

**MAPLE**

# **GREECE WAVE 3**

## Pre-election Study

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## 1. Technical Report

This study is part of the MAPLE Project, ERC - European Research Council Grant, 682125, which aims to study the Politicisation of the EU before and after the Eurozone Crisis in Belgium, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain. In each of these countries an online panel will be carried out just before and just after the legislative elections. This report pertains to the pre-election panel of Greece legislative elections 2019 to be held on 7 July. Our questionnaire seeks to model the political context of political choices, and to understand the importance which European attitudes may have in voting behaviour. In Greece, we have partnered with Metron Analysis.

We present in this report a number of political attitudes according to stated partisanship in Greece. We are interested in the way in which partisan preferences are related to political attitudes, including national issues as well as those pertaining to the EU.

The target population is the general voting population aged >17 years old using the Census 2011 data. The sample size is 800. The fieldwork was done using Computer Assisted Telephone methodology and the fieldwork took place between 07/06/2019 and 21/06/2019.

The sample followed and fulfilled a socio demographic matrix which crossed four quotas: gender (male, female); age (17-34; 35-55; 56-65;66+); education (up to secondary; post-secondary), as well as region (Northern, Mainland, Attica, Islands).

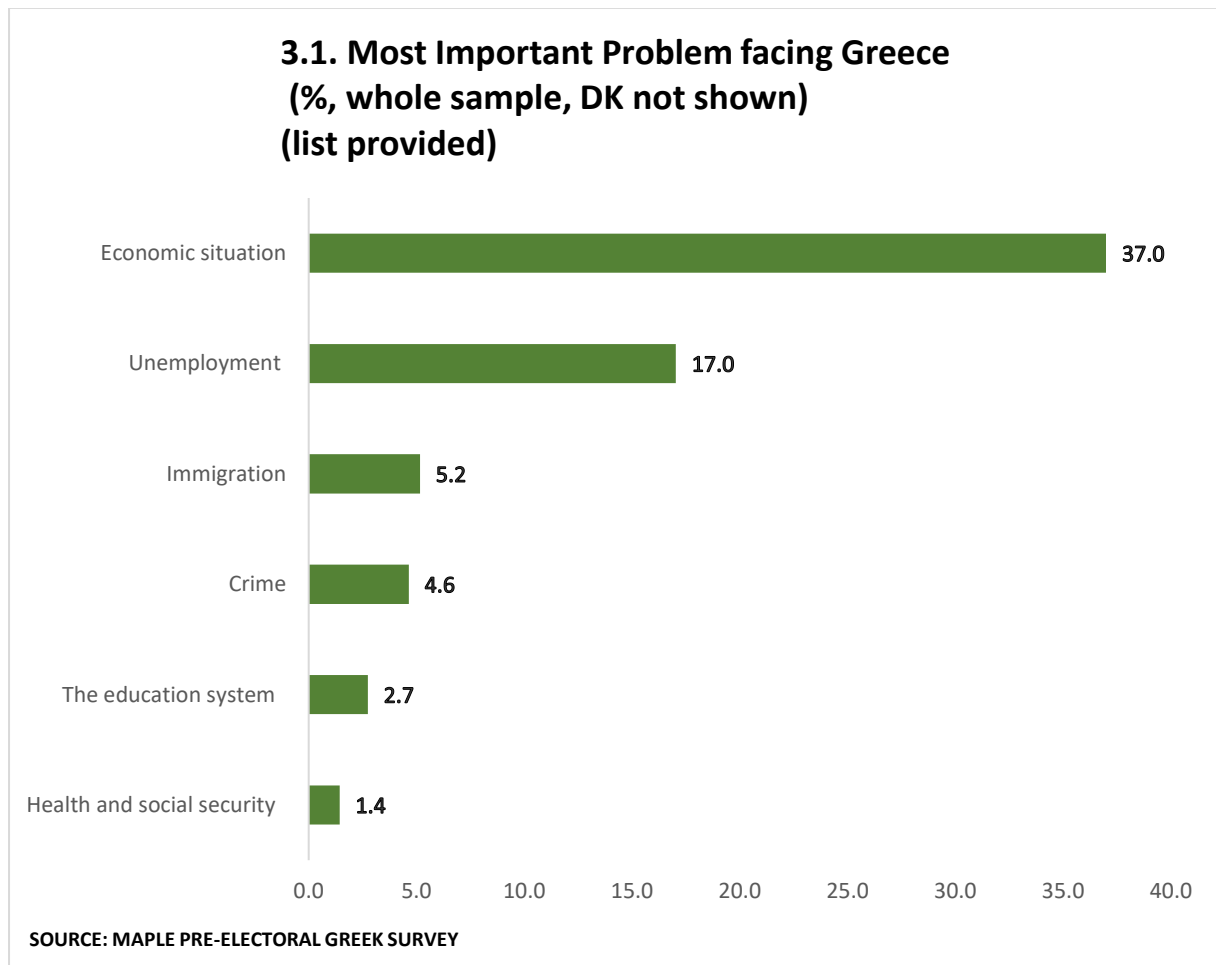
The resulting dataset was weighted according to a weight combining gender (male, female), age (17-34; 35-55; 56-65;66+) and education (up to secondary; post-secondary) at NUTS1 level. The survey response rate was 12%. The margin of error for this survey is +/-3.5%.

To measure partisanship we used the following questions: the respondent was asked if s/he felt close to a party. To those who replied no in the first question, they were asked a second time, namely if they felt closer to one party than others. Only those who repeated no in this question too were coded as “without party id”. All others were coded with their stated party identification. In the results we show all parties that 2% or more of respondents identify with.

## 2. REPORT HIGHLIGHTS

- A majority of Greeks consider economic issues the most important problem in the country. Namely, the “Economic situation” (37%) followed by “Unemployment” (17%) top the list of the most important problems in Greece. “Immigration” is considered the third most important problem, but it is referred only by 5.2% of the respondents.
- On a scale from “0” to “10”, respondents place the governing party Syriza on the left at 4.3, far away from KKE (2.0), who is considered the most extreme party on the left. On the Right, ND, the largest party, is placed at 7.9, appearing KINAL (5.3) in the centre of the ideological spectrum.
- At present, there are more party identifiers with New Democracy (ND) (28%) than any other party, including the party in government, Syriza (19%). 27% of those surveyed state they have no attachment to any parties.
- Partisanship is correlated with attitudes towards the major issues facing Greece, both national and European. Attitudes towards the number of immigrants seems to be the only issue in our report that does not seem to vary with party identification.
- National issues analysed include standard issues such as perceptions of the economy or government evaluation, but also perceptions on immigration or the relevant PRESPA agreement.
- As expected, Syriza supporters have a better evaluation of the economic situation and of the government political performance vis-à-vis other party supporters.
- Syriza supporters are the only ones with a positive evaluation of the PRESPA agreement (7.0), with ND supporters having a very negative view of it (1.4), which is shared across the rest of the parties. Those who do not have a party id are much closer to ND supporters’ position, holding a very negative view of the agreement (2.6).
- Despite the lasting deleterious effects of the Eurozone crisis in Greece, the majority of respondents reject the idea of leaving the EU (67.5%) and a majority of 59% agree that the country has benefited from EU membership. Also, a large majority do not want to leave the Euro and return to the drachma (68%).
- On the other hand, Greeks are completely divided on the benefits from Euro membership (49% find that Greece did not benefit from the Euro and the same percentage believe the opposite).

