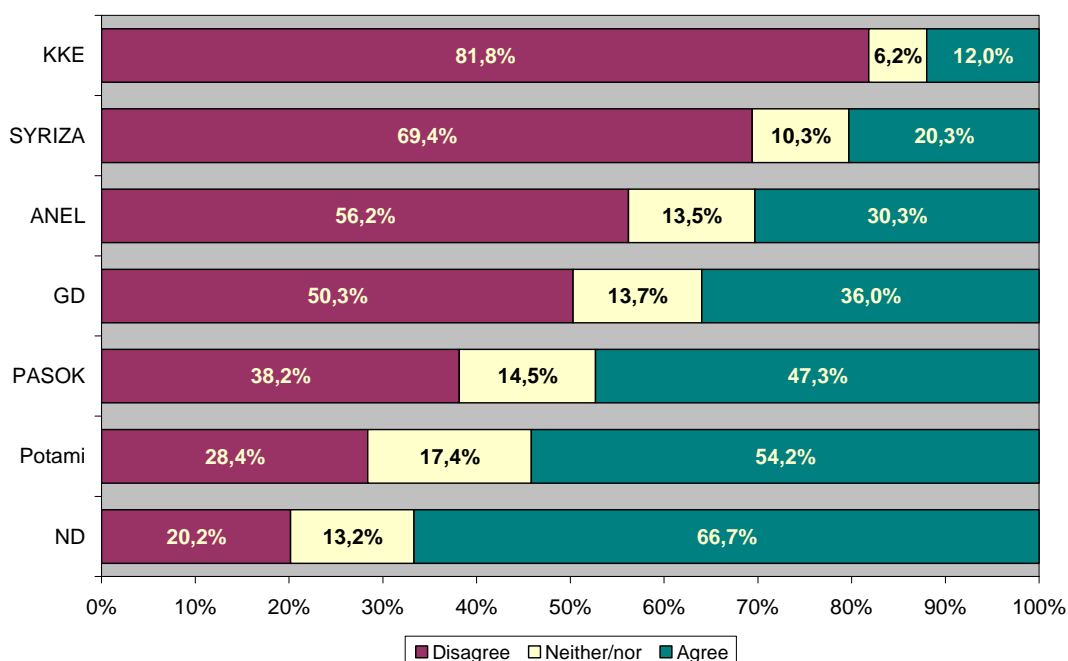




## The national health system can become more efficient through partial privatization.

This is a right-oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'The national health system can become more efficient through partial privatization.' is supported by the voters of ND (circa 67% agree with it) and the voters of Potami (circa 54% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 82% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 69% disagree with it)..

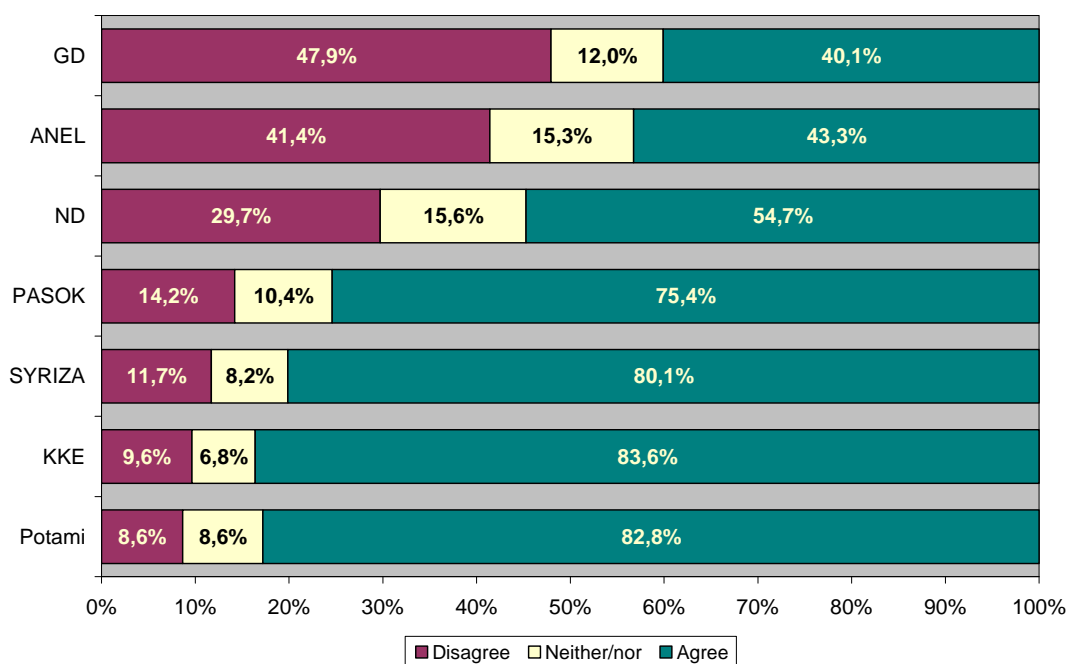
Diagram 23. The national health system can become more efficient through partial privatization. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## The church and the state should be completely separated.

