

Research Report



Greek Public Opinion and Attitudes towards the 'Name Dispute' and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia



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RESEARCH REPORT

Greek Public Opinion and Attitudes towards the 'Name Dispute' and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

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Contents

About the authors	4
About ELIAMEP's South-East Europe Programme	5
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	6
RESEARCH REPORT	11
Introduction	11
Methodology and questionnaire design	12
General Attitudes and attitudes towards countries and organisations (macro level)	15
Tolerance towards the national other (micro level)	26
Greek public opinion's attitudes towards the name dispute and bilateral relations with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	32
Summary of findings and concluding remarks	49
Appendix I: Survey questionnaire (in Greek)	55
Appendix II: Survey questionnaire (in English)	61

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About ELIAMEP's South-East Europe Programme

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- Combine policy analysis skills with theoretical knowledge and rigorous methodology to achieve research excellence.
- Promulgate policy recommendations for the promotion of security, democracy and economic development in South-East Europe.
- Publish policy reports, briefing notes, background guides, academic articles and other relevant publications.
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

ELIAMEP's South-East Europe Programme set out to investigate the public mood in this survey, the first of its kind, devoted to the name dispute and relations with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) in Greece. The general aim of the survey was to measure Greek public attitudes about international life in general and about the "Macedonia" dispute, its parameters and potential solutions.

The general picture we draw is of a public opinion that is on the one hand highly pessimistic, introverted and distrustful of international affairs and on the other emotional in its attitudes towards the name dispute and FYROM, resulting in a highly rejectionist outlook. At the same time, the name issue continues to be experienced with intensity, as it has high emotional and symbolic value, but also as a question with potential future security consequences. Our survey shows that, twenty-five years after the emergence of the new "Macedonian question", the issue has not been forgotten by Greek public opinion and still remains very relevant.

Overall, our study reveals a picture that is disappointing when it comes to the prospects for a quick settlement of the dispute between Greece and FYROM. Much of this disappointment derives from what we observed as a peculiar mix of insularity and pessimism that seems to dominate Greek public opinion, not only on the name dispute, but also practically on most international issues that we measured. The majority of Greeks reject outright any solution to the dispute that would include the name "Macedonia" for their northern neighbours. The picture becomes even more perplexing when we also include the possibly unanticipated intensity of sentiments on the issue, the public's distrust of FYROM's future intentions, the public's distrust of third parties (partners and international organisations) that are (or may become) involved in dispute resolution efforts, the perception that economic relations between the two countries benefit FYROM, and the effects of the refugee/migrant crisis, which to a large extent unfolded on the Greece-FYROM border. The following is the summary of the most important findings in relation to the name dispute.

Context unfavourable to settlement of name dispute:

Pessimism and distrust

Pessimism about Greece's international position abounds. A startling 72% of respondents feel that Greece's position is weaker than it was one year ago and another 20.5% feel it remained the same. 52.5% of respondents expect that Greece's position will become even weaker than it is in the next year, while 25% expect that it will remain the same (which is already very weak). These findings show that the vast majority of Greeks are extremely pessimistic about the role and 'weight' of their country in the international arena. Needless to say, pessimism does not make good and trustworthy international partners. Not to mention that such pessimism can easily spark or generate sentiments of victimization, which are already quite widespread due to the economic crisis. One can, thus, safely assume that for the foreseeable future Greeks, will view any solutions reached on long-standing problems involving perceived core national interests as suboptimal, and result of external pressure on weak Greek governments. Given also that traditionally, and even more so since the start of the crisis, suspicion and distrust abound and some people are fond of conspiracy theories it is highly likely that public opinion will perceive such a solution as going against national interest or even as treacherous.

Our poll also measured general attitudes towards great powers, key international organizations of which Greece is a member as well as attitudes towards Balkan neighbours. The findings confirm overall trends observed in recent years and through previous ELIAMEP polls and the Eurobarometer surveys: growing skepticism towards the EU and its institutions; very positive attitudes towards Russia; persistence of 'traditional' distrust of the US, more recently surpassed by even more negative attitudes towards Germany; very low positive rates for NATO. The negative 'balance sheet' of Greece's most important institutional and country partners is telling: 56% negative attitudes towards Germany, 51.5% towards the EU, 34% towards the US and 42% towards NATO.

With regards to Balkan neighbours, only Serbia enjoys positive attitudes, which surpass 40 percent. This is consistent with previous polls and studies that ELIAMEP has conducted in which Serbia is the Balkan country with the most positive image in Greek society by far. Attitudes towards FYROM are quite negative (61.1% negative and very negative) and come only second to Turkey, which has the most negative opinions (total 69.5%). The positive opinions of all Balkan neighbouring countries, except Serbia and Bulgaria, are under 10% (lowest Turkey with 5%).

Threat perceptions in this study are consistent with previous ELIAMEP polls. 69% of respondents believe that a foreign country represents a threat to Greece. Turkey is considered by far the biggest threat to Greece with 76.5%, followed by Germany at 11%. Other neighbouring Balkan countries are considered minimal or non-existent threats to Greece.

Overall, the perceptions of Greece's international role and the attitudes towards partners, allies and neighbours further reinforce the conclusion that an atmosphere of widespread suspicion, distrust and pessimism is currently predominant in the Greek public's view of international life. As contextual factors, these sentiments are hardly amenable to breakthroughs in international affairs.

Perceptions of the 'other': Situation more positive at inter-personal level

Things appear somewhat more optimistic when attitudes towards individuals belonging to neighbouring nations are measured. We have measured levels of tolerance and acceptance of members of the national 'other' by asking whether respondents would accept individuals of certain nationalities as members of their family, as co-workers or as immigrants in Greece. Here, negative attitudes are represented by the option of not accepting the presence of certain individuals in Greece. Inhabitants of FYROM have similar level of acceptance with Turks and slightly worse than Albanians and Pakistanis.

More specifically, 44% of respondents would accept someone from FYROM as a member of their family and another 26.5% as a co-worker. There is, however, a sizeable minority of about 21%, which would not accept their presence in Greece. This percentage is higher than the 10 percent found in a 2013 study to be an extreme, anti-foreigner segment in society (though the two studies are not directly comparable due to different question structures). Moreover, it is worth noting that in the same 2013 poll the percentage of respondents who declared that they would accept Slavic citizens of FYROM as members of their family was at 51%, which was slightly higher than the percentage for Turks (49%) and even higher than the

percentage for Albanians (46%). In both studies, the most positive attitudes by far were exhibited towards Serbs, and in this year's study they were followed by Syrians.

Predictably, social conservatives and ethno-centrists are less tolerant towards these nationalities. For example, more than twice as many social liberals compared to social conservatives and cosmopolitans compared to ethno-centrists would accept individuals from FYROM in their family (56% versus 25.5% and 53.3% versus 26% respectively). Non-acceptance of their presence in Greece is at 11% and 12.5% for social liberals and cosmopolitans respectively; in contrast, the numbers reach 38.5% and 37.5% respectively for social conservatives and ethno-centrists.

Overall, and especially compared to the attitudes towards foreign states and international issues, the Greek public's levels of tolerance seem refreshingly optimistic. In other words, inter-personal relations are an area in which Greeks feel more comfortable and generous in their interaction with foreigners. This conclusion, however, will still require further research, especially given very negative findings about the Greek society shown in other surveys (e.g. Pew Research Centre).

Name dispute: Intensity of public sentiment and rejectionist outlook

Respondents consider the name dispute to be of great importance. 58% of respondents believed that it is very important to resolve the issue as soon as possible and another 19% said that it is somewhat important. Only 10% of respondents do not consider this issue important. Additionally, 71.5% of respondents believe that the delay in the resolution of the name dispute 'harms' Greece. Although not counter-intuitive, these results are still surprising especially for the high degree of intensity of the issue that they reveal. Since the name dispute has been a foreign policy problem for more than 25 years many observers have over the years questioned the intensity of Greek public sentiment on the issue and have assumed that this has now become a problem of lesser importance, reserved for diplomats and expert communities. Our findings, however, reveal a different picture, that Greek public opinion is still highly mobilized by the issue.

Given this intensity, the next key question is whether respondents are amenable to compromise. But, attitudes towards possible solutions to the name dispute present a rather pessimistic picture for the prospect of a compromise settlement. 57% of respondents are against any mention of the word "Macedonia" in the name of Greece's neighbour, while 28% would accept a composite name. Only 10% would accept that the country be recognized with its constitutional name. Women are slightly more uncompromising than men, and the same applies to the 34-55 age group. Younger respondents appear more compromising. Respondents in the 18-34 age group are four times more likely than the 55+ category and three times than the 34-55 category to accept the constitutional name as a solution. Cosmopolitans and social liberals are much more compromising than ethno-centrists and social conservatives. Overall, however, in almost all demographic and value categories the rejectionist and uncompromising outlook comfortably trumps alternative positions.

It is important also to stress here that Greek public opinion continues to be much less willing to accept a compromise on the name dispute than successive Greek governments. In other words, our survey confirmed trends also found in previous studies, which show that the

average Greek, whether due to lack of information or due to conviction, remains very far from the standard negotiating position of Greek diplomacy. Thus, to the extent that polls are indicative of expected behaviour, a wide majority of the Greek public would not accept that which could be the outcome of negotiations between Athens and Skopje. Greek public opinion remains largely unprepared (and thus hostile) to the most likely solutions to the name dispute.

It is also noteworthy that the name dispute remains an issue of intensity and symbolic importance even when the public is uninformed of details of the problem. In one characteristic point in the survey when respondents were asked to offer their opinion on the role of Greek politicians on the issue, nearly 7 out of 10 and more than half of respondents could not name a single politician who had a positive and a negative impact respectively. This is very telling of the fact that for most Greeks, who do not have specialist knowledge of the issue, the intensity and symbolic importance of the question remains even if they are not in a position to offer solid factual assessments.

Peripheral factors: Complicating further the settlement of the name dispute

This intensity and uncompromising mood are compounded by a number of factors and trends that further complicate a potential solution to the name dispute: widely-held suspicion and pessimism over the potential consequences of including the name "Macedonia" in a future compromise solution, distrust towards both FYROM itself and third parties that are involved in the issue, lack of confidence over the advantages of bilateral economic relations with Greece's northern neighbour, and negative perceptions of issues that are currently high on the public agenda, such as policies addressing the refugee problem.

More specifically, 42.5% of respondents strongly agree and another 13% somewhat agree that the usage of the name 'Macedonia' will become a threat to the territorial integrity of Greece in the future - the percentages of those who strongly and somewhat disagree are 26% and 11% respectively. Thus, while respondents do not currently view FYROM as a threat, they are convinced that should the name "Macedonia" be accepted in any form as the official name of the neighbouring country, this will result in a future territorial threat for Greece. The percentages of those respondents who perceive this future threat are slightly higher among women and those in the 35-54 age group and substantially higher among the ethno-centrics. In contrast, the percentage of those who strongly agree is lower in the 18-35 group, the social progressives and among those with tertiary education. But, overall, Greek public opinion continues to view the issue of the name dispute not only in emotional and symbolic terms, but also as a potential security issue.

There is also a great distrust of international organisations and allies, such as the EU, NATO, the US and Germany, as seen in the question gauging attitudes towards their involvement in assisting efforts to settle the name dispute. The opinion that these actors, when they engage in the issue, favour Greece received support only between 4.5% and 5%. In contrast, the majority of respondents believe the involvement of organisations and states favours FYROM: 41% in the case of the EU, 44% in the case of the US, and 40% in the case of Germany. Only for the UN did a majority of 38.5% of respondents its role as neutral.

Furthermore, even the flourishing economic relations between the two countries are also seen with skepticism, since 39% believe that FYROM benefited more than Greece and another 13% who believe that only FYROM benefited; thus a majority of 52% of respondents may be seen as highly skeptical of the advantages of economic relations. Among the remaining respondents 33.5% believe that both countries benefited equally and only very small percentages (3% and 0.5% respectively) thought that only Greece benefited or that Greece benefited more. Interestingly, in a previous poll conducted by ELIAMEP, 66% of Greeks thought that Albania benefited either exclusively or more than Greece from bilateral economic relations.

The recent refugee crisis seems to further exacerbate the existing negative political climate. When asked to give their opinion about responses to this problem, 77.5% of respondents viewed FYROM's policies as negative or very negative and only 4 percent positive. This is also very likely a reflection of the media hype over the issue throughout 2015 and the beginning of 2016. It is, however, important to stress that the survey was conducted before flare ups on the border between Greece-FYROM (involving several migrant attempts to break the border fence, attempts to enter FYROM through uncontrolled crossings, the drowning of refugee/migrants, violent police action as well as mutual recriminations between the governments of the two countries). Thus, the timing of the ongoing refugee crisis further complicates efforts to build momentum for the settlement of the dispute.

Prospects of future relations: Rather pessimistic outlook

What are the prospects for the future? Respondents are somewhat pessimistic about bilateral relations and expect that they will either stay the same (38.5%) or deteriorate (29%), with only 22% expecting improvement. This is despite the fact that a majority of respondents (51.5%) believe that a potential solution to the name dispute would benefit both sides and only 18.5% and 13% believe that this would benefit Greece and FYROM respectively.

RESEARCH REPORT

Introduction²

Two and a half decades have passed since the name dispute between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) began, and two decades since the two countries signed the Interim Agreement. Still, the dispute between the two countries remains unsettled, hampering both bilateral relations and international efforts towards stabilization of the Western Balkans. Both Athens and Skopje recognized the necessity for creating new momentum towards a settlement when in 2015 they signed an Agreement on Confidence Building Measures, aiming to revitalize the stalled dispute-resolution process.

In this context, the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP) set out to investigate the Greek public's attitudes toward the name dispute and other related issues, in what is, to our knowledge, the first survey focusing exclusively on the issue and on relations between Greece and FYROM in general. This effort run in parallel with a similar survey conducted by a partner organization in FYROM itself.³

ELIAMEP commissioned the University of Macedonia's Public Opinion Research Unit (PORU) to implement a nationwide survey poll regarding "Attitudes towards Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia bilateral relations". It is important to stress here that there are very few surveys focusing even partly, and even fewer focusing entirely, on foreign policy issues in Greece. Thus the present survey is conducted without the availability of directly comparable data. However, despite the fact that the few existing past surveys are not directly comparable, we do take them into account in the analysis and make rough comparisons whenever possible.

² The authors would like to thank Nikos Marantzidis, Thanos Dokos, Alexandros Mallias and Dimitri Sotiropoulos for comments on earlier versions of this report and Katherine Poseidon for her editorial work. We also would to thank David Phillips of Columbia University and Vladimir Bozinovski of SS. Cyril and Methodius University and the Institute for Political Research-Skopje, for the fruitful cooperation in the implementation of this survey and project. Needless to say, the authors alone are responsible for any flaws in this report.

³ For the findings of this parallel poll, see: Institute for Political Research-Skopje, "Јавното мислење за спорот со името, перцепција на македонско-грчките односи и ЕУ и НАТО интеграции", Skopje 21 June 2016.

Methodology and questionnaire design

The survey began on Monday, 29 February 2016 (start date) and was completed on Thursday, 3 March 2016 (end date), a period in which Greek public opinion was influenced by the first stages of discussion of the immigration issue. The Alternate Minister for Immigration Ioannis Mouzalas' reference to the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by its constitutional name, which created a minor governmental crisis, took place after the end of the fieldwork, so attitudes towards the name dispute were not affected by the publicity of this issue.

A survey sample of 1000 adults, aged 18 and above, residing in Greece, was collected between 29 February and 3 March 2016. Respondents were interviewed by telephone (CATI – Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews) and the sample was designed by multistage stratified sampling. The data were weighted to match population characteristics according to gender and age (post-survey adjustments). The margin of error is 3.1% on a confidence interval of 95%. The questionnaire (see Appendix) was designed jointly by PORU and ELIAMEP, and was finalized after three joint sessions. It consisted of four sections that cover a wide range of topics. More specifically, the questionnaire was made up of four (4) sections:

- **Section A** examined general attitudes towards foreign policy, Greece's current international position and individual perceptions towards foreign countries and international institutions.
- **Section B** focused first on attitudes towards immigration policy and second on attitudes towards the national "other". A battery of questions evaluating certain foreign governments' immigration policies was followed by a question about tolerance of foreigners as individuals.
- **Section C** mainly focused on bilateral relations between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. This section examined the potential acceptance of a solution based on different scenarios. Additionally, it measured the extent to which Greeks perceive FYROM's use of the name "Macedonia" as a source of a potential future threat to Greek territory. Also, the role and the perceived stance of foreign governments and organizations in the efforts towards resolution of the dispute were also measured.
- **Section D** included identification questions about values and demographic characteristics. As is common in studies similar to ours, we asked respondents three value-oriented questions in order to designate a profile of their socio-economic values; of the three questions, two are prominent on the Greek political agenda and in public discourse, while one is more generally associated with attitudes towards national cultures. More specifically, respondents were asked whether they agree or disagree that (i) homosexual couples should have full legal rights, (ii) Greek culture is superior, and thus it is difficult to accept customs and values of other cultures, and (iii) our country needs a smaller public sector even if that would entail public servants' layoffs. Respondents completed the value section by identifying themselves on an axis of 0 to 10, where 0 indicates "Left" and 10 "Right". Finally, the questionnaire ended with questions eliciting information about the key demographic characteristics of respondents: gender, age, occupation and region of residence.

The following analysis also compares the responses among different groups of people according to their values, so an overall picture of values is important in order to understand the size of each group and the variation of answers among groups. More specifically, a majority of 57.5% of respondents is in favor of same sex couples obtaining full legal rights; 62% percent of respondents oppose the statement that our national culture is superior; finally, 61% of respondents agrees that our country needs a smaller public sector, even if this means public servant layoffs (graph 1).

In order to simplify the reading of this report we use labels that classify respondents according to these questions in simple and easy-to-follow categories. More specifically, we will identify:

- **“social liberals”** as those who are favor of same-sex couples obtaining full legal rights and **“social conservatives”** as those who are against,
- **“cosmopolitans”** as those who disagree with the statement of national culture superiority and **“ethno-centrists”** as those who agree,
- **“economic liberals”** as those who support a smaller public sector, even if this implies public servant layoffs and **“economic conservatives”** as those who oppose the same thesis.

In this report we make reference to “strong” social liberals/social conservatives when respondents strongly agree with the relevant statements, “moderate” social liberals/social conservatives when respondents somewhat agree with the relevant statements, and “neutrals” when respondents neither agree nor disagree. We use the same labels for equivalent positions in distinctions between cosmopolitan vs. ethno-centrist and economic liberal vs. economic conservative.

GRAPH 1

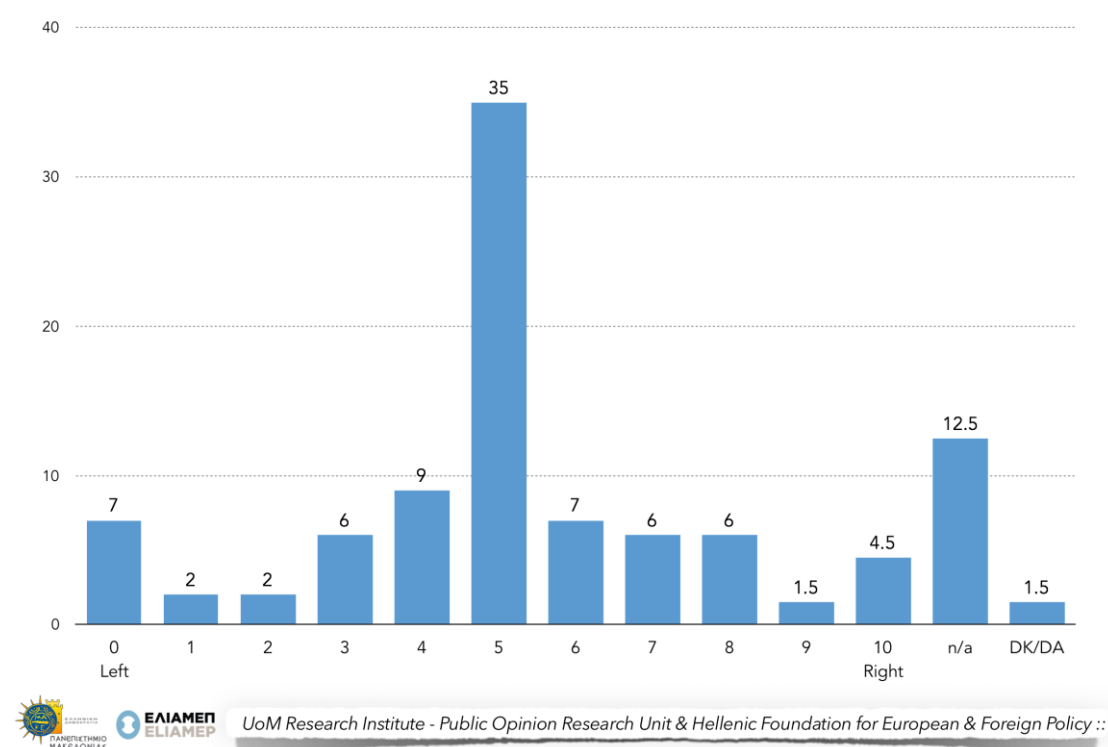
Values



In addition to the values questions, the self-placement question asked the respondents to place themselves on a 11-scale axis, from 0 to 10, where 0 stands for “Left” and 10 for “Right”. The majority of the respondents placed themselves at the center -5- (35%), while 12,5% stated the question is not applicable to them. This behavior could also be seen in all Left/Right scale questions, so the percentage of this category is not surprising. In order to avoid comparing categories with a small baseline, the 0 to 10 scale has been transformed into a 6-scale left-right spectrum. So, **Far Left** is made up of those who responded “0” and “1” (on the 11-scale axis), and following the same logic, **Left** is made up of those who responded “2” and “3”, **Centre Left**, **Centre** and **Centre Right** of those who responded “4”, “5” and “6” respectively, **Right** of those at “7” and “8” and finally, **Far Right** consists of those who identified at “9” and “10”. Respondents who refused to place themselves on the 0-10 LR scale were attributed as n/a, and were respectively recoded as a different category. The diagram below shows the percentage of respondents who placed themselves in each position.