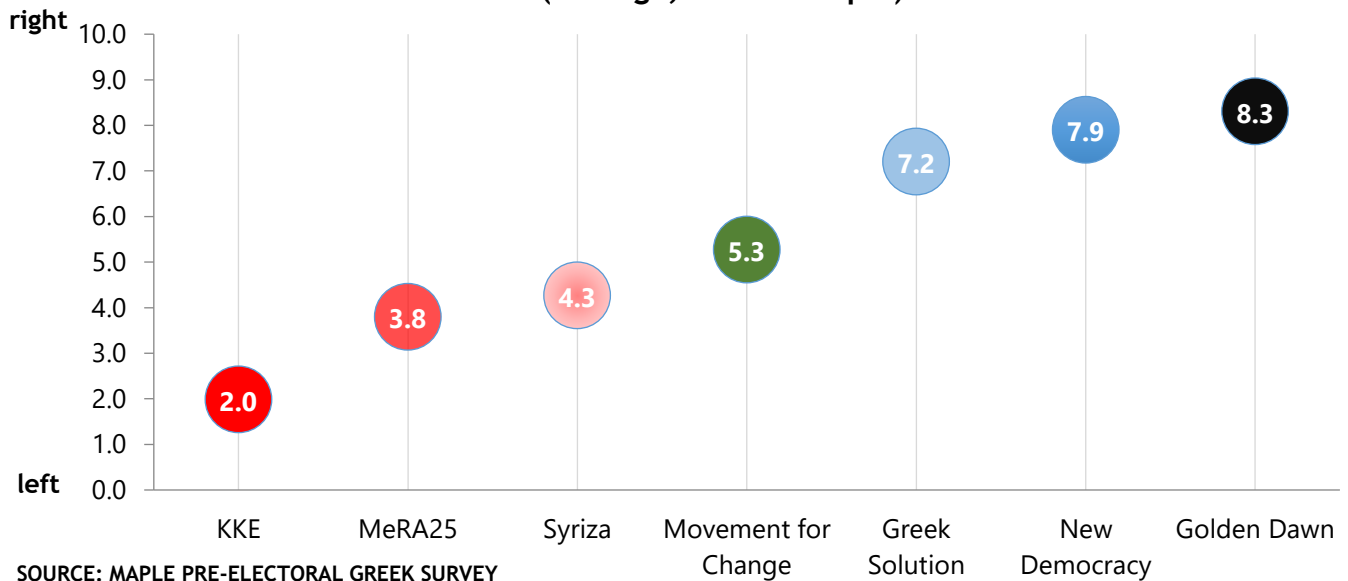
### 3. Most Important Problem Facing Greece



In this question, the respondents were presented with a list of issue options, built from similar questions fielded by Eurobarometer. Economic issues are predominant in Greece: 37% of respondents indicate the economic situation, followed by unemployment (17%) as the most important problem in Greece. Other relevant issues mentioned were immigration (5.2%), crime (4.6%) and the education system (2.7%).

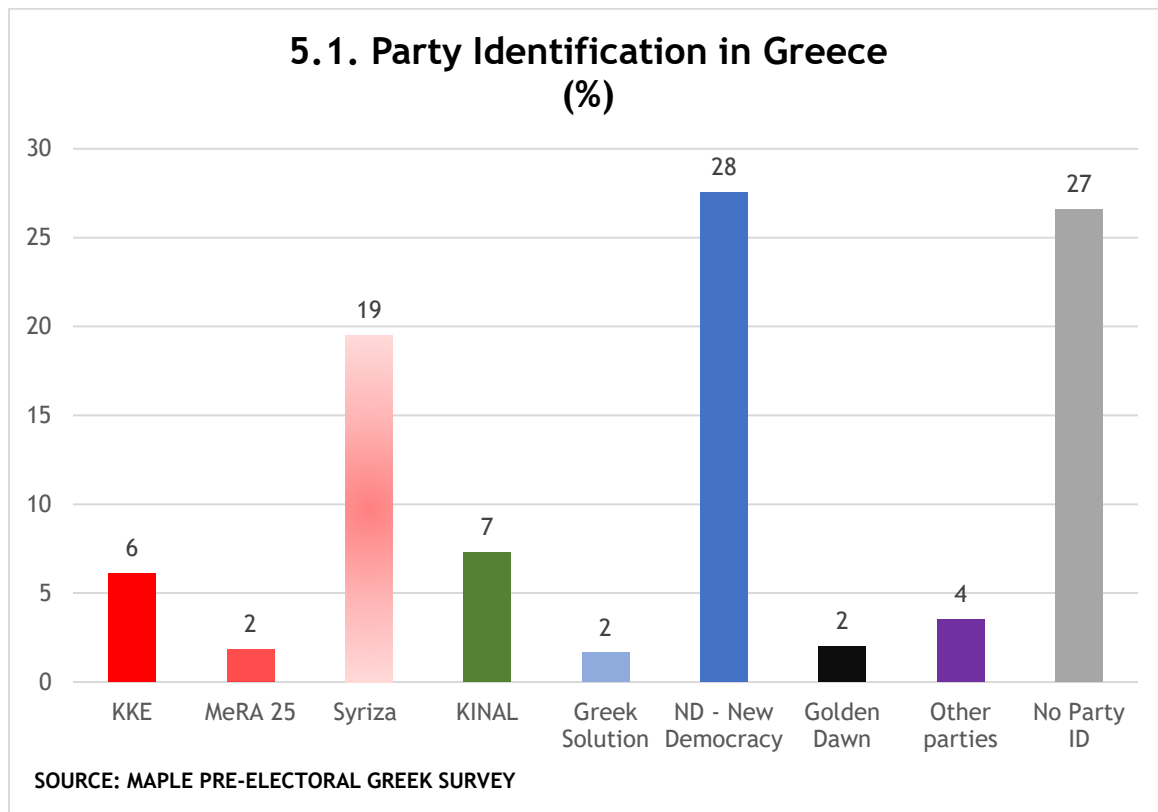
## 4. Ideological Placement of Parties

### 4.1. Ideological Placement of Political Parties in Greece, on a scale of 0 to 10 (average, whole sample)



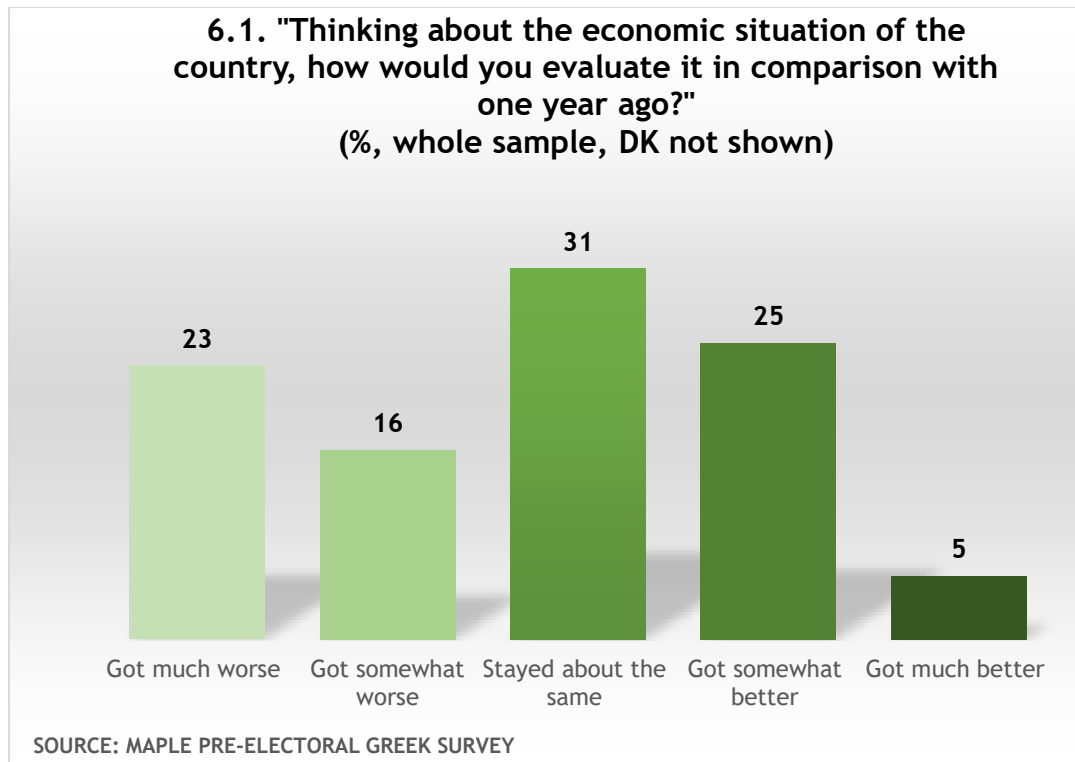
Respondents were asked to place each of the parties on a scale from “0” to “10”, where “0” stands for left and “10” stands for right. This sample indicates the perceptions of polarization of the party system. Syriza seems to have taken a position which may have once been occupied by PASOK, as the main centre-left party in Greece at 4.3. Varoufakis’ new party, MeRA25, appears to the left of Syriza at 3.8. The KKE are the most extreme-left party at 2.0. On the right, the New Democracy stands at 7.9, whereas Golden Dawn is placed at 8.3. Greek Solution is - at 7.2 - perceived as more moderate than ND. Finally, KINAL is placed at the centre of the left-right scale.