This is a GAL-oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'The church and the state should be completely separated.' is supported by the voters of Potami (circa 83% agree with it) and the voters of KKE (circa 84% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of GD (circa 48% disagree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 41% disagree with it).

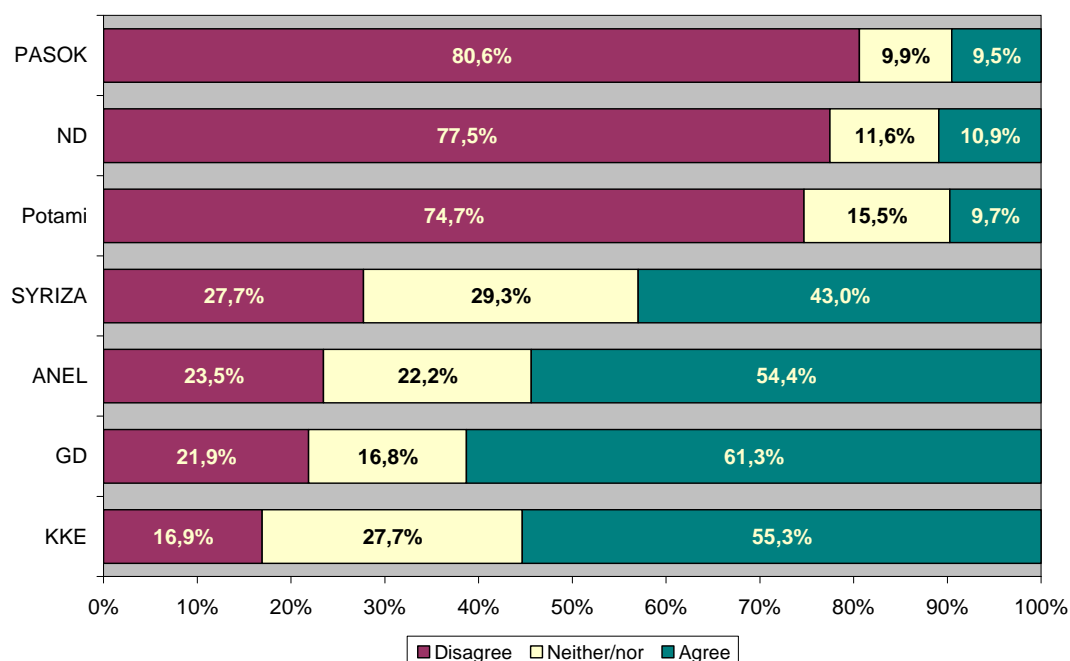
Diagram 24. The church and the state should be completely separated. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## The economy of Greece would have been better if we had our own currency instead of Euro.