GRAPH 2

Self identification on the axis from 0 to 10, where 0 stands for “Left” and 10 for “Right”



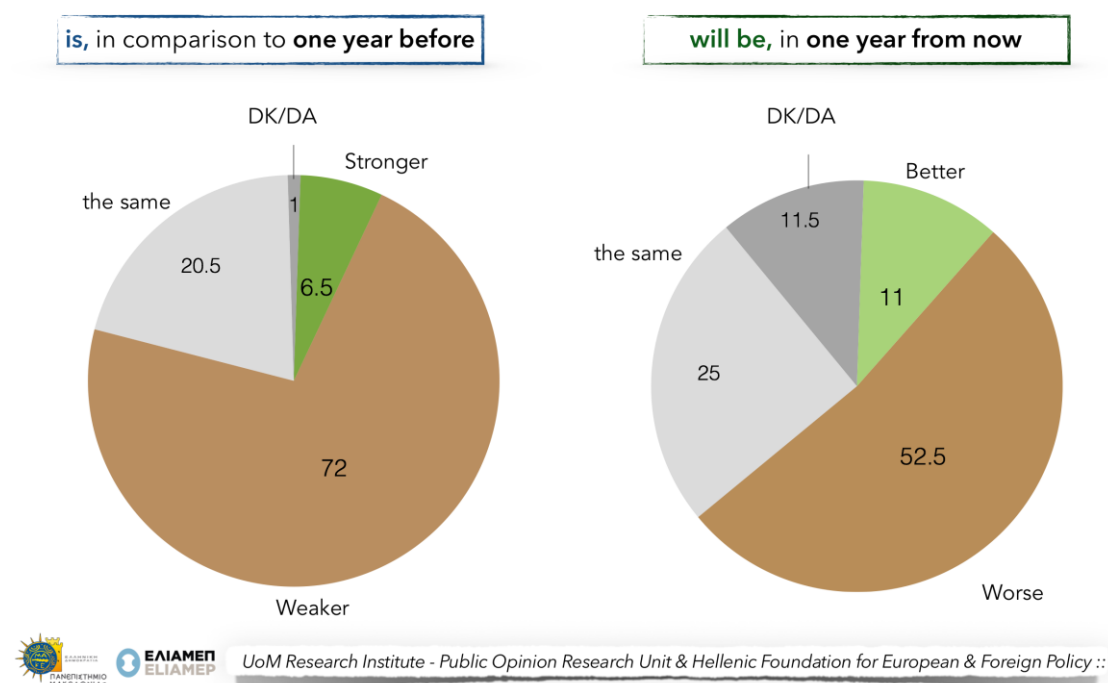
General Attitudes and attitudes towards countries and organisations (macro level)

Greece's international position

Despite the high symbolic value that Greeks assign to foreign policy issues (often dubbed “national issues” in public discourse to show their significance for Greece’s national interest and national identity) there is widespread perception that domestic issues, especially pertaining to the economic agenda, traditionally set the tone and determine the political “mood” of the day. This has become even more the case since the beginning of the serious economic crisis in Greece, which has had a heavy impact on ordinary Greeks. Thus, as an introductory question, respondents were asked to express whether their primary interest is in domestic or international issues. Indeed 39.5% responded that they are more interested in domestic issues and only 12.5% that they are more interested in foreign affairs; 46% of respondents replied that they have an equal interest in both domestic and foreign affairs.

GRAPH 3

Do you believe that Greece's current international position...



The next question tried to investigate respondents' opinions of Greece's international position (graph 3). This question is of particular importance since there is a widespread perception that since the economic crisis the standard of living of Greeks is not the only thing that suffered, but also that Greece's position and role in the international arena has

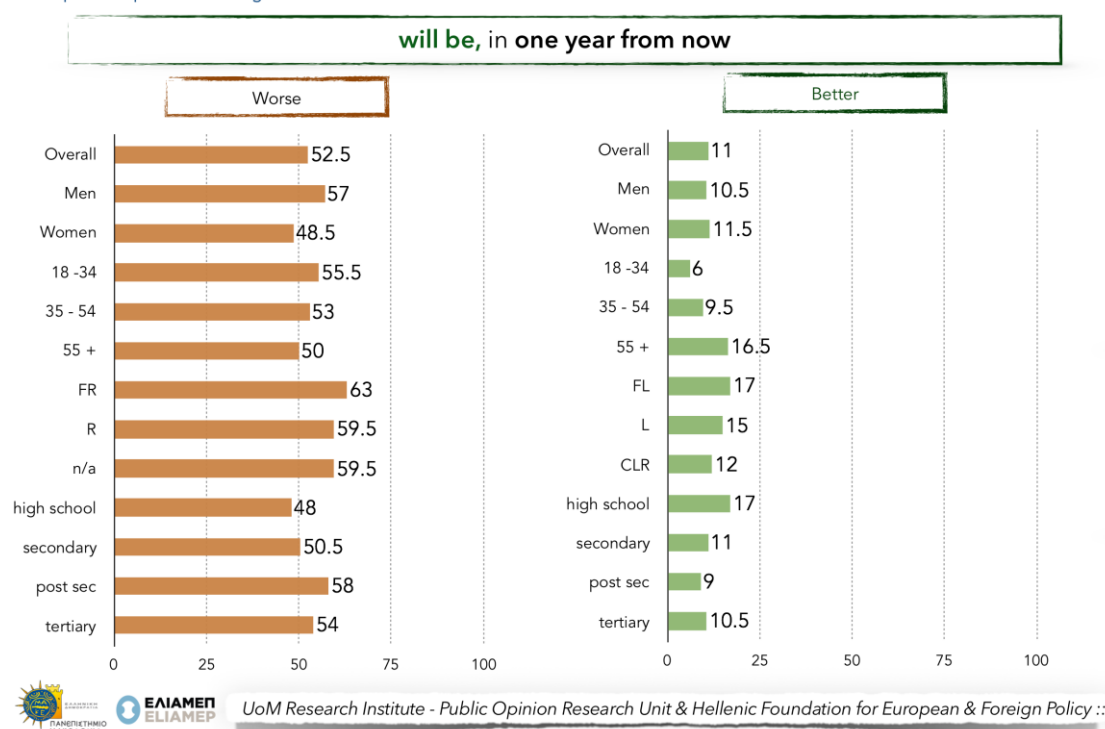
severely weakened with possible negative repercussions for Greece's national interests. In this year's survey we also found that in principle, Greek public opinion seems very skeptical about the country's international position. Seven out of ten (72%) respondents consider the country's position worse compared to one year before and more than the half (52.5%) expect that its international position will further deteriorate in the coming year. The most pessimistic about the future are men (57%), those in the 18-34 age category (55.5%), those with post-secondary (58%) and tertiary (54%) education, and people that self-identify with the far-right (63%) and the right (59.5%) on the LR axis. Women, elderly people (55+), those with a high school education and those placed on the left side of the axis were more optimistic about the future.

The disappointment with Greece's standing in the international arena is partly a consequence of the frustration of the Greek public's hopes that the new (in 2015) SYRIZA government would succeed in breaking with the policies of austerity, and re-energise the economy in ways that would have visible positive effects on the broader population. Additionally, the survey was conducted after a period that saw the apex of the refugee/migrant crisis, which had negative repercussions on relations with neighbouring countries (dependence on Turkey to stem migration flows, closure of borders by our northern neighbours, reliance on Germany to strike a deal with Turkey on the refugee issue, etc.). Thus, a combination of the tumultuous first year of SYRIZA government, further deterioration of the economic environment, and external pressures most likely explain the widespread disappointment with Greece's international position.

GRAPH 4

Do you believe that Greece's current international position...

Compare the positive and negative answers



Attitudes towards countries and international organisations

Subsequently, we aimed to measure attitudes towards eleven countries and international organisations (table 1, graph 5). More specifically, we measured attitudes towards two key international organizations of which Greece is a member (the EU and NATO), three key states with strong political and historical links to Greece (USA, Germany and Russia) and six states from the broader Balkan region (Albania, Bulgaria, FYROM, Kosovo, Serbia, Turkey). The findings reveal a perplexing situation whereby Greeks are negatively disposed towards most of countries and organisations measured. Only Russia (11% negative responses) and Serbia (17% negative responses) were seen positively by more than one out of four respondents. More specifically, Russia (50.5%) and Serbia (41.5%) are the only two countries with noteworthy cumulatively positive responses ("very positive" and "positive"). The rest of the measured entities have more negative than positive responses; the third and fourth most popular countries are the USA and the EU, but with only 24% and 22.5% positive responses respectively. Turkey (69.5%), FYROM (61.5%), Germany (56%) and the EU (51.5%) top the list of the most negatively viewed entities.

TABLE 1

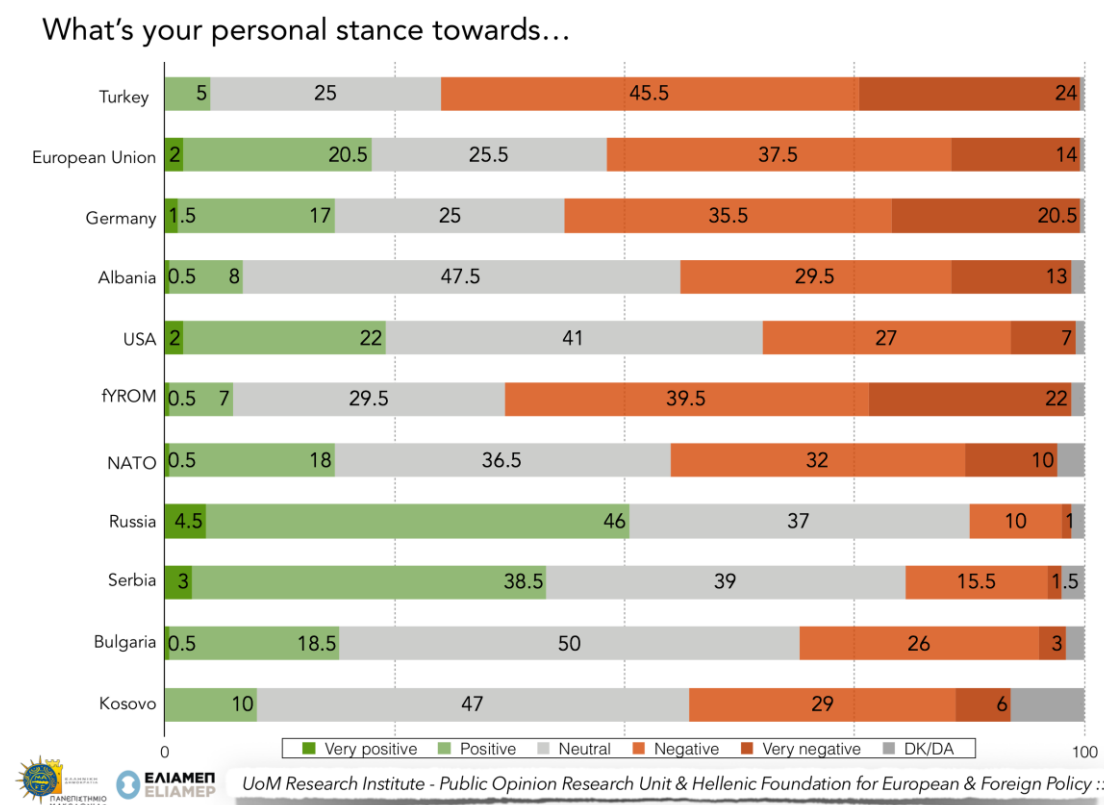
Positive	%	Negative	%
Russia	50.5	Turkey	69.5
Serbia	41.5	FYROM	61.5
USA	24	Germany	56
European Union	22.5	European Union	51.5

This rather gloomy picture becomes even more perplexing if we consider that very negative (or at best neutral) attitudes are exhibited towards countries that are traditional allies (USA) or partners in the European Union (Germany), organisations upon which Greece relies heavily to enhance its security, international standing and economic development (NATO and the EU), neighbours with which Greece maintains friendly and strongly cooperative political and economic relations (Bulgaria), or neighbours with which, despite few bilateral disputes, it is closely connected historically, politically and economically (Albania). In a sense, and with the exception of Russia and Serbia, the Greek public appears skeptical or hostile to nearly every other measured entity. It is also illustrative of the widely popular perception in Greece in recent decades that Western allies and partners have remained hostile or at best neutral towards Greek national interests, especially in relation to what is widely perceived in Greece as a 'threat from the East' (Turkey) and Greece's dispute with FYROM over the use of the name Macedonia.⁴ This manifestation of general distrust towards foreign countries and

⁴ A proper discussion and analysis of the merits of this perception and an explanation of its cultural, historical and political underpinnings is beyond the scope of this report. It suffices to say that this question hits at the core of Greek society's self-understanding of identity, role in international affairs and position in the international system and Western institutional and geopolitical order. It has, in other words, serious

organisations in a way also “moderates” the ‘bitter’ sense of highly negative attitudes towards the two countries with which Greece has the greatest bilateral disputes (Turkey and FYROM). With such a gloomy overall picture of attitudes towards foreign entities it is not surprising that these two countries top the list of negative perceptions, and with very high percentages.

GRAPH 5



In the following section we present the most negative and most positive responses (cumulatively adding “very negative” and “negative” and “very positive” and “positive” respectively). We start with the **Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia**, which is the main focus of this study. It is cumulatively perceived negatively by 61,5% of respondents and positively by a mere 7.5% and thus is (after Turkey) the second least popular of the entities measured. It is important to mention that the introduction of the survey to the respondent did not give any specific cue about the name dispute. It explicitly asked the respondent to participate in a research project sponsored by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy or ELIAMEP, so the negative stance toward the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is not due to response bias. Response bias on this survey topic could have been caused by a higher inclination to participate in the survey from those who hold an extremely negative view on the name dispute issue. Thus, negative attitudes towards FYROM in this

repercussions for Greece, both domestic and international, related to identity, cultural and politics. All this unfortunately cannot be analysed in this brief report.

survey cannot plausibly be assigned to response bias. A more negative stance towards FYROM is held by the elderly (73.5%), the high-school educated (69.5%), the strong ethno-centrists (66.5%), and those self-identifying with the far-right (72%) and the right (68%). On the contrary, younger people (14.5%), the high-school educated (11%), the economic conservatives (12.5%), the strong ethno-centrists (11%), those self-identifying with the far-left (11%) and the left (16%) on the LR scale hold an above-average positive stance.

Turkey is the most negatively framed (69.5%) foreign country, with only 5% positive responses. Turkey also has the lowest (25%) percentage of neutral responses, together with the European Union and Germany. Women, the 55+ age category, post-secondary educated, social conservatives, and ethno-centrists, as well as people placed on the right spectrum of the LR axis are more negative than the average. The negative attitudes towards Turkey are not surprising, given the decades-long turbulent relations between the two countries that repeatedly reached a 'boiling point' on the verge of war, and the 'open wound' of the Turkish invasion and continuing occupation of the northern part of Cyprus. Also given the unresolved bilateral disputes, Turkey continues to receive negative coverage in the Greek press. Moreover, the survey was conducted in a period when emotions over the management of the refugee question ran high; in that context Turkey received yet more negative coverage in the Greek press and, as we will see in more detail below, Greeks' attitudes towards Turkish policies on the matter were quite negative. Interestingly, Turkey is somewhat less negatively viewed by those between age 18-34, the tertiary educated, social liberals, cosmopolitans, and the far-left on the LR axis. This can be explained by the effects of several years of 'détente' between Greece and Turkey after 1999, which was somewhat reflected in changing media discourses and social attitudes and gave the younger generation the opportunity to build and explore connections to Turkish society through universities (e.g. Erasmus exchange programmes, studies in Turkish universities) and civil society. It can also be explained by the generally less ethno-centric outlooks of more educated, liberal and leftist parts of the population.

The **European Union** has 22.5% positive and 51.5% negative responses. It is seen more negatively than the average by those in the age group 35-54, the high school educated, the social and economic conservatives, the ethno-centrists and those self-identifying with far-left and left in the LR scale. In contrast, the tertiary educated respondents, the social and economic liberals, the cosmopolitans and those self-identifying with the right and far-right showed more positive opinions. Our findings are consistent with growing anti-EU sentiment, which has been recorded for several years in Greece, and especially since the start of the crisis, most clearly in the yearly Eurobarometer surveys. Previously, Greece was among the most pro-EU nations in Europe and had typically trusted European political institutions much more than domestic ones. In a survey conducted in 2008, less than two years before the serious economic crisis in Greece erupted, one in two Greeks (50%) placed their trust in the EU as the main force on which Greece should rely on its foreign policy; in contrast, Russia received only 14% and the US a mere 4%.⁵ But since the start of the crisis, the EU and many European states have steadily received bad publicity in the Greek press and have been accused by politicians, intellectuals and other opinion makers of responsibility for Greece's economic collapse and austerity programmes imposed. This was also reflected in the rise and electoral success of radical or moderate anti-EU forces. As a result, in recent years polls show that Greeks have become among the most Eurosceptic nations and hold negative

⁵ Public Issue, "Έρευνα για την εξωτερική πολιτική", February 2008.

attitudes towards the EU as a whole, its policies and institutions, often more negative even than their opinions of their seriously unpopular political class.

Germany has 18.5% positive and 56% negative responses. It is more negatively framed by women, high school and post-secondary educated, social and economic conservatives, far left, left and n/a self-identifying on the LR axis. On the contrary, men, the elderly (55+), cosmopolitans and economic liberals, and the right- and far-right- self-identified are more positively oriented. The negative attitudes towards Germany are clearly a consequence of the public discourse of antagonism with Berlin that emerged during the years of the economic crisis in Greece. This poisonous atmosphere has gone beyond even general attitudes and has also influenced Greek public opinion's threat perceptions, as we will see below. Despite the fact that negative perceptions have moderated compared to the depth of the crisis a couple of years ago, Germany is still widely negatively perceived in Greek public opinion (see more below).

The **USA** has 24% positive and 34% negative responses, but compared to Germany appears to have a more positive image. Men, those aged 18-34 and 55+, the tertiary educated, cosmopolitans and economic liberals, right- and far-right-identifying respondents responded more positively. Greek public opinion has in recent decades been traditionally very anti-American, possibly the most anti-American among Western allies. This issue is connected to the post-WWII turbulent relationship between the two countries, including the perceived US sponsorship of the 1967 coup in Greece and the failure to prevent Turkish aggressiveness in Cyprus and the Aegean Sea. Predominant distrust towards the US, especially in international politics, has also been recorded in a previous ELIAMEP-commissioned survey conducted in 2013. In that survey, 50% of respondents responded that the US role in international politics is always negative and only 2% that it is always positive.⁶ Interestingly, in our survey the US has a more balanced response, at least compared to Germany. This should probably again be assigned to the effects of the crisis, during which the most negative publicity was devoted to Germany and the EU, while the Americans were often reported as more lenient towards the Greek governments and more willing to accept a loosening of austerity programmes. It is also a function of the lack of major foreign policy crises in Greece in recent years, which somewhat relaxed the widespread stereotypical perception in Greece that American interests often ally with Greece's 'enemies'. Finally, the popularity of President Barack Obama in Greece likely contributed to the improved image of the US in the country.⁷

Russia has 50.5% positive responses, comfortably surpassing the only other positively viewed country, Serbia. Russia has also by far the lowest percentage (11%) of negative responses. Russia is seen positively at above average rates by men, those in the 18-34 age range, and the post-secondary educated and less than average by women and the tertiary educated. Additionally, Russia is more positively seen by social and economic conservatives, ethno-centrists, and right- and far-right identifying on the LR axis. However, it is quite telling of the broader positive perceptions of Russia in Greek society that even social liberals have very positive attitudes – we note here that the social liberalism indicator that we used in this study are attitudes towards legal rights for homosexual couples and that Russia is internationally known for violating the rights of the LGBT community. The popularity of Russia among Greeks is also confirmed by other surveys. A June 2016 poll by polling agency

⁶ Iannis Konstantinidis and Ioannis Armakolas, "How Greeks view Kosovo: The findings of a public opinion survey", in Kosovo Foundation for Open Society, "Being Greek, Being Kosovar... A report on mutual perceptions", Pristina, 2014.