## 5. Party Identification

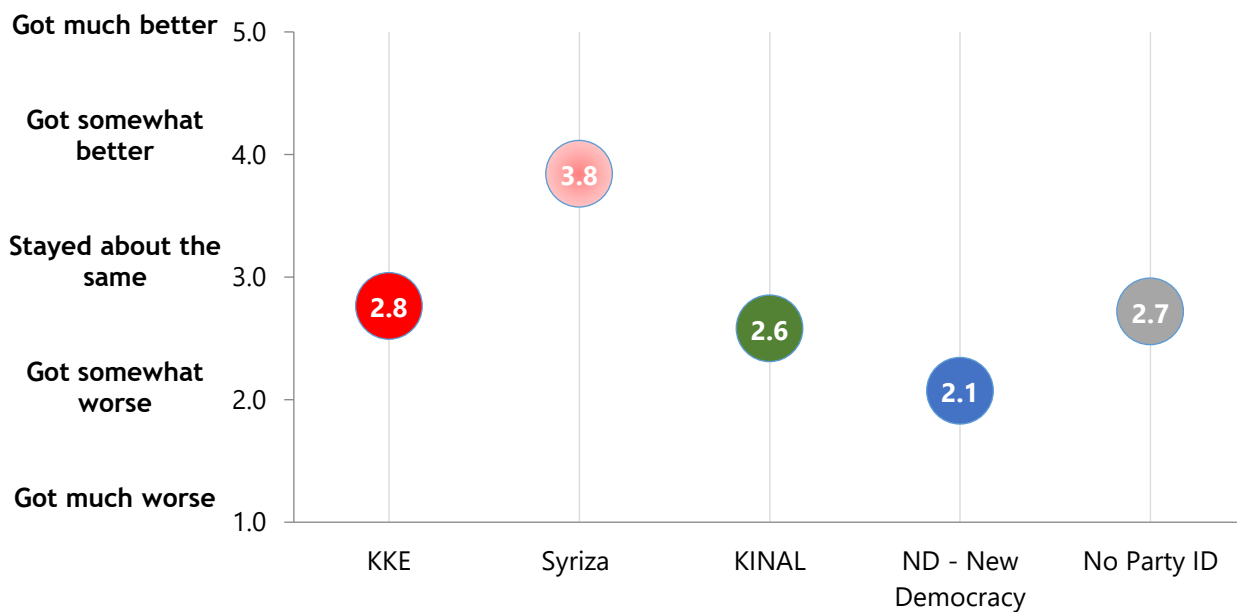


On the Left of the Party Spectrum, Syriza emerges as the main party, with the largest percentage of identifiers (19%), followed by KKE (6%) and, with less prevalence, MeRA25 (2%). On the Right, New Democracy appear as the main party (28%), with the Golden Dawn and Greek Solution with much lower support (2% each). The centrist party KINAL has 7% of identifiers. Even though our survey asked respondents for their party identification, we find that 27% of Greeks do not feel close to any party. For the rest of the report, we will sometimes present attitudes according to partisanship - for those parties having more than 5% support in our sample, namely: ND, Syriza, KINAL and KKE.

## 6. National Issues: Evaluation of the Economy



### 6.2. "Thinking about the economic situation of the country, how would you evaluate it in comparison with one year ago?"

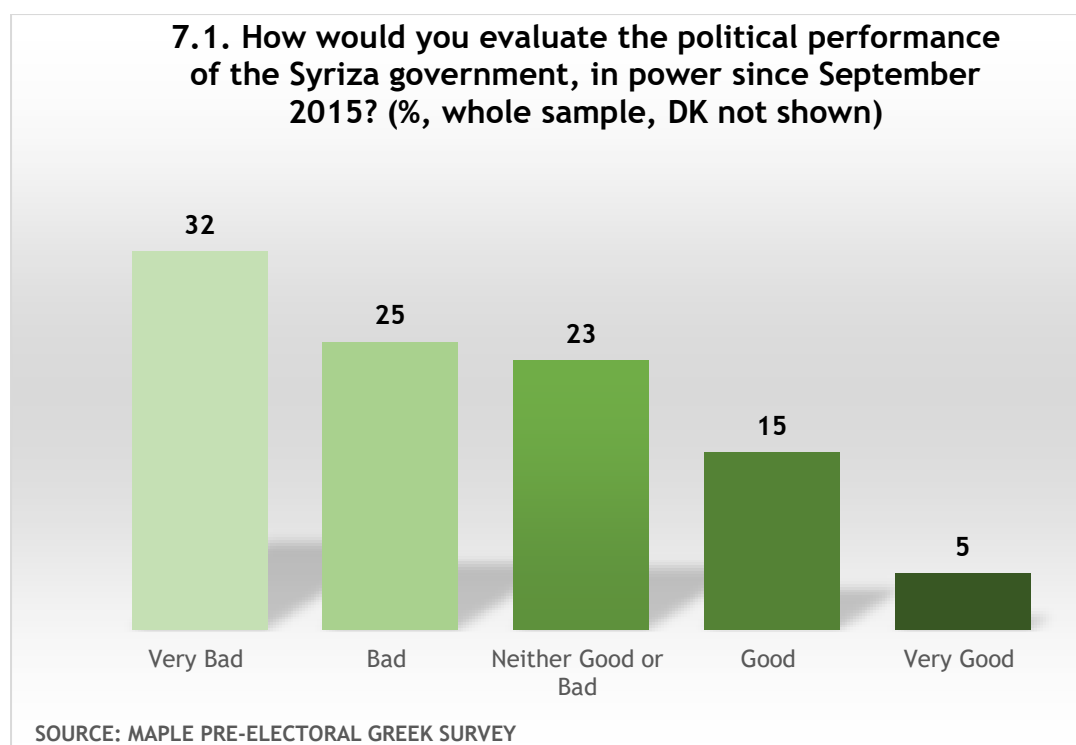


SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

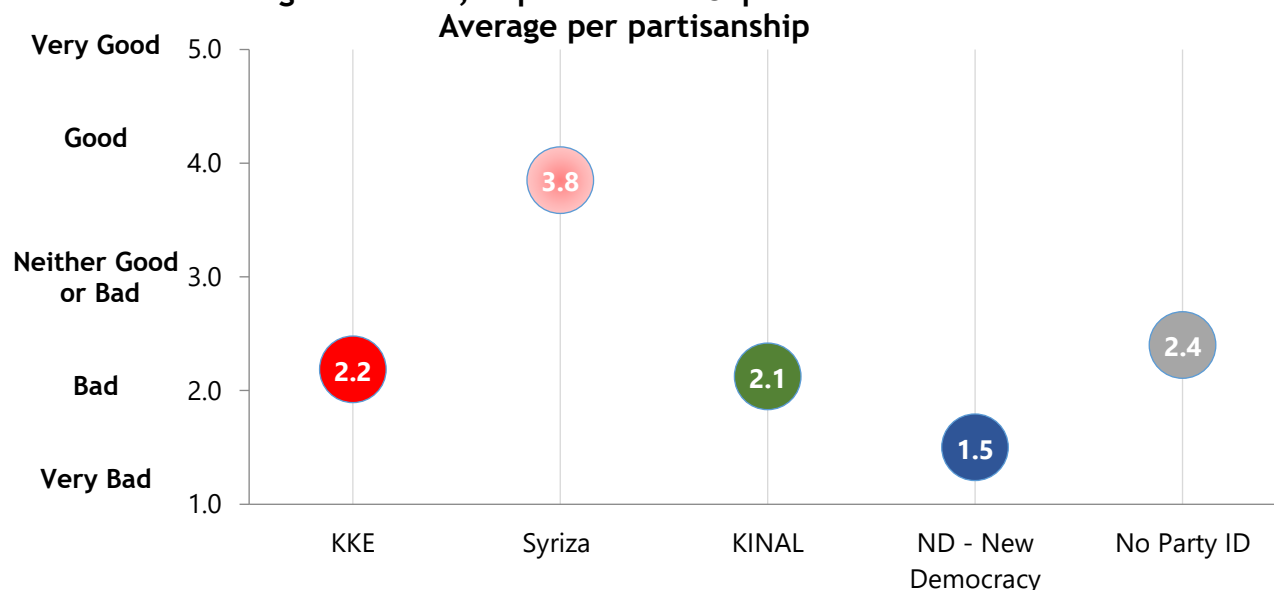
The Greek people are divided regarding the state of the economy compared to one year ago. A relative majority (39%) consider that the economy is worse, a smaller minority see the economy as the same as in 2018 (31%) and a similar proportion (30%) say that it has improved over the last twelve months.