This is an anti-Troika oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'The economy of Greece would have been better if we had our own currency instead of Euro.' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 55% agree with it) and the voters of GD (circa 61% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of PASOK (circa 81% disagree with it) and the voters of ND (circa 77% disagree with it).

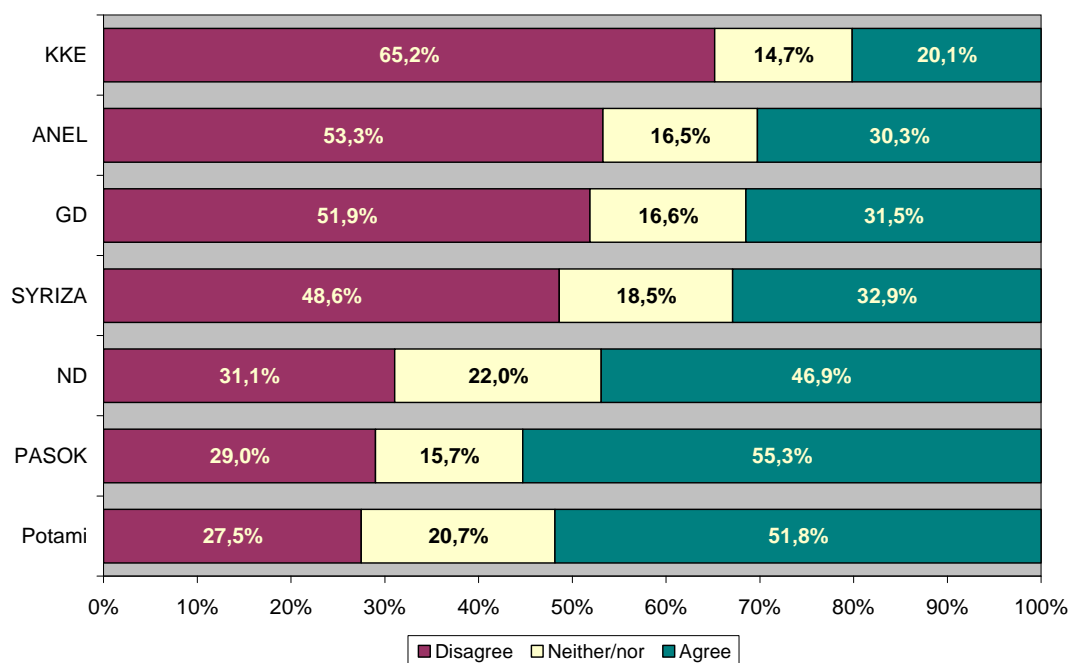
Diagram 25. The economy of Greece would have been better if we had our own currency instead of Euro. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## The decision power of the European Parliament should be increased on all matters of internal and foreign policy.

This is a pro-European statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'The decision power of the European Parliament should be increased on all matters of internal and foreign policy.' is supported by the voters of Potami (circa 52% agree with it) and the voters of PASOK (circa 55% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 65% disagree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 53% disagree with it).