⁷ Public Issue, "Flash Βαρόμετρο No. 139 – Η ελληνική κοινή γνώμη απέναντι στην εκλογή Μπαράκ Ομπάμα", November 2008.

'Public Issue' measuring support for key foreign leaders found Vladimir Putin the most popular leader in Greece with 74% positive opinions, 5 percentage points ahead of Barack Obama, who Greeks view much more positively than the US in general or other American politicians.⁸

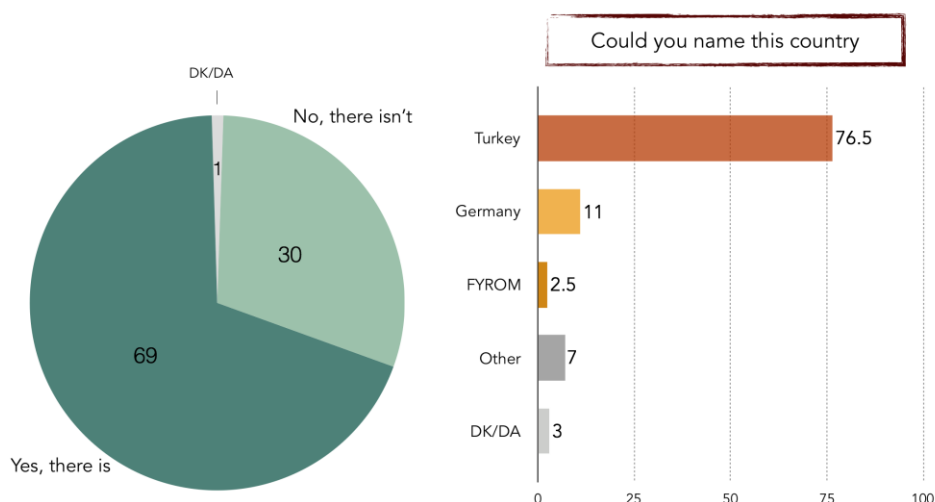
Perceptions of foreign threat

After the exploration of personal attitudes towards foreign governments and international organizations, respondents were exposed to the "threat perception" question. They were asked whether or not they view a foreign country as a threat to Greece (graph 6). 69% replied affirmatively, answering that there is a foreign threat to Greece. Social-conservatives, ethno-centrists, and those placed on right of the LR axis argued at higher than average rates that there is a threat. Men, the tertiary educated, social liberals, cosmopolitans and economic conservatives felt less threatened by a potential foreign menace (graph 7).

Of those who responded positively, a follow-up question asked them to indicate the country they regard as a threat, in an open-ended question (spontaneous replies) (graph 6). 76.5% indicated Turkey, followed by 11% who chose Germany. The percentage of those who identified the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as the source of threat was 2.5%; thus, we can safely state that FYROM is not considered a potential threat by a noteworthy portion of the Greek public opinion.

GRAPH 6

Generally speaking, do you think that there is a foreign country that could be considered as a threat to Greece ?

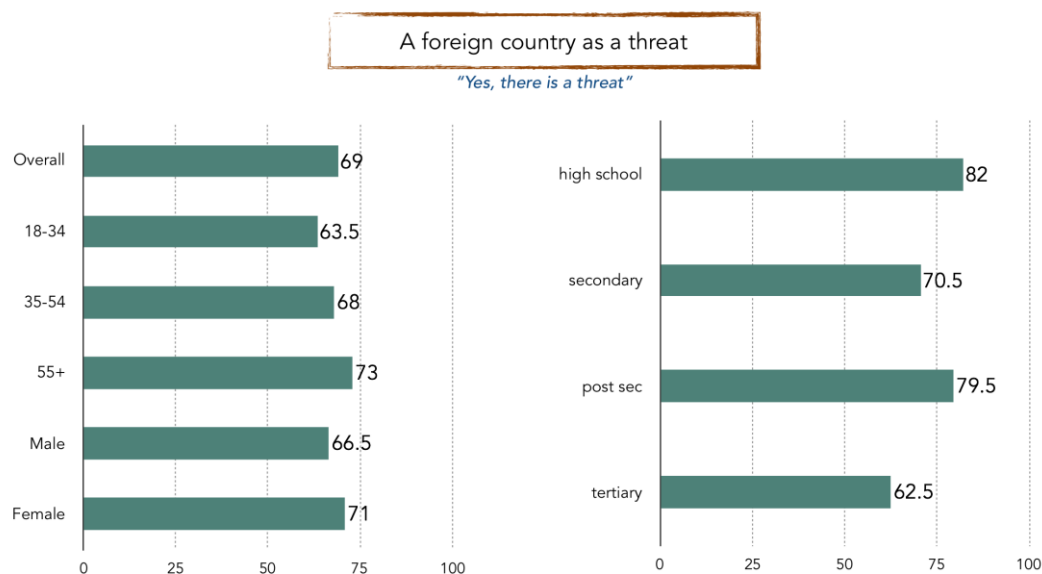


⁸ Public Issue, "Πολιτικό Βαρόμετρο 157 – Δημοτικότητα ξένων αξιοματούχων", June 2016

GRAPH 7

Generally speaking, do you think that there is a foreign country that could be considered as a threat to Greece ?

Age, Gender and educational level comparison



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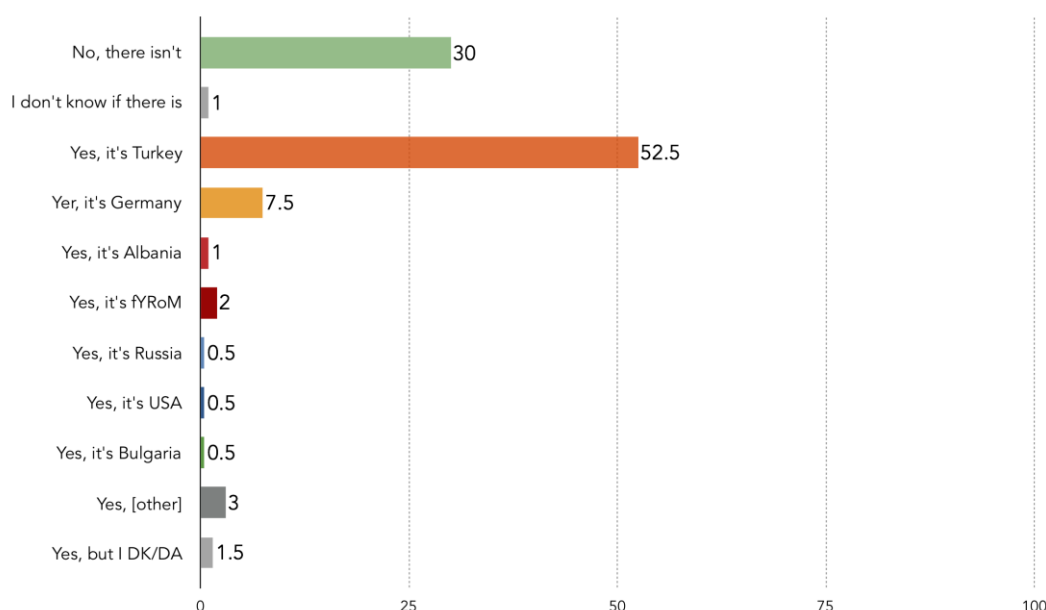
If we consider all answers, including the 'no threat' and all the perceived threats, the situation is as follows (graph 8): three out of ten respondents do not think there is a foreign threat to Greece; more than half of all respondents (52.5%) consider Turkey as a threat; fewer than one out of ten (7.5%) view Germany as a threat to Greece. The percentages for all other perceived foreign threats (FYROM, Albania, Russia, USA et.al.) are very small.

Furthermore, Turkey as a threat shows higher than average rates among men, those above age 35, the tertiary educated, social and economic liberals, and those placed far-left, far-right and right on the LR axis. Germany was perceived as a threat at significantly higher than average rates among young people (21.5%), women, and those who adopt a neutral stance on social liberal and economic liberal issues. Specifically, younger people are two times more likely to view Germany as a threat than those in the 35-54 age cohort (10%) and four times more likely than those in the 55+ age cohort. In fact, those in the 18-34 age group are the only group of respondents who view Turkey less negatively than the national average and view Germany more negatively than the national average. Of course, in the 18-34 age category "threat perceptions" are also less salient than the average (69% on average, 63,5% for 18-34).

GRAPH 8

Generally speaking, do you think that there is a foreign country that could be considered as a threat to Greece ?

Comparing results on the same baseline



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It would also be interesting to compare our findings with a previous survey, which was commissioned by ELIAMEP at the height of the Greek economic crisis in 2013.⁹ We can observe that the thrust of the findings largely stand, for example that men tend to see Turkey rather than Germany as a threat compared to women or that young people see Germany as a threat at a higher rate compared to other age groups. However, the interesting change is that overall the percentage of those who see Germany as a threat to Greece is significantly reduced: from 23% in 2013 to 7.5% in 2016, including also the “no threat” answers; in contrast the percentage of those who see Turkey as a threat has significantly increased (from 32% in 2014 to 52.5% in 2016) (graph 9). The percentage of those who do not see any country as a threat is only slightly reduced (33% in 2013 and 30% in 2016). Even among young people perceptions of Germany have improved. Our 2013 study found that the 18-34 age group saw Germany as the biggest threat to Greece, even compared to Turkey (28% and 16% respectively).¹⁰ Since then Turkey’s “threat perception” rates among the young significantly increased, while Germany’s rates significantly decreased. All these findings possibly point to the fact that the Greek crisis has entered a phase of ‘maturity’ in which Germany, while still not much liked by Greeks, is no longer perceived in highly hostile terms. In addition, since the policy adjustment of the SYRIZA-led government and the significant change in rhetoric by the formerly ‘anti-memorandum’

⁹ Ioannis Armakolas, “The Greek public opinion towards Albania and the Albanians: Social attitudes and perceptions”, South-East Europe Programme-ELIAMEP, Athens, December 2013.

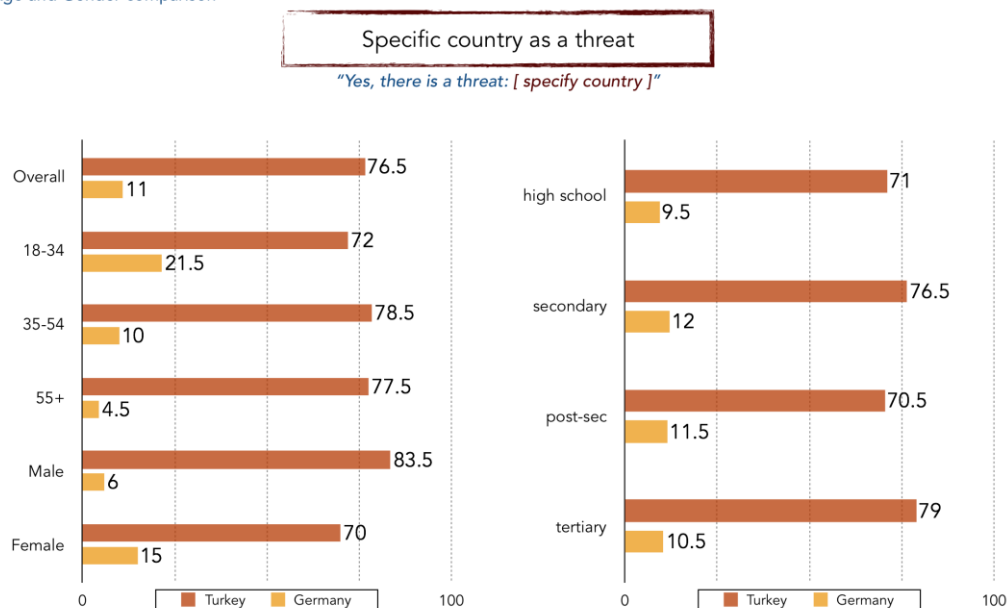
¹⁰ Among the groups that had the highest rates of “threat perception” from Germany were women, the unemployed, those self-identifying with the left. In *ibid*.

forces, Germany is less often scapegoated in public discourse. At the same time, public perceptions of Turkey are likely aggravated by the backsliding of democracy in Turkey, Ankara's handling of the refugee crisis and its repercussions for Greek-Turkish disputes over the Aegean.

GRAPH 9

Generally speaking, do you think that there is a foreign country that could be considered as a threat to Greece ?

Age and Gender comparison



ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ

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Assessment of countries' migration policies

In this survey, given the topicality of the issue, we also asked respondents to assess migration policies of Greece, Turkey, Germany, FYROM and Bulgaria (graph 10). The most **negatively** framed foreign government is Turkey, followed by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Bulgaria (87.5%, 77.5% and 54% respectively; sum of 'negative' and 'very negative'). Turkey is seen more negatively by the elderly (55+), women, cosmopolitans and those that adopt a neutral stance on economic liberalism issues. The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is seen more negatively by those placed on the left side (far left & left) of the LR spectrum and the ethno-centrists. Bulgaria elicited responses above the negative average, from women, the high school educated, social liberals, and far-left placed on the LR spectrum.

When it comes to positive assessments, the most **positively** framed governments are the Greek and the German (45% and 26.5% respectively; sum of 'very positive' and 'positive'). And even if this response was expected for the Greek government, the positive evaluation of

Germany was a bit of a surprise, especially compared to the results of the “threat perception” question. A possible explanation could be that while the survey was being conducted the Greek media widely publicized the EU summit on the refugee/immigration question, in which the German and Greek governments were largely aligned; the survey also took place after the critical year of 2015 when the German ‘open door’ policy towards refugees was highly publicized by the Greek press. Germany’s immigration policy is supported above-average by the elderly (55+), social conservatives, economic liberals, and left and far-right identifying on the LR axis. Additionally, Greece’s immigration policy is supported more by women, those aged 55+, the high school educated, social liberals, economic conservatives, far-left and left identifying on the LR axis. Men, those aged 18-34, right and far-right identifying on the LR axis expressed below-average support.

GRAPH 10

I’d like to ask your opinion about immigration policy, evaluating the stance of the government of ...



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Tolerance towards the national other (micro level)

A set of questions attempted to identify respondents' attitudes on a micro level, examining how people of different origins are perceived (graph 11-14, tables 2-3). Respondents were exposed to a hypothetical question on how difficult it is for them to accept people of a different national identity as part of their inner social cycle or in other words, how tolerant Greek public opinion is towards people of other nationalities, revealing differing levels of acceptance of the national "other". While, as has been shown above, Greek public opinion is quite negative towards most foreign countries and organisations included in the study, it appears to be much more open towards individuals from foreign countries. Thus, when the focus is on the micro (individual) level, Greek public opinion reveals an open, tolerant and extroverted outlook. Methodologically, the tolerance question followed the Guttman scale that was also tested in a previous, similar study implemented by PORU and commissioned by ELIAMEP, undertaken in April 2013.¹¹ The Guttman scale implies that if you accept the first choice given, which is associated with attitudes reflecting higher levels of tolerance, then you are very likely to also accept all the subsequent alternatives; therefore, the reading-out of the response items stops at the first positive reply.

More specifically, respondents were exposed to the following question format: ***"It is difficult for some people to accept into their inner or wider social environment people of different national origin. Would you personally accept [x] as member of [y]"***, where [x] stands for people of different origin and [y] presents the potential attributes.

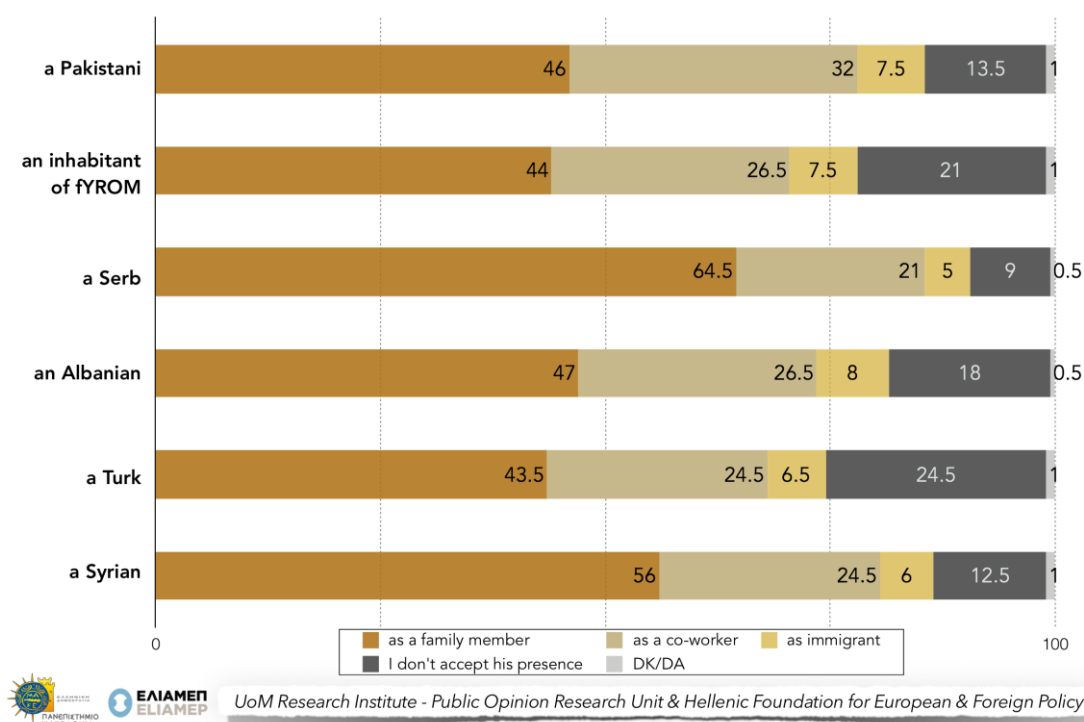
The [x] items included Pakistanis, inhabitants of FYROM¹², Serbs, Albanians, Turks and Syrians, whilst the response items [y] asked whether or not the above nationals could be accepted as (i) **family members**, (ii) **co-workers** or (iii) **immigrants**. Following the logic of the Guttman scale, if a respondent replies that he accepts [x] as a family member, then he is likely to also accept him as a co-worker and immigrant. So, this scale has two levels of approach: on the first level people react positively, with a variation among three choices, and on the contrary they react negatively, declaring that they do not accept a foreigner's presence in Greece.

¹¹ Konstantinidis and Armakolas, 2014, *op.cit.*

¹² A clarification of this term is due here. In the actual questionnaire the term that was used was 'Skopjan', a term that it is often perceived as derogative in Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia itself. The reason behind this choice is that this term is the most widely used in Greece both in public discourse and private conversations. Therefore, its use could not be avoided without alienating some of the respondents, thus introducing an element of bias into the survey. The term literally means an inhabitant of the city of Skopje, but in Greek this term has acquired different meanings recently, and has since implied two different things depending on the context and the speaker: either a citizen of FYROM of Slavic origin who self-identifies as 'Macedonian' (in an ethnic sense) or the citizen/inhabitant of FYROM in general. The use of this term in Greece, over the more politically correct 'Slav-Macedonian' (which is not in fact accurate since it excludes Albanians and other nationalities, and is also considered somewhat derogative in FYROM), may or may not communicate negative sentiment or reveal stereotyping depending on the speaker.

GRAPH 11

For a lot of people it is difficult to accept people of different national identity into their inner social circle.
Would you personally accept...