Looking at the evaluation of the economic situation according to party identifiers, Syriza supporters are the most positive about the economic situation, well above all the other parties. KKE and KINAL sympathizers consider, on average, that the economy stayed about more or less the same in comparison with one year ago (2.8 and 2.6 respectively), with ND - New Democracy supporters bearing the most pessimistic concerns.

## 7. National Issues: Evaluation of the Current Syriza Government



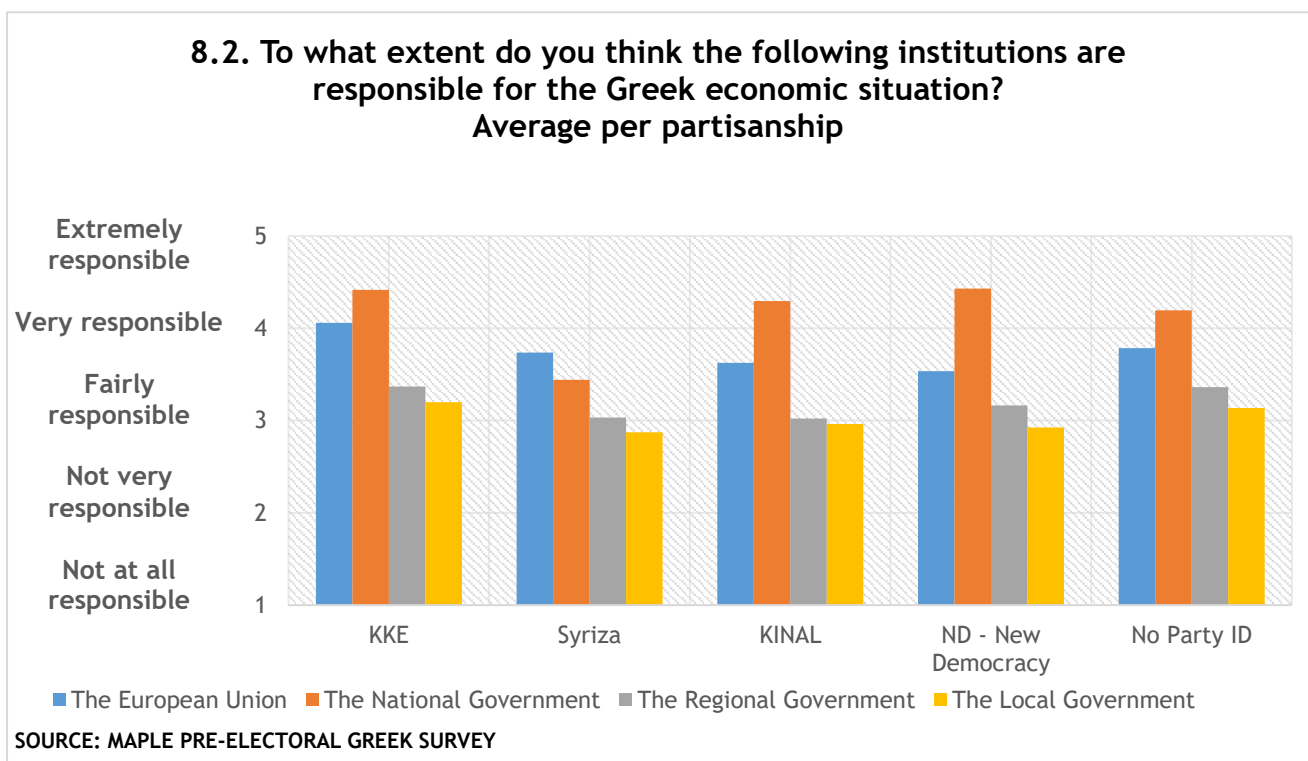
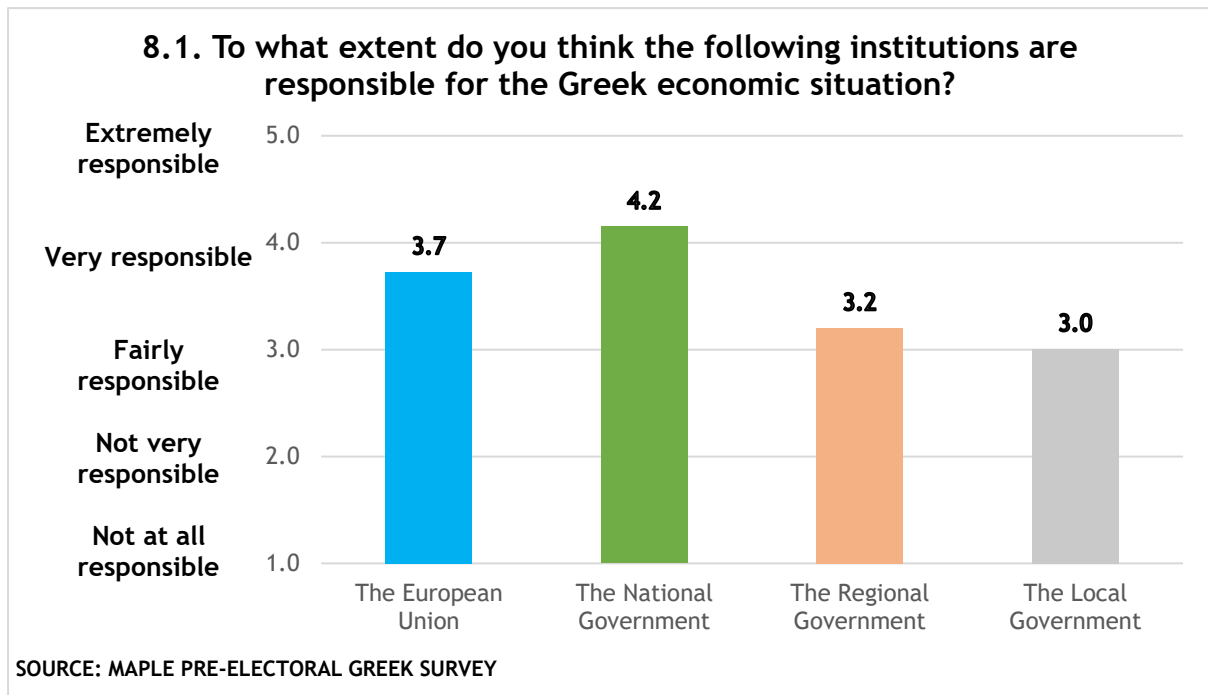
## 7.2. How do you evaluate the political performance of the Syriza government, in power since September 2015?



SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

The evaluation of the current government is not as divisive as economic perceptions among Greeks. Indeed, a majority of respondents (57%) evaluate Alexis Tsipras's government performance negatively, with only 20% considering it positive. A proportion of 23% see government performance as neither good or bad. Looking at the evaluation of government according to party identifiers, we find the following: similar to what happened regarding economic situation, only Syriza supporters have a positive assessment of government performance (3.8); however, the other parties have a negative perspective of it, contrary to what we saw concerning the economic situation, with ND - New Democracy holding the most negative evaluation (1.5).