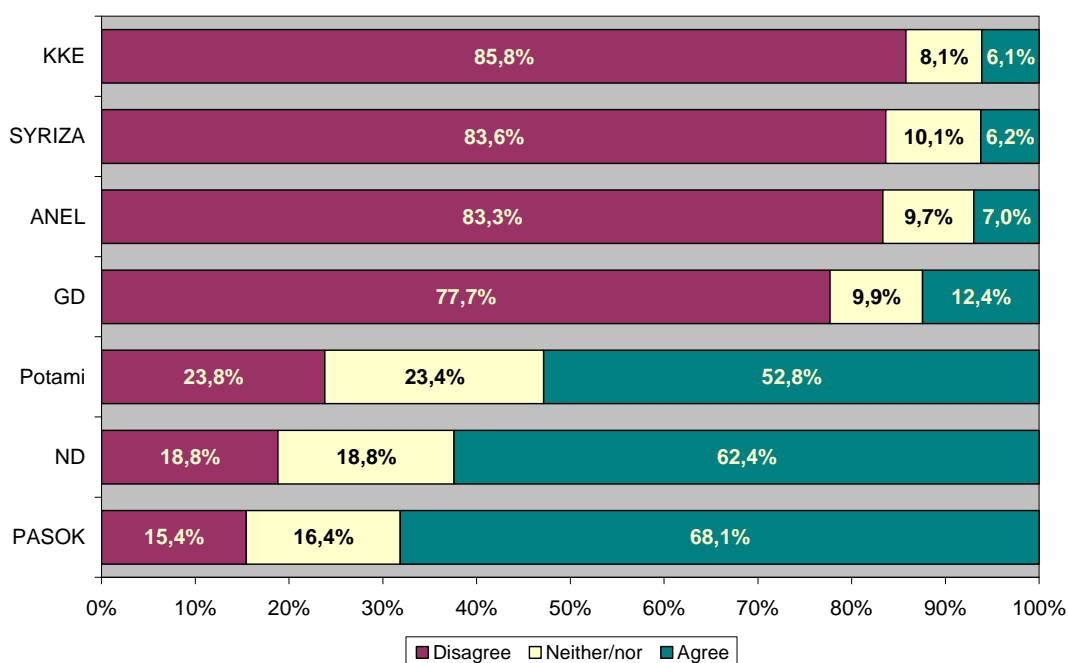
Diagram 26. The decision power of the European Parliament should be increased on all matters of internal and foreign policy. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## Memoranda of Understanding with the Troika were necessary to avoid the bankruptcy of Greece.

This is a pro-European statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (May) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'Memoranda of Understanding with the Troika were necessary to avoid the bankruptcy of Greece.' is supported by the voters of PASOK (circa 68% agree with it) and the voters of ND (circa 62% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 86% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 84% disagree with it).

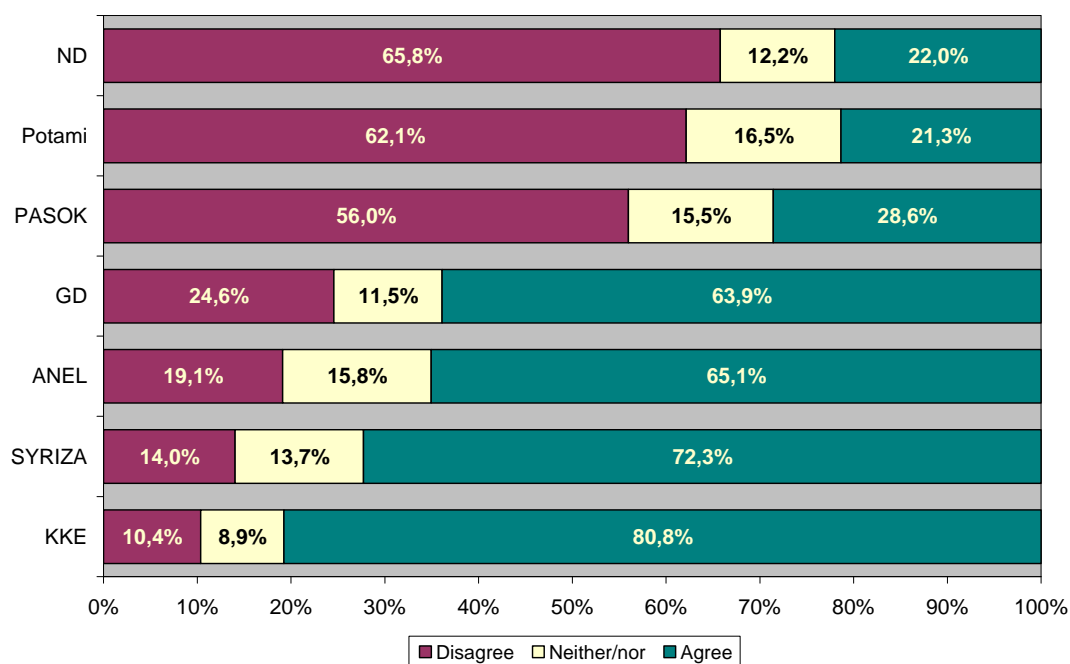
Diagram 27. Memoranda of Understanding with the Troika were necessary to avoid the bankruptcy of Greece. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## Banks and utilities must be under public control.