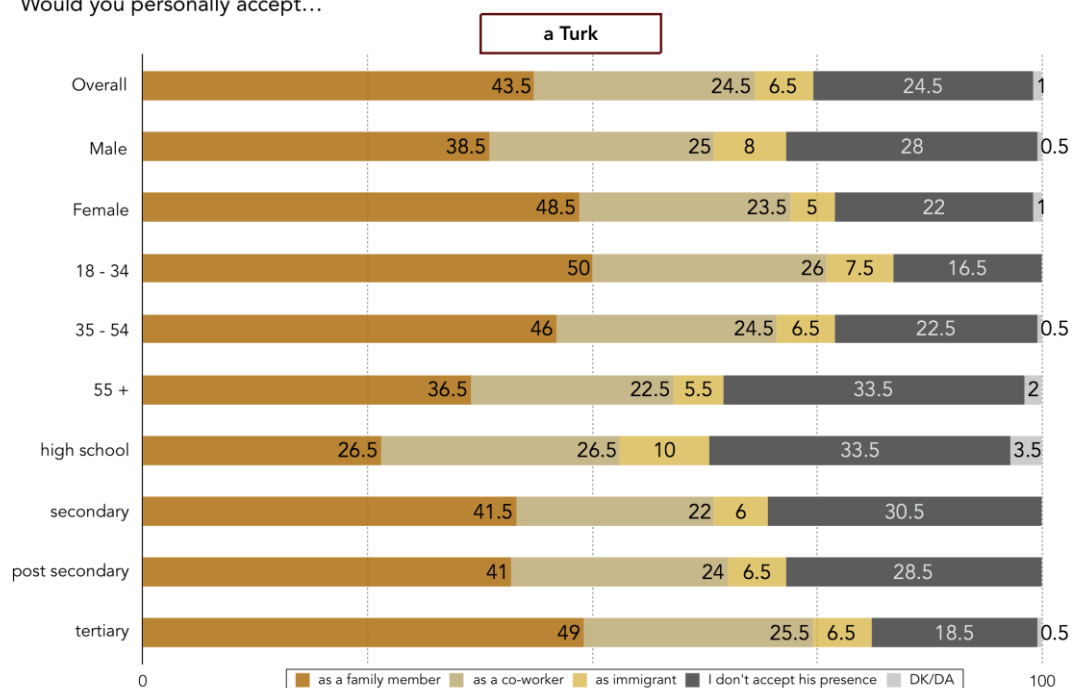


Overall, Greek public opinion is less tolerant towards Turks and inhabitants of FYROM, while Serbs and Syrians are the most accepted. These findings show the impact of foreign relations on the perception of the “other” in Greek public opinion. In other words, it seems clear that Greeks are less tolerant towards citizens coming from countries that do not enjoy good bilateral relations with Greece. More specifically, Serbs (64,5%) and Syrians (56%) are the most accepted in the family’s inner cycle (“as a family member”). Even if we consider the two first response choices (“as a family member” and “as a co-worker”) together the two nations are still the most accepted. Younger groups (ages 18-34) show a more positive inclination toward nearly all the different nationalities, with the exception of the Albanians. In the case of the Albanians, the age group 35-54 demonstrates a more positive attitude.

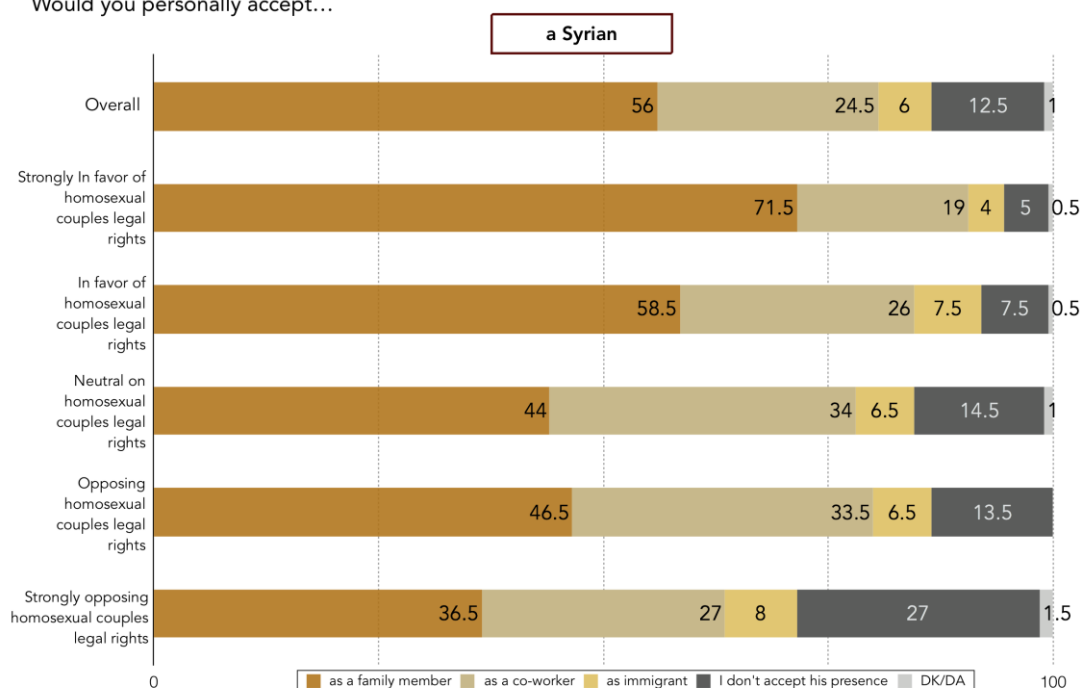
Comparing tolerance responses among groups, according to demographic and values approaches, a clear pattern could be spotted: the more socially liberal and the more cosmopolitan someone is, the more tolerant he is. And also, the younger and more educated, the more tolerant he is. Economic liberalism does not seem to affect variability but LR placement does, as respondents placed on the left side of the spectrum seem on average more tolerant than those on the right.

GRAPHS 12-14

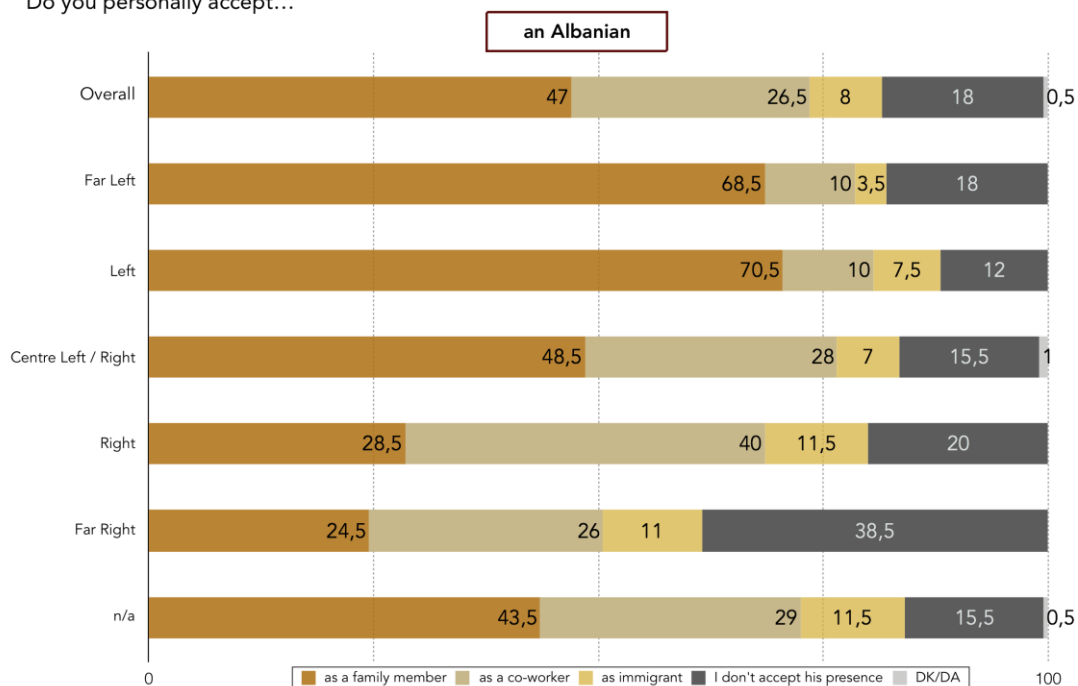
For a lot of people it is difficult to accept people of different national identity into their inner social circle.
Would you personally accept...



For a lot of people it is difficult to accept people of different national identity into their inner social circle.
Would you personally accept...



For a lot of people it is difficult to accept people of different national identity into their inner social cycle.
Do you personally accept...



TABLES 2-3

I would accept a/an [...] as a member of my family (percentage)					
	Overall	Agree with same sex couples having full legal rights	Disagree with same sex couples having full legal rights	Disagree that our culture is superior	Agree that our culture is superior
Pakistani	46	58	29	55.5	28.5
inhabitant of FYROM	44	56	25.5	53.5	26
Serb	64.5	74	51	72	50.5
Albanian	47	59	30.5	57	28.5
Turk	43.5	56	24	54	23.5
Syrian	56	58	39	64.5	40

I would not accept a/an [...] in my country (percentage)					
	Overall	Agree with same sex couples having full legal rights	Disagree with same sex couples having full legal rights	Disagree that our culture is superior	Agree that our culture is superior
Pakistani	13.5	7	27	7.5	26
inhabitant of FYROM	21	11	38.5	12.5	37.5
Serb	9	3.5	18	5	16
Albanian	18	10.5	31	11.5	30
Turk	24.5	14.5	44.5	16	41.5
Syrian	12.5	5.5	23.5	7	22.5

NB: The position (agree/disagree) in each column represents the sum of percentages of the “strongly” and “somewhat” agree/disagree.

It is, finally, worth comparing here these tolerance rates with those in a similar survey commissioned by ELIAMEP in 2013 (table 4).¹³ When considering the most positive responses in the two surveys (“accept as a family member”), we observe some change in tolerance rates. Tolerance rates for Serbs fell slightly from 68% in 2013 to 64.5% in 2016. In 2013 Slav-Macedonians were the second most accepted group with 51%, but in 2016 this rate fell to 44%, only slightly better than that of Turks.¹⁴ The latter’s acceptance fell by 5.5 percentage points, from 49% in 2013 to 43.5% in 2016. Tolerance towards Albanians only

¹³ Konstantinidis and Armakolas, 2014, *op.cit.*

¹⁴ This significant differentiation (from 51% to 44%) could also be attributed to the different methodology used to describe the citizens of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia in the two surveys. In the 2013 study, respondents were asked about their opinions of a “resident of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia of Slavic origin,” which could be perceived differently by some respondents than the term “Skopjan” used in this year’s survey (see more above).

slightly improved, from 46% in 2013 to 47% in 2016. But because acceptance of both Turks and Slavs from FYROM fell significantly, Albanians are now more accepted than both those groups (when in 2013 both had higher rates than Albanians). Still, in 2016 Albanians are much less tolerated than Syrians and only slightly more tolerated than Pakistanis (both of these groups were not measured in 2013).

All these observations are, however, more interesting when comparing attitudes towards different nations, rather than drawing conclusions about intolerance. For the latter, the general conclusion that can be drawn is that Greeks appear to be highly tolerant of individual members of other national origins, even those from countries with which Greece has bilateral problems and disputes. A significant percentage of Greeks, close to one in two and in some cases as many as six out of ten, demonstrate the highest level of tolerance, which we asked about accepting them as members of their families. This trend extends even to immigrant populations that have received negative press coverage and/or are of Islamic faith. There is only a hard core of about 10% who are totally intolerant ("not accepting their presence in Greece") of all foreigners, while for some groups this intolerance rate can be raised to 20-25%. The interesting finding is that the intolerance rate is higher for those individuals coming from neighbouring countries that have bilateral disputes with Greece or from the vilified-in-the-media Albanians, than to foreigners who come from relatively more alien cultures and a different religion. The widespread tolerance exhibited in our survey is worth exploring further since it is not easy to explain and could potentially be seen as going against evidence from other surveys, as for example the recent findings of a Pew Research Centre survey which found Greeks to be least tolerant among the nations surveyed towards Muslims, Roma and Jews.¹⁵ This very interesting issue is unfortunately beyond the scope of our study.

TABLE 4¹⁶

I would accept a [...] as a member of my family (percentage)		
	2013	2016
Pakistani	n/a	46
inhabitant of FYROM	51	44
Serb	68	64.5
Albanian	46	47
Turk	49	43.5
Syrian	n/a	56

¹⁵ Greeks were found in this survey to be more intolerant than the European median by 19% for Roma, by 18% for Muslims and by 39% for Jews. See more in Pew Research Center-Global Attitudes & Trends, "Negative opinions about Roma, Muslims in several European nations", 11 July 2016, available at: <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/07/11/europeans-fear-wave-of-refugees-will-mean-more-terrorism-fewer-jobs/lede-chart-2/>

¹⁶ Comparing findings of Konstantinidis and Armakolas, 2014, *op.cit.* and the present study. Note that the two surveys are not directly comparable and the comparison may be seen as only indicative of general trends. Further research will be needed in the future.

Greek public opinion's attitudes towards the name dispute and bilateral relations with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

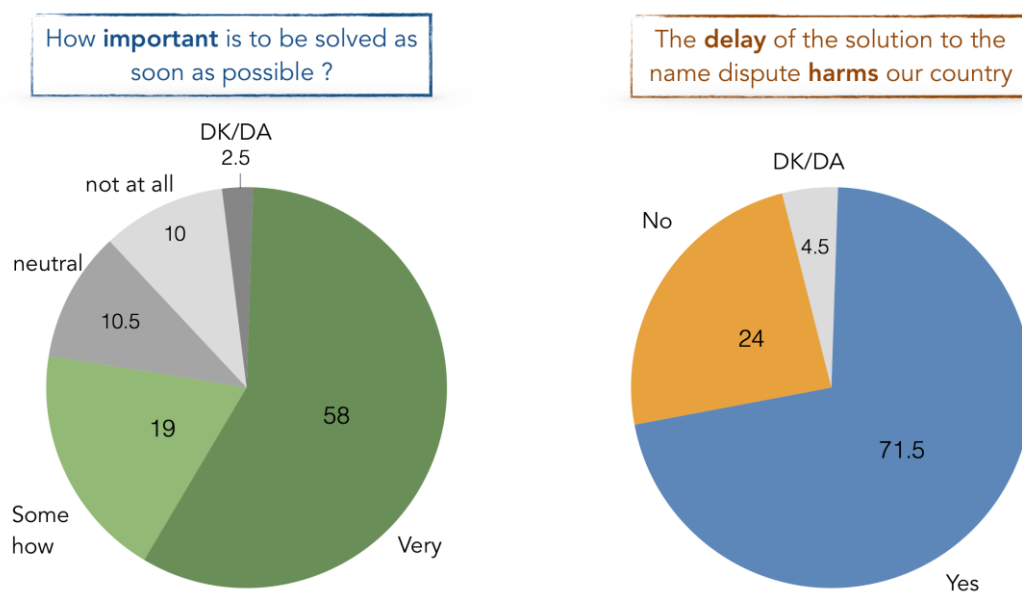
The questionnaire set out a range of questions concerning bilateral relations between Greece and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, on three different levels: (i) **evaluating** the importance of the imminent solution of the name dispute and how harmful a delay in the solution is, how likely it is that the use of the term "Macedonia" will mean a potential territorial threat and an evaluation of the involvement of third actors in the settlement of the name dispute, (ii) the **core** level regarding the potential acceptance of hypothetical solutions to the name dispute based on different scenarios, (iii) the future **prospects** level, assessing future developments in bilateral relations.

The importance of the name dispute

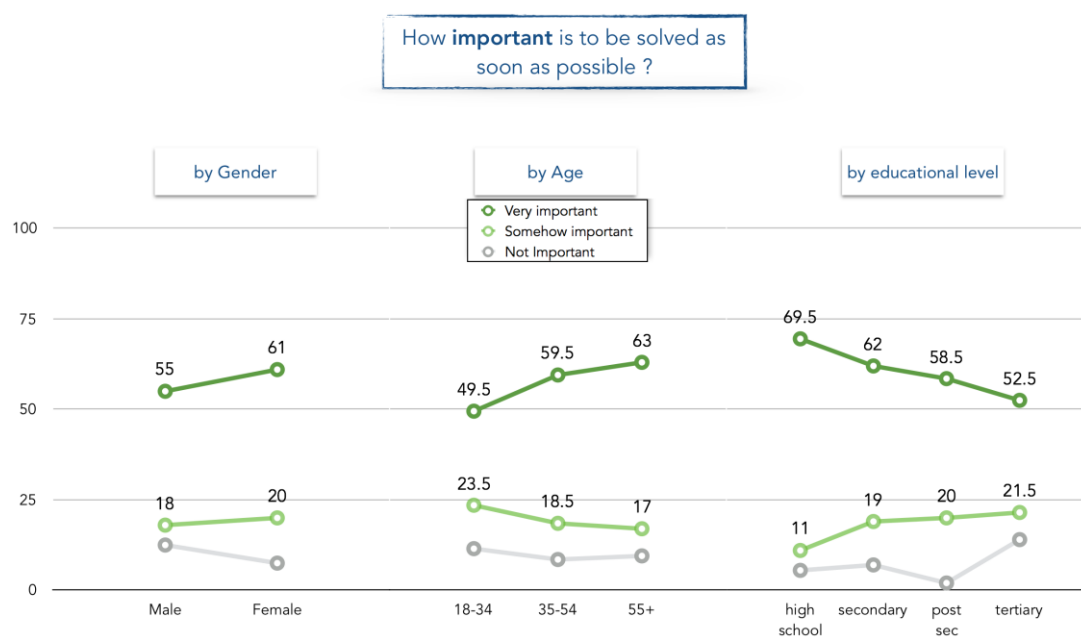
The first question in this section attempted to assess the level of significance that respondents assign to the name dispute by asking how important it is that the issue is resolved as soon as possible (graph 15). Overall, Greek public opinion overwhelmingly believes that the name dispute is a major issue (58% consider it a very important one, with 19% that consider it somewhat important, totaling 77%). In addition, when asked about whether the delay in the settlement of the name dispute harms Greece, 71.5% responded positively while only one in four (24%) thought that the non-settlement of the dispute does not harm Greece (graph 15). A clear pattern of increased perception of importance as age increases and as education levels go down could also be identified (graph 16). Younger age groups as well as more educated people do not consider the settlement of the name dispute as important as the elderly and the less educated do. According to value orientation, social liberals, cosmopolitans, economic conservatives and those placed on the left side of the LR axis see the settlement of the name dispute as less important. On the other hand, a similar variation could be seen regarding the degree to which the delay to the solution of the name dispute harms Greece, depending on demographic characteristics. The young and more educated agree with this statement to a lesser extent. Also, social liberals, cosmopolitans, economic conservatives and those placed on the left side of the LR axis agree with this statement at below average rates.

GRAPHS 15-16

The importance of the name dispute and the urgency of its solution



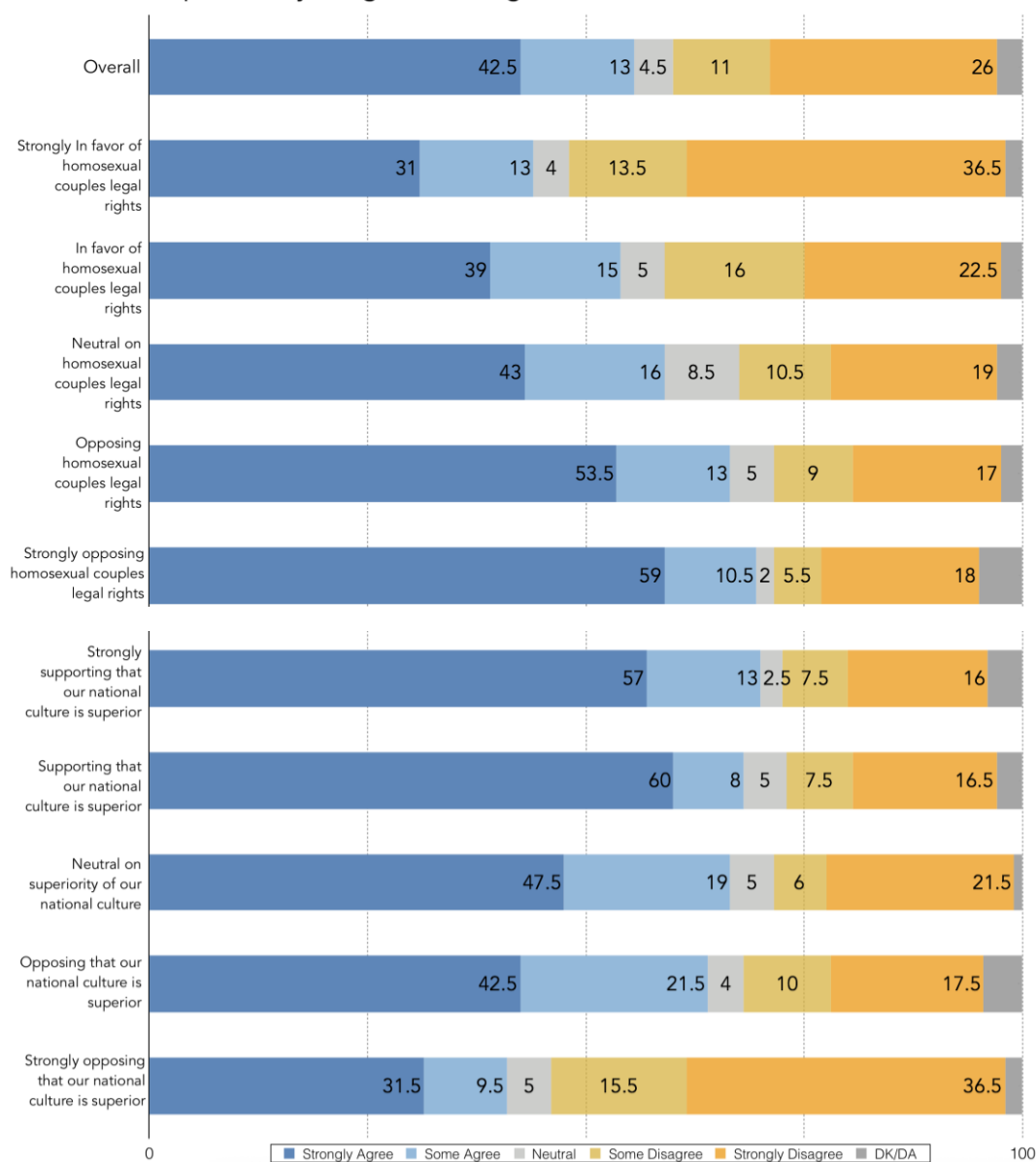
The importance of the name dispute and the urgency of its solution



The survey then attempted to verify or debate the popular belief that the use of the term “Macedonia” implies a future territorial threat (graphs 17-18). In this question, the answers were somewhat more balanced, but overall a clear majority of public opinion considers that use of the term “Macedonia” implies a future territorial threat: 55.5% of the respondents strongly or somewhat agree that the use of this name implies a future threat; only 26% strongly oppose and another 11% somewhat oppose this view. Strong supporters of social liberalism, strong cosmopolitans, and far-left and left-placed on the LR axis are less supportive of the view that the use of the term “Macedonia” implies a future threat.