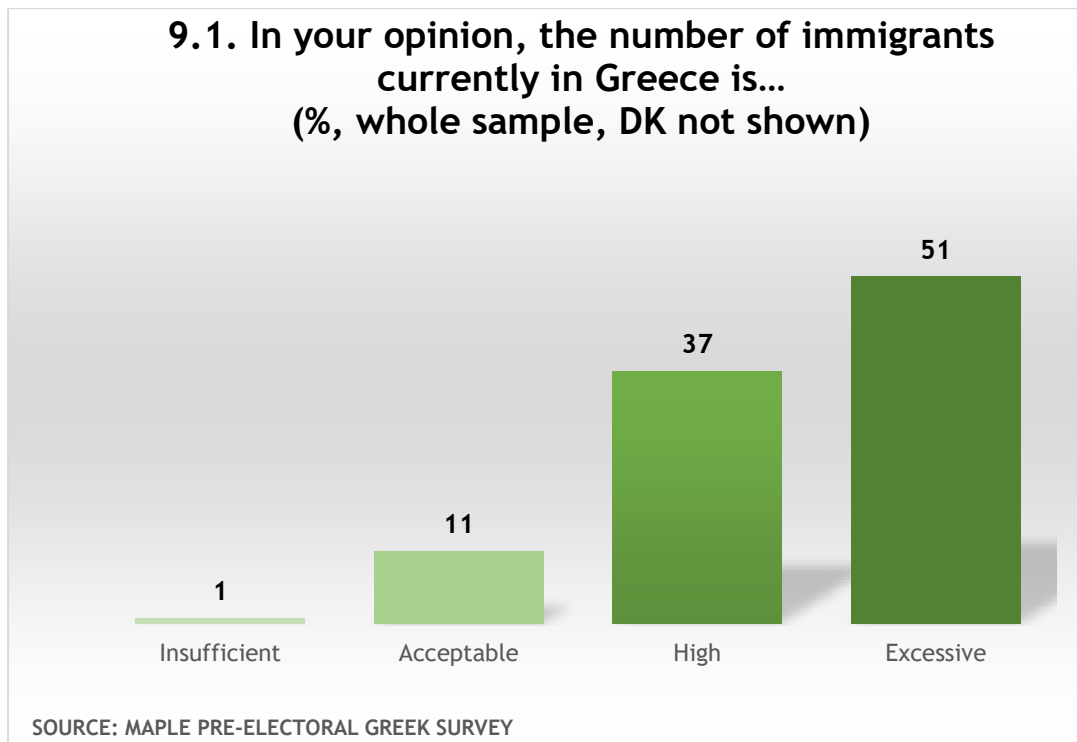
## 8. National Issues: Economic situation



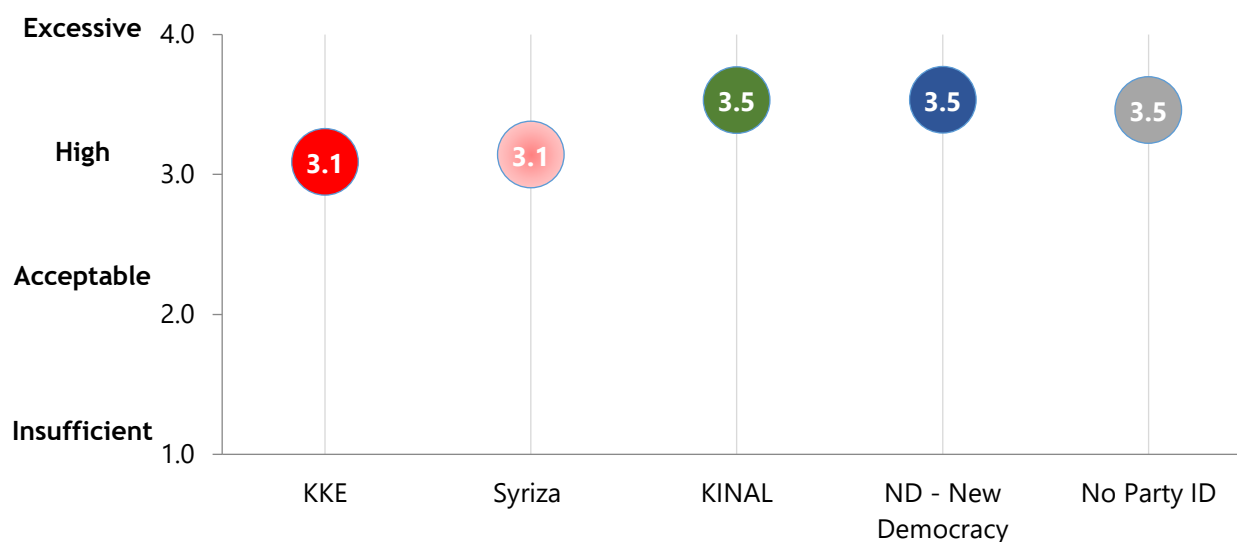
We have seen that the “Economic situation” is perceived as the most important problem in Greece. The graph 8.1 shows us that Greek respondents, on average, attribute greater responsibility to the national government for it, followed by the

European Union. Considering the average per partisanship, almost all parties supporters follow the trend indicated above, with the exception of Syriza identifiers. Nonetheless, the difference of responsibility attributed to the European Union and the National Government tend not to be statistically significant.

## 9. National Issues: Immigration



## 9.2. In your opinion, the number of immigrants currently in Greece is... Average per partisanship



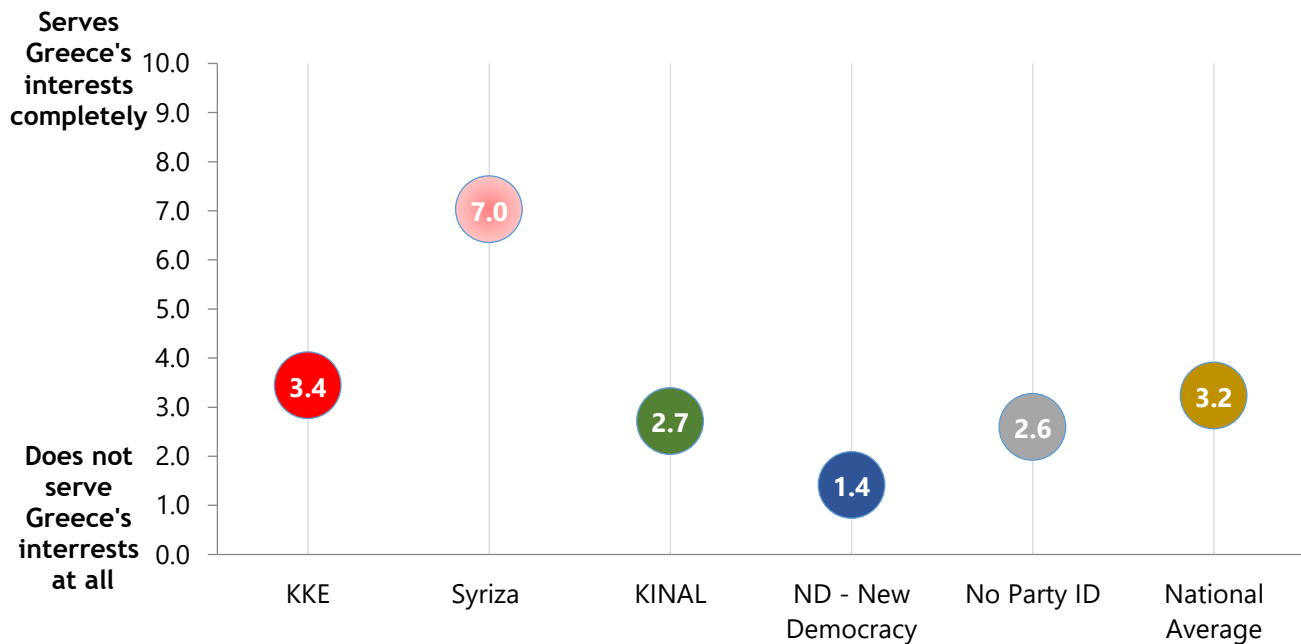
SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

An overwhelming majority of respondents (88%) consider the number of immigrants in Greece as high or excessive. Looking for the results by party identification, on average all parties' supporters evaluate the number of immigrants as at least "high". However, we can still see a difference between parties, with ND - New Democracy supporters scoring higher than both left-wing parties' sympathizers, KKE and Syriza.