This is a left-oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (June) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'Banks and utilities must be under public control.' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 81% agree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 72% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of ND (circa 66% disagree with it) and the voters of Potami (circa 62% disagree with it).

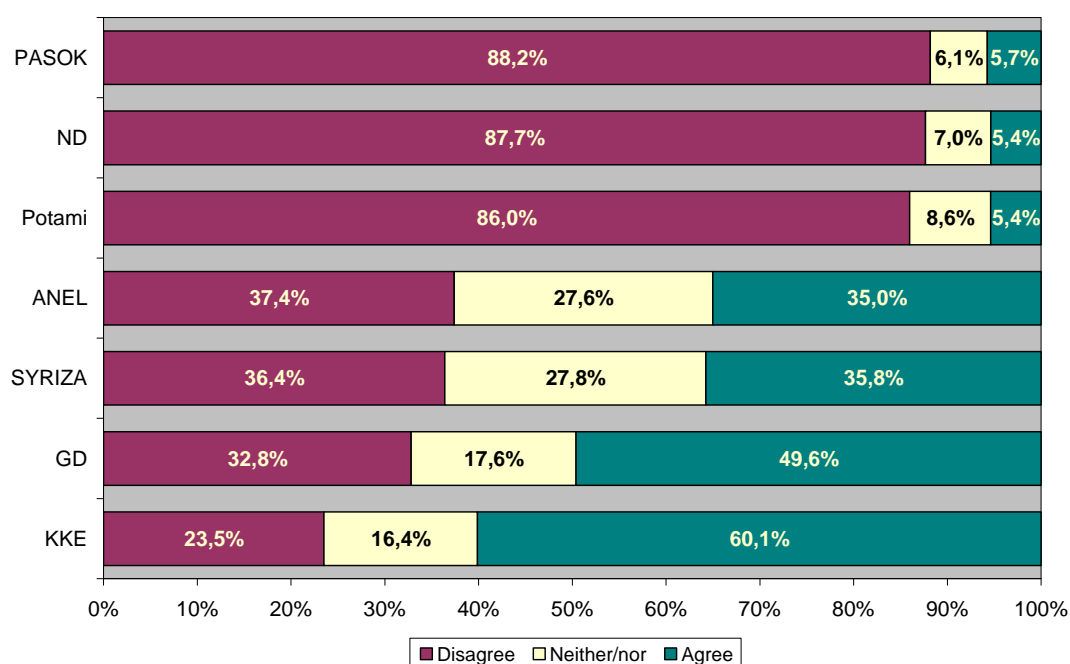
Diagram 28. Banks and utilities must be under public control. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## **We have every right to cancel the debt without consulting anyone else.**

This is a left-oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (June) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'We have every right to cancel the debt without consulting anyone else' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 60% agree with it) and the voters of GD (circa 50% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of PASOK (circa 88% disagree with it) and the voters of ND (circa 88% disagree with it)..