GRAPHS 17-18

Some people believe that the use of the name “Macedonia” implies a future territorial dispute. Do you agree or disagree with that statement.



ΕΛΙΑΜΕΠ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ
ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΙΚΟ
ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ

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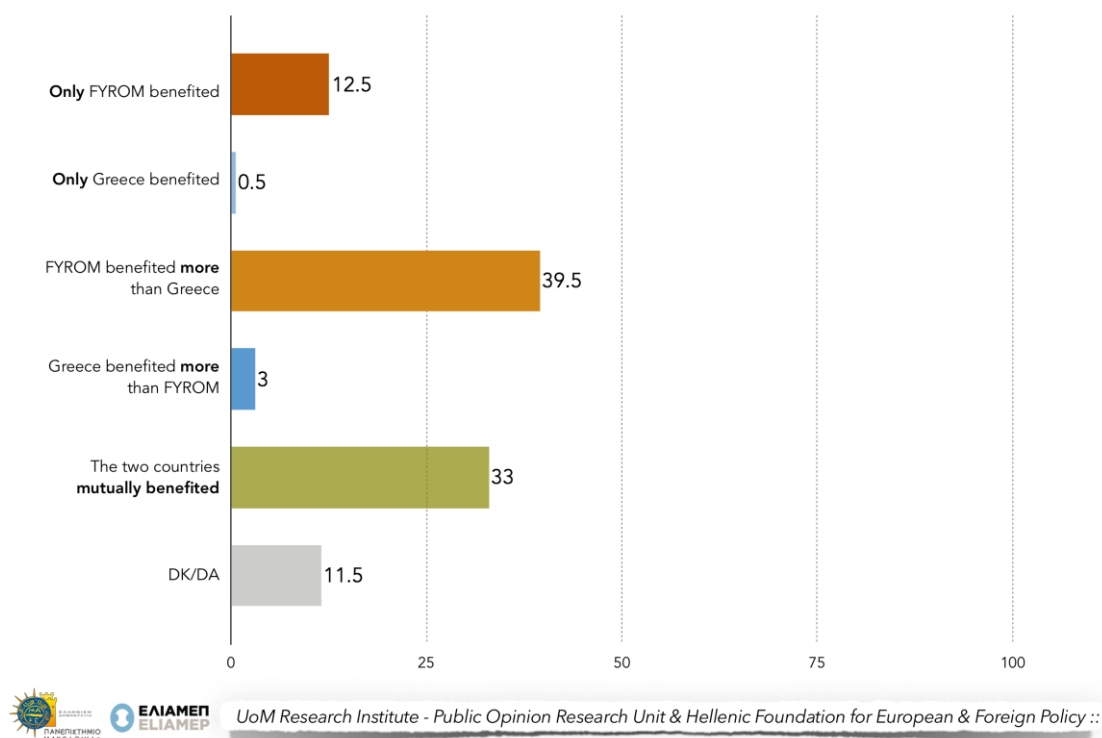
Assessment of bilateral economic relations

Subsequently, we measured the attitudes of Greek public opinion on economic cooperation between the two countries (graphs 19-20). This is a question that has also been used in the past in polls conducted by ELIAMEP, in an attempt to measure the views that Greek society holds about the economic basis of the significant improvement of relations with Balkan neighbours after the mid-1990s. Through such questions we aimed to see whether the wider public perceives intensified economic relations similarly to the way many decision makers and experts view them: as win-win relations that strengthen regional and bilateral cooperation and could potentially contribute to the improvement of political relations. In contrast to this perception, a majority of Greeks (52%) believes that FYROM was the only or main beneficiary of economic cooperation. Instead, only 3.5% considered economic relations as only or mainly beneficial for Greece and only one in three (33.5%) thought that both countries mutually benefited. The elderly hold such pessimistic views at even higher rates, as do the less educated, and persons placed on the right and on the center of the LR scale. In terms of value orientation, strong ethno-centrists stated that FYROM is the only or main beneficiary at well above average rates, while moderate ethno-centrists at only slightly below average rates. Moderate cosmopolitans believe above average that FYROM was the only or main beneficiary, while the percentages for strong cosmopolitans are below the average. Interestingly, similarly (and even more) pessimistic views were held by Greeks when in 2013 ELIAMEP measured attitudes towards economic relations with Albania. In that survey 66% of respondents thought that only or mainly Albania benefited from bilateral economic relations, while only three out of ten (29%) thought that both countries benefited.¹⁷

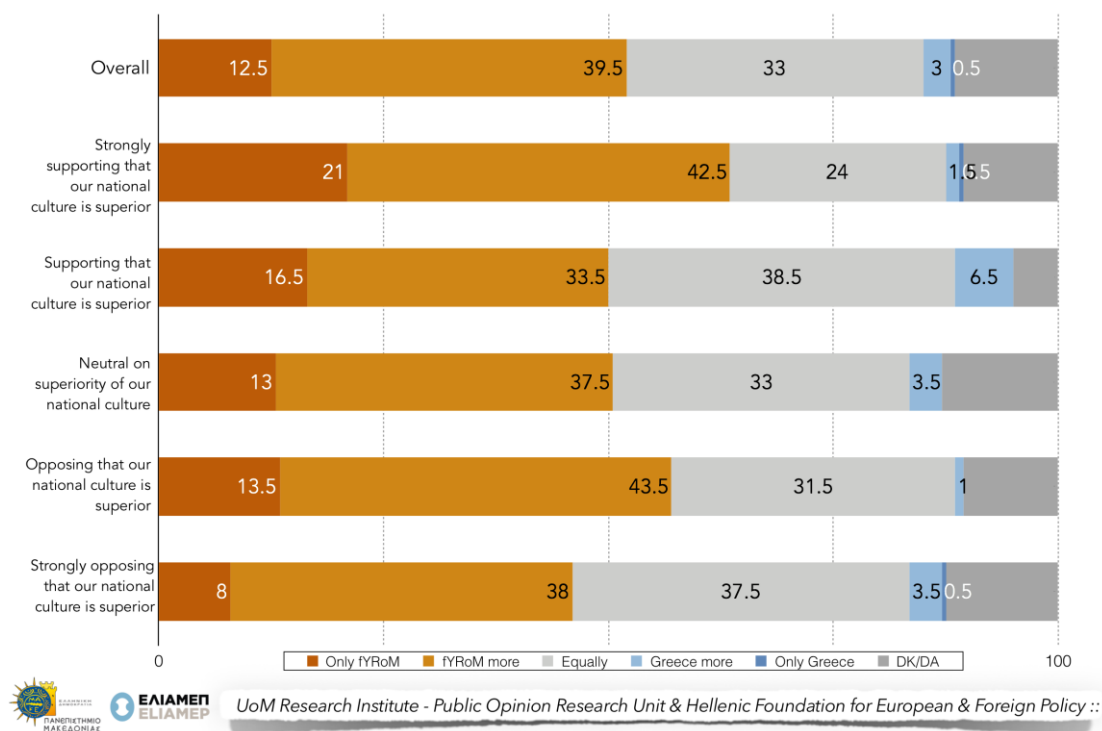
¹⁷ Armakolas, 2013, *op.cit.*

GRAPHS 19-20

Regarding economic relations, do you believe that...



Regarding economic relations, do you believe that _____ benefited...

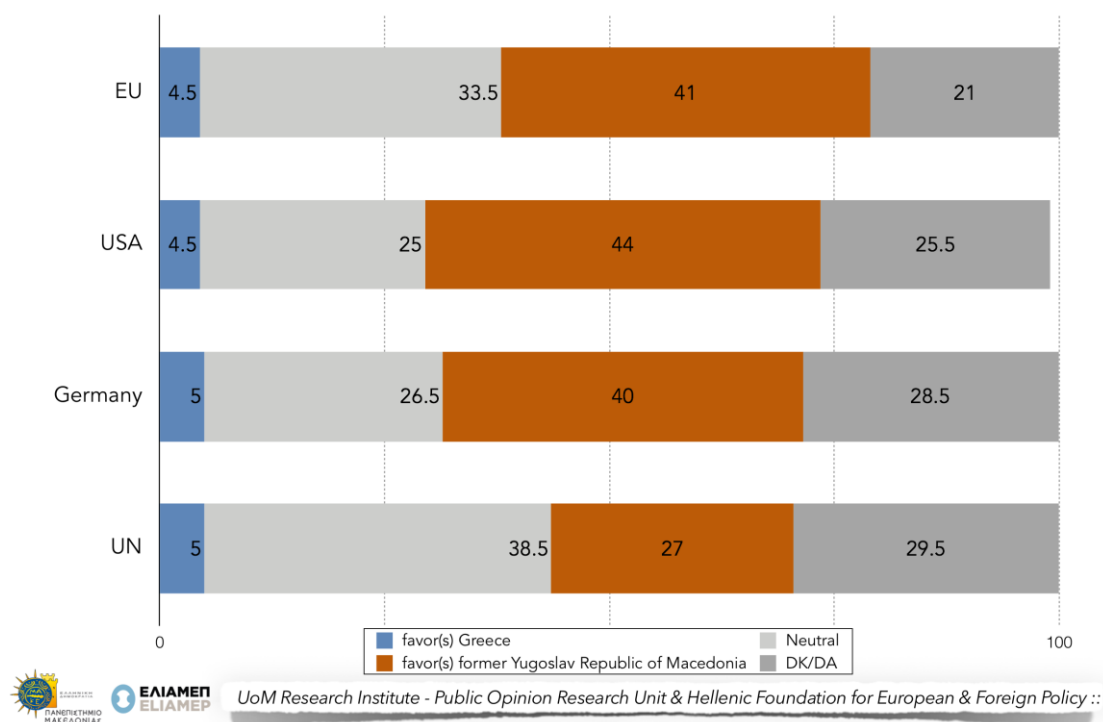


Assessment of the role of foreign actors in the name dispute

Similarly negative perceptions of Greece's benefits can be identified concerning the efforts of foreign actors. Respondents were asked to assess whether foreign actors' involvement in the settlement of the disputes favors Greece, favors FYROM or remains neutral (graph 21). The foreign actors that were measured were the EU, USA, Germany and the UN, which, with the exception of the UN, are, as we have seen above, generally perceived negatively by the Greek public. Nearly 2 to 3 out of 10 declared ignorance for that question, but the rest of the respondents demonstrated attitudes that can be characterized as pessimistic or hostile to foreign involvement in the settlement efforts. Only one in every twenty respondents (about 5%) considers that the efforts of the EU, USA, Germany and the United Nations favor Greece. In contrast, more than four out of ten respondents perceive the involvement of the EU, USA and Germany in the dispute as favoring FYROM (41%, 44% and 40% respectively). This is despite the fact that Greece is an EU member state and has managed to effectively block FYROM's process of acceding to this organisation. In addition, the USA and Germany are both Greece's allies in NATO and have accepted the Greek position of making the settlement of the name dispute a requirement for the Alliance extending FYROM an invitation to join. The percentages of the respondents who view the involvement of these three actors as neutral range from 25% to 33.5%. The UN is considered the most neutral of the four actors at 38.5%, although 27% of respondents perceive the UN as favoring FYROM.

GRAPH 21

Some organizations and foreign governments have been involved in the effort to solve the name dispute. Do you believe that the efforts of ...

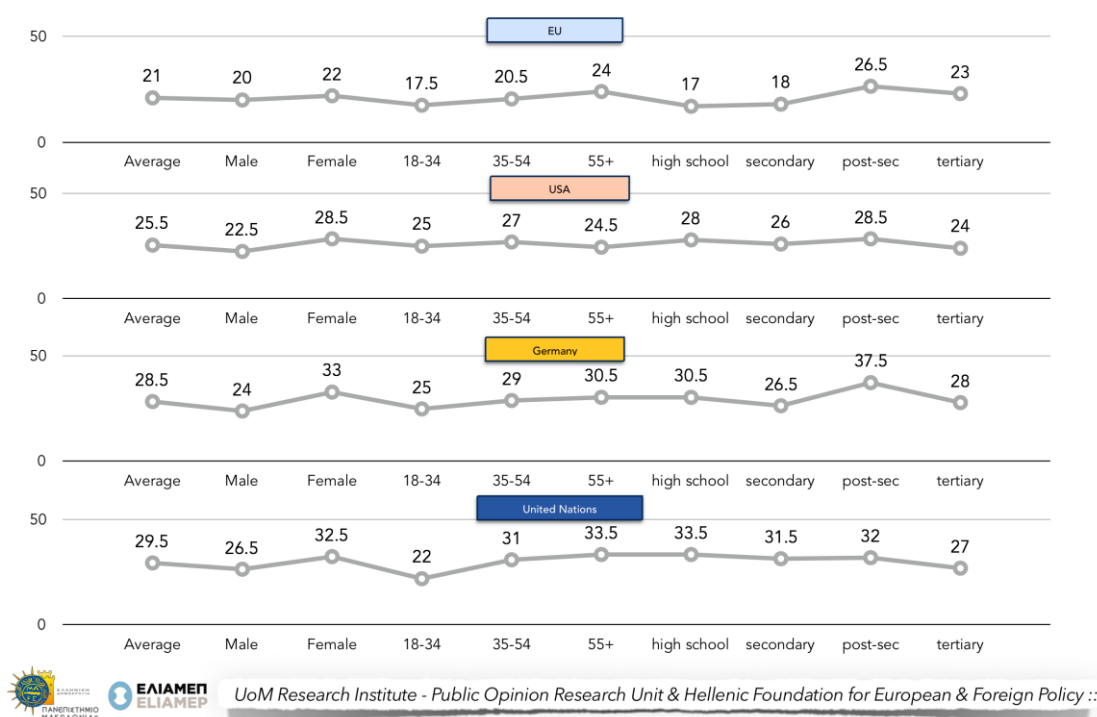


Finally, it is necessary to underline the prominent rates of ignorance that the data show (graph 22). The role of the UN seems to be the least known (29.5%), despite the fact that it is under UN mediation that the two countries have been negotiating the settlement of their dispute for more than two decades. The 'don't know' answers for the rest of the actors range from 28.5% to 21%. When considering levels of ignorance by gender, age and level of education we find that women and the elderly are generally less informed about the role of the measured actors.

GRAPH 22

Some organizations and foreign governments have been involved in the effort to solve the name dispute. Do you believe that the efforts of ...

Comparing levels of ignorance - Replying DK/DA



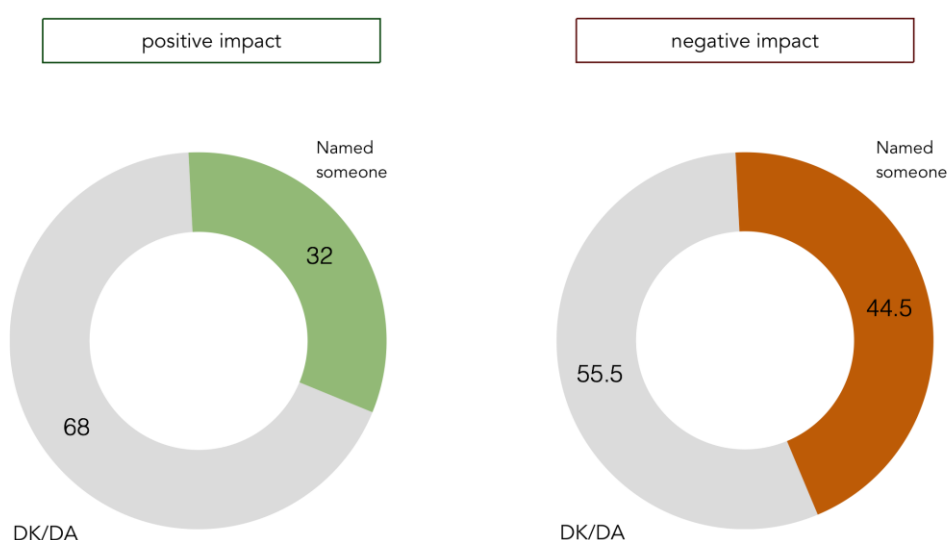
Assessment of the role of Greek politicians

Finally, another set of questions attempted to investigate if any prominent political figures are acknowledged (positively or negatively) for their impact or overall involvement in the efforts to resolve the name dispute (graph 23). An open-ended question was used to identify whether or not there is a politician known for his/her positive stance on the issue, and a follow-up question asked if there is anyone connected negatively to the issue. Both questions elicited virtually no returns useful for analysis. A startling 68% gave a "don't know/don't answer" response to the question about the politician with a positive impact. Another 55.5% gave the same answer to the question about the politician with a negative impact. Thus, only 32% and 44.5% respectively named politicians with a positive or negative impact on the issue. Considering the diversity of responses, no political figure exceeded 10%, so respondents could not identify a single politician widely perceived as having played a key

role, whether positive or negative. It is, however, striking that for an issue that has dominated the Greek foreign policy agenda for a quarter of a century, and over more than a dozen governments, almost 7 out of 10 Greeks are not in position to name a single politician who has had a positive impact on the issue and more than half of Greeks cannot name a politician who has had a negative impact on the issue. This is despite the fact that, as attested also in this survey, the issue remains quite important and emotional for the Greek public and does not appear to have been quickly 'forgotten' as was once famously put by a Greek Prime Minister.¹⁸ A tentative conclusion, pending further research on this question, is that it has become an issue of high symbolic importance and a source of self-identification for Greeks, who, in an emotional way, tend to consider this issue crucial but without demonstrating interest in following the 'nitty-gritty' of its deliberations. Unfortunately, the lack of longitudinal survey data does not enable us to reflect on the evolution of the issue over the past 25 years.

GRAPH 23

'If I ask you to name a Greek politician who has had a [...] impact on resolving the name dispute, which name comes first to mind?



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¹⁸ PM Konstantinos Mitsotakis had famously predicted during the early stages of the dispute that this issue would be forgotten in 10 years.

Attitudes towards solutions to the name dispute

Subsequently, we asked respondents to provide their views on possibly the most important question of the survey, i.e. their stance and preferred solution for the settlement of the name dispute (graph 24). Respondents were presented with three different hypothetical scenarios as potential solution(s) to the name dispute. The actual wording was “**Which solution would you personally accept regarding the name of our neighbor country**” with three options: (i) a **composite name** that will contain the term “Macedonia”, (ii) **no reference** to the term “Macedonia” in the name of the country, (iii) **recognition by its constitutional name** “Republic of Macedonia”. A comfortable majority of 57% supported the second option of “no reference” to the term “Macedonia”, while 28% reacted positively towards a composite name and 10% would accept recognition by its constitutional name as a solution. Thus, in our survey Greek public opinion is widely against any solution that will include the term “Macedonia” in any form, and thus implicitly rejects any compromise on the issue. Less than 3 out of 10 respondents are ready to accept a compromise solution that would include the term “Macedonia”, while only 1 out of 10 would accept that the neighbouring state retains its current constitutional name.