## 10. National Issues: PRESPA Agreement

### 10.1. Opinion on the PRESPA Agreement

0= does not serve Greece's interests at all,  
and 10= the agreement serves Greece's interests completely  
Average per partisanship



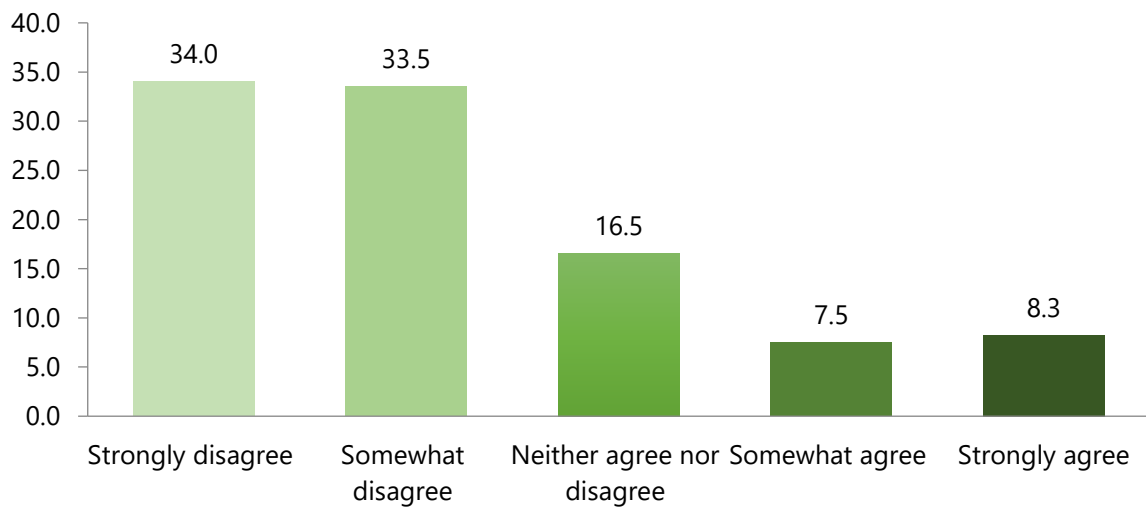
SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

The PRESPA Agreement has been at the centre of political debate in Greece and may have contributed to the government's unpopularity beyond the country's economic performance. On average, Greeks hold a fairly negative view of the PRESPA Agreement (3.2 on a scale from 0 to 10). Considering the opinion along party identification, supporters of almost all parties assess the agreement negatively, with important differences among them. Reproducing what happened concerning the Greek economic situation and government performance, Syriza supporters are the only ones with a positive evaluation of the agreement (7.0).

# 11. Greece and the EU: Membership

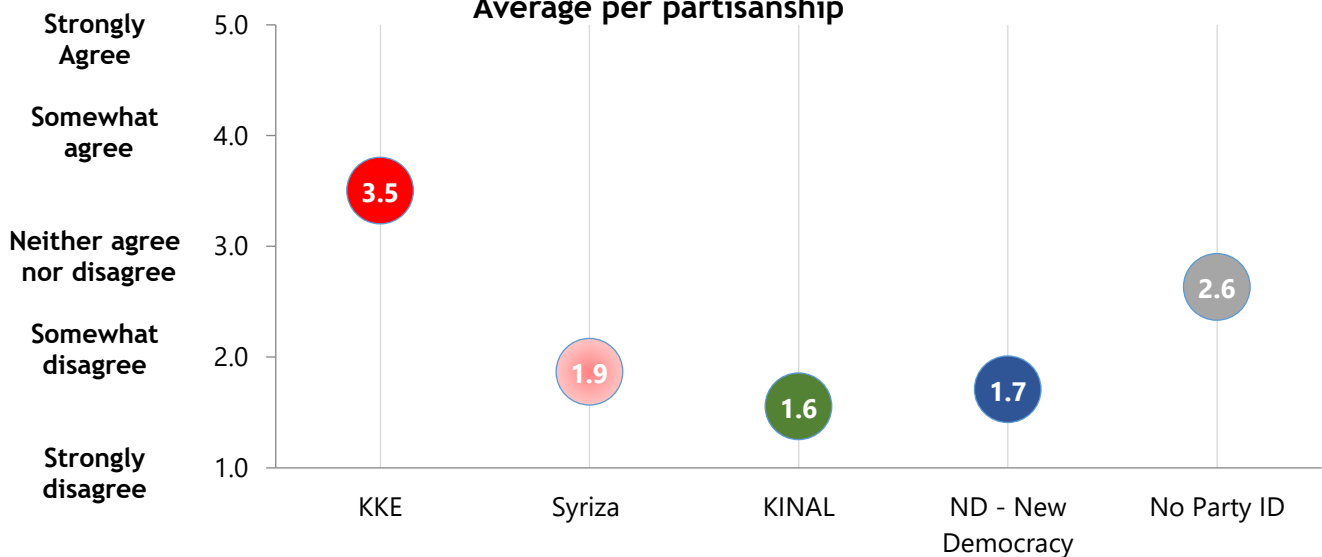
Greece was at the epicenter of the Eurozone crisis and Europe has mattered a great deal for political debate. We turn now to attitudes towards the EU, by considering three aspects/dimensions: 1) membership itself, 2) attitudes towards the process of European integration, and 3) attitudes towards the Euro, as the main policy of the EU.

**11.1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Greece should leave the EU (percentage, DK not shown)**



SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

**11.2. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Greece should leave the European Union**  
Average per partisanship

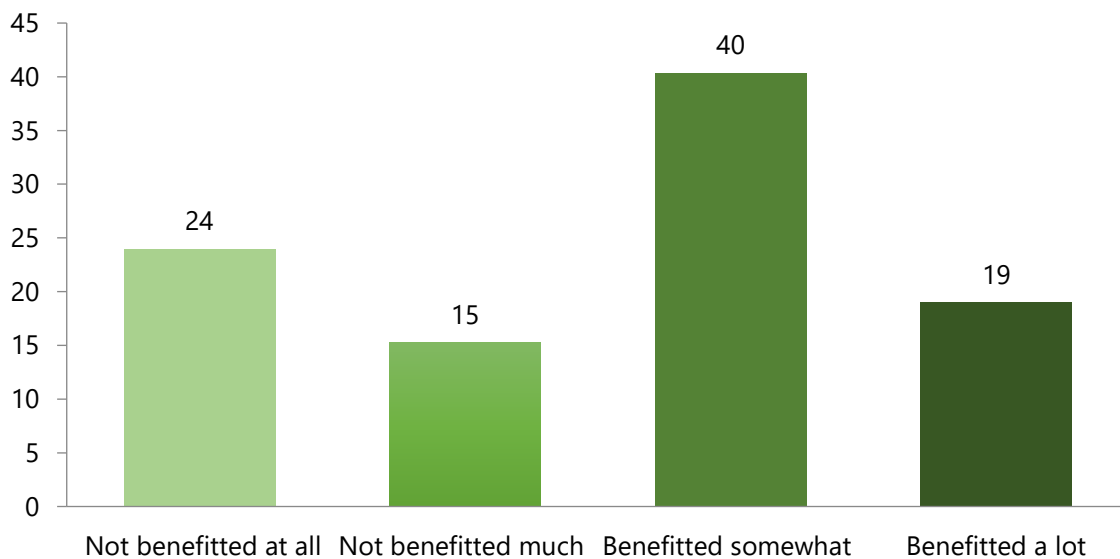


SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

Despite the deleterious effects of the Eurozone crisis in Greece, a large majority of the Greek people (67.5%) disagree with the position that Greece should leave the EU, with only 15.8% of respondents agreeing with it. Considering the results by party identification, only KKE supporters, a radical left-wing party, is favorable to the position of leaving the EU. On the contrary, all the other parties sympathizers are more inclined to remain in the EU.