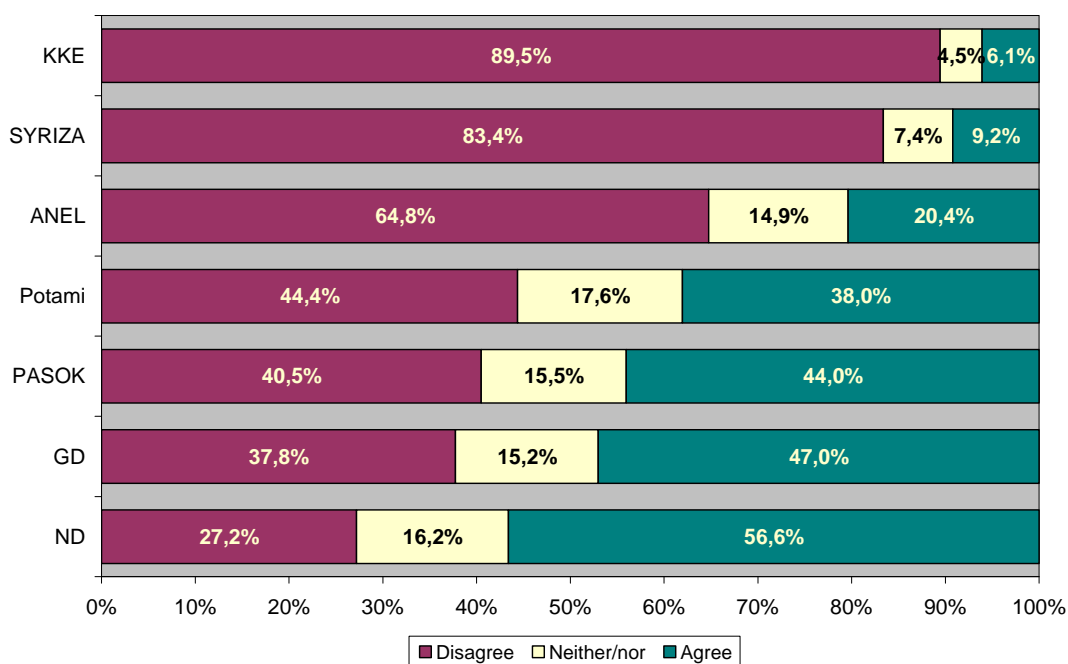
Diagram 29. We have every right to cancel the debt without consulting anyone else. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## There should be legislation to limit protests.

This is a TAN-oriented statement that was used in HelpMeVote 2012 (June) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'There should be legislation to limit protests' is supported by the voters of ND (circa 57% agree with it) and the voters of GD (circa 47% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 89% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 83% disagree with it).

Diagram 30. There should be legislation to limit protests. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party