It is important to stress here that the phrasing of the question invites more moderate answers, in the sense that it does not ask for the respondents’ preferred solution, but rather about whether they would be ready to accept a certain solution. Thus, one could plausibly infer that with such a phrasing some respondents who would generally prefer no reference to the term “Macedonia” could be willing to accept a compromise solution taking into account that realistically one cannot be over-optimistic about optimal outcomes on the issue. However, it is also important to stress that this inference can neither be really proven nor quantified as to the percentage of the response rate that it could elicit.

It is also useful to note here that Greece’s official position for quite some time has been to try to reach a compromise solution on the issue based on a ‘composite name’ that will include the term “Macedonia”. For example, the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Hellenic Republic states the official position as such: “Our position is clear: a compound name with a geographical qualifier before the word “Macedonia”, which will be used in relation to everyone (*erga omnes*), for all uses domestic and international”.¹⁹ Successive Greek governments have been negotiating on that basis, mainly about the scope of the use of the term “Macedonia” i.e. whether it will have domestic or only international use or whether such international use will be uniform by all, about the geographical qualifier to be used and other ancillary issues. Thus, the majority of Greek public opinion appears in this survey to be much less compromising than the official position of the Greek state and the direction that negotiations for the settlement of the dispute have followed for several years.

Note also that this finding is in line with conclusions from previous studies on the issue. In one such survey from 2008, Greeks rejected all alternative name solutions that included the term “Macedonia” by comfortable majorities of 76% to 84%. The only exception of a solution with a smaller margin (54% rejection, which is closer to our finding of 57%) was the name “Republic of Upper Macedonia”.²⁰ Thus, if these findings are any indicator of the persistence of non-acceptance of a solution including the term “Macedonia”, it appears that

¹⁹ See the official website of the Hellenic MFA: <http://www.mfa.gr/en/fyrom-name-issue/>, accessed 25 July 2016.

²⁰ Public Issue, “Έρευνα για την εξωτερική πολιτική”, *op.cit.*

this 57% support for “no reference” that our survey found is no more rejectionist than the general mood over time, and it could plausibly be considered even as less rejectionist. However, we have to stress here that none of these comparisons and conclusions are solid and the lack of longitudinal survey data on attitudes toward foreign policy issues and the name dispute prevent us from reaching safer conclusions.

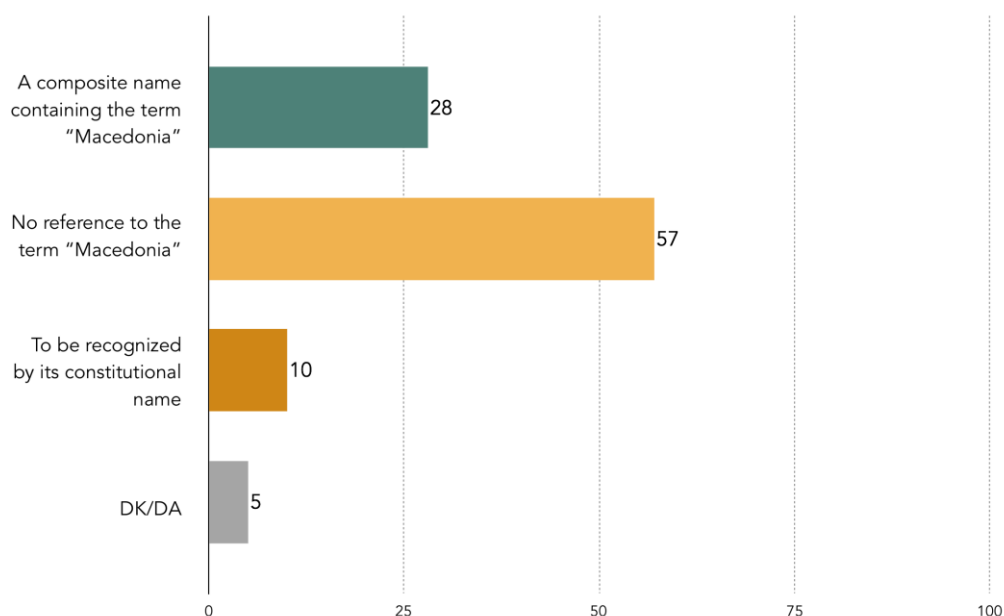
Reflecting on the mismatch that the surveys reveal between the official Greek position and the mood of public opinion, one is left wondering whether it is a result of lack of information about the actual diplomatic issue or whether it is due to deeply held convictions that even go against the official policies of successive Greek governments. Unfortunately, this extremely interesting question cannot be answered with the available data and it would call for another specifically targeted study to answer this question. However, some clues are given if we combine findings from different surveys. More specifically, in the 2008 survey on foreign policy conducted by the Public Issue polling agency, there was quite a bit of pessimism both about bilateral relations with FYROM and, more importantly, about Greece’s chances for striking a favourable deal on the issue.²¹ To give some examples: one in two (51%) respondents thought that relations between the two countries have deteriorated in the previous year (up from 20% in a similar survey less than three years earlier) and another 41% thought that they remained the same; one in two (48%) respondents also thought that the ‘battle’ for the name had been lost for good (up from 41% in 2007). But despite the pessimism, when in the same survey participants were asked whether Greece should veto FYROM’s entry into NATO and the EU since no solution to the name dispute had been found, 84% responded in favour and only 9% were against the veto.²² These findings can be seen as evidence of attitudes driven by emotion over an issue of high symbolic value for respondents, who are ready to respond less rationally or not in line with what “makes sense” in diplomacy. Thus, it is in that context that one can interpret the persistence of no-reference to the term “Macedonia” opinions which go against diplomatic pragmatism and any sense of what may be a viable solution to the dispute.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Only two months later the Greek government managed to block FYROM’s entry into NATO during the Alliance’s Summit in Bucharest (April 2008) by convincing the rest of its allies that a resolution to the name dispute should precede Skopje’s accession.

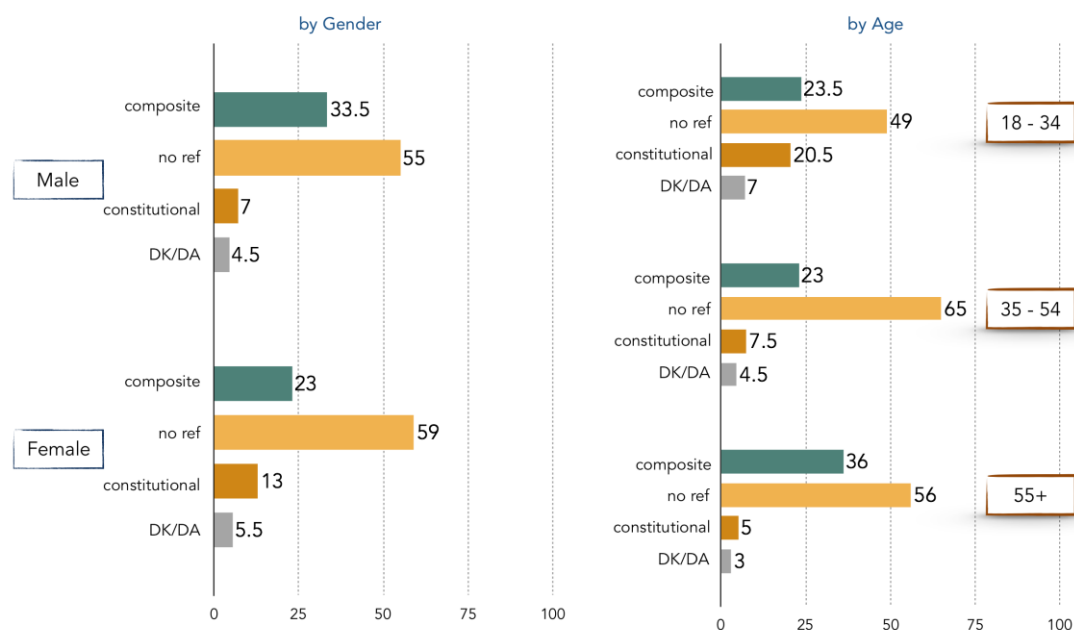
GRAPHS 24-25

Which of the following would you accept as the new name of the neighbor country, thus solving the name dispute...



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Which of the following would you accept as the new name of the neighbor country, thus solving the name dispute...



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Analysis based on demographic characteristics (graph 25-27), shows that women (59%), people aged 35 – 54 (65%), the high school (63%) and post-secondary educated (64.5%) have the highest rates of rejection of any use of the term “Macedonia”. When it comes to values, the strong social conservatives (68.5%) are above the average rejectionist, as are those in the neutral position on the social liberalism/conservatism axis (65%), the strong ethno-centrists (70.5%), the moderate ethno-centrists (62%) and those who are neutral on the cosmopolitanism/ethnocentrism axis (70%), the strong economic liberals (60%) and those neutral on the relevant axis (62.5%). Rejectionist rates are also well above average among those identifying with the right (63.5%) and the far-right (72%) on the LR spectrum. Finally, interestingly, moderate cosmopolitans are also above average rejectionist (63.5%) and only strong cosmopolitans are below average (46.5%).

On the contrary, the lowest rates of rejection of any use of the term “Macedonia” are to be found among younger respondents (49%), strong social liberals (49.5%), strong cosmopolitans (46.5%), strong economic conservatives (51.5%), and those identifying with the left (39.5%) and the far-left (42.5%). The least rejectionist respondents are the strong social liberals (49.5%); interestingly, moderate social conservatives are below the average for rejection of the use of the term “Macedonia” (54.5%), while moderate social liberals are rejectionist in equal percentage to the average.

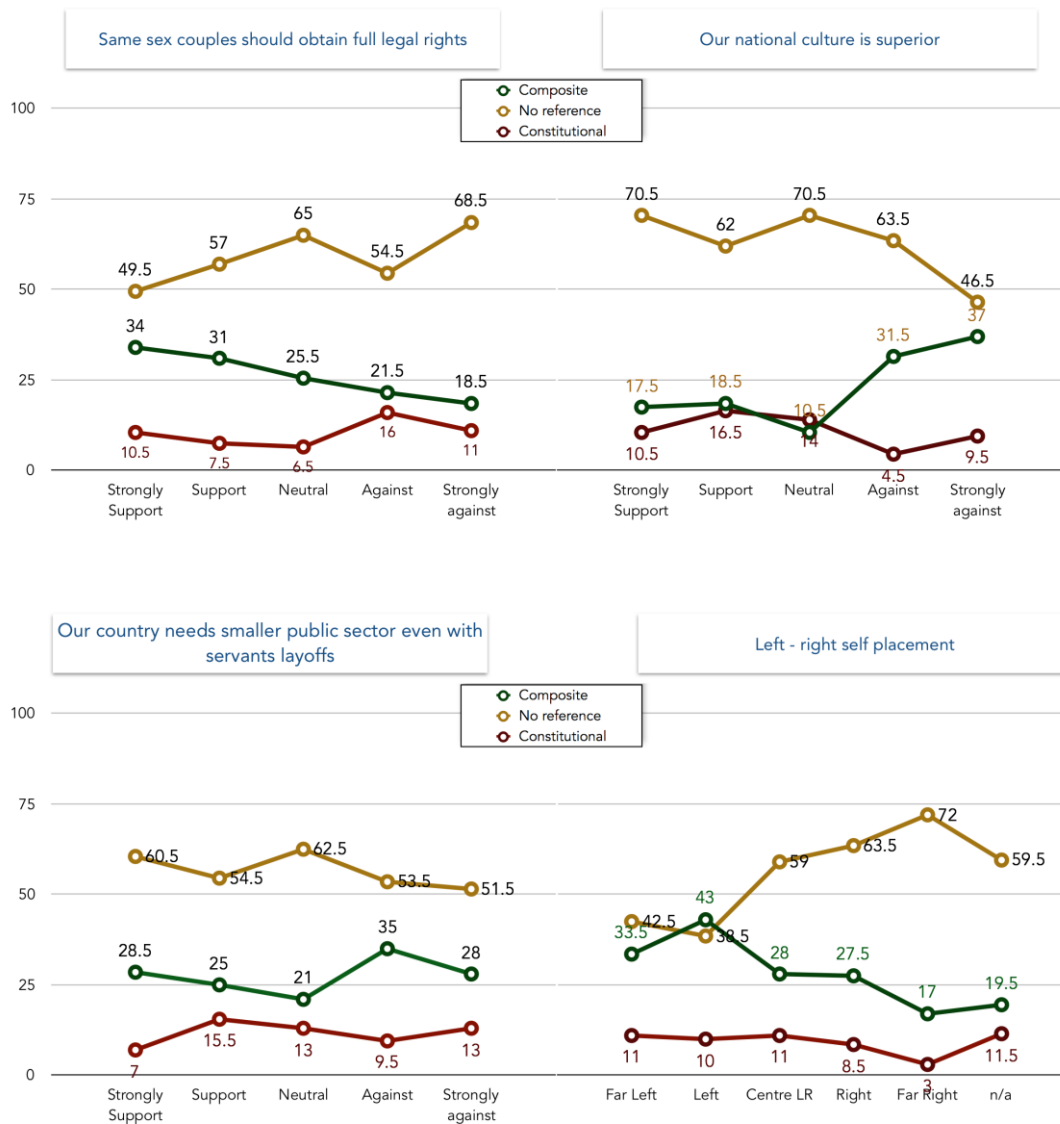
The outlook that accepts a composite official name that contains the term “Macedonia” is supported by 28% of respondents. Men (33.5%), the elderly (36%) and the tertiary educated (31%) support this option at above average rates. Strong social liberals (34%), moderate social liberals (31%), strong cosmopolitans (37%), moderate cosmopolitans (31%), and moderate economic liberals (35%) also support this view more; interestingly, both strong economic liberals (28.5%) and strong economic conservatives (28%) are almost on par with the national average of support for the composite name. Generally, the survey found that the more social liberal or cosmopolitan a respondent, the more likely she is to have increased support for the composite name solution, but the same does not extend to economic liberals. When it comes to self-identification on the LR axis, those identifying with the far-left (35.5%) and left (43%) are above the national average for supporting the composite name. In fact, those self-identifying with the left are the only sub-group measured which supports the composite name more than the “no reference” solution; every other demographic and value-oriented group in the country supports the rejectionist solution at higher or much higher percentages. Women (23%), those educated in high school (20.5%) and post-secondary education (21.5%), strong social conservatives (18.5%), strong ethno-centrists (17.5%) and those self-identifying as far-right on the LR axis (17%) were the least supportive of the composite name solution.

The option to accept the constitutional name of the neighboring country was chosen by 10% of those polled. Interestingly, twice as many youngsters aged 18-34 (20.5%) compared to the national average would accept FYROM’s constitutional name. Moreover, women (13%) and those with high school education (13.5%) would also accept this solution with higher than the average rates. Due to the small size of the baseline sample, analysis within values groups or on the LR scale is not indicative.

GRAPHS 26-27

Which of the following would you accept as the new name of the neighbor country, thus solving the name dispute...

by values



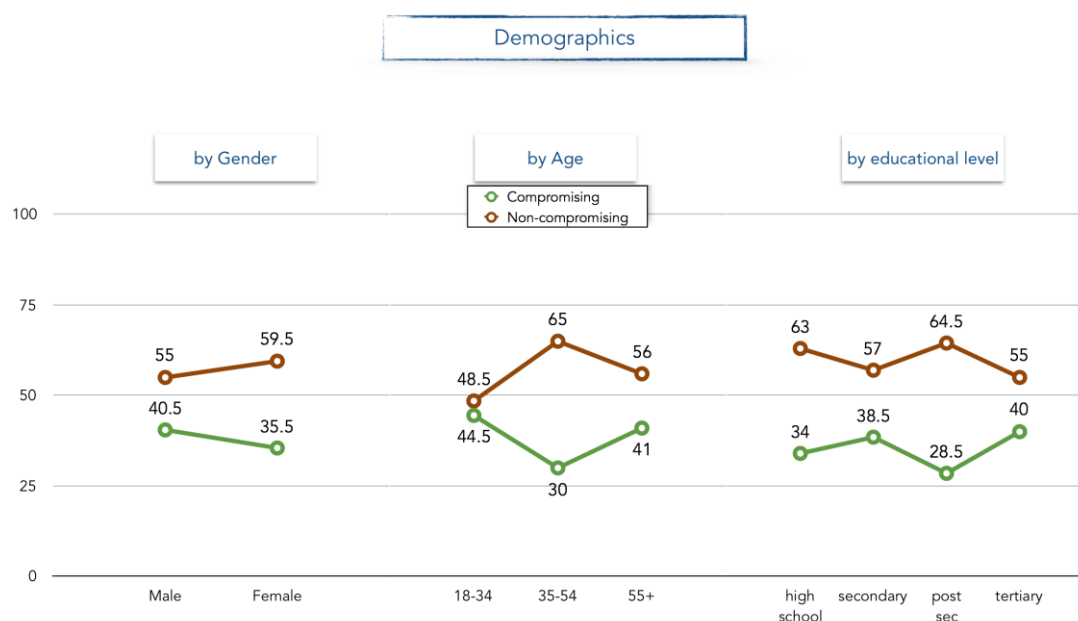
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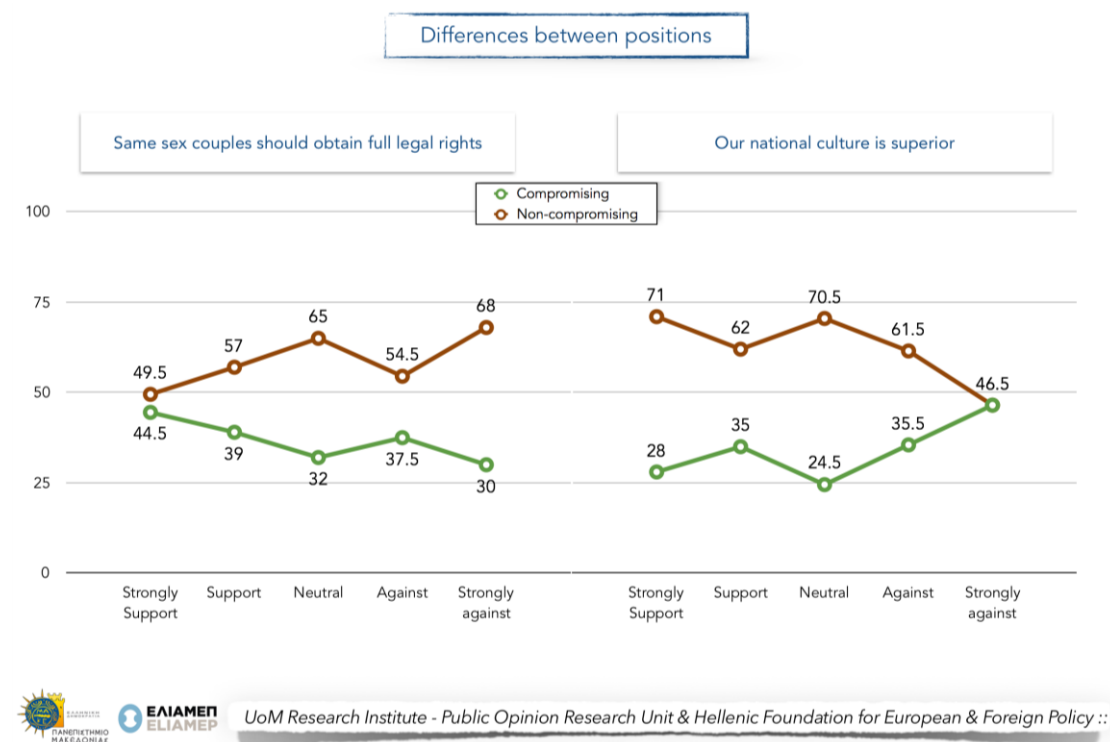
Classifying respondents according to compromising vs. non-compromising stance

From the above response rates (graphs 28-29) we may also classify respondents by inferring their position in the accommodative–non-accommodative axis on the name dispute. Thus, the above three options could also be categorized as **compromising**, made up of the sum of options (i) and (iii), i.e. composite name and constitutional name respectively, and as **non-compromising**, made up of the (ii) response, i.e. no reference to the term “Macedonia”. The data show that the non-compromising camp comfortably prevails in most demographic and value categories. The only exceptions are in the groups self-identified as far-left and left on the LR scale, in which the compromising outlook prevails over non-compromising by a small and wider margin respectively. Strong cosmopolitans had balanced responses. Also, there was only a 5% difference between the two choices in the 18-34 age group, with the non-compromising outlook still stronger. Similarly, strong social liberals and the tertiary educated had relatively small margins, but always with the non-compromising camp on top.