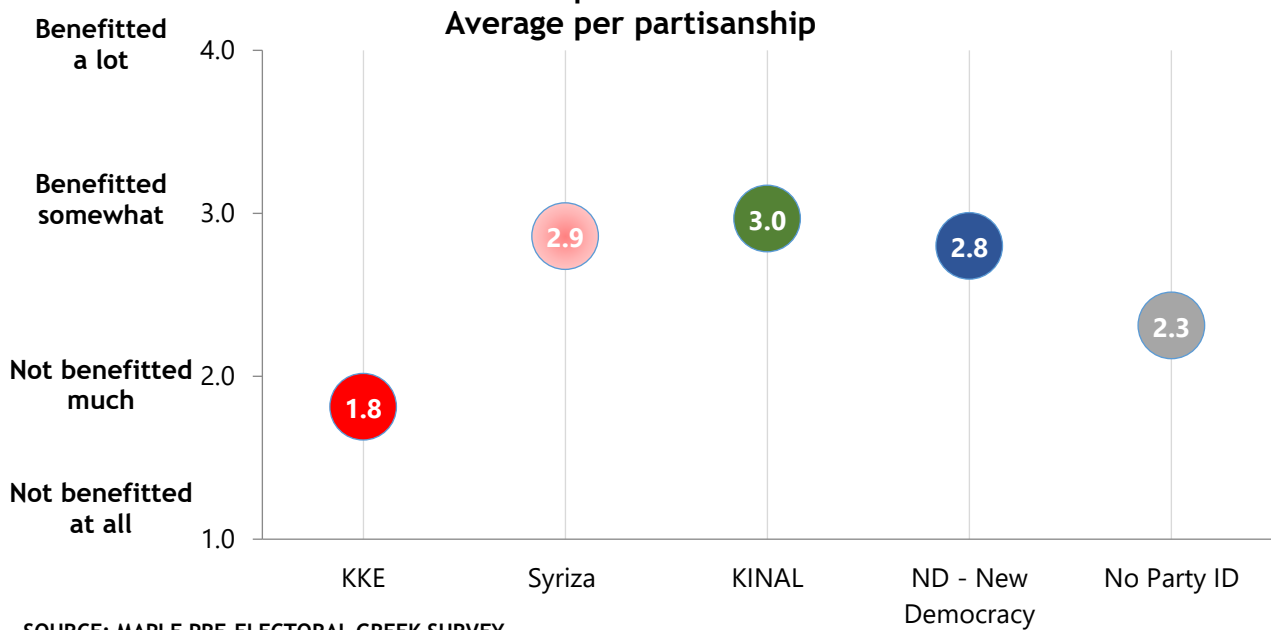
## 12. Greece and the EU: Benefits of Membership

**12.1. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Greece has benefitted or not from being a member of the European Union?(percentage, DK not shown)**



SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

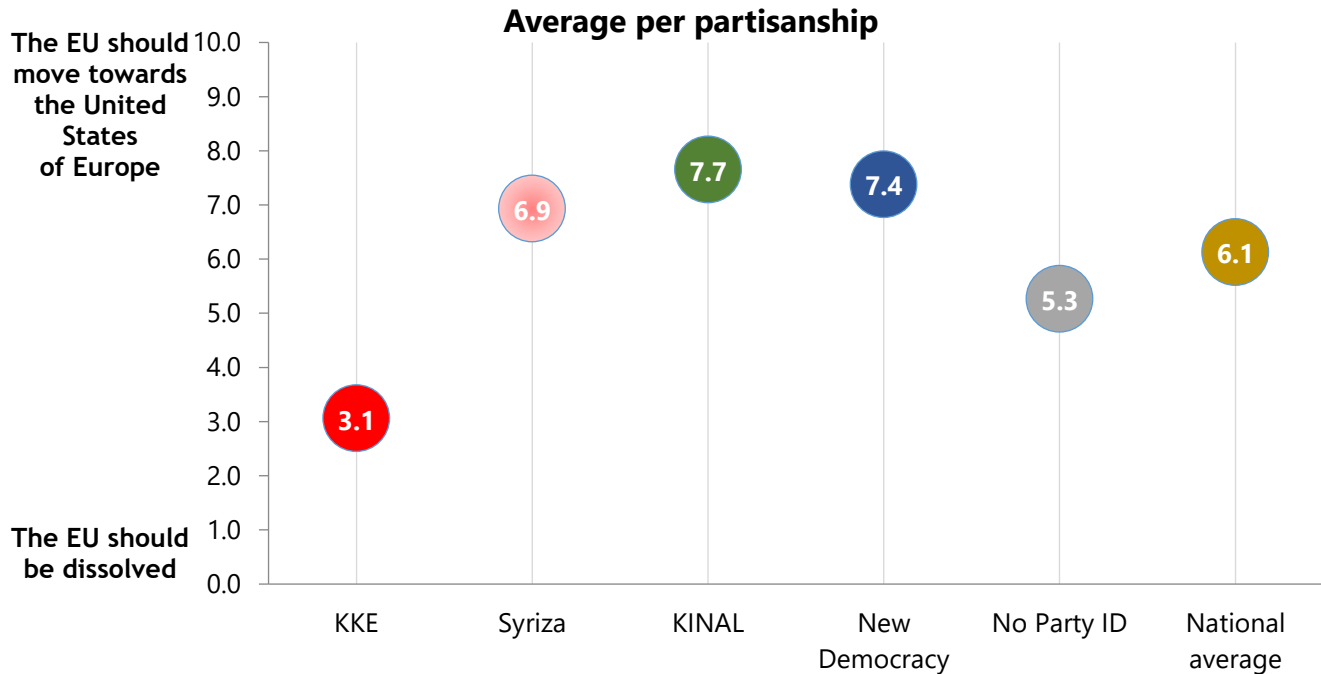
### 12.2. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Greece has benefitted or not from being a member of the European Union?



A considerable majority of 59% of Greeks perceive that the country has benefited from being a member of the European Union, with 39% considering that it has not benefited from membership. Among party supporters and following the trend present in the previous issue (leave the EU), we have KKE with negative evaluations about the benefits of membership, with the remaining parties holding more favourable views of it.

## 13. Greece and the EU: Political Integration?

### 13.1. Some people believe that the process of European integration should move forward to the creation of the United States of Europe.



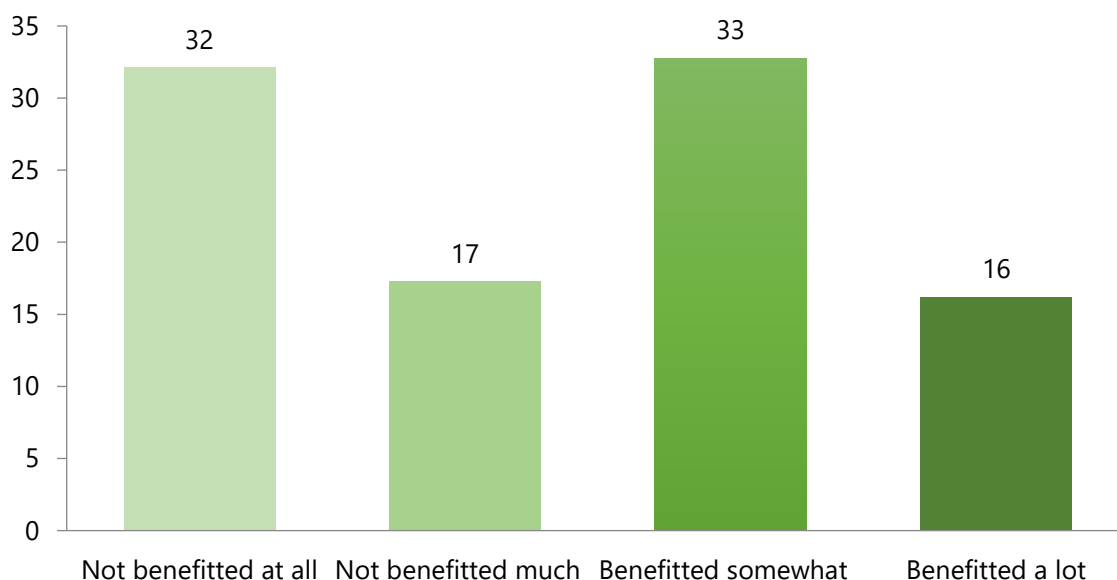
SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

Moving on to the issue of whether the process of political integration should proceed to a United States of Europe, or whether the EU should be dissolved for states to regain sovereignty, the graph above shows the average perceptions of Greeks, as well as per party identity.