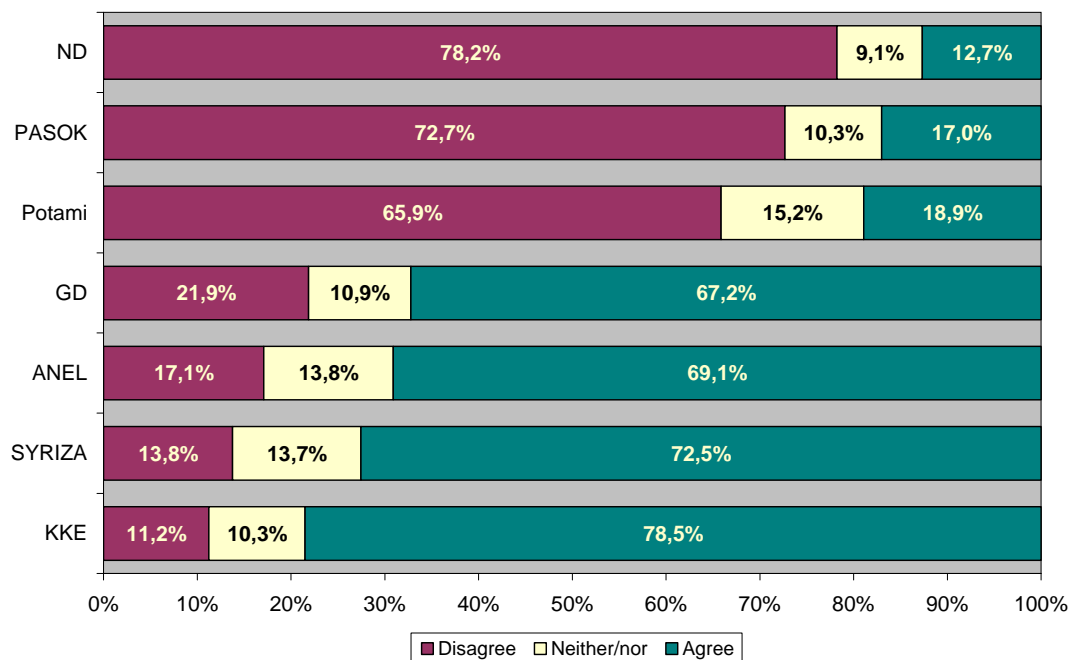




## The probability of GRexit should not be considered as a disaster.

This is an anti-Troika statement that was used almost the same in HelpMeVote 2012 (June) and it was found to have significant discriminating power. The statement 'The probability of GRexit should not be considered as a disaster' is supported by the voters of KKE (circa 79% agree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 73% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of ND (circa 78% disagree with it) and the voters of PASOK (circa 73% disagree with it).

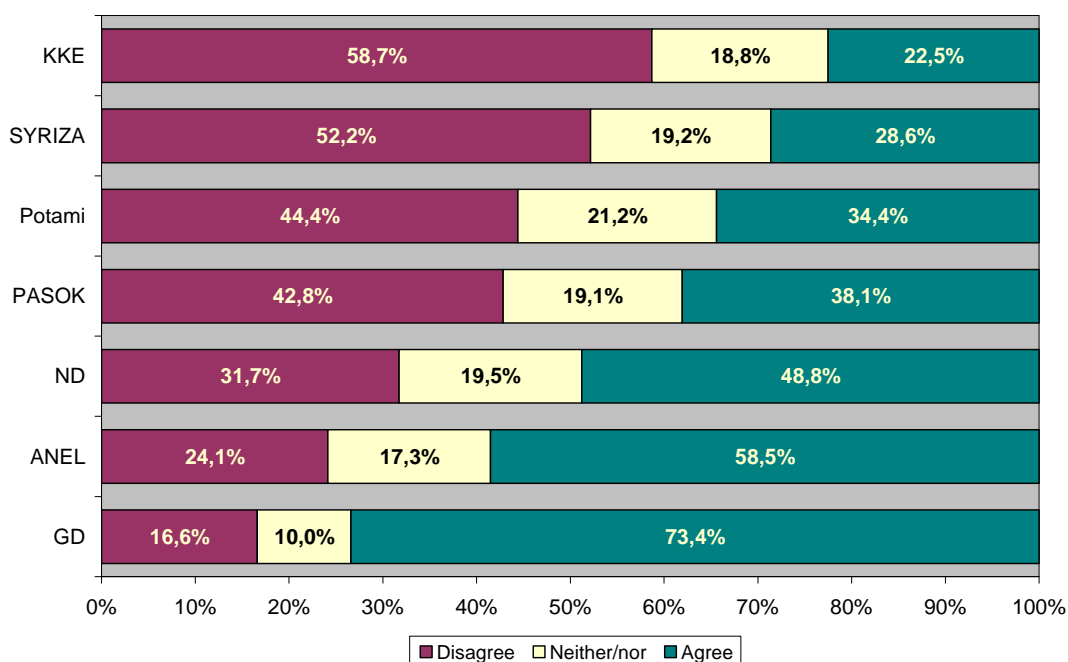
Diagram 31. The probability of GRexit should not be considered as a disaster. Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



## Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of Greece.

This is an TAN-oriented statement that was copied by the CCS II common core questionnaire. The statement 'Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of Greece' is supported by the voters of GD (circa 73% agree with it) and the voters of ANEL (circa 59% agree with it). On the other hand, this statement is less supported by the voters of KKE (circa 59% disagree with it) and the voters of SYRIZA (circa 52% disagree with it).

Diagram 32. Immigrants should be required to adapt to the customs of Greece.  
Distribution of voters' attitudes by political party



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