GRAPHS 28-29

Compromising vs. non-compromising stance



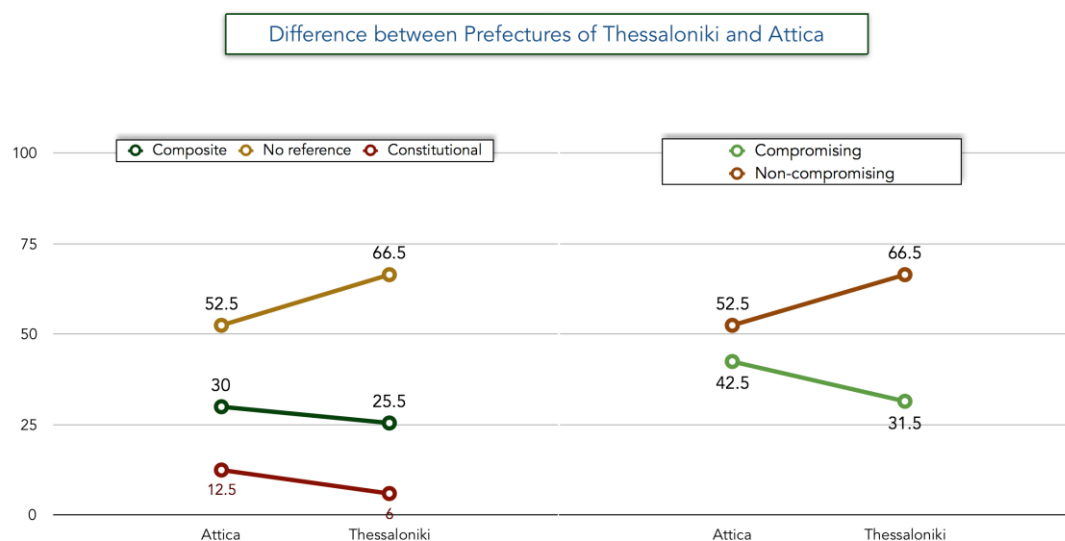


Comparing attitudes in the North and South of Greece

Comparing the Greek North with the Greek South, and more specifically the Thessaloniki metropolitan area with Attica or Athens-Piraeus metropolitan area, we can also identify some differing attitudes (graph 30). When considering the three response choices for solutions to the name dispute (No-Reference, Composite, Constitutional) we find that in the Thessaloniki region the “no-reference” responses are dominant by a much larger margin, with two out of three respondents not ready to accept any reference to the term “Macedonia”. In Athens though the majority of “no-reference” was by a smaller margin and below the national average. On the basis of accommodative/non-accommodative responses, respondents from the Attica region are more accommodative in the sense of accepting a solution based on reference to the term “Macedonia”, while respondents from the Thessaloniki region are much more non-accommodative than the national average.

GRAPH 30

Compromising vs. non-compromising stance

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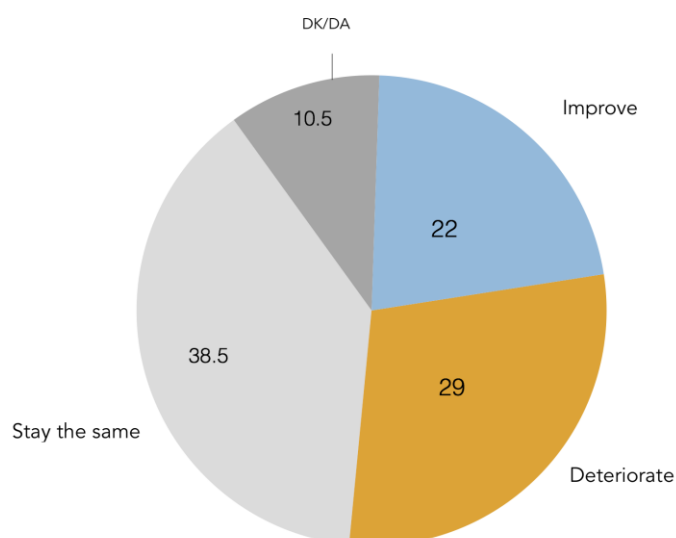
Prospects

We finalized the survey by asking respondents to reflect about the future of relations between Greece and FYROM (graph 31). We found that our respondents are not very optimistic about the future of bilateral relations. 4 out of 10 respondents believe that the status of relations will remain the same in the coming years, while 3 out of 10 believe that bilateral relations will deteriorate. Only 2 out of 10 respondents are optimistic and expect some improvement of bilateral relations in the coming years. The most pessimistic responses could be found among those with post-secondary education (41%), the social conservatives (38%) and the ethno-centrists (38.5%). Only those identified at the center of the LR axis expect that there will be no future improvement, while the remainder expects that the most probable future scenario is further deterioration of relations. Expectations about a potential solution are somewhat more optimistic. A majority of 51.5% of respondents believes that a potential solution will benefit both countries equally, while 13% expects that the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia would benefit most and 18.5% believe that Greece would see more benefits. However, the optimism about both countries benefitting equally from a future solution clearly clashes with the above findings that show most respondents being against any compromise on the name dispute.

GRAPH 31

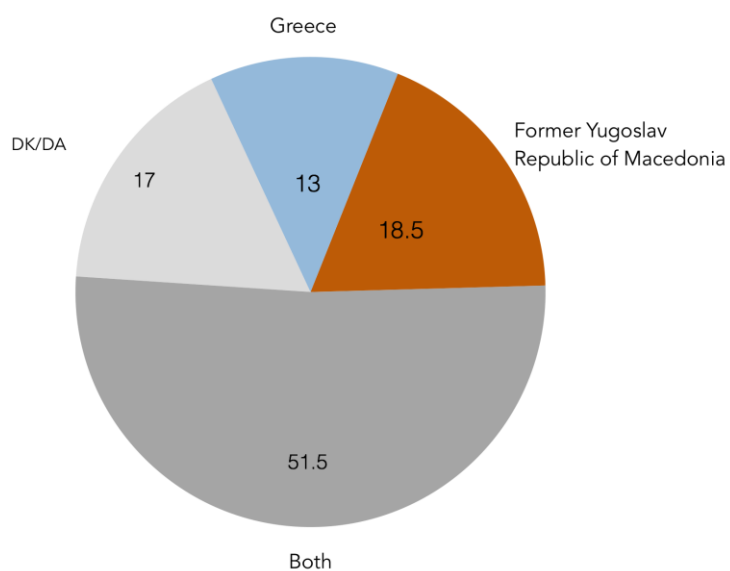
Prospects

During the following years Greece's - FYROM relations would...



Prospects

A potential solution in the near future would benefit ...



Summary of findings and concluding remarks

What do all these mean for the prospects of reaching an agreement on the name dispute? We will summarise the findings of our poll, while keeping in mind this particular objective. We will then in the end offer some concluding remarks about the prospects of settlement of the problem.

Context unfavourable to settlement of name dispute:

Pessimism and distrust

Pessimism about Greece's international position abounds. A startling 72% of respondents feel that Greece's position is weaker than it was one year ago and another 20.5% feel it remained the same. 52.5% of respondents expect that Greece's position will become even weaker than it is in the next year, while 25% expect that it will remain the same (which is already very weak). These findings show that the vast majority of Greeks are extremely pessimistic about the role and 'weight' of their country in the international arena. Needless to say, pessimism does not make good and trustworthy international partners. Not to mention that such pessimism can easily spark or generate sentiments of victimization, which are already quite widespread due to the economic crisis. One can, thus, safely assume that for the foreseeable future Greeks, will view any solutions reached on long-standing problems involving perceived core national interests as suboptimal, and result of external pressure on weak Greek governments. Given also that traditionally, and even more so since the start of the crisis, suspicion and distrust abound and some people are fond of conspiracy theories it is highly likely that public opinion will perceive such a solution as going against national interest or even as treacherous.

Our poll also measured general attitudes towards great powers, key international organizations of which Greece is a member as well as attitudes towards Balkan neighbours. The findings confirm overall trends observed in recent years and through previous ELIAMEP polls and the Eurobarometer surveys: growing skepticism towards the EU and its institutions; very positive attitudes towards Russia; persistence of 'traditional' distrust of the US, more recently surpassed by even more negative attitudes towards Germany; very low positive rates for NATO. The negative 'balance sheet' of Greece's most important institutional and country partners is telling: 56% negative attitudes towards Germany, 51.5% towards the EU, 34% towards the US and 42% towards NATO.

With regards to Balkan neighbours, only Serbia enjoys positive attitudes, which surpass 40 percent. This is consistent with previous polls and studies that ELIAMEP has conducted in which Serbia is the Balkan country with the most positive image in Greek society by far. Attitudes towards FYROM are quite negative (61.1% negative and very negative) and come only second to Turkey, which has the most negative opinions (total 69.5%). The positive opinions of all Balkan neighbouring countries, except Serbia and Bulgaria, are under 10% (lowest Turkey with 5%).

Threat perceptions in this study are consistent with previous ELIAMEP polls. 69% of respondents believe that a foreign country represents a threat to Greece. Turkey is considered by far the biggest threat to Greece with 76.5%, followed by Germany at 11%. Other neighbouring Balkan countries are considered minimal or non-existent threats to Greece.

Overall, the perceptions of Greece's international role and the attitudes towards partners, allies and neighbours further reinforce the conclusion that an atmosphere of widespread suspicion, distrust and pessimism is currently predominant in the Greek public's view of international life. As contextual factors, these sentiments are hardly amenable to breakthroughs in international affairs.

Perceptions of the 'other': Situation more positive at inter-personal level

Things appear somewhat more optimistic when attitudes towards individuals belonging to neighbouring nations are measured. We have measured levels of tolerance and acceptance of members of the national 'other' by asking whether respondents would accept individuals of certain nationalities as members of their family, as co-workers or as immigrants in Greece. Here, negative attitudes are represented by the option of not accepting the presence of certain individuals in Greece. Inhabitants of FYROM have similar level of acceptance with Turks and slightly worse than Albanians and Pakistanis.

More specifically, 44% of respondents would accept someone from FYROM as a member of their family and another 26.5% as a co-worker. There is, however, a sizeable minority of about 21%, which would not accept their presence in Greece. This percentage is higher than the 10 percent found in a 2013 study to be an extreme, anti-foreigner segment in society (though the two studies are not directly comparable due to different question structures). Moreover, it is worth noting that in the same 2013 poll the percentage of respondents who declared that they would accept Slavic citizens of FYROM as members of their family was at 51%, which was slightly higher than the percentage for Turks (49%) and even higher than the percentage for Albanians (46%). In both studies, the most positive attitudes by far were exhibited towards Serbs, and in this year's study they were followed by Syrians.

Predictably, social conservatives and ethno-centrists are less tolerant towards these nationalities. For example, more than twice as many social liberals compared to social conservatives and cosmopolitans compared to ethno-centrists would accept individuals from FYROM in their family (56% versus 25.5% and 53.3% versus 26% respectively). Non-acceptance of their presence in Greece is at 11% and 12.5% for social liberals and cosmopolitans respectively; in contrast, the numbers reach 38.5% and 37.5% respectively for social conservatives and ethno-centrists.

Overall, and especially compared to the attitudes towards foreign states and international issues, the Greek public's levels of tolerance seem refreshingly optimistic. In other words, inter-personal relations are an area in which Greeks feel more comfortable and generous in their interaction with foreigners. This conclusion, however, will still require further research, especially given very negative findings about the Greek society shown in other surveys (e.g. Pew Research Centre).

Name dispute: Intensity of public sentiment and rejectionist outlook

Respondents consider the name dispute to be of great importance. 58% of respondents believed that it is very important to resolve the issue as soon as possible and another 19% said that it is somewhat important. Only 10% of respondents do not consider this issue important. Additionally, 71.5% of respondents believe that the delay in the resolution of the name dispute 'harms' Greece. Although not counter-intuitive, these results are still surprising especially for the high degree of intensity of the issue that they reveal. Since the name dispute has been a foreign policy problem for more than 25 years many observers have over the years questioned the intensity of Greek public sentiment on the issue and have assumed that this has now become a problem of lesser importance, reserved for diplomats and expert communities. Our findings, however, reveal a different picture, that Greek public opinion is still highly mobilized by the issue.

Given this intensity, the next key question is whether respondents are amenable to compromise. But, attitudes towards possible solutions to the name dispute present a rather pessimistic picture for the prospect of a compromise settlement. 57% of respondents are against any mention of the word "Macedonia" in the name of Greece's neighbour, while 28% would accept a composite name. Only 10% would accept that the country be recognized with its constitutional name. Women are slightly more uncompromising than men, and the same applies to the 34-55 age group. Younger respondents appear more compromising. Respondents in the 18-34 age group are four times more likely than the 55+ category and three times than the 34-55 category to accept the constitutional name as a solution. Cosmopolitans and social liberals are much more compromising than ethno-centrists and social conservatives. Overall, however, in almost all demographic and value categories the rejectionist and uncompromising outlook comfortably trumps alternative positions.

It is important also to stress here that Greek public opinion continues to be much less willing to accept a compromise on the name dispute than successive Greek governments. In other words, our survey confirmed trends also found in previous studies, which show that the average Greek, whether due to lack of information or due to conviction, remains very far from the standard negotiating position of Greek diplomacy. Thus, to the extent that polls are indicative of expected behaviour, a wide majority of the Greek public would not accept that which could be the outcome of negotiations between Athens and Skopje. Greek public opinion remains largely unprepared (and thus hostile) to the most likely solutions to the name dispute.

It is also noteworthy that the name dispute remains an issue of intensity and symbolic importance even when the public is uninformed of details of the problem. In one characteristic point in the survey when respondents were asked to offer their opinion on the role of Greek politicians on the issue, nearly 7 out of 10 and more than half of respondents could not name a single politician who had a positive and a negative impact respectively. This is very telling of the fact that for most Greeks, who do not have specialist knowledge of the issue, the intensity and symbolic importance of the question remains even if they are not in a position to offer solid factual assessments

Peripheral factors: Complicating further the settlement of the name dispute

This intensity and uncompromising mood are compounded by a number of factors and trends that further complicate a potential solution to the name dispute: widely-held suspicion and pessimism over the potential consequences of including the name “Macedonia” in a future compromise solution, distrust towards both FYROM itself and third parties that are involved in the issue, lack of confidence over the advantages of bilateral economic relations with Greece’s northern neighbour, and negative perceptions of issues that are currently high on the public agenda, such as policies addressing the refugee problem.

More specifically, 42.5% of respondents strongly agree and another 13% somewhat agree that the usage of the name ‘Macedonia’ will become a threat to the territorial integrity of Greece in the future - the percentages of those who strongly and somewhat disagree are 26% and 11% respectively. Thus, while respondents do not currently view FYROM as a threat, they are convinced that should the name “Macedonia” be accepted in any form as the official name of the neighbouring country, this will result in a future territorial threat for Greece. The percentages of those respondents who perceive this future threat are slightly higher among women and those in the 35-54 age group and substantially higher among the ethno-centrics. In contrast, the percentage of those who strongly agree is lower in the 18-35 group, the social progressives and among those with tertiary education. But, overall, Greek public opinion continues to view the issue of the name dispute not only in emotional and symbolic terms, but also as a potential security issue.

There is also a great distrust of international organisations and allies, such as the EU, NATO, the US and Germany, as seen in the question gauging attitudes towards their involvement in assisting efforts to settle the name dispute. The opinion that these actors, when they engage in the issue, favour Greece received support only between 4.5% and 5%. In contrast, the majority of respondents believe the involvement of organisations and states favours FYROM: 41% in the case of the EU, 44% in the case of the US, and 40% in the case of Germany. Only for the UN did a majority of 38.5% of respondents its role as neutral.

Furthermore, even the flourishing economic relations between the two countries are also seen with skepticism, since 39% believe that FYROM benefited more than Greece and another 13% who believe that only FYROM benefited; thus a majority of 52% of respondents may be seen as highly skeptical of the advantages of economic relations. Among the remaining respondents 33.5% believe that both countries benefited equally and only very small percentages (3% and 0.5% respectively) thought that only Greece benefited or that Greece benefited more. Interestingly, in a previous poll conducted by ELIAMEP, 66% of Greeks thought that Albania benefited either exclusively or more than Greece from bilateral economic relations.

The recent refugee crisis seems to further exacerbate the existing negative political climate. When asked to give their opinion about responses to this problem, 77.5% of respondents viewed FYROM’s policies as negative or very negative and only 4 percent positive. This is also very likely a reflection of the media hype over the issue throughout 2015 and the beginning of 2016. It is, however, important to stress that the survey was conducted before flare ups on the border between Greece-FYROM (involving several migrant attempts to break the border fence, attempts to enter FYROM through uncontrolled crossings, the drowning of

refugee/migrants, violent police action as well as mutual recriminations between the governments of the two countries). Thus, the timing of the ongoing refugee crisis further complicates efforts to build momentum for the settlement of the dispute.

Prospects of future relations: Rather pessimistic outlook

What are the prospects for the future? Respondents are somewhat pessimistic about bilateral relations and expect that they will either stay the same (38.5%) or deteriorate (29%), with only 22% expecting improvement. This is despite the fact that a majority of respondents (51.5%) believe that a potential solution to the name dispute would benefit both sides and only 18.5% and 13% believe that this would benefit Greece and FYROM respectively.

Concluding remarks

ELIAMEP's South-East Europe Programme set out to investigate the public mood in this survey, the first of its kind, devoted to the name dispute and relations with FYROM in Greece. The general aim of the survey was to measure Greek public attitudes about international life in general and about the "Macedonia" dispute, its parameters and potential solutions.

The general picture we draw is of a public opinion that is on the one hand highly pessimistic, introverted and distrustful of international affairs and on the other emotional in its attitudes towards the name dispute and FYROM, resulting in a highly rejectionist outlook. At the same time, the name issue continues to be experienced with intensity, as it has high emotional and symbolic value, but also as a question with potential future security consequences. Our survey shows that, twenty-five years after the emergence of the new "Macedonian question", the issue has not been forgotten by Greek public opinion and still remains very relevant.

Overall, our study reveals a picture that is disappointing when it comes to the prospects for a quick settlement of the dispute between Greece and FYROM. Much of this disappointment derives from what we observed as a peculiar mix of insularity and pessimism that seems to dominate Greek public opinion, not only on the name dispute, but also practically on most international issues that we measured. The majority of Greeks reject outright any solution to the dispute that would include the name "Macedonia" for their northern neighbours. The picture becomes even more perplexing when we also include the possibly unanticipated intensity of sentiments on the issue, the public's distrust of FYROM's future intentions, the public's distrust of third parties (partners and international organisations) that are (or may become) involved in dispute resolution efforts, the perception that economic relations between the two countries benefit FYROM, and the effects of the refugee/migrant crisis, which to a large extent unfolded on the Greece-FYROM border.

One may wonder about the origins and etiology of this situation. Certainly, the serious economic crisis, which has transformed Greek politics and society, has had an impact on the public mood toward international affairs. Broad segments of Greek society have experienced the economic crisis in existential terms as a threat to the identity and the very being of the country, and no less as an 'attack' from abroad. Even if not everyone shares such an interpretation of the crisis, Greek public opinion has demonstrated elements of insecurity, lack of self-confidence and distrust towards international partners, which reinforce

introversion and impulsive defensiveness. It may also to some extent explain a pursuit of perceived cultural and historical ties, as in the case of the very positive perceptions of Russia. At the same time, more comprehensive analysis ought to take into account trends going beyond the recent economic crisis, as for example in the construction of Greek identity, the resurgence of nationalism in the 1990s, the renewed influence of conservative and reactionary social forces, political culture and mentality and other factors. Such a comprehensive investigation is beyond the scope of this report, but surely our study has shown the need for more and better research in the interface between the domestic and the international in the Greek case.

Our study, has managed to touch only briefly upon many different issues. More intensive research, using both quantitative and qualitative research tools, will be required to elaborate on several issues that were raised in this study. The safest conclusion to be drawn from the above analysis is that the dearth of frequent and in-depth studies, including opinion polls, on foreign policy issues not only hampers analysis, but also severs links between official diplomacy, civil society and the wider public. Any future attempts to resolve the name dispute and other long-standing problems will require solid legitimacy and active support for political elites from the public; but this cannot happen without the public being educated about the state of international problems. Our findings in this survey reveal the hard work that policy makers wishing to reach a settlement with FYROM will have to do to convince the Greek public and allay its fears and security concerns. Solid analysis will be the background for hard work in this and all serious international problems. We hope that we have contributed our small bit to this aim.