Following the pattern seen on the benefits of being a member of the European Union, there is a general positive attitude towards the EU integration, with an average score of 6.1 for the whole sample. Nonetheless, we can see again the differences already spotted between parties concerning European issues: on the one hand, we have New Democracy, Syriza and KINAL showing enthusiastic attitudes about EU political integration; on the other hand, we have KKE supporters considering that the process of political integration has already gone too far.

## 14. Greece and the EU: Benefits of the Euro

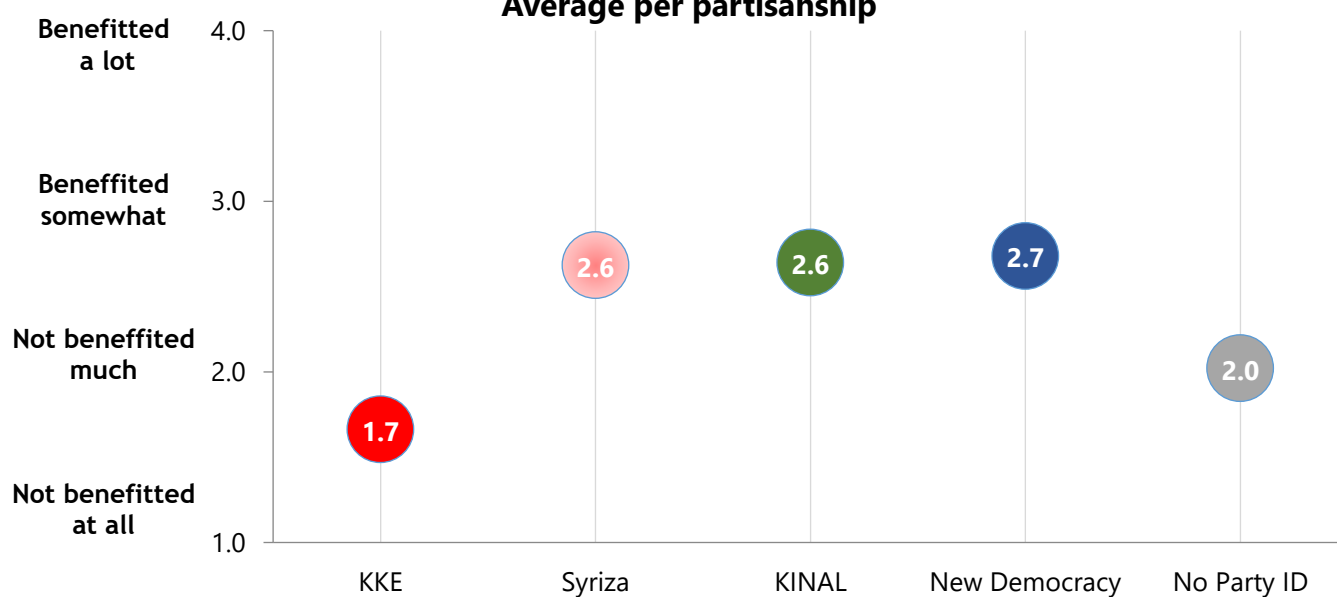
14.1. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Greece has benefitted or not from adopting the Euro as currency? (percentage, DK not shown)



SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

14.2. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that Greece has benefitted or not from adopting the Euro as currency?

Average per partisanship

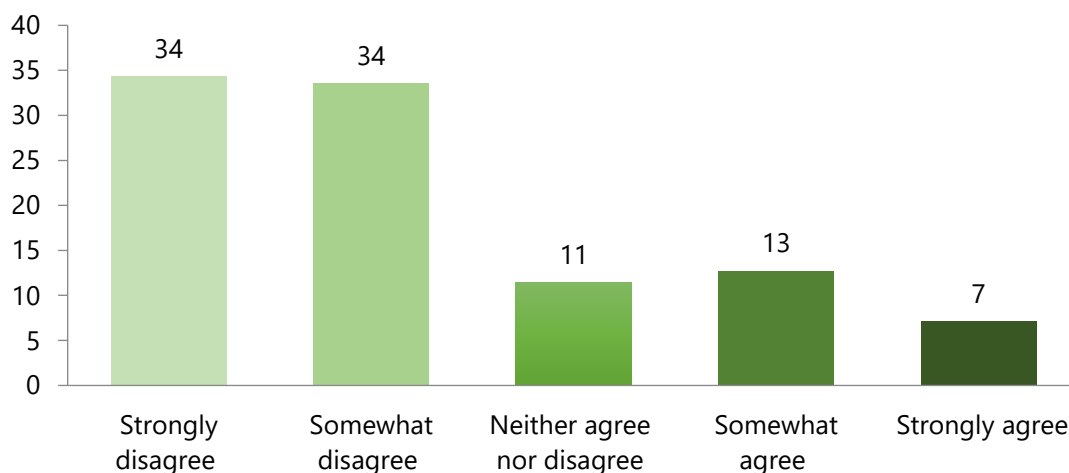


SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

The issue of membership of the Euro is very divisive among Greeks: 49% of the respondents perceive the Euro as not having benefitted Greece, whereas the same percentage 49% of people hold the opposite view. This division can be seen too along party lines and following the trend exposed previously: while the supporters of New Democracy, Syriza and KINAL convey more positive evaluations of Euro membership, KKE sympathizers express contrary views.

## 15. Greece and the EU: Exit from the Euro

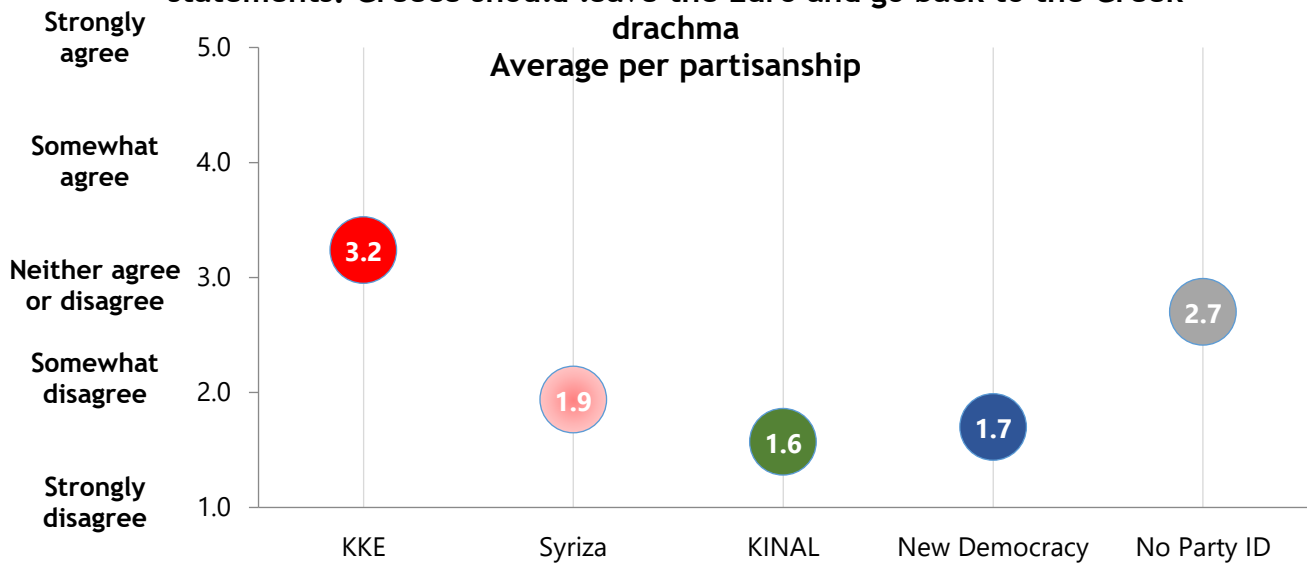
**15.1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Greece should leave the Euro and go back to the Greek drachma (% , DK not shown)**



SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

The final question presented in this report pertains to the preference for leaving the Euro and going back to the drachma. Whereas Greeks are split on the benefits of the single currency, they do not believe that exiting the euro is desirable: 68% are against this idea. If we consider this same issue along party lines, ND, Syriza and KINAL supporters emerge as strongly or somewhat disagreeing with the statement, whereas KKE have a nuanced contrary view.

**15.2 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Greece should leave the Euro and go back to the Greek drachma**



SOURCE: MAPLE PRE-ELECTORAL GREEK SURVEY

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