Appendix I: Survey questionnaire (in Greek)

Ενότητα Α.

Γενικού ενδιαφέροντος

1. Εσείς, προσωπικά, θα λέγατε πως ενδιαφέρεστε περισσότερο για ζητήματα που αφορούν την εσωτερική πολιτική ή για ζητήματα που αφορούν την εξωτερική πολιτική της χώρας ;

ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ	
ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ	
[αυθόρμητα] ΕΞΙΣΟΥ	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

2. Μιλώντας για ζητήματα εξωτερικής πολιτικής, σε σύγκριση μ' έναν χρόνο πριν, η θέση της χώρας μας στον κόσμο πιστεύετε πως έγινε πιο ισχυρή, πιο αδύνατη, ή παρέμεινε η ίδια;

ΠΙΟ ΙΣΧΥΡΗ	
ΠΙΟ ΑΔΥΝΑΤΗ	
Η ΙΔΙΑ	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

3. Και τον επόμενο χρόνο πιστεύετε πως θα είναι πιο ισχυρή, πιο αδύνατη, ή η ίδια με σήμερα ;

ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΗ	
ΧΕΙΡΟΤΕΡΗ	
(ΑΥΘ) Η ΙΔΙΑ ΜΕ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

4. Θα ήθελα τώρα να μου πείτε πόσο θετική ή αρνητική είναι η **προσωπική σας στάση** απέναντι στις χώρες και στους διεθνείς οργανισμούς που θα σας διαβάσω παρακάτω...

ΑΠΕΝΑΝΤΙ ...	ΠΟΛΥ ΘΕΤΙΚΗ	ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΘΕΤΙΚΗ	ΟΥΔΕΤΕΡΗ	ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΑΡΝΗΤΙΚΗ	ΠΟΛΥ ΑΡΝΗΤΙΚΗ	ΔΞ/ΔΑ
1.1. ΣΤΗΝ ΤΟΥΡΚΙΑ						
1.2. ΣΤΗΝ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗ ΕΝΩΣΗ						
1.3. ΣΤΗ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΑ						
1.4. ΣΤΙΣ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑ						
1.5. ΣΤΙΣ ΗΠΑ						
1.6. ΣΤΗΝ ΠΓΔΜ						
1.7. ΣΤΟ ΝΑΤΟ						
1.8. ΣΤΗ ΡΩΣΙΑ						
1.9. ΣΤΗ ΣΕΡΒΙΑ						
1.10. ΣΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΑ						
1.11. ΣΤΟ ΚΟΣΟΒΟ						

5. Γενικά μιλώντας, πιστεύετε πως υπάρχει κάποια χώρα που αποτελεί απειλή για την Ελλάδα ;

ΝΑΙ		Πηγ. Ερ. 6
ΟΧΙ		Πηγ. Ερ. 7
ΔΞ/ΔΑ		Πηγ. Ερ. 7

6. Και ποια είναι αυτή ; (αυθόρμητες αποκρίσεις) ;

ΤΟΥΡΚΙΑ		ΡΩΣΙΑ	
ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΑ		ΗΠΑ	
ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑ		
ΠΓΔΜ			
ΔΞ/ΔΑ		ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

Ενότητα Β.

Ερωτήσεις ανεκτικότητας.

7. Θα ήθελα τώρα να μιλήσουμε για την προσφυγική κρίση. Θα ήθελα να σας ζητήσω να μου πείτε πόσο θετική ή πόσο αρνητική πιστεύετε πως είναι η πολιτική που αρκούν στο **προσφυγικό ζήτημα** οι κυβερνήσεις των χωρών που θα σας διαβάσω παρακάτω :

	ΠΟΛΥ ΘΕΤΙΚΗ	ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΘΕΤΙΚΗ	ΟΥΔΕΤΕΡΗ	ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΑΡΝΗΤΙΚΗ	ΠΟΛΥ ΑΡΝΗΤΙΚΗ	ΔΞ/ΔΑ
7.1. Η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ						
7.2. Η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥΡΚΙΑΣ						
7.3. Η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΑΣ						
7.4. Η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΠΓΔΜ						
7.5. Η ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΑΣ						

8. Ορισμένοι άνθρωποι δυσκολεύονται να αποδεχθούν στο στενότερο ή στο ευρύτερο κοινωνικό περιβάλλον τους άτομα με διαφορετική εθνική καταγωγή. Εσείς προσωπικά, θα αποδεχόσασταν.... **(Σ.Σ. ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ ΠΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΠΤΕΤΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΘΕΤΙΚΗ)**

	ΩΣ ΜΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΓΕΝΕΙΑΣ ΣΑΣ	ΩΣ ΣΥΝΕΡΓΑΤΗ ΣΤΗ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΑ ΣΑΣ	ΩΣ ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΗ	ΔΞ/ΔΑ
8.1. Έναν Πακιστανό				
8.2. Έναν Σκοπιανό				
8.3. Ένα Σέρβο				
8.4. Έναν Αλβανό				
8.5. Έναν Τούρκο				
8.6. Έναν Σύριο				

Ενότητα Γ.

Ειδικότερα ζητήματα σχέσεων με πΓΔΜ

9. Θα ήθελα τώρα να ζητήσω την άποψή σας για ένα από τα ζητήματα που απασχολεί την εξωτερική πολιτική της χώρας μας, το ζήτημα της **ονομασίας των πρώην Γιουγκοσλαβικής Δημοκρατίας της Μακεδονίας**. Για εσάς προσωπικά πόσο σημαντικό είναι να επιλυθεί **άμεσα** το ζήτημα της ονομασίας ;

ΠΟΛΥ ΣΗΜΑΝΤΙΚΟ	
ΚΑΠΩΣ ΣΗΜΑΝΤΙΚΟ	
ΟΥΔΕΤΕΡΟ	
ΚΑΘΟΛΟΥ, ΑΣΗΜΑΝΤΟ	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

10. Η καθυστέρηση στην επίλυση του ζητήματος της ονομασίας πιστεύετε πως λειτουργεί **βλαπτικά** για τη χώρα μας;

ΝΑΙ	
ΟΧΙ	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

11. Εσείς προσωπικά ποια λύση θα αποδεχόσασταν για την ονομασία της γείτονος χώρας ;

ΜΙΑ ΣΥΝΘΕΤΗ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ ΠΟΥ ΘΑ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΟΡΟ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ (σ.σ. επεξήγηση εάν δεν κατανοεί την έννοια «σύνθετη»)	
ΝΑ ΜΗΝ ΑΝΑΦΕΡΕΤΑΙ Ο ΟΡΟΣ «ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ» ΣΤΗΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ	
ΝΑ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΤΕΙ ΜΕ ΤΟ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΟ ΤΗΣ ΟΝΟΜΑ « ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ»	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

12. Αρκετοί άνθρωποι εκφράζουν το φόβο πως η χρήση της λέξης «Μακεδονία» ως μέρος του ονόματος της γείτονος χώρας μπορεί να αποτελέσει μελλοντικά εδαφική απειλή για τη χώρα μας. Εσείς συμφωνείτε ή διαφωνείτε με αυτήν την τοποθέτηση;

ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΑ	
ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩ	
ΟΥΤΕ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩ / ΟΥΤΕ ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ	
ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ	
ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΑ	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

13. Για την επίλυση της ονομασίας έχουν κατά καιρούς εμπλακεί διεθνείς οργανισμοί και ξένες χώρες. Εσείς προσωπικά, πιστεύετε πως οι προσπάθειες [**όνομα**] για την επίλυση του ζητήματος του ονόματος είναι... [**items**]

	ΠΡΟΣ ΟΦΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ	ΠΡΟΣ ΟΦΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΓΔΜ	ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΙΝΟ ΟΦΕΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΥΟ ΧΩΡΩΝ	ΔΞ/ΔΑ
12.1. ΤΗΣ ΕΥΡΩΠΑΪΚΗΣ ΕΝΩΣΗΣ				
12.2. ΤΩΝ ΗΠΑ				
12.3. ΤΗΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΑ				
12.4. ΤΟΥ ΟΗΕ				

14. Θα ήθελα, τώρα, να σας ρωτήσω σχετικά με τις προσπάθειες που έχουν καταβάλει οι έλληνες πολιτικοί για την επίλυση του ζητήματος. Εάν σας ζητούσα να μου πείτε κάποιον πολιτικό με **θετική** συμβολή στη διαχείριση του ζητήματος, ποιο όνομα θα σας ερχόταν πρώτο στο μυαλό σας (**αυθόρμητες αποκρίσεις**) ;

ΚΩΝ/ΝΟΣ ΜΗΤΣΟΤΑΚΗΣ		Α. ΣΑΜΑΡΑΣ	
ΑΝΔΡ. ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ		Κ. ΣΗΜΙΤΗΣ	
ΚΩΝ. ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΛΗΣ senior		ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ Α. ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ	
ΚΩΝ. ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΛΗΣ junior		ΑΛΛΟ (ΧΩΡΙΣ ΣΥΜΠΛΗΡΩΣΗ)	
		ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

15. Και εάν σας ζητούσα να μου πείτε κάποιον πολιτικό με **αρνητική** συμβολή στη διαχείριση του ζητήματος, ποιο όνομα θα σας ερχόταν πρώτο στο μυαλό σας (**αυθόρμητες αποκρίσεις**) ;

ΚΩΝ/ΝΟΣ ΜΗΤΣΟΤΑΚΗΣ		Α. ΣΑΜΑΡΑΣ	
ΑΝΔΡ. ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ		Κ. ΣΗΜΙΤΗΣ	
ΚΩΝ. ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΛΗΣ senior		ΓΙΩΡΓΟΣ Α. ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ	
ΚΩΝ. ΚΑΡΑΜΑΝΛΗΣ junior		ΑΛΛΟ (ΧΩΡΙΣ ΣΥΜΠΛΗΡΩΣΗ)	
		ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

16. Από μία πιθανή λύση στο μέλλον, ποιος πιστεύετε πως θα επωφελούνταν...

Η ΕΛΛΑΔΑ	
Η ΠΓΔΜ	
ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΥΟ ΧΩΡΕΣ ΕΞΙΣΟΥ	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

17. Και τα επόμενα χρόνια οι σχέσεις της Ελλάδος με την πγδμ πιστεύετε πως...

ΘΑ ΒΕΛΤΙΩΘΟΥΝ	
ΘΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΤΕΡΕΥΣΟΥΝ	
ΘΑ ΜΕΙΝΟΥΝ ΙΔΙΕΣ	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

18. Μιλώντας, τέλος, για τις **οικονομικές σχέσεις** Ελλάδας-ΠΓΔΜ/Σκοπίων, πιστεύετε πως...

ΜΟΝΟ Η ΠΓΔΜ ΕΧΕΙ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΑΠΟ ΑΥΤΕΣ.	
ΜΟΝΟ Η ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΕΧΕΙ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΑΠΟ ΑΥΤΕΣ.	
Η ΠΓΔΜ ΕΧΕΙ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΤΕΡΟ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ.	
Η ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΕΧΕΙ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΟΤΕΡΟ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΓΔΜ.	
ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΔΥΟ ΧΩΡΕΣ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΕΠΩΦΕΛΗΘΕΙ ΑΜΟΙΒΑΙΑ;	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

Ενότητα Δ.**Ιδεολογία – Αξίες – Ευρύτερα ζητήματα πολιτικής τοποθέτησης**

19. Κλείνοντας, θα ήθελα να σας κάνω ορισμένες ερωτήσεις γενικού ενδιαφέροντος. Θα ήθελα να μου πείτε πόσο συμφωνείτε ή διαφωνείτε με τις φράσεις που θα σας διαβάσω παρακάτω:

	ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΑ	ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩ	ΟΥΤΕ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩ, ΟΥΤΕ ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ	ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ	ΔΙΑΦΩΝΩ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΑ	ΔΞ/ΔΑ
ΤΑ ΟΜΟΦΥΛΑ ΖΕΥΓΑΡΙΑ ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΝΑ ΑΠΟΛΑΜΒΑΝΟΥΝ ΠΛΗΡΗ ΝΟΜΙΚΑ ΔΙΚΑΙΩΜΑΤΑ						
Ο ΕΘΝΙΚΟΣ ΜΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΝΩΤΕΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΚΟΛΕΥΟΜΑΙ ΝΑ ΑΠΟΔΕΧΘΩ ΤΙΣ ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΣ ΑΞΙΕΣ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΩΝ						
Η ΧΩΡΑ ΜΑΣ ΧΡΕΙΑΖΕΤΑΙ ΜΙΚΡΟΤΕΡΟ ΚΡΑΤΙΚΟ ΤΟΜΕΑ ΑΚΟΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΑΥΤΟ ΣΗΜΑΙΝΕΙ ΑΠΟΛΥΣΕΙΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝ ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ						

20. Πολλές φορές στην πολιτική μιλάμε με τους όρους **δεξιά** και **αριστερά**. Σε μία κλίμακα από το 0 έως το 10, όπου το 0 είναι «αριστερά» και το 10 δεξιά, εσείς που τοποθετείτε τον εαυτό σας;

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	88
Αριστερά										Δεξιά	

ΔΗΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΑ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ**1. Φύλο**

ΑΝΔΡΑΣ	
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ	

2. Ηλικία

18-24 ΕΤΩΝ	
25-34 ΕΤΩΝ	
35-44 ΕΤΩΝ	
45-54 ΕΤΩΝ	
55-64 ΕΤΩΝ	
ΑΝΩ ΤΩΝ 65 ΕΤΩΝ	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

3. Μορφωτικό επίπεδο

ΔΕΝ ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΗΣΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟ	
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟΥ	
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΥ	
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΛΥΚΕΙΟ	
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΤΕΧΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ / ΙΕΚ	
ΑΠΟΦΟΙΤΟΣ ΤΕΙ/ΑΕΙ	
ΚΑΤΟΧΟΣ ΜΕΤΑΠΤΥΧΙΑΚΟΥ ή Δρ.	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

4. Επαγγελματική κατάσταση

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΣ ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΟΣ	
ΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΟΣ ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΟΣ	
ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΟΥΧΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΥ	
ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΟΥΧΟΣ ΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΟΥ	
ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΙΑΣ / ΕΜΠΟΡΟΣ	
ΑΥΤΟΑΠΑΣΧΟΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΩΝ	
ΟΙΚΙΑΚΑ	
ΑΝΕΡΓΟΣ	
ΦΟΙΤΗΤΗΣ	
ΑΓΡΟΤΗΣ	
ΑΛΛΟ	

5. Περιφέρεια

Θεσσαλονίκη και Αθήνα	
Άλλα αστικά κέντρα	
Ημιαστικές – Αγροτικές περιοχές	
ΔΞ/ΔΑ	

Appendix II: Survey questionnaire (in English)

Section A. General Interest

1. To begin, I would like to ask you if you would say you are more interested in issues related to domestic policy or issues related to the country's foreign policy?

Domestic Policy	
Foreign Policy	
Don't Know/No Answer	

2. Related to issues of foreign policy, compared to one year ago do you believe the country's position in the world is stronger, weaker, or has remained the same?

Stronger	
Weaker	
The Same	
Don't Know/No Answer	

3. And for the coming year, do you believe the country's position will be stronger, weaker, or remain as it is today?

Better	
Worse	
The Same	
Don't Know/No Answer	

4. I would like you to tell me how positive or negative your personal stance is towards the following countries and international organisations:

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neither Positive nor Negative	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	DN/NA
4.1. Turkey						
4.2. European Union						
4.3. Germany						
4.4. Albania						
4.5. USA						
4.6. FYROM						
4.7. NATO						
4.8. Russia						
4.9. Serbia						
4.10. Bulgaria						
4.11. Kosovo						

5. Generally, do you believe that there is a country that is a threat to Greece?

YES		Go to question 6
NO		Go to question 7
DN/DA		Go to question 7

6. Which country you think is a threat to Greece (not prompted) ?

TURKEY		RUSSIA	
GERMANY		USA	
ALBANIA		
FYROM			
DK/DA		DK/DA	

Section B.

Questions on Tolerance.

7. Some people find it difficult to accept individuals of different ethnic origins into either their wider social networks or closer social circles. Would personally accept a....? **(NB. QUESTION STOPS AT FIRST POSITIVE RESPONSE)**

	As a member of your family	As a colleague at work	As an immigrant	DK/NA
7.1. A Pakistani				
7.2. An inhabitant of FYROM				
7.3. A Serb				
7.4. An Albanian				
7.5. A Turk				
7.6. A Syrian				

Section C.

Specific questions on FYROM

8. One of the issues in Greek foreign policy is the question of the name of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. For you personally, how important is that the name issue is addressed immediately?

Very important	
Somewhat important	
Neutral	
Not at all important	
DN/NA	

9. Do you think that the delay in the resolution of the name issue is harmful for our country?

YES	
NO	
DK/DA	

10. What solution would you personally accept for the name of the neighbouring country?

A compound name that includes the term 'Macedonia'	
No reference to 'Macedonia' in the name	
To be recognized by its constitutional name 'Republic of Macedonia'	
Don't Know/No Answer	

11. A number of people express fear that the use of the word 'Macedonia' in the name of the country could result in a future territorial threat to Greece. Do you agree or disagree with this position?

Strongly Agree	
Somewhat Agree	
Neither Agree nor Disagree	
Somewhat Disagree	
Strongly Disagree	
Don't Know/No Answer	

12. To find a solution for the name issue, international organisations and other countries have occasionally become involved. Do believe that the attempts of [name] to solve the name issue are [....]... [items]

	Beneficial for Greece	Beneficial for FYROM	Mutually Beneficial for Both Countries	DK/NA
9.1. European Union				
9.2. USA				
9.3. Germany				
9.4. UN				

13. I would now like to ask you about the efforts that Greek politicians have made towards solving this question. If I asked you to tell me a politician with a positive impact on addressing the issue, what name would first come to mind (not prompted/spontaneous)?

Konstantinos Mitsotakis	
Andreas Papandreou	
Konstantinos Karamanlis senior	
Konstantinos Karamanlis junior	
Antonis Samaras	
Kostas Simitis	
George Papandreou	
Other (Blank)	
Don't Know/No Answer	

14. And if I asked you to tell me a politician with a negative impact on addressing the name issue, what name would first come to mind (not prompted/spontaneous) ?

Konstantinos Mitsotakis	
Andreas Papandreou	
Konstantinos Karamanlis senior	
Konstantinos Karamanlis junior	
Antonis Samaras	
Kostas Simitis	
George Papandreou	
Other (Blank)	
Don't Know/No Answer	

15. Also on the issue of Greece-FYROM relations, do you believe a possible solution will benefit....

Greece	
FYROM	
Both Countries Equally	
Don't Know/No Answer	

16. In the coming years, do you believe that relations between Greece and FYROM will...

Improve	
Worsen	
Remain the Same	
Don't Know/No Answer	

17. Closing, I would like to discuss the refugee crisis. More specifically, I would like to ask you to tell me how positive or how negative in your opinion has the policy implemented on the refugee question by governments of the following countries:

	VERY POSITIVE	SOMEWHAT POSITIVE	NEUTRAL	SOMEWHAT NEGATIVE	VERY NEGATIVE	DK/DA
17.1 THE GOVERNMENT OF GREECE						
17.2 THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY						
17.3 THE GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY						
17.4 THE GOVERNMENT OF FYROM						
17.5 THE GOVERNMENT OF BULGARIA						

Section D.

Ideology – Values – Broader questions of political stance

18. Finally, I would like to pose several questions of general interest. Finally, I would like to read you several phrases, and for you to tell me if you agree or disagree with each one.

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree	DK/DA
Same sex couples should enjoy full legal rights						
Our national culture is superior and so it is difficult to accept customs and values of other cultures						
Our country needs a smaller state mechanism, even if that means laying off public (sector) employees.						

19. In politics we often speak in terms of 'left' and 'right'. Personally, on a scale of 1 to 5 where 1 is 'Left' and 5 is 'Right,' where would you identify yourself?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	I don't identify with these terms	DK/DA
LEFT										RIGHT		

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Gender

Male	
Female	

2. Age

18-24	
25-34	
35-44	
45-54	
55-64	
65+	
DN/NA	

3. Education Level

Did not finish elementary school	
Finished elementary school	
Finished middle school	
Finished high school	
Finished technical high school	
Finished technical university	
Postgraduate degree or doctorate	
Don't Know/No answer	

4. Professional Status

Public Employee	
Private Employee	
Pensioner, Public Sector	
Pensioner, Private Sector	
Self-Employed, Commercial Sector	
Self-Employed, Scientist	
Housewife	
Unemployed	
Student	
Farmer	
Other	

5. Region

Thessaloniki and Athens	
Other urban centres	
Suburban or Agricultural Areas	
Don't Know/No Answer	

